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## <sup>2</sup>Turkey's Efforts to Normalize Diplomatic Relations with Israel after Withdrawal of Ambassadors both of the Two Countries in 2018

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### Abstract

*This study aims to provide information and literacy for readers regarding Turkey's efforts towards normalizing diplomatic relations with Israel after withdrawal of both of their embassies. What makes it interesting is that several times the relationship between Turkey and Israel has progressed and regressed due to the unfinished Israeli attack on Palestine, besides that Turkey also defended Palestine. However, Turkey is currently trying to normalize its relations with Israel for national interest. This study concludes that efforts to normalize relations with Israel are not easy to do because of the efforts of Turkey which still wants to cooperate with the enemy of Palestine. The findings in this study are Turkey's interest in peace efforts with Israel from an economic, political, and security perspective; and efforts to normalize diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel in 2022. This study will use descriptive research methods and qualitative data analysis techniques that explain how the Turkish government's efforts to normalize relations with Israel are between improving and deteriorating in addition to Turkey's efforts to continue to defend Palestine using secondary data. This study will use the concept of strategy normalization to explain the stages of normalization sought by Turkey in improving its diplomatic relations with Israel.*

**Keywords:** Diplomatic, Israel, Normalization, Turkey.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Turkey and Israel are two parties that have actually had diplomatic relations for a long time. For non-diplomatic relations, the two parties have a related history, where the Jews had received security and privileges during the Ottoman Turks. When the Jews had succeeded in occupying the land of Israel, they as a peripheral country that was present surrounded by Arab countries with a majority of Muslims became aware that they needed to establish diplomatic cooperation with countries other than Arabs. Finally, Turkey was chosen because it suits their needs. The beginning of

diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel began in 1949. Turkey, which initially had a royal system, switched to the Justice and Development Party at that time, by showing a democratic conservative party that sided with the West. Prior to diplomatic cooperation with Israel, during his leadership, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk considered changing Turkey to follow the development of Western nations as the right thing to do during his leadership. Eventually Turkey finally became a secular state. After establishing diplomatic relations for a long time, in 2008 and 2009

turbulence began to emerge and Turkey's relations with Israel were strained when the policy of the AK Party was issued. The policy states that Turkey has made a decision to make a pro-Islamic policy. After the decision is declared, Turkey will automatically behave in defense of Islamic countries. At that time Israel began to attack Palestine. Turkey's attitude which has prioritized Islamic justice with the power of the AKP, is driven on religious and political grounds to be sensitive to Israel, which is hostile to Palestine. With the beginning of the Islamic-style leadership in Turkey, it shows a direction contrary to the elite military of its own country. The government is more dominant so that relations with Israel began to strain.

The beginning of the dispute between Israel and Palestine was due to the struggle for territory. This problem is one of the reasons for the tenuous relationship between Turkey and Israel. The existence of Israel was founded in 1948, most of the people are Jews. They claim Palestine, whose majority are Muslims, as Israeli territory since Israel's problem with Egypt wanted to take over the Gaza area in the 1967 six-day war. However, previously the United Nations had divided Palestine from the territory of the Arabs and Jews in 1947. Turkey recognized Israel has been sovereign for fear of the entry of communist ideology into the Middle East. In the midst of Israel wanting to control and claim the territory of the Arabs (Palestine), Palestine was independent in 1988. Israel's desire to carry out violence began to cover it. At the time when Israel and Palestine first recognized their territorial control, Turkey still maintained normal diplomatic relations with Israel. Then during Erdogan's presidency since he was prime minister, he showed more solidarity with Palestine and showed verbal attacks on Israel. (Panjaitan, 2017: 50-51)

When Turkey and Israel experience tension in diplomatic relations, in fact both countries still have strategic interests to carry out their goals and need each other. Turkey is a country that has power and influence in the Middle East. Behind a persistent cooperative relationship, there must be interests that are being fought for, but there are also obstacles that must be sacrificed. Turkey chooses to strain relations with Israel because it upholds the human rights of the Palestinian people, but this strained relationship with Israel will also affect its relationship with the United States. This happens because Israel is an ally of the United States. The turbulence in relations between Turkey and Israel did not stop in 2009 but there was another turbulence that continued ups and downs until after the withdrawal of the embassies of the two parties in 2018.

