

Turkish Foreign Policies Determinants Towards Palestinian Issue under the Rule of Justice and Development Party (2002-2015)

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Abstract: In this study, the researcher discusses the Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) pertinent to the Palestinian issue during the Justice and Development Party (JDP) (AKP) rule, since, 2002. This period witnessed a drastic change in the Turkish Republic after the TFP rule towards regional and international issues where the TFP has done tremendous efforts to resume the role of Turkey and its regional and international position after its ultimate dependency on the West and Israel. This has its clear impact on the Turkish policy towards the Palestinian issue. The present study aimed at identifying the determinants, premises and the milestones of the TFP under the rule of the AKP towards the Palestinian issue. Moreover, the study sought to unveil the basics and foundations of this new Turkish Foreign policy which the AKP depends on. In this analytical descriptive study, the researcher analysed data that enhanced the change of the Turkish Foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue. In addition, the researcher investigated historically the Turkish Foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue in the last era. Finally, it was concluded that, the advent of the AKP to the rule in Turkey represents a critical point in the Turkish policy and a big change in its presence and acceptance in the region and in the whole world as it raises the expectations in the regional and international public opinion. In addition it has established a kind of relative compatibility with the neighbourhood and the world on many Foreign policy issues which all are characteristics that granted Turkey the possibility of establishing and implementing active and influential policies. Furthermore, the Palestinian Issue with all its intricate and barbed nature is the best entrance of AKP Turkey to take a regional and international place. Therefore, the Palestinian issue is considered the entrance of AKP Turkey to the Islamic World". At the end of the study, the researcher recommended that the Palestinian politicians benefit from the Turkish Foreign policy under the rule of the AKP. It is through this policy that Turkey occupies a distinctive regional role through mediating between the disputing parties and exploits this role and its acceptance by the international community in supporting the Palestinian issue.

Key words: Turkish Foreign Policies (TFP), Justice and Development Party (JDP), AKP, Adalet ve Kalkynma Partisi (AKP), Palestinian issue, mediating

INTRODUCTION

For decades, Turkey has perceived a Foreign policy inspired by the path chosen by its founder Mustafa Kemal Ataturk where the most important features of this policy were to Westernize and modernize it. Ultimately, the relations with the West became the centre of Turkey's political interests while the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) membership determined its military and strategic interests and the process of joining the European Union (EU) became the pivot of economic interests.

The assumption of power by AKP in 2002 brought a reformulation of Turkey's general policies including its Foreign policy after it had redefined its role and position. Consequently, Turkey started to demonstrate more interest in regional issues, most noticeably in the Palestinian issue. Turkey's Foreign policy activism has

considerably increased under AKP rule over the course of the last 14 years reflecting the country's new Foreign policy vision which was formulated as the 'strategic depth doctrine' by its originator and architect Ahmet Davutoolu (Tekin and Teki, 2015).

Turkey's geostrategic and geopolitical location importance let AKP governments have adopted a more active and multi-dimensional Foreign policy towards regional issues as new power in the region.

Study question: What are the Turkish Foreign policies determinants towards Palestinian issue under the rule of (JDP)?

Study approach: Constructivist theory consider the appropriate framework for this study because it is use in studying the interests of the state and how interact in the formation of identity and the influence of internal and

external elements in determine the state policy including the national security policy. In this research, we are going to study the Turkish Foreign policy during the specified period towards the Palestinian issue.

First: the internal parameters of Turkish Foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue: Multiple internal parameters influencing the decision-making process in Turkey. This study investigate the internal determinants of Turkish policy towards the Palestinian issue that can divided into four forces: (Turkish people “Turkish public opinion”, secular forces, the military establishment, interest groups). Each one of these forces has his own attitudes and perceptions about the role played by the (JDP) government towards the Palestinian issue.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Turkish people attitude, “Turkish public opinion”: The Palestinian issue exists in the minds of the Turkish people and its leaders, since, the emergence of the Zionist project in the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, through successive governments of secularism in Turkey, leading to the “Justice and Development Party” AKP government (Anonymous, 2010a-c).

Palestinian issue is one of a sensitive Middle East issues in Turkey where it lefts a clear impact on Turkish relations with the countries of the region, especially, “Israel” that was as a result of the Turkish links with the Palestinian people and the sympathy of the Turkish street with the Palestinian issue (Ozcan and Bngio, 2003). Because this many Protests took place on a large scale against the Israeli expansion and violence in the Palestinian territories in March and April 2002. In addition, the Israeli attacks against Gaza Strip in 2008 met with a larger scale protests in different parts of Turkey and cancelled a major ceremony in Istanbul Eve New Year. Thousands of Turkish People Protest against the Israel Aggression against the Palestinians on fourth of January 2009.

