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<sup>1</sup> John , spanier , Games Nations play , Washington DC : CQ press , 1987 , p 117 .

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<sup>3</sup> Charles, philipe david , la gherre et la paix , France: presses des sciences politiques, 2000, p 36.

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<sup>6</sup> Barry , buzan, the european security under recast: scenarois for the post cold war, london :C.F.P.C.R.P publishers, 1991, p 04 .

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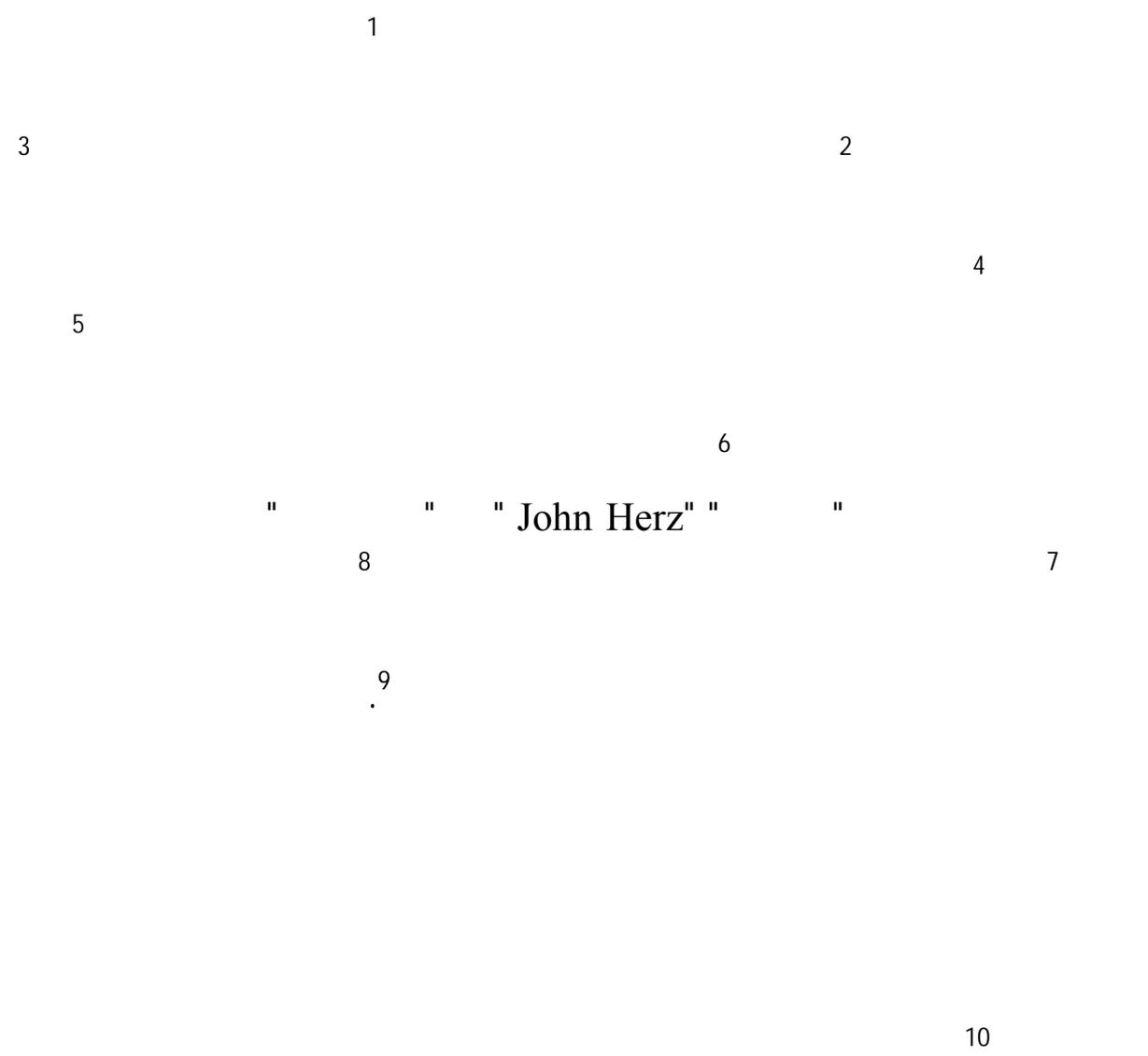
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<sup>3</sup> Francisco , rojas , La sécurité humaine , dans le site : [http://www.unidir.org/pdf/article/pdf\\_arts144.pdf](http://www.unidir.org/pdf/article/pdf_arts144.pdf) , octeber 2006 , p 10.



