Turkey and the Palestinian Issue

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حضرات السادة/ برامج الدبلوم المهني المتخصص في الترجمة المحترمين،
معهد التنمية المجتمعية بالجامعة الإسلامية - غزّة.
تحية طيبة وبعد.

يهديكم مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والاستشارات في بيروت خالص تحياته، متنبياً لكم دوماً التوفيق والسداد.

ويسعدنا أن نعلمنكم أنه لا مانع لدى مركز الزيتونة من قيام الطالب أكرم عبد الكريم شهاني بترجمة مادة الكتاب الصادر عن المركز المعون: "تقدير معلومات (17): تركيباً والقضية الفلسطينية". على أن يكون ذلك حصرًا لأغراض علمية، دون أي حق له أو لأي جهة أخرى (غير مركز الزيتونة) ببيع المادة المترجمة أو ترويжиها بأي شكل من الأشكال، دون إذن كلاسي مسبق من المركز.

وتفضيلة بقبول فائق الاحترام،

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Abstract

This project tackles the seventeenth book of a series “Turkey and The Palestinian Issue”, published by Al Zaytuna Center. The book highlights the different aspects of the Turkish - Israeli as well as the Palestinian – Turkish relations. Moreover, the Palestinian Issue is the most negotiable issue in the world, and Turkey is trying to play an active role through the Palestinian Issue. Believing in the importance and the significant role of this book, this study has been translated for all who want to know much about Turkey’s role and its policies in the region and the way of developing its relationship with Israel that has continued gradually since 1948. The translator employs different types and methods of translation to come out with an accurate translation of the content of the project that a concern with Turkeys' polices through three levels: Political, economic and military. These levels are combined strongly with Israel and also mentioned about how Turkey tries to adopt the Palestine Issue. The issue doesn’t pay much attention to the governors of Turkey until the Development and Justice Party came into power. In addition to this project includes clear details with real aspects and dates to show that this relation has played an effective member in the region. Moreover, Turkey is trying to take the lead again and to play an active role in the Middle East through the Palestinian Issue with all sides: physically, mentally, socially and especially politically by adopting the Palestinian Issue to reach to its aim. The practical approach of translation considers the whole subject in terms of items with discussion and examples. The original text is written in Arabic, so the direction of translation has been from Arabic to English.
The translator followed a pre-designed process to ensure professional translation through data selection, literature review, building stock terms, draft translation and supervisor's feedback. The translator also faced many difficulties resulting from the Arabic text which was featured by repetition and ambiguity that led to make confusion. Finally, most of these problems have been surmounted.

**Introduction**

Translation is a very old human activity. If language is no longer considered to be uniquely human achievement (since it has been found that some other animals also possess the capacity of communication such as bees, dolphin, etc.), translation remains a unique human achievement that no other animal could share. The existence of different linguistic communities in the world, (since different people speak different languages), and the need among different people to exchange and communicate their experiences and knowledge, have led me to translate this text. In this context, it might not share what some scholars suggest, that translation involves transference of meaning from the source language text into the target language text, but in what others suggest, that translation is concerned with the reproduction of the closest equivalent of the source language text in the target language text. So, it will be notable that translating this work is not a process of meaning transference from an Arabic set of patterned symbols into English set of patterned symbols.
Sample of translation

Turkey, the Muslim – majority country was the first to recognize (Israel) in 1949, even though it voted against the resolution of the partitioning of Palestine that was issued by the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN)

Comment and analysis

In this paragraph, the translator tries to present a clear meaning in his translation to convey the same meaning as in the original text. In this short paragraph the author used the word “recognizes” to avow or admit a knowledge of, with approval or sanction; acknowledge or accept formally: as, to recognize one as ambassador; to recognize a government as an independent sovereignty or as a belligerent (from The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia).

Translation (meaning and methods):

Translation is an operation that is performed in the language in which the source text is replaced by the target text on the basis of equivalence between both texts.

Others defined translation as (a craft which attempts to replace a written message and / or statement in one language of the same message and / or statement in another language. Others believe that translation is concerned with their production of the closest equivalent of the source language text in the target language.
The translator believes that the reproduction of the closest equivalent is the best way of translation because sometimes the translator faces a difficulty to get the accurate equivalents which make him sometimes take the closest one. Jacobson believes that no full equivalence is possible.

There are two main types of equivalence according to (Nida): The first one is formal equivalence and the second is dynamic equivalence.

In this translation, the translator focuses on the second type which is dynamic, so he tries to reproduce an equivalent effect on the receiver (the English reader) as that experienced by the source language receiver (the Arabic reader). Also the translator thinks that the effect on the English reader should be conveyed honestly in order to deliver the original text message to all nations, governments and organizations of western countries that control the world and affect the decision makers.

Methodology:
This translation adopts a practical approach of translation and considers the whole subject in terms of items with discussion and examples. The original text is written in Arabic, so the direction of translation has been from Arabic to English. The translation work was accomplished using the following methodology listed in the following steps:-

1- Data Selection:

The needed material for translation project tackles the seventeenth book of a series “Turkey and The Palestinian Issue", issued by the Al Zaytona center which highlights the various aspects of the Turkish – Israeli as well as Palestinian relation. It was selected in Arabic after being approved by Al Zaytona Center for studies and consultations. Beirut.
2- Translators' reviewing and resources:

This step includes reviewing relevant literature in this project. Part of literature was to get acquainted with the subject matter of related topics. The starting point was reading articles, reports and papers related to the Palestinian issue on many electronic websites, concentrating on Palestinian Issues in both languages English and Arabic. The translator reads a lot of these reports and gathers some common terms used in describing the situation and the role of the Palestinian. Also, the translator reads many reports in English in addition to many articles on Palestinian and Turkish role humanitarian news and analysis. The translator has a clear idea about how to write a report and became familiar with a lot of used vocabulary as well. Finally, the translator captures a lot of real terms from their original sources in the internet... etc. Full list of documents is listed in the Reference Section.

Justifications of translation:

This translation conveys a live and real picture about Turkey’s relation with Palestine as well as Israel, especially to the foreign people who are eager to know about such as a subject. We as specialist people in the field of English language translation should reflect the same message that the writer wants in the original text.

On account of what has been mentioned, translating such work is a must, even if it is not a smooth and straightforward activity to be carried out. Therefore, this translation reflects the interest of Turkey in the Palestinian issue. And also focuses on the levels, economic, political, and social. The translator thinks that this translation deserves effort to make a source available in English to present the whole picture to the western readers.
Procedures of translation:

The material that needed to be translated, titled “Turkey and Palestinian Issue “published by Al-Zytona Center for studies and consultation – Beirut, after getting permission to translate this book.

These procedures are:

First, reading the whole text in order to get complete meaning and understanding of the project and underline the points that may pose obstacles in the translation.

Second, paying attention to the meaning of the words by using terminology dictionary (Almohet dictionary) to get the Arabic meaning of words that are originally in Turkish such as:

خاصكي / تيكية

1. Avoiding the using of redundant structure as appeared in the text below:

Example

حين سيطرت جمعية تركيا الفتاة في 23/7/1908 علي مقاليد الحكم في الدولة العثمانية ، سمحت بالهجرة اليهودية الي فلسطين ، وشراء الأراضي وتأسيس المستوطنات .

كما أن الدور الباز في إنهاء الخلافة الإسلامية وتحويل تركيا الي دولة علمانية حيث بدأ عصر تركيا الحديث بزعامة مصطفى كمال اتاتورك .

“When the Association of Young Turkey on 23/7/1908 dominated the reins of power in the Ottoman Empire, it allowed Jewish immigration, buying lands and establishing of settlements.
The prominent role was played by Mustafa Kamal Ataturk. He ended the Islamic Caliphate and transformed Turkey into a secular state. This began the modern era.”

Comment:

In this paragraph, the author used the words “dominated the reins of power” to the period during which a monarch is the official ruler of a country and a period during which a person or thing is dominant, influential, or powerful: the reign of violence is over (from The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition). The translator uses “transformed” to make changes in two states and can go back to the original state.

1. The translator uses simple sentences by using appropriate punctuations that help him in facing difficulty in the original text and in order to solve this problem. Also, the translator gets a help from Arabic teacher to punctuate the original text. So that, he can translate the project in a reasonable way.

2. Translating political aspects that should translate as media items in order to get the logical meaning of this. The translator depends on media – translation terminology from books, dictionaries, newspapers and sites.

Such as: وقال وزير الخارجية (the foreign minister said)
حزب العدالة والتنمية (Development and Justice Party) that is derived from the site of the party.
3. Using the proper names as written and pronounced, because some of these are Turkish originally so, the translator makes re-edits for some of these words in order to clarify the name for the reader.

Such as: رجب طيب أردوغان (Recep Tayyip Erdogan)

4. The most difficult that faces the translator in this book is the chosen words that have an ambiguous meaning, so the translator tries to use a close meaning to convey the idea that the writer wants:

Example

ٌؾد ٠٤د  جٌوؿحٕ (Recep Tayyip Erdogan)

The Turkish army has been able to control the political system of the country under the pretext of protecting its secularity. It did this through three coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980. It also helped to overthrow the government of Necmenttin Erbakan that had an Islamic political orientation in 1997.”

Comment;

In this paragraph, the author used the words “control the political system of the country” to the authority or the ability to manage or direct and not use “dominated the reins of power” because they are three coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980. (From Exford dictionary, 13 edition)
Problems

1. **A Problem with some Turkish words:** that aren’t original Arabic, so the translator uses some Arabic dictionaries and Turkish websites to clarify the words such as hospices (a place that provides poor people with food).

2. **A Problem with proper names:** that basically translates in Turkish such as رجب طيب اردوغان

3. A problem in the abbreviations of some items such as AKP حزب العدالة والتنمية

4. **A problem with the repetition of the words:** that are repeated a lot in the project.

5. A problem with the differences in the language systems, syntactic arrangements, rhetorical, literal items and word order.

6. **A problem with the length of the sentences:** which are distinguished by a lack of the punctuation that creates difficulty for the translator.

The target audiences:

Those who specialize in Middle East Affairs especially the Palestinian – Turkish affairs.

- To foreigners who seek to know about the Palestinian Issue.
- To the intellectual men and journalist and political either foreign or native who writes and interested in this field of politics.
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Introduction

Turkey has clearly become a major player in the Middle East as the Turkish Justice and Development (AKP) ascended into power in 2002. The triumph of the (AKP) and its rise to power was largely built on new strategic directions and formed the view, that is based on utilizing and revitalizing dialogue, activating the strategic depth through promoting cultural, economic and political relations with both the Islamic and Arab world and with good relations with European union. Turkey’s latest position with regard to foreign policy in the Middle East: particularly the Palestinian issue, showed unequivocally Turkey as a modern country seeking to present a new model and combines between the Ottoman Islamic history and the secular Ataturk heritage. This model is based on the integration of different historical, cultural and moral identities.
Given the importance of the subject, Al-Zaytona Center for Studies and Consultation (Archive and Information Department) chose to address in the seventeenth report series of modern information Turkey and the Palestinian issue. The report highlights the historical path of the Turkish–Palestinian relations and the evolution of Turkish–Israeli relations from three dimensions: political, military and economic.

The report also focuses on the new Turkish role towards the Palestinian issues concerning the rise of Turkish Justice and Development Party (AKP) to power and its impacts on the transformation of Turkish policy in the Middle East including the political compromise of the Palestinian issue and Palestinian national reconciliation.

This report also focuses on the Turkish position regarding the Israeli aggression against the Gaza Strip between 27/12/2008 – 18/1/2009 and an altercation between the Turkish Prime Minister and Israeli president at the Davos Summit.
The report concludes by talking about the Gaza siege and the official and popular Turkish position along with the Turkish’s attempts to lift this siege, the most prominent of which was Israeli attack on the freedom flotilla ( Mavia Marmara) which was carrying humanitarian aid to besieged Gaza and caused unprecedented tension in the relationships between Turkey and Israel.

أولاً : نبذة تاريخية عن علاقة تركيا بالقضية الفلسطينية :

1- الخلافة العثمانية ودورها في الحفاظ على الهوية الفلسطينية وتراثها :

ارتبطت تركيا منذ العهد العثماني بنذرًا ابتسامًا يرتبط إلى العاطفة الدينية ، من منطلق المكانة الدينية والروحية التي تمتت بها أرض فلسطين.

بعد إسراير السلطان العثماني سليم الأول على الممالك في سنة 1516 ، وخشمت فلسطين إلى حكم الأتراك العثمانيين حتى شناء 1917. كما سمح لأهلها من المسيحيين واليهود أن يمارسوا معتقداتهم الدينية بكل حرية ، وحصلوا على كل حقوقهم المدنية.
First: Historical Background of the Turkish relation with Palestine issue:

1. The Ottoman Caliphate and its role in preserving the Palestinian identity and heritage:

Since the Ottoman era, the connection with Palestine has been spiritual and religious owing to the religious status of Palestine.

After the triumph of Ottoman Sultan Saleem I, on the Mamluks in 1516, Palestine was under the authority of the place under the rule of Ottoman until winter in 1917. Sultan Saleem I allowed Christians and Jews to practice their religious beliefs freely and granted them civic rights completely.
After the death of Sultan Saleem, his son Suleiman named (Kanoni) was crowned as the Ottoman Khalifa in 1520 and during his rule ship, huge construction projects were set up in most Islamic countries especially his great interest in Jerusalem (the holy city). The Sultan Suleiman renewed the wall of Jerusalem city and the Dome of the Rock by the yard. He also built the wall of Alharam and its surrounding gates. The Sultan was not the only interested in the renewal by himself or his ministers, it extended to his family, including his Russian wife Roxalana who established a Hospice (Tekia or poor house), known as khaki Sultan. The Tekia embraced students and knowledge seekers and provided meals for poor people. It also included science students in the city and continues its services until now. The Ottomans also developed the city by facilitating the contiguity with the rest of cities and ports in Palestine. They also lit the city with lanterns, established the wide-road, paved its interior streets, dug cesspits to drain the river water and established railways in 1892 between Jerusalem and Jaffa port. The Ottomans also connected Jerusalem with Egypt, Beirut and Europe by telegraph lines and supplied the city with electricity in 1914.