The issue of Palestine and Jerusalem have their special place in heart and conscience of the Turks, Islamist, secularists, civilians and military. The Circumstances of the cold war have made it impossible to show the full sympathy of the official Turk with this issue. So, the Alliance of Ankara with “Israel” in line with western colonial projects although, so, the military elite and secularism in Turkey did not hesitate to express the place of Jerusalem and Palestine in their consciousness at their hearts. The Palestine issue has become a central for Turkey, both at the leadership level and the level of the Turkish people.

Turkish street divided into majority support the policies of (JDP) towards the Palestinian issue, some of these majorities take more stringent positions than government position whether based on Islamic or Turkish nationalist positions. There are a political minority with a secular orientation, see in the trends of JDP toward the support of the Palestinian people’s rights. Contrary to the principles of Turkish secularism and neutrality in the Arab-Israeli conflict, some of them reminding the Arab position in the Sharif Hussein revolution against the Turkish state and siding with the allies for independence from the Ottoman Empire (Tariq, 2012).

Overall, the Palestinian issue is a sensitive for large segments of the Turkish society because it is one of the few issues that carried Turkish voters to put pressure on politicians to take a stand in Foreign policy. Showed an opinion poll conducted in July 2004 AD, 82% affirm their support for the Prime Minister Erdogan to blame for “Israel” to continue what he called “State terrorism”. The essence of the Palestinian issue for most Turks is the status of Jerusalem and who will control the Holy places, that has been remained sensitive for a long time in Turkey’s Foreign policy and has received considerable attention from the Turkish society.

The position of Turkish secular forces: The secular forces in Turkey divided into two parts, the forces of the militant secular as Republican People’s Party, non-militant secular forces but want to stay Turkey as secular state. Country such as Turkey, basis coup is to imposition an extreme secularism and make it as the culture of a society. The existence of secular forces becomes a sure thing and a natural, especially, if the constitution stipulates in its first study that Turkey is a secular state. Moreover, the powers of the judiciary and the army champion this option (Tariq, 2012). Historically, during the presence of the laity in the governance, despite the fact that Turkey the first country in the Middle East admitted to “Israel” but the positions of the Turkish secular governments successive towards the Palestinian issue was often supportive of the Palestinian issue in response to the Turkish street sympathetic Jerusalem and Palestine.

Many of the historical positions taken in the era secular leaders such as reducing diplomatic relations with “Israel” at the end of 1981 during the reign of the military coup. The Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, a secular hardliner known for his hostility Islamic currents, he was the custodian of the PLO in the seventies and the first to describev the practices of “Israel’s” genocide in 2002 (Anonymous, 2010a-c).

However, these attitudes stem from the pressure of public sympathy with the Palestinian issue on the ruling

political elites often. The hard line secular forces stand today under the rule of JDP, against any Turk reaction towards the Palestinian issue, looking for that as the Islamic orientation against the secular state not a political trend serve the national interests and growth of the Turkish role at regional and international level. These parties exploit the international stance against Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas to accuse Erdogan of bias to its side which contrasts with the foundations and principles of the secular republic and strategic interests intended relationship with USA and "Israel" and the Jewish lobby organizations (Tariq, 2012).

The position of Turkish military: The military establishment one of the political system highlights institutions, the oldest organized in the history of the Ottoman and the Republic of Turkish was and still the basis of the state. Ataturk has founded the army on a modern regulatory foundation and nodular and political grounds include a vision of public policy and the role in the construction and protection of the state both internally and externally (Mahfoud, 2008).

In spite of the institutional character of making the decision in turkey. Turkish military establishment proved that it is the most powerful player in the politics life, perhaps because the army is the first protector of the secular state which emerged from the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923, ending 1924 the Ottoman Empire by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.

That appears in the number of military coups on the Turkish politics history happened relying on the support of business men's and media, Under the Logo "Secularism protection" and control Country Political issues During operations coup in 1960, 1971 and 1980. In addition, overthrow Erbakan Government related orientation Islamic 1997 (Anonymous, 2010).

Moreover, the main defender for Turkey's relations with "Israel" associated with her in multiple (Military, security and intelligence) agreements. Comes on Head of this Security Strategic Cooperate Agreement 1996 and the role of fortified army according to the constitution 1982 which put it the coup Leadership Kanaan Evren In 1980, that lets the Military Foundation Role Growing at Turkish political affairs, makes the decisions taken by the National Security board which controlled by military bound to the government (Tariq, 2012).

When the "Justice and development" party arrived rule in Turkey, after decades of secular rule, the military has sought to obstruct the work of this party and tried in vain to prevent Abdullah Gul to win the presidential election in 2007. In 2008, supported implicitly military attempt to Attorney General "Abdul Rahman

Elchinakaya" on the prohibition of the justice and development party but the constitutional court had decided otherwise with a difference of one vote.

Which is a fundamental shift in the control of the political track of Turkey, succeeded of the (JDP) by the admission of the chief of staff, "Walker Yashbog" to stop the state of coups since they established the popular base through contact with the Turkish people layers. Find effective solutions to the many problems especially on the economic front and the relationship with neighboring countries (Anonymous, 2010).

