

REGIONAL GEOPOLITICAL MOVEMENT OF TURKEY OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

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ABSTRACT

which has been stretching itself ethnically and historically as clouds scattered in the foothills, valleys, mountains and waters extending from western China to Anatolia, then the Turkish leader (former) "TorgatOzzal" has never been able to invent ideas and projects and launch initiatives in response to the changing regional and global circumstances, and put the idea of (the new Ottoman) to play a vital and active role in the ocean extending from the Adriatic to the wall China is passing through the Middle East, so the Second Republic has produced intense ideological and nationalist tensions, especially after the moderate Islamist movement gained influence on the overall social, cultural and civilizational development in Turkey and even on the water and its international relationship, Turkey has shifted from secularism against religion In its Soviet and Turkish form of Kemalism, which sees religion as a danger and that religion is an indicator of the backwardness of peoples to raise slogans more reconciled with religion so that the state is not the arena for narrow religious conflicts, which happened during the reign of "Esmat Inonu" where Turkey began gradually approaching a pattern akin to secularism far from a To religion, to make religion a common denominator that is served by all without affiliation to a particular religion the research aims to identify the geopolitical movement of Turkey in its regional environment in Central Asia and the Middle East to the European Union as the preferred secular Islamic model for the peoples of the region and geographical surroundings the importance of research is based on the difficulties faced by Turkey in its geodetic movement by international and regional forces that limit such movements.

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

After the disintegration of the (former) Soviet Union, regional and international variables appeared, creating a Turkish space in a geography stretching from the Adriatic Sea to the borders of China through the Balkans and the Caucasus, west and north, Central Asia, Iran to the east and the Arab region to the south. With these changes Turkey finds itself in the heart of geopolitical circles newly created politically, economically and culturally, and Turkey has a regional role in the region stretching from Asia to Africa and Europe. Turkey's geopolitics and participation in Western planning in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea region and its ethnic ties with modern Turkish states In Central Asia, as

the axis of the transit of oil and natural gas from the Caspian Sea and Central Asia, all of this led Turkey to NATO membership, and for these changes and elements Turkey turned not to follow a more effective policy in the Middle East, Asia, the Balkans and the Caucasus and became an important and vital player. With the emergence of the Central Asian Republics and republics Balkans and Caucasus Turkey has had options to interact with a Turkish world that links the peoples of these republics of Turkish origins.

The compromise orientation and the project of establishing a Middle Eastern regional system under the Oslo Agreement, Turkey made to move towards the Middle East from security, economic and political

aspects, with emphasis on its orientation towards Europe, it hopes to gain membership of the European Union, and its political association and military and security coordination with the United States is to have the support of America in Europe. As was the case at the Istanbul Summit on May 1, 2004, where the former US President Bush called for the accession of Turkey to the European Union and then faced the rejection of the French-German axis, and Turkey always hinted that it is a secular state in its constitution and laws and political life system. It is a strategic alliance with the West and a commitment to the membership path of the European Union. It deals with the depth of civilization and history with the Arab and Islamic world with military, political, economic and even mankind.

RESEARCH PROBLEM:

The problem of research comes from the aspects of strategic Turkish orientation, which is governed by the geographical location towards different regional circles and towards the motives and obstacles that make Turkey take these trends, which takes a big place in Turkish thinking.

1. To what extent the motives and constraints that determine the geopolitical movement of Turkey affect these circles.
2. What circles occupy the Turkish obsession and interference.
3. What is the future of Turkish mobility?

Search Goal

The research seeks to identify the objectives of:

1. Determine the orientations of Turkey, which are governed by geographical and cultural factors and the aspirations of development and balance.
2. The research opens horizons to identify the nature of these trends in the Turkish obsession.

3. Explain to what extent these motives and constraints affect the geopolitical movement of Turkey.

4. Determine the future of this movement

The importance of research: To research the importance of scientific as it deals with an important area in the Turkish strategy occupies the Turkish politicians and therefore lies the importance of research in:

1. Research is an addition to the researches that dealt with Turkey and its aspirations and roles that move.
2. An attempt to identify the motives and constraints that determine this movement.
3. It is an addition to the geopolitical research that deals with the state in geopolitical analysis.

