CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Turkish recognition on the independence of Israel can be considered as the bridge to connect the relations between Turkey and Israel since the recognition on Israel is about sovereignty of a state. This phenomenon took place a year after Israel's declaration on its independence in 1948. Turkey is included as one of states which admitted Israel as a sovereign state in the early of its independence. This recognition became a historical moment because it made Islamic world questioning Turkey's foreign policy at that time. Israel's expansion to drive out some of Palestinian citizens to gain wider land became the main issue why Islamic world questioned toward Turkey's recognition in 1949. Moreover, Turkey is well known as a muslim nation due to the historical background of Turkish Empire or Ottoman Turkey. Furthermore, Turkish population is muslim majority (Kosebalaban, 2010).

Whereas the status of Turkey as one of muslim majority nations which also had important role in the Islamic world, Israel could utilize this situation to reach one of their foreign policy's goals to be more recognized by other states in the beginning of their independence. As a new independent state, Israel must seek friendly states as many as possible to recognize their sovereignty. This was what Israel did in the first beginning of their life. It was not enough for Israel to be

recognized by the western states. They had to expand their influence in order to be recognized by many states, especially the Islamic states. Therefore, Turkey's recognition cost was really expensive for Israel because it could increase their confidence to face Islamic world. Having relations with Turkey also benefited Israel's army to have military training since the geography of Israel had no enough land for their military training. Turkey provided some of their areas for Israel military to exercise.

On the other hand, the advantages also could be felt by Turkey. Considered as one of muslim majority nations, Turkey seemed difficult to have relations with western states. By having relations with Israel, Turkey could be supported by Israel to have relations with European countries. In term of military, Turkey also got assistance from Israel which had sophisticated military technology. In the sector of economy, both states gained the benefits each other in term of trading (Cobben & Charles, 2014).

At first, Turkey – Israel bilateral relations was not about their ambassadors' exchange, but their relations was about their foreign affair ministers' exchange (Israeli, 2001). In the common diplomatic relations, structurally, an ambassador is actually under the minister of foreign affair even though he is also the right-hand of a President who is responsible to report the information, protecting the citizens who live abroad, state's representation, initiating resolutions, and increasing the relations between host and home state (Widagdo & Widhiyanti, 2008). This common function was not used in the beginning of Turkey – Israel relations at

that time as ministers of foreign affair of both states had to bring two big responsibilities as ministers and ambassadors.

By using uncommon style of diplomatic relations which acted their ministers as diplomats, Turkey and Israel could keep their relations for long time before they finally were in the first lowest level of relations in 1980. The cause of the decreasing relations was that Knesset violated Islamic world. They expanded their territory by attacking Palestine citizens. They regarded all of Jerusalem areas as their territory. To see violation that Israel did, Turkey broke up the minister level of relations. It was a bit dilemma situation for Turkey since Israel was an important state to back up Turkey's position to convince western states that they could have relations with non – Islamic world. On the other hand, Turkey should respect Palestine as their brother in the Islamic world which needed to be backed up. Fortunately, the relations between Turkey and Israel recovered in 1985, no longer after its decreasing level of relations (Israeli, 2001).

Long term history of relations between Turkey and Israel, their full diplomatic relations was actually agreed in 1991. That was the time when both states exchanged their ambassadors for the first time. This situation was the symbol showing that those states plan to build serious relations in the future. That year was also becoming the year where both states elites visited each other. After the agreement on their full diplomatic relations, Israeli president, Chaim Herzog went to visit Turkey. In 1993, Israeli foreign minister, Shimon Peres came and extended Israel's citizens' big condolence for the Turkish president, Turgut Ozal who passed away. Israeli elites' visit was replied by Ankara elite's visit. Turkey's

foreign minister visited Israel to discuss about the agreement on cultural thing. Afterwards, many of Turkey's elites came to Israel, starting from the government to parliamentary level (Israeli, 2001). A visit which was conducted by elites, politically, had important meaning. Both states seemed willing to tell the international political leaders that they had tight relations. This full diplomatic relations increased both states' co-operations such as strengthening their enforcement of law, politics, social, economy, strategy and security.

