TURKEY'S DIPLOMATIC CUT TIES WITH ISRAEL

IN 2008 -2011

Mei Lisa Putri Ayu

International Program of International Relations

Faculty of Social and Political Science

Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta

meilisa50@yahoo.co.id

Abstrack

Turkey is a non-Arab Muslim majority country which supports the independence of

Israel. This is because Turkey see the multitude of benefits that would be received from

Israel. On the basis of the reasons Turkey did a lot of cooperation, ranging from economic,

political or military with Israel. But over the last few years cooperation of Turkey and Israel,

Turkey and Israel relations deteriorated since the onset of the attack of the ship Mavi

Marmara Turkey's help, which is where the victim of the attack was part of civilians Turkey

and some of the members of the OIC, which made the citizens of Turkey as well as the

members of the OIC are not received the actions that carried out by Israel and resulting the

breakdown of the diplomatic relations of the two countries in 2011.

Key Words: Turkey, Israel, The OIC, The Mavi Marmara, Diplomatic Relations, Economy,

Military.

Introduction

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.

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.

Foreign Political Orientation of Turkey Before the Reign of Erdogan

The Changes in political policies which tend to be secular Turkey was established from the political policy of Mustafa Kemal Attaturk. During the period 1924-1928, the Government of Mustafa Kemal tried to abolish any institution and symbol which refers to traditional Islam, which gave great power to the clergy, as well as on the Arab culture that are considered hindering modernization of Turkey: orders prohibited, fez (a type of skullcap or a red male headgear) is prohibited (1925) .30 the law Syarkat was replaced with a variety of European law book (1926), the article of the Constitution which declared Islam the State religion was abolished and the letters Arabic was replaced with the Latin alphabet to write the language of Turkey (1928). After on April 10, 1928, held back the second amendment to the articles of religion State from 1921 Constitution, then the State of Turkey was declared a breakup with religion. Nine years later, that is, after the principle of secularism was officially incorporated in the Constitution in 1937, then the Republic of Turkey officially became a secular State.

Harmonious Relationship Between Turkey and Israel

Every country would require other countries to meet the needs of the country, because note that each country will certainly not able to meet the needs of their own country. Cooperation with other countries must be made to meet the needs of his country, both in terms of economic, political, or military. Same thing with Turkey or Israel, Turkey has a need that exists in the State of Israel and as well as vice versa.

Military Cooperation

Same thing with Turkey or Israel, Turkey has a need that exists in the State of Israel and as well as vice versa. Post military training cooperation agreement or commonly called Military Training Cooperation Agreement (MTCA) in 1996, several companies of military industry Israel many weapons sales won a bid to Turkey. Israel has become the distributor of the company remain in military weaponry possessed by Turkey since the year 1996 until the year 2010. So such cooperation is one of considerable revenue for Israel in the field of economics. Then cooperation is also done in making the diplomatic relations of the two countries, namely for mutual trust in each other.

Economic Cooperation

In the Mediterranean region, Turkey and Israel are the two countries that are mutually contradictory. Good understanding of the population, and so on. But this does not cover the possibility for the two countries working together to meet the needs of the country, including the economy. Israel is the economic partner of Turkey. Although many have denounced this cooperation, but Turkey realize that Israel is a good partner in the fulfillment of Turkey's own economic needs. In cooperation with the Israel Turkey there are import and export of natural resources is good between the two countries.

THE CHANGES OF TURKEY'S POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL IN ERDOGAN ERA

The political actors of change that occurs in a country, indirectly will have an impact on the country's policies, both domestic and foreign policy. Because of the actor's political act on behalf of the State in formulating a policy on one of the foreign policy of Turkey which is clearly different from the previous Government is related to security cooperation with Israel. Where Turkey during Erdogan's more has the power to do the resistance against Israel's policies are indeed contrary to Turkey's interests.

The Change of Foreign Policy Orientation of the Turkey

In 2002, there was a change in Turkey's domestic political map. Where at the time of the election the party won by Turkey, AKP Islamic-leaning under the command of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. After the winning party AKP Turkey-leaning moderate Islam, and the election of Erdogan as Prime Minister, is slowly changing Turkey's foreign policy orientation. There is an unusual role played by Turkey in the Government of Erdogan. Turkey is slowly pulling his closeness with the West. Proven in some policies, Turkey more docked to the Middle Eastern countries, especially Islamic countries. some of them are policy, Turkey refused to make its territory as bases for NATO to conduct an invasion of Libya. Turkey has also refused U.S. requests to make its territory as bases in the invasion of Iraq.

