

## **The Political and Security Variables of Turkish-Israeli Relations and Its Impact on Turkish-Arab Relations: 2002-2014**

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### **Abstract**

*The main aim of this study is to analyze the political and security variables of Turkish-Israeli relations and its impact on Turkish Arab relations. Moreover, the study aim to discuss the implications of these relations whether at regional or international level on the Turkish-Arab relations because Israel and Turkey have an important role in the international system. The study used two methods: the theory of role and decision-making being the best for linking descriptions, explanation and analysis of the study variables. The main finding of the study that is Turkey start addressing the Arab people without going through their rulers. In addition is seeks to invest the current situation in the region to gain necessary amount of trust and built a prestigious regional position as regional leader .Furthermore, it has been concluded in the study that the extant of the Turkey's relationship with Israel depends on the interaction with its interest in the region, and Turkey will remain ranged in its relations with Israel and the Arabs on the basis that it is neither ally of the Arabs nor an enemy of Israel.*

**Keywords:** The Political and Security Variables, Turkish-Arab Relations.

### **Introduction**

The importance of this topic is to study the political and security variables of Turkish- Israeli relations because of its local, regional and international extension. For example, the implication of the relation between the two parties at the local level are impact on the policy stability by building a good relations based on mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries , as for Turkey, there is a lot of ethnic and national affiliations, including :Alawites and Kurds. Where it can take advantage of this diversity to influence Turkey's internal political stability and thus influence national unity. As for Israel, the presence of the Palestinians Arabs and their political and ideological orientations, in addition to the possibilities of receiving support and assistance from regional parties, all these factors are raising its anger when it realized that it is an occupying country by Arab country. As confirmed by United Nations in this regard special in the decisions (338) and (242), and ask for settle the dispute peacefully to the satisfaction of both parties.

As for regional level, the development in the Turkish-Israeli relations have a direct impact on the regional stability and the Arab-Turkish relations, where the presence of the Turkish- Israeli relations are negatively impact on the development of Arab relations specially in the field of economy, energy, tourism, and investment as well as military and security side. From the other side, we find the existence of Israeli-Turkish relations is in the interest of Israeli to isolate the Arabs and expand the joint ventures economically, industrially and investment with Turkey. As for the international level, the sophisticated Israeli- Turkish relations is in the best interest of Israeli this means that Israel become in the security system of the middle east , moreover the development of relation will enhance the strategic framework of Turkish – US relations and European-Turkish relations , especially since Turkey is one of the parties in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization , which took place in Washington 4/4/1949, in addition , Israel is linked by a strategic partnership with the alliance.

***First: importance of the study***

The importance of this study depending on the political and security variables that occur in the Middle East. Based on this study there are two main aspects:

**1. Scientific importance (Theoretical):**

Social studies in general and political science in particular has significance important related to this study, it can be identified as follows:

- a. This study is working on postponement of its subject which contributes to enrich the field of knowledge for regional player and their role in the international relations.
- b. The study contributes to replenish the academic shortage.
- c. Provide the researchers and specialists with information which is could be used in research and graduate students.

**2. Practical significance:**

This study has a practical significance which is support the decision makers as follows:

- a. It includes analyzing serve the applied practical side for the purpose of support the decision maker with a wide range of information system in order to use them to follow these relations.
- b. The need to monitor development in these relations and its impact on the Arab regional order whether in the framework of the league of Arab states or Arab Turkish bilateral relations.
- c. It can monitor the interactions between the Turkish and Israel sides by a decision – maker through directing his country's policy to serve the higher interest, and stand in the face of this convergence to create a greater distance between the Turkish and Israel sides which will positively impact on the Turkish-Arab relations.

***Second: objectives of the study:***

The researcher seeks to achieve a set of objectives can, cane by summarized as follows:

1. The impact of the security and political variable and its effect on the Arab regional order and Arab national security.
2. The change in Turkish foreign policy if AKP came to power.
3. Clarify the impact of Turkey- Israel relations on the Arab regional order.