The turbulence in Turkish and Israeli relations occurred because of existing contraventions, some of which are:

1. There is an Israeli military attack on the Palestinian people.
2. There was a military attack on the Turkish ship (Mavi Marmara) which contained volunteers and aid for Palestine.
3. Israeli government policies that interfere with the freedom of Muslims in Palestine in worship.
4. The Israeli government's policy of establishing illegal settlements.

However, on the one hand, the needs between the two still find it difficult to decide in order to fulfill their national interests. At one point, Turkey as the name of HAMAS wanted to be a mediator in reducing violence or a ceasefire in Gaza, but this attempt failed and the Turkish foreign minister at that time chose to visit

Hamas in Gaza. Subsequently a mild hostility emerged when Turkey withdrew its “Anatolian Eagle” invitation to Israel. The invitation is an air force exercise for NATO member countries, including Turkey, the United States, and Israel. However, because Israel has close ties to the United States, Israel's non-participation made the United States cancel its attendance and the event was cancelled.

The turbulence that occurred between Turkey and Israel in 2010 to 2016 gave a good view to the international community, but had an impact on the smooth economic cooperation of the two. During the first normalization in 2016, diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel improved, but began to drift again until in 2018 both countries withdrew their embassies. This action was carried out on the basis of the humanitarian sense of the Turkish government and society. Once upon a time, with the situation starting to become difficult in some ways and requiring Israel as one of the developed and influential countries, Turkey felt that there should be a normalization of diplomatic relations with Israel in order to complete the difficult times experienced by Turkey. Such as the need for weapons supplies from Israel, becoming a place of tourism for the Israeli people, and others.

There was an incident when Israel had a project on the economy in the form of natural gas to be supplied to Europe, the United States refused it. Knowing this, Turkey makes an opportunity to start Turkey wants to work on the gradual normalization of relations. This effort to normalize relations between Turkey and Israel was officially announced by Erdogan in the mass media and will be carried out starting in 2022. Actually, both parties have started to need it from the end of 2021, but

there are still obstacles because of the Israeli side towards Palestine and international parties who criticize Turkey if it normalizes relations. both diplomatic. This is the result of the twists and turns attempted by Turkey after the revocation of its second embassy in 2018. These efforts include Turkey's strategy of gradual normalization, from efforts to establish informal relations and then to the next stage which will be discussed in the discussion. Previously, these efforts were based on several main factors, namely economics, politics, and security. These three factors are the most influential in efforts to normalize diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel again. Of these factors, will be explained in the discussion in this article.

<sup>2</sup> This study specifically describes how Turkey's efforts to normalize its relations with Israel returned either after the Mavi Marmara incident or the upheaval that led to the revocation of its embassy in Tel Aviv. The pandemic period in which all countries are in a slump will require good cooperation in overcoming problems and meeting the needs of their countries. Efforts to normalize diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel are still a process. The context described will refer to the interests of both parties which ultimately refers to normalization efforts. For further explanation, will make a view for the reader, whether the normalization attempted by Turkey has the potential to be successful or not with the reasons and explanations according to the phenomena that are happening from the past to the present.

## 1.2 Purpose and Objectives

The objectives of this research are:

1. Describe what is the interests underlie normalization efforts.
2. Analyzing the development and decline of Turkish-Israeli relations after the withdrawal of the embassies of the two parties.
3. Describe the efforts made by Turkey on Israel.

The purpose of this study is to provide information as a lesson that can be used as a reference by readers regarding the development of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel. Then from this article, it gives an idea on Turkey's efforts to normalize diplomatic relations with Israel but still shows its alignment with Muslim countries (Palestine) which will still be the direction of Turkey's political alignments.

