

**ATILIM UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S PROGRAM**

**TURKEY'S POLICY TOWARDS THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION:
CHANGE AND CONTINUITY
(2000 – 2010)**

Master's Thesis

Osama T. A. MORTAGA

Ankara, 2018

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ACCEPTION AND APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis titled “Turkey’s policy towards the Palestinian question: change and continuity (2000 – 2010), and prepared by Osama T. A Mortaga meets with the committee’s approval unanimously as Master’s Thesis in the field of International Relations following the successful defense of the thesis conducted in 29/6/2018.

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ETHICS DECLARATION

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- I prepared this thesis in accordance with Atılım University Graduate School of Social Sciences Thesis Writing Directive,
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Osama T. A Mortaga

ÖZ

MORTAGA, Osama. Türkiye'nin Filistin meselesine yönelik politikası: değişim ve süreklilik (2000 – 2010), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018

Bu çalışma, 2000-2010 yılları arasında Türk dış politikasının Filistin davasına yönelik tutumunu tartışmıştır. Aslında bu dönem, Türk politikasını Filistin davasının merkezi bir neden olarak ele almasını sağlayan önemli bir değişikliğe şahit oldu. Bu değişimde, genel olarak uluslararası alanda ve özellikle Orta Doğu'da kalkınma ve adalet partisi ve Türk varlığı önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

Çalışmada ilk olarak Türklerin Filistin davasına yönelik tutumlarının tarihsel gelişimi araştırılmıştır (1948-2002). Ardından çalışma, Kalkınma ve Adalet Partisi'nin (2002-2010) yönetiminden bu yana Filistin davasına yönelik Türk politikasıyla başa çıkmıştır. Çalışma ayrıca Filistinlilere yönelik siyasi önlemleri ve Filistinlilerin topraklarında kalmalarını sağlama çabalarını da ele aldı.

Türkiye ile İsrail arasındaki özel ilişkiye rağmen; Türkiye, Filistin haklarını destekleyen ve bu kararların yanında yer alan kararlarla taraflar arasında denge kurduğu bir dış politikada her zaman yanındaydı.

Araştırmacı, Türk konumunun, Filistin davasının yıllardır yaşadığı olay ve gelişmelere yönelik tutumunu tanımlamak ve açıklamak için analitik tanımlayıcı yöntemi kullanmıştır. Araştırmacı, Türk siyasi kararını etkileyen iç ve dış faktörleri incelemek için karar verme yöntemini özellikle inceledi. Ayrıca, benzerlik alanlarını ve 2002'den önce ve sonrasında İşgal Altındaki Filistin Toprakları'na Türk siyasi rolü arasındaki farkı bulmak için karşılaştırmalı yöntemi kullandı.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Filistin, Türkiye, dış politikası, AKP

ABSTRACT

MORTAGA, Osama. Turkey's Policy Towards The Palestinian Question: Change And Continuity (2000 – 2010), Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2018

This study discussed the Turkish foreign policy toward Palestinian cause between the years 2000-2010. Actually this period witnessed an important change that made Turkish policy to consider the Palestinian cause as centralized cause. The development and justice party and the Turkish presence play an important role in this change and in the international arena in general as well as in the Middle East in particular.

The study examined first the historical growth of the Turkish attitude towards the Palestinian issue (1948-2002). Subsequently, the research dealt with the Turkish policy towards the Palestinian question during the rule of the Development and Justice Party (2002-2010). Also the research dealt on the Turkish political measures toward the Palestinian-authority and its measures to enable the Palestinian people to remain on their homeland.

Despite of the special relation between Turkey and Israel, Turkey was always alongside with the decisions that support and stand with the Palestinian rights, within a foreign policy that is characterized to be balance between the parties.

The researcher followed the analytical descriptive approach which describes the phenomenon studied quantitatively and through the collection and classification of information, and then analyzing it and revealing the relationship between its different dimensions in order to explain it adequately and reach general conclusions that contribute to understanding the present and diagnosing the reality and its causes in order to analyze and describe the Turkish stands towards the incidents and developments that the Palestinian question experienced during the years. Also the researcher examined in a specific way the trend of decision-making process in order to examine both the internal and external aspects that affected the Turkish political decision. The comparative method was used also by the researcher to disclose the spaces of similarities and differences between the Turkish political measures towards the Palestinian occupied territories prior 2002 and after.

Keywords

Palestine, Turkey, Foreign policy, JDP

To my beloved wife and son, Ayat &Tawheed

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CONTENTS

ÖZ.....	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
CONTENTS.....	v
ABBREVIATIONS	viii

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Importance and Objectives of the Study	2
1.2. The Goal of the Study	3
1.3. The Research PROBLEM	4
1.4. The Study Hypotheses	4
1.5. The Study Time Frame.....	5
1.6. The Study Methodology.....	7

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURKISH POSITION ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE (1948-2002)

2.1. The Turkish Position Since the Nakba of Palestine in the Period 1948-1967	9
2.2. Recognition of Israel	10
2.3. Baghdad Pact.....	12
2.4. Turkey-Israel Relations in the Suez Crisis	12
2.5. Turkey and the Middle East During 1960-1965	15
2.6. Isolation Period	16
2.7. Change in Turkish Policy Towards the Middle East& the Palestinian Question Re-evaluation of Turkish Foreign Policy in 1964	17
2.8. Many Aspects Foreign Policy	20

2.9. The Turkish Position Towards the Palestinian Issue After the Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip 1967-1993	21
2.10. Turkish Political Position on the Palestinian Issue and its Vision Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process After the Signing of the Oslo Agreement (1993-2002)	28
2.11. The Turkish Position on the Oslo Accords (1993) and the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process	28
2.12. Turkey and the Al-Aqsa Intifada (28 September 2000)	30
2.13. Turkey's Orientation Towards the EU	32
2.14. The Struggle between Secularists and Islamists.....	33
2.15. Economic Crisis and Financial Corruption (1994-2001).....	33
2.16. Political Instability	34

CHAPTER THREE

PALESTINE IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

3.1. Turkish-Palestinian Relations Before 2000	35
3.2. Contemporary Turkish-Palestinian Relations (2000-2010)	38
3.3. Turkey and Palestinian Events in the Period 2002-2010.....	42
3.4. Turkey's Participation in the Annapolis Conference	43
3.5. Turkish Efforts to Achieve Palestinian Reconciliation (2007)	44
3.6. The Internal Factors Affecting Turkey's Foreign Policy Towards the Palestinian Issue	46
3.6.1. Political parties.....	46
3.6.2. The Justice and development party	48
3.6.3. Lobby groups and interests	50
3.6.4. The religious factor	53
3.6.5. Turkish public opinion	55
3.6.6. Military institution	57
3.6.7. Turkish presidency	59
3.7. The Main Determinants of Turkish Attitudes Toward the Palestinian Cause	60
3.8. Turkey's Role Towards the Palestinian Issue in the United Nations	62

CHAPTER FOUR
TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

4.1. Definition of the National Objectives of Turkey's Foreign Policy	70
4.2. The Most Important National Goals of Turkey	70
4.2.1. Protection of sovereignty and national security	70
4.2.2. Development and Economic Prosperity	72
4.2.3. Preserving a regional role and influence	73
4.2.4. Convergence with the Arab and Islamic worlds	75
4.2.5. Joining the European Union	77
CHAPTER FIVE.....	81
RESULTS AND CONCLUSION.....	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	95

ABBREVIATIONS

AIPAC	:	The American Israel Public Affairs Committee.
AKP	:	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi.
El-Fetih	:	Filistin Ulusal Kurtuluş Hareketi.
EU	:	European Union.
HAMAS	:	İslami Direniş Hareketi (Hareketu'l Mukavemeti'l İslamiye).
IAEA	:	International atomic energy agency.
MÜSİAD	:	Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneđi.
NATO	:	Kuzey Atlantik Antlaşması Örgütü (North Atlantic Treaty Organization).
NGOs	:	Non-Governmental Organizations.
PA	:	Palestinian authority.
PLO	:	Palestine Liberation Organization.
PNA	:	Palestinian National Authority.
TOBB	:	Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliđi.
TRT	:	Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu.
TÜSİAD	:	Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneđi.
UN	:	United Nations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The foreign policy of countries is one of the most important and controversial issues in our world today, this is due to the developments in the study of this policy in particular, and the study of international relations in general. This policy pays a lot of attention to the state which is the unit of analysis and study, especially after the Second World War. The importance of foreign policy comes out from the revitalization of its role in achieving international cooperation and in the prosperity and progress of societies, in addition to the survival and continuity of political systems and sustainability.

The crystallization and implementation of this policy is in accordance with crossed requirements and effects, one of which is linked to the internal circumstances, such as the nature of the system of government, pressure groups, interests and their impacts, and the various interactions in the structure and composition of the community. The other one is the external environment, such as strategic location, interests, others, and these aspects of the repercussions on the behavior and orientation on decision maker in foreign policy.

Most States seek to have a distinct role in the global system of States and to follow the major international changes of the past two decades, which have had a significant impact on the new global map. Part of this is the attempt by some States to obtain an advanced and effective position, economic, technological, scientific, military, and industrial or alliances with powerful countries. It also seeks to play an effective and influential role in its territory, which qualifies it to become a global force and participates in the interactions of the international political scene.

The Republic of Turkey has a remarkable aspiration for a strategic rise, both on the regional and global dimension, especially in the current decade. The transformation that took place after the AKP took over and won the elections. Also, its economic and cultural progress, space and demographic distribution are

considered of great importance. Its army represents an important force in the world, in addition to its enormous human and material resources, its high investment and its pursuit of joining the European Union, Such as its efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, especially with Syria, and its presence in the Islamic countries as well as its attempt to obtain a permanent seat in the Security Council. After the end of the Cold War, Turkey sought to activate the tools of its foreign policy and expand its diplomatic activity towards a number of countries in the world, including the countries of the Arab region with Turkey the geographical location, the great communication period of the Ottoman Empire.

This study attempts to explain the reality of Turkey's relations with the Arab world's central issue, Palestine. The study of the Turkish foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue from the second Intifada to the details and attitudes related to the Arab-Israeli conflict is focused on in this research. Gaza is considered one of the important elements of this scientific research, in addition to the changes in the transformation of Turkey in the region and the Palestinian issue recently after the presence of the Turkish Justice and Development Party. Also, the role of Turkey in its political discourse on the Palestinian issue, its rejection of Israeli practices along with the remarkable trend of Turkey to strengthen relations with Arab countries are discussed.

1.1. The Importance and Objectives of the Study

The importance of this study stems from the fact that the growing importance of the Turkish presence as an influential country in the regional and international systems. It is therefore necessary to know the truth of its position on this effect in order to achieve the desired benefit of the study and to know the nature of Turkish foreign policy, which is characterized by the nature of a complex internal system in its internal structure and in the conflict between Secularists and Islamists. This is due to the impact of what mentioned on its foreign policy in all its directions, means and mechanisms of decision-making. Understanding these complexions helps to have comprehensive and thorough study information and to perceive a full analysis of Turkish foreign policy towards the Palestinian cause.

The importance of this study is that it will discuss and analyze Turkey's foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue with a specific period of time, reflecting its historical interdependence and the accompanying developments and events, and seeking to provide some information on this policy on the Palestinian issue. Moreover, understanding the nature and requirements of this position will help the Palestinians and the Arabs in formulating a unified and effective foreign relations policy with Turkey, which may one day become a global pole with a significant influence in controlling the relations system internationally. Revealing the tension between the Turkish-Israeli relations from time to time, the Turkish desire to join the European Union and the impact of the conditions for this accession to Turkish politics forms one of the objectives of this research. Understanding the impact of its distinguished role as the mediator of many issues to resolve conflicts in the region is very important in this study.

1.2. The Goal of the Study

The goal of the study is to seek knowledge and to reach the following:

- a. To identify the position of the Turkish foreign policy on the Palestinian issue and the position on the issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict in general.
- b. To draw a comprehensive and accurate picture of the changes of this policy, especially with regard to its remarkable direction towards Israel and strengthen the political, economic and military relationship with it.
- c. To identify the Turkish transformation of the variables, specifically the last decade, because of recent developments in the region, and the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Gaza, and the Turkish position towards it.
- d. To know the Turkish role in the international institutions, especially the United Nations with regard to the Palestinian issue.

1.3. The Research PROBLEM

This study attempts to answer a set of questions as follows: What is the Turkish foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue? Why did Turkey deviate as some see in its external behavior towards Israel, through the establishment of full diplomatic relations with them, economic and military relations and security cooperation, and the extent of its reflection on the course and future of the Palestinian issue? What are the factors that led to the increase of the Turkish rapprochement of the Palestinian issue, striking a gap with Israel after its war on Gaza and the situation of the Palestinian division and its position on Hamas? What are the reasons for this shift? What is the nature of these variables and their role in the remarkable form of the region and the role of the Justice and Development Party led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan?

The study will also attempt to answer a number of sub-questions:

What are the most important changes witnessed by the Turkish position towards the Palestinian issue? How did this situation develop over the period of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Is Turkish-Israeli rapprochement a strategic shift stemming from the influence of interests and ideology, or just a traditional diplomatic relationship between two states? What is the impact of the Turkish foreign policy on the Palestinian issue on the developments that are taking place and interacting with it? What is the effect of Turkey's internal structure on Turkey's position on the issue of Palestine? Finally, how much role can Turkey play in finding a political settlement to the Palestinian issue, which is the backbone of this conflict?

1.4. The Study Hypotheses

A shift is found in Turkey's foreign policy towards the Palestinian cause, especially after the Israeli siege on the Gaza Strip and aggression in 2008, and what came from the Turkish positions opposed to such acts, that represented by Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the Davos economic forum, and the actions of Turkish groups to break this siege and the provision of assistance on the one hand, while the

differences and crises with the Israelis on the other hand. Also, the AKP has played an important role in this direction, knowing that this transformation was the result of internal and external transformations, and to increase the role of a factor in the formation of identity and the emergence of the joint Ottoman history between Turkey and the Arabs influenced by a factor of ideology through mutual solidarity. Besides, Turkey plays the role of mediator to reach a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to create a state aims to provide care of the balance between the relationship between Turkey and the Arabs from one side, Turkey and Israel on the other side.

The study assumes the following:

1. The growing political and economic role in the Palestinian territories is part of the Turkish strategy towards the world in general and towards the Middle East in particular. It is therefore aimed at achieving the Turkish interest by focusing on Palestinian development rights and needs.
2. The Turkish role contributes to achieving political and economic development in order to strengthen the steadfastness of the Palestinians in their land and help them to build the Palestinian state by enabling them politically and economically, according to the Palestinian national needs and priorities, based on moral, religious, historical and political backgrounds and principles.

1.5. The Study Time Frame

The study period was set from 2000 to 2010. In 2000, the Al-Aqsa Intifada broke out after Sharon entered the al-Aqsa square, which was opposed by Turkey. In 2002, the Turkish elections marked a significant transformation after the AKP won, and since then there has been a shift in Turkey's political discourse.

After the year 2002, the Turkish role has become an important diplomatic activity in the region. The AKP has focused its attention on the Turkish foreign policy and its direction towards the Arab and Muslim world has increased significantly. The role of the party has also increased in the 2007 elections, which is a confirmation of the Turkish policy orientation. The party and an expression of its success in its policies, which created a transformation and change Turkey in the Turkish political system, both internally and externally, were reflected clearly in Turkish foreign policy.

The events that took place in the region are of great importance in the change in the Turkish situation, at regional level, or at the international level. The Second Gulf War, the events of September 11, 2001, the Israeli war on Lebanon in July 2006, and the most important of which was the siege of the Gaza Strip and the declaration of aggression against it at the end of 2008, which resulted in the deaths of approximately 1300 martyrs, which was one of the most important reasons behind the important shift in the Turkish position towards the Palestinian issue and stand by the Palestinian people on one side and as one of the reasons of the non-remarkable nature of the world Turkish-Israeli contacts and growing differences between the two countries on the other hand.

The study of this period of time also calls for a return to previous stages of Turkish foreign policy to see the nature of the Turkish role in previous years and to know the nature of its role at the time and the nature of the transformation and change in Turkish foreign policy on the other hand, its internal nature and its effects, the nature of its external relations and the extent of the two sides' influence on the Turkish position on the Palestinian issue.

It is also important to know the nature of the Turkish role in international forums, especially in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue in many stages. This enables us to understand the Turkish vision in these directions and to understand the nature of what is fixed and shifting within its policy and the Security Council. In addition to knowing the role of Turkey and its position on the processes of settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which have multiplied throughout history,

whether conferences or agreements, including the Madrid Conference, the Oslo Agreement, the Road Map, the Annapolis Conference... etc.

1.6. The Study Methodology

The nature of the subject of study requires the use of several approaches at the same time, the most important of which are:

- **Analytical Approach:** to explain the nature of the Turkish role in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the researcher needs to collect information and data available from books, sources, journals, and the Internet on the subject of the study in order to arrange and explain the dimensions, reasons, causes and motives of the Turkish role in the territories Palestinian conflict and the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- **Decision-making:** the decision-making approach (Richard Snyder's model) for examining factors influencing state policy will be used by analyzing the external and internal factors influencing Turkish political decision-making.
- **Comparative approach:** this approach is based on studying the similarities and differences in the Turkish role in the pre-2002 period, compared to the period 2002-2010, and analyzing the information to reach the reasons that led to the changes in the Turkish role.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURKISH POSITION ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE (1948-2002)

This period will be divided into three phases, due to the intensity of the events and the developments that have taken place towards the Palestinian cause and distinguish each stage from the previous one.