***Third: questions of the study:***

1. What is the impact of AKP on the Turkish-Israeli relations, neither by advanced nor by declined during the study period?
2. What is the impact of the political and security aspect in finding a strategic space foe the relations between parties?
3. What is the impact of the geopolitical location of turkey on the Turkish –Israeli relations and its effect on the Arab relations?

***Forth: Hypotheses of the study:***

Based on the topic of the study and its difficulties and questions the research raised from the premise that there are positive correlations relation in the political and security relations at the stage where the APK came to power in turkey and its potential impact on the Arab regional scale, depends on the development of relations. Raised from these hypotheses a group of important sup Hypotheses:

1. There is inverse relations between AKP came to power in turkey and the disorder of Turkish-Israeli relations.
2. Turkish attitudes have contributed towards the Arab issues, whether the Arab Israeli conflict or Arab popular revolutions at (Arab spring) to negative discouraged it at the official level and it had a clear impact in a favor of Israel.

***Fifth: study boundaries:*****A. temporal boundaries**

It has taken into consideration that (2002-2014) is the period of the study. The reason for the selection of 2002 as a beginning of the time period, because the Turkish foreign policy began to change by political orders after came AKP to power in November of that year.

The new administration has proceeded to the development of Turkish foreign diplomatic relations on a regular basis and thoughtful, by meeting with large number of officials in various countries at various level, the Israel-Turkish relations have continued on the same pace, but after justice and development party came to power, the relations between the two countries have changed from respect into staleness and enmity especially after the Israeli aggression on Gaza Strip in 2008.

This aggression introduced the relation between the two countries into a new phase which is marked by political tension. by increasing the Turkish criticism of Israeli policy toward the Palestinian people and the occupied territory, the turkeys leaders, especially president Recep Tayyip Erdogan attacked the Israeli policy and strongly criticize it, so the relations have entered a further deterioration after the Israeli military assault on Al-hurryah flotilla and (Marmara) ship in the international water, and explosion of the Israeli ambassador from turkey to respond to the Israeli attacks.

It has taken into consideration that (2014) is the end of period because this year that stopped getting data and information that will enable us to complete this study. He researcher my need to return to the period before this date in order to research necessities.

### **b. Spatial border:**

Turkey, Israeli, Arab region

Sixth: the basic variables and concepts of the study:

This study highlights the following variables:

1-Independent variable: represent the political and security variables of Israeli- Arab relations.

2-dependent variable: represent in Turkish-Arab relations.

These two concepts can be defined nominally and procedurally as follows:

#### **1. Political and security variables:**

##### **A. nominal variables:**

Notice and messages sent by the Turkish and Israel side to their enemies to all regional countries and some major countries. This factor has a significant impact in the establishment of Turkish Israel relations. As for security variables are results of military and security cooperation in the region and regional countries, where is the military agreement between Israel and turkey is the largest agreement in the region (Hamash. 2002).

##### **B. procedural definition:**

We can determine the following indicators of the political variables concepts:

1. Diplomatic representations between turkey and Israel.
2. Turkey and Israel relations with Arab countries.
3. The level of official visit at all levels.
4. Political positions.

As for security variable:

1. Strategic Alliance and security agreements.
2. Joint exercises.
3. Intelligence and security cooperation.

#### **Turkish- Israeli relations:**

##### **A. nominal definition:**

Mutual formal and informal interactions between Turkey and Israel (Hakki, 2012).

We can determine the indicators of Turkish-Israeli relations that serve the research and its objective as follows:

- (1) Politically: identify trends taken by the decision makers in their reciprocity relations so that constitute the behavioral and functional character of these countries (Sarhan. 2013).
- (2) Economically: Exploit the strategic capabilities in the field of mutual dependence and international trade (Sarhan. 2013).

