



**THE ANALYSIS OF THE DRIVING FACTORS OF  
TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY FROM  
ASSERTIVENESS TO PRAGMATISM IN CASE OF  
TURKEY – ISRAEL RECONCILIATION ON THE  
MAVI MARMARA FLOTILLA INCIDENT**

**(2010 – 2016)**

**By**

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## **THESIS ADVISER RECOMMENDATION LETTER**

Thesis entitled “**THE ANALYSIS OF THE DRIVING FACTORS OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY FROM ASSERTIVENESS TO PRAGMATISM IN CASE OF TURKEY – ISRAEL RECONCILIATION ON THE MAVI MARMARA FLOTILLA INCIDENT (2010 – 2016)**” prepared and submitted by Muhammad Adnan Fatron in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor in the Faculty of Humanities had been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

Cikarang, Indonesia, January 24<sup>th</sup> 2017.

Recommended and Acknowledged by,

**Drs. Teuku Rezasyah, M.A., Ph.D.**

## **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

I declare that this thesis entitled “**THE ANALYSIS OF THE DRIVING FACTORS OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY FROM ASSERTIVENESS TO PRAGMATISM IN CASE OF TURKEY – ISRAEL RECONCILIATION ON THE MAVI MARMARA FLOTILLA INCIDENT (2010-2016)**” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work that has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, Indonesia, January 24<sup>th</sup> 2017

**Muhammad Adnan Fatron**

## ABSTRACT

**Title:** *The Analysis of The Driving Factors of Turkish Foreign Policy From Assertiveness to Pragmatism In Case of Turkey – Israel Reconciliation on The Mavi Marmara Flotilla Incident (2010-2016)*

Turkey and Israel had a good diplomatic relations and cooperated in any spheres for decades since 1949, but the incident of the attack towards Turkish flotilla, Mavi Marmara in 2010 by the Israeli Defense Forces, which was in a humanitarian mission to Gaza led to the death of some Turkish people, and the incident made relations between the two states deteriorated. Turkey downgraded its diplomatic status with Israel into minimum level and severed all forms of cooperation with Israel. They required some demands to Israel as a condition for returning a normal diplomatic relations, and if Israel did not fulfill all the demands, the relationship between the two countries will never be normal. But the change of behavior occurred in Turkey where they remained to reconcile the relationship with Israel, despite conditions that are enforceable to Israel has not been completed. The Factors influencing changes in Turkey's foreign policy in reconciling with Israel will be analyzed in this paper explicitly. Foreign policy case study will use one theory approach to foreign policy, namely, "Rational Choice Theory". Period of time taken for this study were taken from 2010 until 2016, precisely after Mavi Marmara attack in 2010 until the reconciliation took place in 2016. This research is a descriptive and analytical uses a qualitative approach through bilateral relations between Turkey and Israel

**Keywords:** Mavi Marmara, Reconciliation, Foreign policy, Diplomacy, Palmer Report.

## ABSTRAK

Judul: *Analisa Faktor-faktor Penyebab Kebijakan Luar Negeri Turki Dari Sikap Tegas ke Pragmatis Terhadap kasus rekonsiliasi Turki dan Israel dalam Insiden Kapal Mavi Marmara (2010-2016).*

Turki dan Israel memiliki sejarah hubungan diplomasi yang baik dan telah menjalani kerjasama dalam berbagai bidang selama puluhan tahun sejak 1949, tetapi kejadian penyerangan Kapal Turki, Mavi Marmara pada tahun 2010 oleh tentara Israel yang saat itu sedang dalam misi kemanusiaan ke Gaza menyebabkan matinya beberapa rakyat Turki, dan kejadian ini membuat hubungan kedua negara memburuk. Turki memutuskan semua bentuk kerjasama dengan Israel dan memberikan beberapa tuntutan kepada Israel sebagai syarat kembali normalnya hubungan diplomasi antar keduanya, dan apabila Israel tak memenuhi semua tuntutan maka hubungan antar kedua negara tidak akan pernah kembali normal. Namun perubahan sikap terjadi pada Turki dimana ia tetap melakukan rekonsiliasi dengan Israel walaupun syarat yang dituntutkan kepada Israel tidak dipenuhi seluruhnya. Faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi perubahan kebijakan luar negeri Turki dalam melakukan rekonsiliasi dengan Israel akan dianalisa dalam skripsi ini secara eksplisit. Penelitian kasus kebijakan luar negeri akan menggunakan salah satu teori pendekatan kebijakan luar negeri yaitu, "Rational Choice Theory". Jangka waktu yang diambil untuk penelitian ini diambil dari tahun 2010 sampai 2016, lebih tepatnya setelah kasus penyerangan Kapal Mavi Marmara di tahun 2010 sampai terjadinya rekonsiliasi di tahun 2016. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian yang deskriptif dan analitis yang menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui hubungan bilateral Turki dan Israel.

**Kata Kunci:** Mavi Marmara, Rekonsiliasi, Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Diplomasi.

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Indonesia, Cikarang, 24<sup>th</sup> 2017

**Muhammad Adnan Fatron**

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
AKP	Adalet Ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Part)
U.N	United Nations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
IHH	İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı (Humanitarian Relief Foundation)
BCMA	Billion Cubic Meters per Annum
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, (Republican's People Party)

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Research

Turkey in history was the main caliphate<sup>1</sup> of Islamic countries all over the world, but it had been fallen through Coup d'Etat by Turkish Pro Western at the end 1922 led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the young leader and proclaimed as a republic on 29 October 1923. Ataturk became the first president of the new Turkey which adopted republic system and implemented secularization to Turkey.<sup>2</sup>

Turkey's relationship with Israel started when Turkey became part of thirteen states that recognize Israel as a state through voting against the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine, despite the vote had been failed but Turkey was known as the only one of the major Islamic countries which declared of recognizing the nascent state of Israel.<sup>3</sup> Turkey's reason to build relationship with Israel was to defend their own new secular ideology which adopted the western democracy model as the new ideology of Turkey's government.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Caliphate is the system of Islamic countries government. All Islamic countries all over the world was centered in one governmental system which led by a caliph and another understanding is the definition of a caliphate is the rule of, or land ruled by, an Islamic political leader. An example of a caliphate is an Islamic leader believed to be directly descended from Muhammad PBUH. Accessed in <http://www.yourdictionary.com/caliphate> 10/3/16

<sup>2</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, 2015, *Turkey-Israel Relations, Journal of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy* page 3, Oxford, U.K.

<sup>3</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, 2015, *Turkey-Israel Relations, Journal of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy* page 4, Oxford, U.K.

<sup>4</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, 2015, *Turkey-Israel Relations, Journal of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy* page 5, Oxford, U.K.

The diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel gained a lot of cooperation in all sorts of sphere especially in military sector. Turkey and Israel have done certain military training intensively to show their sincerity in building a good relationship. Israel benefited from Turkey's surplus trades and Turkey was often to buy Israel arms Industrial product to be used in the fight against Kurdish Rebels. In side of military sphere cooperation, Turkey also built relationship in economic and culture.

The relations between Turkey and Israel had its own dynamic in their diplomatic history. The deterioration of relations between two states was merely tend to the cut of diplomatic relations. The first tension happened when Turkey abandoned its diplomatic relations with Israel under Adnan Menderes demand due to his interest to build the relationship with Iraq and showing solidarity to Iraqi Prime Minister, Nuri As-Said which condemned Israel invasion to Egypt and joining alliances to thwart USSR expansion over Middle East, including operation of Palestine issue in Sinai Campaign.<sup>5</sup> But after the fallen of Iraqi Monarchy and the fallen of Sinai Campaign in 1956, they repaired the diplomatic relations level which had deteriorated at the previous from Legation into Charge d' Affairs, but they went back into legation and move to Embassy in January 1980.<sup>6</sup>

The relations had been better after 20 years and in 1996 Turkey increase their relations with Israel through wreathing of military cooperation in 1996, despite its decision had received the critics from Iran, Iraq, and Syria.<sup>7</sup> The relations was seemed good for years under Secular governance, but the Rise of AKP and their interest towards Palestine make the relations with Israel decreased.

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<sup>5</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, 2015, *Turkey-Israel Relations*, *Journal of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy* page 5, Oxford, U.K.

<sup>6</sup> Jewish Virtual Library, 2016, *Israel International Relations: Turkey – Israel relations*, retrieved from <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/turkeytoc.html>, accessed at 1/11/17

<sup>7</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, 2015, *Turkey-Israel Relations*, *Journal of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy* page 9, Oxford, U.K.

In 2008, Israel attacked Gaza residence<sup>8</sup> and caused death from many civilians. This attack influencing diplomatic tension between Israel and Turkey, although there was no change of Turkey delegation status in Israel but changed of deportment did by Turkey towards Israel due to Israeli attack on Gaza. Turkey banned Israel to follow their one of diplomatic agreement which is Anatolian Eagle military training which had been started since 2001.<sup>9</sup>

Turkey was more adventurous to speak up about Israeli attack towards Palestine which is considered outrageous and caused of death of thousands innocent victims from civilians, and also it creates humanitarian crisis especially in Gaza. The unforgotten moment came from Davos International Economic Forum, when the current Israeli President, Shimon Peres told to the world that Israel has no reason not to attack Palestinians, to defend itself from Hamas attacks. Turkish Prime Minister, Erdogan said to reply Simon statement that Shimon was the Children killer, and Israel knows how to kill the kids, and then Erdogan walked out from the forum as a rejection of the Israeli action against Palestinians.

In 2010 the unprecedented incident occurred in the International Water area, Mavi Marmara as the flotilla used by Turkish International Organization had been attacked by Israeli Defense Forces when they sailed to Gaza strips with other states' flotilla representatives for Humanitarian aid mission, and it caused the death of nine passengers, eight were Turkish and one American Turkish. The Mavi Marmara Tragedy led Turkey and Israel into a vacuum diplomatic relations. The raid incident towards the humanitarian activist has

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<sup>8</sup> Jenny Percival and agencies, 2008, *Israel launches deadly Gaza attacks*, retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/27/israelandthepalestinians>, accessed at 1/11/17

<sup>9</sup> Anatolian Eagle Air Warfare Training is one the largest and complex of joint air force exercises. And Turkey initiated Anatolian Eagle in 2001 to gain simulation on air warfare scenarios in the context of national and multinational training. The number of participant in the first exercise were eighteen aircraft joined including Israel and United States and others like Germany, UAE, Pakistan, Jordan were came after 2001. Haluk Sahar, 2005, *Anatolian Eagle Air Warfare Training: A Valuable Turkish Contribution to NATO, the United States, and the World*, The Washington Institute Retrieved from <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/anatolian-eagle-air-warfare-training-a-valuable-turkish-contribution-to-nat> accessed at 9/27/16.

been condemned by Turkey and invited several of International reactions. This crisis case was responded by UN to face the incident through the panel and using investigation effort to end the problem between states.

The discussion about solving the case over Mavi Marmara flotilla in U.N Secretary General issued a crucial point that both states were facing the sustainability of their diplomatic relations. After the investigation process through secretary panel's inquiry, the report said that Gaza blockade was legal under international law, the action that took by IDF to take over the flotilla was considered as part of self-defense. Turkey through its official rejected the report and made Turkey took their own decision to face Israel.

Turkey downgraded its diplomatic relations with Israel into minimum level and canceled any cooperation from any sectors, the energy cooperation suspended, any military agreement was closed, and the ambassador of Israel had expelled from Turkey. The relations deteriorated and Turkey demanded some requirements if Israel wants to re-establish the relations.

## **1.2 Problem Identification**

The incident of Mavi Marmara be the worst case in Turkey – Israel diplomatic relations. The results of the investigation issued by the UN secretary General through the "Palmer Report" states what is done by Israel as a part of self-defense and naval blockade is legal under international law. Turkey feel this report was unjust whilst Turkish unarmed people have died in a humanitarian mission, and they also consider about the injustice statement of Gaza blockade which caused humanitarian crisis of the Palestinian.



In order to maintain the sovereignty of their country, Turkey shall take steps those are able to achieve their national interests and maintaining the confidence of the Turkish people to protect and securing its country. Finally, turkey took the decision to issue a foreign policy towards the Israeli government to take responsibility for this case as consideration of the attack taken by Israel. Those actions includes of expulsion of Israel ambassador from Turkey, recalling their own ambassador from Israel to go back to Turkey, cancelling military sphere agreement, stopping cooperation and agreement in the energy field, and demand three actions that Israel should do: Turkey asked Israel to apologize about the incident, compensating victim's family, and the Gaza blockade should be lifted.

Israel refused to take responsible for the incident and then two states relations continued with the vacuum relations for years, Turkey and Israel faced diplomatic dilemma due to the incident, the interdependence state which have good relations with several agreements and cooperation had downgraded their diplomatic relations into minimum level, Turkey tried to ban Israel through many ways, canceling joint military exercise, brought the case of Israeli Defense Forces attack to the international court and prohibited Israel following NATO members meeting.

Turkey assertively responded to the incident that befell their people and threaten the sovereignty of its country, they stated that the fulfillment of all demands is mandatory, and if these are not fulfilled, the relationship with Israel will never be normal. Apparently, they have been agreed to do reconciliation after six years vacuum. Such dilemma, that Turkish behavior changed from assertive to pragmatic. Turkey which decided to suspend all the diplomatic cooperation and gave statement that Turkish relation with Israel would never be normal if the required demands have not been fulfilled had different objectives, two states reached the reconciliation agreement and re-establish the diplomatic relations that had been vacuum for years, even though the Turkish demands were not entirely filled by Israel.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

It could be measured by the Issues shown that the problem of this Thesis would be as follows.

*“What are the driving factors that led Turkish foreign policy from assertiveness to pragmatism and led to Turkey – Israel reconciliation?”*

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The purpose of this research is to find the answer to the question using the explanatory – descriptive. This thesis seeks to:

1. To analyze Turkey – Israel bilateral relations.
2. To prove the changing behavior of Turkish government from assertiveness to pragmatism.
3. To analyze the driving factors of Turkish foreign policy in case of Turkey – Israel reconciliation, 2016.