لقد ادَّرَكت الدولة العثمانية مبكرًّا خطورة الأوضاع والمؤامرات التي تحيط بفلسطين. وأصبح ذلك جلياً بعد عقد المؤتمر الصهيوني الأول في مدينة بال السويسية سنة 1897. مما دفع الدولة العثمانية لقيام بعدة إجراءات قبل المؤتمر وبعده، منها: إنشاء مجلس بلدي في القدس سنة 1863، وكان المجلس الثاني الذي شكل بعد مجلس بلدية اسطنبول وجعل فلسطين ولاية مستقلة عن سورية سنة 1872 كما تم تثبيت القدس كمتصرفية مستقلة عن ولاية سورية سنة 1874، وضم قضاء الناصرة إلى متصرفية القدس، ففصلها عن ولاية بيروت، وذلك بسبب استخدام رؤساء اليهود والسماسة الطريق لتهريب اليهود المهاجرين غير القانونيين الواصلين إلى ميناء بيروت.
The Ottoman state had early realized the danger of situations, and the
conspiracies surrounding Palestine. This concern became clear after the first
Zionist conference that was held in Basel - Switzerland in 1897. The
conference promoted the Ottomans to take several procedures after the
conference, including the establishment of the municipal council in Jerusalem
in 1863 which was the second after the municipal council of Istanbul, leading
to the independence of Palestine from Syria in 1872. It also corroborated
Palestine as an independent administrative region from Syria in 1874 and
annexed the south of Nazareth to Jerusalem administrative region splitting it
from Beirut province. These procedures were taken due to the use of Jewish
leaders and brokers on the road to smuggle illegal Jewish immigrants to the
port of Beirut.

حول اليهود الهجرة إلى بيت المقدس ، ولكنهم كثيراً ما كانوا يصطدمون بموقف السلطات العثمانية التي
كانت حائلاً دون أطماعهم . وعلى الرغم من تعاطف العثمانيين مع اليهود النازحين من المذاهب الأسبانية
، والسماح لهم بالسكن في أي البلد ، إلا أنهم منعوه من دخول الأراضي المقدسة في مكة المكرمة
والمدينة المنورة والقدس الشريف.

وعلى الرغم من الاهتمام العثماني وحرصهم على أرض فلسطين فإن مجرى الأحداث في الدولة
العثمانية أسهم إلى حد ما في زيادة عدد المهاجرين اليهود إلى فلسطين وحماية الأراضي . وإذا دفع فساد
الإدارة في اسطنبول ، وفي المتصريفات ، علواً على الظروف الاقتصادية والإجتماعية ، في دفع
البعض ليبيع أجزاء من أراضيهم ومتلكاتهم . ولكن في المقابل تصدى بعض رجال الإدارة لوقف تيار
الهجرة والتشدد في مراقبة انتقال الأراضي لليهود والأجانب .
The Jews tried to immigrate to Jerusalem, but they were often hampered by the position of the Ottoman authorities, that was a barrier to their greed. In spite of the sympathy of the Ottomans with Jews who escaped from the massacres in Spain, they were allowed to settle in any country, but they were prevented to enter Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.

In spite of Ottoman interest and care for the land of Palestine, especially Jerusalem, the events which unfolded in the Ottoman state led to some extent to the increase of Jewish immigrants to Palestine and their ownership of land. Also administrative corruption in Istanbul and the region in addition to dealing economic and social situation, all these parts made some to sell parts of their lands and properties. On the other hand, some of the ottoman administration men stopped flood of immigration and strictly monitored the transfer of lands to Jews and foreigners.

لقد ظهرت أول دعوة يهودية للهجرة إلى فلسطين سنة 1665 على يد يهودي تركي اسمه شبتي تشفي الذي بدأ بجمع اليهود وتنظيمهم وتبنيهم إلى الهجرة إلى فلسطين. وعندما أمر السلطان العثماني بالقضاء على هذه الحركة أمر شبتي ينبعه بإنشاء بالإسلام والعمل بسرعة لتحقيق أهدافهم، وعرفوا باسم يهود الدونية، ومع مرور الزمن وصلت أعداد منهم إلى مناصب رفيعة في الدولة والجيش، هياست لهم ما كانوا يصبرون إليه، ولاسيما في عهد الضعف الذي مر على الدولة العثمانية. وكان رفض السلطان عبد الحميد الثاني في إسكان وتوطين المهاجرين اليهود في فلسطين سبباً في إثارة أوروبا ضد، وإذا كانت تزيد تصدير مشكلة اليهود التي تعاني منها إلى الدولة العثمانية.
The first call for Jewish immigration to Palestine was in 1665 by a Turkish Jew named Shabetai Tvi, who began gathering, organizing and alerting Jews to immigrate to Palestine. As a result, the Ottoman Sultan ordered the elimination of this movement in order to avoid alimentation. Shabetai asked his followers, known as Donemh to appear as Muslims and work secretly to achieve their goals. As time went by, a lot of the Donemh Jews ascended to high positions in the state and military, which later paved the way to achieve their goals; especially during the Ottoman Empire's time of weakness that plagued the Ottoman state. During the era of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II, he refused to dwell or settle Jews in Palestine, an action that provoked Europe, which was interested in Palestine, as it wanted to export the Jewish problem to Palestine.

وقد حاول ثيودر هرترل مؤسس الحركة الصهيونية ، عبثًا إقناع الدولة العثمانية ببيع فلسطين وإعطاء اليهود حكماً ذاتياً فيها تحت السيادة العثمانية ، وفتح أبواب الهجرة اليهودية إليها مقابل عرض مغرية ، كانت الدولة العثمانية في أمس الحاجة إليها ، إلا أن عبد الحميد وقف سداً منيعاً ضد رغبات اليهود ، ورد على نقل اقتراح هرترل إليه قائلًا :

"أنصحه ألا يسير أبداً في هذا الأمر . لا أقدر أن أبيع ولو قدماً واحداً من البلاد ، لأنها ليست لي بل لشعبنا ، وقد حصل شعبي على هذه الإمبراطورية بإرءة دمانيهم ، وقد غذوها فيما بعد بدمانهم ، وسوف نغذيها بدماننا قبل أن نسمح لأحد بإغتصابها منا ... ليفتتح اليهود بلاليهم فإذا قسمت الإمبراطورية فقد يحصل اليهود على فلسطين دون مقابل ، وإنما لن نقسم إلا على جئثنا ، ولن أقبل بتشريحاً لأي غرض كان 
The founder of the Zionist movement Theodor Herzl, tried to convince the Ottoman state to sell Palestine to the Jews and give them an autonomy on the sovereignty of the Ottomans, and to allow for Jewish immigration in exchange of lucrative offers, that the Ottoman Empire was in the greatest need for, however, the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II was a strong bulwark against the desires of the Jews and replied to the proposal of Theodor Herzl by saying:

“I advise him that he mustn’t go on this matter. I can’t sell even one foot of the country, because it is a sin by me, but by my nation who have got this empire by shedding of blood and they conquered this land by their blood and we will cover this land by our blood and will not allow for anyone to force Palestine from us so, Jews should retain their billions, but when the empire gets divided, the Jews may obtain Palestine without any charge, but it wouldn’t be divided only on our dead bodies and I will not accept to dissipate for any object.

After the position of the Ottoman Sultan, Herzl confirmed that his hope was lost for achieving the desires of Jews in Palestine and the Jews would not be able to enter the promised land (Palestine) as long as Sultan Abdul Hamid remains in power. So, Jews sought to decoy and defame Sultan Abdul Hamid during his ship rule of the Ottoman Empire.
When the Association of Young Turkey on 23/7/1908 dominated the reins of power in the Ottoman Empire, it allowed Jewish immigration, buying lands and establishing of settlements.

The prominent role was for Mustafa Kamal Ataturk, who ended the Islamic Caliphate and transformed Turkey into a secular state. Hence the beginning of modern Turkey.

1. صناعة القرار في تركيا:

تتعدد العناصر المؤثرة في صنع القرار في تركيا، ومن هذه العناصر: الأحزاب السياسية، المؤسسة العسكرية، والمؤسسات الدينية، وجماعات المصالح والتي ينطوي تحتها النقابات العمالية والهيئة ورجال الأعمال، كما تعد الطرق والجماعات الدينية من أبرز القوى السياسية والإجتماعية الفاعلة والمؤثرة في عملية صنع القرار على الرغم من حظرها، بالإضافة إلى الرأي العام ووسائل الإعلام.

2. Decision making in Turkey:

There are several factors that affected decision making process in Turkey and these are: political parties, military, religious association and interest groups which include labor and professional unions, businessmen. And also religious groups are considered the most active prominent forces in politics and
society that influenced the decision making; however, they were banned besides that the public opinion and mass media were also banned.

In spite of the institutional characteristic of Turkey in decision making, the Turkish military establishment has been the strongest player in political life. The army is considered as the first protector of the secularity of the state, which emerged from the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and the end of Ottoman Caliphate in 1924 by Mustafa Kamal Ataturk, who played an active role in transforming Turkey into a secular state and to drift Turkey further far away from its Islamic cuddling. He also used Latin letters instead of Arabic ones, fought symbols and religious movements, prevented the veil and adopted the western hat, adopted call for prayer in the Turkish language and endeavored to make Turkey a part of Europe in its cultural, political and economic aspects.

 لقد كان الجيش اللاعب الأبرز في صناعة القرار في تركيا، من خلال عدد من الانقلابات العسكرية على المؤسسة السياسية التركية، وهو ناتج للديكتاتورية التي أصل لها أتاتورك، على الرغم من أن تركيا الحديثة اعتبرت بلداً ديمقراطياً بسبب التعددية الحزبية ويستمد الجنرالات الأتراك قوتهم من دعم
The army was the most prominent player in decision making in Turkey, through a number of military coups against the Turkish political institution as a result of dictatorship which was founded by Ataturk. This is contrary to the fact that modern Turkey is considered a democratic country with a multi-party system. The Turkish generals derive their strength and support from the greatest businessmen and mass media that play a key role in preparing the Turkish public for military coups through different ways. Those businessmen who have many interests with the army as their excuse was always to protect the secular system and the national security against internal and external dangers, particularly the Kurdistan workers party (PKK).

The Turkish army had been able to control the political system of the country under the pretext of guarding its secularity. It did this through three
coup in 1960, 1971 and 1980. It also helped to overthrow the government of Necmenttin Erbakan that had an Islamic political orientation in 1997.

When the Justice and Development Party (AKP) “abstemious party) came into power, after decades of the secular political system, the military institution attempted to impede the work of “AKP “party and tried to prevent Abdullah Gull from winning the presidential elections in 2007. In 2008, the military was supported by the general attorney “Abdurrahman Yalcinkays “who outlawed the Justice and Development Party (AKP), but the constitutional court ruled against this decision. The vote was fundamental. In the political transformation of controlling the political orientation of Turkey. The Justice and Development Party (AKP) succeeded in stopping the coups as it was 

عندما وصل حزب العدالة والتنمية (الإسلامي المعتدل) إلى الحكم، بعد عقود من حكم العلمانيين سعت المؤسسة العسكرية إلى عرقلة عمل هذا الحزب وحاولت بلا جدوى منع عبد الله غول من الفوز بالإنتخابات الرئاسية سنة 2007. وفي سنة 2008 ساند العسكريون ضمناً محاولة النائب العام عبد الرحمن يشينكايًا حظر حزب العدالة والتنمية، لكن المحكمة الدستورية قررت خلاف ذلك وبفارق صوت واحد. وهو ما يعد تحولاً أساسياً في التحكم بالمسار السياسي لتركيا، نجح من خلالها حزب العدالة من وقف حالة الانقلابات وهو ما اعترف به رئيس الأركان الجنرال إكر باشيوغ الذي أقر بأن زمن الانقلابات ولى. وذلك بما أسساه من قاعدة شعبية من خلال ملامة مشاكل طبقات الشعب الشرقي كافة، والعمل على إيجاد حلول ناجحة للعديد من المشاكل خصوصاً ما يعانيه أصحاب الطبقة الفقيرة، ولا سيما على الصعيد الاقتصادي والعلاقات مع دول الجوار وصولاً إلى سعي الحكومة برئاسة حزب العدالة والتنمية لحل المشكلة الكردية من خلال دمج الأكراد دمجاً حققاً في الدولة التركية، ولكن من دون التهاب مع اعتداءات حزب العمال الكردستاني، إذ أن حزب العدالة والتنمية يدرك أن هذا الأمر يمكن أن يشكل شرارة أساسية للجيش لتلبية الرأي العام على الحزب.
confessed by the military generals who stated that the era of the coups was over. The Justice and Development Party (AKP) members who founded a public base through solving the problems of all Turkish classes. They tried to find appropriate solutions for these problems, especially those of poor people suffering economically. In addition to that, they made relationships with neighboring countries. As a leading Turkish political power the AKP tried to seek solutions to the Kurdish issue, through actual integration with the Kurdish population in the Turkish state, but without neglecting the Kurdistan Workers Party's (PKK) violations. So the (AKP) The Justice and Development Party acknowledged that this matter might be seen by the military as a gap to the public opinion against the party (AKP).

It is worth mentioning that the Palestinian issue was employed well the by the “AKP” to gain the common Turkish opinion that is already sympathizing with the Palestinian cause from a religious point of view through brave positions and harsh criticism of the terrorism of Israel and its aggression against Palestinians.
Second: the evolution of Turkish – Israeli relations:

1. On the political level:

Turkey, the Muslim – majority country, was the first to recognize (Israel) in 1949, even though it voted against the resolution of the partitioning of Palestine that was issued by the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) on 29/11/1947. Turkey also participated along with France and the United States of America (USA) on March of 1949 in the mediation between Arab countries that participated in the 1949 war and Israel.

The Turkish government also recognized the state of Israel legally at the beginning of 1950, and Eliyahu Sasson was appointed as the first plenipotentiary for Turkey and an exchange of ambassadors took place between the two countries in 1952.
During that period and after Turkey had strengthened its relationships with the west it joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952.