Turkey's foreign political views in the Middle East changed under the leadership of Erdogan. Turkey through Ahmed Davutoglo as Foreign Minister gave a strategy known as Al-Istratijii Al-Wub (intensive political strategy). Where politics are being stressed to the geo-political strategy of conditions ranging from Turkey and a long history as well as a culture that encourages Turkey occupies a strategic position in the international political scene, especially in the Middle East. Thus, that Turkey's new political strategy, namely to ensure the safety and security of national Turkey without going through the restrictions and the insulation yourself, but rather openness and apply power to the soft political neighbors. Change the orientation of the foreign policy of Turkey in the West start to look up when a couple times Turkey involved a conflict with one of the Western allies who were in the Middle East, namely Israel. State of Israel which turned out to be a partner of Turkey in the Middle East also began to cut off his interests when Turkey intervened in the Palestinian-Israel conflict. On the other hand Turkey also wants to create a new power of its economy are strong enough, one of them with open communication with other big countries, including Russia and China. If the views of foreign policy, the Government of Turkey Erdogan looks to

want to restore the spirit of Ottoman influence among the countries of the region of the Middle East. Like what Thomas Friedman, requests for Turkey to become a member of the European Union is one form of camouflage to enhance the value of fresh Turkey among the countries of the Middle East, in order for Turkey to become a country that had the influence that the lowliest, but on the other hand, America and Europe is still the object of Turkey opening foreign cooperation. The courage of the Government of Turkey on the Government of Erdogan in deciding military cooperation with Israel is a decision that will have an impact on the bilateral relations with Israel. On the other hand if Turkey halted military supplies and equipment, it will have an impact on the military power of Turkey itself. As long as this happens, the military strength of the Turkey often becomes a threat to the Government. If the supply of military equipment to a halt, automatically it will interfere with the Turkish military interests nationally. Its impact is the overthrow of his Government of Erdogan who decided the cessation of the military industry will be the Government of Turkey before.

The Relationship Between Turkey and Israel Could Eventually Cut Off

The day after the attack, Erdogan delivered a speech to do his message before Turkey's Parliament members. Erdogan called for the overthrow of sanctions against Israel for the murder of 19 people who were in the humanitarian ship Mavi Marmara. Erdogan rejected allegations Israel about the reason of the attack because the armed groups above the ship Mavi Marmara.

Cessation of the Supply of Military Weapons

Post military training cooperation agreement (MTCA) in 1996, several companies of military industry Israel many weapons sales won a bid to Turkey. Israel has become the distributor of the company remain in military weaponry possessed by Turkey since the year 1996 until the year 2010. So such cooperation is one of considerable revenue for Israel in the field of economics. Some defense experts estimate that the purchase of military equipment to

Israel by Turkey have filled more or less about 69% of the volume of trade worth \$2.6 billion.

Turkey and Israel have agreed to conduct cooperation worth \$650 million associated upgrades fifty combat aircraft F-4 Phantom. The purchase of Airborne Systems helicopter Rescue worth \$15 million, Popey II air-to-air missiles worth \$100 million purchase of the Merkava Tanks worth \$3 million, and the Upgraded F-5 fighter planes worth \$75 million. In this period was the relationship most closely between the Governments of Turkey and Israel. Israel wants the expanded cooperation not just military cooperation, but also thrive on cooperation in the field of the other, including in the current diplomatic relations. The military-industrial cooperation, strengthen the ties between the two countries in the area of the Middle East.

Freezing against the contract and selling military weapons carried out by Turkey after Israel Government refuse to take responsibility for the incident the mavimarmara, killing 20 people, 10 of whom are citizens of Turkey. The Israel's economy is experiencing a decline in post contract commercial Turkey with Israel in the field of military industry. According to some experts, the Ministry of finance Israel lost nearly a half billion us dollars over the closure and selling armaments cooperation with Turkey. Turkey and Israel is a strategic partner in the region of the Middle East. Since the outcry over Israel assault on Erdogan and the blockade on the territory of Gaza, Israel and Turkey relationship increasingly hit rock bottom. So arises the threat issued by Turkey's Foreign Minister to sever diplomatic relations with Israel. Israel Army raids that broke through a blockade on the Gaza Strip is an important event that became the beginning of the end of the strategic partnership between Turkey and Israel. Turkey's policy of military cooperation with Israel deciding result in losses that does little. Basically, both countries the same kind suffered losses due to the application of these policies, the most aggrieved party but this time it was Israel. Militarily, Israel lost consumers

Allied military equipment, loss of intelligence, lost military exercises. In terms of the economy, Israel lost nearly a half billion us dollars over the closure and selling armaments cooperation with Turkey.