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This research is aimed to give a greater insight on Turkey and Israel bilateral relations. In order to get a clear and focused understanding, the analysis on the driving factors of Turkish foreign policy in case of Turkey Israel reconciliation is served in this thesis, and it is hoped to contribute to the acknowledging of Turkish foreign policy in responding of Israel attack on Mavi Marmara flotilla. Then, this research served understanding explicitly how the scene of the attack Mavi Marmara, what are the background of the attack, and the diplomatic condition of Turkey and Israel after the issue until current condition, also the most important is knowing about the driving factors

that influenced Turkish foreign policy which issuing of two states reconciliation after six years vacuum.

## **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

### **1.6.1 Neo-Realism**

Neo-realism refers to Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics (1979), this theory emphasizes the importance of the international system structure and its role as the prime determinant of a state behavior, and in the area of security studies some scholars and use the term of offensive and defensive realism when discussing the context of neo-realism. This means that neo-realism address issue and problems that could disrupt the status quo, namely the issues of security, conflict and the cooperation, but in general in due to neo-realism as the system maintainer theory meaning that this theory concerns on the sphere international system and its actors, values and power arrangements and specifically Neo-realism theory focuses on issue of military security and war.<sup>10</sup> However neo-realist think that states is still being the principal actor in international system.

The core question for research of Neo-realism is how to survive in international system and it is status quo-oriented problem solving theories. The famous concept of this theory is the concept of balance of power due to perceiving anarchy as the phenomenon in international system. For Neo-realist, the structure of international system shapes all foreign policy choices, and for addition in an anarchic system that states with greater power tend to have greater influence.

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<sup>10</sup> John Baylis, Steve smith, Patricia Owens, 1998, The globalization of world politics. (An introduction to International relations, Oxford University Press, New York, Page 126

In Realism the theorist perceived that states can get power in international system only by forces, even though realist recognize other element of power like economic, resources and technology but military power is the core way to gain the national interest, but in view of Neo-realism that force is not as the main important tool of a statecraft. For Neo-realist power is more than just accumulating the military resources and the ability to use this power to coerce and control other states in the system.<sup>11</sup>

Neo-realists including Waltz perceived that seeing power as the combination of capabilities of a state have like economic, resources and technology. And power give a state a position or place in international system and that shapes the state's behavior. Neo-realist perceive that anarchy defines the system that a state involved, and it explain that different policy could impact different power and capabilities. For instance, in responding the anarchy a state could decide a policy to do balance of power with other states/actors in reflecting to security dilemma. State A could do cooperation with other states in order to secure their national interest and gaining the power like increasing military strength.<sup>12</sup> But in neo-realism perceived that there are two condition that state should aware to international cooperation: Cheating and the relative gains of other actors. Then, it is very important to the state to jump deeply in cooperation, due to Neo-realism perceive to keep in arms-length relationship in doing alliances, because it could measure who will gain more in cooperation.<sup>13</sup>

### **1.6.2 Foreign Policy**

Foreign policy is an act of states adopt to take foreign and diplomatic relations with other states of the world. The common perspective by the foreign

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<sup>11</sup> John Baylis, Steve smith, Patricia Owens, 1998, The globalization of world politics. (An introduction to International relations, Oxford University Press, New York, Page 127-128.

<sup>12</sup> John Baylis, Steve smith, Patricia Owens, 1998, The globalization of world politics. (An introduction to International relations, Oxford University Press, New York, Page 129

<sup>13</sup> John Baylis, Steve smith, Patricia Owens, 1998, The globalization of world politics. (An introduction to International relations, Oxford University Press, New York.

policy scholars that the concept is well defined set by national interest as the goal of a foreign policy. The strategy of achieving national interest as a goal is through applying various ways coercively or peacefully. National interest separated in several sphere of kinds of goal, and it can be divided of territorial dominion, national security, economic development, trade sphere and resolution of issues.<sup>14</sup>

George Modelski (1962) stated that “*Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment*” (p.6). The explanation of George Modelski leads states to minimize conflict and maximize cooperative actions, which national interest as the goal of the policy. According to him, the concept of foreign policy can be understood by the following aspect:<sup>15</sup>

- a. Relationship between internal and external factors in decision making process.
- b. Process of policy making
- c. Goals and objectives of foreign policy
- d. Role of power in policy making.

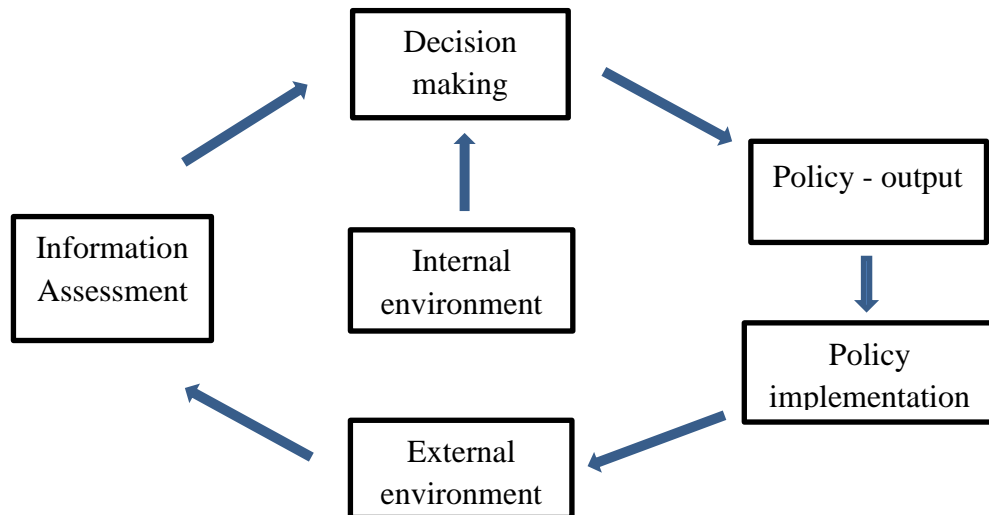
The decision of foreign policy influenced by internal factors or external. Then chosen by policy maker based on significant interest for the state. This is scheme that provided by academician about foreign policy formulation process as these.

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<sup>14</sup> Sadia Mushtaq and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, 2013, *Conceptualization of Foreign Policy An Analytical Analysis*. Berkeley Journal of Social Science Vol.3, Spring 2013. Accessed in <http://www.berkeleyjournalofsocialsciences.com/spring4.pdf> at 24/10/16

<sup>15</sup> Sadia Mushtaq and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, 2013, *Conceptualization of Foreign Policy An Analytical Analysis*. Berkeley Journal of Social Science Vol.3, Spring 2013. page 3-4

**Figure. 1.6.2 Foreign Policy formulation in decision making process<sup>16</sup>.**



**Source:** *Pengantar Hubungan Internasional, Anak Agung Banyu Perwita dan Yanyan Mochamad Yani.*

In order to make explicit and clear understanding, the Writer will use Rational Choice Theory as one of approaches in the concept of foreign policy to analyze the phenomenon of Turkish foreign policy towards Israel, and it is derived from the Neo-realism paradigm.

### **1.6.3 Rational Choice Theory**

For achieving the goal more explicitly on this thesis, the author will use one of models in the concept of foreign policy, *rational choice theory* as the main tool of analyzing the driving factors of Turkish foreign policy in case of Turkey – Israel reconciliation in responding the case of Mavi Marmara attack.

Rational choice approach is very fundamental to encourage quantification effort in political science and developing empirical behavior that

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<sup>16</sup> Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, Yanyan Mochamad Yani, 2006, *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, Remaja Rosda Karya, Page 60, Bandung.

can be proven the truth within. The model as the empirical study, rather than abstract and speculative. Rational choice theory has been integrated into Neo-realism paradigm to explain policy choices and the behavior of the states in conflict and cooperative situations.

According to Charles L. Glaser (2010) he takes perspective of a state that confronts an international environment that present constrain and opportunities.<sup>17</sup> Based on Neo-Realism perspectives the rational choice theory views that the international environment is anarchy, there is no supreme power that can enforce agreement and prevent to use coercive way. The state is assumed to be rational that it take decisions reasonably account of its national interest, and international impedance and chances that it confronts.

Charles added in his rational choice theory that the state's international behavior is divided by two types of variables that can significantly shape the chances and impedance the state will take decision to act by using military force to achieve its interest. Material variable commonly ascertain the military capability that a state can build. Information variables, both what the state knows about its enemy's needs and what it believes its enemy knows about its own interest, also influence the responses a state predicts to its action and, hence, the strategy it should choose.<sup>18</sup>

State as the government will assume near of rational individual having a value or cost of calculation, goal and use of tools to run the tactics. This Actor collecting choices, information, high risk, then choosing and make a plan of each action as the one of the ways to see what will happen and any profit if one of it was chosen. Then, if the state failed or had no big profit, then it is

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<sup>17</sup> Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*, (Princeton, New Jersey) 2010.

<sup>18</sup> Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*, (Princeton, New Jersey) 2010, Page 3.

failed in collecting the information, wrong calculation, or wrong rational choices.

This rational choice model used by analysts to implement each response as a rational calculation to face act of another actor. Conventionally, rationality happens when a policy maker will choose best alternative from several alternatives. Therefore, the policy makers need best information to considerate their decision to make policy.

The question on how to analyze and organize the case of Mavi Marmara incident into Foreign Policy decision made by Turkey, the author will analyze the case through Allison rational choice model<sup>19</sup> which proposing about rational choice theory organizing concept.

- a) National Actor, Recognizing the actor. In this case Turkey is recognized as the nation or governance, considered as a rational actor, and the agent of decision maker. The actor must have a set of specified goals as the interest of the implemented policy. Set contains, one set of comprehensive options, which each option has a single estimate of the aftermaths that follow from each alternative.
- b) The problem, recognizing the problem. Taking decision to downgraded the minimum level of diplomatic relations and suspended all the cooperation are the policies that chosen and implemented by Turkey in responding to the strategic problem that the nation faces. The arising of threats and opportunities from this case had impacted “Turkey International Strategic Market Place” which motivating Turkey to act in achieving their national interest.
- c) Static Selection, the summary of the activities of representatives of the nation relevant to a problem appoints what the nation has chosen as its “solution”. The action that represent from the policy made by nation is

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<sup>19</sup> Graham T Allison, 1969, Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis, The American Political Science Review.

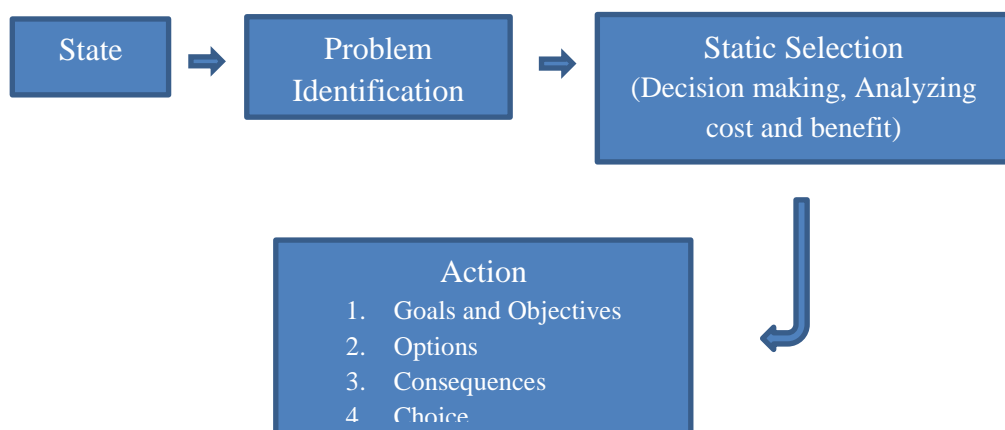


considered as a steady-state choice among alternative outcomes when identifying the case and it's strategic. The author will perceive "Turkish foreign policy" towards Turkey – Israel reconciliation is the best alternative that Turkey has chosen.

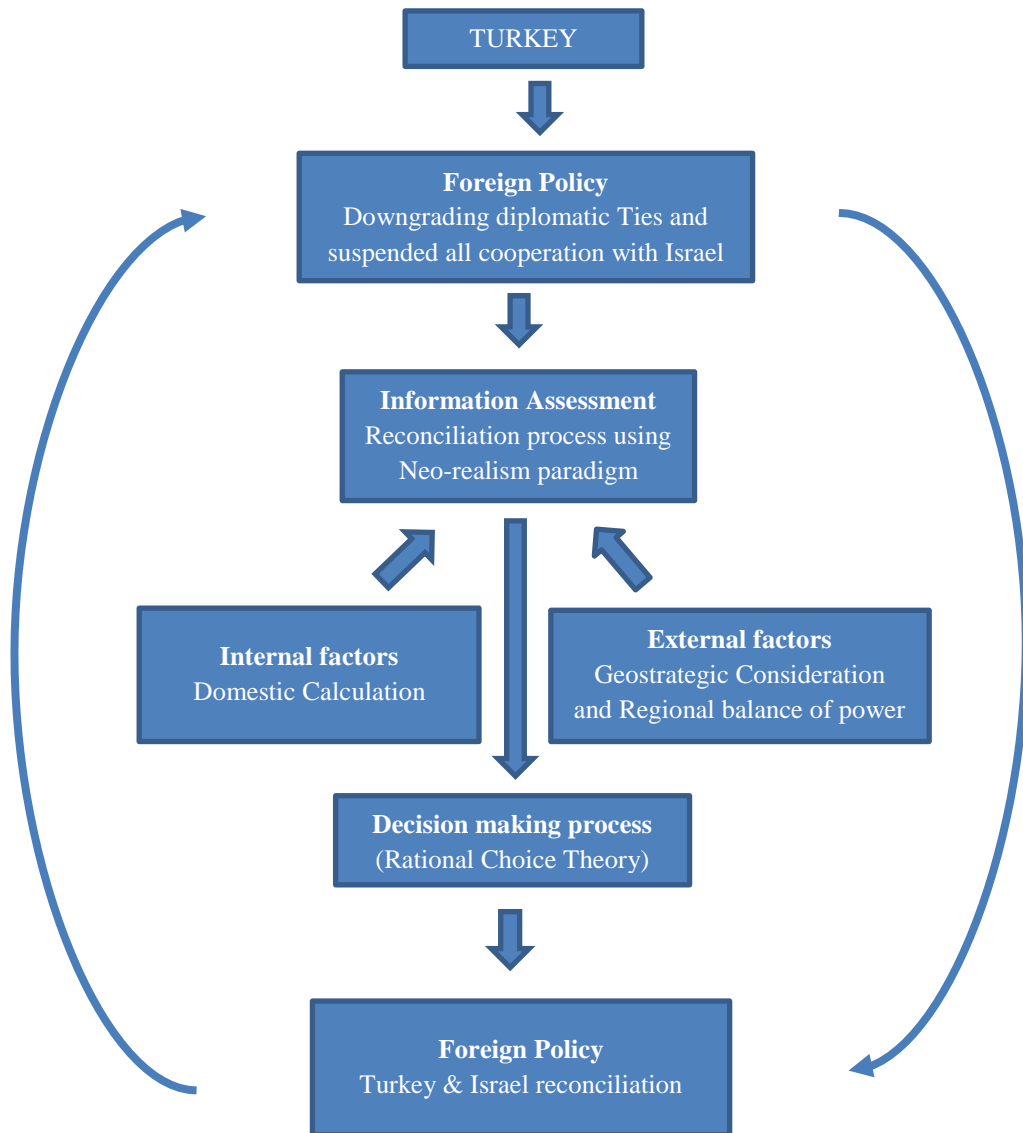
d) Action as Rational Choice. The components include :