The cooperation between the Turks and the Israelis grew gradually when Israel provided the Turkish security units and Intelligence with job opportunities and both tactical and intelligence training. Whereas, it is worth mentioning that the strong cooperation appeared between the two sides started in the early fifties, especially, between Israeli Mossad and the Turkish security. Also, the two countries signed security agreements in 1951 which stated that Israel has to provide Turkey with information about Turkish opposition organizations, particularly, Armenian and Kurdish organizations and also Greek activities in the Mediterranean region.

وتطورت العلاقات بين تركيا وإسرائيل خلال خمسمينيات القرن العشرين حيث زار رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي ديفيد بنجورون تركيا سرا سنة 1957 والتقى نظيره التركي عدنان مندريس وطرح عليه فكرة إقامة حلف إقليمي، يرمي إلى تقوية التحالف الاستراتيجي والاستخباراتي والاقتصادي بين إسرائيل وأنغولا وإيران وتركيا وأشرف بنجورون وزيرة خارجية غولدا مانير على تنفيذ هذه الفكرة بدعم وتشجيع من الرئيس الأمريكي دوايت ايزنهاور وقد تم التوقيع على ميثاق معاهدة حزام المحيط بين إسرائيل وتركيا وأنغولا في 18 أغسطس 1958.

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The relations between Israel and Turkey had developed during the fifties of the 20th century, when the Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion visited Turkey secretly in 1957 and met with his Turkish counterpart Adnan Menderes. At that meeting, the Israeli prime minister proposed an idea of creating a regional NATO that aims to strengthen the strategic, intelligence and economic alliance among Israel, Ethiopia, Iran and Turkey. Ben Gurion and his foreign minister Golda Meir oversaw on the implementation of this idea with support and encouragement from the US president Dwight Eisenhower. And also the charter of the belt Ocean treaty was signed between Israel, Turkey and Ethiopia on August of 1958.

Since that period, the Turkish – Israeli relations have been continuing to improve in various fields, such as trade, economy, military and security. At some time, there were a rise and fall in relations depending on international and regional conditions, the most important of which was the situation in the Palestinian territories.

وشهدت العلاقة التركية – الإسرائيلية بعض التوتر بعد حدوث الأزمة التركية – القبرصية الأولى (1963-1964) حيث اختارت إسرائيل صف اليونان وبعد حرب 1967 حيث أيدت تركيا الموقف العربي من الحرب وطالبت بضرورة الإنسحاب الكامل من الأراضي العربية التي احتلتها إسرائيل كما صوتت تركيا في الأمم المتحدة ضد إلحاق شرقي القدس إدارياً بإسرائيل غير أنها عارضت في
Turkish – Israeli relations witnessed some tension after the crisis between Turkey and Cyprus (1963-1964) when Israel sided with Greece. After the 1967 War, Turkey supported the position of the Arabs when it called upon Israel to withdraw completely from the occupied Arab lands. Turkey also voted against the decision of inflecting East Jerusalem administratively to Israel, but on 25/9/1969 Turkey opposed the decision of the Islamic conference organization that called for cutting relations with Israel as a response to the burning of Al-Aqsa mosque.

Turkey did not allow the USA to use its bases in NATO in 1973 to provide Israel with weapons, but it allowed the Soviet Union aircrafts to use its airspace on its way to Egypt to restock their weapons during the war.
On 10/11/1975, Turkey voted in favor of the UN general assembly resolution No. 3379 that defined Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. In 1976 Turkey received a delegation of the Palestine liberation Organization (PLO) and recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and also allowed the PLO to open a diplomatic office in 1979.

Turkish–Israeli diplomatic activity began to shrink in the eighties when Turkey closed its consulate in Jerusalem and reduced its diplomatic representation to charge, affairs as second secretary at its embassy in Tel Aviv on 28/8/1980. These two steps came as a response to the decision of the Israeli Knesset on 30/7/1980 that considered Jerusalem as a united capital of Israel. A few years later, the Turkish–Israeli relations returned normally after the military coup in Turkey on 12/9/1980.

وبعد ذلك بدأت العلاقات التركية الإسرائيلية بتطور جذري بعد الإنقلاب العسكري وتشكل حكومة بزعامة تورجوت أوزال وتميزت هذه المرحلة بسرعة وثرتها حيث كانت الزيارات بين الطرفين متلاحقة وذات طابع دبلوماسي وعسكري ومن أبرز تلك الزيارات زيارة وفد إسرائيلي رفيع المستوى في آب / أغسطس إلى أنقرة لإجراء محادثات بشأن التعاون بين البلدين وزيارة أرئيل شارون ووزير الدفاع الإسرائيلي السابق في سنة 1984 للتباحث بشأن رفع مستوى التمثيل الدبلوماسي بين الدولتين.
After the military coup in Turkey, Turkish – Israeli relations developed radically, when the government was led by Turgut Ozal. That stage was characterized as rapid where visits between the two sides were successive and had a diplomatic and military nature. Among the most prominent of those visits was the visit by a delegation of senior Israelis in August in Ankara for talks on cooperation between the two countries and the visit of defense minister Ariel Sharon in 1984 for talks about raising the level of diplomatic representation between the two countries. In addition, informal Turkish delegation represented by four members of the republican national party visited Israel on September 1984. Furthermore, Turkey decided to raise the diplomatic representation between the two countries in Tel Aviv from second secretary to the general envoy manager and also raised its diplomatic representation to ambassadorial level in 1991.

The period between 1996 and 1991 was characterized as the stage of establishing the political, economic and military relations between Turkey and Israel. On 24/1/1994, Turkish president Suleyman Demirel invited Israeli President Ezer Weizman to visit Turkey, who accepted the invitation with a huge senior level delegation consisting of 72 chief advisors accompanying him. Following that, the Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres visited Ankara on 10/4/1994 as a completion of the Weizman visit. During his visit, Peres met with the President Suleyman Demirel and his Prime Minister Tansu chiller, Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin and other ministers. He also met with political parties and associations leaders.

As a response to the frequent visits by Israeli officials to Ankara, the Turkish Prime Minister Ciller visited Israel on November 1994 as the first visit of the Turkish official from the prime minister level in Israel. During her visit to Israel Ciller proposed group of economic projects to Israeli officials. And on 11/3/1996 the Turkish President Suleyman Demirel visited Israel with a delegation consisting of 200 members as the first visit of the Turkish President to Israel.
The Turkish – Israeli relations evolved in 1996 when 22 military, political and economic agreements were signed. These included training of Israeli soldiers and pilots in Turkey, developing of Turkish warplanes and tanks in Israel and exchanging of intelligence and security information. Turkey would also have the permission of acquiring the pictures of American and Israeli espionage satellites. The relations also improved to include establishing centers of alert and wiretapping on Turkish land for espionage of Syria, Iran and Iraq. Turkey allowed Israeli warplanes on its lands and also increased military attaches in embassy in Israel from one to three.

على الرغم من الميول الإسلامية لحزب العدالة والتنمية الذي وصل إلى الحكم في تركيا نهاية تشرين الثاني / نوفمبر 2002 وسعى قادته إلى تعميق العلاقات مع الجانب الفلسطيني إلا أن حكومة العدالة والتنمية لم تستطع أن تحيد عن سياسة العلاقات الوثيقة بين أنقرة وتل أبيب. وعلى الرغم من أن علاقات الطرفين شهدت بعض الابدال والاهتزازات غير أن العلاقات بين تركيا وإسرائيل استمرت نشطة في كل المجالات الاقتصادية والاستثمارية والثقافية والعسكرية والأمنية.
Despite the Islamic tendencies of the Justice and Development party (AKP) which came into power in Turkey at the end of November 2002 and its leaders sought to deepen the relations with the Palestinian side, the government of Justice and Development Party (AKP) could not afford to deviate from the policy of the strong relations between Ankara and Tel Aviv. Although the relationships between the two witnessed some coldness, the activities in economy, investing, cultural, and military and security fields have been continued between the two sides.

The visit of Turkish foreign minister Abdullah Gull to Israel in early 2005 received a special interest as the first visit to Israel by a high-ranking Turkish official since the Turkish Justice and Development Party (AKP) came into power. That visit came after the rejection of the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to receive the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and after the description of his practices against Palestinians as state terrorism after the assassination of Hamas founder, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, and the leader in the movement Abed Aziz Rantisi. The titles of the visit focused on the readiness of
Turkey to mediate in the peace process between Syria and Palestinians on one hand and Israel on the other hand, but the main purpose of this visit was the restoration of relations between the two countries.

On 1/5/2005, the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has visited Israel as the first visit from him since being appointed prime minister. It was announced that the visit aims to improve the relations between his country and Israel and participate in the efforts of peace. The economic dimension was clear as Erdogan accompanied a large delegation including ministers, senior officials and businessmen. A high – level official from the Israeli foreign ministry pointed out that the formation of the Turkish delegation indicated the importance of the economic aspect in the bilateral meetings.
Israel received Erdogan warmly as Israeli foreign minister Sylvan Shalom said “this visit shows the fact that the two countries have a stable relationship that is almost intimate” and Shalom also believed that “Turkey can be a bridge between Israel and Arab countries “According to his view he asserts that moderate Islam is fully capable of making dialogue with Israel.

The Israeli newspaper Haaretz said that “the visit of Erdogan is a success for Israeli diplomats after a semi – cut in relations lasting for more than a year after the assassination of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and Abed Aziz Rantisi

وأمّر الأمّ إلى محاولة تركيا تعزيز وتوصل الأمر إلى التقدم في العلاقات الإسرائيلية - التركية في التعاون والتعاطف وبين إسرائيل وبين دول إسلامية وثانياً وقبل هذا، تمّ ترتيب لقاء بين وزيراً خارجىٍ أُسّى فإٍردُن ووزير خارجىٍ إسرائيليٍّ سلفان شالوم في ايلول / سبتمبر 2005.

Turkish – Israeli relations continued to progress until Turkey tried to bring Israel and other Islamic countries closer to each other. One of these roles was Turkey's arrangement of a meeting between Pakistani Foreign minister Khurshid Hasuri and Israeli foreign minister Sylvan Shalom on September 2005.
2. **On the military level:**

Military and security cooperation is considered as one of the most important fields in Turkish–Israeli cooperation and military alliance. The military agreement between the two countries is the biggest military agreement in the region. This agreement is between two countries that have the biggest armies in the region of their paraphernalia, ammunition and development.

In April 1956, Turkey sent 25 military aircrafts (Dakota) to Israel for repairing. And in 1958 Turkey and Israel established a military alliance under the name of (emergency agreement) in the wake of unity between Syria and Egypt including items for military cooperation, information exchange, joint training and the contribution by Israel to set up some Turkish airports. In the
same year, an agreement of security cooperation among Israel, Turkey and Iran called (Trident arrow) was signed stipulating the exchange of security information and holding regular meetings between the heads of the three intelligence services and according to it the (Mossad) founded an intelligence base in Turkey in return for intelligence technology provided by Turkey.

The relations continued in the sixties and seventies of the 20th century, as Israel provided Turkey with weapons while Turkey appointed a military adviser in Israel in order to consolidate their military relations. However, the two sides agreed on enhance security cooperation to monitor the situation in Lebanon.

There was intelligence security cooperation between the two countries after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 to monitor the situation in Lebanon. Israel presented to Turkey secret documents indicating the military cooperation between Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Turkish Armenian and Kurdish leftist Organizations in addition to Israel delivering to
Turkey Turkish activists that were present in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Also, a limited military agreement was signed between Israeli and Turkish air forces in 1989 with the aim of exchanging military information.

Turkey allowed for Israel in 1990 to establish intelligence and security stations for spying purposes in the neighboring countries especially, Iraq, Syria and Iran. During the Gulf Crisis in 1991, Turkey also allowed Israeli aircrafts to use its military airports for spying purposes in Iraq.

In April 1992 an agreement was signed concerning the bases of cooperation between the Turkish and Israeli ministries of defense. The two countries signed in October 1993 a memorandum of understanding in October 1993 to establish joint committees of senior officials to cooperate in the collection of intelligence information about Syria, Iran and Iraq and to enhance their military abilities against the three countries.
Turkish – Israeli cooperation in the military, security fields and the exchange of information was crowned by the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller in November 1994. This visit resulted in several agreements between the two countries and prepared for the signing of the strategic cooperation agreement on 23/2/1996 after the visit of chief commander civic Bir. This agreement was not back to the public until the visit of the Turkish president Demirel to Israel in March 1996. This agreement included several items the most important of which were:

أ. قيام إسرائيل بتحديث وتطوير مقاتلات تركية من طراز إف -4 بالتعاون بسماء إسرائيلية بالقيام بطلعات تدريبية في سماء تركية لمدة أسبوع أربع مرات سنويا.

ج. إنشاء منتدى أمني للحوار الاستراتيجي بين البلدين ليشمل أنشطة في مجالات استخباراتية واستقبال السفن الحربية لكل من البلدين في موانئ البلد الآخر.

د. إقامة إسرائيل أجهزة تصفح في تركيا لرصد أي تحرکات في سوريا وإيران وجمع المعلومات عنهما ، واستخدام الأفلام الوثائقية لكل دولة.

ه. تقديم إسرائيل للقيادة التركية صورا للأقمار الإصطناعية التجسسية لتكون في تصرف الجيش التركي في مواجهة الأكراد في شمال العراق وشرق الأناضول.
A. Developing of Turkish F-4 Phantom fighter jets from the Israeli side.

B. Allowing Israeli aircrafts to launch training flights in Turkish airspace for a week (four times yearly).

C. Establishing a strategic security forum for dialogue between the two countries, including intelligence fields, and receiving the war ships of each country in harbors of the other.

D. Establishing of Israeli eavesdropping devices in Turkey to monitor any movements in Syria and Iran and to collect information on their behalf, and the use of documentary films of each state.

E. Israel provides the Turkish leadership pictures of spy satellites to be at the disposal of the Turkish army in the face of the Kurds in northern Iraq and eastern Anatolia.