2.1. The Turkish Position Since the Nakba of Palestine in the Period 1948-1967

The Turkish openness towards the West and Israel in this period - although there are some positions and

Political interests in favor of the Palestinian cause - but within the limits of international resolutions and in harmony with the Palestinian cause and western attitudes and especially with the United States, such as its position opposed to the tripartite invasion on Egypt, in addition to being humanitarian positions, and thus limited the Turkish role in this period on Statements supporting the Palestinian cause, and there were no independent and genuine Turkish initiatives to solve the Palestinian issue, because of the isolationist Turkish policy and internal and external threats that was exposed to Turkey, in addition to the nature of the Turkish political system based on the distance from the Arabic and Islamic world, so the Turkish position in this period (1948-1967) was a contradiction and hesitation and lack of resolution in the face of the Palestinian cause.

The beginnings of the official Turkish position on the Palestinian issue emerged on 29 November 1947, when the draft resolution on the partition of Palestine was presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations where Turkey voted against partition resolution (181) and Endorsed the positions of the Arab states in the United Nations, based on its policy of supporting the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, especially the Palestinian Arab population was 60% of the total population of Palestine in 1947, (Robens,1993) and also

Turkey supported the resolution of right of return and compensation for Palestinian refugees number (3-194) issued on 11 January 1948, which calls for the formation of a reconciliation committee in Palestine composed of Turkey and France and the United States. The resolution also calls for the return of refugees who wish to return and compensate them in accordance with international law. But the Arab countries in the United Nations considered the Turkish position neutral and leaning in favor of Western countries and Israel against Arabs because of Turkey's participation in the Commission impartial international position and not to take a clear and frank stance towards events in Palestine (Nofel, 1993).

Not only did Turkey reject the partition resolution and support the right of return, but it also submitted a draft resolution number (5-302) for the establishment of UNRWA (United nations relief and works agency for the protection of the Palestinian refugee) on 8 February 1949 and it was one of the ten members of the agency (Nofal.1993).

2.2. Recognition of Israel

Turkey, immediately not going to recognize the state of Israel which was established on May 15, 1948, instead, "wait and see" policy was followed. Turkey preferred to stay neutral in the 1948-1949 Arab-Israeli War, that began shortly after the establishment of Israel. However, one year later and despite the reaction of the Arab countries, Turkey recognized the establishment of the new state of Israel, and became the first state with a muslim population to recognize Israel on March 28, 1949. The reason for recognition was; "Israel has been a member of the UN, thus Turkey recognized it as the newly established UN Organization member within the frame of the universality of the UN Organization. Again, and according to Turkey; "Since the UN accepts that one of the two societies will use the right to self-determination, we will recognize this newly established state. But we have to remember, however, that the same principle of movement would be applied when the palestinians announced that they would establish their own state, Turkey will also recognize the independence of the Palestinians" (Yılmaz,2001,P.7).

Bilateral relations developed rapidly after Turkey's recognition of Israel and especially commercially, significant progress was recorded in the military and intelligence fields. However, the relations have sometimes followed a downward course, as mentioned above under the shadow of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Within the period specified in this context going through regional events will be useful to determine the Turkey-Israel relations (Yılmaz, 2010).

In the same period of time, in March 1949, Turkey recognized Israel. Ambassadors were exchanged between the two countries in 1952. This position can be traced to Turkey's need for the West and because of the threat the Soviet Union poses to it where Stalin had a set of measures that Turkey considered a threat, such as the abolition of the Treaty of Turkish-Soviet Friendship of 1921 concerning the settlement of the borders between the two countries, and his demands for the control of the Bosphorus Strait and the establishment of Soviet bases in Turkish territory, In addition to the need of the West to Turkey, especially since the Cold War in this period between the western camps (USA) and the eastern (Soviet Union) had reached the peak of attracting many countries of the world for the benefit of one of the two camps (Fuller, 2009).

Internally, and at the same time, Turkey was experiencing political, economic and social crises as a result of the policies of Turkish Prime Minister (Adnan Menderes), and Turkey's accession to NATO in February 1952 (Nuraldin,1997) for the support of Western countries by arming and training the Turkish army in accordance with Western standards to confront the Soviet threat and the leftist movements active in Turkey, represented by the Kurdish movements, justified by confronting global communism (Mahfuz, 2008).

After recognizing Israel and joining NATO, Turkey strengthened its relationship with Israel as the first key to winning Western countries and the United States of America after Israel committed itself to fighting global communism by supporting the position of the Security Council in Korea, especially that Turkey is a member of the international forces sent by the United Nations to fight along with South Korea against communist North Korea in 1950. The presence of Israel has

become a reality from the perspective of Turkish politics. This was expressed by Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes during a visit to Washington in June 1954: "The time has come to recognize Israel's right to life (Robens, 1993).

2.3. Baghdad Pact

In 1955, The United States of America began the establishment of this alliance from the countries of the Arab region to serve as a barrier to the extension of the Communist thought of the Soviet Union, where the United States entrusted that task to Britain and who began the establishment of the alliance, which included Turkey and the State of Iran and Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq. The Baghdad Pact had adversely affected Turkey-Israel relationship (Yılmaz, 2010).

The provisions in Article 5 of the Baghdad Pact were just such that the Pact was open to "the members of the Arab League and to the states recognized by the parties".

This article was placed by Iraq in order to prevent joining of Israel to the pact. Because of that, Israel, has shown great reaction to the pact. In a statement made by the Israeli Foreign Ministry, the Pact was described as "against Israel" and "it would encourage Arab sentiments against Israel and thus increase Arab aggression toward Israel" (Kürkçüoğlu, 2010, p.67).

2.4. Turkey-Israel Relations in the Suez Crisis

The Suez crisis, which broke out in 1956 and led to the emergence of the Second Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East region, and knowing that Britain is one of the Baghdad Pact members as well as it is one of the parties of the 1888 Istanbul Convention that regulates passage through the Suez Canal. Turkey was closely related to this crisis also due to Britain's and French's allies in the framework of NATO (Kürkçüoğlu, 2010, P.91-95). Even before the crisis outbreak, Turkey's Prime Minister at the time Adnan Menderes, declared that the Suez crisis is not just a problem that concerns the United Kingdom and Egypt, but also Turkey through a

global dimension and on the need to not evacuate the Channel without taking the necessary precautions to defend it (Armaoğlu,1995).

Upon the outbreak of the Suez war, the prime ministers of Baghdad Pact countries gathered in Tehran except Britain and published a joint "declaration" at the end of the meeting, only condemning Israel and called for withdrawal of all British and French troops from Egypt and to respect the integrity of the land and its sovereignty (Kürkçüoğlu, 2010, p.96-97).

The Turkish government condemned Israel from one side and declared it as the biggest threat to the stability in the Middle East and its peace at the Baghdad Pact in Tehran from the other side (Altunışık, 1999, p.183). Subsequently, on November 23, 1956, Turkey withdraw its Ambassador to Israel, Sovkati Istinelli, and reduced its diplomatic relations with Israel to the level of "Chargé d'affaires". But it also should be noted that, when Turkey announced its decision to withdraw its ambassador in Tel Aviv, it did not mention the Israeli attack on Egypt. In fact, Turkey's move, coming forward as being a gesture, and was not satisfied in the Arab countries. Because the withdrawn ambassador from Israel, made a statement for the Foreign Ministry, that this decision "is not directed against Israel" but to strengthen the Baghdad Pact and not intended to disrupt the friendly relations and trade activities between Turkey and Israel (Kürkçüoğlu, 2010, p.99-100).

Turkey, made a statement after the decision, that it will not recall its ambassador back to Israel as long as resolving the Palestinian issue in accordance with UN resolutions (Bölükbaşı, 1999, p.140). After Turkey recalled its ambassador in Tel Aviv, Israel also recalled its ambassador to Ankara, Maurice Fisher on December 22, 1956 (Yılmaz,2010). Turkey also denounced Israel as "the greatest threat to peace and quiet in the Middle East (Robens, 1993).

The Turkish Foreign Ministry issued a statement on the Israeli-French-British tripartite aggression against Egypt, in which it clarified its position on the Palestinian issue, stating that "the government supports the resolution of the Palestinian issue on the basis of UN General Assembly resolutions, recalling its

ambassador in Tel Aviv and not returning him to his duty until The Palestinian question resolved in a fair and final manner (Nofal, 1993).

At the same time, Turkey informed Israel that it would continue to maintain friendly relations with it. In addition, Turkey's opposition to the war and its stand with the Arab countries was not clear, especially since Turkey was a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Especially that Turkey is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and therefore the Arabs considered Turkey to as participate in one form or another, if not militarily (Aldameri, 2002).

In contrast to these positions, Turkey signed with Israel the so-called "framework agreement" or the secret alliance "on 29 August 1958, which is the establishment of a strategic relationship with Israel in many military and political fields, including the exchange of information and coordination in various fields, at the initiative of Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to improve Israel's relationship with the countries behind the "Arab fence." David Ben-Gurion, in order to improve Israel's relations with the countries behind the "Arab fence".

The agreement included Iran and Turkey to the north, and Ethiopia to the south, in order to repel the threats that Israel feels from the surrounding Arab states. According to Israeli author (Ofra Bengio), the agreement was motivated by Turkey's desire to benefit from the Israeli military experience (Nuraldin, 1997). Philip Robins considered the agreement as "the culmination of political cooperation between Israel and Turkey (Robens, 1993).

But the writer Dr. Mohamed Nour El-Din sees in a book entitled "Turkey... the formula and the role" that "The Turkish general staff and the Turkish Foreign Ministry have not recognized the existence of such an agreement and say that the first security agreement between Turkey and Israel is the agreement signed on 3 March 1994, in this regard, "The agreement was verbal, not written," said Turkey's former foreign minister, Itler Turkmen (Nuraldin, 1997,p 306).

This disagreement over whether there is a military agreement or not between Israel and Turkey is due to Turkey's desire to keep this agreement secret, and thus the position of the Arab countries on the Turkish-Israeli cooperation can be described in the words of the late Egyptian President Jamal Abdel Nasser when he said that "Turkey is stuck in the Arab world because of its Israeli policy" (Robens, 1993, p.95).

In 1964, Israeli-Turkish relations were strained by the Israeli position on the Cyprus crisis, Israel's failure to vote alongside Turkey on the Cyprus issue, and Israeli President Zalman Shazar announced humanitarian aid to Cyprus in addition to demanding that American Jewish leaders should work to restore the rights to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, and in the context of these positions, comes the end of the official period of time specified for security cooperation on 27 April 1966, favorable to the tension between Turkey and Israel (Nuraldin, 1997, p.308).

2.5. Turkey and the Middle East During 1960-1965

The emergence of radical left-wing movement of the 1960s in Turkey and the support of this movement to Palestine against the US and Israel is important to show that effectiveness of public opinion on Turkish foreign policy. In fact, illegal left organizations have supported Arabs in the Arab-Israeli conflict (Demir, 2007,p. 157). On the other hand, Turkey-US relations were in a turbulent between the years 1960-1980. In particular, two policy pursued by the US (Johnson letter and 1975-1978 arms embargo) have affected Turkey-US relations negatively and this development has been influential on Turkey's Middle East policies (Armaoğlu, 2005p. 819, Pehlivanoğlu, 2004,p. 303 -304).

The national unity government (MBK) was opposed to all the policies of the Democratic Party. In foreign policy, the UN General Assembly's decision to support Algeria's independence is a reaction to the DP's foreign policies. During the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Turkey supported the Arabs and a dispute has broken out with Israel (Oran, 2002: 674). Since the 1960s, both Arab countries and Turkey have

reviewed their foreign policy. The event that result in the revision of foreign policy for Turkey, was the "Johnson Letter". For the Arab world (especially Egypt), the defeat in the 1967 Six Day War negatively affects Arab nationalism (Demir, 2007,p. 158).

Turkey, between 1945- 1947 and during talks regarding the Palestinian issue in the UN's, stance in favor of Arab countries. In particular, the Arab countries supported the UN General Assembly proposals on the issue of independence for Palestine. Not only did it support, but on November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly voted for resolution number 181, "Taksim",in other words, to share Palestine among the Arabs and Jews, and again Turkey voted a gainst it alongside with the Arab countries (Kürkçüoğlu, 2010, p.21-22,Yılmaz, 2001, p.4).

Turkey's support to the Arab countries in the UN framework did not last long. westron countries and especially the US President Truman's personal interest toward the " existence of Israel and its welfare" caused the change of Turkey's policies towards Israel. Turkey, was selected as a member of the UN commission established by resolution 194 on 12 December, 1948 and adopted by the UN General Assembly on "Palestinian Reconciliation Commission" along with US and France. This event was the first concrete sign of Turkey's attitude toward departing from the Arabic side. That is Because Arab countries voted against the establishment of the commission while Turkey votes in favor (Kürkçüoğlu, 2010, p.30, Yılmaz, 2001, p.6).

2.6. Isolation Period

After 1963, Turkey faces the izolation status in the international arena because of the Cyprus question. Turkey has begun to look for ways to develop diplomatic relations with the Middle East countries, where it has withdrawn from practices of foreign politics that overly depend on the West. (Uzer, 2011, p. 143-144; Anchor, 2007, p. 203). 1964 "Johnson Letter" showed that Turkey's national interests and the interests of the blocks are not identical to each other; with the interests of the blocks, the interests of the country could not always be reconciled

(Sönmezoğlu, 2006: 207). the Turkish public opinion on the other hand, and for the first time, started to question the foreign policy of the country and called for an independent move regarding the foreign policy of the country (Duran&Karaca, 2013).

2.7. Change in Turkish Policy Towards the Middle East& the Palestinian Question Re-evaluation of Turkish Foreign Policy in 1964

In 1962 the USA and USSR onset of the Cuban missile crisis, the Cyprus issue in 1964, Johnson's letter and the 1965 UN General Assembly upon downfall Turkey into isolation during the Cyprus influenced Turkey,s foreign policy in many aspects, so that Turkey felt the need to improve its relations with the Arab countries and with the third world countries. The understanding of duality of the contribution of the democratization period has been the main character of Turkish foreign policy (Yavuz, 2002, p.55). The starting of The softening period between the two blocks After Cuba crise initiate the start of relative autonomy for medium-sized states such as Turkey (Oran, 2002,p. 657).

The Image of turkey was distorted in the Middle East due to the following reasons:

- 1) The irrational foreign Turkish Policies toward recognition of Israel.
- 2) Not preventing USA from using Incirlik during the war on Lebanon in 1958.
- 3) Enhancing France against Algerian independence.
- 4) Turkey's position in favor of western countries in Suez Canal issue in 1965.

As a result, of the mentioned stands of Turkey, the Arab World choose to support the Greeks in the Cyprus crises (1963-64 and 1974) (Şahin,2008).Turkey's isolation in the Middle East became so clear in the Cyprus crises (1963-64 and 1974) in which Arab countries long-sided with the Greek side. Although Turkey reinforce the Western world and Israel, they neglect these efforts. Besides economic

Soviet threat, this pushed Turkey to search for a policy which balances its stands between the west and the east (Jung, 2005, p.1-17). The Cuban Missile Crises (1962), the Cyprus Crisis (1964) and consequences formed a pressure on Turkey to reconsider its foreign policy. The Article 5 of NATO treaty, regarding 'self-inflicted' Soviet attack, which is mentioned in the Johnson letter regarding Cyprus issue, was not meant to defend Turkey. This was an example of stupidity when a country is a member in bloc policies (Arı, 2009, p.89-90). Therefore, in 1960s, Turkey began to balance its policy between the east and the west (Taşpınar, 2008, p.8). An example of this balance is the 'equidistance' policy that was applied in Arab Israeli War in 1967. To clarify, Turkey refused to give the permission to the west to utilize its bases in a kind of help to the Israeli part and it didn't gather any troops to Syrian borders. On the other side, Turkey refuses to cut the relations with Israel according to the decision of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OLC) (Özan, 2004, p. 334). This kind of balanced policy helped Turkey to stay in a neutral position among all the clashing interests of the east and the west in the region (Altunışık, 2009, p.175). In 1967, after the Arab defeat in the war, the unity of Turkish people showed a better image of Turkey in the Arab world. This defeat had several results, such as increasing the Palestinian resistance movement, reconfiguring of Arab policies, Islamic political movement (Nafi,2009), releasing of Arab Nationalism and rising of Islamic ideologies. These results caused to part the Arabs from the Eastern Bloc. This pushed Turkey and Arabs to find a common supporting powers. In turn, this pushed Turkey to build constructive policies with the neighboring countries (Dinc& Yetim, 2012).

Based on the above, how the Turkish political behavior contradictory and hesitant could be explained in the period (1948-1967)?

1. Turkey's standing in the Second World War (1945-1935) along with allies against the Axis Powers, making it close to the West and thus taking political positions in line with Western attitudes (Mahfuz.2008.p42).
2. The nature of Turkey's secular and Western-oriented political system based on making Turkey a modern and developed Western-style state,

drawing on the West's technological expertise, and thus this can only be achieved by drawing closer to the West and Israel, and move away from the Islamic and Arab world by taking a set of actions and positions internally and externally, considering that Islam brought backwardness and destruction to Turkey according to the vision of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic (Nuraldin, 1997.p273).