1. Goals and Objectives. National Interest and National security are the principle state categories that State considered as the strategic goals. The author will analyze the view of Turkey strategic goals and objectives into explicit usefulness function of its future government relating with case.
2. Options. Author will analyze various tracks of action relevant to a strategic problem on the scope of options.
3. Consequences. Author will analyze the Act of each alternative track of action that will produce a series of consequences, due to the relevant consequences establish benefits and costs in term of strategic goals and objectives.
4. Choice. Rational choice is value maximizing. The Author will analyze what Turkish final policy alternatives which consequences as the highest rank in terms of Turkey goals and Objectives.

**Figure. I.6.3. Rational Choice Model**



**Figure. 1.6.3 The flow chart of theoretical framework**



Within this thesis Turkey is identified as an actor which implemented the foreign policy towards Israel issuing the downgrading of diplomatic relations and suspended all cooperation. The process of this implementation of assertive policy is assessed its effectiveness and efficiency through realism paradigm from the information that comes internal and external factors. The process of recalculation through the current policy's effectiveness are issuing new behavior to create new

policy, which is created within the decision making process. The processes of decision making are analyzed by the writer using rational choice theory, then result of this process is progressing and issuing new policy after being assessed rationally is the reconciliation agreement.

## **I.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

### **I.7.1 Time Span**

In this thesis, the writer will limit the time of the research which is six years. The writer will scope the time limits from March 2010 to June 2016 when the case of Mavi Marmara incident appeared until the deal of reconciliation after six years vacuum. Turkish government was still in same government led by the AKP and Erdogan as the main leader have a role within six years scope, became the Prime ministry and the President of Turkey until the reconciliation reached a deal.

### **I.7.2 Level of Analysis**

*Table 1.7.2. Level of Analysis*

<b>Level of Analysis</b>	<b>Foreign policy</b>		
	Energy Resources	Social	Security
<b>Individual</b>			
<b>State</b>	√	√	√
<b>International</b>			

Level of analysis consists of three levels in political science; Individual, states (or society), and the international system. In this research writer limited the analysis of foreign policy from the state analysis which is Turkish government lead by the AKP as the holder of the governmental policy. The foreign policy was

influenced by the Energy resources, security and the social. The writer will provide the part of Energy calculation became Turkish consideration to reconcile with Israel and the social part as the root cause of the Mavi Marmara incident which is the death of nine Turkish and Security as the biggest influence towards the deal of Turkey – Israel reconciliation.

### I.7.3 Sector of Analysis

*Table 1.7.3 Sector of Analysis*

Sector of Analysis	Foreign Policy		
	Decision	Implementation	Evaluation
Turkish foreign policy towards Israel: The Driving factors of Turkey – Israel reconciliation in case of Mavi Marmara flotilla at 2010.			√

Mavi Marmara flotilla incident in 2010 caused Turkey downgraded its Diplomatic status with Israel and suspended all diplomatic cooperation which responded assertively by Turkish government, but in June 2016 Turkish government reached the deal of reconciliation with Israel regarding the Mavi Marmara case and changed their foreign policy from assertiveness to pragmatism through the process of the evaluation towards its policy.

## I.8 Definition of Terms

The writer has wrote several basic definition of terms which will be provided in the whole of this thesis.

- a) *Diplomatic relations* : The arrangement between two countries by which each has representatives in the other country.<sup>20</sup>
- b) *Mavi Marmara* : a flotilla used by the IHH a Turkish International Organization to do humanitarian aid mission to Gaza. This flotilla was the principle flotilla within the mission, led others flotilla from different countries crossing the sea to reach Gaza strip blockade area.<sup>21</sup>
- c) *Reconciliation* : The process of making two opposite beliefs, ideas, or situations agree and reach the deal or interest.<sup>22</sup>
- d) *Palmer report* : The U.N secretary General report on international investigation towards Mavi Marmara attack incident in 2010.
- e) *Assertiveness* : a behavior that confidently assertive and it is not afraid to say what they want or believe.<sup>23</sup>
- f) *Pragmatism* : solving the problem through a reasonable way that suits to current condition, rather than obeying the permanent ideas, rules or theories.<sup>24</sup>
- g) *Political Pragmatism*: An attitude in political practice about the rejection of theory and ideology to a testing and the implementation of facts and reality. Refers to Craig Montuori (2010), political pragmatism is a philosophy that conveys “if it works, we don’t really care why”.<sup>25</sup>
- h) *Balance of Power*: In international relations the attitude and strategy or policy of a state or group of states protecting itself against another state or

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<sup>20</sup> *Diplomatic Relations*, Cambridge Dictionary, retrieved from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/diplomatic-relations> accessed at 1/9/17

<sup>21</sup> Abdel Moneim Said, 2010, *The meaning of Mavi Marmara*, retrieved from <http://www.masress.com/en/ahramweekly/1365> accessed at 1/18/17

<sup>22</sup> *Reconciliation*, Cambridge Dictionary.

<sup>23</sup> *Assertive*, Cambridge Dictionary.

<sup>24</sup> *Pragmatism*, Cambridge Dictionary.

<sup>25</sup> Craig Montuori, 2010, *What is political pragmatism?*, retrieved from <https://www.quora.com/What-is-political-pragmatism>, accessed at 1/23/17

group of states by combining its power against the power of the other actors (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1998)

- i) *Geostrategic*: the use of strategy by a government based on geopolitics perspective.<sup>26</sup>

## **I.9 Literature Review**

In purpose to give the readers the little but adequate insight about Turkey Foreign policy within the case of Mavi Marmara flotilla attack by Israel forces, the author had written some paragraphs in this part in accordance to a short list of literatures that would support and encourage readers to deeper their knowledge than the stated below and this sub-chapter is expected contain some explanation on the very basic of Turkey foreign policy.

The first literature as the basis sources of this thesis is Journal from Oxford Centre for the Study of Law and Public Policy. In the title *Turkey-Israel Relations by Dr Jay Alan Sekulow (2015)*. The journal talks about the intimacy of both states in history until current condition. Turkey as the ex-Muslim world main governance had engaged relations with Israel which considered as the rival of Muslim countries due to Palestine occupation since changing of ideology into secularism. This condition is unique since Turkey is the only Muslim state which recognized state of Israel. They have diplomatic relations in some sectors, mainly Security, Tourism, and Energy. But the relations had a bit changes since the AKP party won the election and led the Turkey government. As the Islamic party, AKP try to change Turkey fundamental ideology from secular into democracy. After the AKP took power in leading governance, there began the gradual decline in relations between Turkey and Israel. Some claimed that AKP is hardly against Israel occupation towards Palestine, and it was supported the party because a majority of Turkish

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<sup>26</sup> Geostrategy, retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/geostrategy>, accessed at 1/24/17

citizen are sympathetic to Palestinian cause. The journal explained that relations had worsen gradually since Erdogan as the prime minister at the time refused to meet with Israel's Deputy Prime Minister Olmet in July 2004 and rather to choose Syrian Prime Minister el-Otri, then case of Davos, international economic forum which Erdogan said that Simon Peres is the Palestinian baby killer, then the worse bad impact towards Turkey-Israel relations was the Mavi Marmara Attack which caused cutting of diplomatic relations for several years, then Turkey had to create Foreign Policy towards Israel.

The second Literature is taken from the Journal from the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy. In the title *The Mavi Marmara Trial: Politicising The Turkish Justice System by Robert Weston Ash (2015)*. The journal talks about the effort of Turkey and Israel to solve the case through United Nations court process. After the attack on Mavi Marmara flotilla happened, the response came from the whole world to convince United Nations to settle this incident which valued as one of the worse international relations case, due to the incident happened to the Humanitarian aid volunteer which brought peace mission. In this journal United Nations solved this case by delegating Investigation Team into two party, the Secretary General and Human Right Council. The Human Right Council said that Israel was wrong in the attack and its Gaza blockade but the Secretary General straightened what Israel did over Gaza Blockade and considered that Mavi Marmara incident as the defense action towards Israel national interest, those statements refer to UN Charter, International Law and the Law of Armed Conflict. This UN verdict over Mavi Marmara attack and Gaza blockade made Turkey disappointed and formulated their Foreign Policy towards Israel as the consequences of the attack.

The third journal comes from the Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs. Written by Augustinova Petra in the title *Turkey's Foreign & Security Policy: The Crossroads between Israel, Arab Neighbors and*

*European Union in Turkey's Foreign Policy (2013)*. The source said about the shift of Turkey's political tendency from Western to Eastern. The winning of the Justice and Development party has ruled the government orientation from secularization into democratic governance. This journal observed the political orientation changing can be observed from the tension between Turkey and Israel relations. The relations of these two countries played a significant impact towards the emergence of Turkey's foreign policy transformation. The highest tension came from Mavi Marmara Incident which caused the discontinuation of diplomatic relations between both states. The decision stated by Turkish Prime Minister in 2011 after The United Nations convicted that Israel was not guilty. Turkey rejected what UN decided, then they downgrading the diplomatic relations with Israel into secretary level. The Mavi Marmara incident made Israel got consequences of their act towards Mavi Marmara through Turkey Foreign Policy. The incident impacted to the Arab neighbors and European Union in Turkey foreign policy.

The fourth source was from the **Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, (2016)** that written by the Policy Analysis Unit. The source talks about the implication of the Mavi Marmara incident towards the future diplomatic relations of Turkey and Israel. The implication affected several elements of bilateral cooperation, Geostrategic, Trade and Economic development, especially Turkey as the main actor of this incident. The source also talks about the reconciliation between Turkey and Israel after six years vacuum which driven by some factors as the reasons of two states to re-establish their diplomatic relations. The author get the important insight over the incident and its implication towards two states bilateral relations, and take main conclusion towards this research that Turkey – Israel reconciliation has been influenced by several factors, Political Pragmatism, Balance of Power, Geostrategic Consideration and Domestic Calculation.

The fifth source is from the Britain Israel Communication and Research Centre, 2015 for the title: **Israeli – Turkish Reconciliation** that



written by the BICOM Strategic Assessment team. The research talks about the current situation affecting Turkey – Israel bilateral relations which began from the Mavi Marmara attack on the international water and continued to the cut of diplomatic relations between two states. The two states which known as a good partner relationship has been changed into freeze of relations and caused of bad implication towards the diplomatic sphere. The main important has been written in this source was the explanation of the regional context which influence the dilemma of bilateral relations between Turkey and Israel that made two states agreed to do reconciliation after six years vacuum. The analyst in this research provide several evidence that considered by two states as their goals in achieving the re-establishment of two states diplomatic relations, Security Intelligence, Economic Ties and Energy, Israel and Hamas, the geostrategic in Middle East.

The sixth sources was from the **ORSAM, the center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies, 2016**. The analysis is written by Göktuğ Sönmez, the International Relations Expert in 2016 with the title **Signalling a New Era In The Region: Turkish - Israeli Reconciliation**. The research talks about the reconciliation agreement which announced on June, 27, 2016 which is not only talked about the direct consequences of the Turkey – Israel negotiations in 2013, but also the important dimension circumstances change based on Turkey's re-evaluation of the political and economic losses and risks it has been facing since the incident of Mavi Marmara Happened. Turkey were faced for some challenges in reconciling with Israel, the factors that led Turkish to do reconciliation are in Turkish measurable scope which is something that Turkey have to choose. The source also talks about both of internal and external factors which reconsidered by Turkey as the best alternatives as their foreign policy towards Israel.

The Seventh source was the **U.N Secretary General Palmer Report** in 2011 as the final decision of international investigation over Turkey – Israel dispute in Mavi Marmara incident. This report is the result of the required

investigation by Turkey and International demand about the attack of flotilla by Israel in international water. Turkish as the harmed actor have issued some demands to the Secretary General, the re-evaluation of the Gaza blockade by Israel, and the most important was seeking for justice towards Israel in raiding the humanitarian convoy on. The process of the investigation were running for several month start from 2 august 2010 until 2 September 2011 as the announcement day of the report. The decision of the report says that Israel's blockade towards Gaza are legal under international law and Israel forces act towards Mavi Marmara are reconsidered as self-defense act.

## **I.10 Research Methodology**

**Descriptive research** method is used as the common process on this thesis. This descriptive research method is one of the methods that use on research which purposes to explain a moment. Sugiyono (2011) said “Descriptive research is a research purposes to give or explain a moment or phenomenon that is happening by using scientific process to answer the case actually”.<sup>27</sup> Another definition by Sukmadinata (2006) declared that descriptive research method is a method try to describe, interpret something, for instance condition or existing relationships, developing statement, an ongoing process, impact or effect that occur or about ongoing trends.<sup>28</sup> Then this method is used on this thesis to describe, interpret a phenomenon, like condition or existing relationships, developing statement by using scientific procedure to answer the case actually. Then, the author assume that descriptive research method is compatible with the research conducted by the author. Because in this research, author try to describe Turkey – Israel bilateral relations.