Accordingly, the research was divided into sections that dealt with:

First: the motives and obstacles of the Turkish movement.

Second: the areas of Turkish action.

Third: the future of the geopolitical movement of Turkey.

Conclusion and Resources.

First: the motives and obstacles of the Turkish movement

The motives of the movement of Turkey are divided into four circles, some of which are specific to national security, so that Turkey can monitor the sources of threat emanating from some of these circles or some of its parties of them. These motives are economic, or or of cultural thinking and civilization bond. These circles create a space to regional Turkish, international influence, and its military, political and economic capabilities, as well as its desire to play the role of square dimensions: European Middle East, Islamic and ethnic, and as the result to the impact of changes in the world order,

specially the elimination of the threat from the former Soviet Union, - and destruction of Iraqi military force , submitting Arab –Israel conflict to peace process and reduction of Arabic national movement ,Turkey is convinced that the road is paved to circumvent the Arab circle, which constitutes a field of economic, financial and investment interests and interests. In doing this Turkey is aware that the Arab circle is living in a state of liquidity and openness. Turkey has been active in its role in the Middle East peace process and in the Middle East economic projects, and Turkey is starting to join the European Union, for reasons related to internal affairs such as economic growth, judicial and constitutional reforms in the area of human rights, and external affairs that touch Turkey's regional and international relations with the United States, Russia, Iran, Israel and even Europe, because they are linked to a popular vision that goes to criticize the political elites for not being able to persuade Europe to join them because they see Europe as a way to develop their economy and society. The Turkey reform march was crystallized by the coming of the Justice and Development Party in 2002 and his great success in accelerating the pace of reforms and the arrangement of the Turkish house began from the Constitution in line with the Copenhagen European standards and ending with the reduction of the military strength, especially after the coup The failure to be the twenty-first century Turkey, *and represented the motives of Turkey to join the EU as follows:

1. Political motives: Turkey's membership in the European Union is a priority of the Turkish nationalists of the modern republic founders and encouraged by the US, in addition to competing with Greece.

2. Security motives: The security concern after World War II and during the Cold War was the main factor in Turkey's integration into the Western system

*Tukey 's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said (It is not imagination that the 21 century is Turkish century but that shall not be achieved until the modernization through constitution amendments

through its entry into NATO. From that period, its national security linked European security to its security and defense bases.

3. Even the Turkish economy has development capabilities and the fastest growing economies in the world. It is among the top 20 economies in the world, surpassing even European economies. The EU is a major market for Turkish agricultural and industrial products¹.

With the creation Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan, the countries of Turkish origin, with the exception of Tajikistan, Turkey restored its national and historical aspirations, especially as it controlled the Islamic countries in full control over the fifth and sixteenth centuries. Meanwhile Turkey's policies and attitudes towards the Arab region were influenced by determinants and variables resulted from Turkey internal orientations and in interferences resulted from regional and international developments .It is true that Turkey has with the Central Asian republics, but it enjoys ethnic, cultural and sectarian links with the majority of. Even the traditional groups in these republics aspire to revive the heritage through cultural relations with Turkey. Turkey hosted a summit of Turkish speaking countries in Ankara in November 1992, and Turkey felt at the time that it had found its lost objects for centuries because of the spread of Russian tsarism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries .The general trends in Turkey do not enjoy its national, historical and sectarian heritage in Central Asia. The majority are betting on the European direction, as intellectuals and politicians of the independent republics are betting on Turkey's help to bring it closer to the West. Turkey's secularism, pluralism and democracy should serve as a model for these republics. The surge of Central Asia is supported by the United States, many European countries, and Arab countries. Turkey has created incentives for greater cooperation with the Central Asian republics to achieve their economic and political interests, especially Turkey's neutral positions. It has gained the satisfaction of the region

and the satisfaction of Russia in particular, and both agree to prevent radical Islam on these republics, and the rush of Turkey towards Central Asia has a consistent geographical and historical motives and motives produced by international developments Regional post-cold war and the motives of those republics emancipation of totalitarian ideology in addition to the motives of Turkey, which were represented in:

1-Turkey is trying to fill the political vacuum after the collapse of the (former) Soviet Union and prevent the penetration of Iran and any (Islamic rule), which prevents the establishment of a regional role for Turkey.