Unfortunately, in 2001, political situation change occurred in both states domestic politics where Likud Party was in power, while in 2003, one of the Turkish parties, Justice and Development Party (AKP) gained their power in Turkey (Akgün, Gündoğar , & Görgülü, 2014). This situation made both states' relations became in an unstable condition. One of Likud Party leaders who also became Israeli Prime minister in 2001, Ariel Sharon, created a new foreign policy for Turkey. Ankara which was represented by AKP leaders in the government answered Israeli policy by increasing their tight relations with some of neighbor states such as Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon which had war experience with Israel. Fortunately, this unstable situation did not create worse condition in which they had to withdraw their ambassadors. Instead, both states increased their trade slowly but surely, and it developed their economic sector. It can be seen from the proving data of the growth of their bilateral relations. Since 1996 – 2008, Turkey - Israel had been able to keep their trading to gain more benefits. Starting from 1996 – 2002, they could increase their income from $449m to $1.2b, and it grew up 14.6% in average each year until 2008. Furthermore, in 2006, Israeli foreign

minister politically argued that it was the best year for both states to build relations (Olson, 2013). This was a unique relation implemented by both states which in some parts, they backed up each other. However, on the other side, they seemed like enemies.

After keeping tight relations and increasing their trading income for long time, the incident of Mavi Marmara in 2010 impacted on the relations between Turkey and Israel. It seemed like breaking the trust in every single agreement built by both states. Ankara could not tolerate this accident then withdrawing their ambassador. In the diplomatic communication, calling the ambassador can be considered as breaking the diplomatic ties between the two states. Both Turkey and Israel had their justification responding the accident of Mavi Marmara in 2010. In the Israeli side, the groups which handle this program, IHH and its allies are dangerous groups since they have network with terrorist group. For Turkey, the blockade is the real terrorism action. As Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan strongly inveighed toward Israeli commandos' action (The New York Times, 2010).

Mavi Marmara is actually the name of Turkish ship for Gaza humanitarian aids. In 2010, the ships brought many kinds of humanitarian aids for Palestinians such as medicine for first aid, food, and clothes. This accident then was well known as Mavi Marmara incident due to the conflict between Israeli military and Turkish volunteers happened in this ship. This incident was caused by the misunderstanding of both states to overcome this issue. Israel provided a place for Turkish ship to be screened and transferred to Gaza. This is the procedure made

by Israel for every single aid given to Gaza. On the other side, Turkish volunteers rejected this procedure regarding their claim on their humanitarian aid which could be categorized as the protected and freedom ship to be transferred to Gaza (Sekulow, Turkey - Israel Relations). Unfortunately, Israeli military could not tolerate this action, and they suddenly attacked the ship. There were ten of Turkish citizens who became the victims of this tragedy. A week after this incident, exactly on June 7th, 2010, Turkey announced to stop the agreements which were created by both states. There was an attempt to have meeting between both states' foreign ministers to solve this problem. There was no significant result of that meeting, because Israel did not want to apologize to the victims which became the main requirement to solve it (Archy World News, 2016).

Historically, Turkey and Israel had not ever broken off their relations for long time since their first relations. In term of politics, economic, military, strategic and social, both states need each other. Israel will be always middle-east states' enemy if they do not gain support from Turkey. In looking for their European Union full membership, it is important for Turkey to get support from Israel as well. It will be difficult for Turkey if Israel does not back them up because Israel always supports Turkey in the human rights issue. When most of Israeli citizens got difficulties to travel to middle-east states, Turkey was the first state which provided Israeli citizens to visit their state.