3. Turkey's desire to protect its national security and maintain its stability in line with the principle of isolationism and non-interference in the affairs of states, based on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's statement: "Peace at home, peace in the world", that is, as long as there is security and tranquility within Turkey, the world is also fine (Cramer, 2001, p.165) especially that the first priority of the Turkish Republic in this period was the preservation of Turkish nationalism, the cohesion of the Turkish people, and the consolidation of the principles of secularism.
4. The Israeli position on some issues of interest to Turkey has a prominent role in taking positions in favor of the Arabs and the Palestinian issue, such as the Israeli position on the issue of Cyprus, Kurds and communism. Consequently, the Turkish internal and regional issues are considered the most important bases governing Turkey's policy towards the Palestinian cause in this period.
5. Although the Palestinian issue is the bridge to the Arab and Islamic worlds, there was no real and effective intervention in the Palestinian cause. In this context, the Egyptian researcher Muhammad Abu al-Azm of the Cairo Center for Turkish Studies describes the Turkish policy during this period as a "policy of priorities" (Abu-alazm, 2012) where the danger threatened by the Soviet Union was the first priority. thus, joining the NATO and the national threat by Greece came in addition to the fact that the internal and external issues of Turkey are intertwined and interrelated, so that the Turkish position on an issue necessarily affects the rest of the other issues, so it can be said that the Turkish position in this period was characterized With caution, hesitation, lack of resolve and neutrality, which angered the Arab countries from Turkish politics.

2.8. Many Aspects Foreign Policy

A dramatic change was recorded in one polar of the international system of the Cold War between 1965 and 1975. This caused the international Arena to change because of truce of hostilities between the two blocs. Therefore, researcher went to call that period with a 'loose bi polar system', that Loose system enabled many countries to form new foreign policies away from the blocs' policies (Ari, 2004, p.155). As a result, of that loose, Turkey had the change to have a "relative autonomy" which helped it to build new policies and relations with countries. Besides, that autonomy enhanced to dismiss the Western influence on the Turkish foreign policies. For example, Turkey acted independently in the Cyprus issue and relations with USA in 1960s and 1970s.

On another aspect, Turkey could achieve a rapprochement with the Soviet and with the independent countries. At the same time, Turkey paid attention to the ties with the Arab World. Its policy was more flexible toward the Arab World. That, relative autonomy was a problematic issue toward the USA ambassador who, in turn, asked the Prime Minister whether Turkey changed 'the axis or not' (Oran, 2002, p.657) That autonomy and the shift in the Turkish foreign policy were described by William Hale to be a 'partial disengagement' in 1960sm but it was called a ire-engagement' I 1980s. Currently, Turkey seemed to have no place to reconsider its old foreign policies that applied in the period of Cold war. This was shown in building ties with the Soviet Union and non-aligned countries without any fear of endangering the Turkish national security (Hale, 2000, p.146). All those new policies helped Turkey to restore the ties with the Middle East Muslims Countries (Gözen, 2000, p.10). In fact, that rapprochement between Turkey and the Arab World influenced the ties between the Turkey and Israel. And so, as the relations between Turkey and the Arab world experienced a renovation and reconciliation, this means that the Turkish – Israeli relations experienced a barely noticeable presence on that time (Turan, 2008).

2.9. The Turkish Position Towards the Palestinian Issue After the Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip 1967-1993

The Turkish policy towards the Palestinian issue in the period between 1967-1993 was more clear and open in attitudes, as reflected by Turkey's position on the 1967 war and the position of President Turgut Özal, which followed the policy of economic openness to the regional markets and to the Arab countries to increase foreign investment within Turkey, in order to get out of the economic crisis that was going through Turkey, based on his vision that Turkey should have an active role in regional issues (Cramer,2001,p.205). The first signs of this vision were the participation of Turkey in the International Coalition alongside the United States in Iraq in 1991, to prove the strategic importance of Turkey in the Middle East, and therefore that was considered a policy exceeded the most important principles of Turkish foreign policy in the previous periods that based on isolationism and non-interference in the affairs of States, This is confirmed by the Turkish researcher (Soli Özel) when he said: "As Turkey is exposed to the deepest economic crisis, social and political, during the Republican period, Ankara finds itself involved in the affairs of the Middle East with unprecedented intensity (Cramer, 2001, p.205).

Also, Turkey's other openness was in the participation in every initiative or conference to resolve the Palestinian issue, posed by the United States of America. Later, Turkey announced its readiness to host any conference to resolve the Palestinian issue and expressed its welcome and support for the Madrid peace conference held in 1991. This open transformation in the Turkish position is due to many variables that influenced Turkish politics, including the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new Turkish republics surrounding Turkey such as (The Turkish Cypriots, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan). In addition, the United States led the world as well as the economic crisis that Turkey was undergoing in the 1970s The 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, resulting in political, economic, social and military disturbances, all of which led Turkey to reconsider its isolationist, self-imposed, pro-Western policy of the 1950s to the mid-1960s, at the internal or external level. Therefore, the Turkish

openness, and the cautious and limited clarity in attitudes towards Palestine and the Arabs, was part of Turkish policy towards the regional environment.

As for the Turkish strategic relationship with Israel, remained one of the priorities of Turkish policy, especially the military institution, which is considered the first political influence in the Turkish political system. In addition, the Turkish President Özal was the first ally of the United States of America, So was the strengthening of Israeli-Turkish relations the first key to winning the United States of America, and therefore there was no cut of relations, but there was a rise and fall in accordance with internal and external conditions.

So that the reasons that led Turkey to take limited positive positions on the Palestinian issue can be summarized as follows:

1. Turkey's desire to avoid the consequences of the economic crisis it was going through due to the high prices of the world oil in 1973, which will exacerbate the increase of its debts (Robens, 1993, p.98-99) where Turkey's internal debts in 1980 reached 9.7 billion dollars as domestic debts, 15.7 million dollars (Mohamed Ali,2004) in debts. (External sector).
2. Turkey's economic crisis has contributed to the refusal of the European Community to support Turkey's program of economic development and reform, which has led Turkey to get closer to the Arab countries, especially as they needed new markets to run their products.
3. The Saudi Arabia provided \$ 250 million as a financial aid to Turkey on the same day that diplomatic representation with Israel was reduced. And this was in order to win the Arab countries, which formed in the seventies an economic force which has an impact on the world because of the oil wealth as a result of high oil prices in the wake of the war in October 1973 (Nofal, 1993, p.123-124).
4. The demise of the threat of the Soviet threat to Turkish territory at the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s led to a decline in Turkey's dependence on NATO. This factor reduced Turkey's need for the West.

Moreover, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the transition from bipolar to unipolar, the balance of power in favor of the West has contributed to Turkey's hopes for a greater political role in the new Middle East order. The signs of this opening policy emerged through Turkey's participation in the second Gulf War against Iraq. In order to prove its strategic importance (military, geographically, politically and economically) to the United States of America, and thus show its ability to have an active role in the regional issues (Nuraldin, 1997.p22).

5. Positive Turkish attitudes toward Palestine were governed by historical Turkish positions, where Palestine had a special status among the Turks. Muhammad Nur al-Din sees that Palestine and Jerusalem for Turkey were never governed by the interests of the Turkish state, and that the issue of Jerusalem and Palestine had a special place among the Turks whether they were secular or Islamic or military, especially the secularist leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic, said on 27 July 1937 “ that he expected the establishment of a state for the Jews in the Middle East, but it will not be able to touch Palestine, and that the Turks will not accept the occupation of the Jews of that region, and that we will prevent any Jewish influence or a Christian can touch the area of the Holy Land bearing the effects of the Prophet peace be upon him, and we have a huge and a strong army to do that” (Abu-Alhasan,2009.vol).
6. Turkish positions emphasize the importance of Palestine, such as: the reduction of diplomatic representation in 1980, and the emergence of large demonstrations in Turkey, demanding the severing relations with Israel in protests against the annexation of East Jerusalem to West Jerusalem, during the period of military coup led by Kenan Evren secular-oriented Western, The closure of the consulate, and the Turkish denunciation of Israeli measures in Jerusalem." (Nur aldin, website).

This is confirmed by the Turkish President Turgut Özal who said that "The Arab countries need Turkey's political, economic and military role to the extent that Turkey needs Arab oil and Arab markets," (Aldameri, 2002).

Turkey's positions have been demonstrated by its refusal to use its NATO military bases on its territory in any military operations against Arab countries, whether by refueling or supplying arms to Israel (Fuller, 1998), during the 1967 war against three Arab countries (Egypt and Syria) where Israel occupied the remaining part of the Palestinian territories (The West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip), in addition to the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula. In this context, Turkish Foreign Minister Ihsan Sabri addressed the United Nations General Assembly a speech in which he said: "The Turkish government cannot accept Rape of land by force, It is essential that the United Nations insist on the withdrawal of Israel from the territories it occupied (Nofal, 1993, p.123). Also Turkey supported the international resolution 242, issued after the war on 22 November 1967, which states on: "The withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict (Aljazeera net, 2004).

In addition, Turkey condemned Israel when the Al-Aqsa Mosque was burned on August 21, 1969 through its participation in the summit of Islamic countries but at the same time opposed the decision of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to sever relations with Israel on 25 September 1969 (Alzaytouna center, 2010).

On November 10, 1975, Turkey also sided with the Arab countries with the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly resolution (3379), which considered Zionism a form of racism."

In the same year, the Turkish government took another positive step towards the recognition of the rights of the Palestinians by recognizing the PLO in January 1975 as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Later, relations between Turkey and the PLO developed, when Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit on 5 October 1979 invited the late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat to open an office of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Ankara (Nofal, 1993).

When Israel made the occupied East Jerusalem its eternal capital through the law passed by the Knesset in July 1980, Turkey closed its consulate in Jerusalem

on 28 August 1980 and reduced its diplomatic representation in its embassy in Tel Aviv from the Chargé d'affaires to a second secretary, and that was in agreement with the Turkish popular pressure represented by the huge demonstrations in Turkey, which was the most prominent proponents by Necmettin Erbakan, who submitted a draft resolution to the Turkish parliament to sever relations with Israel, and this indicates the status and importance of religious and historical city of Jerusalem to Turkey and Turkish people (Aljazeera net, 2010).

And when the intifada broke out in the occupied Palestinian territories on 9 December 1987, Turkey condemned Israel's repression and sent a ship to the Palestinians carrying (100) tons of sugar in February 1991 and followed it with another ship in May 1991 carrying various aids.

After the adoption by the Palestinian National Council in November 1988 of UN Security Council Resolution 242 and the principle of land for peace, condemnation of terrorism and explicit recognition of Israel, Turkey welcomed this position which was supported and by the international community. In light of these developments, Turkey recognized the Palestinian state declared by the Palestinian National Council in Algeria on 15 November 1988. It was the fifth country in the world to do so, and the first of the countries from the western camp, which means recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people, where the late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat expressed his pride in the Turkish position in 1989 (Nofal, 1993). Recalling the position of Sultan Abdel Hamid when he met Theodor Herzl at the request of the latter on 17 May 1901 in which Theodor Herzl offered the Sultan to give Palestine to the Jews in return for paying the debts of the Ottoman Empire, but Sultan Abdel Hamid rejected the offer and sent Herzl a letter in which he said, "Advise Dr. Herzl not to take serious steps in this matter, that I cannot give up an inch of land, this land is not mine but belongs to the Islamic nation, which struggled in its path and threw it with its blood, the Jews should keep their millions, and if the state of the caliphate is torn apart one day, they can then take Palestine without a price. As for me, and as long as I'm a live, so that I should not see Palestine being cut off from the Ottoman state,

and this will never come true because I cannot agree on the dissection of our bodies as we are alive". This was translated into a series of measures taken by Sultan Abdul Hamid, such as preventing Jewish travelers from staying in Palestine for more than three months and preventing the purchase of Jews to any land from Palestine (Nofal, 1993 p. 127).

It can be said that the Turkish recognition of the Palestinian state came in line with the principle of Turkish foreign policy based on the right of all countries in the region to live in peace and security, within the resolutions of international legitimacy, especially Resolution 242.

Turkey believed that good relations between Turkey and Israel, and between Turkey and the Palestinians, would help them achieve peace in the region. This vision was confirmed by the representative of the PLO in Ankara at the time, (Fouad Yassin) (Palestine-info, 2006).

In the middle of the 1980s, Turkish-Israeli relations were strengthened following the mutual visits between the two sides. The visit of an Israeli delegation to Ankara in August 1980, followed by Ariel Sharon's visit in 1984 to Turkey, and on September 9, 1984, an unofficial delegation from The Republican people party visited Israel, and all these visits resulted in culminating in military, political, intelligence and economic cooperation so that the trade exchange between Turkey and Israel in 1980 was 120-130 million dollars (Fares, 2009).

The period between 1990-1993 was characterized by the total Turkish position to the west, where Turkey re-established relations with Israel in the late spring of 1990, the level of representation increased to the ambassadors in 1991, the development of economic cooperation, especially cooperation in the project of "peace pipes" raw water supply to Israel (Cramer, 2001, p. 207). This development in Turkish-Israeli relations is due to the following:

1. The military coups occurred in Turkey on 12 March 1971 and 12 September 1980. The period of the 1970s and 1980s was characterized

by many political, economic and social disturbances and the amendments of the laws was witnessed at the time. The most important of these were the expansion of the powers of the army and the adoption of many laws, Such as the "anti-terrorism" law, and therefore Turkey's desire to cooperate with Israel to reduce the risk of the PKK, as the military describes relations with Israel as strategic, due to the Israeli intelligence and military experience developed in the wars against the Arabs From 1948 until 1973 (Mahfuz, 2008 p. 158).

2. Israel provided Turkey with documents indicating the existence of cooperative relations between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Kurdish groups that consisted of training members of the Kurdish movement in the training camps of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which reflected the Turkish position on the Palestinian struggle and its connection with international terrorism according to the American and Turkish viewpoint (Aldameri, 2002).
3. The Egyptian-Palestinian relations improved following the visit of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to Egypt at a time when Arab countries were boycotting Egypt because of the signing of a peace agreement with Israel in 1979. This visit was interpreted by Turkey as a moderate Palestinian position toward Israel.
4. The 1988 recognition by the PLO of Israel and the start of peace negotiations between the Arabs and Israel by the so called Madrid Peace Conference in the Middle East on 30 October 1991. About the Turkish position on these developments, a statement by the Turkish Foreign Ministry on 23 November 1991 welcomed the convening of the Madrid peace conference on the basis of land for peace, especially as the conference was a multilateral process. Meaning that the influential world countries and regional states would have a role in the peace process, both in political and economic fields (Cramer, 2001, p. 207).

2.10. Turkish Political Position on the Palestinian Issue and its Vision Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process After the Signing of the Oslo Agreement (1993-2002)

The internal Turkish issues are closely related to the Turkish policy towards Palestine and the Middle East. Consequently, the internal and external threats faced by Turkey constituted a major obstacle to Turkey's active role towards Palestine, and there was no opposing political stance. Therefore, the attitude towards Palestine in this period was based on the challenges facing Turkey, not on ideological, or political grounds, and thus limiting the Turkish position in this period to the official Turkish discourse supporting the Palestinian position as well as supporting of some resolutions of the United Nations, so there were no Turkish initiatives or meetings or mediation roles in the peace process. Moreover, the Turkish position was not translated into actual movements because of its loss of the most important elements of the strength of the active role, especially the economic components (the power of the economy) and politics (political stability internally and externally).

2.11. The Turkish Position on the Oslo Accords (1993) and the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process

The latest Oslo agreement signed between the PLO and Israel on 13 September 1993 caused many reactions, whether at the local, regional or international level. On the Turkish side, Turkey welcomed the signing of the agreement and the start of the peace process on the basis of the principle of land for peace, with the aim of promoting regional stability and security, and according to the Turkish point of view, the peace process was a way out of its policy of neutrality and perseverance during the 1950s and mid-1960s, limited openness in the late 1960s and 1970s, and in the 1980s and 1990s, in its positions toward Arabs, Palestinians and Israel (Cramer, 2001, p. 225).

And in this context, "The project of the peace process has allowed Turkey to make lengthy and accurate calculations for every step it has taken toward the Middle East," says Imad Aldameri (Aldameri, 2002, p.225), whereas Hints Kramer

says that "the signing of the Oslo agreement was a factor in pushing Turkey's relations with Israel." (Cramer, 2001, p. 225). Strengthening the Turkish-Israeli relations after the signing of the Oslo agreement resulted in:

1. The visit of Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs, (Hikmet Çetin) to Israel on November 12, 1993, in which a memorandum of understanding was signed for bilateral cooperation between Turkey and Israel in the economic, scientific and military fields, exchange of visits and regional cooperation, and after his return from Tel Aviv, Turkish Foreign Minister stressed on this development of bilateral relations between the two countries, saying: "Cooperation between the two countries will be far beyond what was expected to establish a new system in the Middle East, where Turkey or Israel does not allow any terrorist acts, or the existence of available area to train and move terrorists unhindered " (Aldameri, 2002).
2. Israeli Prime Minister Azar Weizman and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres visited Turkey on 25 December 1994 in order to strengthen economic, political and military relations. Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller also visited Israel on January 31, 1994, during which she signed several political, economic and security agreements (Cramer, 2001, p. 226-227).
3. The visit of the Commander of the Israeli Air Force; (Herzel Bodenger) to Turkey in August 1993 to discuss military industrial cooperation, headed by cooperation in the air industry (Abdelaziz,2001).
4. In 1996, the President of the Republic of Turkey, (Süleyman Demirel), visited Israel, during which a free trade agreement was signed, a continuation of a special agreement on military cooperation signed in February 1996.
5. Trade between the two countries improved. For example, trade between Turkey and Israel reached \$ 760 million in 1998, an increase of 20% compared with the situation in 1997. Israeli tourism to Turkey increased in 1997 by 3.7 % compared to 1996 (Bengio, özcan, 2003, p.33).