It seems that the progress in the process of joining the European Union-after Turkey became a list of candidates to negotiate in order to join the European Union, since, 8 November 2000, requires constitutional reforms and the redefinition of the task of the National Security Council. Moreover, to be limited job to the advisory side only. This applies to changes in the penal laws and the abolition of restrictions on public freedoms, cultural, religious and linguistic rights and freedom of political action. In addition to lift the ban and restrictions on political ideas or religious (Mahfoud, 2008).

Therefore, the constitutional amendments passed in the era of JDP in a referendum of September 2010, focused on materials concerning political reform and the development of civil relations-military and democratization and Ethnic Relations and freedoms. Most importantly is the amended Article 125 of the constitution which gives immunity to the Supreme Military Council decisions. The amendment allows the appeal in the courts.

The amendments affected the military judiciary which was limited competence over the crimes after the military which limited my competence to military crimes, nor may it be the trial of civilians in front of him, except in time of war. This is an unprecedented development in the course of relations Civil-military in Turkey. These amendments also, followed the relative changes in the document of national security "red book" where Syria and Russia dropped from sources external threats to the list of sources of threat and added "Israel".

And consider government, "Justice and Development" currently in the amendments to the National Security Council structure, so that, it is increasing the civilian members to a certain extent to achieve equality with the military within the council were also, at the National Security Council. In addition to converting the subordination of the National Security Council of the Prime Minister to the Ministry of Defence and convert the leaders of the branches of the armed forces to units within the Ministry of Defence. It is expect that the amendment include the nature of the council's decisions transformed into an advisory board.

We have to mention that the JDP was able to use the Palestinian card very well to win the Turkish sympathetic public opinion who is already with the Palestinian issue from a religious perspective. In spite of the influence of secularism on the joints of the Turkish life all through bold attitudes and critically acclaimed by the party leaders terrorism, "Israel" and its attacks on the Palestinians (Anonymous, 2010).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The position of interests "businessmen" groups: Interest groups vary in Turkey between labor and professional groups, economic, environmental, women's and others. Studying these groups are importance to understand the decision-making process in Turkey. As it is in terms of form in some sectors of the forces pressing on the decision-maker. On the other hand, it is an important source of political recruitment where some of them joined the political elite at different levels, the researchers classified the pressure in groups Turkey into five groups, "Labor unions, business groups, Professional associations, military, official religious establishment" (Moawad, 1998).

In an interview with Doctor Yassin Aqtaa, Turkish Prime Minister's Recep Tayyip Erdogan Advisor, the chairmen of the "Strategic Thinking Institute" in Ankara, Aqtaa confirmed that Turkish businessmen support (JDP) government in its policies internally and externally and he mentioned that the Institute of strategic thinking founded by new business men.

Because they are the owners of capital in the state they have the larger influence of lobbyists. They have money, so, they have the resolution on the other hand they support the Palestinian issue through the adoption of a conferences in support of Arab issues in general and the Palestinian issue in particular, the strategic thinking center oversee on number them.

Second: the external parameters of Turkish Foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue: The external powers affecting the determination of Turkish Foreign policies towards the Palestinian issue can divided to four powers namely: ("Western camp" USA and European Union," Israel", "official Arab States position" and the Arab popular movement "Arab Spring").

The position of "Western camp" of Turkish politics towards the Palestinian issue: The role of the major powers continued as the main role of influential in Turkey's regional ties. Indeed the Western camp led by the United States took advantage of the fear of Turkey

from the ambitions of the former Soviet Union in their territory. And orientation "Ataturk" of the West and Stay away from the East to push for the recognition of "Israel" in 1949, compared to join the Western camp it is possible that Turkey's accession to NATO 1952 Reward to her. For recognition "Israel" and to protect it from extension communist at that time (Khammash, 2010).

The position of the United States of America: Turkey is a strategically for the West and an ally to the United States. Since, it represents an important hub in the Western camp during the Cold War and before the fall of the Soviet Union as one of the closest NATO countries geography of the former Soviet Union. Turkey has one of the largest US military bases abroad, a "Incirlik" Air base South Turkey. After fall off the Soviet Union continued Role Turkey especially at Second Gulf war In 1991 what is known Kuwait release war and then participated Turkey Also, in the war US on Afghanistan In 2001 (Tariq, 2012).

Relations between Turkey and the United States continued during the long years without faced with serious challenges. Those relations have represented a central issue of Turkish policy as the United States molar pole in the security policies of Turkey did not occur conceptual changes and cognitive boss, only the imposed by global changes and post-cold war environment. Especially, after Attacks of September 2001 (Mahfoud, 2008).

Since, "Justice and development party to power in 2002. Turkey began a new policy which is trying to get out of the mantle of American strategic region for implementation of the strategy of Turkey. Turkish interests in the first place and support its position and influence in the region, after asking the United States to the greater Middle East project on 28 January 2004 during former US President Bush meeting with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan at the White House. Turkey tried to draft his replacement is Middle Eastern Union on Like the European Union, so that, the people of the Middle East are the beneficiaries of its bounty. However, this project did not attract the attention of Foreign Ministers during their geographical proximity posed by Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul-at that time-Foreign Ministers Summit on geographical proximity in Kuwait on 14 February 2004 (Khammash, 2010).