In the unstable relations starting the incident of Mavi Marmara in 2010, diplomatically, Turkey downgraded their diplomatic ties with Israel by calling their ambassador from Tel-Aviv on September 2nd, 2011 (Turkey appoints

ambassador to Israel, 2016). Their lowest level of relations really took place for around 2 years only because both states actually began to rebuild their relations starting in 2013 where Netanyahu agreed to apology. The apology done by Netanyahu signed the open dialogue from both states' elites. This apology could make those conflicting states restore soon (Sherwood & MacAskill, 2013). It was proven 3 years after the apology. The restoration of full diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel was finally announced by both head of states and government on June 27th, 2016, followed by some of agreements. Six-year hope of full diplomatic restoration was finally reached in Rome. These situations sign that both states need each other, and it is an urgent need.

The restoration between Turkey and Israel was not taken for granted. There were a lot of factors which were contributed to reach the normalizations. Besides fulfilling the Turkish requirements for Israel, Turkish domestic security situation and international security situation were involved to gain the agreement as well. The internal and external security of Turkey became their main reason to conduct the restoration with Israel. Since 2010, Turkish domestic security was in threats. The bombing which took place in Turkey was one of examples which injured Turkish domestic security. Besides the domestic instability condition, the international security situation also influenced the restoration. Turkish international security was also facing dilemmatic situation in 2015. Russia as one of Turkish best partners gave sanction to Turkey after the case of downing on Russian warplane (World leaders react to Turkey's downing of Russian jet, 2015). Turkey – Russian relations was getting down when Turkish army shot Russian

warplane which aimed to help Syrian government to fight against rebellions'
group. That phenomenon made Turkish perception about the restoration with
Israel became their priority to stabilize the situations.

Even though both states, Turkey and Israel, finally agreed to restore their full
diplomatic relations in the middle of 2016, in the case of Turkey and Israel
restoration there are still some groups which showed their unsatisfied action by
protesting toward this agreement. The majority groups which rejected this
normalization are caused by their dissatisfaction of their government final result.
The groups are not only a domestic group which is derived from Turkey but also
the international group which protests for it.

One of the domestic groups which protests toward this agreement is İnsan Hak
ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı (IHH). This group struggles for justice
which should be gotten for the victims of Mavi Marmara accident. The President
of IHH, Bülent Yıldırım supports the court to run the execution for the justice
although the restoration between Turkey and Israel are reached. He added that the
blood of Mavi Marmara victims could not be changed by paying the
compensation. Money cannot replace the volunteers' death. Therefore, IHH will
always reject the agreement before the justice has not been achieved (İnsan Hak
ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı, 2016).

The other rejection of the agreement on restoration of full diplomatic relation
between Turkey and Israel also comes from the Palestinian BDS National
Committee (BNC). This group or organization represents international group

which does not support on the agreement. Beside this organization, one of the biggest organizations in Palestine, Hamas is also the organization which also rejects Turkey – Israel restoration since Hamas' leaders claimed that they were not involved in the negotiation. This refusal makes Turkey in the dilemmatic situation. On one side, Turkey has tight relations with those groups which reject the normalization. On the other side, the restoration is needed to maintain Turkish stability, especially in term of their security (The Electronic Intifada, 2016).

B. Research Question

From the description and explanation of the chronological events between Turkey and Israel above, the research question can be formulated as follow: **"Why did Turkey agree to conduct its restoration on full diplomatic relations to Israel on June 27th, 2016?"**

C. Theoretical Framework

Theory and concept are needed to answer the research question in order to strengthen the statement of the answer. The first concept that is being used is the concept of normalization in order to analyze the phenomenon. This concept is used to explain the reason of both states' agreement on full diplomatic relations restoration. The second uses Constructivism theory which is used to support the first theory to explain the reason between Turkey and Israel conducted their full diplomatic relations.

1. Normalization

According to Ethan Zawatsky and Ashley Gemma in their article under the title Diplomatic Normalization between the US and Cuba in Light of Recent Changes in US Foreign Policy More Generally argues that

> Normalization process is the consistent starting and stopping of dialogue, how relations became abnormal, and the act of reestablishing diplomatic ties through leadership initiatives, follows through to current processes occurring (2015, p. 16).

In a simple way, Ted Piccone wrote an article under the title United States-Cuba Normalizations: Strategic Implications for U.S. National Security define that "normalization process, which is designed, after all, to employ dialogue and negotiation to prevent and manage such problem" (2015, p. 10).