6. The establishment of the South-East Anatolia Project, known as the "Gab" Which operates more than 118 Israeli companies from since 1995.
7. The volume of Israeli trade to Turkey has reached about \$ 2 billion a year (Alkhazindar, 2010).

Regardless of the motives of the two countries to conclude such agreements, there is no doubt that these agreements become a source of tension between Turkey and the Arab countries, as the latter considered these agreements as a threat to them, especially Syria (Nuraldin, 1997, p.277-280) where the Syrian Vice President (Abdel Halim Khaddam) described Turkish bias in this agreement as "the greatest threat to the Arabs since the year 1948" (Bengio, Özcan, 2003, p.35).

In contrast to the Arab positions on the growing Turkish-Israeli relations, the Palestinian position, expressed by the late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat during the visit of President (Süleyman Demirel) to Gaza in July 1999, expressed the official Palestinian position by stressing "the importance and necessity of the Turkish role, especially what the President (Süleyman Demirel) personally do to maintain the peace process.

He also criticized the Arab criticism of Turkey's signing of the military agreement. "This position therefore precludes the negative impact that Turkish-Israeli relations may have on the Palestinian cause, and considers the closer relations between Turkey and Israel as an opportunity for Turkey to mediate between Palestinians and Israelis.

2.12. Turkey and the Al-Aqsa Intifada (28 September 2000)

The Al-Aqsa Intifada broke out on September 28, 2000, due to the storming of the holy city by (Ariel Sharon) the former Likud leader, accompanied by some 3,000 members of the Israeli occupation forces. The clashes between the Palestinian worshipers and the Israeli police forces expressed their disapproval and condemnation. These confrontations fast expanded to all the occupied Palestinian territories.

Turkey's position on the Al-Aqsa Intifada was characterized by a harsh tone in criticizing Israel through statements it made about the Israeli policy, describing Israel's killing as a "collective genocide", which historically and morally linked to Hitler's actions against Jews. In comparison, the Turkish reaction to Israeli policies in the Palestinian territories a year ago, in 1993 and beyond and until 2002 we note that the positive shift came in the language of the Turkish political discourse on the Palestinian issue, Turkey in the past did not use such terms to describe the Israeli policy towards Palestine and the Palestinians. It is also noticeable that there is a harmony in the Turkish official position between the president and the prime minister on one hand, and the Turkish people (historically sympathetic to Palestine) on the other hand, but all this has not been translated through Turkey's active and influential role, such as the launching of independent Turkish initiatives.

Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer described the Israeli actions against the Palestinians as "violence and provocation." The Muslim world was deeply disturbed by violence against our Palestinian brothers after Friday prayers in Jerusalem, which Islam considers to be one of the holiest places, Irresponsible by the Israeli army. (Foler, 2009, p.162).

Also the Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit warned in 2001 that "Sharon is determined to implement extreme and unjust measures against the Palestinian authority and its territories," (Fuller, 2009, p.108), and described Israel's practices as "genocide," which angered Israel and the United States (Nuraldin, 2008, p.132). Where the official position of Turkey was in line with the protests and the Turkish popular opposition against the Israeli aggression in the Al-Aqsa Intifada. In a 2000 poll, 60% of Turks expressed the view that Jerusalem or Al-Aqsa Mosque were important to them and demanded a more active Turkish role in the defense of the Palestinian people. On the Turkish media level, there has been increasing criticism in the Turkish press against Israel's killings, as well as numerous attempts within Turkey to trial (Sharon) as a war criminal. Turkish against the killings carried out by Israel, as well as many attempts in Turkey to try Sharon as a war criminal, and this is a proof of the Turkish public interest with all its orientations (Kewader, 2009).

As a result to all those positions, and in December 2000, Turkey voted in favor of the Security Council resolution (1322), issued on 7 October 2000, which states that "the Council condemns the provocative satire that took place at Al-Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem on 28 September 2000 and the subsequent violence occurred at Haram and throughout the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, resulting in the martyrdom of more than 80 Palestinians " (UN, 2000).

In addition, and in 2001, Turkey started the mediation role at the United Nations Fact-Finding Committee on the Al-Aqsa Intifada. It participated in the preparation of the Commission's report. Turkey was represented by the former President, (Süleyman Demirel), along with five other members of the Commission of the United Nations "Mitchell Committee", Turkey was involved in this committee at the request of the late President Yasser Arafat (Mamdouh, 2009).

As for the Turkish position on the siege of the late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat at his headquarters in Ramallah in March 2002, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit said: "Yasser Arafat is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and it is truly regrettable that he is being attacked" (BBC, 2002). Knowing that (Bülent Ecevit) was associated with a special friendship with the late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, in addition to describing the Jenin operation in 2002 as "genocide" (Aras, 2009).

The factors Determining Turkish Policy towards the Palestinian Issue (1993-2002) can be summarized as follows:

2.13. Turkey's Orientation Towards the EU

Turkish policy in the 1990s focused most of its diplomatic efforts to join the European Union. Turkey applied for membership in the European Union in 1987. On January 1, 1996, Turkey was admitted to the European Customs Union, and in 1999, Turkey officially became a candidate for accession to the European Union. Since then, Turkey has worked with the government and parliament to introduce the constitutional and legal reforms that the European Union has stipulated to accept

Turkey as a member state of the EU and was known as the "Copenhagen criteria" (Abdel Fattah, p,2008). This is what Turkish President Süleyman Demirel stressed in June 1995 saying that: "Turkey is keen to join properly to full membership in the European Union and is making efforts to overcome its economic and political problems." (Muawad, 1998).

2.14. The Struggle between Secularists and Islamists

The secularists, headed by the military institution, consider that the most serious threat to the Turkish national security is political Islam because it undermines the principles of the secular Turkish Republic. Turkish Chief of Staff Ismail Hakkı Karadayı confirmed this in September 1997: "Islam is the number one threat in Turkey. During the history of Turkey we note many military coups occurred in 1960, 1971 and 1980 under the pretext of protecting secularism from Islam (Abdel Fattah Mutaz, 2007) In the 1990s, the conflict began when the Islamic Refah Party, headed by Necmettin Erbakan, became a partner in the government of Tansu Çiller, and later chaired it (1996_1997), where Necmettin Erbakan was considered as the symbol of political Islam in Turkey, and he adopted a foreign policy towards the Muslim world and in order to prevent Erbakan from making any changes, the Turkish National Security Council issued on February 28 a memorandum consisting of (18) recommendations that the government is requesting to implement, concerning the foreign policy of the Refah Party and the funding sources of Islamic organizations. So that and as a result of these pressures, Necmettin Erbakan was forced to resign (Mahfuz, 2008, p.54).

2.15. Economic Crisis and Financial Corruption (1994-2001)

The collapse of the Turkish currency, which lost 50% of its value, and many companies and factories went bankrupt, many shops were closed, and unemployment rose as well as taxes, creating a burden on low-income citizens and the result was demonstrations in various Turkish cities (Orhan, 2004). So the main concern of the Turkish governments during this period was the establishment of an

economic program to get out of the economic crisis that was plaguing the Turkish governments.

2.16. Political Instability

The duration of the Turkish governments was limited to five Turkish governments during this period (1993-2002). One of the most important reasons that led to the change of governments was the economic crisis, and this accompanied by demonstrations in the Turkish street, the divisions between the Turkish parties, in addition to the conflict between secularists and Islamists, and thus all these internal disturbances was reflected on the Turkish policy towards Regional and international environment, and specifically towards Palestine (Davutoğlu, 2010, p.69).

CHAPTER THREE

PALESTINE IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

3.1. Turkish-Palestinian Relations Before 2000

Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire when the immigration of European Jews grew, and in the late 19th century they worked on land ownership, creating a state of Ottoman anxiety, and after the collapse of the Empire and the Declaration of the Turkish Republic, Turkey sympathized with the Jews and facilitated their move to Palestine before the outbreak of World War II, for many internal and external reasons and changes (Fuller, 1998, p.162).

The Ottoman Empire was associated with Palestine in many respects, and perhaps this is because of the most prominent factor which is the religious and spiritual position of the land of Palestine, then Turkey realized the conspiracies that done against Palestine, especially after the Zionist Conference held in the Swiss city of Basel in 1897, Turkey tried to take action before and after the conference to prevent the recommendations of the implementation of these plots, such as the establishment of a municipal council in the city of Jerusalem in 1863, and made Palestine an independent state from Syria in 1872, as an independent Governorate of Syria's state in 1874 (Saleh, 2010, p. 7-8).

The 'centrality' of the Palestinian issue was the explosive case of Islamic feelings towards the challenges done by the Zionists to the Al-Aqsa Mosque and to the city of Jerusalem. This clearly influenced Turkey, even if Turkey with a secular system does not miss the feeling of Islam and its impact on the Turkish civil society for its organizations and its Islamic parties as Turkey constitutes the majority of Sunni Muslims associated with the religious heritage with the holy places in Palestine. Furthermore, Sultan Abdul Hamid II was known for his reluctance and rejection of the offers and compromises presented to him by the Zionist Conference to manage the migration of Jews to Palestine, and his insistence on Palestine as a land not to mortgage and not to non-Muslims, and therefore issued the 'documents'

that prevented selling and buying in Palestine to non-Muslims, in addition to not facilitating the Jewish presence in them, The Jews then settled in Palestine by buying land through intermediaries and false witnesses and bribes for corruption (AlSaadoun, 2000, p. 21).

Then, the historical processes and the outbreak of the First World War in which Ottomans stood next to Germany and many of them killed in the battlefields of Palestine. Also, after what has been done from Correspondence between Sharif Hussein and Lord McMahon, and after the case of Ottomans after their weakness due to war, Turkey did not have a specific position towards Palestine in most of its stages at the time.

Then the decision of Palestine's partition came out which Turkey's stand against it with the Arab countries, and it was contrary to the desire of the United States. And some interpreted that because of the Soviet pressure on it to claim some of the Turkish territories in that period. Then It began the year 1949 as a decisive year for Turkey's relations with Israel and the recognition of Israel as a result of US pressure, It was considered decisive for its relations with Israel and its negative impact on the Arab countries as recognition of Israel started as a result of US pressure, and Turkey's desire for rapprochement with the Western world (Safwah, 1982, P.93). In addition, the establishment of the Turkish as a secular Republic in 1923 created an incentive rapprochement to the Western world which is originally intended to establish support, cooperation and protection for Israel as an important and strategic basis after its establishment, which reflected negatively on the Turkish position towards the Palestinian issue, and became less interested than it was before, As was the case during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. This settled the situation as Turkey being a secular republic, dominated by secular parties close to the West and Israel, and its official position remains towards the Palestinian cause does not exceed the demand or approval of the resolutions of the international legitimacy that deals with the issue of Palestinian people, while it have seen a farness from the Arab and Islamic world and Palestine, as it has become more close to the influence of Islamic parties, such as the period of Turgut Özal, and then Erbakan, and most notably the AKP led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Turkey has long lived with a clear position on the Palestinian issue, considering it an international conflict, with considerations of the same issue or justifications, and the absence of Arab support, which may have been limited to denouncing Zionism in the United Nations as a kind of racism and racial discrimination, and without preventing it from having good relations with this state embodied by Zionism, and that the main issue in this conflict is legitimate, with cooperative links officially between the PLO and attitudes towards the the Palestinian issue, which will be reviewed subsequent dismissal, and events supporting the Palestinian people, organized by various civil society actors (Safwah, 1982, p.99).

Nabil Shaath believes that: 'The Turkish position has always been supportive of the Palestinian issue with all its various regimes, Turkey was one of the first countries to recognize the Palestinian state after its declaration in Algeria in the year 1988, and even preceded some Arab countries in that matter, and the Turkish positions that support Palestine are very numerous, for example, the visit of former Turkish President Süleyman Demirel to the Palestinian National Authority and meeting with President Yasser Arafat to consolidate and improve the economic situation between the parties'. In return, 'President Abu Ammar visited Turkey a lot, believing that it is one of the first countries that support the Palestinian cause' (Al Shrti, 2010).

The Turks were already listening to the demands of the Palestinians, so long as they had appointed a Turkish official (as a minister) and the aid increased so that Turkey opened a development office in Ramallah to carry out development projects in the Palestinian territories, and thus the relations have always been maintained by mutual cooperation and the Palestinian side who helped mediate the Greek-Turkish dispute, specifically between 1996 and 2002 and in cooperation between Nabil Shaath and Turkish Foreign Minister Ismail Cem (AlShrti, 2010).

3.2. Contemporary Turkish-Palestinian Relations (2000-2010)

Turkey has played a prominent role in the Middle East region and has a strong presence in the region, economically, culturally, and politically, etc., and it has a wide activity at all levels; its foreign policy has become the focus of many observers, and has changed around many foreign affairs issues. Solving the Palestinian issue was an important part of its policy during this period, which was manifested after the Justice and development party took over, and pursued policies of convergence, cooperation and broad relations with the Arab world And Islamic, to distinguish the Turkish-Palestinian relations clearly, and the Palestinian issue becomes one of most important issues for Turkey.

The AKP sought to deepen Turkey's interest in the Palestinian issue and played a role on the side Palestinian conflict, and in employing the Turkish public opinion, which is sympathetic to the Palestinian issue and stems from the religious point of view, The Party's bold partisan positions led to sharp criticism from its leaders against Israel and terrorism Which it is doing against the Palestinian people, with the government headed by the party maintaining close relations between Ankara and Tel Aviv, despite the tensions and disagreements and the decline in the level of relations, but continued activities between the parties and in all spheres, whether economic, military, security or cultural (Saleh, 2010).

Currently, the Palestinian issue is a central issue for Turkey at both the public and official levels. The audience was active because of the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip in late 2008, and the Turkish demonstrations came out in thousands to protest and condemn this aggression, as well as the Turkish government protested and denounced this aggression, too.

The popular stand was clear. In other words, the Turkish civil society organizations were able to provide the necessary support to Palestinian people in their conflict and in various forms, such as those presented to break the siege imposed on the Gaza Strip by the conduct of 'convoys Freedom 'loaded with aid, and what was provided through Turkish institutions found in the Palestinian

territories. Also, the cooperation between the Turkish Government and the Palestinian National Authority was highly beneficial.

As for the Turkish official position, the Palestinian issue has become an important part of foreign policy towards The Middle East, and emerged many positions supporting them, including political positions in confirmation of their previous positions, such as the Turkish rejection of settlement projects by the establishment of Jewish housing units in the east of Jerusalem, and others related to its refusal to declare Jerusalem as the eternal capital of Israel under Israeli general law in 1980 (Aras, 2009). Also, Turkish assertion of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and thus new positions for Turkish policy makers came out in a manner that holds Turkey responsible for the Palestinian issue and considers it an opportunity to build an effective Turkish role In the Middle East. Therefore, the Turkish administration has identified its position with a precise political approach that seeks to deter or prevent aggression of Israel on the Palestinian people, while condemning the Palestinian attacks on Israeli targets to maintain good relations with both parties (Aras, 2009).

The Turkish-Palestinian relations after 2000 were marked by further progress and Turkish interest in the issue and in various fields, to occupy an important position in Turkish foreign policy, and perhaps the arrival of Justice and Development party is one of the main reasons for this transformation. In addition, the importance of the same issue on the international scene and the Middle East region in particular, and a solution to the situation of security and peace have always been associated with it. Besides, the oppression of the Palestinian people and the absence of an effective Arab role to end this conflict with the Israeli side, made the special Turkish reasons able to find an important role for it in the region to serve its interests.

The Turkish-Palestinian relations came several decades ago, and Turkey cooperated with the Palestinian National Authority after its establishment in 1994 soon after the Oslo Accords, Ankara established formal relations with the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which had a representative

office in Turkey since 1977, which rose to a diplomatic mission as a Palestinian embassy, enjoying all privileges and immunities, and considered its ambassador as a dean of the Arab and foreign diplomatic corps (1997-2006) despite the reservations of the Israeli and American embassies (Abdul Fattah, 2008). This shows the progress in the level of Turkish orientation towards the Palestinian cause and its people.

In the previous years, Turkey played the role of mediator between Palestinians and Israelis. The Turkish committee participated in the United Nations Commission on Dispute Resolution on Land contributed to some of the reports delivered to the committee. The committee was represented by Turkey's former president Suleiman Demirel and five other members of the committee. Within the United Nations Fact-Finding Mission (the Mitchell Commission), knowing that the participation of Turkey came at the request of the martyred president Yasser Arafat (Saleh, 2006). Also, Turkey participates in the International Committee for the Protection of the acquired rights of the Palestinian people, and its membership in the Jerusalem Committee, and the international forces stationed in Hebron.

Turkish President Abdullah Gül then went to the headquarters of the Palestinian National Authority in Ramallah and said Turkey is willing to do everything to provide assistance and help to the Palestinian and Israeli sides to reach to a peace agreement, saying: “The ways used by Israel against the Palestinian people, which is the pressure and siege will not bring security and comfort to it” (Saleh, 2010, p. 36) stressing the need to establish an independent Palestinian state as the best route to peace and security.