2. There is a US-Turkish rapprochement between the two to prevent the return of the republics to Russian influence again and the American desire to spread the Turkish model and to counter the Islamic movements in Central Asia.

3. Turkey's desire to compensate for the state of isolation imposed on it during the last three decades of the twentieth century, it is looking for an influential role in Central Asia and the Black Sea basin, especially since this role is important, especially after the expansion of NATO to eastern Europe.

4 - The weakness of the economic and financial potential of Turkey makes them need US support, especially after the war on Iraq in 2003 and the losses that are always mentioned by the Turks, including President (OZAL) even former US President (George W.) During his visit to the republics confirmed that Turkey is a partner of the United States and it is a model for others, Turkey aims and methods to achieve its objectives in Central Asia, including political, cultural, economic and even military.

The Middle East, according to the Turkish vision, allows Turkey to enter as an active and influential party in geopolitics, economic and security. It seeks to achieve its objectives based on the theory of

mutual interests in international economic relations. This is a combination that sees the exchange of economic interests as an effective and influential role in the region. To spread technology and water projects to highlight its role in the Middle East and by forming an economic, security and strategic alliance between it and Iran and Pakistan and some countries in the region to achieve the following objectives:

- Connecting the Arab region to Europe through the Mediterranean policy of the countries of the common Middle East market, and

- Turkey plays an active role in regional linking projects, especially water and oil projects.

- Turkey can provide expertise, engineering advice and employment to credit and cooperation projects in the region, especially in dam projects, land reclamation and electrical energy.

- Turkey, not Europe, has shown it is a victim of terrorism from the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and radical Islam on its border with Iraq and Syria.

- Turkey has benefited from the war on terror by building relations with Russia, Iran and has a US support, while making tensions in Turkish-Arab relations, especially the Gulf states.

Geographically ,Turkey is not part of Europe, and about 98% of its population is Muslim. This is incompatible with the Christian identity of the European Union*. There are active forces that refuse to join Turkey, including Holland, France, Belgium, Germany and other countries. Turkey differs from Europe in human rights, democracy, economic and cultural reform, Despite Turkey's reforms, Europe is concerned about the demographic growth of Islam, which could invade Christian Europe and change its

*The former president of France d'Esistang stated that Turkey is important to Europe but it is not European country , most part of it is out of Europe ,WaffaKadhumElshemary Turkey and the Middle East a Study in Political Geography ,Academy of Higher Study ,Tripoli,Libya ,2013 ,p 123

identity. The Cyprus issue is one of the issues that delay Turkey's accession to the Union, especially since the island is divided into a division And the other joined the European Union in 2004. It is an independent state.³ Despite the major investments and projects in the Central Asian republics and the cultural and historical ties, the weakness of the economic and financial capabilities is an obstacle to the Turkish role towards these republics, especially since these countries adopted Western secularism as a way of life. Far from the East and fear of fundamentalist Islam and party control, and this is what you see in the Middle East, as reflected on the political life of the region.

Second. Turkish areas of action

Turkey's regional options are based on the main axes of Turkey's geopolitical position in the region after the changes that have taken place. The options are:

- European Union.
- Central Asian republics.
- Organization for Security and Economic Cooperation of the Black Sea.

Middle East Option.

