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How worthy Israeli Relations for Turkey?

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Abstract

Palestine is a crucial and well-known place for humanity in general for the region in particular. The area is important for religious, cultural, political, strategic and economic matters. Judaism, Christianity and Islam are connected with the region. The well-known world empires and cultures left their ethnic, cultural and/or political marks in the life of regional people. The lucrative energy stocks are either located or connected with the region. The strategic location, military and economic capabilities of Turkey and Israel is significant and noteworthy in the region. They have played roles in the recent past and it seems they will continue to play in the near future. The both countries relationship required delicate policies due to their domestic and international sensitivities. There are ethnic and religious rivalries as well as political and economic clash of interests in the region. Alliances and co-operations in various fields shaped the recent history of the region. The region seems to be the most interesting arenas of political, economic, cultural and military manoeuvres of the influential world and regional powers. Turkey and Israel will play their active or passive roles in the wider scenarios accordance with their influences in regional and/or international politics. The relationship will be affected either upwards or downwards depending on their domestic and international perspectives of the issues. Regional and international developments are influential in shaping consistency of bilateral relations and regional peace.

Key words: Turkey, Israel, Palestine, Turkish-Israeli relations, Turkish economy, foreign relations.

Introduction

Israeli armed forces have raided on the flotilla which headed to Gaza in the Eastern Mediterranean on 31 May 2010. This Israeli attack paved the way an intense diplomatic manoeuvres and public demonstrations around the world as in Turkey.¹ Although this study is not deal with this issue, nevertheless, it will highlight ‘why did the Turkish leaders react to the incident so sharply? ‘Why Turkey deal with Israeli related issues in the region and what is the background of it?’

Israel needed Turkey and the Turkish supports, and its democratic existence in the South Western Asian Countries (SWAC or ‘the Middle East’). The historical and political developments had taken places before, during and after the proclamation of the Republic of Israel as a ‘state’ in Palestine on 14 May 1948 was important issue for Turkey.² Israel played a central role in the many SWAC related policies. The Turkish authorities required that existence in the region?³ The history of the region and its inhabitants’ complex relationship evolved and defined the present outcome. The regional complexities and internal policies define the relations between Turkey and Israel. The Arab World, regional and/or international powers have influences in the relations between these two only ‘democratic’ and ‘non-Arab’ states in the region.

The SWAC was/is an important place because of its religious, cultural, security and most importantly to the proximity of lucrative petrochemical and hydrocarbon related energy resources. There are a number of bilateral or multilateral problems in the region. The clashes between the Israeli armed forces and the Arabs in Palestine was/is the main source of the problems in the SWAC. Iraq was/is another source of the problems which has continues diversified effects on the region.⁴ The imperialistic aims and the plans of the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK) and Israel continue to play important roles on the regional policies.⁵ The roots of the problems are deep, and originate from a long tangled history of the region. Recent past and present developments in the region are indicating that, it is not easy to solve or heal the deep wound of the conflicting sides not only in Palestine and in Iraq but also in the wider sense for the region. A number of intellectuals and leading figures of some intelligent services are speculating about the present situation and its roots of all troubles in the region.⁶

The British imperialistic aims has played crucial role during the process of the emergence of ‘Israeli state’ in Palestine in the last quarter of 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries.⁷ Consequently, potential problems occurred in this particular region, as it happened wherever the British interests went for the realisation of their imperialistic aims.⁸ Even the

name, which was given to the region, was according to the British Empire's strategic and imperialistic plans, 'the Middle East'.⁹ The influential imperialistic powers continued to flame the potential explosive problems for a creation of a suitable atmosphere for their continuing involvement for the survivability of their interests in the region. This brought mutiny, pain, blood and destruction to those places in which all these events had taken place for the name of 'peace' and 'democracy'.¹⁰ Nevertheless, 'even their own people did not believe what they were saying or arguing for their crime were/are committed in the region'.¹¹ The mass demonstrations were taken place in the numerous metropolitan cities throughout the world against the crimes. There is still no convincing evidence put forward by the trouble-makers for the legitimacy of their crimes which is committed against humanity.¹² In fact, the intruders are not trying to find such legitimacy or legality for their crimes as long as their action serves their countries interests. Nevertheless, the crimes left unrecoverable damage not only in the minds and hearts of the local people who were directly effected by the mass destruction campaigns of, so-called 'the allies' (the US and the UK), and also a terrifying example for those powerful and capable nations in the future to take such action if their interest requires them to do so. Under these circumstances, 'democracy' and 'international law' were damaged by those nations who are the so-called champions of defending such notions in the world, which is difficult to recover and restore them.