The visit between the two sides to consolidate relations between them, Ankara received President Mahmoud Abbas several times during the three years, and received the Prime Minister Salam Fayyad twice, in the framework of consultation between them on many issues. While the former President of Turkey, Ahmet Necdet Sezer, visited the West Bank and met with the President Abbas on 7-8/06/2006 (Saleh, 2007). The multiplicity of positions and policies pursued by Turkey in cooperation with Mahmoud Abbas resulted in many cooperation areas

with the Palestinian side includes various fields of trade, culture, health and education and the various forms of assistance.

Turkey handed over to the PNA a copy of the Ottoman archive, which was considered a very important step to the Palestinians, which would help establish Palestinian land ownership in the face of Israeli targeting Official and settlement associations, especially in the Jerusalem area (Palestinian Media Center, 2010). That is to say that the copy was handed over to the embassy headquarters in order to protect them from Israeli hands if sent to the Palestinian territories.

As for the commercial relations between the two countries, Turkish industries have become filling the Palestinian markets, especially Foodstuffs and clothing with Palestinian exports to Turkey. We can sum up the volume of trade between the two countries in the total value of exports and imports of goods to the West Bank and Gaza Strip with Turkey according to released data, that the level of trade exchange is not a large part of Turkey in terms of national product or compared with other countries. This is because the size of the Palestinian market is small compared to other markets, and the Palestinian production capacity is limited in addition to the political aspect of Israel's control over the crossings and the foreign trade of the Palestinian territories, while it is an important element of the Palestinian economic aspect and its development and the Turkish side in terms of strengthening relations between the two countries' Bilateral economic ties. There was a progress in economic relations between Turkey and the Palestinian National Authority, where a free trade agreement was signed between the two countries, after visiting Palestinian Minister of Economy Maher Al-Masri, Ankara in (20/7/2004), he also held the regular meeting of the Turkish-Palestinian Labor Council in Istanbul in (7-9 June 2004) (Saleh, 2006, p.117). A joint cooperation agreement was signed between the Chambers of Commerce of both countries and the Turkish authorities circulated all consular representations that all Palestinian passport holders must grant entry visas to Turkey without delay, which demonstrates the direction of foreign policy towards an active role in Palestinian development, and help to provide them with all possible facilities.

Today, we are also witnessing Turkey's presence with regard to Palestinian relations, in its role as an intermediary for reconciliation of the Palestinian conflict between the Fatah and Hamas movements, and ending the state of Palestinian division. In addition, Turkish role, its representative and humanitarian offices in the Palestinian territories have contributed to the assistance and the establishment of such relations. It is worthy to mention the important Turkish media role in shedding light on the issue of suffering and steadfastness of the Palestinian people, and to expose the Israeli aggression against it during television series and news reports.

What should be mentioned is the incident of the Freedom Flotilla, which was essential for the Turkish orientation towards the Palestinian issue. It is an important part of Turkey's stand on the side of the Palestinian people, especially after its repercussions that came from Turkey's continuing demands for Israel to lift the siege imposed on the Gaza Strip, as a condition imposed on Israel to restore relations.

3.3. Turkey and Palestinian Events in the Period 2002-2010

The Turkish position was prominent, clear and strong in its criticisms of the events that occurred in Palestine during the period 2002- 2010, which reinforced its credibility and its impact. These statements were referred to steps, the visit of Khaled Meshaal to Turkey in the isolation that was imposed on the movement, The confusion and internal and external pressures that accompanied the visit, but this position is considered a turning point in Turkish policy towards the establishment of balanced relations with all actors in the issue of Palestine in the light of an independent Turkish vision, especially that the European Union in which Turkey seeks to join, puts the movement on the list of terrorist movements as well as the United States and Israel, which have strategic relations with Turkey, Hamas is considered a terrorist movement. In this Turkey had an independent path out of the rest of the regional and international parties and a new vision in Turkish diplomacy towards the peace process as to stand at one distance from all parties and to establish anew relations for the role of mediator. By doing so, Turkey was translating one of the most important principles of Turkish foreign policy developed earlier by Turkish

governments, policy of multidimensional compared with the previous policy based on the tendency towards a single axis (Al Dameri, 2002).

In a statement issued by the Turkish Prime Minister's Press Center on 9 June 2003, Turkish Prime Minister at the time Recep Tayyip Erdoğan expressed support of the Turkish government for the road map. At the same time, he telephoned Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, stressing that his government "is keen to develop its relations with Israel and activate cooperation in various fields between the two countries, expressing Turkey's satisfaction with the outcome of the Sharm el-Sheikh and Aqaba summit.". The Sharm el-Sheikh summit focused on ways to combat terrorism, And how to start implementing the road map (Kuna, n.d)

In November 2006, Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer invited President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli President Shimon Peres to visit Ankara in order to address the Turkish parliament. Turkey renewed its desire to mediate in the peace process between the Palestinian and Israeli sides (Abdelfattah, 2008). This indicates the interest paid by the Turkish government to the peace process and its keenness to balance its relations with the Palestinian and Israeli sides in order to ensure the success of its mediation in the peace process.

3.4. Turkey's Participation in the Annapolis Conference

The Annapolis Peace Conference was held in the United States of America on 27 November 2007 in order to revive the peace process between the Palestinians and Israelis and to resume the negotiations and to work on the implementation of the road map, especially after the failure of the Camp David Summit. The United States invited 40 countries and international organizations to participate in the one-day conference. Turkey participated in the conference and welcomed the outcome of it; the resumption of negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis. In a statement issued by the Turkish Presidency, Turkish President at the time Abdullah Gul said that the decision to resume the negotiations was a welcome step and called on all parties to contribute to the process. But on the other hand, Erdogan expressed his belief that the hope of reaching an agreement between the Israelis and the

Palestinians is very little, and the chances of the success of the negotiations reaches zero because the outstanding issues between them are essential and not just land (Alzaytouna, 2007). The statement issued by President Gul and Prime Minister Erdogan enhanced the Turkish role in the peace process to spread security and stability, which Turkey seeks to achieve regionally and internationally (Alzaytouna center, 2007).

3.5. Turkish Efforts to Achieve Palestinian Reconciliation (2007)

The Turkish positions, statements and endeavors that have been exerted towards achieving Palestinian reconciliation, which have shown Turkey's active and prominent role stems from Turkey's keenness to preserve the reputation of the Palestinian cause, arrange the internal Palestinian house and preserve its social structure in order to protect the Palestinian national project and empower of the steadfastness the Palestinian Authority and success of its efforts to establish a Palestinian state (Pnn, 2011). And with the confirmation of Turkish Prime Minister at the time Recep Tayyip Erdogan during his contact with Palestinian Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh of that "We in Turkey are ready to move in order to heal the rift between you and restore unity to the Palestinian people. Turkish President at the time Abdullah Gul said: "Turkey considers the Palestinian cause and Jerusalem as the issue of the Turkish people, and that they constituted a great asset to them. The Palestinian division was the great harm to the Palestinian people and their reputation (Alzaytouna, 2010). Turkey's intensive efforts in Palestinian reconciliation had given it a prominent and effective role not only at the regional and international levels. The Turkish position on Palestinian reconciliation reflects a noticeable shift in Turkish policy toward the Palestinian issue compared to the Turkish policies before 2002, from the role of neutrality and spectator to the proactive, effective, influential and independent role, because of its balanced relationship with all parties.

Turkey, represented by President Abdullah Gul, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu at the time, exerted great and intensive efforts at all levels to end the Palestinian division, and spared no effort

but to achieve Palestinian reconciliation and unify the Palestinian position for Maintaining the Palestinian cause. On 4 February 2009, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas visited Turkey to work to end the Palestinian division. Turkey proposed forming a unity government. National, composed of technocrats and independents (Alquds, 2009).

In the same context, Turkey initiated an informal proposal to hold a meeting of the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, Egyptian Intelligence Chief and representatives of the Hamas and Fatah movements in Turkey or Egypt and in the presence of Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu and asked the President of the Palestinian Authority Mahmoud Abbas to send a representative to Turkey to view the position of the Palestinian Authority and the "Fatah" movement on the subject of dialogue. Turkey expressed its willingness to contribute to Cairo's efforts to heal the Palestinian rift. In viewing of the Palestinian position regarding the Turkish role, we find that it was welcomed from the outset by the Palestinian leadership, as confirmed by the head of the Fatah bloc in the Palestinian Legislative Council Azzam al-Ahmad: "We welcome the efforts and the Turkish intervention to end the Palestinian division."

The Turkish role in reconciliation through the announcement of the Palestinian Prime Minister Ismail Haniya said that "Hamas welcomes any Arab and Islamic effort and this is not an alternative to the Egyptian role, but rather to it. (Alwatan, 2009).

When Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas announced his readiness to visit Gaza on 16 March 2011 to end the division, Turkey sent a message to the Palestinian President expressing its full support for the initiative presented by the Turkish Consul, even the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu announced his willingness to accompany the Palestinian President to Gaza. In addition, Turkey made a proposal for a meeting in Istanbul between Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and Hamas political buro chief Khaled Meshaal, including holding elections for the Palestinian National Council and postponing legislative and presidential

elections, but the Palestinian president rejected the proposal because the elections must be comprehensive (Alzaytouna. 2011).

The culmination of these efforts was the signing of the Palestinian reconciliation agreement on 4 May 2011 in the presence of a Turkish representative of Foreign Minister at the time Ahmet Davutoglu, who described the reconciliation agreement as "the historic event (Malaf, 2010).

Turkish efforts did not stop at this point. Turkey, through its regional and international weight, its membership in NATO and international organizations, and its efforts to join the European Union, supported and marketed the reconciliation agreement. This was expressed by Turkish President Abdullah Gul Meeting with the representative of the Palestinian Authority, Azzam Al-Ahmad, on "Turkey's readiness to employ its potential and its regional and international relations in support of Palestinian reconciliation." (Alnaseha, n.d). After signing the reconciliation agreement in Cairo, the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu called on US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton and assured her that the road to agreement should not be blocked (Abdelmajeed, 2011). The Turkish capital Ankara hosted meetings between Fatah and Hamas at the invitation of the Initiative to manage mechanisms to promote dialogue to achieve national reconciliation through the establishment of ideas and recommendations that help decision-makers make the right decisions (Alroeya, 2011).

3.6. The Internal Factors Affecting Turkey's Foreign Policy Towards the Palestinian Issue

3.6.1. Political parties

The Turkish parties are considered the most important elements for the environment and the political forces that influenced the political decision-making and their role in understanding the characteristics of the performance of the leadership and the political elite, their orientations, methods, and aspects of

cooperation and conflict among many parties, and the positions of other parties that the governments being formed (Moawad, 1998).

Political parties in all their forms are factors influencing Turkish foreign policy and the issue of Palestinian conflict. They had different understanding and consideration of the nature of this issue. In other words, most of the Turkish parties had an important role towards the issue, with relative differences between them, related to the principles, orientations and relations of this or that party.

While the quality and degree of influence of parties in external political decision-making vary from state to state according to its political system, in Turkey, the republic rolled for the secular parties that controlled the effects of the political system of decades to take many positions in favor of Palestinian rights, and the right of the Palestinian people to decide and the establishment of an independent state, and categorically opposed the resolution of the partition of Palestine No. 181, and Turkey voted against it. However, these parties aim at rapprochement towards the Western world and Israel and far from East, which may have a negative impact on Turkey's position towards Palestine.

As for the Islamic-oriented parties, they lead the rapprochement towards the Arab and Muslim worlds and attention to the Palestinian issue more than other parties, as a result of the Islamic League, and its activities that support the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian people in many ways, and to influence foreign policy makers attention and rapprochement towards the East and its issues. For example, in 1996 when the Refah Party took over the rule in Turkey which led by Necmettin Erbakan, then Turkey began to turn towards strengthening the relationship with Arab and Islamic countries, and called on Turkey to form the Group of Eight Islamic countries with a view to the inclusion of major countries of the Islamic regions of Asia and Africa in terms of population and economic potential. Therefore, Turkey has been active throughout the world Islamic conflicts, and has become increasingly involved in resolving internal problems in Muslim world (Mooawad, 1998, p.31). Turkey then began to turn towards strengthening the relationship with the Arab countries of the Group of Eight Islamic Group with the

aim of bringing together the major Islamic countries. Turkey called for Islamic integration from the continents of Asia and Africa in terms of population and economic potential. Turkey has been active throughout the Islamic world. As was the case when it sent delegations as well as participate in activities to support the Palestinian people. On the other hand Turkey called to resolve the dispute of Taliban. Mujahidin in Afghanistan and sent delegations to solve their issues as well as participate in events to support the Palestinian people to condemn Israeli practices in that the Turkish Saadet Party called for a million demonstration protests in Istanbul on (09/07/2006). It also participates in activities to support the Palestinian people and to denounce the Israeli practices (Saleh, 2010, p.33).

As well as the role of Justice and Development Party is worthy mentioned in the reconciliation between the Lebanese parties and in the role of Palestinian mediation to end the state of division between the Palestinian movements Fatah and Hamas, which caused the division between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and the existence of two Palestinian governments fighting for power. While the leftist and rightist parties are guardians and support the secular tendencies, and the leftist ones are reflecting an identical trend to the secular orientation, while the right wing does not oppose the religion and tend to support freedom of religion (Shaaban, 2006). Although the difference of power of influence or the power of any party on the regime, there are constants for Turkey that are followed by most political parties, and the difference between previous periods of Secularism and the current period is that the ruling party has a "moderate" Islamic roots, which differ in the degree of foreign policy orientation towards the Arab and Muslim world, sympathy for the Palestinian cause, and the cooperation and assistance to the Palestinian people., and what can be provided for cooperation and assistance to the Palestinian people, and excellence in the Turkish political discourse towards it.

3.6.2. The Justice and development party

The discussion in this chapter is about the influence of the AKP towards the Turkish position on the issue of the Palestinian conflict without shedding the light on other parties for two reasons; first, the fact that this party while under its

leadership is currently the main engine of Turkey's foreign policy as the ruling party. The second reason is that this Party takes over the Turkish regime in the period of study, from 2000 to 2010.

Those who follow the direction of the party towards the Palestinian issue find that it is not the 'official link' in the form which is fully sympathetic and cooperative towards the Palestinian people and their issue, and even after the party took power, it worked high in this direction, NGOs have been active in many fundraising events to the Palestinian people in Turkey, and reached the number of ninety-one NGOs, to put Turkey under the umbrella of the more biased toward the Arabs and Palestinians than the previous policies, and represented the leader of the party with his positions of Criticism of Israel which is more powerful than that of the Arabs attitudes and criticisms of Israel itself (Saleh, 2010, p.134).

The arrival of the party to power coincided with many challenges, including regional conflicts and sectarianism, and others causes of divisions. These had a role that seeks to reconcile the Palestinian brothers and thus Turkey described itself in the place of neutrality and balanced mediation. Therefore, it issued an invitation to Mr. Khaled Mishaal - Head of Hamas' political bureau - to visit Ankara, and met Mahmoud Abbas as well, the president of the Palestinian Authority (Fuller, 1998, p.107). Turkey refused to welcome the Israeli prime minister in 2004, because of Israel's assassination of Sheikh Ahmed Yasin, and the massacres committed against the Palestinians and described it as a terrorist state (Said, 2010, p.387).

The party's apparent role in the Palestinian issue and its impact on Turkish foreign policy increased towards participations in the case of the events and as the increasing of suffering of the Palestinian people like being Killed and massacred, and most notably the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip. Also, it is worth to mention the siege imposed on them after Hamas won the Palestinian legislative elections and took over the government in 2006 and stagnation in the peace process, the lack of results to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the continuation of Israel with its arbitrary policies of building settlements, Judaizing Jerusalem and

detentions, and snatching deputies from the Palestinian Legislative Council and other Israeli policies which is unfair to the Palestinian people.

3.6.3. Lobby groups and interests

These groups in Turkey have a clear impact on Turkish foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue. This impact and style vary depending on the nature, interests and objectives of these groups, and the extent of their direct impact indirectly on the Turkish position and external decision-maker, and the extent to which these groups control important joints in Turkey, such as the economic or media aspects that have an impact on Turkish public opinion.

Some of the unions and organizations of Turkish civil society have been reduced their competition due to Islamic movements in addition to the activities of traditional right-wing organizations that adopt concepts that do not reject religion, while advocating secular trends. However, they remain at a distance with the society, such as professional and organizational activities (Alshabib, 2006).

Foreign policy makers rely on the media as an important tool to express their positions and opinions to win support for their programs. This means that different forms are followed by lobbyists and interests, which has the effect on mobilizing Turkish public opinion on many issues, both internal and external, and on reshaping them, such as the competition between secularists and Islamists, including external trends (Ali, 2006).

Among these groups are those that have been associated with economic influence, and what emerged from unions, such as Businessmen union, whose influence increased after Turkey's move towards a free economy and opening up to the market. These groups influence the electoral campaigns of the parties because of their relations with their leaders of the state as the owners of financial, commercial, industrial and contracting companies, where some leaders of the Turkish parties are associated with senior businessmen who finance a large part of the expenses of their party's electoral campaigns (Moawad, 1998, p. 114).