The events of 11 September 2001 followed by the deterioration of the international institutions and deterioration the global system which resulted in the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq and increased Israeli orgy in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip. There were several claims to reform this mono leverage global system. (Alqatora, 2012).

The United States has formed a pressure factor on Turkey to stop any escalation against "Israel". The intervention of the American administration comes directly to resolving the political differences between the governments of Turkey and Israel. Claim both sides to stop remarks toward each after the statements made by Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan in May 2004, describing Israel as terrorist state, following the massacres committed against the Palestinians (Khammash, 2010).

The refused of the Turkish parliament allowing the US troops to use Turkish territory to invade Iraq in 2003. Represented an unexpected process for the United States. Left a deep wound in the relationship between the two parties at the end of the first period of rule by President Bush, also, raised US suspicions about Turkey as a strategic ally can rely on him time crisis represented.

Even so, both parties Turkey and the United States, has no longer any mutually enemy or adversary. On the contrary, that gives them a priority in their calculations about the security and defense as well as national interests for both. Ahmet Davutolu has gone in his first speech after assuming the Foreign Ministry that "the two countries should be together in addition that the United States should reconsider some of its policies here and there and US need help at many areas, like the Middle East" (Mahfoud, 2012).

Omar Taspinar, director of the Turkey program Brookings Institution in Washington: say, "Lead Turkey at the current time Islamic moderate Government pro-Western fairly large. US believes that Turkey is the optimization sample project in the Middle East which seeks to apply. And Turkey will not be a Muslim country because army will not allow, so, as long as Ataturk thoughts live in the country, Turkey was represent major importance in the cold war because of its location, either right now turkey very important for US as it is now" (Khammash, 2010).

Obama's election to the presidency of the United States and his successful visits to Turkey and his secretary of state after a short period of the election, a change in the Turkish public opinion toward the United States has led. During the previous period, US tried to improve its image among the Islamic world from during collection steps toward the Islamic world including Turkey which Obama had visited in 2009 and suggested a model for cooperation between Turkey with US can whereby overcome on differences religious and cultural between Europe with Christian majority and the Islamic world. Turks analysts determine the difference between Bush who deal with Turkey as an Islamic moderate state and Obama who talk about Turkey as a secularism democracy state arrived to that by herself. That was a

letter expression about waiver US fort Seeking to introduce democracy to the Middle East. (Lindenstrauss, 2010).

Therefore, the new US administration is well aware of how important the position of Turkey and its role in important issues in American Foreign policy, especially, the situation in the Palestinian territories and the process of political settlement (Khammash, 2010). Despite the change Turkey's relations conditions with Israel. In addition, the fact that the Palestinian issue emotional issue for the Turks and the Turkish leadership, especially, Erdogan who expressed his strong emotions among the Turkish people, the vision of the Turkish leadership of the Hamas as a legitimately and effective Palestinian leadership these convictions are different than they are to the United States (Hamad *et al.*, 2012).

Although, American resentment of Turkish Foreign policy in supporting the Palestinians against Israeli practices. Especially, after the Israeli aggression on Gaza, and the criticism sharp from Ankara to "Tel Aviv". Nevertheless, that the US are still keen to keep the alliance with Turkey. This confirms what was said by Secretary of State Rice when her visit Ankara on 7 March 2009, "Turkey is a friend at all times" and she thanked "Military of Turkey for his contribution into the NATO mission in Afghanistan. Its investments in the Iraq and the role of Ankara in the Syrian-Israeli peace process, outstanding at the current time (Khammash, 2010). In American views of Turkey's policy and its role in the Palestinian issue there are two visions of the role of Turkey (Tariq, 2012):

First: See that the US administration does not reject the Turkish role in the Palestinian issue because they know that there is Turkey will not overtake a red line in its relations with the West or Israel. Instead of Iran-the strong player at region. In the Issue of the Palestinian which dealing with issue much higher than Turkey. The US wants an Islamic moderate attracts Hamas toward moderation at counter the influence of Iran threatens to the Israel security. The United States has become aware of the difficulties faced in the region. Sees Turkey's strategic reserves can rely on him to form stability and an urgent need in the complex crises factor.

The researcher sees that the United States needs to the Turkish role in many regional issues that could not be resolved directly such as the problem of the Iranian nuclear threat.

Second: Sees that the JDP adopt an Islamic vision of politics. According to Soner Jagaptaa-the program Director of Turkish Researches at Institute of Washington "The JDP sees everything through the prism of the

civilization conflict. Could not be an honest mediator. This became clear when the party became the defender about the Islamic side when allowed himself to involve between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority or between Europe and Iran”.