F. Granting Ankara for Israel part of the Turkish Incirlik Air Base to be at Israel's disposal.

In spite of the pledge of Necmettin Den Erbakan on 22/5/1996 that his party (Welfare party) will face the military agreement with Israel in Parliament, his government did not cancel or revise the agreement. But it concluded a second agreement with Israel on 28/8/1996 under the pressure of the army that was related to updating Turkish phantom jets. On 1/2/1996, a third agreement was signed with regard to organizing joint training and maneuvers. The fourth agreement was signed on 8/4/1997 in order to put an evaluation plan against the dangers of Syria and Iran on the two countries. The two countries signed several other agreements regarding military industry projects.

Turkish – Israeli military relations have continued to develop and expand in different fields. On the military level, visits took place between the two countries such as the Turkish minister of defense, Turkan Tayan's visit to Israel as the first visit of its kind which took place between 3/4/1997 and 2/5/1997 in which he met with the Israeli president Ezer Weizman, the prime minister Bejamin Netanyahu and also the minister of defense Yitzhak Mordechai. The talks between the two sides involved military cooperation. Also the Turkish deputy chief of staff visited Israel with a delegation consisting of 24 military officials. On the other hand, the Israeli minister of defense Yitzhak Mordechai visited Turkey on 9/12/1997. During the visit he met with the Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz and leaders of the Turkish army and was accompanied by the general director of army, Elan Biran, who discussed military and security cooperation with the leaders of the Turkish army. The candidate for the Israeli general staff leadership Shaul Mofaz visited Turkey on 17/6/1998 and met with army generals.
The main steps of the two countries to support cooperation between the navy and the air force and the Israeli-Turkish maneuvers included conducting joint air and naval maneuvers, the largest of which on the Althmaúa level were the Sea Wolf maneuvers of 1997 which took place between the beginning and the end of June 1997.

In addition, Israeli-Turkish intelligence cooperation led to the arrest of PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan in Kenya in 1999.

In 2002, Turkey signed a contract with Israel worth $668 million to improve 170 M60 tanks. Turkey also bought in April 2005 three unmanned aerial vehicles and land station systems for the Israeli air manufacturing company (Israeli air manufactures) worth $183 million. According to this agreement, Turkey acquired 10 land stations, each of which had three or four aircrafts.
During the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Israel in 1/5/2005, he negotiated a military agreement worth about half a billion dollars with Israeli officials. This agreement involved Israeli military manufactures improving and developing about 30 military warplanes of the model F-4 Phantom owned by the Turkish air forces.

During his visit to Tel Aviv in May 2005, Turkish minister of defense, Mohammad Wajdi, negotiated with Israelis plans of developing Turkish warplanes and providing Ankara with long range unmanned aerial vehicles. The director of the Israeli ministry of defense Amos Yaron described the relationship between the two countries' defense establishments as excellent. Spokesman of the Israeli aircrafts industry Doron Soslik said that Turkey is interested in improving F-4 warplanes and added that Ankara is the second largest military customer after India.
The Turkish Justice and Development Party (AKP) government continued its commitment during 2006 to the military agreements that were signed with Israel and also attended the bilateral and multilateral meetings with the participation of the US, Britain and others.

On 6/9/2007 Israeli warplanes raided Syrian facilities in Dear Al Zor, believed to be a nuclear facility, using Turkish airspace back and forth on its way to the target site. Whereas Israeli warplanes dropped two fuel reservoirs inside Turkish territories. Israel later apologized for the Israeli warplanes violation of Turkish airspace.
On 6/11/2007 the Turkish president Abdullah Gul considered that the matter is ended and Turkey has prior knowledge of the night violation of Israeli warplanes. There is no doubt that this operation raised anew the nature and limits of the military cooperation between Turkey and Israel, especially that the two sides hold from time to time joint air and ground maneuvers in the heart of Anatolia, making it easier for Israeli planes to use Turkish territory in any air assault on Syria.

During 2008, military cooperation between the two countries continued on several fronts. There were several visits by military officials at the level of ministers of defense or navy and air force forces. Also, shared navy and air maneuvers were carried out between Turkey and Israel with the participation of the US. Intelligence cooperation between Turkey and Israel continued against the Kurds. Turkey also sought to buy unmanned aerial vehicles (Heron model). There were multiple talks for the purpose of that test taking into consideration that during the marketing experiment in Turkey, one of these planes fell in the last month of 2008.
There were factors which led to enforcing relationships between Turkey and Israel in 2008, most notably was the heavy conflict which exploded between Turkey and the Kurdish Workers Party in which Turkey needed Israel as a source for some important military equipment in order to follow Kurdish fighter's movement such as unmanned spying aerial vehicles that Israel produces, night binoculars and intelligence information.

Turkish–Israeli relationships were strained in 2009, following the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip and after military maneuvers with Syria for the first time in the history of their relationship at the end of April, 2009. The chief of staff, Alker Bashbogh, took over his take to respond at the statements of Israeli researchers and officials expressed their dismay and concern about the joint military maneuvers between Turkey and Syria in a comprehensive press conference on 28/4/2009 Bashbogh talked about Israeli criticisms and said they...
do not concern him and that the military maneuvers between Turkey and Syria are Turkey’s private matter and nothing to do with anyone.

Tension between Turkey and Israel reached its peak when Turkey canceled Israeli participation in the Anatolian Eagle maneuvers on 8/10/2009. Ahmed Dawoud Oghlo Turkish Foreign Minister said in a special interview with the American news network CNN that the cancelation came as a result of the Israeli aggression on Gaza (2008-2009). Erdogan stated that his country prevented the participation of Israel in the NATO military maneuvers due to Turkish public concern about the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip.

ووصل التوتر بين تركيا وإسرائيل إلى ذروته مع اعلان تركيا إلغاء مشاركة إسرائيل في مناورات نسر الأناضول في 8/10/2009 وربط أحمد داوود أوغلو وزير الخارجية التركي إلغاء المناورات بالوضع في غزة حيث قال في مقابلة خاصة مع شبكة سي إن أن الأمريكية أن بلاده منعت مشاركة إسرائيل في مناورات عسكرية لحلف شمال الأطلسي بسبب العدوان الإسرائيلي على غزة (2008-2009) وقال أردوغان إن تركيا منعت إسرائيل من المشاركة في المناورات العسكرية بسبب قلق الرأي العام التركي بشأن العدوان الإسرائيلي على قطاع غزة.

وخلال الزيارة التي قام بها إيهود بارك وزير الدفاع الإسرائيلي إلى أنقرة في كانون الثاني / يناير 2010 كشف مصدر مراقب له ان هناك 60 معاهدة سارية المفعول للتعاون المشترك في القضايا الأمنية والعسكرية وقال المصدر ان هذه المعاهدات كانت في حالة خطرة بسبب تأزم العلاقات السياسية بين إسرائيل وتركيا وأشار إلى أنه وبعد زيارة باراك اتفق الجانبان على الاستمرار في تفعيل المعاهدات وتوسيع نطاقها.
During the visit of the Israeli minister of defense Ehud Barak to Ankara in January 2010, one of his advisors revealed that there are 60 valid treaties of cooperation on issues of security and the military. The advisor added that these treaties were in a critical condition due to the worsening political relations between Israel and Turkey, pointing out that after the visit of Ehud Barak the two sides agreed to continue the activation and expansion of these treaties.

Turkey has maintained secretly to improve its relation with the Israeli entity since its recognition in 1949 in order to maintain its economic relations with the Arab countries. The relationships were preserved secretly and expanded in the fifties of the 20th century when it was apparent that officials from both Turkey and Israel were concerned with strengthening relations between them, especially on economic and commercial levels. The Israeli consul stated in Istanbul on 24/12/1954 that trade between the two countries had increased from 13 million Turkish Lira (approximately $4.65 million) in
1952 to 65 million Turkish Lira (approximately $23.2 million) in 1953 and in 1955 Turkey exported to Israel 50 thousand tons of wheat and imported sugar worth 871,360 thousand Turkish Lira (approximately $311,2 thousand).

Trade exchange between Turkey and Israel began to improve significantly in 1960 when Israeli exports to Turkey amounted to $8.9 million and the imports from Turkey amounted to $7.7 million. In 1970 the Israeli exports to Turkey amounted to $2.6 million and imports from Turkey amounted to $3.7 million. Bilateral trade was almost $54 million in 1987.

In the nineties of the 20th century and with the signing of the Oslo accords in 1993 trade exchange between Turkey and Israel reached $200 million. In addition, a free trade agreement was signed in March 1996 that was approved by the Knesset in the same year and by the Turkish parliament on 4/4/1997. This agreement stated an exemption of taxes and custom fees on...
exchanges goods and an increase of trade volume between them in the three years following the signing of the agreement to $2 billion annually compared to $448 million in 1996 of which $196 million was the value of Turkish exports to Israel and $252 million the value of its imports.

The agreement also states the compatibility of Turkish trade with Israel with pledges made to the European Union pursuant to the agreement of Custom Union and grants Turkey a chance of increasing its trade with the United States of America, Canada and Central America through Israel that has preferential trade relationships. Also, Israel grants Turkey a part of its stake in the United States markets in the textile industry, which amounts to 35% after Israeli companies deliberately manufactured textiles in Turkey in order to export them to the United States. Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz stated the start of the implementation of the agreement on 18/7/1997.
On 9/4/1997, an agreement of road transport was signed between the two countries represented by the Israeli ambassador to Turkey Gabi Levy and the deputy prime minister Turkish Foreign Minister Tansu Ciller in Ankara. It was agreed to implement the agreement in the case of normalization of relations in the middle east due to the presence of Syria between the two countries. Also an agreement of selling water was signed when Levy visited Turkey on 8/9/4/1997 and discussed the Turkish project to sell surplus water from one of its rivers called Manavagat River to Israel. This project was summarized in establishing a station with three - fall water in the Manavagat River at the Mediterranean coast to collect 50 million tons of water annually, which represents 3.8 % of the total need of Israel before it pre-slope towards the sea and then stretching it in ground pipelines through Syrian territories and then the entering of the tube. Called as this pipe as the pipe of peace by mass media to the north of Lebanon or to the north-east of Jordan and after that to the Palestinian territories or transport by sea tanker to Israeli coast, in the case of continual occupation of Syrian territories and no signing of a peace agreement between Syria and Israel. The chief of The Turkish Islamic Al Sada party Rajai Qoutan in 2005
revealed that an agreement was reached between Turkey and Israel to sell the water of Turkish Manavgat River to Israel during the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Israel.

The Turkish – Israeli relations suffered tension and frigidity since the Turkish prime minister Bulent Ecevit accused Israel of carrying out collective massacres and ethnic cleansing against the Palestinian people during the events of Jenin refugee camp in 2002 and after the description and refusal of the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan the practices of Areal Sharon against Palestinians as state of terrorism, but that didn’t prevent the bilateral boom of trade between the two countries that reached to $2 billion in 2004, with the exception of arms sales.

وفي الأول من أيار / مايو 2005 قام أردوغان بزيارة ذات بعد اقتصادي إلى إسرائيل وهي الأولى له منذ وصوله إلى السلطة حيث صحب معه أكثر من منة من رجال الأعمال الأتراك.

وفي سنة 2006 برزت تركيا كأكبر شريك تجاري لإسرائيل في العالم الإسلامي فقد استوردت من إسرائيل ما قيمته 859.3 مليون دولار سنة 2006 مقابلة بـ 903.2 مليون دولار سنة 2005 وصدرت إلى إسرائيل ما قيمته ملياراً و 272 مليون دولار و 700 ألف دولار سنة 2006 مقابل مليار و 221 مليون و 100 ألف دولار سنة 2005.
On the first of May 2005, Erdogan paid a visit to Israel with an economic dimension. This was his first visit since he came into power and he was accompanied by more than a hundred Turkish businessmen.

In 2006, Turkey emerged as the largest trading partner with Israel in the Islamic world. Turkey imported from Israel $859.3 million in 2006 compared with $903.2 million in 2005 and exported $1,272,000,700 in 2006 compared with $221,000,100 in 2005.

In 2007, Turkey remained the top Islamic country that has economic relations with Israel as 2007 recorded a noticeable rise in the amount of trading exchange between the two countries. Israeli exports to Turkey reached a total of $1 billion and 221.9 million in 2007 and Israel imported from Turkey a total of $1 billion and 606.9 million in 2007.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said in 2007 that he wants to increase the volume of trade exchange between Turkey and Israel amounting to $2 billion and 830 million. He also said that about 152 Israeli companies operate in Turkey and pump billions of dollars to the national production of Turkey.
On other economic terms some Israeli quarters and companies entered on the line to buy some Turkish institutions amidst privatization processes that took place in 2008. The Turkish and Israeli volume of trade relations increased in 2008 to about $1.83 billion, compared with $1.61 billion in 2007 with an increase of about 35.1%. In 2008 the number of Turkish companies inside the occupied Palestinian territories in 1948 was more than 580 companies.

Perhaps, the agreement of Turkey and Israel to establish pipelines from the port of Ceyhan to Ashkelon in the occupied Palestinian territories was a clear economic development that has a political dimension in relations between Turkey and Israel in 2008. The two ministers of energy for the two countries signed an agreement on 15/12/2006 for the Ceyhan-Ashkelon pipeline to...
transport oil, natural gas, electricity and water to Israel which will reach the line that exists between Ashkelon and Eilat and then planned to move the line of these materials through sea containers to India and also to east Asian countries. It was agreed to prepare an overall view of the subject described as the project of the century during the visit of Israeli minister of Infrastructure Binyamin Ben –Eliezer to Turkey and his meeting with his Turkish counterpart Hilmi Guler on 16/8/2008.