The economic aspect is an important issue for conflict and competition among the secular, Islamic and others as it has a respective influence on economic decision-makers in foreign policy. This made certain forces work to establish an association called 'TÜSIAD' in 1971 that included a number of businessmen and the Turkish industrialists, after feeling the possibility of the emergence of forces that might work to form a formal framework and an organization that may affect the system of the state. That is to say, the association 'TÜSIAD' includes a large number of businessmen who are considered the wealthiest in Turkey, owning (1300) companies employing (500) thousand people, and owning about (70) billion dollars, who have investments in the West, and having production value of 47% of The Turkish economy. This reflects the influence and direction of the assembly on the political decision and trends of Turkish economy, in addition to the impact of its members on the directions and policies of this assembly to the West and Israel. While the other association was founded under the name of 'MÜSYAD' in 1990 including businessmen and industrialists, who are officially independent and 'actually support the Islamic trend ', and its members reached more than (2500). These businessmen own (7,500) companies, employing about 2 million people, to become an important and competitive player by influencing Turkey's politics and economy (Khashram, 2006).

As for the forms and influence of lobbies, business groups are among the most influential represented by the Federation of Turkish Chambers, Stock Exchanges (TOBB), and the Association of Turkish Industry and Businessmen Followed by MÜSYAD, which supports the Islamic trend and was under pressure from the Military through its struggle against the Islamic parties and fundamentalism, and trade unions. The largest and most influential among labor union is the confederation of Turkish trade unions (TÜRK-İŞ) and the Trade Union confederation of the Right to Work (HAK-İŞ) where the effects of these groups are all on foreign policy and decision-making in the political recruitment process (Moawad, 1988:290) and thus Reflecting the impact - if not directly - on the Turkish position towards the Palestinian issue and for Turkey's foreign policy according to the results of that recruitment and the arrival of any elite of the Turkish regime and

its orientations, its proximity to or from the Arab and Islamic world as well as to the Palestinian cause.

The lobbying groups have a strong presence in Turkey, and they are concentrated at important sectors, especially the economic and media, which undoubtedly have a negative impact on the Turkish political decision towards The Palestinian issue. It must be known that part of the lobbying and their interests that affect Turkish political decision making is also linked to other pressure groups outside the country. In other words, the Jewish lobby inside and outside Turkey is pressing and influencing the Turkish political decision, and the amount of this pressure varies from one case to another (Bar'el, 2010). For example, the lobbying groups that advocate Israel in the United States, which have worked hard in the past to face decisions condemning the Turks with regard to the massacre of the Armenians while recently officials in pro-Israel groups have said they do not oppose new resolutions on the subject because of Turkey's harsh attacks on Israel and accused it of increasing anti-Semitism in Turkey (Bar'el, 2010) and that Turkish relations with APEC and other Jewish organizations have not yet finished in Turkey according to a former Turkish diplomat because there are many interests for Turkey, so it is using Jewish pressure groups to achieve some goals such as military procurement (Bar'el, 2010). The Jewish lobby in America expressed concern about the Turkish positions on several issues, including: the Iranian file, the refusal to host Sharon in Ankara, the indictment of Tel Aviv terrorism, and the Turkish position of the assassination of martyr Ahmed Yasin, which made the lobby threatened Ankara with creating political and economic problems, recalling in turn how they did get rid of the former Turkish Prime Minister, Bülent Ecevit, who accused Israel of carrying out mass ethnic massacres against the Palestinians during the events of Jenin in 2001 (Mahli, 2009). This reflects clearly the impact of these groups have on Turkish foreign policy and the extent of its power and influence on the policy of the United States, its strategic ally.

3.6.4. The religious factor

The religious factor plays an important role in influencing Turkey's external decision-making, especially in so-called religious ways, where they influence the decision-making process, political recruitment, and public opinion across several tracks, The most important of which is to influence the course of the elections and their results, whether public or local, according to how votes are distributed and support these methods to the Islamic and other parties, and thus contribute to the arrival of these parties to the rule in order to reflect their perceptions on foreign politics, and influence the Turkish political decision (Moawad, 1998, p. 292).

One of the current positions that indicate the impact of religious work on the status of Jerusalem as a holy place, came with the speech of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the summit of Sirt in Libya between 27th and 28th of March 2010, stressing the need to solve the Palestinian issue as it is one of the most crucial problems that requires speed in finding a solution. He also emphasizes the importance of Jerusalem, and that “the eye of this region and the Islamic world as a whole. The Israeli attacks against it and the holy sites cannot be accepted, and the Israeli Foreign Minister's speech about Jerusalem being the capital of Israel is actually madness, and this does not bind Turkey and does not oblige it, and will drive them to isolation”.

Turkey became the scene of Islamic activities and events supporting the Palestinian people, Universalization of Jerusalem and the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

Also, the Turks supported Palestinian people by many official and public events and demand the lifting of the siege on Gaza, including demonstrations, gatherings, donations and sending aids (Fares, 2009).

Another move to Turkey that had religious connotations towards Palestine is the Turkish commission of inquiry to investigate the excavations carried out by Israel under the Al-Aqsa Mosque. This was due to its rule over Palestine during The Ottoman Empire era and its possession of documents that may reveal the truth of

what Israel is doing. It is known that it has accomplished the task After Israeli approval, but did not publish its report of violations of Islamic sites within the framework of the new policy of Turkey which is not creating reasons for the tension in relations with Israel (Alnajjar, 2008). Then, information leaks on the violation of Islamic sites according to the Turkish Investigation Commission sent out before the deterioration of relations between Turkey and Israel in late 2008 and the subsequent multiplicity of causes of tension and the disagreement between them, where the Committee confirmed the validity of this information after that.

Turkey did not recognize the measures taken by Israel in the Ibrahimi Mosque and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and these actions were condemned by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmed Davut ođlu, pointing out that these actions do not help to achieve peace (Saleh, 2007, p. 37).

The religious or ideological background of Turkey's ruling party plays an important role in shaping its political position, and therefore comes the Islamic discourse on Palestine, which is adopted by the Turkish Islamic political movements. This discourse asserts the illegality of the occupation of the land of Palestine, as part of racism, and the rejection of international conspiracy led by the great powers of Zionism with the aim of striking Islam and occupying its land (Fares, 2009). This approach to the new political elite in Turkey was considered a culture of pride for the Turkish Islamists, similar to the Ottoman position defending the Islam of Palestine, which led Sultan Abdul Hamid II to the political future of his country at the time as a price for this position, and what some spoke about the new Ottomans.

The policies of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, which took the rule for the first time in 2002, as a turning point in the history of Turkey increased its "accusation" of trying to revive the Ottoman spirit again, especially with the atmosphere of religious freedom which the government seeks to provide to female students in religious schools and religious ceremonies, and its policy with Minorities. In addition, its conflict with Israel is due to its policies in the Palestinian territories, and the conclusion of agreements with the countries of

the Islamic world, as well as the cancellation of visas with each other, as happened with Syria and other countries.

Despite the secularism of Turkey, the reflection of the Turkish society shows that Islam still exists, and is committed to many Turks in the practice of religious rites. In 2000, Turkey showed a census of the observance of religious rituals that 46% perform the five daily prayers regularly, 84% of them pray on Friday in the mosque, and 91% fast the month of Ramadan, 60% do zakat, 71% want to perform the hajj, and only 7% perform it (Hussein, 2006). What gives attention to this statistic is the effect that the religious factor has on Turkish society and its performance, especially since the nature of the secular system of decades and its control over most of the vital joints of the state, the secular authorities could not hide the religious factor, which will inevitably have a role to play in supporting rapprochement with the Muslim world, as well as impact on general opinion of Turkey on issues related to religion and Islamic sanctities, including talking about Jerusalem and the Aqsa Mosque and the importance it represents to Muslims as the first of the Qibla and the third of the two Holy Mosques.

Although the ruling party, Justice and Development (AKP), does not define itself as an Islamist party, nor does it appear in its literature. It is rather refers to it of what was known in "Secular Believed" that to escape from "Islamic", and to hide behind an Islamic political agenda (Alhroob, 2000, p.15). In the sense of decoupling previous Islamic programs and drowning in Cultural identity issues, Islamic agenda has been an important historical and ideological detail over the past 50 years for Political Thought of Turkish Islamists.

3.6.5. Turkish public opinion

Public opinion has an important impact on the formation of foreign policy, although some see its limited knowledge of information, facts of foreign policy, and of the Palestinian issue. The importance of a large class of Turkish society is one of the issues that led the Turkish voters to put pressure on politicians to take a position on foreign policy (Aras, 2009).

Turkish public opinion is strongly influenced by the media, where the Turkish media is active in the analysis of any Turkish official who does any diplomatic movement in the Arab and Islamic region. It also begins to talk about the Turkish role in the region in solving the Arab-Israeli conflict, and try to find solutions to the Palestinian issue, and to formulate a speech that reflects the new concepts of relations between the countries of the region, including Israel (Kasem, 2009). Public opinion, which will be employed as policy makers want foreign policy to fit the Turkish interests, where the pro-government Turkish media or the ruling party, like the Justice and development Party portray the Turkish role and praise it and its expected pros and cons. This is reflected in the media role in the Davos incident of Erdoğan's courageous position, and his clear and significant impact on Turkish public opinion on the issue of Palestine.

Turkish public opinion is influenced by the important role played by the media in shaping the decision-making environment. Media is a major and important channel for the expression of public opinion and its position, both internal and external, in various forms, especially the independent newspapers, which surpassed radio and television. The media also represents a means of influencing and shaping public opinion, especially those media outlets associated with certain political groups and parties. The media is a place to put forward many visions and choices, including what are incompatible with the view of Turkish official (Moawad, 1998, p. 126-127).

As for the Palestinian issue, the Turkish public opinion is influenced clearly by transmitted by the media, for example, the image of Israeli arrogance, which has a clearer picture of it, the suffering of the Palestinian people, and the brutality of Israel, and its persistence against international and humanitarian laws. This was manifested after killing a number of Turks in the incident of Marmara ship, and dealing in a despicable way with the Turkish ambassador in Tel Aviv, and many other events (Moawad, 1998, p. 303).

The impact on Turkish public opinion is very important to counter the negative image that the Arabs have in general, due to several factors, including: the

role of the Western media, and the Western secular press with the Jewish influence and the feeling of many Turkish circles, including Islamic sympathetic to the Palestinian issue, the responsibility of the Arabs for the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (Moawad, 1998, p. 303).

In addition, the media development in the world in terms of communication technology, satellite channels, news and information sites and the Internet has made the whole world - including Turkish public opinion - more aware of all the historical events and events in the world especially the Palestinian cause and its justice, and the suffering of the Palestinian people, which is reflected by providing support to their cause, and therefore influence on the Turkish foreign policy towards the Palestinian cause.

3.6.6. Military institution

The military institution has a special role in executive power, while the Turkish military institution has a different status from others in their interference with political and public affairs of Turkey for decades, and is considered the ruling and controlling, which is directed at the nature of the Turkish political system which aims to protect the secular state of the country.

As the military is the primary defender of the secular approach, it also pursues those positions adopted by parties and secular bodies, both internal and external, and considers the secular trends reference, such as those concerning with Turkish foreign policy and the nature of external relations with various countries, supported the military establishment rapprochement towards the Western world, and moved from the support of the Arabs when they voted against the partition resolution in 1947 to join the International Conciliation Commission for the Palestinian issue with Britain and France a year later, and recognize Israel as a full legal country in 1950 (Al-Khudari, 2010), Which demonstrates the position of the military institution from the Palestinian issue and Israel since its beginnings, otherwise it would opposed those trends and worked to affect its change at least,

but every year the military institution is closer to Israel to reach the strategic alliance between them.

One of the obvious roles was the position of the military institution towards the Palestinian issue when the army staged a coup in 1980 because of the march of millions in the city of Konya to protest Israel's declaration of Jerusalem as its capital, which was called for by the Milli Selamet partisi (Shaaban, 2006).

Turkish "militarism" imposed on the reality of an alliance with Israel, and found a chance for tension the Turkish-Syrian relations in 1998, and escalated the military tone, and military discourse became the language of the Turkish state's speech (Al-Khudari, 2010, p.214), reflecting the role of the military establishment in its impact on the rapprochement towards Israel, and at the same time moving away from the Arab world, and this reflected negatively on the Palestinian issue, which seemed to differ somewhat after the arrival of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and its many reforms, which affected the military institution. Not to mention the institution's previous attempts to commit itself to democracy, and to distance itself from its previous policies, which contradict European demands for Turkey's accession to the European Union.

Another role of the military institution in influencing the Turkish position towards Palestine came indirectly when the military-linked media exerted pressure and tempted the AKP deputies in order to disengage from the party, which made the government of Erdoğan in the first months of 2005 approach Israel which resulted in a visit of Erdoğan with his wife to meet with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. He offered to mediate the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, and this step came to overcome pressure of Military institution that may occur, reflecting the desire of the military to converge towards Israel, which is reflected negatively on the Palestinian issue (Nafi, 2010).

One of the changes was that accompanied the Turkish transformations after 2007 when the AKP took over power for its second time in the elections which enabled the government in limiting the control and intervention of the military in

political affairs. This was after the Turkish government was able to prosecute the Turkish generals on charges of conspiracy of the coup against the government, in addition to the disapproval of President Abdullah Gül to upgrade certain number of people in the military institution, which limited the role of the military in foreign policy issues than it was before.

3.6.7. Turkish presidency

The presidential institution has a very important role in influencing Turkey's foreign policy and its orientations, as its position, its vision, official presidential activities are all towards the Palestinian issue; and the role Politician and diplomacy of the Turkish president is toward it, too.

Although the constitution requires the president-elect to sever his relationship with his party (not any more) if he is a member of a party, but the impact of the presidency in decision-making on politics of foreign policy is very important, and this reflects the president's trends, including the party's orientations he belongs to. The Turkish president has the authority and power to invite the government to meet, to preside over its meetings, and call National Security Council, the appointment of Chief of Staff, which is considered the reference to the declaration of laws and decrees. He also can impose Military law or emergency law, and he has the right to return laws to parliament for reconsideration (Shuqair, 2004). The Turkish presidency has the same direction of policy of Turkish Foreign Ministry as the government. Therefore, Turkey has one foreign policy, which does not differ between the presidency and the government, as noted by a deputy Head of Turkish Mission to the Turkish Consulate in Jerusalem, Mr. Mehmet Şekerci (Interview, 2010).

In a meeting between Turkish President at the time, Abdullah Gül and US President George W. Bush on his visit to Washington, Gül expressed his support for an initiative to push for the establishment of a Palestinian state. "To be successful, it is important that we affirm the prohibition of building new settlements", and stressing the need for Palestinian unity, and that:" All Palestinians

need to work towards this goal by establishing their state in 2008” (Saleh, 2007, p.37).

Turkey was present at the Annapolis conference, with the participation of Turkish President Abdullah Gül after Israel asked Turkey to participate upon the desire of Shimon Peres and Ehud Olmert, according to Zaman Islamic Turkish newspaper (15/11/2007). The Turkish president in another context and for an Israeli newspaper said: "The analogy between Turkey's operation against the Kurds in northern Iraq and Israel's operations against Hezbollah in Lebanon, The Hamas movement in the Gaza Strip is not right, we are not occupying a land; this does not mean that we support violence or attacks on Israel, including the firing of Qassam rockets. Every State has the right to defend itself under the international law” (Saleh, 2010, p.209).

The role of the Turkish presidency towards the Palestinian issue after the Israeli aggression in late 2008 on the Gaza strip was represented when President Abdullah Gül stressed the need for all the world to seek the establishment of independent Palestinian state, viable alongside the State of Israel, and that the current goal is to secure a ceasefire and that Israel withdraw completely from the Gaza Strip (Saleh, 2007, p.46).

3.7. The Main Determinants of Turkish Attitudes Toward the Palestinian Cause

The main determinants of Turkey's foreign policy towards Palestine varied from time to time, depending on the visions, principles and aspirations of the Turkish political parties, as well as the external changes affecting countries within the international system. While here in Turkey, there are some determinants towards the Palestinian issue, and they form as the key determinants in Palestinian decision-making, and can be summed up as follows (Alzaytouna center, 2010).

1. The existence of the Palestinian cause in the conscience of the Turkish people and its leadership since ancient times, due to the emergence of the

Zionist project during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and his refusal to give land in Palestine for the establishment of a state for the Jews, and until the reigns of successive secular governments, even in the worst periods between Turkey and the Arab world.

2. The religious factor represented by the Islamic roots of the Justice and Development Party, which prompted Turkey to take positions of solidarity with the Palestinian people.
3. Turkey's quest to play an influential role and to attend the regional and global arena, to relate to the Islamic dimension and the cultural depth in the policy of the ruling of Justice Party, and other related to the polarization found in Regional context.
4. To maintain a good relationship with all, in playing the role of mediator, gaining confidence in the parties of conflict, and granting sympathy for the Palestinian people and good relations with Israel.
5. Turkey's openness to the Palestinian issue was not at the expense of its recognition of Israel, which is associated with many of the agreements and treaties, as well as with the Islamic business partner.
6. Turkey's ex policy of "zero problems" for Ankara with all its neighbors, especially the Arabs and Muslims which helped Erdoğan's government to enter the Middle East portal as a space Strategic alternative to procrastination in the European portal.

Without prejudice to the existence of other determinants, different in their quality, with the decision-maker different from the Turkish foreign policy, and related to the issue of preference between the case and the other, the degree of importance between the relations of Turkey and other, and the degree of Turkish interest in the Palestinian issue from time to time, which brings us back to the role of justice And the development party about this important shift towards highlighting the Palestinian cause and interest, and make it the focus of the Turkish politicians, and Turkish public opinion.

