

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Despite being a Muslim-majority country, Turkey is known to maintain a good relation with Israel for decade. Turkey-Israel relation started in 1948 when Turkey became the first muslim-majority country to acknowledge Israeli independence. Turkey saw that Israel was a strong ally of the US and Turkey aimed to utilize Israel as medium for Turkey to channel its interest to the US. In 1950s, Turkey prioritized Israel for its great success in lobbying US to give Turkey US\$150 million financial aid. Previously, when Turkey bilaterally negotiate with US, this aid was not granted, not until Israel helped lobbying.

Israeli PM Ben-Gurion and Turkish PM Adnan Menderes negotiated diplomatic, economic, and military cooperation in 1958. Among that cooperation was an agreement to increase trade and industrialization, intelligence sharing, emergency planning action, and Turkey's support for Israel's military. The decade where Turkey-Israel relation was at its peak is in 1990s. The relation was not only open but deepening in every aspects. Both Turkey and Israel felt the common need to maintain security in the region, thus they both strengthen their relation by more frequent visit like in 1994 and 1996. In 1996 Turkey and Israel signed strategic cooperation and trade agreement. Turkey also increased the need of Israeli intelligence to help tracking the Kurdish rebels. Israel supplied weapons to Turkey, and Turkey allowed Israel to enter its air zone.

Other than military cooperation, Turkey and Israel also conducted economic cooperation during 1996 to 1998, which included free trade, technology investment, and scientific cooperation. The cooperation resulted in massive economic and trade value increase; from 1995 to 2015, Turkey's export to Israel increased by 10.38-fold, its import from Israel increased by 9.28-fold, and trade volume of the two countries increased by 9.93-fold. From tourism sector, the number of Israeli tourists visiting Turkey was also increasing annually from 235,000 in 1996-2000, to 324,000 in 2000-2006, and finally reached 500,000 in 2007-2008.

In 2000s, Turkey prohibited Israel from using its air zone to conduct military drill and operation. On June 18, 2010, Turkey stopped the military cooperation with Israel. On 2 september 2011, Turkey took decisive action to drive away and declared persona non grata against the Ambassador of Israel, along with the entire senior diplomats and lowers the status of diplomatic relations became the Secretary-level 2. The termination of the policy occurs at a time when AKP came to power in an era of Erdogan as Prime Minister and as Foreign Minister Ahmed. The Government of Turkey demanded that Israel immediately apologized and requested the International Court investigating immediately against the incident. But over time, Israel does not also act as desired so the Government decided Turkey's policy about military cooperation with Israel.

B. Research Questions

Based on the background explained above, a research question made is as follow: Why Turkey cut off the diplomatic ties with Israel in 2011?

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the research question above, there is one theory that will be applied, namely constructivism. Constructivism emerged to refuse neo-realism thought that interest-in this case power-is something constant. Country's interest is always trying to maximize its power. This interest emerged due to anarchy in the international structure as neo-realism consider anarchy is given. On the other hand, constructivism consider interest as something that is constructed by the agent or the country base on their identity and value, not because of the constant idea. Constructivism also consider anarchy not as something given but it's a social construction agreed by the agent (Wendt, 1992, hal. 73).

To explain about politics, constructivism has three main ontology prepositions that distinct it from the neorealism. First, as far as structure can shape actor's social and political behavior, individually and as a country, constructivism thinks that normative structure or ideational is as important as material structure. For constructivism, international structure is not just limited to the material structure, beyond that, there is countries interaction pattern that can't be explained by the material structure but the ideational structure. Neorealism emphasizing on the world structure that it is a material structure consist of balance military power, as for Marxism emphasize the material structure on the capitalism economy. Constructivism think that common idea system, belief, and value also have structural characteristics and it has strong influence towards social and political actions. In the international interaction, constructivism also belief that material source for country's action can only be interpreted through common knowledge structure where the material source exists. Constructivism see who's owning the material source and

how other country respond towards the mutual understanding that has been agreed upon. For example, Great Britain have 500 Nuclear Weapon is less threatening to the United States compare to the owning of 5 Nuclear Weapon by North Korea. This less threatening feel by the US because Great Britain is US ally while North Korea is US enemy. The ally and foe concept itself is emerged trough common consensus in the international world (Wendt, 1995, hal. 4).