(3) Military: by cooperation in the military field and Israel sale of weapons to turkey, so that Tel Aviv well get markets for the products (khamash, 2010.page:45).

### 3- Turkish-Arab relations, a dependent variable which include political, economically and military:

#### a. Nominal definition:

Mutual formal and informal interactions between Turkey and Israel (Hakki, 2012).

#### B. procedural definition:

We can formulate the following indicators of the Turkish-Arab relations:

(1) Politically: trends adopted by the decision-makers which includes diplomatic representation, visits and agreements.

(2) Economically: includes two way trades, the economic variable as a mediator variable.

(3) Military: military cooperation, joint exercises, bilateral agreements.

#### Seventh: systematic of the study:

Based on the research and its problem and objectives, it was found that the most appropriate approach to use is decision-making and role theory in the international relations.

Here are the most important approaches in terms of:

-founder of each method and its concept.

- How to use this method in the study.

#### 1- Decision making method:

A. the pioneers of the curriculum and its concept:

(Richard Snyder) and his colleague (Graham Allison) are the most prominent of those who wrote about this theory. It can be defined as one of the attempts for the developments of decision –making in the study of international politics by identifying the influential foreign policy in the framework of states with other countries (Kurdi, 2010).

B. this approach is based on the political decision –making process in order to interpret the foreign policy ; it helps to understand how decision-makers working toward a certain international position.

B. the whole basics of the method and it pillar:

This approach is concerned with analysis of all factors and influences that surround the development of foreign policy when issuing certain decision, where( Snyder) see that decision making is a process of sequential stages includes a number of interaction parties in internal and external environment, which includes a number of unites that responsible for external decision making (Muqallad,1971).

#### 2. Role theory in the international relations theory:

A. the pioneers of the curriculum and its concept:

(George Mira) and (Josesf Mourino) and (Brue peral) are considered as a contributors and developers of this theory which can be defined as : a system of reflects the foreign policy decision makers who believe that their state worthy to do it through a combinations of attitudes, concepts and factors that offer the possibility to prepare for all eventualities resulting. (Htti, 1987).

#### Eighth: previous studies:

Israeli-Turkish relations got attention of researchers and specialists through research, here are the most important of these studies:

1. Mohamed Jamal Asaa'd study,"the Israeli- Turkish relations in the era of the justice party 2000-2010" (Asaad, 2011):

This study aims to shed the light on Israeli-Turkish relations and it development in the period (2010-2000)

And the regional and international deterrments that affected these relations during this period.It concluded that Israel positions have created a state of tension in the relations between the two countries including Israel practices towards Palestine, as stated reason for the interpretation of the relations between the two countries.

2. Rana khamash study "impact of Turkish-Arab relations on Arab countries" (khamash, 2010)

The researcher focused on the dimensions of the Israeli-Turkish relations into a distinctive stage which is full of regional and international interactions. The study concluded that the strategic agreement which is signed between the two countries in 1996 had a major impact on the Turkish-Arab relations on one hand, and the Palestinians cause on other hand. This has a negative impact due to the strategic position of Turkey although it is supposed to play a positive role within the Middle East issues. It also concluded that this phase got important events, including the events of September 11, 2001 which had an international dimensions as well as the consequent occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq.

3. (Jacop Abadi) study " Israel and Turkey: from Covert to Overt " 1998.

This study followed the Israel-Turkish relations since its inception in the forties of the last century until the mid-nineties of the same century, based on the surrounding regional circumstances especially the Arab-Israeli conflict. In addition this study included internal and external determinants of these relations. It also concluded that the repeated statements made by Turkish officials on the Arab Israeli conflict did not prevent Ankara from continuing its relations with Tel Aviv, also to maintain those relations and developing them in various fields by the political, commercial, cultural and military communications.

**Ninth: study segmentation:**

Based on the research topic and its problem, and consistent with the methodology used to find the objectives results, the research has been divided as follows:

The first requirement: Israeli-Turkish motivations

The second requirement: political and economical variables of Israeli-Turkish relations.