Gulir said that the proposed line isn’t only of an economic dimension, but also is an important contribution to stability and peace in the region. The materials that will be transported are necessary for the region. If we succeed in this project, we and Israel will contribute strongly to the development stability and happiness of the region. This isn’t only a bilateral project with Israel but also a multilateral one. The transmission –line capacity of oil is about 40 million tons per year estimated in cost at $6 billion.
In the aftermath of the Israeli aggression on the Gaza strip (2008-2009) and due to the global economic crisis, 2009 witnessed a significant decline in the volume of trade exchange between non-Arab Islamic countries and Israel. By reviewing the number of Israeli imports and exports for 2009, it appears that the value of Israeli exports to Turkey amounted about $1.073 million that registered a decline of about 33% compared to the year 2008. It is noted that the percentage decline of Israeli exports to Turkey is higher than the overall decline of Israeli exports for the year 2009 that registered a decline of about 22% for the year 2008. Also, Israeli imports from Turkey declined from about $1.825 million for the year 2008 to $1.388 million for the year 2009 which registered a decline of about 24%.
It could be argued that despite the great tension that prevailed Turkish – Israeli relations at the end of 2008 and the early of 2009, the economic relations will continue on a relatively high level due to the combined nature for this relation and due to the need of each country for the other in many inherited files, especially that Israel can’t lose a large Islamic country like Turkey whatever the negative positions that can be taken by the authorities in Turkey towards Israel.
Table (1) Israeli trade volume with Turkey in the period 1960 - 2009 (in millions of dollars):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Israeli exports to Turkey</th>
<th>Israeli imports from Turkey</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>-2.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>124.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>184.3</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>446.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>383.1</td>
<td>813.7</td>
<td>1,196.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>470.3</td>
<td>951.5</td>
<td>1,421.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>813.5</td>
<td>1,166.9</td>
<td>1,980.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>903.2</td>
<td>1,221.1</td>
<td>2,124.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>821.2</td>
<td>1,272.7</td>
<td>2,093.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,195.8</td>
<td>1,606.9</td>
<td>2,802.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1,609.9</td>
<td>1,825.3</td>
<td>3,435.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1,072.7</td>
<td>1,387.7</td>
<td>2,460.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tourism had an important role to play in the Turkish–Israeli relations as 3.298.000 tourists travelled to Turkey between 1990 and 2004 which is an effective number, considering that the population of Israel is less than 7 million. They spent about $2.4 billion. Also the number of tourists increased rapidly until 2007. However, because of the Israeli military attack on the Gaza strip at the end of 2008, the number of Israeli tourists declined in Turkey from 558,183 in 2008 to 311,582 in 2009.
In 2009, the tension in the Turkish – Israeli relations left a bad impact, especially on Israeli tourism in Turkey. The Israeli ambassador in Turkey Gabi Levy said that the relations between the two countries are cooling down and declining. Moreover, Levy gave important numbers about the extent of the decline, saying that the Israeli flights from Israel to Turkey were about ten flights weekly, but now in (February 2009) the flights were hardly about one or two flights weekly. In addition, the number of Israeli tourists in Turkey during the months of the season (winter and spring) were more than 150 thousand, but now the number is very small (almost zero). Levy said that although Turkish tourism companies make overwhelming offers for Israeli tourists, they do not dare to come to Turkey, which means that winter tourism between Turkey and Israel has become completely dead. According to levy, the cause of non-arrival of Israeli tourists to Turkey was the rising trend of anti – Semitism and anti-Judaism among people in Turkey and the Turkish media. He also believes that the incident of a basketball match between an Israeli team and a Turkish one in Ankara was not held because of the Turkish public anger and the escaping of Israeli players from the pitch had a large effect on shocking Israelis who did not dare to come to Turkey for tourism.

The following table indicates the number of Israeli tourist arrivals to Turkey in the period between 1999- 2009:
Table (2) the number of Israeli tourist arrivals to Turkey in the period between 1999- 2009:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>169.827</td>
<td>312.301</td>
<td>310.714</td>
<td>270.262</td>
<td>321.096</td>
<td>299.944</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>393.805</td>
<td>362.791</td>
<td>511.535</td>
<td>558.183</td>
<td>311.582</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Israeli tourism to Turkey recorded in 2010 witnessed a large decrease of about 90% due to the attack on the Freedom Flotilla to break the siege over Gaza in which nine Turks were killed. Furthermore, the number of Israeli tourists fell in Turkey from 27,289 in June 2009 to 2,605 in the same month in 2010 recording a decrease of 45.90%, according to the statistics that were published by the Turkish Ministry of Tourism on 5/8/2010. In the first sixth months of 2010 the percentage of decrease was 17.9 % with the declining of

the number of tourists from 91,450 to 75,001. The Israeli anti-terrorism office called on Israeli tourists not to travel to Turkey for their safety after the Israeli attack on the Freedom Flotilla on 31/5/2010 and the warning was lifted on 21/7/2010.

The movement of Turkish tourists to Israeli was about 7,600 arrivals in 1980 and about 6,100 arrivals in 1990. Also, the number of arrivals increased rapidly until 2008 as the number was about 17,252 arrivals. Despite the Israeli assault on Gaza (2008-2009), the decrease in the number of arrivals from Turkey to Israel was minimal as the number in 2009 was about 14,139 arrivals.

Table (3) the number of Turkish tourist arrivals to Israel in the period between 1980-2009:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>7.600</td>
<td>4.600</td>
<td>6.100</td>
<td>8.900</td>
<td>11.800</td>
<td>11.956</td>
<td>13.068</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>13.784</td>
<td>15.699</td>
<td>15.653</td>
<td>14.229</td>
<td>17.252</td>
<td>14.139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Third: the Palestinian issue and Turkey's new role:

1. The arrival of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) to power and the Turkish politics shift towards the east:

Turkey began turning to strengthening its relationship with the Arab and Islamic countries in the second half of 1996 as Turkey called for the formation of the Group of Eight Islamic Countries when the Islamic Welfare Party came to power under the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan. The group aimed to
include the largest Muslim countries from the continents of Africa and Asia in terms of population and economic possibilities.

On 15/06/1997, a founding meeting was held in Istanbul of the Economic Community of the largest Muslim countries with a population of more than 800 million people, including Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Iran, Malaysia and Nigeria. However, after the departure of the Islamic Welfare party from power, Turkey took another direction almost storming the group due to the secular orientation of both the army and the National Party headed by Mesut Yılmaz, who took power after the Islamic Welfare Party. But the Islamic countries participating, led by Egypt were interested in the survival of the group, while Turkey was eager to change its name to the Group of Eight for Development referred to as the D8.

ولم يكتف أربكان بذلك بل نشط عبر العالم الإسلامي وحدد موعداً لمؤتمر عالمي يضم قيادات العمل الإسلامي وباتت تركيا تتدخل بثقلها لحل مشكلات داخلية في دول إسلامية كما حدث حينما أرسلت وفوداً لحل خلافات المجاهدين في أفغانستان. وعلى الرغم من ذلك حرص أربكان على عدم استفزاز الجيش وحاول تكريس انطباع بأنه لا يريد المساس بالنظام العلماني فنفذ الاتفاقيات السابقة مع إسرائيل وزاد بان زار إسرائيل لدعم التعاون العسكري وسمح للطيارين الإسرائيليين بالتدريب في الأجواء التركية ولم يكن هذا التقارب مع إسرائيل كافياً لإقناع الجيش بالقبول فقام الجنرالات بانقلاب من نوع جديد إذ قدموا إلى أربكان مجموعة طلبات لغرض تنفيذها على الفور تتضمن بما وصفوه مكافحة الرجعية وتسهيل وقف كل مظاهر النشاط الإسلامي في البلاد سياسياً كان أم تعليماً ام تعلقاً بالعبادات فكان أن اضطر أربكان إلى الاستقالة من منصبه لمنع تطور الأحداث إلى انقلاب عسكري فعلي.
Not only did Erbakan do that, but he also activated across the Islamic world and set a date for a global conference which would include leading Islamic activists. Also Turkey started to intervene heavily to resolve the interior problems of Islamic countries as when he sent delegations to Afghanistan to resolve the differences between Mujahedeen fighters. Despite this, Arabkan cared not to provoke the army. He tried to keep the impression that he doesn’t want to prejudice the secular system as he executed the previous agreements with Israel. He also visited Israel to support the military cooperation and allowed for Israeli pilots to train in Turkish airspace. However, the rapprochement with Israel wasn’t enough to convince the army so, the generals carried out a coup of a new type. They presented to Erbakan a group of requests to be implemented immediately. These requests included the resistance of so called anti-retro and the stopping of all Islamic aspects in the country: political, educational or those relate to worship. So, Erbakan had to resign from his position to prevent the development of events to an actual military coup.

وفي سنة 1998 تم حظر حزب الرفاه واحيل أربكان إلى القضاء بتهم مختلفة منها انتهاك مواثيق علمانية الدولة ومنع من مزاولة النشاط السياسي لخمس سنوات لكن أربكان لم يغادر الساحة السياسية فلجأ إلى المخرج التركي التقليدي ليؤسس حزبا جديدا باسم الفضيلة بزعامة احد معاونيه وبدأ يديره من خلف الكواليس لكن هذا الحزب تعرض للحظر أيضا سنة 2003 ومن جديد يعود أربكان لينسس بعد انهاء مدة الحظر سنة 2003 حزب السعادة لكن خصومه من العلمانيين ترصوا به ليجري اعتقالة في نفس السنة بتهمة اختلاس اموال من حزب الرفاه المنحل وحكم على الرجل بستين سجنا.
In 1998, the Islamic Welfare Party was banned and Erbakan was taken to judgment with various accusations, one of which included the violation of the secular convents of the state. Moreover, he was banned from practicing politics for 5 years, but Erbakan didn’t leave the political stage. And he used another traditional Turkish route of exit. When he founded a new party called the Virtue party led by one of his assistants. Erbakan started to manage this party behind the scenes, but that party was banned in 2003. And also Erbakan returned after the end of the banning in 2003 to found emerging party, but his secularist rivals led him to be arrested in accusation of embezzling money from the disbanded Welfare Party. He was sentenced to prison for two years.

On 14/8/2001, The Islamic Development and Justice Party (AKP) was founded and headed by Recep Tayyip Erdogan. This party came to power in 2002, and it was founded by separatist delegates of the Virtue Party, which was headed by Necmettin Erbakan and dissolved by the Turkish Constitutional Court on 22/6/2001. The founders represented the reformist wing of the Virtue
Party. The Development and Justice Party classifies itself as a moderate conservative party, which is not hostile to the west, adopts marketing capitalism and seeks to join Turkey to the European Union. In spite of its Islamic roots and ideas, it denies that it is an Islamic party and cares not to use Islamic slogans in its political speeches. Some classify it as a party that represents moderate Islam.

In the era of the Development and Justice Party, Turkey sought to play an active role on the international and regional levels. This is clear in the vision of the Turkish foreign minister Ahmet Davutoglu, who always promotes to vision in order to make Turkey as active player on the level of international, through the promoting of zero trouble policy with neighbors as along as with compromise for disputes with a high level of strength. He also participates with leaders and nations of neighboring countries for Turkey by turning Turkey to the central or regional level until it becomes international system and to improve for world. That Islamic country may become a useful - member in the
international community. Besides that, the development and Justice Party changed the official Turkish compass (National compass with a complete sympathy) towards the Palestinian issue after it was in one direction. This party succeeded to strengthen the Islamic and Arab dimensions from this compass, despite the chronic constants for Ankara.

In 2006, there were many fundraising events for the Palestinian Nation in Turkey. Those were participations of non-governmental organizations at some points. Also, there were many demonstrations to support the Palestinian Issue, especially, after the Israeli attack on Gaza strip, following the capture of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit in June 2006. Whereas, Felicity party called for a million marches in Istanbul on 9/7/2006 to condemn the Israeli brutal practices and attack intensified aggression on Palestine and Lebanon. So, several of Turkish parliamentary deputies resigned from the Turkish – Israeli parliamentary friendship committee . This always reflects the opinions polls of the deep hate of Turks for Israel and United States of America.
The shifts in Turkey in era of Development and Justice Party (AKP) towards Arabs and Palestine compared with the previous policies were unprecedented bias. And perhaps the criticisms of Erdogan to Israel practices were more than double of that of some Arabs, whereas Erdogan in this direction was more Arabism from some Arab leaders. Turkey didn’t only use verbal criticisms, but in parallel of the Israeli war genocide on Palestinian Nation, it didn’t spare efforts various ways to alleviate the suffering of Palestinian Nation.

Inclusion and exclusion of dialectic control is directing paths of Turkish – Europe relationship, since the establishment of the republic on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire after war I this inclusion is complex in the maximum extent in the details of the relation between the two sides. These details area are
the power and competitive parties from Turkish side and the European side. On the Turkish side, there is a strong desire to acquire the scientific and Technological achievement of western civilization. And to integrate in Europe system at least politically and economically. And this was the declared aim for the policy of Development and Justice Party when it came to the power in November 2002.

On the other hand, the trend of exclusion for European side is still the strongest and the most effective of the arrangement relationships of European member club with Turkey. Besides that, there are voices for European parties and governments calling for openness to Turkey, and see the positive Inclusion in European club is more than its negatives, but these are faint and inclusive in weighting the political cuff of acceptance and inclusion than exclusion and refusal. For example, one reason for rejection is a cultural - religious associated with the identity of Islamic civilization the rejectionists see that they aren’t along with Christian. Furthermore, other European power sees that these aren’t necessary to accept Turkey as a member in European Union for two reasons:
A. Turkey will succeed in its role as a civilized mediator between Europe and Islamic world only when it returned to its Eastern identity. This possibility odds with the principle of its membership in European Union.

B. Acquiring Turkey the membership of the union earned it its great strength in political and economic sides. And Turkey will not hesitate to employ this strength to achieve its interest in Arab Levant and Islamic world in general and in this case Europe will not acquire anything of its accession, but may lose some privileges that are interested in currently for the favor of the Turkish escalating influence.
The approval of Turkey as a member in European Union lies on possibilities that are more positive for Turkey. Europe will pick various interests if Turkey becomes a complete member in its club through several dimensions, perspectives that gather security, political and cultural sides.