Second, constructivism believes that non-material structure or the ideational influence actor identity in which shape its interest as the interest influence the action. Neorealism believes that actor's interest is based on the external factor which means actor meet each other with set of interest that has been made before. Neorealism and neoliberalism do not deliberate where the interest is coming from, instead they emphasize on actor's strategy to reach its interest. Power is always the main interest for neorealism. While on the other hand, constructivism believes that it is important to examine actor's internal factor to see how the interest grew and developed. It is being said, the understanding of the ideational structure and actor's identity is something important to determine actor's interest. Constructivism focus on individual or country social identity to explain their interest. This is in line with Alexander Wendt opinion that identity is the basis of the making of country's interest. For example, the interest for being a Christian king in absolutism era is to protect its religion power and to control the religion in its region and also to destroy nationalism movement.

Third, constructivism believes that there is mutually constituted between agent and structure. On the one hand, they believe that idea shape actor behavior while on the other hand they argue that idea's structure is made and practiced by the agent for certain amount of time. For

example, the anarchy concept as the given thing believed by realism and neorealism creating the self-help system that make the country feel insecure as the country tries to focus on the relative power. On the "Anarchy is what states make of it" article written by Alexander Wendt, stated that constructivism believe anarchy is social construction that is built by the countries because it has been done for such a long time. These practices that reflect the insecurity has been done by the country for years in the wars era. If the practice relatively stable, it will create the systems(Wendt, 1992, hal. 410-411). And that system what is called anarchy. This is the reason why the anarchy concept is considered as the social construction.

On the constructivism article written by Christian Reus-Smit in *Theories of International Relations*, he divides constructivism analysis units into three type which are systemic, unit-level and holistic. The unit analysis is used to analyze the research subject in order to be more focus and deeply research. In the article, he uses analysis unit from holistic constructivism.

Constructivism holistic stated that "to accommodate the entire range of factors conditioning the identities and interests of states, they bring the corporate and the social together into a unified analytical perspective that treats the domestic and the international as two faces of a single social and political order". Holistic Constructivism treat domestic and international as the two aspects as the part of social and politic where those two aspects influence each other. Rues-Smit thinks that holistic constructivism focuses more on the inter-making relationship between global changing dynamic and the country for it to shape country's interest and action.

In this paper, writer focus on domestic and international factor as the determinant in Turkey's action.

During the reign of the AKP Party, Turkey had slowly changed their domestic politics. Although Erdogan stated that the AKP Party is not an Islamic party, but its policies are proven as Islamist. Erdogan reiterates that members of the AKP party are "Muslim democrats" (Rabasa&Larrabee, 2008, pp. 54-55). In book *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of Justice and Development Party* written by Umit Cizre, explains that the interaction between Islamism and secular power will be determined by the choice of deliberate leaders and counted by the configuration of regional political forces and international influences (Cizre, 2008, pp. 17-18). Referring to that, the leader of the AKP party had to choose a way to accommodate Islam's interest in the Modern State of Turkey.

Critics had underlined the statement of the leader of AKP's party in 1990s that indicated the real agenda of the Islamist from AKP party. Quoted Abdullah Gul's statement on the eve of the 1996 parliamentary elections that stated "*this is the end of the republican period,*" or refer to Erdoğan's statement in 1996 that democracy is not an end, but only the media. And as the mayor of Istanbul, he was called as "a servant of shari'a" and "Istanbul imam. The failure of the Erdogan government criminalize adultery in 2004 has sparked secular concerns that under the modernist stage of the AKP party there is the key or center of Islamism. On the other hand, Turkey is beginning to move on the Islamization of the educational and judicial system are the two main secularisms of Turkey (Rabasa&Larrabee, 2008, pp. 54-55). According to prominent Muslim intellectual, Ali Bulac, supporters of the AKP party are moved based on their allegiance to religious and conservative identity, a kind of 'new' Islamism that has never been discussed but passed as a conservative democracy (Cizre, 2008, p.42). The regime of

the AKP government has changed the focus of its foreign policy area towards the Middle East (Davutoglu, 2008, p.77).

In 2005, Turkey became Secretary General of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The position has shown Turkish gait in the Middle East. Turkey became one of the countries that are considered important to participate in the taking of decisions or policies. Then in 2007, Turkey has the status of observer countries in the area of the African Union. This is because Turkey has political openness abroad with countries in Africa as for the foreign policy of Turkey which has already started to open with other countries, and promoting the values of freedom to any people, to make Turkey have a progress compared to the previous condition. More cooperation that built along with following Islamic countries also began to be firmed, such as military cooperation with Iran and improved relations with Syria (Davutoglu, 2008, p 80).