The third requirement: impact of political and security variables of Israeli-Turkish relations on the Arab regional order.

**The first requirement: Turkish – Israeli relations and motives:**

Turkish – Israeli relations have arisen as a result of objective factors for Israel and Turkey, which are linked by political, social, economic and internal military development for both of them, that occur in a regional scale, and extend in the international scale.

**First: Turkish motivations:**

Turkey was aimed to establish relations with Israel in order to achieve internal and external goals, the most prominent of these motivations:

**A. faces the international pressure:**

Turkey found that the best way to get rid of Soviet threats to Anatolia is its alliance with the western camp which led by the United States, since that time Turkish-Israeli relations have become an essential component of national security elements.

**b. Turkey's pressure on the Arab neighbors:**

Turkey found that relations with Israel are considered a mainstay to confront its problems with Arabs, especially Syria and Iraq, which has been in a dispute with Turkey on several issues such as, distribution of the Tigris and Euphrates river and takeover of Turkey on the Syrian Iskenderun banner and Kurds use Iraqi territory to launch attacks on Turkey.

**d. Turkish internal problems:**

Turkey aims to benefit from the experiences of Israel in order to put the Islamic movement under pressure, especially after the conflicts between these currents and secular currents. Also, the alliance with Israel that affirms the secular character of Turkey and makes it difficult for any party to change it in the future. As for the Kurdish-Israeli relations it has given way to monitor the information and take advantage of the Israeli's intelligence and satellite (Yaildiz, 2005).

**Second: the Israeli motivations:**

Israel has noted the importance of Turkey for the Arab and Muslim world so; it decided to establish a relation with this country for many reasons such as:

### **A. The formation of a deterrent force of residence force in order to regional balance.**

The growing strength of Iran made Israel feel that it need to support so, it found turkey is playing very important role in controlling the balance of Turkish in one hand, and the Islamic balance in Iran in other hand, therefore, Israel has sought to form a regional deterrent force to counter any foreign aggression by getting a military bases in Ankara, which give it the possibility of launching a sudden raids on any regional risk (Maeud, 1998).

### **B. Economical motivations:**

Access to new markets of Israel's products, especially the military, where Israel is trying to market their products in the Arab world through Turkish companies, in addition, Israel is seeking to buy the excess water from Turkey's need because of suffering from growing shortage water.

### **The second requirement: securest and political variables of Turkish-Israeli relation**

Economical and security factors are playing a big role in the policy of countries. Forms and means of security are varying depending on changing conditions and global development of defense means. While the economic factor is considered as the most important factor in the countries because it supports its international relations.

#### **First: security variables.**

Turkey entered into military ties with Israel in order to create a strong supporter to achieve its goals, in addition it is suffering from internal political problem such as; the Islamic influence and the increasing Turkish threat, in this case, Israel can provide it by security, military and intelligence information which is relating to these groups and the way to address the operations carried out by the PKK in the Turkish territory (Abdul Aziz, 2001). As for Israel, it considered that its interests to establish close ties with turkey in order to achieve the policy of expansion upon the security policy.

The focus in the second half of the nineties is on the military side, so a military agreement was signed in February between Turkey-Israel which Israel found in this convention the means to achieve its goals by the pressure on Arabs, through expanding its scope to Turkish territory.

The most important content of this agreement is:

1. The establishment of security forum for strategic dialogue between turkey and Israel in order to monitor the common danger that threatens the security of the two countries.
2. To allow Israel to do a training trips in Turkish airspace
3. Israel supplied Turkey with information and satellites imagery and electronic espionage, so that they are under the disposal of Turkish arms against PKK.
4. Israel is the maintenance of the Turkish Air force and updated.