Iraq War and Its Association with Israel

'For all those misuse and troubles in the SWAC, namely in Iraq and Palestine, were caused by chiefly economic, political and strategic interests of the US, the UK and Israel'. This notion was/is widely respected by the Arab world, majority of the predominantly Muslim populated countries and some of the European states. There were/are people who committed various bloody crimes against the inhabitants of the region and the humanity were/are claiming or using the Israelis' occupation of Palestine, or the US and the UK's destruction of Iraq. It is argued that American and British military forces were brought to the region for the realisation of their imperialistic aims, for the protection and sustainability of the State of Israel's existence in the heart of Muslim populated Arab countries.¹³ During and after the invasion of Iraq, the intruders' crime against humanity, Islamic cultures and their representatives, and the mass destruction campaigns carried out by the invaders inflamed the ever-growing hatreds to the Western powers and its associates in the region. Israel is, as widely regarded, the chief associated entity and the main reason for all the misuse caused in the SWAC. Turkey and the Turkish authorities, on the other hand, were also blamed from time to time by the different

groups and powers due to its connection and cooperation with Israel and its allies on the various matters.¹⁴ This is the fact that Turkey was blamed by some of the Arab states and their inhabitants that ‘Turkey is not playing its role to defend the rights of the Arab world’ and ‘not creating policies against the interest of the West in the region’. Moreover, ‘the Turkish authorities are cooperating with the western powers in the region’. It seems in such arguments there are some loopholes in information exchanges between the Turkish authorities and the Arab world about the relations between them.

Turkey wanted and worked for ‘a peaceful and just settlement’ in the region. When the peace and just settlement achieved in Palestine the Turkish relations with Israel and Arab world will be stronger than as it is. Nevertheless, any moderate authority or people cannot support whatsoever to those crime-makers, wherever it may take places. Accordingly, the Turkish authorities tried to exclude themselves direct involvement of the problems. On the other hand, Turkey worked for moderation between the conflicting parties to solve their differences. The Israeli authorities want recognition of their legitimate existence as a “state” in the region. Nevertheless, certain conditions, the regional sensitivities and requirements of the Arab world had to be met for the recognition of Israel as a ‘legitimate state’.

On the other hand, Turkey recognised, *de jure*, Israel as soon as the Israelis proclaimed their entity as a ‘state’ in 1949. This recognition was an important bold step to take such an action for a predominantly Muslim populated country.¹⁵ The Turkish authorities had done this recognition despite the considerable resistance of the domestic interest groups and the external pressures on them. At present, as in the past decades, Turkey will continue to support Israel’s legitimate existence in the region, as one of the requirements of its fundamental foreign policy principles. The Turkish authorities regarded ‘the peaceful relations’ between the states is one of the fundamental steps forward to the realisation of bilateral and multilateral interests in the region. This policy was highlighted in the Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s (the founder of Modern Turkey) dictum “Yurtta sulh Cihanda Sulh” (Peace at home peace in the world). The Turkish authorities, therefore, tried to establish peaceful relations not only in the region but also in the wider world.¹⁶ Turkey acted as an arbitrator or a peace-maker country, and it will continue to do so as long as its cultural, regional and international stands and situations required it to take such responsibility. Many international efforts had taken places to reach a peaceful settlement between the conflicting parties in the region and Turkey is also playing its positive part in such peaceful works. Nevertheless, so far, the regional powers seem unwilling to achieve ever-lasting peace due to their historical mutual hatreds and distrusts, and their long standing mythical dreams to achieve.¹⁷

Israel was/is asked to be cooperative with the regional countries and respect to the international law and order in order to remain as a 'legitimate' state in the region. Contrary to this notion might lead to misery and chaotic situations in the SWAC. Israel has capacity of positive as well as negative influences in the peace-making process in the region. This is because of Israel's role as one of the main players of the problems occurring or solution in the region.¹⁸ Turkey has relations with Israel and the Arab world. Therefore, Turkey might have influences, one way or another, on the re-construction of a peaceful settlement between the Israelis and the Arabs in the region. Such action from Turkey requires out of its historical, cultural, strategic, economically and security reasons not only for the region but also for Turkey itself.

Recent developments indicated the need of a delicate diplomacy in the Turkish-Israeli relations. Mutual democratic relations should be sustained by strong economic, military, political and cultural fields. The (Osmanlı) Turks protected the European Jewry against the oppression of the European Christians since the 15th century. Such protections were carried out during the Second World War and after the establishment of the Republic of Israel.¹⁹ This protection was regarded as an evidence of Turkish interest of the human rights of religious freedom of expression and the protection of the oppressed people against their oppressors. At present, the existence of democratic Turkey is, still, very important for the security and the existence of the Israelis continuity in the region.²⁰

Turkish recognition of Israel as a 'state'

Turkey became the third country after the USA and the Soviet Union, who recognised Israel as a legitimate state in 1949. This recognition was/is, then, should be important for Israel, the latter countries were/are not close to the regional border of Israel, in culturally and historically. Turkey took considerable radical risks, by recognising Israel as a 'state', in its economic, political and military relations not only with her neighbouring countries but also in the wider Muslim-populated world. As a result of the Turkish recognition of Israel in Palestine, Turkey suffered in its international economic relations greatly in the following decades particularly by those with the Arabs.²¹

The Turks have had their own legitimate reasons behind their recognition of Israel. One of the reasons for the Turkish authorities to support and recognise Israel as a 'state' was/is, the Turkish needs for peaceful relations with the United States in particular and Western Europe in general. The Turkish recognition of Israel as a 'legitimate state' in Palestine supported to the acceptance of Turkey as a new member to the NATO by its

members. The Turkish recognition had two special meaning and signals to the Western world: the first one was ‘the new Turkish state has no objections to the Jewish existence as a ‘state’ in Palestine’, which was denied and resisted during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth centuries.