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<sup>2</sup> Nye , joseph , le leadership americain quand les règles du jeu changent , Nancy : press universitaire , 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Cambell , david , writing security US foriegn policy and the politics of identity , Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press , 1998, p 1.

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<sup>3</sup> Richard , rosecrance , international relations peace or ware ?, new york : macmillan , 1966 , p 33 – 35.

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<sup>4</sup> Neill, lochery. "Israel and turkey : Deeping ties and strategik 1995 – 1998" ,israel affairs, vol.5 ,no 1 , autumn,1998,p 46 .

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<sup>1</sup> Hakan Yavuz, " Turkish – Israeli Relations Through the lens of the Turkish Identity" , Journal of Palestine Studies ,autuman.1997, p26 – 29

<sup>2</sup> Ihasan, Gurkan , " Turkish – Israeli Relations and the Middle East Peace " , Turkish Review of the middle East Studies ( Ankara ) ,1993p133

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<sup>4</sup> Alain, Gresh Turkish –Israeli – Syrian ReLations and Their Impact on the MiddLe East, MiddLe East JournaL, voL 5, no. 2, 1998 p. 189

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<sup>2</sup> Timeline of turkish israel relations , 1949 - 2006 , the washington institute of near east policy.

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<sup>1</sup> The washington institute of near east policy.

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<sup>1</sup> The washington institute of near east policy.

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<sup>3</sup> Jacob, abadi ,israel and turkey ,from covert at overt ,relation "journal of the center for conflict studies ,canada ,1995 ,p 125.

<sup>4</sup>TurKish daily news ,17 december 1997.

<sup>5</sup>Newspot ,directatate ceneralof press and information ,ankara ,december 1997.

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<sup>1</sup> Danhwart, aruntow , turkey amerikan foratten alluy, newgo.rk ,1987,p114.

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<sup>1</sup> Turkey relations with Israel opcit 1991 P50.

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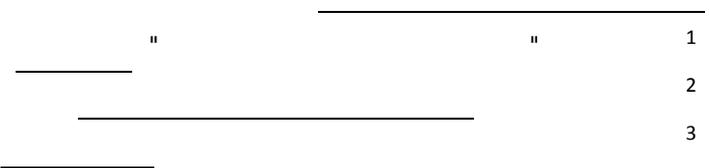
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<sup>3</sup> Malik, mufti, "Daring and caution in turkish foriegn policy" ,middle east journal, vol52, winter1998 ,p34.

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<sup>1</sup> Olson, turky syria relations, op cit, p 170 190.

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<sup>3</sup> Olson, op cit, p 107 . malik mufti, op cit ,p 35.

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<sup>2</sup> Amikam, nachmani, "the remarkable turkish israel tie " ,middle east ,1998, p 25.

<sup>3</sup> Sabri, sayari, "turkey and middle east in the 1990" ,journal of palesine studies, 1997, p 49.

<sup>4</sup> Henri, barkey, united state institute of peace press washington, 1996, p 154.

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<sup>2</sup> Jennifer, washburn, power bloc : turkey and israel lock arms, progressive, 29 december 1998, p 20.

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<sup>1</sup> Washburn ,op cit , p 19.

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<sup>3</sup> Olson , the turkey israel agreement , op cit , p 18.

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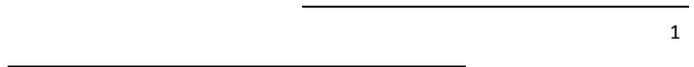
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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.alarabia.net/writers/warchiv.php?writer=1020>.

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<sup>2</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/arabic/middle\\_east\\_news/newsid\\_3755000/3755731.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/arabic/middle_east_news/newsid_3755000/3755731.stm)

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<sup>3</sup> Gerard, Groc, Laïcité in : l etat de droit dans le mande arabe, paris: CNRS, 1997, pp: 182 - 183.

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<sup>3</sup> Met, Yaser , political parties in turkey ,op.cit , p 4.







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<sup>2</sup> Pope, nicole, " l'enseignement ravive les tensions entre islamistes et laics en turquie", dans: le monde, N :16338, 8aout 1997, p 2.



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2 Le Dictionnaire historique et geopolitique du 20 siecle , paris : edition la decouvert , p: 417 .