The conservative commentators in Washington dreams alliance between Greece, Israel and Iraq Kurdistan to weaken Turkey. In a closed meeting to the members of the “Heritage foundation”-Corporation Thinking that is one of the conservative’s strong holds at Washington-heard strongly expression “Must be Punish Turkey”.

The New York Times journalist considered that the shift in Turkey’s Foreign policy makes the prime minister, at that time Recep Tayyip Erdogan, a hero to the Arab world and involves a direct challenge to the United States style in dealing with the most pressing two issues in the region, Iran’s nuclear program and Palestinian-Israeli peace process (Taghyan, 2011).

The position of the European union: The European position supports the Palestinian issue and the rights of the Palestinians. Turkey (JDP) benefited of this, makes its position from. The Palestinian issue supports it is seek to join the European Union. Decades ago Turkey is seeking to join the European Union according to the principles of “Ataturk” in seeking towards the “Europeanization of Turkey” and to solve its economic difficult conditions, but it always found the rejection. The secular Turks thinks that the strengthening of its relations with Israel will contribute to join it to the European Union. They thinks that if the Cyprus issue constitutes was an obstacle Turkey to accession European Union, the Turkish relations with Israel will substitute about that and try to express their intentions (Khammash, 2010).

Accession Turkey to the European Union became a priority in the JDP program after his arrival to power in 2002. The first activity carried out by Erdogan and Gul was a tour to 15 countries members of the European Union to encourage them to set a date for the start of Turkey membership negotiations to the EU at the Copenhagen summit on 12-13 December 2002 (Al-Naimi, 2007).

The (JDP) consider full join to the Union European is strategic goal for him and not possible acceptance other alternatives. Confirmed that looking for the full membership to the Union ongoing on though obstacles and delays stemming from the European Union (Anonymous, 2012).

Turkey’s quest to join the European Union facilitate the Turkish government to take less support positions for Israel and more support to the Palestinians in line with the EU’s policy towards the issue of the Palestinian.

(JDP) looks to join the European Union from a different perspective from the previous Turkish governments. Ahmet Davutoolu said the Turkish desire to win pivotal EU membership in the orientations of Turkish Foreign policy but that does not mean that the trend toward Europe is the strategic orientation of unique to the movements of Foreign Turkey but must be the European option within multiple alternatives strategy.

On the European side according to statements made by the Vice President of the European Commission, Gunter Verheugen, “The European Union needs Turkey more than needed”. That will help to improve relations between the Western democracies And the Islamic world at the 21 century without Conflict. Turkey has great importance strategy, talking about security at all region. Must imagine what can happen if Turkey adopted way non join to the western countries. That would be a big threat to us, better not risk it “this is of course, recognition the important of Turkey. To stabilize the security of regional and European and to become bridge between Islamic countries And the Western world (Ibrahim, 2009). In this context, the British Prime Minister Cameron said that the policy followed by Turkey not to tip the middle on the West or the contrary is the correct policy. As pointed out during his visit to Turkey to the Turkish partnership importance to find solutions to the Middle East problems and assured that Britain support the international role played by Turkey in the Middle East. During answering that question. Who can make Iran give up its nuclear weapons? He replied of course Turkey.

At the beginning of 2005, relations between Turkey and the European Union began to improve, after the recent decision to start negotiations with Turkey on October 3 2005. In the March 7 2005, the European Troika delegation-the representative of the European Union-met with Turkish Senior officials at Ankara to Negotiate joining Turkey to the membership of the European Union (Al-Naimi, 2007).

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoolu in his statements said that: “EU and NATO, politics substrates to Find a balance between security and freedom” and stressed “that he wants Turkey to play a largest role in the Middle East and the Balkans , relations with the West will continue to become basic Substrate Foreign Turkish.

Turkish diplomatic reality of justice and development government has made great strides in its efforts to persuade the European Union to open dialogue on Turkey’s accession to membership more than secular parties have achieved over 80 years (Hasan, 2006).

Progress Report, prepared by the European Commission in 2010, spoke about the active role of Turkish Foreign policy with neighboring countries it was

seen as something that can bring gains to the European Union if it was developed in the form of binary format.

Some analysts believed that Turkey is trying to use the Palestinian issue as Pressure on the European countries to allow them to enter the European Union. Turkey seeks to increase the role and political securities owned for regional policy. And Turkey and through its location form a bridge crossing into the hot zone that feared Europe exploded and threaten their interests. Therefore, Turkey can Convince Europe with evidence for its great role if accepted in the European Union.

The EU satisfaction with the positive influence of the turkey in the Middle East public opinion. Because of its Foreign policy toward Israel but at the same time pointed out the need to understand and overcome the fears and the negative impressions in the European public opinion because of Turkish policy on the Middle East whether realized right or wrong impressions. Or can discuss the European Union understand the imperatives of Turkish policy in the Middle East, despite the tribute to a report by the European Commission in 2010 related to the efforts of Turkey zero problems with neighboring countries, However, it refers to the low level of relations with Israel.