## 2. Literature Review and Analytical Framework

### 2.1 Literature Review

This research uses references from several data and the theory is taken from the reference data to be a reference for developments in this writing, including the following:

#### 2.1.1 Turkey's Foreign Policy to Israel on President Recep Tayyip Erdogan era in 2014-2018

The first review, the author's research is related to Mely Eka Nurhalizah's writing entitled *Kebijakan Luar Negeri Turki Terhadap Israel Pada Masa Kepemimpinan Presiden Recep Tayyip Erdogan Tahun 2014-2018*, this study aims to find out how Turkey's foreign policy towards Israel during the reign of

President Erdogan from 2014-2018 years. This study uses the concept of security which views that Turkey's policy towards Israel can affect national and regional security. In this paper, it is said that foreign policy has positive and negative policies, depending on the response of a country whether its foreign policy will improve relations with other countries or actors or worsen relations. Then argue that the policies carried out by President Erdogan lead to a negative attitude towards Israel. The similarity in this study with the research that will be discussed is that there is an expression on the tension between Turkey and Israel that is bad as a result of both of them criticizing each other. The difference is that the writing of this research uses Turkey's foreign policy as the object, and the research that will be discussed makes the object the background that underlies the turbulent relationship between Turkey and Israel to be developed in the direction of the discussion being studied. (Nurhaliza, 2019)

#### 2.1.2 The Future of Israeli-Turkish Relations

The second review, the author's research relates to Shira Efron's writing entitled *The Future of Israeli-Turkish Relations*. This book describes the various chapters, namely the history of bilateral relations between Turkey and Israel which has been up and down; the achievement of normalization in 2016 after going through a process for six years; the economic relationship established after the approach; post-normalization diplomatic and security relations; and in conclusion there is a state of relations between Israel and Turkey that faces Western challenges. The similarity between this research and the research that will be discussed is the explanation of the beginning of diplomatic relations between

Turkey and Israel. The difference is that this writing explains chapter by chapter with more detailed sub-chapters, and the research that will be discussed explains the beginning of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel only as an introduction to find out the state of the relationship between the two. (Efron, 2019)

### 2.1.3 Contemporary Israeli-Turkish Relations in Comparative Perspective

The third review, the author's research relates to the writing of a book by Aysegul Sever, Orna Almog et al entitled *Contemporary Israeli-Turkish Relations in Comparative Perspective*. This book explains the many pertinent comparisons between Turkey and Israel relations, namely the relations between Turkey and Israel in the context of religion, modernity, and secularism; related spaces and sectors between Turkey and Israel; regarding the Mavi Marmara ship; Bad alliances and relationships that arose; Syrian civil war that could shift Turkey-Israel relations, Turkey and Israel economic relations; natural gas prospects for Turkey-Israel; and Tourism patterns that show Turkey-Israel relations are not normal. The similarity of this writing with the writing that will be discussed is the discussion about the economy, and the Israeli gas project that was launched to Europe. The difference is that this writing shows several titles that compare relations between Turkey and Israel comparatively from the early travel history, and the writing that will be discussed shows the economy and natural gas projects as a combination of economic-political factors to be developed only as a reason for normalization efforts after the revocation of the embassy, both of them. (Aysegul Sever, 2019)

## 2.2 Analytical Framework

### 2.2.1 Concept of Strategy Normalization

According to language, strategy is the science and art of using a nation to smooth a certain policy in order to lead to peace. Language normalization is an action or behavior to become normal again. According to Robert P. Barston, normalization is a process to improve diplomatic relations. The normalization process can be seen in one or two parties who are experiencing a dispute, until they realize that they still need each other and must improve diplomatic relations. In launching a strategy towards normalization, efforts must be made to eliminate some or all of the causes of disputes. Disconnection of diplomatic relations can eventually occur as a result of a policy issued, as happened to Turkey and Israel.

Turkey's strategy or way of normalizing its diplomatic relations with Israel. Both are aiming to normalize, but Turkey has decided to initiate a bid to normalize its relations with Israel. The normalization strategy includes rebuilding formal and informal channels, then having an informal combination such as how the two should do it through an appeal to reduce problems, then starting to establish informal relations in secret to get to diplomatic relations which are still limited first, after limited relations are established, relations will be opened. limited trade and banking, then started to negotiate either directly or secretly with a third party capable of being a mediator between Turkey and Israel, then abolished the embargo or that hindered trade between the two, began to revise policies to normalize, negotiate issues to become a condition for normalization, make an agreement between the two parties to re-establish diplomatic

relations, and finally the two countries must implement what was agreed to implement normalization. (Barston, 2014: 274-284)