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<sup>1</sup>

رنا، عبد العزيز خماش، العلاقات التركية الإسرائيلية وتأثيرها على المنطقة العربية، مرجع سابق الذكر، ص 80 .

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<sup>4</sup>Turks shift toward islamistonientation staunch secule arism opinion analysis , U.S formation agency , Washinton , 12 september 1996.

.182 176 1998

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<sup>1</sup> Gérard , Groc , la turquie et l'option atlantique , revue du monde musul mon et de la méditerranè , 1998 p 185

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2 Bayart , "la politique extérieure de la turquie les espèrances dècus" , français de science politique , N1, 1981, p 887.

3 : 1945 165 1981 .

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5 : 168 .

6 Sabri " ,turkey the changing european security environment and the gulf crisis ,sayari" , middle east , N1, winter1992, p111

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1 Lannes ,Sophie " L'europa met la turquia à faux , " géopolitique" , n 69 , avril 2000 , p5 .

2 " " 2005 . 46

3 : 2007 59 60 .

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<sup>1</sup> [http : // news . bbc . co . uk / hi / arabic / world \\_ news / newsid \\_ 4096000 / 4096851 . stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/arabic/world_news/newsid_4096000/4096851.stm)  
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<sup>5</sup> Gresh , OP , Cit , P : 199.

. 65 1998 2 ( )

<sup>7</sup> ArieH , Osullivan , " Defens ties with turkey bolstered", the jerusalem post international , 9 december 1997, p 4 .

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<sup>1</sup> Pope , Turkeys , general behind israel axis , OP , Cit , p 3.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.akhbaralaalam.net/news\\_detail.php?id=20581](http://www.akhbaralaalam.net/news_detail.php?id=20581)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.aljazeera.net/News/archive/archive?archiveld=1071697>

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<sup>2</sup> [http:// : www.islamonline.net/ servlet/ satellitec=articleAC&cid=1232976588144&pagename=zone-arbic-news%2FNWLayout.](http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/satellitec=articleAC&cid=1232976588144&pagename=zone-arbic-news%2FNWLayout)

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<sup>5</sup> [http://ar.dunyabulteni.net/news\\_detail.php?id=20780](http://ar.dunyabulteni.net/news_detail.php?id=20780)

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupb/bd/01.Htm>

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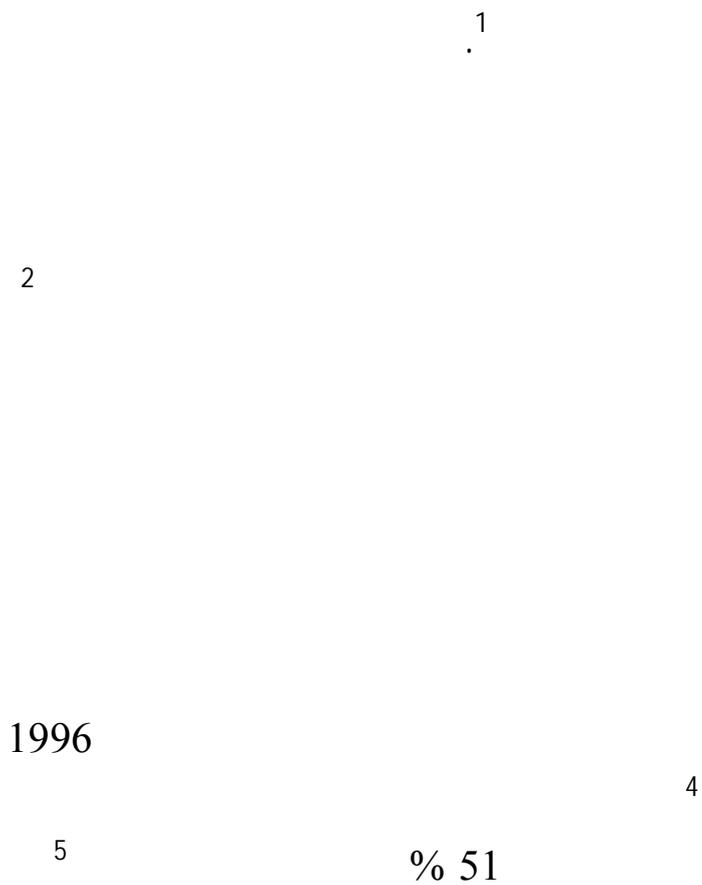
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<sup>3</sup><http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/2F517323-4116-4A1D-99FD-A905B3BDA9AE.Htm> .