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<sup>27</sup> Metode Penelitian Deskriptif (Descriptive Research Method), Unikom, retrieved from [http://elib.unikom.ac.id/files/disk1/602/jbptunikompp-gdl-meiambarasa-30082-11-unikom\\_m-3.pdf](http://elib.unikom.ac.id/files/disk1/602/jbptunikompp-gdl-meiambarasa-30082-11-unikom_m-3.pdf) at 8/30/16

<sup>28</sup> Metode Penelitian Deskriptif (Descriptive Research Method), Unikom.

The research style on this thesis the author use **Qualitative research** method because it is a naturalistic, interpretative approach focused with understanding the meanings of certain observed phenomenon and action. This method try to construct reality and understanding the meaning, then the research is paying attention to the process, moment and authenticity. The characteristic features of this methods are constructing reality and cultural value, focus on process and moment interactively, authenticity is the key, providing explicit value, limited problem and situation, few of case and subject. Thematic analysis and the author is involved. Used this method also examining, analyzing and interpreting observation for the purpose of seeking basic meanings and pattern relations with a way does not following mathematical models. This qualitative model research also provides the explanation of reasons and association among social variables.

Moreover, in order to prove the Thesis Statement at the previous explanation, the author would like to use **library Research** as the sources that there will be books, websites, Pdf, e-books, journals, theories and previous researches to be examined. Based on the tool, the author finds previous researches about books and journals related by this thesis.

## **I.11 Thesis Outline**

This research consists of five chapters. The writer will discuss different main points of the related topic in each chapter. The first chapter is Introduction part, then followed by the Second chapter that provide the root of this case, the incident of Mavi Marmara as the independent variable and the role of U.N over the case continued into the dependent variable that is the aftermath of Turkey – Israel diplomatic relations over the incident and then chapter would be the analysis of the driving factors of Turkey – Israel reconciliation and last chapter would be the conclusion.

## **CHAPTER 1**

This chapter will introduce the basis of thesis fundamental research, including the important information and purposes of this thesis. It is aimed to explain and overview the thesis as a whole structure into background of the study, problems identification, problem statement, research question significance of the study, theoretical framework, scope and limitation of the studies, and thesis structure itself. This chapter served implicitly to raise reader interest and look further into the thesis.

## **CHAPTER II**

This chapter will served explicitly each factor of Mavi Marmara attack incident, and the author would divide into sub chapters in order to make it easier in taking correlations between the case and the support factors. The first sub chapter will be served of Palestine – Israel historical conflict which becomes the interest of Turkish foreign policy, and explaining about new lead government party that has influence towards Turkish foreign policy and its relation with Hamas as Israel’s enemy. The most important is to explain about Mavi Marmara incident and international reactions. The outcome would be brought further into analysis in identifying the pattern of Turkey’s reason over Palestine matter in helping war victims in Gaza, and Israel response over Turkey – Hamas Relations which ended by Israel reason to waylay and attacking Mavi Marmara flotilla which invited hard response of Turkey as the root of main case within this research.

## **CHAPTER III**

This chapter will examine the incident and its aftermath, and it will be divided into several sub chapters, which each of sub will explain different variables that at the final of this chapter the reader will understand the subject of chapter gradually. The sub chapters would provide the role of U.N Secretary General towards Mavi Marmara incident and Turkey’s responses towards U.N Palmer report that appearing result of Turkey – Israel downgrading of

diplomatic relations and suspended all diplomatic cooperation, and another sub would like to provide process of Turkey – Israel reconciliation and the condition of Turkish domestic and the regional before the reconciliation in 2016.

#### **CHAPTER IV**

This chapter served as the main of this research where a thorough analysis will be delivered in elaborating the foreign policy concept using the rational choice model and the whole objective of this research based on theoretical framework and research methodology. The outcome of this chapter is aimed to give an understanding that Internal and External factors successfully driven Turkey to do reconciliation with Israel and changed their behavior from assertive to pragmatism even though Turkish demands had not been completed by Israel. The internal factors consist of Turkish domestic calculation and External factors consist of geostrategic consideration and regional balance of power.

#### **CHAPTER V**

The conclusion of this thesis will be written within this chapter altogether with significant explanation of Turkish foreign policy towards Israel in case of Turkey – Israel reconciliation on the Mavi Marmara Incident which hoped to give additional knowledge about Turkey – Israel aftermath relations especially in their diplomatic sphere after the incident flotilla attack in 2010.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THE ISRAELI FORCES ATTACK ON THE MAVI MARMARA FLOTILLA (2010)**

The incident that occurred on 31 May 2010 in international waters had invited international reactions about Israel forces decision to attack the Mavi Marmara flotilla which was in route to Gaza in a humanitarian mission. The Mavi Marmara attack become the worst case towards Turkey – Israel bilateral relations. For a clear understanding of the Mavi Marmara incident the author would like to separate this second chapter into several subs, and in order to make the reader easier to understand the case as a whole, the chapter will explain the root factors of deteriorating relations between Turkey and Israel and the reason beyond the Mavi Marmara attack. For better and comprehensive understanding, this chapter would like to be separated into main sub chapters which talking about Palestine – Israel historical conflict and the factors beyond Turkey’s interest toward Palestine – Israel conflict and the core of this chapter is the explanation of Mavi Marmara attack in 2010.

#### **II.1 Palestine – Israel Historical Conflict.**

The conflict between Israel and Palestine has been happening for years since Arab-Israeli War of 1947-1948 and continued to 1967 when Israel occupied the Palestinian areas and Israeli forces remained there for years. Israel considered Palestine as the Promised Land<sup>29</sup>, and they aimed to return the land of Jews. Israeli wanted to exchange the land that they won through admitting of Arab countries on

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<sup>29</sup> The New York Times, 2009, *A Brief History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, *The New York Times*. Retrieved From <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/studentactivity/20090109gazahistory.pdf> accessed at 11/2/2016

recognizing Israel's right to exist as a state and end the fighting. Israeli state has been recognized, but still want Gaza as their territorial. Israel fight for their interest to control Gaza, but they could not enter the area, due to the civilian fighter in Gaza were strongly fighting Israel and not allowing them to enter within the City, then Israel finally left Gaza in 2005.<sup>30</sup> Soon after the Hamas party which known as the organization of Palestine liberation is won the elections in 2016 they made Gaza as the main base of them. Hamas refuses to the existence of Israel as a country and wants to return Palestinians land from Israel.<sup>31</sup>

### **II.1.1 Hamas – Israel Military Conflict.**

Since 2006 after Hamas won the election, they struggled to combat Israel and tried to free Palestine from occupation. Hamas effectively trained their forces to keep Gaza from any external threat. Hamas military called as the Qassam Brigades with the number of personnel around 25,000s and 20,000 of Armed Personnel.<sup>32</sup> Israel sees Hamas as the threat that could not be underestimated, and will disturb the existence of Israel state. In December 2008, the War between Hamas and Israel was inevitable. Israel launched its biggest offensive over Gaza in four decades. According to the Palestinian Centre for Human Right, 1,147 People were killed during Israel's offensive from December 27, 2008 – January 18, 2009.<sup>33</sup> This attack refer Israel to build a naval blockade in Gaza in order to prevent Military aid given to Hamas from Gaza strip. They stop the allowance of the supply through Gaza by its strip and all the aids outside Gaza were strictly controlled by Israel and must through the Israel Ashdod port.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The New York Times, 2009, *A Brief History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, The New York Times.

<sup>31</sup> BBC, 2015, *Guide: Why are Israel and the Palestinians fighting over Gaza?*, BBC. Retrieved From <http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/20436092> accessed in 11/2/2016

<sup>32</sup> Thomson Reuters Foundation News, 2014, *Israel-Palestinians conflict*, Thomson Reuters Foundation News. Retrieved From <http://news.trust.org//spotlight/Israeli-Palestinian-conflict/?tab=briefing> accessed at 11/2/2016

<sup>33</sup> BBC, 2015, *Guide: Why are Israel and the Palestinians fighting over Gaza?*, BBC

<sup>34</sup> BBC, 2015, *Guide: Why are Israel and the Palestinians fighting over Gaza?*, BBC

## **II.2 Turkey – Palestine Relations.**

The interests of Turkey to Palestine influenced by the emergence of new parties using the ideology of Islamic democracy. The policies imposed by the party aims to strengthen the position of Turkey in the region and the Islamic countries.

### **II.2.1 The Rise of AKP (Justice and Development Party)**

The fall of Turkey Ottoman in 1923 through the revolution agenda which led by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had changed the political ideologies in Turkey from Islamic to Secular. Secularization has been implemented to the whole Turkey, banning the Islamic value to change Turkey's political ideology and led the government for less more than eighteen years.<sup>35</sup>

The roots of Islam that actually become the soul of Turkey could not be disappear easily. The Islamic movement in Turkey tried to shift the secularization in Turkey and bring back the Islamic value into Turkey governmental system. In 1970 the strength of political Islam has growth in Turkey, the rise of Islamic Movement led by Necmettin Erbakan named by Milli Görüş Movement faced many challenges, especially came from the Kemalist group which oriented of Secular state for Turkey and against who threat Turkey secular government.<sup>36</sup> The Welfare Party under Necmettin Erbakan tried to lead Turkish government through crossing the political election party in Turkey, and in 1996 they won the election<sup>37</sup>. Erbakan statement and policies which regards to Islamization led him to get Coup d Etat in 1997 due to Secular government perceived it as a threat of the Turkey secular ideology, then he was expelled from his governmental office in 1997 by the military, and continued to the investigation towards several Islamist group that had known supported Erbakan's government.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, op. cit page 4. Footnote #15

<sup>36</sup> Angel Rabasa and F. Stephen Larrabee, 2008, *The Rise of Political Islam*, National Defense Research Institute under RAND Corporation. Page 31.

<sup>37</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, op. cit page 10.

<sup>38</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, op. cit, Page 12.



The struggle of re-establishing Islamic value continued. The AKP, The Justice and Development Party was shaped in August 2001 by Islamist politicians including, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Abdullah Gül and Bülent Arınç. The roots of AKP system comes from the Erbakan-led Welfare Party. The AKP reached the major election in 2002 and won 34 percent of the vote in general election. The AKP existence in developing and serving Turkish prosperity made them riser in 2007 election. The result even better, they won 46.6 percent of the vote and leaved CHP, Republican People's party representing Atatürk Secular tradition rated under AKP with 20,9 percent of the vote.<sup>39</sup>

The outstanding achievement won by the AKP party has signed the move of political Islam, shifting secular ideology smoothly and become a major actor in Turkish politic to lead the government. AKP defines themselves as the Conservative Democratic Party, rather than describing them as the Islamic Party, but many secularist reserved it as the hidden agenda of AKP to decrease and decline the secularist nature of the Turkish state ideology. Erdogan as the former of AKP played the significant role in masterminding the creation of the AKP, the party that comes out from the Islamist welfare party would be closed down by Turkey constitutional court on accusations of being a forum for and exponent of anti-secular activities.<sup>40</sup> Erdogan know it well, then AKP focused more in developing the country using basis of democratic way rather than upping voice to describe as the Islamic party which signed as the threat of secularism in Turkey.

The former of Welfare party, Erbakan which also known has a good relationship with Hamas was vocally spoken up with his idea against Zionism.<sup>41</sup> The Rise of AKP showing significant shifts of relations with Israel, this phenomenon has been showed from Turkey's behavior to involve Palestine issue as their interest and built relations with Hamas.

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<sup>39</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, *op. cit*, Page 31.

<sup>40</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, *op. cit*. Page 11.

<sup>41</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, *op. cit* page 12.

## II.2.2 The AKP – Hamas Relations.

The worsening relations between Turkey-Israel in the recent years is settled from many factors, one of it is the intimacy between the Justice and Development Party-led Government with Hamas. The conflict of land dispute between Israel and Palestine became an attracted thing to invite Turkey to help Palestine which occupied by Israel. The relations between the AKP and Hamas was colored by Islamic ideology which they consider as the soul of Islamic country.<sup>42</sup>

The relations between AKP and Hamas has been strengthen by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the Turkish President, he is a long standing supporter of Hamas which U.S has been stated that Hamas is listed as the foreign terrorist organization (FTO) since 1997. Erdogan said through his speech beside Vice President Joe Biden in Ankara, he said that *“People should not distinguish between ‘Bad’ and ‘Good’ Terrorist. ‘Terrorist are Terrorist’* he explained<sup>43</sup>. In May 2011, Erdogan said to U.S television host Charlie Rose in May 2011, *“Let me give you a very clear message, I don’t see Hamas as a terror organization.”*, *“It is a resistance movement trying to protect its country under occupation,”* he said through his translator. *“So we should not mix terrorist organizations with such an organization.”* Erdogan said that Hamas had won five years election in Palestine legislative, he added, *“Calling them terrorist, this would be disrespectful to their policy and people”*.<sup>44</sup>

A year earlier Erdogan told to Turkish media that he did not accept Hamas as a terrorist organization, and he had told it to his U.S conversers.<sup>45</sup> The closeness of Turkey and Palestine came from Necmettin Erbakan from Islamist Welfare Party that had been elected as Turkey Prime Minister within 1996-1997 which was

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<sup>42</sup> Mohammed Alsaftawi, 2016, *Who Needs Whom? Turkey and Israel Agree on Normalization Deal*, IAI, Rome, Italy, page 3.

<sup>43</sup> Patrick Goodenough, 2016, *“Terrorist are Terrorist, ‘Says Turkey’s Erdogan, a Key Supporter of Hamas.”*, CNSNEWS.COM, August 25, 2016. From <http://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/patrick-goodenough/terrorists-are-terrorists-says-turkeys-erdogan-key-supporter-hamas> accessed in 11/1/2016.