1. The European Option:

Since the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 Ataturk resolved Turkey's options to move to the West. The main Kemalist trend lines have been pursued so far. Since that time, Turkey has been trying to catch up with the European train despite the pressure exerted by the Europeans in implementing decisions that may not be a priority. Turkey sees with satisfaction all that Europe wants, provided that it does not touch its national unity, its strategic options, its national entity and its role in calculating the balances of power in Asia. Turkey has an eye on Europe and other eye on Iran to compete against Central Asia, but Europe is its economic choice towards Turkey Badr This is what Sarkozy, the

former president of France and the German Chancellor, stressed that Turkey's accession to the European Union is unlikely, but the Union is ready to establish distinguished economic and political relations with Turkey. This is stated in the Istanbul Summit Declaration on May 1, 2004, Has signed a customs union agreement with the European Union as a penultimate step considering Ankara's view of full EU membership.⁴

The end of the war marked the regional role of Turkey, which negatively affected Turkey's accession to the European Union. During the period, new countries emerged as an advantage over Turkey's cultural, religious and cultural belonging to European civilization. Such as Austria, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and Finland. Even the Eastern European countries, which were under the banner of communism, joined the 10-member bloc in Istanbul in 2004 and transformed the Union from 15 to 25 and then to 27. In 2007 with the accession of Bulgaria and Romania In Turkey, Turkey's accession to the European family is not clear. Some of them expect to establish special relations between the two parties without Turkey's accession. This expectation was in the 1990s from some of the parties to the Turkish policy analysts. This was done in 2008 when Sarkozy and the German Chancellor announced that, such a formula may not be a setback to Turkey's efforts as some would imagine. Rather, this formula allows Turkey to take full advantage of its geographical, economic and religious advantages to develop its relations in multiple and complementary directions, not in its surroundings. Never even other of global heavyweights centers like the United States.⁵

Most Turkish leaders connect between integration with Europe and the entry of the 21st century, but Turkey's problem with the European option is not to address the economic union, implement decisions and to resolve European demands for political reform and minority rights, and to give democracy to those nationalities but it comes from Christian Europe to consider Turkey as a part of it. The Church has

demanded that the Christian identity of the European Union be made part of the decisions of the European Constitution. Europe invokes, once and again, Turkey's rejection of minority rights, human rights, population inflation, laws and once recognition of the Armenian genocide and other cases.

However, the cultural and religious factor is essentially not forgotten by some European leaders in public. The late German Chancellor (Philly Brandt) talks about the obstacle of religion to Turkey's accession to the European Union and former European Commission President Jacques Delors refers to "Christian Europe".⁶

2. The Republics of Central Asia

We mean by it, the Turkic-speaking Turkic republics independent of Moscow in 1991 - Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia –They enjoy rich energy resources, especially oil and natural gas. After the collapse of the former Soviet Union, The world is close to it, in various components (language, religion and race) and by means of a kind of geostrategic balance in the region with the rest of the forces such as Iran, and thus led the late Turkish President "Ozal" idea of "unity of fate" extending from Adriatic to the wall of China, Conference of Heads of State in 1992 The Summit opened with the "First Turkish Statement" calling for the establishment of a zone of economic cooperation between the Turkish countries, the lifting of customs barriers, the freedom of movement of persons, capital and services, the establishment of a bank for investment, development and infrastructure development, "If we do not make mistakes, the 21st century will be the century of the Turks,"⁷ and Turkey hoped that the ECO would do so with the latter. Republics in strengthening Turkey's position in its regional context, but fundamental obstacles are turning the countries of this cooperation into more advanced stages.

The first obstacle: the underdeveloped economic and political structure and underdevelopment in the Turkish republics, which need a long time and huge investments in the way of progress and development.

The second obstacle : is Turkey's limited economic capabilities, which prevent large aid or significant investments in these republics, prompting these countries to turn to rich countries such as the United States, Japan, Germany and even Israel.

And what the President of Kazakhstan, "NursultanNazarbayev,"* said to the Turkish businessmen, "You come to the projects without money, while the foreigners come to the projects and the money, only evidence of the weak economic capabilities of Turkey, which weakens its role in these countries, although this president had a role in bringing the destinations Consider between Turkey and Moscow.