However, now there are no even encouragement signs from the European union that has the final decision in accepting or refusing the member which had the last decision for European parliament on 13/3/2009. The decision concerned with a worry about Ankara that was late to imply its obligations especially, retreating for amending the Constitution and the Turkish position was negative when an attempt was made to amend and widen the freedom of woman in wearing the veil in governmental institutions especially universities.

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The Turkish Justice and Development Party benefited from Turkish efforts to join to the European Union and its conditions in two directions: internal direction towards reduction of military dominance in any role of army in Turkish politics and external direction towards Turkish openness towards Muslim and Arab world.

On the internal level, the party seized the joint issue in amending the internal political system, which gave a large margin for parties freedom especially Islamic and this reduced the possibilities of resolving political parties under the guise of maintaining the secularism of the country.

On the external level, the Turkish publics are more acceptable for the policy of openness towards east and replace it with previous policy (the policy of hostility and caring) from Islamic and Arab surrounding. And this has prepared the Turkish Development and Justice Party as a supportive ground for its orientations on this course.

2. موقف تركيا من عملية التسوية السلمية للقضية الفلسطينية : 

منذ أن وصل حزب ح ك فا غا ئ ب لل ح ها في المكيا في تركيا حدث نوع من التوازن في العلاقات التركية بين كل من إسرائيل والفلسطينيين، بل إن منحنى تلك العلاقات مال لصالح نوع أكبر من التعاون مع القضية الفلسطينية، وتزايدت الزيارات التركية الرسمية لفلسطين. ووجد حزب العدالة نفسه في حالة شد كبيرة باتجاهين متعاكسين فالقاعدة الانتخابية تميل بشكل قوي إلى دعم القضايا العربية والإسلامية، وخصوصاً قضية فلسطين، وإلى معاداة إسرائيل بينما يشعر الحزب أن هناك عوامل أخرى تفرض عليها الاستمرار في العلاقة مع إسرائيل مثل النفوذ القوي للمؤسسة العسكرية التركية ورغبة الحزب في علاقات متميزة مع أوروبا ودخول تركيا الاتحاد الأوروبي وعدم إغضاب أمريكا ثم ان الكوين العلماني.
2. Turkey’s position towards peaceful compromise of Palestinian issue:

Since the accession of the Development and Justice Party to power in Turkey, there was a kind of balance between Turkey in one side and Israel and Palestine in other side, but the relations are curved largely with empathy to the Palestinian issue and Turkish official visits have increased to Palestine. The Turkish Development and Justice Party (AKP) found itself in a great pulling in two opposite directions. The base of elections is curved largely to supporting Islamic and Arab issue, particularly the Palestinian Issue and anti – Israel. The party also feels that there are factors imposed on it for continuing the relation with Israel such as the influential powers of the institution of the Turkish military, the party's desires to have special relation with Europe and Turkey entry for European Union and also not upsetting America. The strict secular composition of Turkish state in its judicial system and the media influence to other forces may hinder the adoption to Islamic policies to be more clear and open.
During 2005 Turkey tried to adopt balanced policies according to its standards. In 4/1/2005 the Turkish foreign minister Abdullah Gul visited the headquarter of Palestinian Authority in Ramallah and he said after meeting with Palestinian officials in Ramallah that procedures that Israel used against Palestinian such as pressure and siege will not bring security and comfort to it, stressing that an independent Palestinian state is the perfect way for peace and security. Gul promised that the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza strip with Palestinian Authority and putting it in the context of the implementation of road map will be a new opportunity to re-launch peace process and return back to negotiation table. he added that Turkey is ready to do everything in their power to provide assistance for the two sides in order to reach to peace agreement.

وأكد أن الأمن وحده لن يجلب السلام في الشرق الأوسط وسياسة العنف والإرهاب لن تخدم سوى الأطراف المعادية لعملية السلام مطالبا القيادة الفلسطينية ببذل جهود أكبر لتنفيذ برامج الإصلاح حتى تتمكن من بناء دولة فلسطينية قوية وأعرب غول عن ثقته في أن الدولة الفلسطينية المقبلة ستكون قوية وقادرة على التقدم نحو السلام وأكد أن تركيا ترى أن الطريق الوحيد للوصول إلى السلام هو اتفاق شامل يقوم على أساس التعاون بين دولتي فلسطين وإسرائيل وأن التوصل إلى اتفاق وفقا لقرارات مجلس الأمن والأمم المتحدة هو الحل الأمثل للصراع العربي – الإسرائيلي. وأكد غول على أن "تركيا ستكون إلى جانب القيادة والشعب الفلسطيني حتى تحقيق الحلم الفلسطيني بقيام الدولة المستقلة والحكومة التركية ستواصل دعمها لمشاريع التنمية الفلسطينية."
He emphasized that security alone will not bring peace to the Middle East and the policy of violence and terrorism will serve only the hostile sides for peace process, calling the Palestinian leadership to exert greater efforts to implement reform programs until they can build a strong Palestinian state. Gul expressed his confidence that the future Palestinian state will be strong and is able to progress towards peace. Also he confirmed that “Turkey sees that the only way to reach the peace is a comprehensive peace agreement based on the comprehensive co-existence between the state of Palestine and Israel and the reaching for peace pursuant to security council and united nations resolutions as the best solution to Arab – Israeli conflict. He also confirmed: " Turkey will be beside the Palestinian leadership and nation until they achieve the Palestinian dream to establish an independent state, and Turkish government will continue to provide Palestinian development projects".

وقال رئيس الحكومة التركية رجب طيب أردوغان في 2005/6/15 أن "السلام الدائم والشامل في الشرق الأوسط يشكل أولوية في السياسة الخارجية التركية. وقد رحبنا بقبول الطرفان بخريطة الطريق التي وضعت من أجل الوصول إلى حل للنزاع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني. لكن ينبغي القيام بالخطوات الضرورية التي تتمتع بالأهمية عينها المعطاة لقبول خريطة الطريق. والتأكد أردوغان خلال لقائه المبعوث الأمريكي إلى الشرق الأوسط جورج ميتشل أن التوصل إلى اتفاق سلام غير ممكن من دون إشراك حركة حماس كطرف أساسي في المعادلة."
On 15/6/2005, The Turkish prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan said, "the lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East is a priority for the Turkish foreign policy. We also welcome the two parties of Road Map in order to reach a solution for Israeli – Palestinian conflict, but should take the necessary steps which give importance to the acceptance of road map.

Erdogan confirmed during his meeting with the US envoy to the Middle East George Mitchell reaching peace agreement is impossible without considering Hamas as an important element in the peace process.

Turkey didn’t recognize any Israeli procedures whether in Ibrahimi mosque or Al-Aqsa mosque. The Turkish foreign minister Ahmed Daoud Ugly denounced these behaviors which will not help peace achievement as "Abdullah Gul", who was elected as President for Turkey, said after meeting with American president Georg Bush in Washington, that it is important for Bush to take upon him the initiative “to move for
establishing the Palestinian state solidly “. And he said “ to have success there, it is important to prevent constructing new settlements and to achieve the Palestinian unity “ He added that Bush should be “ bold and brave “ and to not leave the task to Americans only , all should work in order to achieve that aim for establishing a Palestinian state in 2008.

In the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of regular session of Arab summit, which was held in C\textsuperscript{ert} city in Libya on 27-28/3/2010 Erdugan who attended as gust said?

We as Turkey, will not stay without movement of the development that happen in this Middle East. It is not supposed to deal with each incident in the Middle East region separately from the region equilibrium .... and one of the most crucial problems that needed speed in finding solution in the region is the Palestinian Issue .Today, the international community faces a tough and new test that is related to bring back the peace process. Both Palestinian leadership and Arab countries agreed carefully to go direct negotiations and the
responsibility. On the two parties is to give a chance for a pure peace, we need in this stage now to see the end of the road not the road map.

Erdugan added that the Jerusalem is the Centre of this geographical area and Islamic world. It is the first Kiblah (direction where Muslims were told to pray), and are totally unacceptable of the Israeli invasion on Jerusalem and holy places. In addition, the declaration of Israeli minister of Interior that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel is in fact a form of madness, and it is not binding ,leading to the isolation of Israel .

Israel not only denied the international laws, but also it exuviated human emotions, history and conscience at the same time. We should not
forget that as long as Jerusalem is burnt, Palestine will burn and as long as the Palestine is burned, the Middle East area will burn and if the Middle East area is burnt, the world will not achieve peace and security. It is not possible to solve the problem by wasting time in negotiations that depend on results through reducing the resolutions of United Nations, Arab League and Organization of the Islamic Conference obtain the international resolutions that related to the subject.

Moreover, I want to mention again that we as Turkey, support closely the legitimate Palestinian issue and consider that solution of this issue as the key to achieve peace and security in the region.

3. تركيا بعد فوز حماس بالانتخابات:

بعد فوز حركة حماس بالانتخابات التشريعية الفلسطينية التي جرت في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة في 25/1/2006، كشف رئيس ووزراء تركيا رجب طيب أردوغان، في 27/1/2006 أنه بحث والرئيس الباكستاني برويز مشرف في مبادرة مشتركة، يكون لمنظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي دور فيها تطوى على قيامنا بدور نوع من الوسيط بين إسرائيل والفلسطينيين. وقال ان لب" الاتصالات والمبادرات " يقوم على" الشرح لحماس بأن سياسة عدم الاعتراف بإسرائيل لن تكون مساعدة في هذه العملية وأن " على إسرائيل ألا تقول أنها لن تعترف بنتيجة الانتخابات أو حماس في الحكومة. وقال أردوغان إن على الإخوة في حماس أن يتركوا عاداتهم وتصرفاتهم في الماضي. عليهم أن يدخلوا عالما جديدا بنظرة جديدة الآن وقد أصبحوا عمليا طرفا في حكم الدولة، وشدد على أن السلاح يجب أن يكون فقط في أيدي القوات المسلحة لأي دولة. وقال إن في " مثل هذه العملية، إنني متمتن أن حماس ستتحرك، ويجب أن نتحرك نحو الوسط. فالظروف لن يساعد في شيء، وهذا يطبق على إسرائيل أيضا، ودعا إلى التمييز بين " حماس الأسما وحماس الآن " وشدد على ضرورة أن " نسمح لهم ببعض من الوقت لنرى ماذا سيفعلون".
3 . Turkey after Hamas won in the elections:

After Hamas victory in the Palestinian legislative elections that took place in West bank and Gaza Strip on 25/1/2006, the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan revealed on 27/1/2006 that he discussed with Pakistan president Pervez Musharraf a joint initiative in which the Islamic organization conference plays a role. He said that we play a mediator between Israel and Palestinians and added that the core of communications and initiatives based on the fact that Hamas policy of denying Israel will not be assisting in this process. And Israel should not say and that it will not recognize the elections results or Hamas as a government. Erdogan also said that brothers in Hamas should leave their previous behaviors, and should enter to a new world as a new sight now, since they have become as a party of ruling the state. He confirmed that weapon should be only on that hand of army forces in any country. "Also he said “in this process, I am sure that Hamas will move and it should move towards moderation. Extremism will not help in anything and that is also applied to Israel " He called on distinction between Hamas yesterday and Hamas now, confirming that we should give them enough time to see what they will do ". 
On 21/2/2006 Erdogan also criticized Israel’s use of economic sanctions against Palestinians because they elected Hamas, considering that will create a restricted democracy and reflects a lack of respect for Palestinian Nation.

Erdogan referred to the Hamas call to Fatah to participate in the coalition describing that as an important subject and extraordinary event because Hamas got enough seats to form a government of its followers exclusively if Hamas wants, saying that the coalition with Fatah will be very important.

After hesitation, the AKP government decided to invite Hamas delegation to visit Ankara on 16/2/2006, despite confusion in organizing and preparing for the visit because of the sudden imposition date of the visit for both sides, and
the presence of refusal team for the visit that headed by Hamas political bureau Khalid Mishal. The visit was a fruitful for the two sides. Ankara was the first international station that received this movement after Palestinian elections. In addition, this initiative provided for Turkey an important chance to strengthen its role as apolitical player and influential in the Middle East.

Erdogan justified welcoming the delegation of Hamas. He said that Ankara is seeking for a greater role in the Middle East region. Also he added that "Turkey couldn’t stand by stressing that the historical experience of Turkey in the governance of the region over the centuries under the Ottoman Empire". Erdogan pointed out that Turkish officials have explained clearly to the delegation of the movement about the position of the international community and the importance to renounce violence and recognize Israel, said, "We have sent the right message at the right time"
The objection of foreign officials included that Meshal himself did not participate in the elections and he isn’t member in the legislative council or official in the government. Calling to wait until after the formation government in the official capacity. And as a solution between the prime ministry that wait enthusiastically this visit and the foreign bureaucratic who are resentful. The two sides agreed to keep the visit unofficially and to take it out by partisan invitation to avoid the international reactions that didn’t work to avoid through annual diplomatic channels. And Washington told Tal Aviv of Turkish Initiative before hours of the arriving of the delegation to Turkey.
The meetings of a delegation included officials of foreign Ministry including the assistant of ministry deputy Ahmed Uzuim before the party meeting with the minister of foreign Abdullah Gul on behalf of Erdogan. Who has been under pressure from the presidency and foreign officials to lest Turkey appears in the form of supporter for the policies of Hammas. Moreover, other from Washington in addition to self-evaluation of himself that Hammas is not currently willing to make concessions even for Erdogan himself. The postponing of the meeting for another time, allowing circumstances to come out of it, even with a modest effect in the positions of Hammas movement. The postponing of the meeting came also for the foreign that considered the visit as first step to communicate between Hammas and Ankara. Ankara that saw its role to support democracy in the region dictates them to give Palestinian movements a chance as long as they came to the power through a democratic and transparent elections. Without any explaining for this chance that they are blessing for Hamma’s policies especially the military. This infinitesimal balance was summoned according to the foreign of Turkish that it is not to exaggerate of expected results from the visit and its meanings.
Hamas has sought to alleviate this subject. The spokesman of change and Reform block in West Bank said “we do not surprised by this position of Erdogan, he may want to deal with the Palestinian prime minister officially and that will happen in the following days after the formation of government.