The second reason was much more fundamental than the first one, which was the Turkish authorities’ denial of the bilateral or multilateral religious relations the so-called ‘Islamic’ states of the region. At the same time, this meant that Turkey is a ‘secular’ and a ‘pragmatic state’ in the region which can cooperate with the interest of the Western world.²² In this regard, Turkey and Israel could have played crucial role against the Soviet imperialistic policy in the region. Turkey and Israel had agreed that they will work together against any harmful effects of any third party. So, this was a kind of alliance not only between the two countries but also between Turkey and the West. This was, also, an abandonment of the Arab elimination of Israel and its entity in the region by Turkey and the Turks.²³

The relations between Turkey and the Arab world were distinguished after the First World War. The Turkish authorities turned their face to the West and tried to closely follow with their own practising Western values for their modernisation of Turkey.²⁴ On the other hand, the Arab world still remaining as they were, and criticising Turkey with the lavish support and encouragement of the West. The understandings of regional and global issues were differed between Turkey and the Arab states’ governing bodies. The former tried to identify itself with the West and regarded ‘communism as evil and the Soviet Union as a dangerous menace’ while the latter by contrast, named the West as ‘most serious threat to their independence and prosperity and Turkey was/is the collaborator of the West with Israel in the region’. Turkey and Israel were regarded interlopers in the region, emissaries of western imperialism intent on planting and disseminating ideas, notions and beliefs totally alien to the SWAC.²⁵ The Arab world and Turkey have their misconceptions of each other which was/is still in use(d) as it is recorded in the British official papers in 1967.²⁶

Turco-Israeli Relations’ Significance for the Regional Development

The trend of the Turkish-Israeli relations continued with its ups and downs developments depending on regional and international circumstances and requirements. An example for such developments was experienced in the 1970s. The Turkish economy suffered as a result of the petrol crisis of 1974 which was originated the Arab petrol-producing countries’ boycotts of the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli wars in the 1960s and the 1970s. The Turkish policies towards Israel during the 1970s were affected by the economic

needs of Turkey. The stability of Turkish economy depended on petrol availability from the Arab countries and the Turkish needs of foreign currency. The tight situation to find necessary imports 'currency needs' forced the Turkish authorities to co-operate along the line of the Arab petrol-exporting countries' requirements and policies. This situation forced Turkey to take some measurements according to the regional and international developments.²⁷

The petrol embargos had negative effects on Turkey's relationship with Israel during the years from 1973 up to 1980.²⁸ Nevertheless, during 1991-96 the peaceful and friendly approach of Israel helped Turkey to re-establish close relationship with Israel. The trade potential and interaction, and tourism were increased between both countries after 1996. The amount of the trade goods was doubled just in two years 1996-98.²⁹ Every year approximately 350,000 Israeli tourists are visiting Turkey.³⁰ Turkey tried to improve mutual cultural, political, social and economic relations with Israel. Academics, students and medical staff exchange programmes are already established under a number of agreements were signed between the Turkish and Israeli authorities.³¹ Nevertheless these programmes are required further improvement with the support of the both countries governmental and non-Governmental organizations.³²

Israelis' peaceful relations with her neighbours and neighbouring countries might improve the present Turkish stands for the favour of Israelis' interests in the region. The Iranian threats to Israel might be reduced by the improved-constructive regional economic and cultural relations between the regional states. Nevertheless, this would be difficult to achieve while the regional Arab states and Iran regarded Israel as "Little Satan" or 'the subordinate of the USA' (the USA is regarded as "Big Satan") in the SWAC.³³ Turkey is willing to support the very existence of the legitimization of the Israeli State in the region among the Arab countries and the Muslim world. Nevertheless, Turkey requests certain conditions for such stands. These are at least but not last if the Israeli authorities should and must not support the various terrorist groups and individual terrorists against the Turkish interests. Further, the Israeli forces should stop the destruction of innocent peoples' territories in the occupied Gaza strip and the West Bank and killing children and elderly Palestinians in Palestine.³⁴

Turkey and Israel are able to demonstrate to the World that Muslims and Jews can work, live and cooperate together in a democratic and peaceful environment in the region. The Turkish authorities have demonstrated the peaceful co-existences of a number of ethnicities and religious differences within the Osmanlı State for the centuries long. Even in Palestine, namely in Jerusalem, the followers of the three monotheist religions lived

peacefully side by side under the Turkish administration.³⁵ The peaceful and constructive bilateral relations can be an example of the cooperation and co-existence of two different civilization representatives, rather than the clash of the civilizations as it expected the so-called 'respected' and 'well-known' writers of the West.