<sup>44</sup> Patrick Goodenough, 2016, *“Terrorist are Terrorist, ‘Says Turkey’s Erdogan, a Key Supporter of Hamas.”*, CNSNEWS.COM, August 25, 2016.

<sup>45</sup> Patrick Goodenough, 2016, *“Terrorist are Terrorist, ‘Says Turkey’s Erdogan, a Key Supporter of Hamas.”*, CNSNEWS.COM, August 25, 2016

known have a good relations with Hamas and the relations has been increased when Islamist Welfare Party has initiated into shaping the Justice and Development party (AKP), then vision related with Palestine becomes stronger. <sup>46</sup> Turkey strengthen its relations to Hamas and has direct contact to the organization, and it often to conduct the meeting between Hamas and Turkey.

The deteriorated relations between Turkey and Israel started in international economic forum at Davos 2009, when Erdogan and Shimon Peres were debated about Israel killing Gaza citizens in Palestine. Shimon said that Israel has no choice to do not attack Gaza, Simon stated that Israeli attack to Gaza is because of Hamas attack to Tel aviv, then Israel replied for attack and thousands were killed, it was in fault of Hamas that controls Gaza then Israel fight back and the impact to the surrounding Gaza's area<sup>47</sup> and the attack was undirected and straightly went to Citizen's homes. Erdogan replied Simon's statement by saying that he knows how to kill innocent children and criticized about Simon statement about Hamas fault to attack Israel by asking data how many Israeli died of Hamas attack, Erdogan said nothing. This unpredicted moment led the relations between two states became worse, and in side of Israel Erdogan received many condemns from Israeli, but he has been welcomed as the hero in Turkey. Erdogan was strongly defend Palestine of being attacked by Israel, especially after Gaza Blockade was implemented in Palestine on 3 January 2009.<sup>48</sup>

The relations between Hamas and Turkey became stronger is not regardless from the rise of AKP. The relations has been better and Erdogan has often met with

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<sup>46</sup> Gallia Lindenstrauss and Süfyan Kadir Kıvam, 2014, *Turkish-Hamas Relations: Between Strategic Calculations and Ideological Affinity*, Strategic Assessment, Retrieved from [http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/adkan17\\_2ENG4\\_Lindenstrauss%20and%20Kıvam.pdf](http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/adkan17_2ENG4_Lindenstrauss%20and%20Kıvam.pdf) at 10/17/16

<sup>47</sup> *Erdogan speaks against peres at Davos* - English Subtitles (correct translation) by sosyal siyaset accessed in [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oHywy\\_ScjrI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oHywy_ScjrI) 25/10/16. Peres, Erdogan in 'amicable talks' after Davos spat retrieved from [http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/europe/01/30/davos.erdogan.peres/index.html?\\_s=PM:WORLD](http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/europe/01/30/davos.erdogan.peres/index.html?_s=PM:WORLD) 25/10/16

<sup>48</sup> Referral of the "Union of the Comoros" with respect to the 31 May 2010 Israeli raid on the Humanitarian Aid Flotilla bound for Gaza Strip, requesting the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court pursuant to Articles 12,13 and 14 of the Rome Statute^ to initiate an investigation into the crimes committed within the Court's jurisdiction, arising from this raid. Elmagdag lawfirm advocacy consulting report. Page 14.

Hamas Leaders, including Khaled Meshaal, who at the end of 2014 he conveyed a short speech at a conference of Erdogan’s governing Justice and Development Party, Khalid became the guest of Turkey Prime Minister, Ahmet Davutoglu. Then, Khaled was holding hands of the prime minister in front of the crowd of Islamist politicians and hope for greater Turkish - Palestinian cooperation in “fighting to liberate Jerusalem”<sup>49</sup>

Palestine closeness to Turkey which influenced by the AKP and Hamas relations has its own special interest between two countries. The AKP party has its history from Welfare party that close to Hamas which involving Palestinian issues as their matter. Both Israel and Palestine are partner to Turkey, but Turkey’s behavior towards Israel has been change since Israel attack Gaza in 2008 and causing death of thousands Palestinian, including women and children, also destroying the buildings and infrastructures.

### **II.2.3 Turkish Foreign Policy towards Palestine.**

The AKP has interest in the regional conditions in Eastern Mediterranean, and Turkey now closer to the Islamic countries in the region rather than the west, and the re-orientation of these policies began from the AKP victory in general elections in 2002.<sup>50</sup> Under AKP governance Turkey becomes a key player in the Middle East politics and in recent years, Turkish foreign policy has a role to be third party mediation, especially in the issue of the Palestinian – Israeli conflict.<sup>51</sup>

The AKP’s strategy to expand Turkish influence in the Middle East goes to three main pillars. First Turkey act as the “neutral supreme power” in the region, and taking role as the mediator either between the states in regional or mediator between West and the region. Second Turkey is struggling to be re-established as

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<sup>49</sup> Jonathan Schanzer, David Andrew Weinberg, 2015, *The Turkey-Hamas Nexus*, The National Interest. Retrieved From <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-turkey-hamas-nexus-12044> accessed in 11/1/2016.

<sup>50</sup> Dr, Abdul Ruff, 2016, *Turkey’s foreign policy reorientation*, Foreign Policy News, retrieved from <http://foreignpolicynews.org/2016/07/11/turkeys-foreign-policy-reorientation/>, accessed on 1/15/17

<sup>51</sup> Mohammed Alsaftawi, op. cit page 4

a Muslim country. The roots of Islamic ideology which build Turkey in Ottoman Era is the real of Turkish Identity, and Turkey tried to rise the pure of Turkish characteristic. Third, Turkey will keep and increasing its democratic character, this strategy will make Turkey easier to build the alliances with western countries, strengthen its position to be EU member and could be join in organizations such as NATO. It also empower the AKP Government's interest to present Turkey as the example to its neighbor which implementing their government as the liberal and democratic state.<sup>52</sup>

In the practice of the pillars Turkey faced the sensitive response from the international community, but however Turkey aims to strengthen its position as a strong country in the region. They represent a balance of regional values to act, such as Islam, establishing collective solidarity against intervention by Western and also representing international norms like human rights and democracy.<sup>53</sup> In several ways, the government has tried to realize the mentioned pillars. For instance, mediating Iran and the West over Iranian nuclear program, also facilitated the nuclear enrichment between Iran and Brazil, uprising Syrian Issue, visited Somalia to show its concern to the country's famine and insecurity in highlighting humanitarian issue, visited Rohingya Muslim which received the humanitarian violence and visiting several countries in the region to strengthen Turkey's role in the region.<sup>54</sup>

Palestine – Israel conflict becomes a priority issue of Turkish foreign policy and moreover it was affected by its struggle to be an influential country and to increase its presence in both regional and global arena. If turkey could settle the issue of the Palestinian it would strengthen its position at the heart of the Arab and Islamic worlds.<sup>55</sup> The solidarity from Turkey to Palestine showed by Turkey's

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<sup>52</sup> Zeynep Kosereisoglu, 2013, *Turkish Foreign Policy under Erdogan & Support for the Palestinian Cause*, MUFTAH, Retrieved from <http://muftah.org/turkish-foreign-policy-under-erdogan-support-for-the-palestinian-cause/#.WCElFk2vIU>, accessed at 11/8/16

<sup>53</sup> Zeynep Kosereisoglu, 2013, *Turkish Foreign Policy under Erdogan & Support for the Palestinian Cause*, MUFTAH.

<sup>54</sup> Zeynep Kosereisoglu, 2013, *Turkish Foreign Policy under Erdogan & Support for the Palestinian Cause*, MUFTAH.

<sup>55</sup> Mohammed Alsaftaawi, op. cit page 5.

concern over the conflict in Palestine, and one of the concern to this issue was Turkey government support to the Humanitarian aid mission to Gaza which led by IHH as the Turkish Humanitarian Relief Foundation

## **II.3 Mavi Marmara Flotilla Incident.**

The proximity of Turkey and Palestine moved Turkey to assist humanitarian status in Gaza as a result of prolonged war. As part of Turkish concern to the Palestinian people is the government support given to the IHH to lead a convoy of ships which consist of international volunteers to do a humanitarian mission to Gaza.

### **II.3.1 Humanitarian Aid Mission to Gaza.**

The dire situation in Gaza had already attracted sympathy to the organization of various humanitarian missions. The movement of humanitarian has been inspired from the source of United Nations Security Council 1860, where it said that people must concern at the deepening humanitarian crisis in Gaza, and ensuring the sustained flow of goods and people through the Gaza crosswalks. Several people across the countries have been called for the unobstructed supplying and distribution throughout Gaza by Humanitarian assistance, Including foods, medical needs treatment and fuel. This plan have been welcomed the initiatives to create and open humanitarian corridors and setting other mechanism for the delivery of humanitarian aid sustainably, and called other international member states to be concern and facilitate the humanitarian and economic matter in Gaza.<sup>56</sup>

In this mission, the various NGOs from several countries came together in a coalition to do humanitarian aid activities in Gaza, and hoped to end the human crisis for the Palestinians. Turkish NGO became the principle coalition within this

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<sup>56</sup> *Report on the Israeli attack on the humanitarian aid convoy to Gaza on 31 may 2010* from Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara. Page 14. Accessed in <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/turkish%20report%20final%20-%20un%20copy.pdf> at 11/1/2016

mission, was “İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri Vakfı (the —Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms—IHH), the foundation that legally received consultative status within the UN ECOSOC and does humanitarian activities in more than 120 countries worldwide since 1992 to support human rights implementation.<sup>57</sup> The coalition organized the international sail convoy of the ships to Gaza strip and has a goal to do humanitarian aid over Gaza war victims through blockaded area in Gaza.

The ships of Humanitarian aid mission sailed from in May 2010, and the ship coalitions consisted of passenger ships —Mavi Marmara (Comoros), —Sfendonı (Togo), —Challenger II (US) and cargo ships —Gazze II (Turkish), —Eleftheri Mesogeio (Greek), —Defne-Y (Kiribati).<sup>58</sup> The total cargo on the six ships was in excess of 10,000 tons.<sup>59</sup>

The passengers of the ships consisted of different background and they have been united behind the mission of humanitarian matter in struggling for human rights goals. They included members of parliaments of different countries in Europe as well as members of the Knesset, academician, journalist, former diplomats including an ex US ambassador, religious leaders, elderly people, women, and one year old son of Mavi Marmara Chief Engineer.<sup>60</sup>

The Mavi Marmara flotilla has left Istanbul on 22 May 2010 with 29 crew and 42 Maintenance personnel. Before sailing all the passengers have to be checked by x-rays, and through customs and controlling the passport that have international standard.<sup>61</sup> Based on The Port of Zeytinburnu (Istanbul) the ships that went to convoy has certificate of (ISPS), International Ship and Port Facility Security under the Convention on Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS)<sup>62</sup>. Then Mavi Marmara have been docked in the port of Antalya and next sailed to Gaza with a total of 546

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<sup>57</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 14.

<sup>58</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 15. Footnote #3

<sup>59</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, footnote #4

<sup>60</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara. footnote #5,#6

<sup>61</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 15, footnote #9

<sup>62</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, footnote #8

passengers and 29 crew members. The same service done in Istanbul that all Passengers have to be checked by X-ray and through controlling of customs and passport. Before sailing, all the personal belonging and cargo were not missed to be checked and inspected. Meanwhile, the Gazze-I left the port of Iskenderum on 22 May 2010 with 13 crew and 5 passengers and the Define-Y departed the Port of Zeytinburni in Istanbul on 24 May 2010 with 13 crews and 7 passenger, both ships had been checked and controlled.<sup>63</sup>

On 28 May 2008, the Mavi Marmara sailed to the meeting point in the south of the island of Cyprus which all ships from other countries will be together in the convoy to Gaza Strips will have the meeting point on May 2010 at 16.00 on a bearing of 222°.<sup>64</sup>

### **II.3.2 Israeli Forces Attack on the Mavi Marmara Flotilla.**

Israel is very strict to maintain their naval blockade in Gaza strips, and prohibits anyone from entering Palestine through Gaza beach, all must go through Israel. The objective of the flotilla convoy led by IHH is reaching Gaza from its strips on the reason of that Gaza blockade is illegal, then Israel has no right to prohibit anyone to go there, especially a convoy of ships in humanitarian missions. But Israel acted differently, naval blockade have been implemented along Gaza strips to prevent a large of goods from reaching Gaza, in order to pressure Hamas which dominate Gaza. The suspicious of Israel upon flotilla convoy made Israel waylaying the flotillas, and also wanted to check the cargo of the convoy did not bring and contained the military weapons as the supply to Hamas.<sup>65</sup> Israel was skeptic towards IHH as the main ships led the flotillas convoy that brought military aid to support Hamas, due to IHH known as the pro Hamas Activist.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, Page 16

<sup>64</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, footnote #15

<sup>65</sup> BBC News, 2016, *Mavi Marmara: Why did Israel stop the Gaza flotilla?*, BBC News, retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/10203726>, accessed at 11/3/16

<sup>66</sup> Carol Migdalovitz, 2010, *Israel's Blockade of Gaza, the Mavi Marmara Incident, and Its Aftermath*, Congressional Research Service, Page 4.



On its way to Gaza the convoy flotillas have been blocked by Israel Defense Forces on the international water area, and the raid over passengers happened on the Mavi Marmara flotilla as the leader of the convoy. For the explicit understanding about Mavi Marmara incident the writer would provide the data through timeline of the attack which taken from the report of Turkish National Committee of Inquiry:

**1. 30 May 2010.**

**22.00** – Israeli had been interfered the Mavi Marmara Communication satellite when it sails to south-southwesterly bearing of 222°. <sup>67</sup>

**22.30** – In this time The Mavi Marmara received the first contact from Israeli forces to convey the status of the convoy “*to report the ship’s identity and destination*”. Captain Mahmut Tural replied by “*identifying the ship, stating the number of passengers on board, describing the humanitarian mission of the ship and notifying the port of destination as Gaza*”. The Israeli forces warned the ships to change the course due to they were approaching Gaza strips blockade area. The Captain of Mavi Marmara asserts that “*the convoy is in international waters and Israel cannot demand a vessel on the high seas to change course*”. <sup>68</sup>

Not just Mavi Marmara which received the calls from Israeli forces, other ships were getting same situation. <sup>69</sup> On ship Challenger-I, Israeli citizen Huwaida Arraf, talks to the forces on behalf of the entire convoy through the Captain’s permission. Arraf done several times informing the illegality of Gaza strips blockade, and told the forces that they are unarmed civilians, and only brought the humanitarian aid, not potentially threatening Israel and told Israel not to use any violence against the convoy. Arraf told that the Israeli navy stopped to

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<sup>67</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara. page 18, footnote #25, #26, #27

<sup>68</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 19.