### 3. Methods

This writing uses a descriptive method with qualitative data analysis techniques. Descriptive is a method that will describe a phenomenon or explain how the efforts made by Turkey in normalizing its diplomatic relations with Israel are in accordance with the phenomena that occur or in fact. The data analysis technique uses qualitative methods that explain and describe phenomena in accordance with the data without using statistical figures in it. If there are numerical data in qualitative research, it will only help strengthen the argument and clarify how the phenomenon fits the theory and concept. The variable uses the dependent variable where the Turkish government seeks to normalize diplomatic relations, which will affect its country, so that the behavior of such a government will influence decisions. The dependent variable is the government's policy of trying to normalize diplomatic relations with Israel. The data collection technique carried out by the researchers used secondary data that had been collected based on books, journals, and others to describe how Turkey's normalization efforts were.

## 4. Result and Discussion

### 4.1 Turkey's Interests in Peace with Israel

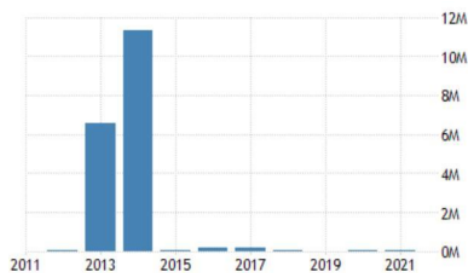
The peace efforts made by Turkey on Israel have been agreed upon by both parties. However, from these efforts, the interests that underlie this effort are in various factors including:

#### 4.1.1 Turkey's Peaceful Efforts from Economic Interests

The economic problems are low-level politics, it means when a country experiences big political problems and even crises, in politics it must be hit a very low point. For example, countries in Africa are experiencing an economic crisis that has led to terrorists because one of the reasons is the high corruption rate in their government. This proves that the economic level also influences the views of a country's political level. Economic liberals assume that the economy is free from political interference even in the international sphere. This is also the reason that Turkey and Israel during the turbulent period still maintained their economic relations. Turkey, whose economy is already developed, wants to be in touch with Israel, which is a developed country and its great and superpower ally, the United States. Turkey in the Erdogan government still feels something is missing. The problems between Turkey and Israel are still in a state of ups and downs, especially when Israel issues its national interests which lead to Turkish contravention. Towards a developed country, the economy of developing countries must be upheld first in order to become advanced. The cessation of export-import activities between Turkey and Israel will cause an economic imbalance between the two, including affecting politics and security. The international trade process requires parties who have advantages in order to benefit those who carry out international market trading activities. Israel is one of the countries that controls the international trade in the arms market. Two-thirds of its weapons production is diverted to exports. If exports are reduced a lot, it can affect the instability of the economy.

The volatile relationship between Turkey and Israel is one that is very difficult to break, namely the economy. According to Turkey's arms import data to Israel, the following shows that Turkey imports a lot of weapons from Israel. However, during times of heightened turbulence, Turkey's imports of weapons from Israel declined drastically.

**Picture 1. Turkey's Arms Imports from Israel in 2015**



Source: Trading Economics (Economics, 2022)

The data above illustrates that Turkey experienced a decline in arms imports from Israel in 2015 when relations between the two deteriorated. Then in 2016 it began to increase again, although slightly after the first normalization agreement of diplomatic relations. Towards 2018, imports decreased and after the withdrawal of the embassy in 2019, there were no arms imports. Both of them began to feel the need again, so there were parties who began to re-import little by little. (Economics, 2022)

Turkey as an Israeli consumer places purchases of state defense weapons at 69% of total imports to Israel. Turkey actually doesn't just import weapons from one country. As relations with Israel receded, Turkey turned more to other countries when it came to arms imports, such as the United States. In 2020, data from the World Bank shows that Turkey's largest arms import in 2020 is from the

United States. This switch because the relationship between the two is at a low point. Even the Turkish currency exchange rate has decreased drastically to date. In addition to the issue of weapons, there is a natural gas project that Israel wants to carry out in Europe. Turkey, which needs diplomatic relations to recover, does not want to waste this opportunity. Because the Israeli gas project will be made easier if Turkey helps.