Turkish needs for an alliance

The European Union (EU) rejected the Turkish application for a full membership of the Union which was made in April 1987. The Turkish authorities tried to find strategic alliance in order to eliminate the feeling of the isolation by the EU. During the following decade, the Turkish alliances aimed to elimination of the 'feeling of isolation in the post cold-war period'. The establishment of the continuing relations between Turkey and Israel which is consequently means the relations between Turkey and the US, and the UK. Through this relation, Turkey had been able to gain military know-how 'to some extend', and the military hardware while 'real Western' embargo still going on as a result of different reasons.³⁶

The arising regional and international situations were either opportunities or difficulties for the both countries. A number of military alliance and agreements were signed between Turkey and Israel. These alliances might be interpreted differently depended on where the interpreters standing. In general, the signed agreements cover such issues as: 'trade in military technology; periodic meetings to discuss and evaluate strategic, regional and global issues; naval cooperation and training; the establishment of systems designed to locate find and rescue pilots; a training program for mid-air refuelling.'³⁷ Nevertheless, the alliance meant any comprehensive attack to Israel and Israeli interests might be regarded as they are directed to Turkey and Turkish interests and vice versa even though the parties declared the matter is otherwise.

On the other hand, Turco-Israeli alliance in the region extended potential hatreds from some of the regional countries towards Turkey.³⁸ The Turkish authorities, by the signing the alliance, has limited the Turkish foreign policy flexibility and political manoeuvres in its bilateral and multilateral relations in the region. The strategic alliance was made with Israel is seemed not deeply analysed by the Turkish policy-makers due to the some shortcomings of internal matters.³⁹ It seems the alliance's prime aim was 'to make Turkey an ally to the US' for the sake of to being an ally.⁴⁰ On the other hand, military cooperation and collaboration was extended to a wide range of subjects, including: education, science, culture, environment, telecommunications, medicine, banking and investments, and duplicated taxation. Both

countries are enjoying a multi-layered relationship on a number of issues which serves to strengthen their role in the reconstruction of the region.

Economic Relations' Implication on the Relation

The technological relation was/is highly beneficial for the Israeli economy as Turkey was/is becoming a lucrative market for the Israeli high-tech commodities. Technological and scientific relations have possibility to be improved further in order to become a leading world-wide producer of high-tech productions. Relations are continuing on this issue between both countries' various Governmental and non-Governmental companies. General expectation on the relations is the relations should be based on fair, just and mutual interests of the both countries. Short-, middle- and long-term goals has to be clearly identified in accordance with the realities of both countries and the region. In order to achieve mutual cooperation there were some attempts had taken places in the recent years.⁴¹ The military training and cooperation agreement was signed on 23 February 1996. In addition to this agreement, the Defence Industry Agreement was signed on 28 August 1996. Military manoeuvres were hold between Turkey, Israel and the US as in the name of 'Reliant Mermaid' and 'Anatolian Eagle'. Nevertheless such actions given birth a counter reaction by the neighbouring countries, namely cooperation and an alliance between Syria and Greece.⁴² Some of the Arab countries protested and mooned on the Turkish friendly relations with Israel. Nevertheless, nothing substantial actions occurred by them. It is expected that the alliance between Ankara and Jerusalem to bring Arab-Israel peace and regional economic development and stability. The agreement was signed by the Turkish Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan whose views were known as 'not approval of Israel's existence as it is in the region'. This is an indication of Turkish pragmatist approach of its foreign relations.⁴³ Military relations wanted to be improved further by signing the Free Trade Agreement on 14 March 1996 which produced positive results in the following years.⁴⁴ Due to economic crisis in the early 2000s, Turkey had to cancel \$19.5 billion military hardware deal with Israel. The Defence Ministry of Israel tried to restore the deal.

Conclusion: Turkish-Israel positive Role in the Reconstruction of the Region

Turkish and Israelis' mutual cooperation in economic, military and political fields could serve first and foremost for their mutual interests of the both countries and for a peaceful settlement in the region. Necessary requirements for mutual gains are required an open, fair and honest policies between the both countries. Any hint intentions and secret plans against the other's

national interests will harm not only the mutual benefits of the both countries, but also the wider-regional peaceful relations.⁴⁵

The potential regional threats to Israel and Israelis might pose some threats to Turkey and Turkish citizens due to the nature of Turco-Israeli relations, even though these threats might not be the same degree as they consists for Israel and Israelis. Turkish bilateral military and security relations with Israel, is/can lead hostile feelings from Israel's traditional enemies in the region such as from Iran, Syria and so-called fundamentalist terrorist groups.⁴⁶

Israel is trying to form an alliance against its traditional enemies in the region. Although, Turkey is always ready for peaceful constructive relations, however, Turkey is not prepared to fight against the Israelis' enemies as long as the Israeli authorities are not obey the international laws and bilateral relations with Turkey, if the threat not cause serious problems to the Turkish interests.⁴⁷ Turkey can play an active important role in the reconstruction of the SWAC and its stability afterwards. This is the result of Turkish geostrategic location, cultural and religious heritage and its deep historical experiences to deal with regional and international issue as well as its involvement in various regional and international organisations.