<sup>69</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 19, footnote #28, #23.

communicate with her at around 01.00-01.30. Fear spreads among the passenger, while in Mavi Marmara the passenger have been using their life jacket.<sup>70</sup>

**23.30** – The ships straight on course at a bearing of 185°, the destination should be on a point between Al-Arish and the Suez Canal, the radar of ship detected that first Israeli naval craft in three or four miles away from the ships.<sup>71</sup> Israeli warnings act continue within International Water area which almost 100 mil of Israel off shores.

## **2. 31 May 2010**

**02.00** – Lights from several water craft sailing behind the convoy are detected. The Last Israeli calls was specifically asking Captain of the ships to stop sailing and change the course from Gaza strips.<sup>72</sup>

**02.00 - 04.30** – No foster communication from the Navy. Followed by the Israeli navy craft continues.<sup>73</sup>

**04.00** – Israeli forces enforce a total blackout on the ships' satellite communication. The passenger inside were panic.<sup>74</sup>

**04.32 and onwards** – without any earlier warning , Israeli forces set up a massive raid on the Mavi Marmara in international waters, at 32o 43´ North and 33o 31´ East. Israeli forces spread in several categories of Naval ships and helicopter, the forces use laser guided automatic rifles, stun and sound grenades, tear gas canisters, the forces also use the modified powered paintball to shoot with various projectiles. The first effort did by Israeli forces were shooting from the Zodiacs, but it was failed. The first shoot made Mavi Marmara passengers were fear of the raid, then they tried to repel the forces but then, the Forces continue to attack by shooting with live ammunition both from zodiacs and helicopter, the result that numbers of passengers were wounded. Israeli commandos went down to the on board of Mavi

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<sup>70</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, footnote #33.

<sup>71</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, footnote #34.

<sup>72</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 20, footnote #36.

<sup>73</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara page 20.

<sup>74</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, footnote #37

Marmara by the rope from helicopter. The blood bath continues after Israeli forces came from the air. The passengers already raised to white flag to surrender and talking to the forces with Multilanguage to be understood but it has no effect, Israeli forces continues to shoot with live ammunition. They also shoot back who have been wounded and including weak passengers.<sup>75</sup>

After the attack happened on the board, the Captain of Mavi Marmara changed the course to a bearing of 270° head to west, to opposite the direction from the Israeli coast, increasing power to full speed far away from Israeli approach. The changing course was verifying by the Turkish Search and Rescue Center. Israeli warship move towards from the starboard bow and close in, they forcing the Convoy ships to turn to the direction of Israel Ashdod port.<sup>76</sup>

**Figure II.3.2 The position of Mavi Marmara in the attack moment.**



Source: Maps, Chap 4, The Moment of the Mavi Marmara in the moment of the attack.<sup>77</sup>

**Approach. 05.30,** onwards – Israeli forces led full control of the convoy and re-route the convoy on a bearing of 130° went to the Ashdod Israel port. The ships convoy arrived Ashdod at noon.<sup>78</sup> During this incident the nine passengers of Mavi

<sup>75</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 21, footnote #38, #39

<sup>76</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, footnote #40, #41

<sup>77</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 118.

<sup>78</sup> Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 21.

Marmara were dead, eight from Turkish and another is American Turkish with the age of (19) nineteen years old, that practicing as the medical doctor. The complete names of the victims are:

1. *Ali Haydar Bengi (Turkish)* 2. *Cengiz Akyüz (Turkish)* 3. *Cengiz Songür (Turkish)* 4. *Cevdet Kılıçlar (Turkish)* 5. *Çetin Topçuoğlu (Turkish)* 6. *Fahri Yıldız (Turkish)* 7. *İbrahim Bilgen (Turkish)* 8. *Necdet Yıldırım (Turkish)* 9. *Furkan Doğan (American-Turkish)*.<sup>79</sup>

### **II.3.3 Turkey and International Reactions.**

The raid on Mavi Marmara flotilla caused a wave of protests in Turkey, especially Istanbul, and the strong reaction came from the government until recalling its ambassador from Tel Aviv, then Turkey was summoning Israel's ambassador to cancel military joint agreement for plan of military exercise with Israel. Meanwhile, Israel ambassador for Turkey had not been asked to leave the country until Monday evening, Turkey's foreign minister Ahmed called by phone to Israel's defense minister that Turkey diplomatic channels was opened as the occasion towards this incident.<sup>80</sup> It seems that Turkey still proposing diplomatic way to stabilize both states relations, and activist on board ship had not been released by Israeli forces immediately after the attack and still on the Ashdod port, Israel.

In a same day, Erdogan had been in a news conference in Santiago, Chile, he was doing short trip went back to Turkey he said that the raid of "*Inhumane States Terrorism*" and adding statement that Israel's accuse over the ships of the convoy had been the weapons were "*lies*".<sup>81</sup> He added in Turkish television that Israeli government has no desire of peace within the region, but then he said people to be calm, he said that Jews people in Turkey "*are our citizens,*" and remind his

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<sup>79</sup> Annex 1: Autopsy Reports of the Passengers Killed (9) in the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza, List of passengers killed. Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011, Ankara, page 121.

<sup>80</sup> Sabrina Tavernise, 2010, *Raid Jeopardizes Turkey Relations*, The New York Times, retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/01/world/middleeast/01turkey.html>, accessed at 11/3/16.

<sup>81</sup> Sabrina Tavernise, 2010, *Raid Jeopardizes Turkey Relations*, The New York Times.

people to be very sensitive towards the situation.<sup>82</sup> In Turkey there are small's Jewish community and he has been favorably by those citizen due to he has been encourage the relationship with Israel, visiting the country in 2005 bringing a group of Turkish businessmen with him. He became the first Turkish Prime Minister that visited the office of Turkey's chief rabbi, after a synagogue was destroyed by a bomb in 2003.<sup>83</sup>

Israel's behavior towards Turkey decreases since Erdogan accepts Hamas as the partner of Turkey and several times conduct the meeting between AKP and Hamas leaders, Israel sees Hamas as the Terrorist Organization which trough his doctrinal commitment to destroy Israel as the Zionist State that has been occupied Palestine land and caused the Crisis there, but Erdogan sees another view that Hamas as the Islamic Movement which struggle for their right of the land from Israel occupation. Erdogan has been the strong actor who's driving force behind Turkey's criticism towards Israel act to Gaza and its policy towards the Palestinian.<sup>84</sup> As the actor from AKP that close to Hamas, the governance party in Palestine he often showed the hard response over Israel act to Palestine, especially after attack in 2008 and Davos incident 2009.

Still in 31 May 2010, the protest against Israel became wider in Turkey. The Raid led Turkish citizen did demonstration around the Public, in Istanbul more than 10,000 citizen filled the Taksim Square by upping Palestinian flag and they tried to force and voicing the anger at Israel's use of force towards the Passenger which have in humanitarian aid mission and also they prayed for the dead victims and during the demonstration they have been headed by the water canon vehicles to bar them attacking the building.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Sabrina Tavernise, 2010, *Raid Jeopardizes Turkey Relations*, The New York Times.

<sup>83</sup> Sabrina Tavernise, 2010, *Raid Jeopardizes Turkey Relations*, The New York Times.

<sup>84</sup> Sabrina Tavernise, 2010, *Raid Jeopardizes Turkey Relations*, The New York Times.

<sup>85</sup> The Telegraph, 20120, *Gaza ship deaths: protests erupt around the world after deadly raid*. The Telegraph, retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/7790916/Gaza-ship-deaths-protests-erupt-around-the-world-after-deadly-raid.html>, accessed at 11/3/16

The unpredictable things happened in Israel, the Citizen of that Zionist state did the protest in Tel Aviv over the raid. The protesters came from the leftist Israeli that against government program to create more conflict and dispute which threat their country's peace. They concerned about the peace and avoid the conflict, the leftist parties like Meretz, Peace Now and Hadash Organization carried banners and saying "*The government is drowning us all*", "*We Must stride for peace*" and blaming the right wing government were clearly endanger the state security.<sup>86</sup> The situation became worse when the right wing Israeli that pro government also heading the leftist, but the Police keep the two sides apart to avoid the clash worsen. The leftist argument explaining that they did not do demonstration against Israel government but just protesting the raid action that had been executed by the right wing government.<sup>87</sup>

The protest not just happened in Turkey and Israel, the protests also happened in capitals in various countries in Middle East, Europe and South Asia. While other side of the world, the international leaders condemned the raid, and other states like Denmark, Spain, Egypt, Sweden and Greece have summoned and demanding their Israel's ambassador to explain the violence happened towards the convoy. The statement also came from Spain and Greece that they condemned the "*unprofessional use of force*", and Greece has been suspended the military exercise, same act like Turkey and they also adjourned the visit by chief of Israel's air force to their country.<sup>88</sup> Nicaragua has broken off relations with Israel, China demanded Israel to end Gaza Blockade and condemned the raid, Russia asked Israel to lift the blockade and doing justice investigation, Ecuador and South Africa also recalled their ambassadors and many other governments did the same to their

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<sup>86</sup> The Telegraph, 20120, *Gaza ship deaths: protests erupt around the world after deadly raid*. The Telegraph.

<sup>87</sup> Chaim Levinson, 2010, *Leftist and Rightist Israelis Clash at Gaza Flotilla Protest in Tel Aviv*, HAARETZ, Retrieved from <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/leftist-and-rightist-israelis-clash-at-gaza-flotilla-protest-in-tel-aviv-1.294359>, Accessed at 11/3/16

<sup>88</sup> Chaim Levinson, 2010, *Leftist and Rightist Israelis Clash at Gaza Flotilla Protest in Tel Aviv*, HAARETZ.

Israel's ambassador to protest about the incident. The respond also came from the European Union that often demanded Israel to open Gaza blockade.<sup>89</sup>

Turkey requested an emergency meeting with the U.N Security Council even though Turkey holds a non-permanent seat that Foreign Minister Davutoglu attended in same day of the attack on May 31. Another struggle did by Turkey was calling the NATO permanent representatives in Brussels and the OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference) to meet on the Issue. Davutoglu stated that Israel's action over the flotilla was "*banditry and piracy ... murder conducted by a state ... and barbarism.*" He added that the use of forces was "*Inappropriate*" and "*disproportionate*" which international law dictates that "*even in wartime, civilians are not to be attacked or harmed*" He argued that reason of Self Defense was unacceptable to justify the use of force by Israeli forces.<sup>90</sup> He condemned the raid and asked all the authorities involved within the raid have to be punished and be responsible of it. He also demand an urgent inquiry to solve the case.<sup>91</sup>

Adding for that, several Turkish political parties and also including the ruling AKP have supported the mission to Gaza, even the Government was not directly involved within the mission. Long time before the day that the government had tried to convince the IHH which in-charge in the flotilla to take the aid through Israeli port, but the convincing was not successful<sup>92</sup>, another side that Turkey government also has been informed Israel to let the ships land in Gaza.<sup>93</sup>

While the situation was heating, the Secretary General of U.N Ban Ki-Moon stating that he condemned the violence of using force and asked Israel to give full explanation towards the incident and conducting full of investigation. Towards the incident, the U.N Human Rights Council voted to do investigation independently, to do international investigation even the United States was disagree about the request. the compromising statement came from the President of the

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<sup>89</sup> Carol Migdalovitz, op. cit, page 6.

<sup>90</sup> Carol Migdalovitz, op. cit, page 5.

<sup>91</sup> Carol Migdalovitz, op. cit page 6.

<sup>92</sup> Carol Migdalovitz, op. cit page 5, footnote #17.

<sup>93</sup> Carol Migdalovitz, op. cit page 5.

Security Council at the U.N on 1 June, he conveyed the regret losing of life and the injuries result of the victims through the use of force by Israeli military raid within international water area attacked the convoy ships sailing to Gaza in humanitarian aid mission, the Council condemns those acts which have been killed nine passengers and many others were wounded. The council demanded for immediate, professional and clear investigation based on international standards”.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Carol Migdalovitz, *op. cit.* page 5.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **TURKEY – ISRAEL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS STATUS AS THE AFTERMATH TOWARDS MAVI MARMARA ATTACK (2010-2016)**

This chapter provides Turkey and Israel bilateral development after Mavi Marmara incident, in which we have discussed about the root cause of the conflict that affected two states relations. After the incident happened in 31 May 2010, the case had been brought into international level to be cleared under U.N Secretary General Investigation which has been issued through the “Palmer Report”.

The result of the investigation is declaring Israel’s blockade towards Gaza strip is legal under International Law even though the murder over the Mavi Marmara passengers is unacceptable but addressed as the defense need of the situation. Turkey is rejected the result of the UN Palmer report and through its official representation, they have shown their unacceptance towards the report that explicitly will be explained in this chapter. As the result of the final relations between Turkey and Israel, this chapter explicitly will explain the whole process of Turkey – Israel relations and its aftermath from 2011-2016 as the limitation of case discussion within this thesis.