#### 4.1.2 Turkey's Peaceful Efforts from Political Interests

A good foreign policy has values including goodness for individual citizens, goodness for the entire community of a country, goodness for countries which are legal persons and broader elements of each the country, goodness for an interest group that exists in a country, and goodness for the government and its personnel which have special values as well. In this case, regarding politics, the elites of developing countries consider that economic welfare in developing countries is the most important goal that can lead to the freedom and rights of the people.

Turkey still condemns Israel's actions that violate human rights for what was done to Palestinians. Many of the international community did not accept Israel's treatment and staged demonstrations so that Turkey would not defend Israel. Knowing the criticism, the Israeli ministry spokesman did not remain silent and said on the contrary that it was Turkey that violated human rights because it had committed violations against the people in the Kurds, and actually what Israel was doing was the implementation of religious morals in the Middle East in a democratic manner and Israel was protecting the people from any religion, be it Judaism, Christianity, or Islam. But this is still considered a



Palestinian discrimination for Turkey. Meanwhile, Israel's policy also interferes with freedom and violates international law regarding settlements, besides that Turkey also wants to be a mediator of the balance of security and democracy in accordance with its desire to form a *bridge country* that seeks to actively participate in responding to issues of human rights violations by creating peace in the regional and global.

#### 4.1.3 Turkey's Peaceful efforts from Security Interests

Turkey and Israel are noted to have entered into a defense industry agreement. The international trade carried out by Israel in large quantities is a concern for Turkey to maintain the security of its country. More than 1000 weapons have been purchased by Turkey to Israel. The problems of Turkey and Israel in diplomatic matters have an influence on policy for the economy. Before the Islamic countries cooperated with Israel or what could be called the Abraham Accords agreement, Turkey was the only Islamic country that cooperated with Israel. Both are strategic partners in collaborating in the Mediterranean region. Apart from buying weapons, Turkey also conducts military exercises with Israel for various purposes. Such as search, rescue during emergencies, even air and sea exercises become major exercises. In launching this cooperation, Turkey does not escape the role of the community. Turkey wants to keep the balance of democracy in its people's voice about what the government will do, such as when the strained relations first experienced Turkey's demonstrations by its people on the basis of human rights. Cooperation is still carried out, when there are people who take demonstrations, other decisions are also chosen based on humanity. It is based on events prior to normalization which first

resulted in the agreement. Turkey wants to maintain security for both the region and its citizens to issue a foreign policy of "Zero Problem Policy Toward Turkey's Neighbors" in international security. Not spared from its cooperation with NATO which includes Turkey and Israel. Both in the economic, political and security fields, all of which are needed by Turkey because it will also be related to its cooperation with Israel.

That is how the relationship between Turkey and Israel will go up and down due to economics and politics but still from a humanitarian perspective. Thus, the two countries issued their foreign policies to normalize relations and it is also possible that one day they will be stretched again if there are violations. (Panjaitan, 2017: 10-57)

Turkey cannot escape the supply of weapons sent from Israel, this will affect Turkey's security arsenal and Israel's economy. Then in another case, Israel needs Turkey because of the oil and natural gas projects it wants to channel to Europe. Passing through Turkey is the right destination as it is closer. Turkey wants to achieve a goal in the economic field as economic independence in its region, if the needs or economic goals are not achieved, it will affect the country's needs which will have an impact on the difficulty of improving the country's economy. After the withdrawal of the embassies of the two parties in 2018 and the international economy being tossed and even a crisis, Turkey wants to launch the economy again with an economic offer to Israel as well. These two are no other reason not to normalize this time.