Despite a number of the UN members' recognition of Israel as a 'state', the legitimisation, in the region is still an important issue for the Israelis. So long for the Turkish authorities, there is no such problem on the legitimization of the Republic of Israel. However, Turkey is experiencing difficulty to defend the Israelis' rights of existence in the region, while Israel continuing to terrorise Palestine and violation of International Law.⁴⁸ Israel should help Turkey for the Turkish stand on the Israeli interests in the region and in the international arena. Turkey and Israel have potentials to make better the region where they situated.⁴⁹ The Turkish authorities are pragmatists in their relations regardless of the related parties, religious and ethnic affiliations. So, there should be many areas of common interest to develop and cooperate for constructive and peaceful settlement and stability in the region with Israel as well as with the rest of the states of the SWAC. These potentials should be used for a constructive peaceful relation among the regional powers rather than egoistic and self-centric policies. This might lead to a peaceful settlement among one of the explosive regions of the world. A strong economic, social, cultural, educational and military cooperation would be helpful to create peaceful atmospheres in the region.

It seems that, In order to eliminate the potential problems in the SWAC, there are important steps and duties for Israel and Turkey to undertake. First and foremost, Israel should stop the destruction of Palestine, stop assassination of Palestinian representatives and

their leaders, stop to build new settlement areas for those continuously invited and encouraged so-called ‘Jews’ around the World.⁵⁰ Arabs in Israel were thinking that ‘Israel knowingly and continuously carrying out the destruction and the assassinations in the region in order to manipulate the situation for its expansion, at present, in Palestine. Israel should stop using excuses of “terrorist” attacks carried out by its own citizens’. It seems the Israeli authorities intentionally killing innocent Palestinian Arabs in order to force Palestinians to attack to the Israeli targets.⁵¹ This is a kind of circle continuously fed by the Israeli authorities’ non-cooperative and unconstructive attitudes in the region for the continuation of their expansion for security considerations.

NOTES

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¹ There are a number of discussions and news emerged in visual and written media across the countries regarding this bloody incident. Some of these writings were written by Jews and Israeli supporters arguing the Israeli authorities’ attack to the flotilla and enclave of Gaza and its inhabitants. On the other hand, there are considerable number of writings were against the Israeli forces raid to the flotilla and Israeli’s occupation and embargoes of Gaza and its inhabitants. These are some of the official, news agencies, research centers and personal web sites of various nationalities and ethnicities: http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2010/Israel_Navy_warns_flotilla_31-May-2010.htm [accessed on 3 June 2010]; http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Speeches+by+Israeli+leaders/2010/Gaza_flotilla_Press_conference_DepFM_Ayalon_31-May-2010.htm [accessed on 3 June 2010]; http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Speeches+by+Israeli+leaders/2010/Gaza_flotilla-Statement_PM_Netanyahu_31-May-2010.htm [accessed on 3 June 2010]; http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/About+the+Ministry/Behind+the+Headlines/Seizure_Gaza_flotilla_31-May-2010.htm [accessed on 3 June 2010]; <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2010/06/02/2739407/gaza-campaign-ready-to-fund-new-flotilla> [accessed on 3 June 2010]; Barry Rubin, ‘The Rolling Stones, “Sympathy for the Devil” on 1 June 2010, <http://www.gloria-center.org/gloria/2010/06/sympathy-for-the-devil> [accessed on 3 June 2010]; Robert Tait, Aid Convoy Backed Up New Turkish Policy of ‘bashing’ Israel, http://www.rferl.org/content/Aid_Convoy_Backed_Up_New_Turkish_Policy_Of_Bashing_Israel_Analysts_Say/2060016.html [accessed on 3 June 2010]; UN Security Council Condemns Flotilla Raid, Calls for ‘impartial’ probe’, http://www.rferl.org/content/UN_Security_Council_Condemns_Deaths_In_Israeli_Flotilla_Assault/2058376.html [accessed on 4 June 2010]; <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2010/06/02/2739412/ireland-asks-israel-to-allow-ship-to-gaza> [accessed on 4 June 2010]; http://www.rferl.org/content/Assault_On_Aid_Ship_Sounds_Death_Knell_For_Israeli_Turkish_Strategic_Ties/2058077.html [accessed on 4 June 2010]; Abbas Djavadi, ‘Turkey’s Kissenger’ Leads Foreign Policy Balancing Act’ http://www.rferl.org/content/Turkeys_Kissinger_Leads_ForeignPolicy_Balancing_Act/1865343.html [accessed on 4 June 2010]; Ron Synovitz ‘Turkey-Israel row could signal geopolitical change in region’: http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_sd.birlesim_baslangic?P4=20311&P5=B&web_user_id

=7593368&PAGE1=1&PAGE2=67 [accessed on 4 June 2010]; <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=991544&title=gazze-gonullusu-akincibiz-sabah-namazini-kilarken-saldirdilar> [accessed on 4 June 2010]; <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=991247&title=ihh-baskani-onlari-anlatti> [accessed on 4 June 2010]; http://www.adl.org/main_Arab_World/The+Arab+Media%E2%80%99s+Response+to+the+Gaza+Flotilla.htm [accessed on 4 June 2010].