The opening dialogue can be the way of conflicting states which breakdown the diplomatic ties to normalize their relations. In a such situation, the talk between the conflicting states is important to reach the normalization in order to solve the problem soon. Normalization aims to create a trouble situation into a normal situation where communication between the states can be maintained as usual. The elite of governmental leaders can initiate the dialogue since they are the representative of state to run the government and have authority to do so.

In the case of Turkey – Israel restoration after six year downgrading diplomatic ties caused by Israeli troops which attacked the Turkish volunteers on humanitarian aid to Palestine, the first dialogue was actually began by Turkey. The normalization actually could happen soon when Israel agreed on the

conditions of the normalization proposed by Turkey to Israel right after the Mavi Marmara accident occurred.

Turkey which is officially represented by Erdogan as the President requested three pre-requirements to restore the downgrade relation, those are: official pardon from Israeli government, paying the compensation for the family who become the victims in this flotilla incident, and open the blockade in Gaza which becomes the main condition of this dialogue (Arbell, 2016). This is the first effort of Turkey to normalize their relation with Israel. By telling such conditions above, Israel could understand and it can ease both sides to continue the next talks.

In the dialogue to normalize the downgrade relations of conflicting states need a consistency. It cannot be done just once to gain the restoration. After the beginning talk conducted by Turkey through giving three conditions, Israel represented by PM Benjamin Netanyahu finally gave his official apology to the victims (Keinon, 2013). There must be many considerations for Netanyahu to finally apologize as he called Erdogan in 2013 which means after 3 years Turkish given conditions. Even though it was categorized as late response, on the other hand, this was actually the starting point of the agreement which can be finally reached.

From the definitions of normalization above which is also being related with the issue of Turkey – Israel restoration, the concept of normalization can be implemented to analyze the process of restoration on full diplomatic relations

between Turkey and Israel. The analysis of this issue is also considered by the initiatives of both states' leaders to have the dialogue to manage problem.

2. Constructivism

For Alexander Wendt, students of international relations must understand that constructivism has two basic principles; those are:

> That the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature (Wendt, 1999).

Alexander Wendt is one of constructivism thinkers. There are a lot of various constructivism theories. In 1999, Wendt developed his constructivism purposing to analyze international system. For Wendt, constructivism becomes the serious problem in analyzing international system, especially on social and construction side. In term of social, domestic politics is determined by norms and law while self-interest and coercion looks like governing the international politics. The existence of international law and institution seems useless due to the lack of their ability to restrain the material base of power and interest. Therefore, international system was claimed not as a social place due to their support to materialism. In term of construction, individuals on the society have bigger role in shaping their identity rather than the states because of their interaction process. In creating foreign policy behavior, it is often considered by domestic politics. Finally, the problem emerges when the substance of social structure of international system was decreased for the arguments of constructivism.
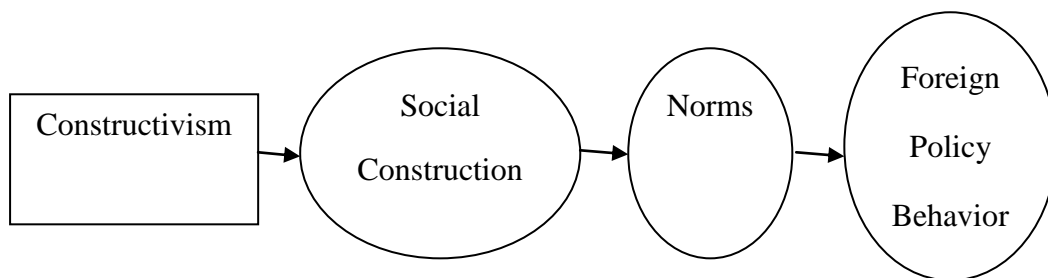
Figure 1.1– The Relations between Norm and Actor's Behavior

Source: *Wendt, Alexander. 1999. Social Theory of International Politics. Cambridge University Press*

It can be seen in figure 1 that constructivism is shaped by the social construction. How society can make perception is influenced by the interaction among people who share their idea. This shared knowledge created norms which initiates interest and identity to be constructed. Norms is a supra-structure which builds the foreign policy behavior of a state. For Wendt, norms are defined as shared of belief which may or may not be built behavior depending on their strength. Norms can influence the behavior of a state if it is constructed (Wendt, 1999).