Cancellation of Military Training

In 1996, Turkey and Israel doing the signing of military cooperation. Where these standards aim to exercise coordination in emergency situations, particularly the joint military exercises of the air. Where the joint exercises set in the area of territorial Turkey. At current date August 11, 2009, Israel's military announced it will conduct joint military exercises coded Reliant Mermaid x along with Turkey and the United States in the Mediterranean region. The exercise is aimed at coordination of preparation time search and rescue operations in emergency situations.

After Israel's attack against the ship Mavi Marmara, Turkey Deputy Prime Minister Bulent Arinc said that the Government has decided to cancel joint military exercises with Israel and the United States. The decision is a protest over the assault which happened against the humanitarian ship Mavi Marmara. The two countries have conducted joint military exercises since the signing of the start of the year 1996. Turkey and Israel is the country that wouldn't have the influence of performance in terms of military strength in the region of the Middle East. Therefore, the cooperation of two countries lasting until the occurrence of the Mavi Marmara incident.

Termination of Intelligence Information

Turkey and Israel frequently hold exchanges of intelligence information. The information exchange is the exchange of important information about the military. If one of the parties in need of vital information, the other party then parties concerned will exchange information with those who need such information. Since the onset of the storming of the Mavi Marmara, Turkey review the cooperation Exchange of intelligence information. Post

termination equipment of military cooperation, stop any intelligence information exchange cooperation applied. Turkey does not accept party over the assault and considers such a feat is an international crime.

Prohibition Against Israel's military Aviation

A feud between Turkey and Israel are increasingly continued. Turkey has twice refused to cross through Israel's military aircraft the air of Turkey. One of them is the rejection of Israel's military aircraft when carrying 100 officers to accross the Turkey. These aircraft were en route to Polandi to visit camp-camp there are Jewish in Poland. The flights were not only to Poland but also towards Germany.

Israel-Turkey relations decline has now reached its peak following the attitude of Turkey which prevents Israel military aircraft heading to Poland using the territory of Turkey. The prohibition does not apply to the entire flight, civil aviation, Turkey to allow its flights. Civil aviation from Israel with the aim of Turkey or simply crossing is allowed through. Civil policy in no way prohibited in flight prohibition policy is applied to the Government of Turkey tragedy Mavi Marmara.

Domestic Factors

Several changes in 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. The regime of the AKP government has changed the focus of its foreign policy area towards the Middle East (Davutoglu, 2008, p.77). Can not be denied that foreign policy Turkey applied AKP increasing debate in the context of identity. This debate was considered could explain the dynamics of foreign policy which took place in various eras of leadership. Turkey's foreign political debate is an extension of the debate over national identity in the past and continues to this day. A clash between a group of Islamism and the

Kemalist in respect of the interests of national security and creating tension in Turkey's foreign politics.

This is considered important factors in explaining the domestic conditions that effect directly against the formulation of foreign policy Turkey. This factor also sparked concern in taking action against AKP strategy how to defuse tensions between the two groups of thought. An analysis of these factors can be seen in the Köselababan entitled Torn Identities and Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey and Japan, Bozdağlıoğlu, entitled Modernity, Identity, and Turkey's Foreign Policy, and Robins called Turkish Foreign Policy Since 2002: Between a 'Post-' an Islamist Government and a Kemalist State. This article describes the third identity debate in the formulation of foreign policy Turkey, but with a different focus. Köselababan examines the theoretical debate in national identity in the case of Turkey and Japan, two countries which have Eastern roots but defines itself as part of the West. Bozdağlıoğlu review Chronology of Turkey's national identity debate and consider the argument as a process that has not yet ended. While Robins examine how duality of identity is reflected in the first period of the reign of AKP

International Factors

The Encouragement of International Factors That Make Turkey Breaks Off Diplomatic Relations with Israel. The OIC is one factor in the termination of the Turkish international relations with Israel. Organization Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations. This organization has membership of 57 states spread over four continents. Besides, the Organization Islamic Cooperation is formerly Organization of the Islamic Conference. The establishment of this organization was in 25 September 1969. OIC states that it is the collective voice of the Muslim World and ensuring to safeguard and protect the

interests of the Muslim World in the spirit of the promoting international peace and harmony.

For the conflict between Palestine and Israel, the world has witnessed Palestinian suffering from Israel military occupation since the end of the war and the declaration of Israel Independence. So, as an international organization that concern about Muslim World problems, OIC does not just sit down and see it happen without doing anything. Since the establishment of this organization is in responding to one of the roots of Palestine conflict, OIC take action to penetrating Palestinian issues into other international organization and actors to take care of this issues. One of the actions that has already taken by OIC was they are fully supportive in Palestine's bid for full membership in UNESCO and calls upon UNESCO's General Conference to adopt it. This is to foster the Palestinians legitimate aspirations for statehood. Besides, it was to increase the possibilities for a lasting peace based on the vision of the two-state solution.