² Aharon Cohen, *Israel and the Arab World*, (New York: Funk&Wagnalls 1970): 471. It is not true that Turkey recognized Israel as a state as it is suggested by Amikam Nachmani (1999:3) 'Turkey was revenging itself on the Arab revolt in 1916 against the Ottoman Empire'. This recognition was much more complex than it is suggested which will be briefly touched upon by the following pages. Event though many Jewish writers writing their ideas and arguments academically on Turkey, however, some of them seems under the influence of their ethnicity and/or political stands in their writings. These are clearly seen as in A. Nachmani and B. Rubin's exaggerated comments and arguments on Turkey and Turkish related subjects.

³ Metin Öztürk, *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu*, (İstanbul: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1997):31-38.

⁴ Some of the Arab countries were against the Turkish interests in the region. Cyprus issue was one of such examples to show the tense relationship between the Arab countries and Turkey. Many Arab countries supported Greeks against the Turks in Cyprus cause in international bodies. Nevertheless, the Turkish authorities did not generalize the Arab leaders' political stances against the Turks and Turkey by looking for taking revenge from Arabs and Arab countries as western writers suggested in their writings. It seems this notion the possible 'hatred' and 'dislike' between the two ethnicities are fed and encouraged by the Westerns. The Turkish authorities' stands were neutral and humane in the relations between the Arab world and any third party relations. So, the bloody conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine solely regarded as a humane, security and justice perspectives. Nevertheless, the new AK Parti government is seeking 'zero problems' policy with Turkey's neighbors. Accordingly, there were some accords made on Turkish foreign policy towards the region.

⁵ Suat Parlar, *Ortadoğu Vaat Edilmiş Topraklar*, (İstanbul: Bibliotek Yayınları, 1997):181-235.

⁶ Mahir Kaynak& Emin Gürses, *Büyük Ortadoğu Projesi*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları 8. Baskı, 2005):12-9.

⁷ Alan R. Taylor, *İsrailin Doğuşu (1897-1947 siyonist diplomasinin analizi)*, translated into Turkish by Mesut Kardeşhan, (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2001):23-38, 113-30.

⁸ Aharon Cohen, *Israel and the Arab World*, (New York: Funk&Wagnalls, 1970):401-466; S. Parlar, 1997:69-83.

⁹ This name was/is not suitable to the countries in the region and in the wider-world geographical, historical and strategic classifications, except to those who divided the region accordance with their militarily classified region (Samuel Katz, *Battleground Fact and Fantasy in Palestine*, (United States and Canada: Bantam Books, 1977): 82-116). Nevertheless, this term (was)/is in use(d) by those powers who designed the old- and the new-world order accordance with their economic, political, military and cultural interests in the region (Clive Ponting, *World History, a new perspective*, (London&Pimblco: Mackays of Chatham PLC, 2001):844).

¹⁰ Alptekin Dursunoğlu, *Dördüncü Dünya Savaşı ve Orta Doğu*, (İstanbul: Anka Yayınları, 2005):66.

¹¹ The Conservative Party leader Iain Duncan Smith stated in the House of Common that "the British people do not believe what the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, says any more. Even his own party is not supporting his decisions on Iraq." In fact at the beginning of the British offence to Iraq as a traditional ally of the USA Mr. Duncan Smith offered his Conservative Party's support to Tony Blair as long as he (Tony Blair) "does the right thing"! without proper explanation what the "the right thing" was/is for the British interests. (BBC Radio 4 and http://www.ananova.com/news/story/sm_760964.html?menu=news.latestheadlines) (20 October 2004).

¹² CNN and BBC World news (October 2005) ‘Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Vice President Cheney's chief of staff, is indicted on charges of lying to federal investigators and obstructing justice in the 22-month CIA leak investigation.’ Libby, the first sitting White House aide charged with a crime in recent history of America, resigned (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/linkset/2005/09/29/LI2005092901976.html?o=1>).

<http://www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=05/01/31/1517207> (31 October 2005). President of the US said on 28 January 2003 that "The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." at his State of the Union Address.

¹³ Alptekin Dursunoğlu, *Dördüncü Dünya Savaşı ve Orta Doğu*, (İstanbul: Anka Yayınları, 2005:62-67; A. Taylor, 2001:113-30.

¹⁴ M. Öztürk, 1997:11-38.

¹⁵ Amikam Nachmani, ‘A Triangular Relationship: Turkish Israeli Cooperation and Its Implications for Greece’, *Cahiers d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, No 28, juin-décembre 1999 in <http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/cemoti/textes28/nachmani.pdf> [accessed on 18 June 2010].