In its correlation with the international system, constructivism believes that international political system is shaped by social construction. This international system is not taken for granted. The social construction through interaction awareness between structure and agent in which people communicate one another invents or creates this system. From the changes of social – politics interaction among people, this system was shaped.

This interaction process is affected by the basic foundations of social construction; those are shared knowledge, material resource, and practice. The

first discussion is about shared knowledge or idea. This process shapes an actors'

perception whether they can be partner or enemy. The security dilemma and

security community can be the examples. A security dilemma means a situation

where states do not believe one another. They always have bad perception toward

others that every state has their interest to be self-help. The era of cold war could

be the example where Russia and U.S. increased their sophisticated military

equipment to show their power. Meanwhile, a security community is the opposite

of security dilemma where they claim that states are trustable. Their perception is

that the international problem can be done without any war. The second is about

material resources. These depend on the state sees others as enemy or partner. The

same as the huge number of Turkish military missiles as not as danger as the

small number of North Korean military missiles for U.S.. The third is about

practice. It means the social construction is a process. The competition between

Russia and U.S. in the cold war was about the power relations. However, it was

done when both states stopped their action (Wendt, 2008).

From the interaction, it will reach what so called global collective norms such

as norm against colonization, norm against coerciveness, norm against using

military power to attack others, and norm against violation which direct a state to

follow, and it can be their interest and identity. By these global collective norms,

states indirectly agree that violation is not justified anymore. They have to

implement the global collective norms into their foreign policy.

Talking about Constructivism, it is not complete without explaining about the

concepts of constructivism. Norms, Ideas, and Identity are the concepts which are

often used by the constructivists to characterize a phenomenon. These concepts purpose to make people understand easily about a characteristic of social factors which are often changed. Without these concepts, constructivism is a meaningless theory which cannot be used to analyze.

According to Peter J. Katzenstein, norms describe collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors with a given identity (1996, p. 3). Katzenstein argues that norms characterize regulative and constitutive functions. Regulative function means norms as a principle which can give an advice of behavior standard. Meanwhile, constitutive function purposes to explain about the kind of behavior itself. The simplest way to explain both functions is by using a game analogy. When people want to play a game such as chess, there must be a regulation to rule. Furthermore, constitution of the game is needed to answer their movement (Griffiths & O'Callaghan, 2002).

For constructivism, besides norms, idea is the most important part of the constructivism theory. Idea becomes the fundamental part to create a distribution of power toward international system. Idea shapes interest of a state. Toward this interest, a state can decide their foreign policy to other states. Constructivists consider idea to have significant role in international system since the power is shared by social basis rather than materialistic. This statement rejects realist perception about intangible power which can influence the international system.

To strengthen the analysis of a phenomenon in the international world, the concept of identity, together with interest, is functioned to define the behavior of

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state. State must understand their interest before they implement their foreign policy. To understand their interest, they must know their identity because interest and identity are related each other. According to Peter Katzenstein's argumentation, identity is constructions of nation- and statehood (1996, p. 3). By understanding the identity, a state can understand how it act and react toward the dynamic of international system.

Alexander Wendt wrote in his book under the title Social Theory of International Politics that identity is divided into four parts. The first part is personal or corporate identity; the second part is type identity; the third part is role identity, and the last but not least is collective identity. Each of this part has their characteristic which can complete the meanings one another.