The third obstacle: is the return of Russia to the role of superpower in its former Soviet environment through specific steps such as the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which includes all the Turks republics, and the use of Russian minorities, sometimes half in some Turkish republics which made a weapon against any attempt to stand in opposition to Moscow which made turbulences in theses republics⁸. Turkey supports these republics as independent, integrated with the international community, adhering to the values of democracy and politically and economically stable. The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) continues to provide support and development assistance , And Turkey has established mechanisms to deal with the republics such as mutual visits, economic committees, joint transport committees and businessmen councils until the volume of trade exchange between them in 2017 to 7 billion dollars after it was 4 billiondollar in 2014, while the investments of Turkish companies in these

*President of Kazakhstan, "NursultanNazarbayevwho had a role in convergence of views between Russia and Turkey

republics dollar 14 billion until 2017, The projects carried out by construction companies are 86 billion dollars, where there are 14 thousand Turkish companies operating in the countries of the region, and held a set of peaks between Turkey and those Republics and reached the stage of the establishment of the Turkish Council of Turkish-speaking republics in 2009 to protect the culture and heritage and The art of Turkish language and preserved for future generations and the motives of Turkey's for these republics geographically and historically are firmed and were produced by international and regional developments after the Cold War.⁹

3. Organization for Security and Economic Cooperation of the Black Sea

The organization includes Turkey, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Moldova, Bulgaria and Romania, as well as three neighboring countries: Azerbaijan, Armenia and Greece. This organization was called by Ozal during a summit of presidents of republics of Turkey in 1992. But Ozal's idea of the organization was in 1989 and the political differences between the members of this organization prevented an effective start to it. When new independent states emerged: Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Moldova, Russia, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey. These nine countries met in Istanbul on 3 February 1992 and their representatives signed a declaration by the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization Turkey and the rest of the countries hoped for a flow of Japanese and American investments to support the project. The establishment of the organization is the main objective of forming a free trade area in the territories of the participating countries within the framework of the general trend towards the formation of the European economic arena The population of the Organization until 2017 is about 350 million people, a region rich in natural resources and skilled labor.¹⁰ The organization remains an important place among Turkey's strategic tools:

- To strengthen its position in the political and economic arena.
- Give a strategic role to the organization to strengthen its international standing.

Turkey will increase its position to strengthen its ability to connect with the East-West or the North-South trend, adding that the organization is influencing the bilateral relations between Turkey and Russia to form a platform for their common interests. The Organization is a strategic tool that can benefit Turkey in assessing its regional status and building lasting relations not dependent on reaction but on long-term constants, especially if the agreement is achieved between the Black Sea Basin Cooperation and the European Union then Turkey will become a central state in the line of communication between Asia-Europe, ¹¹ by establishing effective partnerships with East and West Europe to West Asia and the Caspian Sea and Turkey will have the clear role.

4- Middle Eastern option

The Middle East option is to establish a new stage of internal integration in order to protect the new Turkish entity after the Atatürk stage, which raised the slogan "Peace at home, peace in the world." When Ankara wanted to join the international organizations, there were many options that appeared on the scene such as joining North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the emergence of the Arab liberation movement and the Communist threat was close to them. Ankara was at odds with the struggles of the Arabs for their independence both in the Middle East and in North Africa. Turkish-Arab tension reflected more interruptions, which represented the state of Turkish interaction on more than one level. However, communism collapsed and the Arab nationalist movement collapsed. The United States and Israel and then Turkey sought to strengthen its position to reserve its role in the

Middle East system first and its participation in the Gulf War¹².