¹⁶ There are also understandable reasons for the Turkish authorities to follow such policy, due to its tiredness of the years of wars. To avoid any conflict and the relative weakness of the armed forces forced the Turkish leaders to stick such policy.

¹⁷ Kürşat Demirci, *Yahudilik ve Dini Çoğulculuk*, (İstanbul: Ayışığı kitapları, 2000):50-60.

¹⁸ Roger Lambelin, *Enternasyonal Kavga ve Kızıl Yahudi Kadro*, translated by İsmail Kazdal from French “*Protocols*” *Des Sages De Sion* Paris 1921, (İstanbul: İhya Yayınları 3, 1974):133-147.

¹⁹ Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, ‘The experience of displacement: Refugees and War’, 566-579, in Peter Liddle, John Bourne and Ian Whitehead, *the Great World War 1914-45, Volume 1. Lightning Strikes Twice*, (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000):570-573.

²⁰ Perhaps the following quotation will illustrate what had been planned and carried out throughout Europe as one of the so-called ‘civilized’ nation of the European Union. “... In the autumn of 1941 all German Jews were transported to the east, where special units were in readiness to carry out their dreadful task. Some of these people were practiced murderers already, having been engaged in the gassing of the mentally ill. When Hitler suspended that operation in August 1941 these ‘mercy killers’ found new employment in the east. For the SS decided that shooting was too wasteful and harrowing a method of extermination and ordered gassing instead. Special camps were constructed at Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Maidenek and at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where gas chambers were built on Himmler’s orders as early as June 1941. The camp commandant at Auschwitz calculated in 1945 that two-and-a-half million Jews had been gassed there and a further half-million had died of hunger and illness, a total of three million Jews murdered coldly and scientifically by ‘Zyklon B’, a gas supplied by a subsidiary of I.G. Farben...” William Carr, *A History of Germany 1815-1990*, the Fourth Edition, (Chatham&Kent: Mackays of Chatham PLC, 1991):334.

²¹ This is particularly true during the Arabs’ boycott of Israel after the Arab-Israel War of 1974. Turkey struggled to compete against Greece’s demands and debates on the Cyprus Issue in the UN by losing the Arab states’ supports. For a detailed discussion on these issues see: Faruk Sönmezoğlu, *Uluslararası Politika ve Dış Politika Analizi*, (İstanbul: Filiz Kitabevi, 2005); Faruk Sönmezoğlu, *Türk Dış Politikası*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2006); Alon Liel, *Turkey in the Middle East Oil, Islam and Politics*, (London and Boilder: Lyne Rienner Publishers, 2001).

²² Şaban Çalış, *the Role of Identity in the Making of Turkish Foreign Policy*, (Nottingham: Nottingham University 1996) Unpublished PhD thesis.

²³ FO 371/185826.

²⁴ For an extensive debate and background information on Turkish westernization and relations with the Western world see: Halil Erdemir, *Turkish Political History*, (İzmir: Manisa ofset, 2007); Halil Erdemir, *Why Turks Turned Their Faces to the West?*, (Manisa: Manisa Ofset 2006).

²⁵ A. Nachmani, 1999:3.

²⁶ FO 371/185826.

²⁷ In fact, the difficulties were the result of Arab-Israel conflicts in the SWAC. Quoting from Al-Ghailani: "By October 1973, even before the outbreak of the fourth Arab-Israeli War, international oil prices had more than doubled. But, following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War and the subsequent Arab oil embargo against Israel's allies, international oil prices were set to escalate still further. The world oil market changed significantly between 1970 and 1974. The average price of crude oil increased by 400 per cent between these two years." Juma Saleh Al-Ghailani, *The International Oil Market and the Economy of Oman*, (Swansea: University of Wales Swansea, 1994) Unpublished PhD thesis:59.

²⁸ A. Liel, 2001:219-233.

²⁹ A. Nachmani 1999:4.

³⁰ The Israeli tourists' numbers were as follows 301,074 in 1995, 254,445 in 1996, 263,423 in 1997 and 238,298 in 1998 Esin Güllüer, *İsrail Ülke Raporu*, İGEME İhracatı Geliştirme Merkezi, Etüt Merkezi, Mart 2000:40.

³¹ E. Güllüer, 2000:34-37.

³² Such interaction between Turkey and Israel might be improved further by reducing transport expenditures for exchange staffs, as well as cheap availability for various tours for both countries' citizens. Sportive and cultural activities must be financed and eased for an elimination of prejudices between two nations. Positive images should be broadcast to the both countries by entertainment films and documentary programmes in their national channels.

³³ Mehmet Saray, *Türk İnan İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999): 132, 219, 223, 229; A. Nachmani, 1999:6. There are some remarks published of the Israeli neighboring states in internet see for further information on www.israelipalestinianprocon.org.

³⁴ A. Perlmutter, *İsrail'de Ordu ve Politika*, (İstanbul: Akademi Yayınları, 1991):62-63.