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<sup>1</sup> Rupert , Mc Namara , The essence of security harper and Row , New york , 1968, p 150.

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<sup>3</sup> Bare , ruben , " reshaping the middle east foreign affairs " , Vol 69 , N 3 , summer 1990 , p 135.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard , nixon , the real waron linird parea , New york : war books, 1980 , p 02.

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<sup>1</sup> Dialy ,digest , "new alliances that could reshape " ,the middle east ,13 may 1997 .  
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<sup>3</sup> Brock dahl and danielle slutzky , The washington institute for near east policy , 2006 .

<sup>4</sup> [http://ar.timeturk.com/news\\_detail.php?id=15228](http://ar.timeturk.com/news_detail.php?id=15228).

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<sup>3</sup> Tarek , almajdoub , les fleues du moyen-orient , Paris : l ' harmattan , 1994 , p 89 – 189.

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<sup>1</sup> Sabri ,sayari ,Op .Cit ,p 50 .

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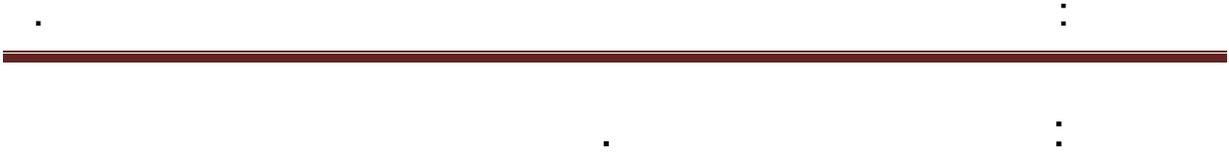
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<sup>4</sup> <http://Me.times.Com> . issue 50.





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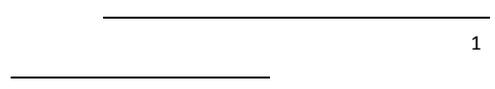
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<sup>1</sup>Amikam , nachmani , " the remarkable turkish israel tie " , middle east , vol . v , NO: 2 ,1998 , p 27.

<sup>2</sup> John , king , " Turkey and israel " , middle east international , No 524 , 26 avril 1996 , p1.

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<sup>2</sup> Neill , lochery , Opcit, p 55 .

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<sup>1</sup> Robert , olson , the turkey israel agreement , OP . Cit , p 180.  
<sup>2</sup> Thomas , friedman , " israelis and turks from military alliance against the arabs " , New york times , 16 june 1996 .  
<sup>3</sup> [http:// www bbc news org](http://www.bbcnews.org) , low end lin / despathes news 44000 / 4489 , 6stm.







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<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Gregoary A . Burris , " turkey – israel : speed bumps " , Middle east , 2003.



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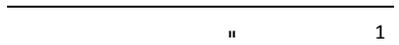
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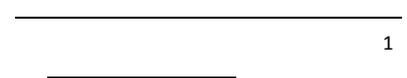
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<sup>3</sup> [http:// www. Islamonline. net servlet / satellite ?  
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<sup>1</sup> [http://Jobs.moheet.com/show\\_files.aspx?fid=10699](http://Jobs.moheet.com/show_files.aspx?fid=10699).

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<sup>3</sup> [http://ar.timeturk.com/news\\_detail.php?id=16042](http://ar.timeturk.com/news_detail.php?id=16042).

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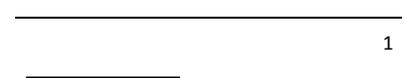
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<sup>2</sup> [http://www.akhbaralaalam.net/news\\_detail.php?id=22739](http://www.akhbaralaalam.net/news_detail.php?id=22739).

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.ecssr.ac.Ae>.