In 1990, changes in the international and regional arenas opened wide horizons for Turkish new trends in Turkey's role in the region, taking into consideration Turkey's position in the European Community and NATO and its regional aspirations, its vision of a new dynamic in Central Asia, weakness of Arabic group, Turkey's water ambitions and its border problems with Iraq and Syria, in addition to its desire to strengthen and modernize its military power. All these variables have nominated Turkey to play an active and influential role in the Middle East politically, economically in which the interests of the United States and NATO are at the forefront of what they seek in their role. Even Israel sees Turkey as a counterweight to Iran. Turkey is a huge military institution, Turkey has its own problems with Iran and sectarian animosity, and they compete for influence in the Central Asian Republics. Turkey is capable to make pressures on Syria specially Turkey is in reconciliation with Russia. areas The second Gulf War gave Turkey a new impetus to its Middle Eastern policy. Turkey moved on the axes of regional security, economic and water, under which Turkey received Arab aid sent after the Second Gulf War. Which has contributed 2.5 billion dollar in addition to a significant financial contribution to the "Turkish Military Industries Fund" with a capital of 3.5 billion dollar contributed by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait 1 billion dollar. This Arab contribution includes supporting Turkey to strengthen its role in guarding regional stability, "although some of its political orientation does not serve the role."¹³

At all stages of the Second Gulf War, Turkey has been active in political, diplomatic and military spheres, and has wanted to establish itself as a major center in regional arrangements, security and economy.

Turkey's other variable is the change of the Turkish role during the Balkan War. It is clear that the main

card is the historical card that has brought about what is happening in the Balkans. The ethnic and religious issue has been sharply raised in the Balkans, threatening to turn the region into a battleground between its divided countries. Between two camps, Greece is located in one and Turkey in the other¹⁴. From the one hand, the interests of Turkey and the Muslims of Croatia intersect with Bosnia, Albania, Macedonia and the province of Kosovo, while Serbia, Greece and partly Bulgaria are allied. Greece's ambitions in Macedonia and southern Albania are a key factor in the two countries' Turkey was one of the first capitals to recognize the independence of Macedonia, which Greece regards as part of Greater Greece and its cultural heritage. Turkey also stands against Greece's attempt to annex (Aiber) Province in southern Albania, where a Greek minority lives. Against Greece by Albania and the Balkans in the absence of a single regional superpower and a measure of historical, ethnic and religious sensitivities, it is more than ever qualified to be the scene of the "clash of civilizations" with Turkey and Greece¹⁵.

One of the options of Turkey is that the Gulf War has given Turkey the opportunity to play a role that is expected to become more important and more effective in the affairs of the security region, its crisis management, in the structure of its security system and to have a greater share in the investments of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. As the Middle East is currently out of conflict circle, Turkey is expected to continue to play its military role in the NATO, and there are those who believe that the Turkish military action in northern Iraq targets the PKK to balance the Iranian role in the region to affect and limit it, and we cannot forget that the Turkish-Iran relations is witnessing several changes. Turkey is observing the growing role of Iran in Iraq and the Central Asian Republics, and it is also studying the extent to which Turkish influence in the region extending from Central Asia to the Gulf and the Levant. This influence has the American support, and

that aspect gives the need for a realistic and effective Arab policy towards Turkey To observe the changes and deal with them through mutual interests.¹⁶

Turkey represents one of the main pillars of the strategy of the Middle East. The results of international and regional changes (the Second Gulf War and the collapse of the Soviet Union) indicate that the development trends of the Turkish role will depend on the establishment of a Middle East system that shall provide the suitable climate for the mechanisms . This role is going to depend primarily on security arrangements, economic cooperation and joint projects. In light of this matter, the Turkish political objective can be conceptualized as follows: "Reforming the Turkish role in harmony with its national interest by maximizing its strategic weight in the Western alliance and increasing its position in the territorial system in order to ensure that it plays a leading role in any coming bloc or regime in the Middle East. "However, key considerations governing Turkey's strategy to achieve this goal are:

a. Turkish politics still have the dilemma of choosing whether to be the most backward force in Europe or the first and most advanced force in the Middle East.

B. Turkey is suffering from the many contradictions that arise from the problem of identity. While it adheres to excessive secularism, it cannot detach its Islamic framework. It wants an alliance with the West and goes east. It wants to be a member of the European Community, but it cannot compete in its markets.