## 4.2 Turkey's Effort to Normalize Diplomatic Relations with Israel in 2022

The Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel are very important as a symbol of the identity of western civilization that emerged from the beginning of diplomatic relations between the two countries. In addition, Turkey's close relationship with Israel will make Turkey's relationship with the United States stronger. However, after the normalization of relations in 2016, tensions between Turkey and Israel returned again. In 2018 the passionate period was canceled for the normalization of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel due to illegal settlement policies and the call to prayer. However, the climax was when the Palestinians staged demonstrations, Israel attacked the protesters and claimed 16 Palestinian lives. Israel's defense minister Netanyahu has come under criticism from Erdogan's president that he is a terrorist. The criticism was countered by Netanyahu's minister that President Erdogan had committed crimes of genocide against the Kurdish community. Then not finished with the criticism, Israel killed 17 Palestinians on the Gaza border, then 55 Palestinians who staged demonstrations during the transfer of the US ambassador from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Military radio stations in Israel broadcast a statement from Israel's former ambassador to Ankara that relations between Israel and Turkey at that time were really at rock bottom. The broadcast was broadcast on April 2, 2018. This clash of criticisms and acts of killing of Israel on the Palestinian people made Turkey denounce its diplomatic relations and officially announced that it would withdraw its ambassador to Israel during President Erdogan's speech in London, England. In his speech, President Erdogan did not forget to mention that Israel is a

terror state that commits genocidal violations against the Palestinian people. One day after the ambassador's withdrawal speech, on May 15, 2018 Turkey ordered the Israeli ambassador to leave the country, as well as Israel, knowing this, the Israeli foreign minister ordered the Turkish consulate in Jerusalem to leave Jerusalem and return to his country at the same time. not specified it. Policies made by Turkey in the world view as an influential country in the Middle East region or a *bridge country*. When the expulsion of the Israeli ambassador made Turkey a country that could maintain its interests in creating peace in the Middle East region, especially on the issue of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. (Nurhaliza, 2019: 67-70)

In 2020, amid the ongoing tension in diplomatic relations, the *Abraham Accords* between the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, the United States, and Israel to normalize diplomatic relations was criticized by Turkey and said this was a hypocrisy perpetrated by the United Arab Emirates. However, at the end of 2021 there was already news that Turkey wanted to normalize its diplomatic relations with Israel. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said that Turkey's relations with Israel would contribute to stability and security for the region. President Erdogan said this to a delegation of Jewish leaders. Despite the desire to work together again and normalize relations, Turkey still insists that its support for Palestine will remain and there are statements and conditions for it. However, negotiations will be carried out, it will still take time to normalize the relationship between the two parties. Israel's leadership will also be wary of Turkey's offer, because it involves planning the deployment of the HAMAS operation and the aid needed for Gaza.

The progress of relations between Turkey and Israel was shown by Turkey with a sign on January 20, 2022 which stated that it would review policies to end the tension in its diplomatic relations with Israel. The efforts made by Turkey are to initiate actions that benefit both parties. As the "EastMed" natural gas pipeline project will flow from Israel to Europe and Turkey allows the project to cross its country, then many discussions are felt to benefit both parties in increasing cooperation, namely strategic communication, intelligence gathering or sharing, and the use of sophisticated surveillance tools. From what Turkey has offered, Israel again thinks that it is in its favor, for example Israel can increase the ability of Turkish troops to fight Iranian militias so that their nuclear enrichment is not at a level that endangers Israel. President Erdogan offered public confidence in his tenure to boost the economy in the tourism and trade sectors. In such a move, normalizing Turkey's relations with Israel could support the offer. In fact, both countries realized that if they cooperated well with each other, it would be profitable and have great potential. This normalization effort is still being carried out in stages even though it has been declared that normalization has started. Both parties must be more sincere in carrying out cooperation. Both countries must also be able to handle competing interests from various factors. Although normalization efforts are still in the form of talks between the two countries, Israel has also stated that it is ready to cooperate with Turkey to carry out a natural gas pipeline project that crosses Turkey.

On February 17, 2022, the Turkish president's foreign policy adviser and Turkey's deputy foreign minister met Israeli officials in Jerusalem. The meeting aims to more clearly demonstrate the

intention to improve bilateral relations as well as discuss tense regional issues. The two countries showed an agreement that improving their bilateral relations would have an effect on regional stability. In addition to the meeting, as for the planned meeting to send Turkish representatives with the secretary general of the Israeli foreign ministry at the presidential residence and the Jerusalem foreign ministry office, the meeting will discuss the planned visit of President Erdogan with the intention of discussing Turkey's energy cooperation with Israel as well as bringing Israeli natural gas. to Europe across Turkey. (Sharma, 2022)

For the official agreement on normalization this time it is still not clear when it will be held because it is still very much discussed at the beginning of 2022. Still in negotiations to discuss plans and send a Turkish delegation to Israel which shows the sincerity of its cooperation. In accordance with the normalization strategy, which will slowly discuss the return to formal diplomatic cooperation. President Erdogan's reaffirmation that normalizing Turkey's relations with Israel will not close his support for the Palestinian people. Turkey must be balanced in fulfilling its national interests for the survival of the state and supporting humanity and the struggle of the Palestinian people against crimes committed by Israel.