Furthermore, OIC play a role as the meeting point of cooperation among Islamic states. So that, in 1981 OIC summit calls for broad struggle for the liberation of Jerusalem and occupied territories. OIC has choose to boycott the Israel economic which is the general agreement for economic, technical and commercial cooperation comes into force. In addition, after a year OIC foreign ministers resolve to create Islamic offices specially for boycotting Israel. The Islamic offices also was established for military cooperation with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This action has been taken to give pressure into the state of Israel for ending the Israel occupation and oppression towards Palestinian. Furthermore, OIC not only take action to seek for support from Muslim majority countries but also from Western countries as well in order to support the establishment of Palestinian state.

Besides, OIC also have already urged the United Nation Security Council to take the Palestine-Israel conflicts seriously and put it an end within a specific time frame and in line with the established international agreements.

The emergence of the OIC could not be released from the presence of the spirit of Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism is a political theory developed by Jamal al-Afghani and his disciples. This theory emphasizes the solidarity of Muslims, in the face of economic and political dominance of the West.

BOOK & JOURNAL

- Arbell, D. (2014). The U.S.-Turkey-Israel Triangle. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Press
- Akca, Ismet. Military-Economic Structure in Turkey: Present Situation, Problems and Solutions. Istanbul: Tesev Publication, 2010
- Burchill, S., Linklater, A., & dkk. (2005). Constructivism. In S. Burchill, *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (pp. 197). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burchill, S., Linklater, A., & dkk. (2005). Constructivism. In S. Burchill, *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (pp. 199). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burchill, S., Linklater, A., & dkk. (2005). Constructivism. In S. Burchill, *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (pp. 201). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cizre, U. (2008). Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The making of the Justice and Development Party. New York: Routledge.
- Esposito, John L. 1990. Islam and Politics. Terj. Joesoef Sou'yh. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- Esposito, John L. 2000. Ensiklopedi Oxford Dunia Islam Modern. Terj. Eva Y.N Bandung: Mizan.
- Erkin, F. C. (1952). Turkey's Foreign Policy. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, 122-133.
- Noor, Yusliani. 2014. Sejarah Timur Tengah (Asia Barat Daya). Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Qureshi, Y. (1977). A Review of Tukey's Foreign Policy. Pakistan Horizon, 54-71
- Rabasa, A., & Larrabee, F. S. (2008). *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

Sasley, Brent, 1998, A Structural Reinterpretation of Power in the Middle East: Explanations and Implications of the Evolving Military Relationship between Turkey and Israel, Ottawa (Canada), Departement of Political Studies University of Manitoba.

Sihbudi, Riza. 2007. Menyandera Timur Tengah. Bandung: Mizan.

Smith, Randy. J, 2000, *The Pragmatic Entente: Turkey's Growing Relations with Israel*,

Program of Near Eastern Studies Princeton University.

Ulutaş, U. (2010). Turkey-Israel: A Fluctuating Alliance. SETA Policy Brief 42, 6-7.

Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy Is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics.

International Organization Vol 46, 73

Wendt, A. (1995). Constructing International Politics. International Security, Vol. 20, No. 1, 4.

Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy Is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics.

*International Organization Vol 46, 410-411.

Wendt, A. (1994). Collective Identity Formation and the International State. American Political Science Review Vol. 88, No. 2, 384-396.

WEBSITE

Aegi, Turki Kurangi Kerjasama dengan Israel, downloaded from

http://m.kompas.com/news/read/data/2010.06.04.1706593 in Oktober 2018.

Hukamnas. (2018, November 3). Retrieved November 6, 2018, from Hukamnas Web site: http://hukamnas.com/penyebab-perang-israel-dan-palestina

Member States. (n.d.). Retrieved November 3, 2018, from Organization Islamic Cooperation: https://www.oic-oci.org/states/?lan=en

- OIC on Palestine Issue. (n.d.). Retrieved November 3, 2018, from Muslim Academy: http://muslim-academy.com/oic-on-palestine-issue/
- OIC Resolution on Israel Palestine Conflict. (n.d.). Retrieved November 3, 2018, from The

 Muslim Times: https://themuslimtimes.info/2013/02/07/oic-resolution-on-israelpalestine-conflict/
- Turkey Military Strength, http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=turkey. (accessed in November 2nd 2018)