Israeli position of the rising role of Turkey towards the Palestinian issue: Turkey and Israel owns common denominators. Most notably The US an ally for both. Cooperation From 1948 until now, both of them has a strong military capacity at region. However, the changes at regional environment was inhibits factor to the development of the relations between Turkey and Israeli. Historically, the Palestinian issue was more impact tracks on Turkish-Israeli relations because of the Turkish public sympathy with the Palestinian issue. In addition, the unwillingness Turkey to accuses of betraying the Palestinian issue. The year in which Turkey recognized the PLO is the same year that it endorsed the Zionist considered a form from racism forms it comes in the framework induce and support the Palestinian side. Turkish-Israeli relations have evolved after Signature the peace agreement at Oslo in 1993 between PLO and Israel where arrived to the peak at military cooperation In 1996 (Khammash, 2010).

It could said that during the first two decades of the existence of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The Ankara's relationship with the Palestinian Liberation Organization reached its peak with the decline in relation to Israel to the lowest level. It is true that this development is due to the presence of different internal and external pressures in Turkey but there is no room for

doubt the sensitivities toward the Palestinians amid various sectors within Turkey has played an important role in this matter (Ozcan and Bngio, 2003).

Turkish-Israeli relations fluctuated with the beginning of the third millennium, the condemnation of former Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit Israeli behavior toward the late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in 2001 and the battle of Jenin in 2002 which he described as genocide. Turkish-Israeli relations continued relative decline in after success of "Justice and Development" Party in the parliamentary elections in Turkey end of 2002 but that winning did not make a radical change in relationships because the lack of regional and international circumstances completeness.

Here we should note the great transformation that took place after the arrival of (JDP) to the power in Turkey in the Turkish Foreign policy based on the internal dimension. Party is still an Islamist ideological mixes with Ottoman Turkish spirit looking for a historic role, economic interests achieves a regional influence. However, Turkish politics begin achieve some balance between the Western embodied in the relationship with US and Israel "and the improvement of relations with the Arab countries, especially, Syria and this was the turning point in the relations between Turkey and Israel (Ibrahim, 2009).

The Israeli aggression on Gaza 2008 has represented a turning point in the relations between Turkey and Israel. Erdogan's showed a strong opposition to Israeli behavior in the famous incident Davos at the beginning 2009. He told a public message to Israel that, "the warming of relations between Turkey and Israel has become thing of the past". However, polarization that prevailed in the Middle East between 2003 and 2009 between the axis of resistance led by Iran and the axis of moderation which flocked moderate Arab states "pro-US" it seemed at first glance that Turkey tend latter axis due to Western engagements. Erdogan's visit to Tehran at the end of 2009 launched a new stage in the region. The relations between Turkey and Iran have improved reaching unprecedented levels commercially and politically, so that, the mixed competition with incentives convergence tools.

Despite the Israel apologies to Turkey one day after the "Ayalon" calling the Turkish ambassador in Tel Aviv, "Ahmad Oguz Shleykol" and treated him in an inappropriate treatment because of a growing sense of their dissatis faction with the new Turkish policy in the region and growing influence areas possessed by Turkey in it. Turkish President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan did not accept Israeli apology but also, refused to meet with Ehud Barak during his official

visit in 2010 to Turkey in a move wants Turkey to show their ability to take more about "Israel's" escalation procedures in the future if necessary.

The attempt of civilian Turkish ships under the title "Freedom Flotilla" to lift the blockade on Gaza at the end of May 2010. Was Turkish bolder attempt to discredit the Israel. Also, it had Ankara success to persuade Iran signed "Tehran Declaration" wide resonance internationally. Washington Israel, Western and the non-Western powers saw encroachment of what could be up to Turkey's role in regional and global issues. The response was in the Zionist and American global campaigns against Recep Tayyip Erdogan accused of anti-Semitism and in military discipline launched by "Israel" internationally and dated against the freedom flotilla at 31 May 2010.

Seeking of Turkey to join the European Union and the terms of accession to the Union, Contributed to the in bringing about reforms and changes to constitutional democracy gradually-limited-but consistently. Weakened the capacity of the Turkish army to influence on decision-making, maintaining strong and distinguished relations with Israel.

Israeli stance of the Turkish escalating role closer to the American position. It wants a role of Turkey depends on the historical and strategic relations with Turkey and considering that the system of government in Turkey. Whatever the orientation will not venture to relations with Israel. Because turkey knows, that Israel is the acceptance gate to the West. With the acknowledgment of the existence of interpretations several Israeli for that position. Some of them tend to explain the change in the relationship because oriented fundamentalist justice and development. Others accused of democracy as the reason for the arrival of the party such as "Justice and development" rule in Turkey, sees in the Democratic danger on "Israel" if applied in the Arab and Islamic countries. The third opinion explains it as a struggle for regional stature, the new Turkey is not kicking "Israel" does not change their colors but they do not want to embarrass them an ally, not in the eyes of the audience and in the eyes of the other allies (Tariq, 2012).