Personal or corporate identity is constructed by each organization and structure which is different with others. In this part, Wendt analogies a state as an actor or person which has one tangible identity such as the shape of the regional area of a state. Personal or corporate identity also becomes the place for other identities like type identity. This kind of identity is called as identity social category which functions to name personal characteristic such as attitude, skills, knowledge and so on. In the context of state characteristic, a state can be labeled as democratic, capitalist, monarch or communist state. The other identity which is mentioned by Went is Role Identity. This identity is not given naturally. Otherwise, the occupation of a position creates this identity. A person can be call as a dentist or lecturer since he or she is in that position. The last but not least identity is collective identity. The combination between Role and Type identity is

resulting collective identity. This identity brings the relationship of many identities into one identity (Wendt, 1999).

In the internal of constructivism, there are some kinds of constructivism theory such as systemic constructivism, unit – level constructivism, and holistic constructivism. These branches of constructivism have their focus of analysis. The function is to ease a researcher to divide a phenomenon using one of the constructivism branches to analysis. Related to the discussion, these are the variants of constructivism:

1. **Systemic Constructivism**

Systemic Constructivism is a part of Constructivism theory which agrees on neo-realism perspective. This perspective believes on 'third-image' perspective, or their concern is in the interaction among states actor of international system. This theory does not concern in the domestic political system. Besides focusing on the international political realm, this kind of constructivism argues that state's social identity is constructed by international normative and ideational factor. The example of systemic constructivism is well shared by Alexander Wendt through his thoughts about two kinds of identity which are social identity and corporate identity of state. Social identity characterizes status, role or personality that international society ascribes to a state (Burchill, et al., 2005). Meanwhile, corporate identity assumes that the internal human, material, ideological, or cultural factors construct a state as what it is.

2. Unit – Level Constructivism

The perspective of Unit – Level constructivism is the opposite of systemic constructivism theory. This theory focuses on the domestic norms, identity, and interest rather than concentrating on the international factors. The possibility of internal interaction to influence the domestic identity and interest can build the behavior of state, especially building on domestic political realm (Burchill, et al., 2005).
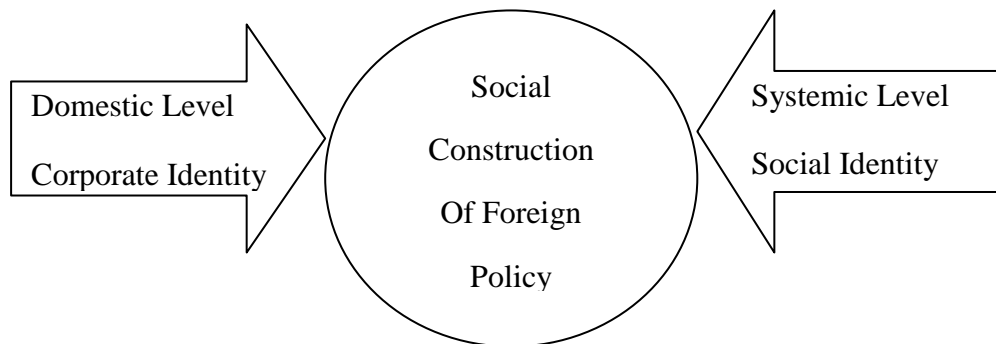
3. Holistic Constructivism

Figure 1.2 – The Relations between Domestic and Systemic Level

Source: *Nia, Mahdi Mohammad. 2011. A Holistic Constructivist Approach to Iran Foreign Policy. International Journal of Business and Social Science*

Last but not least, the variant of constructivism theory, Holistic Constructivism bonds between Systemic and Unit – Level constructivism. This perspective mobilizes identities and interests of states to handle the domestic and international as two parts of social and politics into one structure. The focus of Holistic Constructivism is on the accommodation toward domestic and international phenomenon to construct states' behavior to respond international system. Analyzing from the perspective on this kind of constructivism, the

decision of foreign policy is influenced by the interaction between domestic and international social environment (Nia, 2011).

Through the clear explanation above about constructivism, this theory is a proper one to be used to analyze the case of Turkey – Israel restoration. The concepts of norms, ideas, and identity are the tools to characterize the supra-structure of Turkey which agreed to normalize. The variants of constructivism such as Systemic Constructivism, Unit – Level Constructivism and especially Holistic Constructivism help so much in understanding the focus of Turkish behavior which influences their foreign policy.