The US ambassador in Ankara Ross Wilson, criticized the visit of Hamas delegation to Turkey. He said that “our basic worry is that any meeting with Hamas should send a message itself, about the renunciation of terrorism and recognition of the right of Israel to exist and Committing with the agreements that were assigned by the Palestinian authority.

وفي 8/6/2006 زار الرئيس التركي أحمد نجدت سيزر الضفة الغربية بعد يوم من زيارته لإسرائيل إلا أن سيزر الذي التقى رئيس السلطة الفلسطينية محمود عباس لم يلتقي رئيس الحكومة اسماعيل هنية.

وعد رئيس الوزراء التركي رجب طيب أردوغان دعوة الرئيس عباس إلى انتخابات فلسطينية مبكرة إجراء ، سليماً جدا " يأتي قريبا جدا من الانتخابات الفلسطينية الأخيرة . وقال أردوغان إن المشكلة الأكبر بخصوص انتخابات كانون الثاني / يناير أن إرادة الشعب الفلسطيني لم تلق احتراما بعد فوز حماس.
On 8/6/2006, the Turkish president Ahmed Nacdet visited West Bank and met the president of the Palestinian authority Mahmoud Abbas, but he did not meet the Prime Minister Ismael Hania.

The Prime Minister Racpe Taib Erdogan considered that calling of the president Mahmoud Abbas for early Palestinian elections is a very negative procedure and comes closely of the last Palestinian elections. Erdogan said that the biggest problem concerning the elections in January is that the willing of Palestinian nation wasn’t respect after the winning of Hamas in these elections.

الدور التركي في المصالحة الفلسطينية:

تعتقد تركيا بأن حماس يجب أن تشارك في العملية السياسية . وهذا مرتبط بستمرار وقف النار مع إسرائيل ثم بالمصالحة بين الرئيس محمود عباس وحماس ، وتركيا تعمل على هذا الخط وهي على مسافة واحدة من عباس وحماس.

الالتزام الإلتزام منذ البداية بالوقوف إلى جانب الفلسطينيين ، وذلك من خلال تقديم الدعم المادي والسياسي للشعب الفلسطيني ، وقد عملت الدبلوماسية التركية على أكثر من ملف فلسطيني داخلي. فقدمت على سبيل المثال جهدا هاما في إطار المصالحة الفلسطينية.

4. The Turkish role in the Palestinian Reconciliation:

Turkey believes that Hamas should participate in the political process. This relies on the continuance of the ceasefire with Israel and reconciliation between President Mahmoud Abbas and Hamas. Turkey is working on this keeping the same distance between Abbas and Hamas.

Turkey commitment itself from the beginning to stand by the Palestinians through providing material and political support for the Palestinian people. Turkish diplomacy has worked on various internal Palestinian files. It has
undertaken, for example, important efforts in the Palestinian reconciliation process.

Turkish support for Palestinians in the Gaza Strip was not limited to politics. It exceeded to this to humanitarian support through opening branches of Turkish Relief Foundations in Gaza such as the Yardemli Foundation that provides help for 4500 Gazan families, according to its coordinator. He mentioned that these relief services include the provision of relief aid in festivals, the month of Ramadan and emergencies indicating that these projects started with the beginning of the Israeli war against Gaza in 2008. One of these foundations is the Turkish Human Relief Foundation in Gaza. The representative of this foundation, Mohammad Kaya, says that the Turkish people and their humanitarian associations donate large amounts of money to the Palestinian people mentioning that the total amount of aid provided by his foundation reached 25 million Euro in 2009.
When Hamas took over the Gaza strip in June 2007, the Turkish prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan expressed to the Palestinian prime minister Ismael Hanaya in a phone call on 23/7/2007 his readiness to take action concerning the Palestinian reconciliation saying: “We in Turkey are ready to move in the direction of reconciliation and unity among you as soon as we finish the formation of the government in the following weeks. We will be happy if we succeed in achieving unity among you” adding that: “we feel pain when we see bloodshed between Palestinians. This division weakens your position and harms your nation and cause. The continued division will affect negatively the chances of establishing an independent Palestinian state.

كما شكل الاعتداء الإسرائيلي على أسطول الحرية في 31/5/2010 محطة تحول للدور التركي في القضية الفلسطينية ، حيث وجدت تركيا لنفسها قبولًا لأن تكون وسيطًا في المصالحة الفلسطينية بين حركة فتح وحركة حماس. ففي 6/6/2010 أكد رئيس الوزراء التركي رجب طيب أردوغان أن تركيا مستعدة لأداء دور نشط للتواصل إلى مصالحة بين حركتي فتح وحماس ، وقال خلال مؤتمر صحفي مع الرئيس السوري بشار الأسد إن إصلاح الخلاف بين حركتي فتح وحماس "أمر واجب " ، مضيفًا أن حماس رحبت بأن تؤدي تركيا دور الوسيط . وهذا ما أكده اسماعيل هنية رئيس الوزراء في قطاع غزة.
The Israeli assault on the Freedom Flotilla on 31/5/2010 was a changing point in Turkish role in the Palestinian issue. Turkey found itself accepted to play a role of mediator between Fatah and Hamas in the Palestinian reconciliation. On 7/6/2010, the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan confirmed that Turkey is ready to play an active role in the reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas. During a joint press conference with Syrian President Bashar Al-Asad, he said that solving the dispute between Fatah and Hamas is a duty adding that Hamas welcomed that Ankara be a mediator. This was confirmed by the Prime Minister in Gaza Ismail Haneyeh who said that the Turkish declaration to intervene to end this dispute between Hamas and Fatah does not mean that there is an alternative for the Egypt role. He also called for integration between the Arab and Islamic countries on the basis of the higher interests that combine these countries confirming that the Palestinian reconciliation portfolio is in Egypt but at the same time welcoming any Arab or Islamic efforts.
المصري على لسان وزير الخارجية أحمد أبو الغيط الذي اعتبر أن الدور التركي ينحصر في إقناع حماس بقبول وثيقة المصالحة المصرية، وأنه لا مجال الآن للعودة إلى فصول المفاوضات من جديد.

и showcases Palestinian sources to Aljazeera net that President Abbas had agreed to the Turkish suggestion but retreated after the Egyptian refusal.

وأشارت مصادر فلسطينية رسمية لموقع الجزيرة نت، إلى أن الرئيس عباس كان موافقاً على الطرح التركي، لكنه تراجع عقب رفض مصر له.

On the Egyptian side, Turkish sources said to London Al-Hayat newspaper that Cairo rejected an unofficial Turkish suggestion to hold a meeting including the General Secretary of the Arab League Amr Mousa, the Intelligence Chief Omar Suleiman, the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmed Daud Oglu and representatives of Fatah and Hamas movements in either Egypt or Turkey in order to exert pressure on the two Palestinian sides to sign a Palestinian reconciliation agreement. The Egyptian response came from the Foreign Minister, Ahmed Abu Al Gheit, who considered that the Turkish role was confined to persuading Hamas to accept the Egyptian Reconciliation Agreement and that there is no excuse now to return to new negotiations again.

Official Palestinian sources stated to Aljazeera net that President Abbas had agreed to the Turkish suggestion but retreated after the Egyptian refusal.

وصرح سليمان عواد المتحدث باسم الرئاسة المصرية، بأن الدور التركي في ملف المصالحة الفلسطينية يعد مكملًا للدور المصري، ويسعى إلى دعمه، وأن الرئيس التركي عبد الله غول ووزير خارجيته أكدا على هذا الأمر خلال محادثتهما مع الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك في 21/7/2010.

وبقي ملف المصالحة الفلسطينية معلقاً لغاية صدور هذا التقرير، ولم يطرأ عليه أي دور تركي، حيث ترفض حماس التوقيع على ورقة المصالحة المصرية، دون أخذ ملاحظاتها.
Egyptian Presidency Spokesman, Suleiman Awad, stated that the Turkish role in the Palestinian reconciliation portfolio is complementary to the Egyptian role, and seeks to support it. The Turkish president Abdullah Gul and his Foreign Minister confirmed this issue during their negotiations with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on 21/7/2010.

The Palestinian Reconciliation portfolio remained stalled until the issuance of this report and there has been no Turkish role whereas Hamas refuses to sign the Egyptian Reconciliation paper without taking its notes into consideration.

5. The Turkish Position towards the assault on the Gaza strip:

Turkey played an active and direct role during the Israeli assault on the Gaza Strip from 27/12/2008 to 18/1/2009 as Turkey is considered as one of the most accepted parties by the different forces in conflict in the region especially Hamas and Israel, the west and what is known as the moderate countries and the Arab opposition. In addition, Turkey is a temporary member of the Security Council and NATO and is able, through its relations with Hamas, to express
Hamas’s views to the other sides. The Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan expressed his willingness to carry out this task.

Erdogan said that Israel is responsible for the assault on the Gaza strip. He believed that Israel did not respect the terms of truce despite of the commitment from Hamas side. However, Erdogan also held Hamas some responsibility due to launching rockets at Israeli settlements that ignited the tension. But he said that the Israeli response was disproportionate to what Hamas had carried out. He stated that the Israeli position during the assault was inhumane, unjust and unacceptable calling to stop the Israeli raids and condemning what he saw as a blow to the Arab-Israeli peace initiatives and also urging the UN Security Council to intervene as soon as possible.
The Turkish government announced the freezing of mediation between Syria and Israel with regards to the peace process. Erdogan stated from Damascus on 30/12/2008 after his meeting with the Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad that the Israeli aggression on Gaza ended all efforts to achieve peace in the region. He stressed after his meeting with the Egyptian President on 1/1/2009 the necessity to reach a ceasefire immediately, as well as lifting the siege and to allow humanitarian aid to pass through Gaza. Erdogan also called on Hamas to stop launching rockets. He also announced on 5/1/2009 that he would not contact any Israeli official until Israel gives a real signal of accepting a cease fire. Because of Israel’s refusal of the UN Security Council resolution 1860 that called for an immediate cease-fire in the Gaza strip, Erdogan called for preventing Israel from entering the UN Headquarters and he accused some Western European countries of double standards for not taking action when Israel launched its aggression on the Gaza Strip as rapidly as they did when conflict broke out in Georgia regarding South Ossetia.
The Turkish website “Hurriyet” stated that the Turkish Foreign Minister Ali Babacan told his Israeli counterpart Tzipi Livini that: “Our doors are open but you must talk about ceasefire conditions if you wish to come to Turkey.” He confirmed that the cutting of relations with Israel to appease some parties or in the name of populist tendencies will do harm to the region.

Turkey also presented its vision of the possibility of reaching a ceasefire through a political initiative that mixes between reaching an immediate ceasefire and political steps to confirm it on the ground. The Turkish newspaper “Sabah” in its issue on 3/1/2009 reported that Erdogan presented a suggestion of a road map to the leaders of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority based on two stages: to secure an immediate ceasefire in Gaza in order to return to the truce and to open the way for aid to reach the Palestinians so as to pave the way for the resumption of peace negotiations by deploying international peacekeeping forces in Gaza and the restoration of the truce between Hamas and Israel.
The Turkish Foreign Minister, Ali Babican, mentioned during his meeting with his Syrian counterpart Waleed Al-Muallem on 5/1/2009 that Ankara is seeking to reach to a ceasefire providing the presence of international observers. A senior official in the Turkish foreign ministry said that Turkey is committed to its vision and that any cease fire should balance between a military and political solution so that the cease fire will be able to hold.

Following the announcement of a ceasefire between the two sides: the Israelis on 17/1/2009 and the Palestinians on 18/1/2009, Turkish Prime Minister Advisor, Ahmed Davotouglo, stated that Hamas had declared the ceasefire upon the request of Turkey.

On the other hand, Babican rejected charges that Ankara supports everything Hamas carries out adding that Ankara always advises Hamas that the solution
should not be a military one and that it should search for democratic solutions. However, Babican saw that it is not possible to ignore Hamas in the efforts to seek peace in the region.

Turkish President Abdallah Gul stressed on the necessity of all countries to work on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state that can live side by side with Israel adding that that the aim now is to “make sure that the ceasefire be maintained between the two sides, be permanent and that Israel withdraw completely from the Gaza Strip.”

Erdougan also expressed his country’s readiness to send civilian international observers to the Gaza strip in order to maintain the ceasefire if Palestinians request so ruling out sending Turkish forces to the Gaza Strip. He also stressed the importance of working towards a comprehensive solution to the Palestinian Issue calling for a political plan that will include all Palestinian parties including Hamas in order to work on reaching a political solution to the Palestinian Issue.
وفي 29/1/2009 انسحب أردوغان من منتدى دافوس الاقتصادي في سويسرا احتجاجا على منعه من التعليق على مداخلة رئيس الدولة الإسرائيلية شمعون بيريز بشأن الهجوم على غزة. وخطب أردوغان بيريز قائلا:

سيد بيريز أنت أكبر مني سناً، أشعر أنك ربما قد تشعر بالذنب قليلاً، لذلك ربما كنت عنيفاً، أن تذكر الأطفال الذين قتلوا على الشاطئ، وأذكر قول رئيسي وزراء من بلدكم إنهم يشعرون بالرد عن نفسيهما عندما يهاجم الفلسطينيين بالدبابات.... وأشعر بالحزن عندما يصف الناس لما تقوله بأن عدد كبيراً من الناس قد قتلوا، وأعتقد أنه من الخطأ، وغير الإنساني أن نصفق لعملية أسفرت عن مثل هذه النتائج.

أما على الصعيد الشعبي فقد هرعت المنظمات التركية الرسمية والمدنية الخيرية إلى غزة مع قوافل المساعدات، كما أوصلت مؤسسة الإغاثة الإسلامية التركية لإغاثة منظمة خيرية بارزة، المواد الغذائية والمعدات الطبية الضرورية إلى غزة، وأجرت الاستعدادات أيضاً لنقل الفلسطينيين الجرحى إلى إسطنبول للعلاج. كما لاقت الإعفاءات الإسرائيلية على قطاع غزة احتجاجات على نطاق أوسع في أنحاء مختلفة من تركيا، وألغى احتفال كبير في إسطنبول عشية السنة الجديدة تضامناً مع غزة. وجمع عشرات الآلاف من الأشخاص احتجاجاً على العدوان الإسرائيلي على الفلسطينيين في 4/1/2009، وأدعت هذه التظاهرة على التلفزيونات الفضائية العربية الكبرى.