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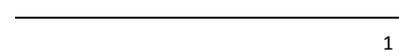
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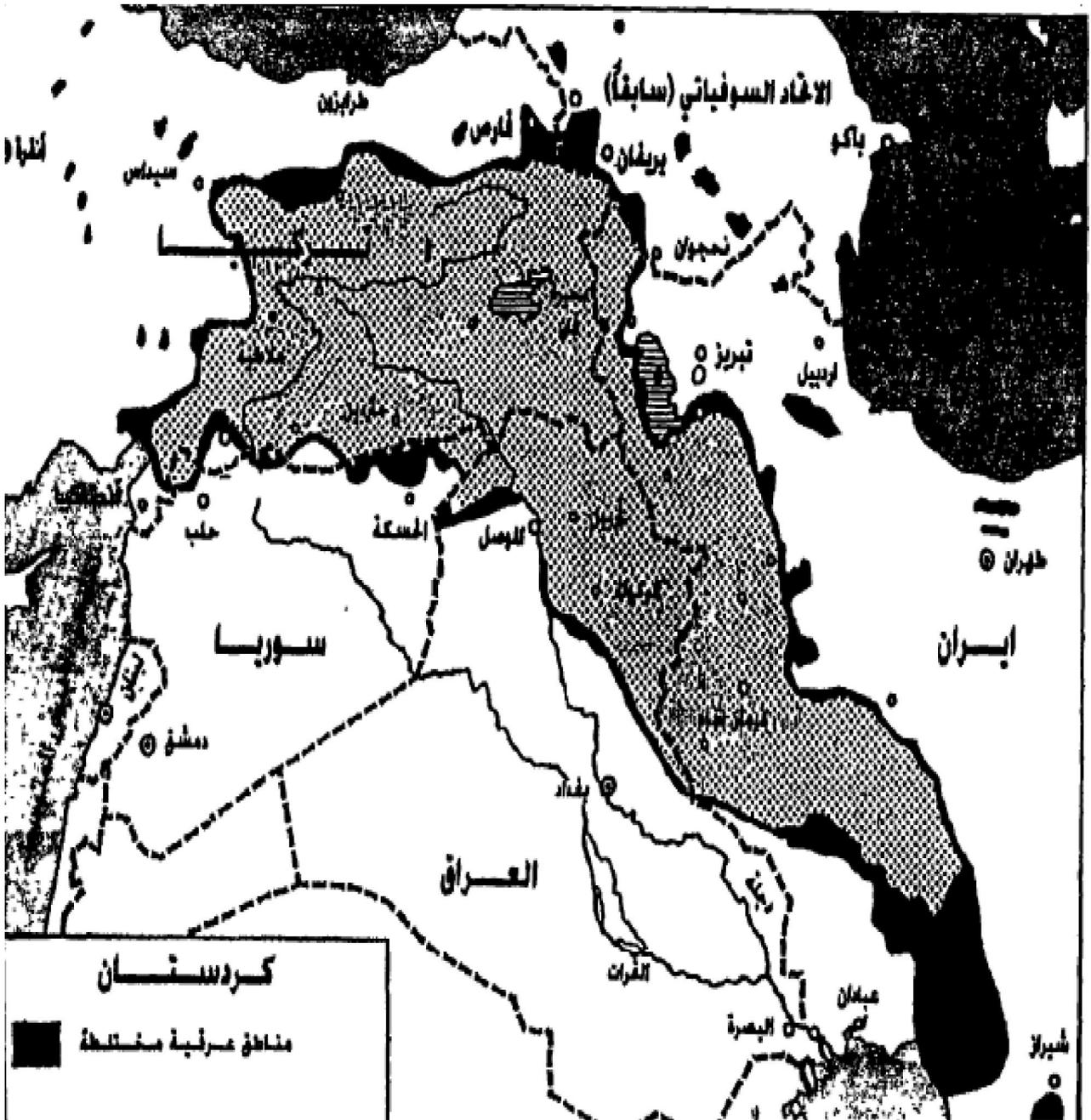
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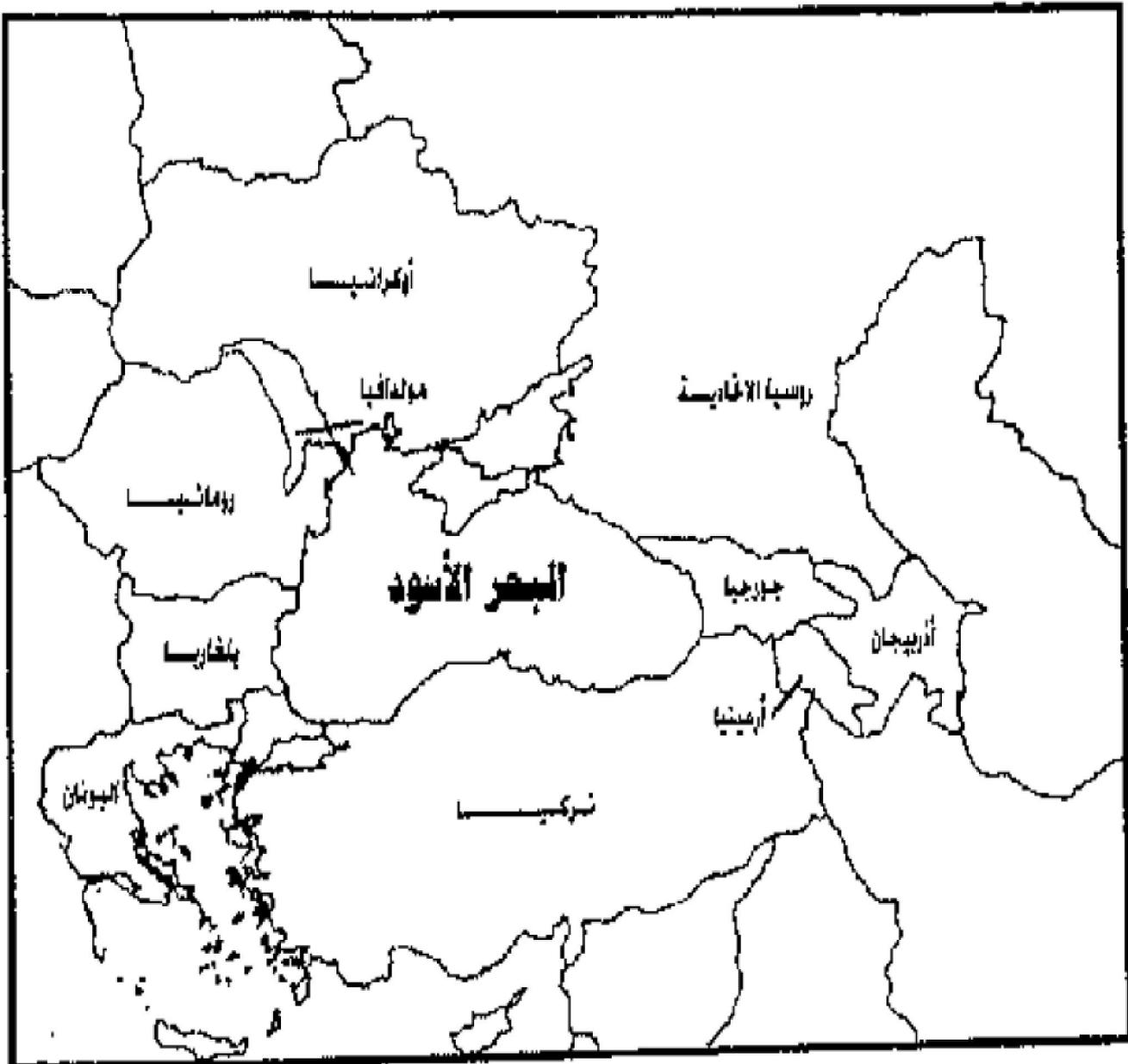
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270	.....	:
<b>273</b>	.....	:
<b>.275</b>	.....	:
<b>.286</b>	.....	:
<b>.293</b>	.....	:

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**Résumé**

Cette étude vise à comprendre les relations turco-israéliennes et leurs impact sur la sécurité nationale arabe et ceci à travers la présentation de l'histoire de ces relations et l'analyse du présent et la détermination des futures scénarios. On pourrait dire que cette étude a inclus une clarification de l'évolution historique de ces relations par le fait que ce développement est une partie intégrante du contexte analytique de ces relations. En plus cette étude s'est intéressée à mettre en évidence l'impact de telles relations sur la sécurité nationale arabe dans tout les domaines afin de comprendre les défis internes et externes au quels sont confrontées ces relations, chose qui contribue à la conception des scénarios futurs qui pourraient influencer les relations turco-israéliennes dans la lumière des transformations internes, régionales et internationales.

**Mots clés:** sécurité, sécurité nationale, sécurité nationale Arabe, la stratégie.

**:Summary**

The aim of the study was to understand the Israeli-Turkish relations and the extent of their impact on the Arab national security, through reading the history of these relations and analysis of the present and the identification of the future scenarios. It can be said that this study is intended to clarify the historical development of these relations. Because of the fact that this development is an integral part of the analytical context of the natural reasons for the Development in these relations, Also the study highlights the impact of these relations on Arab national security in all areas, leading to understand the internal and external challenges facing these relations, which contribute to the design of the future scenarios that could occur in the light of The internal, regional and international current transformations.

**Keywords:** security, national security, Arab national security, the strategy.