C. Despite these two problems, the possibility of seeking to revive the Turkish Empire should not be ruled out by dominating the region if Turkey senses isolation in Europe under the constraints that can be imposed on it or a final rejection of its acceptance in the European Union, as stated by former French President Sarkozy And the German Chancellor that Turkey cannot be entered in Europe is an Asian but we can establish relations that are different from others, and Turkey, through its hard trying to try to

attend in all the strategic equations in the region, especially in the most sensitive areas, such as oil , water , food and electric power .¹⁷

D. Turkey seeks to preserve the existing regional balance with Iran to prevent it from playing a dominant role in the Gulf region, especially after Iraq emerges from the playing field or play a dominant role in the Islamic republics of Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

Third: the future of Turkish movement

Turkey represents geographically, culturally, historically, economically and ethnically passage that are more satisfied than the theocratic model presented by the Iranian experience. Turkey's dispute with Iran is structurally based linked to the political system of the two countries: Turkish secularism versus Iranian fundamentalism, while some Central Asian regimes lean on secular nationalism in one form or another with secularism that "obliges Turkey to be a" joint state "between the south and the north, and this is imposed by the historical and geographical role of Turkey towards these countries.

The continuity of Turkey's regional role and its ability to remain dependent on the ruling factors and the pressures it faces and how to deal with them. The Middle East is the alternative gate for the European closed gate in front of it and the Middle East is no longer a neighborhood area for which it determines its strategic priority. The Turkish regional role after the revolutions has become racist National security and military strength in its regional policy and rejection of neutrality in its diplomacy with neighboring countries in light of the decline of Turkish economic and political interests, which represented a large proportion of Turkish investments in the region, and in the light of security increasing threats because of ISIS attacks and retraction of European Union negotiations, and even its rejection d Turkey's accession¹⁸.

In light of the growing regional and international changes, coincided the Turkish leaders' concerns about the status of their country and its effectiveness in the face of changes in the US, Europe and the Middle East, and in front of a hot neighborhood and Iranian-Russian and American-Russian alliances, this poses a threat to Turkish status. It has opponents and competitors in the European Union and competitors in Central Asia such Iran and Russia, and even China aspiring to reach to the markets of these republics, which compete with the Turkish economy. In the Middle East circle Turkey's relations were in tension after the failed coup d'état because of mutual accusations between Arab and Turkish parties and apparent disagreements with Egypt.¹⁹

As for its role in the Organization of Security and Economic Cooperation of the Black Sea, it appears to be the great force with the best economy and this gives it its weight in the organization. It is clear that there is a restriction of Turkey's policy in the Black Sea due to the imbalance of power with Russia. The historical understanding between Russia and Turkey is that " Outside the Black Sea should remain outside the Black Sea. "Turkey's modest fleet does not compare with the overall powers of Russia, especially after the annexation of Crimean in 2014. In recognition of Russia's superiority and sensitivity in the Black Sea Organization, it is flirting with Russia despite all the violations. Turkey could not make political influence on The Central Asian republics, despite the existence of cultural organizations that went to schools and educational and religious services and assumed the responsibility of the Turkish rapprochement with the Central Asian republics, so that Turkish Foreign Minister MouloudZhaoshoglu* stressed that his court would

*in speech delivered in the 39th meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs Council the Organization of Security and Economic Cooperation of the Black Sea, in Bako ,capital of Azerbaijan the minister said that we all must have an active role and support this organization financially and explain that the Organization work groups make an important role in their activity indicating that Turkey establishes a

continue to support the Black Sea Security and Cooperation Organization in terms of financial and human resources.²⁰

As Justice and Development Party government has achieved political, economic and security stability, Turkey has been active and influential in the regional environment to show that it is the model Islamic state. Its leaders, including former Foreign Minister DawoodOglu declare Turkey a state of action rather than a reaction and it will engage in regional politics and its organizations and alliances. Peace and development and support for the demands of democracy and human rights.²¹

Turkey's national elite has Western, cultural, economic and ecological orientations, which prompted Turkey to join the NATO system. Turkey has a geographical location, especially the sea. It is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Aegean Sea and in land, which are linked to the Middle East and Central Asia. Regional and international accord to the aspirations of its leaders and people who love Western development and culture and gave it the desire to be the central state among Asia, Africa and Europe.