As for the permanent issues of Turkey with regard to the Palestinian issue, Turkey calls for and supports the establishment of an independent Palestinian state

with Jerusalem as its capital, and to live in peace with its neighbors, including Israel, and the right of the Palestinian people to achieve their goals in peace. Turkey believes that the achievement of peace in Palestine is not for the Palestinians alone, but for the neighbors and the whole world, where Turkey gives great attention to Atatürk says that "peace at home, peace in the world" and without reaching a solution to the Palestinian issue, we cannot reach peace and stability in the region. As for the changing issues of the Turkish position on the Palestinian issue, it depends on the changes that take place in Palestine and the international movement, like what happened years ago related to the Palestinian division, which affected the nature of dealing with the Palestinian issue, and attention to unity First (Şekerci, 2010).

3.8. Turkey's Role Towards the Palestinian Issue in the United Nations

The importance of voting behavior in the United Nations is an indicator of the nature and orientations of a country's foreign policy. Through this vote, it is possible to identify and analyze the general positions of States as well as to know the reality of the internal and external determinants of the State's foreign policy toward this or that State, as well as the role that will be reflected as a result of nature. This vote, regardless of the controversy over the effectiveness and impartiality of the role played by this institution and give priority to the political will of States in their activities instead of legal aspect.

However, voting in the institution and through its organs, such as the General Assembly or the Security Council, has legal significance, which is international legitimacy, as an international legal institution which seeks to provide the international peace and security represented by the United Nations since its establishment. And as one of its vital goals, also what's represent the voting activities between States and others for the nature of their representation within this Organization, within the various names of permanent and provisional membership or as an observer member.

Turkey is one of the first countries to join the United Nations and the main reason for its presence is that there is a major match between the objectives of Turkey and the UN, the ideals of the international organization and Turkey's foreign policy, where Turkey was one of the 45 founding member states of the Organization in 1945, to give importance to UN's principles for the achievement of peace, security and development in the world (TRT Arabic Report, 2009). Turkey remains an important country with a presence in the United Nations, and follows-up to most of its activities and meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and it has the right to vote on most of the decisions on the Palestinian case, therefore, this research reviews the most important decisions relating to the Palestinian issue to know the Turkish position. The review is for years prior to the period of study for two reasons. First: To know the nature of the Turkish position of these decisions since the establishment of the republic, and if there is a transformation in its current trends from that of the previous periods. The second reason: is to relate the same decisions and history as the United Nations has issued several resolutions relating to the Palestinian issue on the occupation of Palestine, which necessitates the dates of those resolutions, in which part of it certainly came between the time periods between 2000 and 2010.

The Turkish interest in the Palestinian cause and its role at the United Nations come for several considerations, including the historical consideration of Palestine as one of the areas that was under the Ottoman control, as well as the geographical location of Turkey in the Middle East region, and Turkey's keen interest in the principles of the United Nations, and Seeking to achieve its objectives through it.

The Turkish position was very clear about the decision of partition of Palestine, and stood alongside with the Arab states in the region during the session that was held on the 29th of November 1947 to vote on the draft of partition, and Turkey was one of the 15 countries that did not support the resolution. The Turkish rejection of the decision to partition Palestine was also considered for internal considerations, taking into account the feelings of Muslims, especially since the

Turkish majority is Sunni Muslims and what the land of Palestine means to them in terms of religion, even if the state pursues secularism.

Turkey also supported Arab positions and called on Israel to withdraw fully from the Arab territories that it had occupied in 1967, and called for a just solution to the Palestinian issue, as it is an issue of a people with rights (Said, 1987).

Turkey voted in favor of recognizing the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people by voting with the resolution (2535) dated (10/12/1969), and to affirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people by all means as it stated by voting on Resolution (2787) dated (06/12/1971) (Tomah, 1993).

The resolutions concern with the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the deliberations of the United Nations, Turkey supported this resolution, which bears the number (3210) dated (14/10/1974), in which it recognizes the organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in 1976 and to establish full diplomatic relations with it in August, 1979 (Said, 2010).

From previous resolutions and others, Turkey's recognition of Israel as an independent state has not changed its attitude toward the Palestinian issue and its positions towards the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, it comes as the result of international changes imposed by external factors, such as the role of the superpowers and the product of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and other factors which are internal like political power balances within the ruling elite in Turkey, and the dominance of some trends, which wanted to approach the west.

It is necessary to know the fact that the United Nations dealt with the Palestinian issue as a refugee issue from 1949 until the beginning of the seventies, to change after 1974 to issue resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations by giving the Palestinians the right to self-determination and with the approval of the majority of Member States, And to recognize Zionism as a form of racism and to affirm the inalienable rights of refugees and their right to return to

their lands (Saleh, 2010). In this manner, Turkey has stood in favor of its vote over the years it was issued, while abstaining from voting on the decision to accept Israel as a member of the United Nations in 1949, which was associated with its recognition at that time as a result of external pressures, especially the problem of the Palestinian issue is that the bias of the great powers to the Zionist project and defend it, so that and the abstention is better than voting with the resolution.

Turkey supported resolution (3375) dated (10/11/1974) concerning the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization for its participation in the deliberations and efforts for peace in the Middle East and on the issue of Palestine. This was an important progress from the Turkish side after its recognition of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the people that gave them a wider presence, and in recognition of the importance of their role in the region (Abdel Majid, 1994).

In confirmation of the pro-PLO Turkish position, the organization sent delegations according to the support submitted by Turkey for inclusion in the deliberations of the United Nations. Besides, Turkey's agreement to open a representative office in Ankara in 1977 was a great support, while in 1980 it reduced it with Israel to the level of *chargé d'affaires* in protest of Israel's decision to consider Jerusalem as its unified capital (Abdel Fattah. M, 2009).

The Turkish position also supported the resolution (3379) dated (10/11/1975) that considers Zionism as a form of racism, despite the exchange of relations between it and Israel at that time, Turkey did not object the resolution or abstained from voting in addition to supporting most of the resolutions that provide for the need to find a just solution to the Palestinian issue, The Palestinian people have the right to self-determination and to be the basis for the establishment of a state of peace and security in the region as stated in the resolution (28/33) dated (07/12/1978) and condemned Israeli practices on the exploitation of human and natural resources, wealth and economic activities in the Palestinian territories as illegitimate and demand an immediate and final end to these measures as stated in Resolution (173/36) dated (17/12/1981) (Abdel Majid, 1994).

As for Israel's refusal to renounce the acquisition of nuclear weapons, the decision (93/41) dated (14/12/1984) was issued which condemned Israel and Turkey supported this condemnation and votes with the resolution, rejecting Israel's possession of nuclear weapons (Nusouli, 1994), While other countries that have relations with Israel abstained at the time of voting.

As for the decisions issued between 1987 and 1998, the Turkish position is in favor of most decisions, which provided the support of the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian people. Resolution (42/66) came into force on (2/12/1987) to support the recommendations of the Committee on the issue of the Palestinian People and to convene an international conference on a process of Turkish support for peace in the Middle East. It also came in contrast to the Israeli voice that opposed the resolution (Nusouli, 1994), in an addition, Turkey supported the resolution (183/45) dated (21/12/1990) which calls for the international community to support the Palestinian people and in cooperation with the Palestine Liberation Organization, and to support another resolution (170/47) that calls for the assist the Palestinians in cooperation with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on 22 December 1992 (Nusouli, 1994).

The resolution (47/170) which is in support of granting the Palestinians further privileges and additional rights to participate in the sessions of the General Assembly in accordance with resolution 52/250 of 7 July 1998 comes in a clear indication of the Turkish position towards the Palestinian issue and its constants, supporting the right of the Palestinian people toward self-determination was to insist on the international community's calls for assistance and support for the Palestinians. The growing support of Turkey to the PLO and to call for cooperation with it and to involve it in the consultations of the General Assembly as a major and important party in the region (Nusouli, 2001).

As for the decisions issued at the same period of time, which the Israeli side condemns and opposes its practices, Turkey was one of the countries that stood by these resolutions and voted with them, referring to its rejection of the practices and actions taken by Israel. Resolution (76/46) dated (11/12/1991) to condemn Israel's

policies of human rights violations, including the exclusion of Palestinian civilians and the imposition of collective punishment (Nusouli, 2001), and support for resolution (55/47) on 12 December 1992 denouncing Israel's renunciation of the possession of nuclear weapons, Its claim to the IAEA, as well as the Turkish rejection of the settlement policy that the Israeli occupation of the occupied territories, and Israel's obligation to respect human rights is a binding obligation of the Fourth Geneva Convention on the occupied Palestinian territories in accordance with resolution (29/50) dated 06 December 1995 (Nusouli, 2001). Regarding settlement, the Turkish refusal was again supported by the resolution Condemns the Israeli occupation of constructing a settlement in Abu Ghneim neighborhood in East Jerusalem and the condemnation of all illegal acts committed by Israel in accordance with resolution (10/2) dated 25 April 1997 (Nusouli, 2001).

As for the most important decisions that came during the period between 2000 and 2010, it is necessary to point out that most of them are a confirmation of previous resolutions and an affirmation of their implementation, while other resolutions were issued as a result of events and changes in the Palestinian and Arab arena, and the result of Israeli practices and violations, including resolutions on the construction of the wall in the Palestinian territories and the so-called Apartheid Wall because of its harmful and harmful consequences for the Palestinian people, opposition to international and humanitarian law, and other resolutions condemning Israeli practices.

In addition to these resolutions, Turkey voted in favor of the resolution condemning Israel's construction of the separation wall, even though the European countries abstained (Yaser, 2006) This demonstrates the independence of the Turkish decision in some respects and stands by the Palestinian cause in the UN institutions.

The Turkish role in some aspects was to stand by the Palestinian issue in the United Nations institutions. To show that the Turkish position in the United Nations and over the previous years and until 2010, despite of its recognition Israel, has not changed its position on the principle of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, specifically

issues Palestinian conflict in asserting its rights to self-determination by establishing its independent state, as well as its position on the issue of refugees and Jerusalem. It is worthy to mention its vote for everything that condemns illegal practices against Palestinians and Palestinian land conflict (Sarovic and Hamoudi, 2007).

The prime minister at that time (now president) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan referred to the UN resolutions on the Palestinian issue: "His country will not remain silent about what he described as Israel's violation of international resolutions... and that his ministers will warn the Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak of the danger of threatening international peace during his visit to Turkey at the time, he referred to the Israeli bombardment of the Gaza Strip because "Israel sees itself as the strongest in the region to own weapons that do not belong to the other side, "and considered that the Israelis" do what they want and act without deterrence and violate the UN resolutions. Erdoğan also devaluated the value of United Nations resolutions as long as Israel did not apply them, pointing out that the decisions that Israel has not implemented are more than one hundred, so there is a problem require United Nations reform (Al Jazeera Net, 2010).

The Ha'aretz newspaper reported in its issue on (15/11/2007) that Erdoğan sees the need for Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, and the importance of Annapolis, but he reduces the hope of reaching agreement between the parties, and considers it small, and the likelihood of success of negotiations up to zero. This was because of the outstanding issues between the two sides is substantial and not only land-related, demonstrating the lack of reliance on settlement tracks to the Israeli side in its implementation of the resolutions of international legitimacy issued by the United Nations and the Security Council (Alzaytouna center, 2008).

CHAPTER FOUR

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

This chapter represents the introduction of a number of issues and issues relating to the Republic of Turkey and which distinguish this state and its composition, which has the role of updating the behavior and attitudes, and knowledge, the nature of its foreign policy, in-depth research into the ability to gain access to its regional role and foreign policy in general, and the Palestinian cause in particular, between 2000 and 2010.

The transformation of the Turkish political system is that it has become a secular regime controlled by a party with an 'Islamic' tendency after it was dominated by secular parties, to continue the state of tension and competition between the two directions Which have existed since ancient times, and each has an impact on Turkey's foreign policy, and the nature of the circumstances that led to this change, since the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923, has led to the arrival of the Justice Party and the development of the authority under the leadership of its President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his assumption of the presidency of the government, and his leadership role, personal and partisan role, in the shift in the regime's orientations and the political rhetoric towards the Palestinian cause. What was raised about the new Ottoman face of Turkey, and the re-Islamization of social life in Turkey and work towards convergence towards Arab and Islamic world and play a role in its issues, and extending bridges of cooperation with the Arab and Islamic worlds without an exception, which is less than what existed from previous governments.

The study includes a review of the important issues that have an impact on the nature and role of Turkey to include in this chapter, and talking about the main objectives and national goals that Turkey aims to achieve within its foreign policy include: protection, sovereignty and national security, economic development and prosperity, the preservation of a role and influence in the Middle East, in addition

to its quest for rapprochement with the Arab and Islamic worlds, and to join the European Union.

4.1. Definition of the National Objectives of Turkey's Foreign Policy

Each country has goals from its external behavior that it seeks to achieve through foreign policy, the nature of those goals, whether they are confined to specific areas such as economic gains and the development of their power for many other considerations. Turkey, through its foreign policy, seeks to achieve many national goals, which are determined by the external decision makers, who decide through the internal and external environment of Turkey, including declared goals on the other and in a hidden form of goals to ensure the success of its achievement, knowing that the achievement of these goals is linked to many factors affected Turkey, geographically and politically, to address these goals as the cornerstone in determining its policy, and for the Turkish Republic is seeking to achieve access to many goals.

4.2. The Most Important National Goals of Turkey

4.2.1. Protection of sovereignty and national security

Turkey is working to protect its territorial sovereignty and national security with all its strength and all its capabilities and energy, mainly in the magnitude of its army and its advanced military power. The Republic of Turkey, despite its many internal and external conflicts, issues, such as those related to the dispute and tension with the neighboring countries of Iraq and Syria because of water issues and the interference of the Kurdish issue, its historical and cultural conflict with Greece, and other tensions which has impacts on its policy but on the other hand, Turkey seeks to maintain its regional existence, even if it costs it enormous losses in its human and economic resources.

The true sovereignty of Turkey comes from the strength upon which it depends in terms of its potential and military strength. This is to maintain its

territory from any external aggression, and its ability to know what is going on within its territory in its existence within the three continents, to give great importance to achieving the preservation of sovereignty and the integrity of national security. It also comes through the embodiment of a qualitative content of sovereignty; Turkey enjoys wide and diverse international relations with many countries; enjoys high diplomatic relations, in addition to the role given to it by its alliances, military and economic importance, giving it a high defensive prestige, as NATO and Islamic Conference organization membership.

Turkey has a doctrinal vision of national security that the military has succeeded in circulating on the policy agenda where the concept and doctrine of national security are controversial in Turkey with reservations to a monopoly of the military establishment and national security trends. Some see it as illogical to leave the issue of security to the military because they expand its framework to 'legislate the role of the army in civil affairs' and tighten its control and its seizure of political life as expressed by Mesut Yılmaz, Former Prime Minister (Mahfuz, 2009).

The role of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in this area has been characterized by Turkey's broad international relations and cooperation with many countries, especially in the Middle East. Turkey's foreign policy is characterized by Turkish-Arab and Islamic rapprochement and work to increase cooperation between them, and to prevent the solution of outstanding problems between them, such as the Turkish rapprochement Syrian and Turkish-Iranian relations which strengthened between 2008 and 2010.

The most important requirements of Turkish national security policies of its foreign policy are summarized as follows (Mahfuz, 2009):

- A. The alliance with the West and active participation in its policies and security strategies in the region.
- B. Interaction with the neighboring countries in order to contain the Kurdish political ambitions toward their independence dream from Turkey.

- C. Building security policies and strategies aimed at creating strong military capabilities, which are able to protecting Turkey`s unity geographically, by establishing political and strategic interactions that give Turkey advanced military technology and progress defensive guarantees to meet the possible demands from neighboring countries.

4.2.2. Development and Economic Prosperity

Economic development and prosperity are very important goals for Turkey, which it seeks to achieve by all means to provide the ability of its people to live at a good level, and to increase their potential and economic capabilities. This, in turn, will be reflected in their great and superior capabilities on other sectors of the state and its development.

Although Turkey has lived since its founding many economic crises until the 1980s, it has worked and was able to lay the foundations and economic policies out of these crises and the ability to improve the level of its economy, part of which are domestic policies, such as attention to productive capacities, and the development of the agricultural and industrial sectors. This has a great role to open up to the countries of the world, Western, Islamic and Arab.

Turkey has worked to achieve the economic goals of development and prosperity in order to refresh the economic sectors, and to remove economic problems resulting from weakness such as unemployment and income distribution. These policies were of interest to foreign markets, the most important being in the European Union, to work to overcome obstacles and find the necessary ground for its rehabilitation. The European Union and its membership is of high importance in the economic life of Turkey to achieve the desired objectives of the progress, as it occupies the highest proportion of countries in trade exchange, and the proportion of the presence of high Turkish labor in European countries (Al Zaanin, 1998).

As for the achievement of the economic objective of the Turkish transformation towards the Middle East, Turkey became a common denominator

and had an economic growth between the years 1970-1980 after exposure to several economic crises and after the sudden rise in oil prices in 1973, Turkey began bilateral relations based on mutual interests, the most important period is that of Turgut Özal which is distinguished by its openness to export and opening up the Turkish economy to investment Foreigner (Fuller, 1998).

As for the 'Erdoğanic' experience, the PJD takes power as it is moving successfully largely from an economy linked to state control under former perfectionist policies to a market economy that is increasingly open. Turkey is joining the ten emerging economies of the world, and here is Turkey in pursuit of its goal of economic and development prosperity. It is currently working to meet the criteria enabling them to be accepted at the EU until 2015, and Turkish companies were holding and contracting companies spearhead of the economic role of Turkey in the Middle East (Fuller, 1998).