In the case of Turkey - Israel restoration on full diplomatic relations, there are two urgent situations, domestic and International security situations which oblige Turkey to restore their diplomatic relations with Israel. In the domestic security condition of Turkey, it cannot be separated with the domestic norm in Turkey which is related with their secularism as their basic ideology. The separation between politics and religions becomes the main idea of Turkish secularism. Turkish secularism is different with some other countries' like western countries' secularism. Turkish secularism has been maintained by Turkish military since the era of Republic of Turkey in 1923 under Mustafa Kemal Atartur's control. Meanwhile, other countries are prevented by the elites of civil society. The downgrading on Turkey – Israel relations in 2010 made the level of Turkish domestic security reduced. The reduction was the impact of Turkey – Israel relations. Israel is well known as Turkish military partner in term of security due

to both states have strong relations in military realm. Therefore, the restoration is needed to overcome the situation of Turkish domestic security.

Besides Turkish unstable domestic security condition, Turkish international security condition also becomes the main reason why Turkey needs to restore the diplomatic relations with Israel. Talking about Turkish international norm, it has tight relations with Turkish international agreement on their international security. USA is one of the states which has international security agreement with Turkey. The agreement is like an umbrella for Turkey in normalizing their conflict in their international security problem. The declining on Turkey – Israel relations threated Turkish international security. It is important for Turkey to strengthen their international security after the international security issues befell Turkey. The downing on Russian jet in 2015 was one of the threats for Turkish international security. By agreeing on their full diplomatic relations, Turkey can also stabilize their international security realm. Therefore, looking at the explanation of the theory and the implementation of the case study related to the restoration on full diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel, Constructivism is the theory which is in line with the case study to analyze the issue.

D. Hypothesis

Through the explanation of the background and the theoretical framework, the hypothesis can be put as follow:

1. Turkey agrees to restore its diplomatic relations with Israel because the pressure of Turkish domestic norm.

2. Turkey agrees to restore its diplomatic relations with Israel because the pressure of international norm.

E. Scope of Research

The writer of this paper limits the scope of research from 2010 where the downgrading of diplomatic relations occurred to 2016 where Turkey and Israel reached a deal on restoration on full diplomatic relations. The conflict occurred between both states actually misunderstood in responding a problem. The limitation of time on the research is needed so that the explanation does not become wider which is not in line with the research.

F. Purpose of Research

The purposes of the research are as follows:

1. To explain to the reader about the restoration on Turkey - Israel diplomatic relations which becomes the central issue for those states.

2. To apply theories and concepts in International relations studies into the real political life.

3. To analyze the relations between Turkey and Israel that are controversial from the first time they built their relations.

G. Methodology

Qualitative method will be used to complete the analysis of this research. This method is used because it clearly explains in depth about the case study. The explanation of qualitative method is also given per part of the case. Therefore, it

will not make the case study into very general. Qualitative method characterizes itself as a method which believes that every case has different behavior with other cases. So, the purpose of this method is not to make the case into general explanation, but it makes the readers have understanding in depth about the case.

Qualitative method also makes the writer easy to verify the data and facts related to the reasons Turkey agrees to restore their full diplomatic relations with Israel. This method grows with the research of this case study since it can be proved scientifically by using collected proper data and facts. This method is also useful for the writer because it can correlate data and facts with the case.

In this research, the writer uses secondary data to be collected as the resources. The data used for writing this paper was derived from books, journals, newspapers, and also internet since the most update versions can be taken from them. Library research became the main method to be used to complete this research.

H. Outline

The description of the outline of this thesis consists of five parts which are mentioned as follow:

CHAPTER I highlights the background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, scope of research, purpose of research, and method of writing.

CHAPTER II explains about the dynamic of foreign policy between Turkey and Israel.

CHAPTER III describes the problems of the normalization process between Turkey and Israel

CHAPTER IV explains about the reason why Turkey agreed to restore its relations with Israel

CHAPTER V explains about the conclusion of all chapters