#### **III.1 The U.N Secretary General International Investigation.**

International pressure on the Israeli action attacking humanitarian convoys into Gaza has forced U.N Secretary General to convene an international investigation to clarify the raid incident on the international water and also to resolve the conflict between Turkey and Israel. The first respond that Turkey expressed was Israel should apologize for what they did, returning the flotilla that

has been captured in Israel port, paying for the victims and Israel should agree to an international investigation, banned an Israeli military air forces to cross its airspace, also cancelling several military joint exercise as the protest of the flotilla attack incident.<sup>95</sup> Even though the incident was made to potentially going to war as what said by Erdogan, but Turkey has chosen to elegant way, which is opening diplomatic way to solve the problem.<sup>96</sup>

Received the condemnation and convinced to conduct investigation from International reaction has been attracted Israel officials to respond the criticism towards the attack, the current Israeli Prime Minister, Benyamin Netanyahu said that *“Once again, Israel faces hypocrisy and a biased rush to judgment. The international community cannot afford an Iranian port on the Mediterranean... The same countries that are criticizing us today should know that they could be targeted tomorrow”*<sup>97</sup> then the comment also came from the Israel’s foreign minister while reported, he said that *“We didn't start this provocation. We did not send bullies with knives and metal rods to Turkey. The entire blame, all of it, from beginning to end, is that of Turkey. We have nothing to apologize for”*<sup>98</sup>. The first behavior that came from Israel officials that they would not apologize for something they did not break.

Israel announced that they will run for the investigation towards the incident, but it would be processed by the Israeli government itself and rejected the intervention which proposed through an international panel of enquiry that led by Sir Geoffrey Palmer, a New Zealand former prime minister, the expert in International Law, including of representative that came from Turkey, Israel and U.S.<sup>99</sup> but the UN secretary general has power to bring the attention of Security Council for any matter that threat the international peace and security. It also has

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<sup>95</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, op. cit page 17

<sup>96</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, op. cit page 17

<sup>97</sup> Ben Smith and Arabella Thorp, 2010, *Gaza flotilla attack and its aftermath*, House of Commons, International Affairs and Defense section, Page 6. Footnote #12

<sup>98</sup> Ben Smith and Arabella Thorp, 2010, *Gaza flotilla attack and its aftermath*, House of Commons, International Affairs and Defense section, Page 6. footnote #13

<sup>99</sup> Ben Smith and Arabella Thorp, 2010, *Gaza flotilla attack and its aftermath*, House of Commons, International Affairs and Defense section, Page 7

a right to conduct the investigation through requesting U.N bodies like General Assembly, Security Council and other U.N sub organs.<sup>100</sup>

Ban Ki-moon called responsively for a “full investigation” and have given instruction for his special coordinator, Robert Serry and Flippo Grandi from UNWRA commissioner general to organize with all the relevant parties which would involve for conducting the international investigation. The UNHRC proposed a resolution to do Investigation independently to the process of international fact-finding mission to investigate the violation of Israeli act towards International Law in case of their Forces attack towards the flotilla on 31 May 2010. The President of UN human right council authorizing the resolution and instructed their members to collect the report of investigation to the council at the 15<sup>th</sup> UNHRC session in September.<sup>101</sup>

The investigation that has been admitted formally was from U.N Secretary General through its panel of Inquiry. Beginning of the August in date of 2 at 2010 the Secretary General established the Panel of Inquiry over the case on 31 May 2010 flotilla attack.<sup>102</sup> The panel requesting both Turkey and Israel to report their detailed national investigation, after the panel commission received the report from both states then they would review the report that has been gathered. Turkey shaped their national commission of inquiry to do investigation over the case, the report through its commission of Inquiry named, *Report of Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, February 2011*. Israel conducted national investigation through the independent public commission which examining that Israeli government decided to act towards the case has been compatible with International Law, the government of Israel provide its report to the Panel on 11 February 2011 named, *Public*

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<sup>100</sup> Ben Smith and Arabella Thorp, 2010, *Gaza flotilla attack and its aftermath*, House of Commons, International Affairs and Defense section, Page 7.

<sup>101</sup> Ben Smith and Arabella Thorp, 2010, *Gaza flotilla attack and its aftermath*, House of Commons, International Affairs and Defense section, Page 6. page 7.

<sup>102</sup> *Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident, September 2011. Panel committee, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Chair, President Alvaro Uribe, Vice-Chair, Mr. Joseph Ciechanover Itzhar, Mr. Süleyman Özdem Sanberk*. Page 3-5 retrieved From [http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/middle\\_east/Gaza\\_Flotilla\\_Panel\\_Report.pdf](http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/middle_east/Gaza_Flotilla_Panel_Report.pdf) accessed in 11/13/16

*Commission to Examine the Maritime Incident of 31 May 2010 – The Turkel Commission.* The result of the U.N Secretary General report named “Palmer Report” was published in 2 September 2011.<sup>103</sup>

### **III.1.1 The Result of U.N Palmer Report.**

Two states national Investigation reports had been received by the panel, it reviewed the further information and clarification that has been processed from written form and through the direct meeting with points of report by each government. After reviewing the reports the panel has examined and identified the facts, circumstances and context of the incident that has been considered and proposed ways of preventing similar incident at the future. The role of the panel here was not acting as the court, and was not acted to adjudicate on legal liability of the case. The panel’s result of findings and recommendation were not intended to decide any legal liability. The process of the panel was worked to operate through the consensus. However, even though the panel did the best effort but the Chair and Vice-Chair could agree on any further procedural issue, finding and recommendation. The report of the Secretary General panel’s inquiry has been known under the agreement of the Chair and Vice-Chair under the procedures. The data of the panel was taken directly from the sources of Secretary General Panel’s inquiry. Here are the facts, circumstances and the context of the incident from U.N Palmer Report:

The Secretary General announced the result of the Palmer Report that the incident on 31 May 2010 has following this result:

1. Israel faces real threat to its security from militant group in Gaza, and the implementation of naval blockade as a legitimate security measure to prevent weapons entering Gaza and the naval blockade is legal under International Law.

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<sup>103</sup> Daragh Murray, 2011, *The UN Palmer Inquiry and Israel’s Attack on the Mavi Marmara*, *Jadaliyya*, retrieved from <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2564/the-un-palmer-inquiry-and-israels-attack-on-the-ma>, accessed at 1/18/17

2. The passengers of the convoy has no violent intention, but the nature of the plan and the objectives of the organizer IHH is being questioned due to the mission is risky to be done.
3. The Israeli forces got resistance from the passengers and they need to defend themselves from the attack, but using forces against the passengers and boarded on the vessels while the position was not in blockade area was unreasonable and unaccepted.
4. Both Turkey and Israel have no intention of occurring such incident. Turkey warned the organizer to change the course if necessary and avoid to face Israeli forces. The loss of life and injuries during the mission is unaccepted, nine persons dead, and several were wounded including the Israeli forces.

The conclusion of the panel report, the secretary general offered some solution to keep the wellness of both states diplomatic relations.<sup>104</sup>

1. Israel should make statement of regret to respect the consequences of the incident.
2. To reconsider the status of the victims, the deceased, the injured and their families should be compensated. The process of the payment is through a joint trust fund which decided by both states.
3. Diplomatic relations should be resumed by Turkey and Israel in order to create stability in Middle East and International Peace and Security.

### **III.2 Turkey Reject the U.N “Palmer Report”**

The report of International Investigation towards Mavi Marmara incident had responded by Süleyman Özdem Sanberk as Turkey representative within Palmer report process with resistance response. He said that Turkey officially

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<sup>104</sup> Report of the Secretary-General’s Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident September 2011 Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Chair President Alvaro Uribe, Vice-Chair Mr. Joseph Ciechanover Itzhar Mr. Süleyman Özdem Sanberk, page 74-75.

rejected by what panel had decided with various reasons that unfair in their view. Turkey reported the disagreement report towards following issues:<sup>105</sup>

1. The question about naval blockade legality on Gaza imposed by Israel.
2. The attack of the flotilla
3. Naval blockade implementation in general
4. Appendix about the international legal principles application.

The following reasons:<sup>106</sup>

- a) Viewing about legality of Gaza blockade, Turkey and Israel have submitted two different argument in each national investigation. International legal authorities had been divided its perspective through this unprecedented matter and highly complex and the righteous of the legal framework is lack of set of rules and principles. Suleyman said that the chairmanship and the report is fully support to Israel and abandoned other views, but actually the fact is that the argument presented by Turkey have strongly supported by the majority of international relations community, they have same views that the naval blockade on Gaza is unlawful. Also support comes from UN Human Right Council saying that the blockade is unlawful, and the member states have approving the report of Human Right Fact Finding Mission.
- b) The international law is accepting the rules of freedom and safety of navigation on the high seas, there is no exception unless the principles is having universal convergence of views. Add to this, the goal and objectives of the passengers in international humanitarian mission is intentionally humanitarian focus and they have been attacked on the international waters, they against for their own protection. Nine passengers killed and some were

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<sup>105</sup> Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident September 2011 Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Chair President Alvaro Uribe, Vice-Chair Mr. Joseph Ciechanover Itzhar Mr. Süleyman Özdem Sanberk, page 104.

<sup>106</sup> Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident September 2011 Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Chair President Alvaro Uribe, Vice-Chair Mr. Joseph Ciechanover Itzhar Mr. Süleyman Özdem Sanberk.

injured with a person is in coma, also the evidence said some the victims were killed intentionally.

- c) The writing in the report is not describing the factual incident that the victims were subjected, including the maltreatment by the forces towards the passengers.

The report that had been represented Through Suleyman's view that Turkey rejected the result of contents within the report and from the day of the report Turkey have been assertively strengthen its behavior towards Israel with several policies. Turkish response towards Israel after the incident was canceling military joint and suspended all military agreements, recalling its ambassador from Tel Aviv and after Palmer Report had been issued, in 2 September 2011 it was created the more deteriorated diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel by expelling Israel's Ambassador from Ankara, including some demands from Turkey and also suspending of Israel police cooperation with Turkey in 19 September 2011<sup>107</sup>.

### **III.3 Turkish Political Demands towards Israel.**

After UN Palmer report at 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2011, Ahmet Davutoglu as the Foreign Minister of Turkey conveyed that the flotilla must not be attacked and said that Turkey does not recognize the Palmer Report legally. From this condition Turkey decided to give sanctions to Israel as the behavior of report rejection. And the sanctions could be measured as follows:<sup>108</sup>

1. Turkey – Israel diplomatic relations will downgrading its diplomatic relations into minimum level. All officers, especially Ambassador should go back to the own country.

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<sup>107</sup> Naharnet Newsdesk, 2016, *Making up: A Timeline of Israel – Turkey Relations*, 28 June 2016. NAHARNET, retrieved from <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/212316> accessed at 11/20/16.

<sup>108</sup> *Press statement by H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, regarding Turkish-Israeli relations*, 2 September 2011. Retrieved From [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/press-statement-by-h\\_e\\_-mr\\_-ahmet-davutoglu\\_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey\\_-regarding-turkish-israeli-re.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/press-statement-by-h_e_-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey_-regarding-turkish-israeli-re.en.mfa) accessed at 11/14/16

2. The suspension of all military agreements.
3. Turkey as being the coastal state that having the longest coast at East Mediterranean will take any provision that needs of navigation freedom protection.
4. Turkey does not accept the naval blockade of Israel on Gaza. while further Turkey will start to move the case into UN General Assembly by providing the examination of naval blockade by Israel on Gaza from 31<sup>st</sup> of May 2010 at International Court Justice.
5. Needs of support for claiming rights efforts of all victims of Israel attack at the court.

### **III.3.1 Turkish Three Major Demands.**

The response towards the report was not just the degrading of diplomatic relations and suspended some cooperation that two state had been established. Turkey also issued three demands as the requirement for Israel to repairing the relations. And said that the relations never be repaired if the demands were not be completed. The demands are:<sup>109</sup>

1. Compensation towards the victims of the Mavi Marmara passengers and their families.
2. Public apology from Israeli Government over the incident of Mavi Marmara Attack on 31<sup>st</sup> May 2010.
3. The Gaza Blockade must be lifted.

Turkey foreign ministry added that they are the representatives of an understanding that advocates peace instead of conflict settlement and prefer to establish justice rather than tyranny, and he said that Turkey foreign policy is based on that fundamental understanding.<sup>110</sup> The strict conclusion given by Ahmet to

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<sup>109</sup> Press statement by H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, regarding Turkish-Israeli relations, 2 September 2011.

<sup>110</sup> Press statement by H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, regarding Turkish-Israeli relations, 2 September 2011.



close the press-statement was “*As long as the government of Israel does not take the necessary steps, we will not be able to revert from this point*”<sup>111</sup>

### **III.4 Turkey – Israel relations and Its Aftermath Post The Issue of U.N Palmer Report (2011-2016)**

After the declaration of U.N Palmer report in 2011, Turkey showed their assertive behavior through its foreign policy towards Israel but it’s changed after six year vacuum into the deal of two states reconciliation in 2016. Turkish officials convinced that Turkey and Israel would not reach the agreement unless the three demands have been completed, and the most important demand, lifting Gaza blockade could not be fulfilled by Israel due to some consideration with Hamas threat over Israel’s security. There are various events and processes in changing Turkish attitudes towards Israel from assertive to pragmatic occurred within the last 6 years.

#### **III.4.1. U.S Failure in Mediating Turkey – Israel Reconciliation (2011)**

In 20 September 2011, in Washington. U.S called on Turkey and Israel to rebuild their diplomatic relations. Turkey – Israel are the allies of U.S, and both states confrontation had been affected U.S interest in Turkey and Israel. In his meeting with Obama, Erdogan asked the U.S president to concern about Palestine recognition and he will be personally drive the Major Turkish in United Nations to support Palestinian, and he also asked Obama’s promise to convince two states solution (Palestine-Israel). In another side, Obama also tried to persuade Erdogan to consider the demands, but the mediation effort was not well received by Turkey. The Turkish Foreign minister said that Obama attempt as the Mediator was not

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<sup>111</sup> Press statement by H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, regarding Turkish-Israeli relations, 2 September 2011.

necessary and said that “*No mediation is needed, the demands of Turkey are clear*”.<sup>112</sup>

#### **III.4.2 The Trials of Israeli Forces in Istanbul (2012)**

The demands that Turkey issued to be filled by Israel government became the strict requirements to normalize the relations, and any efforts did by each state to get their own national interest. Turkey in the side of giving demands wanted to show its power to handle Israel, and Israel in the side of national interest orientation of the normalization from states diplomatic relations were strict to would not apologize for something they did not break. Turkey still showed its assertive behavior through prohibiting Israel's participation in a NATO summit in Chicago on May 20-21<sup>113</sup>, and Turkey still seek the justice of the incident through conducting the trial over the suspected of Israeli forces within the attack operation in International Court of Justice.