When the AkP came to bower in 2002 it emerged fears and entities of Turkish- Israeli military side about the fate of the relations between the two countries, however, the government is working on closer ties with Israel , especially in the security and military side through signing of several agreement and military deals in order to gain the western support in 2005 signed an agreement of joint cooperation between the two countries (Turkish-Israeli military agreement) about many important strategic issues , it also signed an agreement which stated that the military Turkey signed to buy Israeli military equipment in exchange for supplying Israel by water (Mahmud, 2009) .

#### **Second: political and economic variables.**

Ankar considers that Turkey and Israel complemented each other in the economic field, where Turkeys is considered the market for Israel products, in contrast Israel's markets for Turkish raw materials (Sabawi, 1998). The fifties and sixties of the last century has seen a clear uptick in the economic relations between the two parties , so is has been signed many agreements which states goods exchange, technical expertise exchange and activate political movements between the two countries.(Darwish.2002). But during the seventies and sixties, Turkish-Israeli relations have a significant decline due to strained political relations between them (Abdul Aziz 2001) and (Nour aldeen 2009).In the nineties of the las century, the economic relations between Turkey and Israel have seen significant growth(Abdul Aziz 2001), especially after the visits of former prime minister(Tansu Ciller) to Israel , through the singing of several agreements , which led to doubling of trade between the two countries (Abadi,1995).

After (wiseman) vested turkey in 1994, it seemed the interest in the drafts southeast Anatolia development, so Israel contribute to support this project by assuming the function of training and rehabilitation (Raphael, 2001). When the AKP came to power, Turkish relations seen significant expansion, cooperation and trade exchange between the two countries have risen due to the economic reform conducted by the party. In addition to block buster the Israeli businessmen to set up fairies and companies on the Turkish territory so trade exchange is increased in this period.

The following table shows the trade volume between Turkey and Israel since AKP came to power in 2002 until 2013:

The year	Israeli export to turkey	Israeli import from Turkey	Total
2002	383.10	813.70	1196.80
2003	470.30	951.50	1421.80
2004	813.50	1166.90	1980.40
2005	903.20	1221.10	2124.30
2006	821.20	1272.70	2093.90
2007	1195.80	1606.90	2802.70
2008	1609.90	1825.30	3435.80
2009	1072.70	1387.70	2460.40
2010	1400.00	2000.00	3400.00
2011	1960.00	2400.00	4360.00
2012	2148.00	2710.00	4858.00
2013	1202.80	1544.00	2746.80

The source: this table has been prepared by the researcher with the aid of (Zaytuna center, 2010) (Al Jazeera Net 2012) (Cihan, 2014) and (Hadrami 2014).

It is noted from the table that terms of trade between the two countries has decline in 2009, due to the Israeli aggression on Gaza stripe , in addition of the crisis of the global economic , despite the political crisis between Turkey and Israel which is followed by the Israel assault on the flotilla (Al-huryah) in may 2010, but the ministry of industry and trade showed that the Israeli terms of trade between the two countries rose in 2010 where the Turkish import from Israel in that year (1.4)\$ billion (Al Jazeera Net 2012) .

In 2011 trade relations between the two countries continued to grow, where terms of trade rose by 27% compared by 2010, to exceed for the first time (4) billion. This year Turkey normally occupies the fifth place among the importing countries from Israel (Zaytuna center, 2012), while this figure rose to (4) million and (858) \$ million in 2012 (cihan, 2014). During the first half of 2013 Turkish-Israeli relations have progressed substantially, where the Turkish import of Israeli goods rose by (56%) compared to the same period of the previous year , which the Turkish import of Israeli goods reached to 1,2\$ billion. That what make it got the third –largest importer for goods by the Israeli, according to statistics from (Israeli export institute) published in 2/8/2013 (Hdrami,2014).

### **The third requirement: impact of political and security variables of Turkish-Israeli on the Arab regional order.**

Security is the top priority of all countries because it is essential to maintaining the security and stability of the country. This is what motivates it to focus on the military and security relations in its international interactions.