External transformations have contributed very significantly to Turkey's transformation towards the Middle East in the positive form of its economy, such as the events of the Iran-Iraq war, to become the first trading partner of the two countries, especially as these interests of achieving this goal as being a transit point and source of products, in support of and requests from businessmen to decision makers of Turkish foreign policy, the most important Islamic groups which is influenced by the Islamic link in its influence on this foreign policy (Nofal et al., 1993).

4.2.3. Preserving a regional role and influence

Countries seek to have an effective role in their regional environment, giving them the capacity to deal with the International relations in order to achieve their objectives and interests; Turkey seeks to establish a role in international relations with many parties, which ensures its strength and effective presence, and gives it the influence that constitutes one of the pillars of progress in achieving its objectives.

Turkey's regional role was limited to its international presence, which was based on its strategic relations with the powers of international actors, such as the United States and the European Union, by joining NATO as well as its capabilities of water resources and military power, many developments have led to a shift in the nature of its regional role. These developments have been the reason for revisiting that strategy by not only maintaining it without absenteeism and the role played by the Justice and Development Party after 2002, and the tension of Turkish-American relations after The war on Iraq in 2003 and the bad image of the Americans in Iraq, as well as evasion on the admission of Turkey to the European Union (Abdul Fattah, 2008).

Turkey has a regional role to play in the Middle East, including Arab and Islamic states, so it has increased its cooperation and establishment and play a high role as a mediator to solve many of the thorny and complex issues in the region, such as its mediation role to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, its role to revive the Israeli-Syrian negotiations, and its role in the rapprochement to the Arab countries. The Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül (later head of state) visited the League of Arab States in 2008 to emphasize that his government decided to develop relations with Arab countries, especially the Palestinian issue. In addition, Turkey played an important role with Muslim countries; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu was appointed as the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference by a decision of Turkish Foreign Minister at the time, Abdullah Gül (Abdul Fattah, P, 2008).

The consultant of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu (later Foreign Minister and Prime Minister) stated that his country refuses to just bridge the relations between East and West but looks forward to playing an active role in activating the relations between them which reflects their presence in the region, at least in many files, such as those relating to Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine. Also, in the Iranian nuclear file, Turkey attempted to play the role of mediator to resolve the dispute between Iran and the Western world, and on the so-called Turkish-Brazilian initiative to exchange uranium and its refusal to impose sanctions on Iran. In

addition, there are two other national goals of Turkey as the following (Abdul Fattah, p.2008).

4.2.4. Convergence with the Arab and Islamic worlds

Turkey has worked to establish relations with the Arab and Islamic worlds and to increase cooperation between them in all fields, to the common interests of the two parties, through high-level diplomatic activity, which shows the structural theory in its clear form of interest in the diplomatic aspect of countries, as an important tool of foreign policy.

The most important stations that witnessed improvement and convergence of the Arab and Islamic world were the period known as the opening in the era of President Turgut Özal, especially with the oil countries, to realize Turkey's importance of interests in the region. Because of its historical and cultural ties, it must make an intensive effort to develop its relations with all countries Arab and Islamic, and according to the words of Özal, "the Arab region need to the Turkish role; Turkey's political and military interest increased in comparison to Turkey's pressing need for Arab oil and Arab markets" (Al Dameri, 2002). This was to establish many relations with Arab and Islamic countries, especially commercial ones, to enjoy the region of importance strategy, and the emergence of circles and various regional areas, including the Middle East and Islamic, and to make the Turkey's political decision-makers believe their country is integrating into the European circle and the Arab world.

The most important issues that contributed to the orientation of Turkish politicians toward the Arab and Islamic world before and after 1990s to the contemporary history can be summarized as follows (Deli, 1999):

- 1 - The secretions of the results of the second Gulf War made Turkey an essential element in the region for the Middle East, as a result of several factors: water, oil, security and minorities, and most importantly the Kurds because of their presence within the entanglement border with

neighboring countries Syria and Iraq. This gives the need for joint cooperation between them.

2. The Arab world has turned towards peace negotiations with Israel and the recognition of many of them has given Turkey room to establish relations in the Middle East, especially with the Arab and Islamic countries, without causing embarrassment to it after being accused of its bias towards Israel.
- 3 - The internal changes that occurred in Turkey itself and the rise of the Islamic trend to the political front gave impetus and influence to the payment and support for this approach to achieve rapprochement with the Arab and Islamic worlds. After 2002, the arrival of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) became Turkey's foreign policy ever closer to rapprochement with Arabs and Muslims, despite its interest in the European Circle, it seeks to develop its economic, official and popular relations with many Arab and Islamic countries, and economic groups such as the G-8: Turkey, Egypt, Pakistan, Iran, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Indonesia and Malaysia in 1997. Turkey is keen to export its food and machinery products and recent weapons, and to import raw materials such as oil and gas (Deli, 1999).

Turkey, in cooperation with the League of Arab countries, has also established the Arab-Turkish Forum, with a view to cooperate together to remove the barriers that prevailed in the past, and to strengthen the political and economic presence in the Middle East. This is the result of the hard work of Turkish politicians, especially the presence of AKP leaders Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül, Ahmet Davutoğlu, to go to Arab and Islamic countries and exchange visits with them (Nofal, 2010).

There is no doubt that the popular and official role of Turkey towards the Palestinian issue recently and the consequences of the aggression of the Israeli occupation of Gaza in 2008, and Turkey's rejection to this aggression and its appeal and to provide assistance to the people and the attempt to lift the siege on the Gaza Strip, through the Davos incident and even the fleet of freedom. Also, the role of

Turkish cinema in relation to the Palestinian cause and its defense is one of the important reasons that contributed to Turkish-Arab rapprochement, as well as with regard to the Lebanese file after the July 2006 war. Besides, Turkey's role include several attempts like Turkey's rejection and condemnation of this excessive Israeli aggression against Lebanon, the Iranian nuclear file and the position Turkey's attempt to mediate to resolve the Iranian dispute with the West, the initiative that came with Brazil on the exchange of uranium to solve the file peacefully, and its rejection of the sanctions imposed on Iran. All these tries are important motives for Turkish policy towards rapprochement with the Arab and Islamic worlds.

4.2.5. Joining the European Union

Turkey entered the European market in 1959, just one year after its founding, in pursuit of to join the full membership of this group, because of the important motives and interests of Turkey, these interests and motives can be summarized in the following points (Al Nuaimi, 2007).

- A. Geographical motives: many Turkish political and cultural elites believe that relations with the EU are important for the future of Turkey and its strategic interests are associated with these relations and its durability, considering that Turkey has been part of European politics and land for centuries. The Turkish ambassador in London said: "We look at Turkey's problems with the EU as we are looking at an internal European problem, not an external problem".
- B. Politically motivates: Turkey's political motivation is to join the European Union which is motivated by internal and other external motives. The interior is that the majority of the currents of the Turkish policies stresses the support of their country's accession to the European Union, despite of the different political orientations, whether secular, Islamic, liberal, and right or left, this is for the important political force of the European Union to become part of it. Regarding the most important external motive is the competition between Turkey and

Greece, in which Greece tries hardly to Keep Turkey away from the EU.

- C - Economic motives: it is one of the most important motives that drive and stimulate Turkey in the desire to join the European Union as it represents an important export market for all Turkish products, as well as a goal of free movement of labor, and a large flow of foreign investment from European companies which contributes to finding the new expertise and technology that Turkey needs to modernize its economy and not to rely on the financial aid granted to it because of the rapid development experienced by Turkey, despite of the importance of the political, which has grown significantly due to the political climate envisaged between Turkey and the European Union.

The EU shares about 55% of the direct trade of Turkish capital as UE`s countries are about 43% of the total foreign companies work in Turkey (Mastry and nation, 1996), After World War II, Turkey has many migrations to the Western world and during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the majority of them in Germany (Heper and Kramer, 1993).

D. Security reasons: after the Second World War, the security motive became a major reason for integration into a Western system (European-American), by accepting a special offer of the United States of commitments in the Middle East, which was provided by the Truman Principle in 1947, which was due to the development of hostility and rivalry between the East The West and the competition between the two superpowers that led to Turkey's catching up with the Western economic system. And yet Turkey's displeasure with the United States of America was because of its position on the Cyprus issue and the Johnson message in 1964, the ban on the supply of arms to Turkey between 1975 and 1978, and the neglect of concerns Security situation for Turkey during the period of international détente, which has made Turkey heading towards an increasing trend towards Europe West. These motives may be reflected negatively on the Turkish position towards the Palestinian cause because of the impact of Turkey and its work to satisfy the

countries of the European Union and to get the approval of these countries to join the European Union.

Turkey has worked step by step and many measures have been taken to achieve this integration, including: union Customs duties, tariff reductions on imports from EU countries and the pursuit of compliance linked to the issues of democracy and human rights, including the Kurdish areas, and then the transformation of the source of concern like the tension in the Aegean Sea, Cyprus and northern Iraq. All these efforts were done to overcome its economic problems and to achieve the political acceptance of the Union's accession, believing that it has the power which will provide new dimensions to contemporary historical relations (Moawad, 1998).

The announcement came from the Justice and Development Party (AKP) since taking the role in November 2002 considering that joining the European Union is still a fundamental objective of the party's policy and aspirations. Turkey worked by all means to achieve this end by full integration into the Union in the future, which is considered by the political leadership, most of the elements of the political elite and secular non-governmental circles as a major objective (Ghanim et al., 2009).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

The Arab orientation toward Turkey in the post-republican era was greatly diminished by the continuation of the Arab vision of Turkey from the perspective of the past, which was tarnished by resentment of each other. The Ottomans held the Arabs part of the conspiracy and the reason for the collapse of the empire. While many Arabs consider the Ottoman Empire as a colonial face where their rights were absent. The Arabs did not invest any efforts to improve the relations with Turkey even after the republic stage where the percentage of Muslims was about (98%), and therefore its positions towards the Arab issues at that stage were in response to the necessities dictated by external conditions, so it was better for Arabs and Muslims to be Closer to Turkey and give it as much as possible of the opportunities and relationships and interests, to prevent and keep Turkey away from the West and contrasting its strategies or competing with the East. After the uniqueness of the United States of America to dominate the world after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which was a threat to the Ottoman Empire, and in the wake of Arab weakness, and the pace of its fragmentation and division, the period following these two variables and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey witnessed a different rise and presence by The Turkish Inspirator Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who declared the establishment of the Turkish secular republic in 1923 and was known for his bias toward the West, and so the Turkish foreign policy found its interest lies in getting close to the United States and its ally Israel after its establishment, and as far as possible from the East. The factors that have helped Turkey to encourage and to revitalize its role in the Middle East region, particularly with regard to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are numerous, but the most important of these is that Turkey is a key country and a founder of the United Nations organization and a central country in the Middle East, and its position in the Organization of the Islamic Conference, where Turkey had previously served as the Organization's head, as well as its relations with both Israel and the West, and other factors that might facilitate its Middle East objectives. Turkey, on several occasions affirmed its interest in the process of political settlement and the need for a just,

comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on the implementation of previous agreements between the Palestinians and the Israelis, with the opportunity for the Palestinian people and the rest of the peoples of the region, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized borders. Turkey's repeated attempts to activate its foreign policy on various issues of the world, including the Palestinian issue, and its role as a mediator between the Arab parties and Israel, such as Syria and the Palestinian side, make it an active and prominent role on the international stage in general and the Middle East in particular.

Despite the great interests between Turkey and Israel in many fields, especially the military and economic fields, Turkey has not made a negative change in its foreign policy towards the Palestinian people and its cause even at a time when its policy has been balanced in its dealings with both parties for decades.

Turkey has long adopted pro-Arab positions in their conflict with Israel, but as a result of changes in the international system in the early 1990s, and Arab involvement in peaceful settlement processes, relations with Israel, liberalization of Turkey's economy, In addition to strengthening relations with Washington through the relationship with Israel, and other reasons, pushed Turkey to closer relations with the Jewish state, and remove the embarrassment in increasing relations with Israel, considering that the Arabs themselves have relations with them, including the Palestinians themselves.

Turkey's national interests are the main engine of its foreign policy, especially after the significant changes that took place in the international arena after the end of the Cold War, the intensification of the power of globalization, the concentration of many countries on their interests, and how to deal with this phenomenon economically, politically, as well as strategically and of the fact that the pluralistic democratic nature of the Turkish political system made Turkish foreign policy influenced by the outcome of the interaction of different powers and groups, most of which consider the interest and mutual benefit factor as the sound policy to be pursued with other countries. And in return, the ideological determinant, which was the basic criterion for that policy before this war, is fading.

As for the negative effects of the Turkish-Israeli relationship on the Palestinian issue, it was multiple, so that the arrival of this relationship to a high degree of alliance and cooperation, in various fields, especially security, and the concepts of resistance have been distorted and confused by the term terrorism after the events of September 11 2001 'contributed significantly to the impact of the Turkish position towards the Palestinian struggle in many stations, and contributed to the Turkish-Israeli cooperation in the security areas that inevitably had damage on the Palestinian side and its resistance, especially that Israel exploited the Turkish military institution loyalty to Washington to convince the external decision makers in Turkey that the Palestinian resistance are only terrorist organizations, harming Turkey's interests and relations with Israel. In addition, this cooperation strengthens the Israeli side and widens the military and strategic imbalance in favour of the Jewish state, not to mention that the Arab side is already weak and also suffers from the absence of sovereignty and the decision in facing the challenges regarding the Israeli military machine.

Turkey, and through its resolutions voted in the United Nations alongside with and was a supporter of Palestinian rights and issues, as it stood in favour of all resolutions that reject the partition of Palestine, and demands recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, and considered the occupation and Zionism as a form of racism, and certainly ensure the need for Israeli withdrawal from land and the demand for the right of the Palestinians to establish a sovereign state on their land, with the return of those who have been displaced, and the demand to recognize Palestine as a state with the highest diplomatic level in Turkey. It also stood by most resolutions condemning Israeli practices in the occupied territories, and support a resolution denouncing Israel's refusal to comply to abandon its nuclear weapons and facilities subject to the Atomic Energy Organization.

If we expect the return of the alliance between Turkey and Israel, this is unlikely to happen at least on the Turkish side for many reasons, including: The loss of the common enemy, the absence of the Israeli role in supporting the Turkish accession to the European Union, and the absence of the idea that Israel is the gate of the European Union, which was believed by some Turks, In addition to the

decline of the influence of the military institution, which was a strain on the Turkish regime of rapprochement with Israel, and the growing popular opposition in Turkey after Israel killed a number of Turks by the Israeli soldiers, which makes the emergence of a crisis of confidence between Turkey and Israel, a confidence which must be Available to restart all of the strategic alliance between them (Nassar, 2010).

This study reaches a number of results as follows:

1. There was a shift in Turkish attitudes towards Palestine before and after 2002. The situation and the Turkish role in the period between 1948 and 1967 were characterized by isolationism, neutrality, hesitation, indecisiveness and ambiguity as a result of its association with the internal and external issues affecting Turkish decision-making, such as the economic crisis, The Cyprus issue and the intellectual orientation of the Turkish political system, and there was no active and influential role in the Palestinian cause.
2. The Turkish position in the period between 1967 and 1993 was characterized by a clear and limited opening of positions, based on the Turkish President Turgut özal's vision that Turkey should have a role in regional issues, such as its refusal position on the use of NATO military bases in its territory against Arab countries, as well as the closure of the Turkish Consulate in Israel and the withdrawal of the Turkish ambassador in protest against the annexation of Jerusalem to Israel and the economic openness towards the Arab states. However, there was no active, independent and proactive Turkish role in the Palestinian cause. It was limited to political positions that were opposed to Israeli policies. Therefore, the Turkish position towards Palestine was part of the Turkish policy towards regional issues.
3. From 1993 to 2002, the Turkish position was characterized by political discourse in support of the Palestinian position, Palestinian rights, supporting some UN resolutions, and there was no role to mediate,

initiate or influence the Palestinian cause due to its loss to the active and influential political and economic components.

4. Palestine and Jerusalem gained special importance for the Turkish leadership and people, regardless of the political aspects and views of the Turkish political system. One of the most prominent manifestations of this was the reduction of relations with Israel from an ambassador to a second secretary and the withdrawal of the Turkish ambassador from Israel in 1980, in protest against making East Jerusalem the capital of Israel.
5. The study concluded that the political and economic role of Turkey is independent of the other actors, and aims to protect and support the Palestinians politically and economically. This is reflected in the rejection of the blockade and the cessation of international aid to the Palestinian people after Hamas won the Palestinian elections in 2006, and consider this as lack of respect for democracy, in addition to the positive role in Palestinian reconciliation.
6. Since the AKP took power in Turkey in 2002, the Turkish role concerning the Palestinian cause characterized with openness, decisiveness, and strong influence of the language of political discourse and the actual role of diplomatic actions and moves and the initiatives taken by Turkey, whether at the regional or international level with regard to the siege and the war initiated on Gaza, and the file of the Palestinian national unity. The Turkish role was aimed at preserving the Palestinian social unity and providing strong moral support to the people and to the Palestinian leadership as a result of its support for the legitimate Palestinian positions and rights.
7. The study concluded that the political and economic role of Turkey in Palestine is based on human rights principles (resolutions of international legitimacy and human rights), humanitarian and religious (religious ties, especially the Al-Aqsa Mosque), the background of the leaders of the Justice and Development Party and historical (Ottoman rule in Palestine, and the Ottoman archive of Palestine), and politically (new foreign policy orientations).

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