Israeli study explain the reasons that contributed to the change of Turkey's relationship with Israel "In the factors mentioned by the Israeli researcher Alon Lian in his book in Hebrew, "Demo-Islam Islamic democracy in Turkey, "These two factors are.

First: The arrival of a new elite to power in Turkey in November 2002 have their own concepts and hypothesis, thus, policies differ from among those preceded by governments and the military institutions in terms of the

relationship with America and with Israel "And the role of Turkey in the region and the position of the Palestinian issue. Moreover, the "Justice and development" party form the government with a strong majority in parliament without having to be there is a need to form a coalition with other parties limit its power and its ability to pursue its concepts and policies.

Second: The Israel occupation and the persecution into in the occupied Palestinian territories. Where was for the continuation of the Palestinian uprising (INTEFADA) and follow the "Israel" the military solution in the confrontation". Increased the Israel repression and brutality, the policy of physical playoffs against the leaders of Palestinian factions and the blockade of Arafat. A significant impact on the Turkish government positions under the leadership of the "Justice and Development" party. Unlike previous Turkish political elite that ruled in the eighties and nineties (especially, Demirel and Yilmaz and Tshleyr) which was pro-Israel "Overall". A new elite came to power with real and authentic positions of the Palestinians, at some point was public support the Palestinians is growing in in public circles and the ranks of the Turkish people who elected this government.

The Israeli vision of the Turkish role spiralling towards the Palestinian issue there are two opinions in this regard (Tariq, 2012).

The first: Believes that Turkey will not sacrifice its relations with Israel it has approached with the Palestinians and distancing itself from Israel will not be violated the limits. Alon Levin and Yuval bstan the Israeli Researchers says a raid into commenting on Turkish positions.

Turkey is not interested in entering into a war with Israel but only wanted to achieve some of the strengths at the region in the Turkish Interior arena, appearance as the defender of the Palestinians rights and to show its ability to embarrassment Israel repeatedly. The Turkish role will bring to Israel, " Hamas and Syria will attracted away from Iran and to provide a more moderate and acceptable to the West and Israel alternative ally", this Turkish pressure on Israel comes "Limited to formalities, but the basics will not be subject her until further notice or a radical change in the Turkish strategic positions.

So, despite the Turkish critically acclaimed policy of Israel towards Gaza and the consequences of the Israeli attack on the Freedom Flotilla. The complex structure of the Turkish-Israeli relations were not to deprive the Turks and "Israeli" specific and calculated area of criticism and mutual condemnations across the war of words. Which it has been lulled by the parties with the outbreak of any

tensions between them for any reason for the purpose of domestic consumption or the intention of directing a certain meaningful messages to the regional and international surroundings their space.

The second: Believes that the Turkish-Israeli relations which were until recently alliance, type of relationship. Going strained noted the potential for deterioration of the fundamental change that has occurred in the region. Israel's national security is becoming feels great danger of some Regional Countries such as Iran, Turkey that was an ally and a champion it turned to and has become an ally of the enemies.

The State Minister "Binyamin Ze'ev Begin's" who represented the Prime Minister of Israel in the Climate Change Conference in the Mediterranean, told "Tania" Greek journalist during his visit to Athens, Answering a question about the deterioration of Turkish-Israeli relations. It is worrisome because the party Mr. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan clear in his positions, the fact that it works on its alliance with Iran does not need to clarified and this new alliance between Turkey, Iran, Syria and Lebanon is worrisome for us and for Europe. Turkey has recently voted in the security council against the imposition of sanctions on Tehran over its nuclear program. Therefore, this alliance entails new risks for the all-region.

Events have subsequently proved that Turkish-Israeli relations important relationships and strategic for both countries. Where the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, responding to the entire Turkish demands, after announcing in an official statement apologizing to his Turkish counterpart, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, via a telephone connection in 22 March 2013, pledging to pay the necessary compensation to the families of the victims of Turkish citizens and ease an economic blockade of the Gaza Strip. Israeli apology has led to the emergence of contradictory trends and analyzes different about the course of the evolution of Turkish reactions-Israel during the coming period. Especially, at the time who faced the "Israeli apology" internal positions which rose to pay tribute to the Turkish diplomacy level, that emerged many of the statements and opinions confirmed. On Success Ankara In "Crisis exam" with "Israel". It has showed at many writings from the Turkish analysts and writers like Genghis Candar who noted that the after of the Israeli apology it is a "Good time to self-esteem". While Erhan Bashireut pointed that the "Israeli apologize" Not Restore the honor of Turkey only but also, evidence that it on right in this case and showed its regional strength.