On March 9, 2022, Israeli president Isaac Herzog visited Ankara, the Turkish capital, to meet with President Erdogan with the aim of discussing efforts and the process of stages towards normalization between Israel and Turkey. In fact, the visit was controversial for the community. Relations between the two could potentially become closer due to the war in Ukraine and the support of the United States as a

fellow NATO member. This effort is a time when Turkey is experiencing a slumping economic problem and even high inflation. Several retired ambassadors and analysts argue that Turkey has pursued a foreign policy that has subjected the country to regional isolation. This statement made President Erdogan make more efforts to rebuild relations with other countries not only Israel, such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt. This prompted Turkey not to focus on its normalization with Israel, even though the war in Ukraine could potentially re-tighten its relationship with Israel with the support of the United States, but on the other hand it would have dire consequences. Turkey is currently experiencing an unstable period in cooperation, where a phenomenon has supported normalization efforts, but on the other hand, this phenomenon is also detrimental to Turkey so it must make President Erdogan more energetic in overcoming it. Currently, both countries are paying close attention to developments in geopolitics in their region. What's interesting is that even though they are current fellow NATO members who are supposed to be on the side of Ukraine in the war waged by Russia, both countries opted for a certain neutrality. They will continue to support the territory of Ukraine but also do not want to interfere with their relationship with Russia. A number of analyzes also show that the normalization of relations between Israel and Turkey is indeed interesting and beneficial for both of them, even some political scientists argue that the two countries do have balanced interests. Another analysis also says that transportation and tourism also have an effect on Turkey and Israel. Of the many Israelis, Turkey is considered a home for them so it does need good relations. The cultural politics in Turkey also creates an attraction for Israeli society as well as

projects in the entertainment industry. The general election to replace the Turkish president will be held on June 18, 2023. Currently, there are still things that President Erdogan will do in foreign relations, such as improving relations with Israel. Most AKP supporters are still in doubt about granting President Erdogan an additional term. It is also seen that when relations between Turkey and Israel have normalized there will be risks because from the start President Erdogan has started his career with anti-Zionists where they are against Palestine. President Erdogan has also described the Abraham Accords agreement when it was signed as an act of treason against Palestine, prompting some opposition parties to record what they consider hypocritical. On the other hand, Israel has also signed the "EastMed" natural gas pipeline project with Greece and Cyprus which is planned to be passed through Turkey by Israel, so that the visit of the Israeli president will go to Cyprus first before going to Ankara to state that normalization with Turkey will indeed be carried out to ensure Greece and Cyprus believe in Israel. On geopolitical issues in the Middle East region, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is actually an obstacle to normalizing relations. Up to this point, the Israeli president has approved the normalization that will be carried out by Turkey from previous efforts, plus there is indeed pressure for the Israeli president on his gas pipeline project which must immediately get a normalization path again with Turkey.

As for the advantages and disadvantages of the policies taken by Turkey when choosing to normalize relations and when choosing not to normalize relations. When Turkey issues a policy of normalizing relations with Israel, the affairs of needs that depend on Israel

and relations with Israel will be good, but the view of the international community will consider it bad, support crimes of human rights violations, and be considered a weak state. Then when Turkey does not normalize, then the international community's view of Turkey will be good, it will be considered a pioneer country for peace because it insists on rejecting Israel, and becomes a strong, courageous and influential country. But the drawback is that Turkey's relationship with Israel will deteriorate along with its allied countries, while Turkey also needs good cooperation with Israel's allied countries such as the United States. Turkey will be more concerned with what is best for its country, and will be flexible in the conflicts that occur. Turkey still hates those who commit violations, but on the one hand, Turkey still wants the development of its country to be better and meet the needs of its people.