كان العدوان الإسرائيلي على قطاع غزة علامة فارقة في تزايد الدعم التركي الشعبي والرسمي للقضية الفلسطينية، وفي توجيه انتقادات حادة للسلوك الإسرائيلي، وفي المطالبة بفك الحصار عن قطاع غزة، واحترام إرادة الشعب الفلسطيني الذي انتخب حماس. غير أن المؤتمر التركي ظل محكوماً باستمرار تبنيه للمسار العربي الرسمي و موقفه من التسوية، وفي مراعاة تحالفه مع الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، وعلاقاته ب"إسرائيل"، ورغبته في الدخول في الاتحاد الأوروبي.
On 29/1/2009, Erdogan walked out of the Davos Economic Forum in Switzerland in protest at preventing him from commenting on the speech of President Shimon Peres regarding the Gaza offensive. Erdogan addressed Peres saying:

Mr. Peres, you are older than me, I feel that you might feel a little guilty, so maybe you're violent. I remember the children who were killed on the beach, and I remember the words of two prime ministers from your country that they feel good about themselves when attacking Palestinians with tanks ....... I feel sad when people applaud when you say that a large number of people have been killed and I think it's wrong and inhumane to applaud an operation that led to such results.

At the popular level, official and civil Turkish charity organizations rushed to Gaza with aid convoys. The Turkish Islamic Relief Organization, as a prominent charitable organization, delivered food and the necessary medical equipment to Gaza and made preparations for the transfer of wounded Palestinians to Istanbul for treatment. The Israeli assaults on the Gaza strip were met with large protests in different parts of Turkey and a major new year eve ceremony in Istanbul was canceled in solidarity with Gaza. Also, tens of thousands of people protested against the Israeli assault on Palestinians in Gaza on 4/1/2009. This event was broadcasted on major Arab satellite channels.

The Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip led to significant increase of popular and official Turkish support for the Palestinian Cause, sharp criticism of Israel’s behavior, calls to end the siege on the Gaza strip and calls for the
respect of the will of Palestinians who elected Hamas. However, the Turkish stance remained limited to its continued adoption of the official Arab position towards the peace settlement and took into consideration its alliance with the US, its relations with Israel and its desire to join the European Union.

7. The assault on the Freedom Flotilla:

In the morning of Monday 31/5/2010, special forces of the Israeli Marine carried out two military operations. The first was the objection of the Freedom Flotilla convoy of ships that was heading to the Gaza Strip and the second was the collective –selective murdering of Turkish activists that resulted in the killing of nine Turks and the injury of tens of solidarity activists.

Fجر الاعتداء الإسرائيلي على أسطول الحرية أزمة حادة في العلاقات بين تركيا وإسرائيل، حيث بادرت تركيا إلى سحب سفيرها من إسرائيل كما استدعت وزير خارجيتها السفير الإسرائيلي للاتحاج على الاعتداء، وعلقت الرحلات السياحية البحرية مع إسرائيل، ودعت إلى اجتماع عاجل لمجلس الأمن.

وأعلن نائب رئيس الحكومة التركية بولنت أردوغان أن بلاده قررت إلغاء ثلاث مناورات عسكرية مع إسرائيل ودان الرئيس التركي عبد الله غول الهجوم الذي حمله عدداً مرتفعاً للفئات الدولية ووجه أردوغان انتقادات شديدة للهجة إلى إسرائيل، حيث وصف حكومتها بأنها وقحة، وتشكل دملاً مفتوح في طريق السلام الإقليمي داعياً إلى معاقبتها على المجزرة الدموية التي ارتكبها، وعذ الاعتداء هجوماً دنيئاً.
The Israeli assault on the freedom fleet caused a big crisis in Turkish Israeli relations. Turkey withdrew the Turkish ambassador from Israel, the Turkish Foreign Ministry called for the Israeli ambassador to object at the aggression, all sea tourism trips with Israel were cancelled and Turkey called for an urgent Security Council meeting.

The Turkish Deputy PM, Bulent Aric, stated that his country has decided to cancel three military training operations with Israel and the Turkish President Abdullah Ghul denounced this attack which he considered as a breach of international law.

Erdogan also sharply criticized Israel and described its government as vulgar and as an obstacle to regional peace calling to punish Israel for the bloody massacre it carried out. He considered the attack as disgusting and as a heavy blow to the face of human conscience. He warned Israel from testing Turkish patience stressing that however strong Turkish friendship may be, its enmity is even stronger. He also called on Israel to immediately lift the siege off Gaza which he promised his continued support.
On the Israel side, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu rejected a proposal by the UN Secretary General Ban Ki mon to form an international investigation committee into the Freedom Flotilla massacre claiming that Israel is seeking an objective investigation and labeling yet again the Freedom Flotilla activists as terrorists.

Oglo confirmed that the relations between Ankara and Tel Aviv depend on the acceptance by Israel of the proposal presented by the Islamic Conference Organization of forming an international investigation committee in cooperation with the UN.

Oglo expected that Israel would accept this committee and mentioned that any discouraging steps by Israel towards this committee will give Turkey open choices first of which will be to withdraw the Turkish ambassador from Israel.
Meanwhile, Turkey rejected an interior committee “Terkal committee” formed by Israel to investigate into the Israeli assault on the Freedom Flotilla stressing that Turkey does not trust this committee.

Despite the announcement of the Turkish National Defense Minister Mohammed Wjdi Ghonol on 6/6/2010, that Turkey will not stop the cooperation in defense with Israel. The Turkish – Israeli relations became worst and the Turkish Air Force canceled a deal of Israeli air industries and Elbit Cistims Company to buy drones worth $ 180 million on 14/6/2010. In addition, Turkey has suspended 16 agreements with the Israeli government.

وفي 27/8/2010 رفضت السلطات التركية السماح لطائرة نقل تابعة للجيش الإسرائيلي من العبور فوق أراضيها، مما اضطر الطائرة لتغيير مسارها الجوي. وأفادت مصادر دبلوماسية تركية بأن الحكومة التركية تدرس إصدار قرار بهذا الشأن يمنع الطيران العسكري الإسرائيلي من استخدام المجال الجوي التركي رداً على رفض إسرائيل تنفيذ المطالب التركية الثلاثة المتعلقة بالاعتداء على أسطول الحرية.

وأكد أوردوغان خلال لقاء صحفي في أعقاب قمة مجموعة العشرين في تورينتو، المطالب التركية وهي: الاعتراف وتشكيل لجنة تحقيق دولية والتعويض عن الأضرار، ومن بينها مصادرة السفن التي ترفع العلم التركي التي كانت متجهة إلى قطاع غزة، وأخيراً الرفع الكامل للحظر المفروض على قطاع غزة.

وقال: نريد اعترافاً وأن يتم رفع الحظر.
On 27/08/2010, the Turkish authorities did not allow to Israeli army warplane to cross over its territory. And forcing the plane to change its direction. According Turkish diplomatic sources the Turkish government is considering issuing in order to prevent the Israeli airline military to use Turkish airspace. That as a response to Israel’s refusal to implement the three Turkish demands which relating to the attack on the Freedom Flotilla. During press meeting followed the 20th of group summit in Toronto, confirmed the Turkish demands, apology, formation an international investigation committee and compensation on damages including the confiscation vessels that lifting the Turkish flag which were heading towards Gaza strip. And finally a complete lifting for embargo on Gaza strip and said we need an apology and lifting the embargo.

However, Israel refused to produce apology for Turkey, where Netanyahu stressed that his country cannot apologize because its soldiers had to defend themselves to escape from beaten process that might lead to death. The Israeli ministry Avigdor Lieberman saw that Israel's international standing will suffer greatly. If Israel produces apology to Turkey as a result of the events of a convoy of ships or compensation payment to those injured in these events so International Israel's position will hurt a lot.
On 1/7/2010, a sudden meeting between the Turkish foreign minister Ahmed Daoood Oghlo and the Israeli minister of industry and Trade Benjamin Ben-Eliezer in Brussels was held. Oghlo mentioned that meeting as requested from. The Turkish foreign spoke man Ozu Grgin confirmed the two ministers discussed the current situation for the relations between Turkey and Israel. And according to information of the Turkish newspaper Huryat persuade to Turkish foreign sources, the Turkish minister reiterated in the meeting Ankara request to prouce apology for the maritime aggression and compensation and the formation of an international independent investigation committee and to lift the siege on Gaza.
On 5/7/2010, the Turkish ministry of defense will not participate in Mermaid Maneuvers which takes place in the Mediterranean sea in August every year with Israeli and American naval cutter. And these Maneuvers Consider in the Nautical of relief.

In the Israeli ignorance for Turkish's requests Oghlo said Israel knows the penalties that will apply from Turkey on it in order to avoid cutting relations. If Israel refused to implement Turkish demands. He added unless Israeli government forms an international investigation committee, and recognize in this crime and to apologize and also pay compensation. Oghlo stressed without the implementation of these two conditions there will not be returning to Israeli – Turkish relations as its previous position. Moreover, he clarified Turkey has the right to impose sanctions on Israel from one side and Israel should know well that these sanctions. And he said "I cannot reveal what I told them behind closed doors (in reference to Burssele meeting with Binyamin Ben Eliaizr)."
On 24/7/2010, the Human Rights Council of the United Nations appointed experts committee for investigation and fact – finding pursuant to request of case violations of international laws and the Israeli aggression on freedom flotilla, but Israel refused to cooperate with the committee. The Israeli government spoke man  Ofer Gentelman said his country does not see the credibility of the bard of foundation. He explained Israel formed two military and governmental investigation committees. In addition, there is no need for a third committee. However , statement was issued from Netanyahu’s office on 3/8/2010 considered  that the Israeli government would be willing to convey to the international committee all prepared reports of that were prepared by the Israeli examination committee , and it will not to allow viewing any of its soldier or officers to investigate before the committee .
In addition, on 9/8/2010 Netanyahu testified before the Terkal committee. He said the minister of defense Ehud Barak is the only title for this subject and the Israeli army formed to face the flotilla and control of the ships. During his testify before the committee Ehud Barak took a full responsibility of the freedom flotilla events.

The chief of army staff Gabi Ashkenazi said during his testify before the committee he personally assumes responsibility of all operations that carried out by Israeli army. Considering that the process of interception for freedom Flotilla is correct, apopitiate and moral process.

And after the confession of Israeli leadership before the commission, the spoke man of the Secretariat of the United Nations Martin Nsirci said , that the commission doesn’t intend to determine the criminal liability for a certain
individuals. In what appeared a new retreat for the benefit to non-charge or identity a criminal responsible for any Israelis. And said the primary task is to review the investigations were conducted by Israeli and Turkish authorities and made recommendations on how to avoid such incidents in the future. He clarified the commission will provide a primary report in the middle of the next September. Even the commission should finish its work in the middle of February in 2011. That means the Turkish–Israeli relations will not improve and will remain hostage to the situation prior to the meet Turkish conditions and consider the result of International investigation.

The position of the freedom flotilla forms the Turkish initiative importantly towards Arab world, and the fact that the initiative brought attention back to the Palestinian Issue. In addition, it stirred the stagnant international waters in the American silence for facing of radical right–wing government in Israel. In addition, the initiative characterized in Turkish Foreign with several attributes with additives of effectiveness and positive and was the most important. Turkish initiative is characterized with its positive toward Arab causes in general and Palestinian Issue in special.
Conclusion

Since the Ottoman Empire, Turkey has associated with Levant within the religious concept for the rule, and as an extension for the history and Islamic civilization. Ottoman Empire worked to strengthen its relation with the region through religious duty that requires the prevention of the holy places and work to develop them especially in Palestine.

After the receded of Ottoman rule after the World Two and appeared the secularists were led by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Turkey started a new era depending on the secularism principles and renouncing from Islam world. In addition, resorted to the Civilian constitution on Western – style world, and resorting to the Constitution of the Western-style civil.
After this transformation, the Turkish military institution has become the strongest element within the system of making decision under the banner of the protection of State secularism, and the protection of belonging to the western according to the Turkish model. In spite of the presence of national base that related to Islamic as it appeared through events and development.


Turkey was the first Islamic country that recognized of Israel and worked on developing its relations with it on all levels especially on Military and intelligence level. Also on the trade, industrial and environmental resources levels.

Moreover, its attempting to break away from Islamic world that support the Shah rule in Iran that formed a triple hub to face any Arab or Islamic regional power that was possible to set up at this time.

It can be counted the political transition towards the Palestinian Issue in modern Turkey appeared with the beginning of rising the Islamists to power. When Necmettin Erbakan and the welfare party came to the power.

In spite of the entrance of the Turkish Military Institution to protect the secularism in order to remove the welfare party from the power, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) was able to come to the power depending on wide-national base. This party headed towards the east depending on the success that achieved on at the economic and the tendencies of the Turkish people to the European Stall for the joint Turkey to the European Union (EU). The AKP Party also benefited from the paper to join to European Union in order to limit the influence of the military institution on the Political Turkish life and grabbing the chance of the weakness in the secular Turkish political parties.
The AKP party was met with the popular Sympathy that reject the Israeli crimes and invasions against the Palestinian nation which promoted the Turkish politicians to take a critical encourage bold position for the Israeli policies that welcomed from Islamic, Arab and Palestinian people.

And to strengthen its role as a regional power that cannot exceed. Moreover, it had role in the political compromise that has presence on the internal Palestinian arena, especially its attempts to end the Palestinian division. In addition, that calls to give a chance for Hamas to merge in the international community strongly powering with the strength of democracy and the ballot box.

Here we must ask the question, whether the AKP party was able to hold the trump card in the pace of regional alliances and the susceptibility and failure to American and Israeli in the region. In addition, to resort the glory to the Ottoman Empire and make Turkey as the strongest regional country agreed upon all parties.
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