For the continuation of the public intimidation of the Justice and Development Party, especially after the failure of the coup d'état in 2016, the first failed coup d'état in the history of coups in Turkey, which will strengthen Turkey's position in the geographical neighborhood and gives the status of social and political stability and military, and even the Turkish discourse and political became strong, Erdogan said that Turkey is strong Whether it joined the European Union or not and has its international standing whether it continues its alliance with the

project on the sustainable foods as it headed the work group of agricultural industries in the organization

See Iman Deny ,the Regional and International Dimension of the Turkish Foreign Policy 2002 -2023 .,PhD Dissertation ,University of MohammedKaidjur ,College of Rights and Political Sciences , 2017 P 239

United States or not. "This confidence in the political discourse comes from the support of the popular base of the regime and the state, which hopes to achieve its regional and international ambitions."²²

Given the political vacuum and the declining development of the geographical proximity of the Middle East, sectarian conflicts, state divisions and balance wars between the Gulf states and Iran, this will give Turkey an important place where the country's geopolitical, military, and economic development and that help it to diversify its relations with Russia, Iran and China. A clear tension in the Gulf-Turkish relations except Qatar.

Turkey's geographical location has its influence in the fight against terrorism in Syria and Iraq. Thus, Turkey-American relations have developed and the latter considers as Turkey is a strategic ally. It is the heart of the Middle East. Turkey has become the model country. Secular political Islam is in its highest form, development, major projects, diversity of relations and the strength of the state and the development of its economy. It supports the Brotherhood in Egypt, Algeria, Syria and Libya. It is started from the fact they are considered as the leaders of the Islamic world and even its leaders promote it in the Central Asian republics.

With the support of the US and Europe, Turkey's role will witness growth in Central Asia and the Caucasus for reasons related to the Islamic current and fears and other reasons to make Turkey the best model and to prevent Iranian expansion and Turkey's self-cultural, cultural and economic interests on the other hand and to find balance in the East and Central Asia.

Turkey is trying to play the role of the regional balance so that it attempts to control the crises in the Middle East while maintaining its realistic accounts to remove the atmosphere of tension from within it and trying to play the diplomatic mediator amid the tensions on its border with the protection of its security. This is achieved with American support, with Turkey's desire for reconciliation and

cooperation. With the countries of the region depending on its position as an important international site in the international regional environment, and will do everything in its power to correct the course of Turkish-Arab relations because the Gulf needs strong Turkey and the protector of their religious ideology and Turkey's economy will continue to grow and rise to be with world economies.

The study of geopolitical movement from the perspective of geopolitics for the researcher does not seem clear if we take the changes that occur in the regional environment of Turkey, the international sphere and the obstacles that determine this role, especially that Turkey is a huge military institution has its problems with countries in the Middle East and sectarian differences with Iran and compete for The influence in Central Asia and terrorism threatens its security and stability and minorities destabilize their desire to join the European Union in light of the economic crisis experienced by an international pole with geopolitical strategies in the vicinity.

It is true that Turkey benefited from the political vacuum in Central Asia after the collapse of the socialist system and the independence of countries to emerge as the big brother, but this requires economic potential, projects and cultural role to stabilize its existence and prevent the republics from returning to Russian influence. Meetings, summits and conferences are used to consolidate relations. They have also benefited from the Middle East situation thus great power and optimal economy have emerged. This gives it a special place in geostrategic calculations by actors such as the United States and Russia.

Its joining to any of the declared blocs comes in response to a conscious societal desire, economic and cultural requirements, political and military dimensions, internal determinants and regional and international changes. These dimensions define Turkey's attitudes, choices and geopolitical future.

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