## 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

<sup>2</sup> Turkey and Israel are two countries that need each other in various fields to fulfill each other's national interests. Non-diplomatic relations between the two have existed for a long time even during the Ottoman period. However, diplomatic relations between the two began in 1949. After a long journey of diplomatic relations between the two, there were tensions in it. The tension occurred because the enemy on one side is a state that must be supported by the other party, namely Palestine is the opponent of Israel but Palestine is a country that must be supported by Turkey. This problem has occurred since Israel began to carry out attacks on Palestine which resulted in the attacks of volunteers on Turkish ships. At that time, Turkey, which was initially pro-Western, became more pro-Islamic.

The turmoil initially occurred because of the attack on the Turkish ship Mavi Marmara and its volunteers who were crossing the Gaza Strip, then the illegal Israeli settlement established in Jerusalem. The two parties are still cooperating in the economic field and when diplomatic relations are strained, it is feared that the impact will be able to cut economic ties also in So that the efforts made by Turkey from the first normalization to negotiations and succeeded in producing an agreement signed in 2016. But after that, there was turmoil again. which caused Turkey and Israel to choose to sever diplomatic relations between the two and to revoke their embassies.

Upheaval in 2016 revolved around the Israeli side issuing a policy to keep settlements illegal, limiting the call to prayer, killing Palestinians who were demonstrating who were also in Gaza, and when a critique between Turkey claimed the Israeli minister was a terrorist and the Israeli minister criticized President Erdogan for doing so. Kurdish genocide. This dispute resulted in the mutual withdrawal of its embassies in 2018. But in late 2021 Turkey said it was starting to need Israel again to cooperate on various factors. Both Turkey and Israel have dependence in the economic field in several sectors even the large Israeli project "EastMed". The effort made by Turkey is to give Israel an offer, but there will be the deployment of HAMAS operating in Gaza so Israel is careful about the offer. As early as 2022, Turkey began to bid to re-bid Israel for an Israeli project to build a natural gas pipeline to Europe that could pass through Turkey. So, this offer made Israel start thinking about agreeing to cooperate. Confidence was added when Turkey sent a delegation to Israel to discuss bilateral relations between the two countries and the tensions

in the region. Then discussed the plan of the Turkish president to visit to discuss the offer of energy cooperation or the Israeli project "EastMed" to Europe through Turkey. In addition, President Erdogan will also convince the public during his reign to improve the economy, tourism and trade. Efforts made by Turkey that succeeded in producing an agreement occurred in 2016 which had previously failed in negotiations. In 2022, the normalization efforts undertaken by the government are still in the form of offers and planned visits, not yet in the form of a definite agreement. The stage of efforts to normalize bilateral diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel will be through planning meetings, bargaining or negotiating processes, and if there are no adverse events between the two parties, these efforts can be realized and formalized in an agreement. In addition to the bargaining process, the two countries have indeed agreed to normalize relations and the Israeli president has paid a visit to Ankara, Turkey. Although this creates controversy for the community. The meetings that have been held have resulted in the development of the normalization plan to the next stage.

The results of the successful normalization negotiations are still unknown for 2022, because in 2013 before the first normalization Turkey had attempted to negotiate to normalize its diplomatic relations with Israel but failed. Then for the normalization that is currently being pursued, both parties feel that it will be mutually beneficial and the normalization of both is able to stabilize regional security.

The first recommendation is on the policies that Turkey will make in normalizing its relations in order to remain wise and consistently support Palestine.

Re-normalizing relations with Israel is a matter to fulfill Turkey's needs and interests and will not defend Israel even in the midst of Israel's ongoing violations.

The second recommendation is on the behavior of Turkey which can be willing to cut ties again if Israel carries out attacks that violate human rights. Although it is difficult to defend two hostile countries at the same time on its side, Turkey continues to carry out policies according to what Israel does if it is still committing humanitarian violations.

The third recommendation on Turkey's policy with Israel when it succeeds in producing an agreement, should contain what the impact will be if both commit violations so that well-connected diplomatic cooperation can play a role in reducing Israeli acts of violence against Palestinians

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