³⁵ S. Şamil, *Yahudi Davası ve Filistin*, edited by Cafer Barlas, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayın No.5 Yaylacık Matbaası, 1991):91; Baki Adam, *Yahudilik ve Hristiyanlık Açısından Diğer Dinler*, (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2002):180-187.

³⁶ A. Nachmani, 1999:5.

³⁷ A. Nachmani, 1999:5-6.

³⁸ The delicate power balance between the US and the Soviet Union has shifted for the favor of the former during the 1990s onwards. While regional countries making their own strategic alliances, the Turkish authorities felt that Turkey needed to act accordance to the developments of the region rather than the previous decades' cold war policies. Turkey warned any power which is associate, harbor and support the separatist terrorist organizations, chiefly the PKK, in Turkey and Northern Iraq, will face the Turkish unfriendly actions by any means. In this respect, Syria was warned not to support the PKK and its head of the organization on 26 January 1996 and a further warning repeated in October 1998 which produced the capture of the head of the terrorist organization. This was a sign of Turkish determination to stop any terrorist activities in its borders by any means. The civilian and the military authorities determined to finish the long-tangled trouble within the southern region and the neighboring borders of Turkey.

³⁹ Ideological fundamentalism might limit the flexibility of a person or institution's perception and the creation of a policy for a given issue. From time to time, the Turkish foreign policy was under the influence of westernization and/or western minded policy makers. This paved the way that some of the policies which were created for Turkey not served as required to due to its policy makers' personal shortcomings. An analysis regarding the SWAC should include by an intense scrutiny of Arab and non-Arab countries' verbal, written and visual sources of intelligences. Sources limited only in English will strict to see and understand the full picture of the regional possibilities, opportunities and difficulties. The limited English sources might lead to interpret issues only by the English speaking writers' perspectives which might create fatal mistake in the policy-making procedure and the outcome of such policies. Arabic, Hebrew and Persian languages should be carefully analyzed in addition to Turkish and English sources before to take any action in the region.

⁴⁰ Kamran İnan has pointed out the weakness of the Turkish foreign policy making procedure by highlighting not using fully expert and capable persons in the foreign ministry representatives in Turkish embassies. There are ambassadors who are not able to use the language of the countries where they are serving as an ambassador of Turkey. The ambassadors who need to have direct contact with the people of the country in which they are working were/are not able to use the language. Due to the lack of local knowledge and languages they are only able to use English as a communication where they need to collect intelligence for the Turkish-policy making. This is limiting the gathered information for policy making.

⁴¹ E. Güvendiren, 2003:58-59.

⁴² 'The military agreements are of inestimable value for Israelis in a number of reasons: The contract to upgrade 54 F-14 jets will boost Israel's flagging defense industry and to gain access to priceless Turkish intelligence on Syrian, Iran and Iraq; to being able to train in Turkish air space for its air force.' Amikam Nachmani, 'A Triangular Relationship: Turkish Israeli Cooperation', 1999:8-10.

⁴³ G. E. Gruen, 'Turkish-Israeli Relations: Crisis or Continued Cooperation?', *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Jerusalem Letter* No.338 28 Tammuz 5756/(15 July 1996):1-2.

⁴⁴ E. Güllüer, 2000: 34-37; G. E. Gruen, 1996:4..

⁴⁵ G. Westerby, *In Hostile Territory Business Secrets of a Mossad Combatant (Düşman Topraklarda Bir Mossad Ajanının Ticaret Sırları)*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 1999):294-296.

⁴⁶ M. Saray, 1999:229,239; G. E. Gruen, 1996:5-8.

⁴⁷ As George E. Gruen suggested in his article 'if Israel's negotiations with the Palestinians are seen to stall, all parties in the Turkish Parliament may be expected to blame Israel, as they have in the past.' Turkish Prime Minister, Tayyip Erdoğan, said that 'he cannot think other than his voters' http://www.rferl.org/content/Turkeys_Kissinger_Leads_ForeignPolicy_Balancing_Act/1865343.html [accessed on 4 June 2010]; see for further information on this issue in G. E. Gruen, 1996:8; <http://www.gloria-center.org/gloria/2010/06/turkish-regime-changes-sides> [accessed on 7 June 2010].

⁴⁸ Turkey always supported any peaceful attempts and constructive initiatives for lasting peace in Palestine and in the region as in the Arab leagues Summit's suggestions in Beirut in March 2002.

⁴⁹ H. Yurtsever, *İsrail ve Büyük Ortadoğu Projesi Böl-Parçala-Yönet*, (İstanbul: Düşünce Yayınları Çınar Matbaacılık, Nisan 2004):154-156.

⁵⁰ The leaders of Israel were/are inviting the so-called 'Jews' to Israel whenever and wherever it was/is possible to make such invitation. B. Adam, 2002:193-215.

⁵¹ The author of this work visited Israel twice (June 2004 and August 2005). A number of interviews were conducted on the reasons and possible solutions of the continuing problem in Palestine. The overwhelming majority of Arab interviewees believing that the Israeli authorities want this continue troubles in order to intimidate the Arabs.