The system of interaction between Turkey and the Islamic world since 2007 has been reconstructed the understanding of 'friends' and 'enemies' in the international place. In the case of Israel-Palestine, the Islamic world considers Israel as the 'enemy' of Islam to be competed with. Based on such common understanding, it influences the construction of Turkey's understanding of Israel. So Turkey also considers Israel as the enemy, and Palestine as a 'friend'. It is proved by Turkey giving aid to the Palestinians as the Palestinians are at odds with its ally, Israel, while Turkey continues to condemn Israel's actions at the Davos conference (Ulutaş, 2010, pp. 6-7)

The system of interaction between Israel and Palestine has also contributed to Turkish political behavior. Israel tends to keep attacking, that makes other Islamic countries angry including Turkey. The other

Islamic countries and OIC decide to urge Israel to stop its attacks ((OIC), 2009). Regarding to current international political order, the state must consider about the world peace in its international political practice. So in that case, the Islamic countries could only do diplomatic intervention to Israel and send aid to Palestine. One of the hit crackdowns in international politics is the severance of diplomatic relations. Turkey voted the way for Israel for its crackdown on Palestine in 2010, especially when Israel sank the Mavi Marmara ship which carrying humanitarian aid to the Palestinians.

D. Hypothesis

Turkey cut off the diplomatic ties with Israel in 2011 because of domestic and international factor as the determinant in Turkey's action.

1. Domestic policy have influenced Turkey to achieve the interests of its regime abroad. The change of values becomes more Islamist, and it has influenced Turkish foreign policy behavior. Turkey became one of the countries that are considered important to participate in the taking of decisions or policies. Turkey was appointed secretaty General in 2005 and served until the year 2014.
2. In the International factor is The Organization of the Islamic Conference in the extraordinary meeting of the Executive Council at the level of Foreign Ministers of member countries of the OIC requested that its member countries corrected their diplomatic ties with Israel include shaping the International Commission independent investigation to do total against Israel's military. It makes the Turkey as the country moves from other

Islamic countries to unite in a common Human Rights issues in the region of the Middle East.

E. Research Methodology

According to the type and nature of the research shows that these papers contain historical research. Historical research has purpose to search for and examine the data of the past in a systematic and objective. Therefore, the data are derived from studies of the literature and became the main capital due to this research-based content analysis. Secondary data is here in the form of a report or a document or article that has been published in the official website which became a key ingredient in the analysis of the contents. Other additional data in the form of books, journals, articles, online newspaper or any other that is considered relevant. This is to fit the scope of the case studies are examined, as well as to improve objectiveness.

In the current study qualitative research methods will be used which will explain a phenomenon with profuse manner of data collection also profusely, indicating the importance of depth and detail data are examined.

F. The Scope of Research

When offensive towards Gaza happened again in 2008-2009, Turkey saw this as the beginning of the worse relation with Israel. Finally, in 2010 the Turkish NGO-owned ship MV Marmara was wrongly attacked by the Israeli Naval Force blockading the Gaza water to limit supply for Gaza, causing 9 humanitarian worker died and more wounded in hospitals. Turkey called the action and “State Terrorism” and demanded Israel for apology, which was denied by Israel.¹ Eventually, Turkey recalled its

ambassador from Tel Aviv and expelled Israeli ambassador from, marking the end of Turkey-Israel formal diplomatic relation.

G. Research Outlines

Systematics of writing this thesis consists of 4 chapters.

Chapter I contains about the introductions including the background of the problem, research question, the theoretical framework, the hypothesis, the research method, the scope of the research and also about the systematical research.

Chapter II explain about the dynamic of Turkey's foreign policy toward israel, including about foreign political orientation of the Turkey before the reign of Erdogan and also explain about the harmonious relationship between Turkey and Israel,

Chapter III describe about the change of Turkey foreign policy toward Israel in 2011, including about the change of Turkey foreign policy orientation and proof the relationship between Turkey and Israel could eventually cut off , to look for existing the change of the policy.

Chapter IV explain about the factors that affect the termination of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel also contains about proving the hypothesis.

Chapter V contain about the conclusions from this writing. The conclusion drawn by observing the hypothesis and the framework of the existing theories.