Which is reflected on the country neighboring of states parties.(Mkallad,1971)..So the Turkish-Israeli relations have political and economical dimensions in the Arab regional order.

### **First: Turkish –an Arab relation is the delimiter of the Turkish- Israeli relations.**

Turkish – Arab relations dating back more than 1,500 years, specifically to the Islamic conquests (Allabad, 2010, page: 213).But after turkey's recognitions of Israel in 1949, Turkish- Israeli relations is strained. One can say that the Turkish-Israeli relations were affected by constantly Arab-Israeli conflict, where this conflict dominated the Turkish foreign policy with the state parties for nearly four decades. Turkey's strategy was to maintain its relations with Israel and provide political support to reform this conflict, but the peace process and the ensuring Arab recognition of Israel and exchange of ambassadors with some Arab countries have contributed in brining Ankara to Tel Aviv. In addition it gave a strong supporter of turkey's to return its relations with Israel.

As for the Palestinians issue, it was the most important aim of the Turkish -Israel relations. Ankara has supported the Palestinians positions and criticized the repeated Israeli violations. When Hamas won the election in 2006, Turkey has confirmed the need of respect the outcome of democratic elections (Rabab'a, 2010) and (noureldine, 2011). For example, Turkey asks for a halt of the Israeli aggression on Gaza 2009-2008 and left the siege and stop settlement activity in the West Bank (Alhamadni and Sulaiman 2010). Then tensions between Turkey and Israel has emerged after the secession of Turkish Prime Minister (Recep Tayip Erdogan) in December 2009 from the world economic forum (Davos) after a heated debated with the Israeli president (Shemon Peres) on the Israeli aggression on Gaza. In addition Turkey sent a convoy of humanitarians relief to Gaza strip in May 2010 in order lift the siege, which has exacerbated tensions in the Turkish-Israeli relations, as for Israel has stormed the Turkish ship (Marmara) and killed nine Turkish activists and took the passenger as prisoner to Turkish ports(Aita and others ,2012).

With regard to Iraq , the issue of keeping a safe is one of the main concern of the Turkish foreign policy , because of the Turkish fear of transmission the Kurdish propensity to turkey, if the Kurds got the official independence, In addition to the economical and trade importance of Iraq (Pubpoc,2011) , so Turkey tried to prevent the war in Iraq through cooperation with international inspectors to find a peaceful solution to current crisis between Iraq and the USA to get ride of mass destruction weapons that America claims that Iraq possessed (Azzawi, 2013).

As for Syrian – Turkish relation , it has reached the peak of tension in 1988 due to that Ankara accused Damascus of supporting the PKK but the security agreement (Adana) in 1988 was a key turning point in the relation between the two parties , where the relation has shifted from the beak of tension to the accelerating convergence pointed (Azzawi,2013). So , when the popular protest movements erupted in Syria , the security and stability of Syria became the main objective of turkey , because that Turkish security is linked to Syria security , specially that the two countries are linked up with long borders. So Turkey in the beginning of the crisis asked the government of Al-Assad to do reform until Syria stable (Alprusan.2013). but , when Turkey felt by the risk and negative effects of the Syrian protests movement on the internal security of turkey, it change its stance, where its became advocates for change and reform in order to adoption of political pluralism for democracy and to move a way from the use of violence.(Azzawi, 2013).

### **Conclusion and results**

1. The study found that the interest and objectives of Turkish foreign policy during the study period is to promote fundamental, economic and security interests with other countries including (Israel).
2. The AKP managed in the last years to facilitate the integration of turkey in the Arab system, to achieve its economic, security, and political goals.
3. The success of turkey in regional and international presence and its ability to deal with many issues; it is not an enemy of Israel or an ally of the Arabs, but that not negate the possibility of won to influence the Arab and joint gains.
4. Tension in Turkish – Israeli relations increased of the Turkish attitudes toward the Arab region, but it stopped short of harmony to make it easier to reach practical solution on outstanding issue.

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