The official position of the Arab and Palestinian of Turkish policy toward the Palestinian issue: Ranged read Arab regimes and the Palestinian authority in Ramallah

and Gaza between welcoming an escape to the most moderate role instead of the Iranian Hardliner role and hesitation or questioning the goals of that role whether to declare that publicly or lukewarm welcome him . The position of the formal systems of Arab countries with regard to the Palestinian issue in particular weak and shrunken. Therefore, the Arab regimes stuck between two options, namely the extended strong Iranian role in the region, versus the rising Turkish role who seeks to occupy the greatest vacant space left by the forces of the traditional Arab after shrink during the last decade. Taking into consideration that this Turkish role in their eyes, hurt internally in the interest of the Islamic political forces in Turkey. Arab Systems have chosen the Turkish role under "Justice and development" where was a product of former Turkish regimes on power that it rigidity in the end in the direction of Turkish-Israeli relations at the expense of its relations with the Arab world. Therefore, it was Oriented Arab-Turkish relations, especially. On the Syrian and Egyptian tracks at best cases under the Governments of "ALRAFAH" and JDP (Tariq, 2012).

There is a several Arab interpretations about the Turkish role in the Palestinian issue between afraid from impose the new Ottoman the Turkish control over the Arab world through of the Palestinian entrance, another welcome very much this role as the savior of the suppression of Israel the Palestinians, under the Arab weakness. Between this and that, problem knows what the Arabs wants, no Arab state or Arab political entity reflect the Arab unified will or even defined clearly the disagreements and conflict. There are many of disappointments and frustrations confusion about the Arab Vision To the fact of the Turkish position (Tariq, 2012).

The Arab popular movements, "The Arab Spring revolution" and its impact as a determinant in the Turkish Foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue:

Arab revolutions, especially, the Syrian and Libyan revolutions have caused embarrassment to the Turkish role that found a popular acceptance in the region because of its support for the Palestinian issue, particularly after the blockade of Gaza. However, Turkey correct its positions and scrambled to keep the economic investments in Libya, adoption the Syrian opposition conference. What confirms that the Arab revolutions have affected the Turkish position and began to retreat, especially, from those who saw in the support of Turkey to intervention the NATO in Libya revealed the truth and its advocacy for the Palestinian issue. However, the reality of the Arab revolutions and the deterioration of Turkey's relations with Israel, Syria and Iran, became its capacity less effective in getting a role on the Palestinian

issue and more difficult. It noted that the Palestinian issue no longer occupies the Outpost in Turkish political agenda. It has receded into the background due to inflamed events, worsening the serious challenges at the level of Turkish Foreign policy and regional developments, particularly the relationship with Syria and Iran and the repercussions of the Syrian crisis inside Turkey and the Turkish politics (Bakir and Adnan, 2012).

Turkey bet on Egypt after the January 25 revolution of 2011 in order to establish a new regional system. They see that relations with Egypt can compensate the disorder of Turkey's relations with Iran, Iraq and Syria due to the exchange of positions about the popular revolution in Syria. Turkey see that the alliance of "Assad-Ahmadinejad-Maliki" can only experiencing through the cooperation of Turkey with the Arab States. Turkey considers that Egypt is the most important ally at the region because it is demographically large weight and historical and strategic position. Egypt role at a regional accepted and recognized by regional and international powers. In addition, Egypt and Turkey's attitudes about many regional issues such as the Syrian crisis, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the security of the Gulf Region and Iran's nuclear program.

At the war on Gaza in late 2012, that he called by Zionists "Pillar of Defense" and branded by the Palestinian resistance "stones of shale" we saw that there was a new axis in the region Turkey, Egypt and Qatar where this link is clear role in stopping the Israeli aggression on Gaza.

Turkey confirmed that Turkish action in Gaza could not exceed the Egyptian role for different factors. Ankara has admitted that by her Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoolu, "the Turkish role can be helpful or a complement but not replace the Egyptian role "(Tariq, 2012)

After the beyond of the counter-revolution in Egypt on June 30, 2013, the Turkish-Egyptian relations soured because Erdogan lack of recognition of the army authority in Egypt and his leadership of a popular and the international campaign against the leaders of June 30 revolution in Egypt.

Therefore, the future of the Turkish role in the Palestinian issue and the extent of its size and its impact will depend on the end negative regional events, especially, the Syrian file and the associated challenges imposed inside turkey which is a priority. In contrast, the Palestinians are keen on keeping the official and popular Turkish support for the Palestinian issue and benefit from understanding the Turkey for the international game assets in support of the Palestinian issue and the investment of its Foreign policy in the interests of the Palestinians (Bakir and Adnan, 2012).

CONCLUSION

The JDP government redefined the role of Turkish Foreign policy, although, Turkey is a very important member in NATO, Turkey refused fully engage under the west umbrella, abandon itself and its identity because its geographical location. One of the most important goals of its Foreign policy to become a model and become an influential regional and international state. The Palestinian issue is an especially, sensitive issue for Turkey in its relations with countries in the region, especially, Israel because of strong Turkish relations with the Palestinian people and sympathy of Turkish street with the Palestinian issue. The future of the Turkish role in the Palestinian issue depends on the end of negative regional developments and the associated challenges imposed on inside Turkey which is a priority. However, the Palestinian issue remains the best entrance of Turkey to take its place in the regional and international arena.

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