The dissatisfaction towards UN Secretary General Report made Turkey conducted the trial in Istanbul for the suspected four Israel forces which allegedly as the head of the attack on board of Mavi Marmara. Over two years after the attack Turkish government called four suspect that from the Israeli military top brass of the time, they are former navy chief Eliezer Marom, Former chief of staff Gaby Aschkenazi, former air force chief Aos Yadlin and the former head of air force intelligence Avishai Levi, all of them know for their role in the operation on the day of the attack.<sup>114</sup>

The trial was colored by wave of protesters bringing Palestine and Turkey flags in front of the court, and the Israel foreign ministry spokesman Yigal Palmor

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<sup>112</sup> Bulent Aliriza, *The Turkish-Israeli Crisis and U.S.-Turkish Relations*, September 20, 2011. CSIS – Centre for Strategic & International Studies. Retrieved From <https://www.csis.org/analysis/turkish-israeli-crisis-and-us-turkish-relations> accessed on 11/20/16.

<sup>113</sup> Osman Orsal, 2012, *Turkey says Israel not welcome at NATO summit*, REUTERS, retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-israel-nato-idUSBRE83M0NF20120423>, accessed at 1/18/17

<sup>114</sup> *Trial of Israelis in Turkish flotilla raid begins*, Made for minds, 06-11-2012. Retrieved From <http://www.dw.com/en/trial-of-israelis-in-turkish-flotilla-raid-begins/a-16359317>, accessed in 11/14/16

told that required thing was not trial but a show trial and he added that the trial had no relations with law and justice and it was propaganda showcase. Also he said that “*The so called accused were not even informed or served or notified that they were going to be charged, which makes this one big puppet show*”<sup>115</sup>. Israel responded this trial with the suspect were not present in the courtroom on Tuesday at 6/11/12, because they did not feel they have done anything wrong.<sup>116</sup> This trial made the relations between Israel – Turkey worsen like opening the closed wounds two years ago.

### **III.4.3 Israel Apology to the Mavi Marmara Incident (2013)**

In 2013, Turkey and Israel entered new phase which tend to recondition the two states relations. The U.S President, Barrack Obama had a meeting with Netanyahu in White House at Washington, he asked him to apologize to Turkey about the incident, in order to normalize cooperation between states. The process of the apology was mediated by Obama and then Netanyahu called Erdogan by phone to convey about the feel of regret and apologized, he expressed an apology to the Turkish people for any errors that led the loss of life three years ago and Israel agreed to complete the agreement for compensating the victims, Erdogan answered the phone and received the apologizing word from Israel.<sup>117</sup>

Erdogan said that he valued the “*friendship*” of Turkish and the Jewish nations during his conversation, and Netanyahu also conveyed the regret about the deterioration of both states relations since the incident at 2010. Before the acceptance of apologize from Israel, Erdogan called both Hamas Prime Minister,

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<sup>115</sup> Times of Israel staff and ap, 2012, *Turkey tries Israeli officers, seeks 18,000-year sentences for Mavi Marmara deaths*, THE TIMES OF ISRAEL, November 6, 2012. From <http://www.timesofisrael.com/turkey-tries-israeli-commanders-in-absentia-seeks-18000-year-sentence/>, accessed at 11/15/16

<sup>116</sup> Times of Israel staff and ap, 2012, *Turkey tries Israeli officers, seeks 18,000-year sentences for Mavi Marmara deaths*, THE TIMES OF ISRAEL.

<sup>117</sup> Herb Keinon, 2013, *Netanyahu apologizes to Turkey over Gaza flotilla*, Herb Keinon. The Jerusalem Post, 03/22/2013. Retrieved From <http://www.jpost.com/International/Obama-Netanyahu-Erdogan-speak-by-phone-3-v07423>, accessed at 11/16/2016.

Ismail Haniyeh and the Palestinian Authority, President Mahmoud Abbas to ask their approval before accepting the Israel's apology.<sup>118</sup>

Within the conversation, Netanyahu admitted that Israel had dispatched several assistance over the civilian's movement, and also goods to all the Palestinian territories, including the Gaza strips. The Prime Minister said that he would continue to do the conveyed statement as long as the security situation in Palestine remained peaceful, he also promised to settle the differences between the opinions from two countries in aims to create peace and stability in the region.<sup>119</sup>

The result of this conversation like said by Netanyahu's office that the Israeli Prime Minister and Erdogan agreed to normalize the relations between Turkey and Israel and also returning each ambassador to Tel Aviv and Ankara. Erdogan stated that Turkey would remove all the related legal proceedings against the Israeli forces soldier and officers which have been taken as the consequences over Mavi Marmara attack.<sup>120</sup> However, the actual result did not reach the deal easily due to the demand of lifting Gaza blockade has not been agreed by Israel.<sup>121</sup>

#### **III.4.4 Israel Cast Lead Operation in Gaza (2014)**

The further development for two states reconciliation is issuing the draft agreement in February 2014.<sup>122</sup> The draft talked about the compensation that would be paid by Israel to the flotilla victims attack, but the deal should be changed with the removing claims against the Israeli forces who took part in flotilla incident, as what mentioned above that turkey did effort to call the suspect of the forces into

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<sup>118</sup> Barak Ravid, 2013, *Obama Departs Israel Netanyahu Phones Erdogan to Apologize for Deaths of Turkish Citizens on Gaza Flotilla*, March 22, 2013. HAARETZ. From <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/netanyahu-phones-erdogan-to-apologize-for-deaths-of-turkish-citizens-on-gaza-flotilla.premium-1.511394> accessed at 11/16/16.

<sup>119</sup> Barak Ravid, 2013, *Obama Departs Israel Netanyahu Phones Erdogan to Apologize for Deaths of Turkish Citizens on Gaza Flotilla*, March 22, 2013. HAARETZ

<sup>120</sup> Barak Ravid, 2013, *Obama Departs Israel Netanyahu Phones Erdogan to Apologize for Deaths of Turkish Citizens on Gaza Flotilla*, March 22, 2013. HAARETZ

<sup>121</sup> Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak, 2016, *Turkish – Israeli reconciliation: The End of “Precious Loneliness”?*, MDC, Page 2, Tel Aviv University.

<sup>122</sup> Barak Ravid, 2015, *Five Years After Gaza Flotilla Raid, Israel and Turkey Reach Understandings on Ending Crisis*, HAREETZ, retrieved from <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.692478>, accessed at 11/16/16

International court on trial in Istanbul. Add to this, the draft outline also talked about the normalization of relations between countries, and Israel add the demand for Turkey to halt the activities of Hamas military wings in Istanbul and asked to expel Saleh al-Aruri, senior Hamas official. Within the process, Netanyahu delayed the decision to with the draft which had been recommended by the Israeli negotiator to accept the deal, and rather to choose for extending the period and did not sign the draft.<sup>123</sup>

The reconciliation agreement became far to sign due to Israel Attack on Gaza in July 2014. The newest conflict between Israel and Hamas, Erdogan as the Turkish Prime Minister had responded<sup>124</sup> *“On one side, Israel would wish to normalize its relations with us, on the other side these escalations continue — as long as Israeli aggravation continues, it is not possible to normalize the Turkey-Israel relationship,”* Erdogan said in 11 July and *“Our conditions were clear: apology [for the 11 dead from the May 2010 Mavi Marmara incident]; compensation and lifting of the blockade to Palestine [Gaza]. I was told that the paper was waiting at [Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s] desk, but this [Israeli operation] takes away all of it.”* Erdogan argued about the amount of people who have been killed in Israel by the forces rockets, he said *“none”*, but Palestinian have been killed in almost 100. Erdogan said that Israeli were lying and not honest.<sup>125</sup>

#### **III.4.5 The Process of Draft Reconciliation Agreement (2015)**

Turkey and Israel had proposed and reached the apprehension on the outline of the reconciliation agreement that hoped would to end the long crisis relations between two states after five years incident to normalize the ties. In accordance to Haaretz news that the Israeli senior official convinced about the agreement of

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<sup>123</sup> Barak Ravid , 2015, *Five Years After Gaza Flotilla Raid, Israel and Turkey Reach Understandings on Ending Crisis*, HAREETZ.

<sup>124</sup> Tulin Daloglu, 2014, *Erdogan: Gaza strife threatens Turkish-Israeli rapprochement*. *Al-Monitor*. Retrieved From <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ru/originals/2014/07/daloglu-gaza-erdogan-israel-operation-palestine-turkey.html>, accessed at 11/21/16

<sup>125</sup> Tulin Daloglu, 2014, *Erdogan: Gaza strife threatens Turkish-Israeli rapprochement*. *Al-Monito*.

lifting Gaza blockade had not been reached, and he added that the Turkish President did not want to reconcile the relations unless the Gaza Blockade would be lifted, the officials said. *“There are ideas but no solution to the issue as yet, it’s not simple for Israel”*.<sup>126</sup> The lifting of Gaza blockade is a hard agreement that should be completed by Israel, due to their dispute with Hamas still be considered as the reason.

The effort to reach reconciliation agreement had been taken long time process to bring the actor close to sign an agreement, but always collapsed and cancelled because of backtracking by one side and another, the agreement had still not reached the signature and both states still have some works on detail to end the crisis, and seems like the process was still on the way to resolve the problem.<sup>127</sup> Based on Hareetz news from the admission of Israeli officials and based on Ayala Hasson on Channel 10 television in Israel that the proposed of the principle agreement was contained below:<sup>128</sup>

1. Israeli agreed to pay the compensation for the victims in \$20 million, it would be transferred through Turkish government that would be handle next by them to ensure the right of the compensation equally received based on condition.
2. Turkey and Israel will normalize their relations and will return back each state ambassador to their previous office.
3. Turkish parliament will removed all legal claims towards the suspect of senior Israel military and its soldiers in connection with the flotilla attack incident and will prevent future claims from being charged.
4. Limitation of Hamas activities in Istanbul, through expelling Saleh al-Aruri, Hamas Military wings senior member.
5. When the final agreement had been signed the cooperation between Turkey and Israel in the natural gas would be explored – with Turkey importing gas

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<sup>126</sup> Barak Ravid, Op. Cit.

<sup>127</sup> Barak Ravid, Op. Cit.

<sup>128</sup> Barak Ravid, Op. Cit.

from Israel's offshore oil field and the allowance of Turkey of laying a gas pipeline via Turkey from Israel that would be exported to Europe.

#### **III.4.6 Turkey – Israel Reconciliation Agreement (2016)**

The agreement process that have been through by Turkey and Israel reached a deal in 27 June 2016 at Rome and two nations hailed the agreement of reconciliation.<sup>129</sup> The end of six years vacuum of diplomatic relations divided into six articles and additional two appendices. The three demands that have been issued by Turkey had responded by Israeli government as the requirement efforts to build up new diplomatic relations. The first was Israeli apologize to Turkey as the respect to the victims and the world, it had been done in 2013 (ACPRS, 2016)

In part of reconciliation agreement in June, signed that Israel agreed to compensate 20 million USD for the victims and their families, and as the exchange of it, Turkish have to drop all the judicial process against Israeli military seniors and it soldiers for the flotilla incident. The ambassadors would be appointed to Ankara and Tel Aviv, removing the sanction they slapped on one another in order to respect two states diplomatic relations in international system, also two states would continue the cooperation in security and military sphere.<sup>130</sup>

The last and the hardest agreement, lifting Gaza blockade. The agreement on removing naval blockade in Gaza has not reached the final sign of completion. Israel reject the demand of the lifting of Gaza blockade. To the Israeli government, the Gaza blockade is crucial to prevent Hamas weapon power and threatening Israel's national security. However, there are other provision in the agreement towards this issue:<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Barak Ravid, 2016, *Israel and Turkey Officially Announce Rapprochement Deal*, Ending Diplomatic Crisis, HAREETZ, retrieved from <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.727369> accessed at 1/17/17

<sup>130</sup> Barak Ravid, 2016, *Israel and Turkey Officially Announce Rapprochement Deal*, Ending Diplomatic Crisis, HAREETZ.

<sup>131</sup> Israel – Turkish Rapprochement: Implications for bilateral ties, Policy Analysis Unit – ACRPS. Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies. Page 4, Doha, Qatar from [www.dohainstitute.org](http://www.dohainstitute.org)

1. Turkey is allowed to implement the number of projects in Palestinian territory, the agreement includes of German-Turkish joint construction to build power plant in Gaza, a water desalination plant on the Mediterranean coast, building a hospital in Gaza strip, the rebuild and restoration of the destroyed houses and mosques by the last 2014 which caused from Israeli attack, and building new residential housing units in the territories.
2. The deals not only for Gaza territories, but also makes right for Turkey to have participation in building of an industrial zone near Palestinian West Bank, in the city of Jenin.

The additional two appendices has been insisted by Israel to Turkey, which the first is limitation of Hamas activities in Turkey In order to prevent political and diplomatic coordination from Turkey. The second was appeasing of Israeli dead soldiers which had been left their bodies near Gaza strip in war between Israel and Hamas 2014, and known that the two soldiers were captured by Hamas.<sup>132</sup>

Another agreement was Turkey will no longer limited Israel role in NATO, like what have been occurred in 2012 that Turkey banned Israel to come in NATO May Summit, due to Turkey's veto restricted the spheres in which Israel could cooperate with NATO as a whole.<sup>133</sup>

### **III.5 Turkish Domestic Development in Pre-reconciliation with Israel**

In the pre reconciliation with Israel, Turkish domestic development has been influenced both internal and external factors. Trade, security and defense, the impact for amount of tourism has shown its own level after Turkey and Israel downgraded its diplomatic relations and suspended all the diplomatic cooperation.

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<sup>132</sup> Israel – Turkish Rapprochement: Implications for bilateral ties, Policy Analysis Unit – ACRPS. Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies. Page 4, Doha, Qatar.

<sup>133</sup> Israel – Turkish Rapprochement: Implications for bilateral ties, Policy Analysis Unit – ACRPS. Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies. Page 4, Doha, Qatar.



### III.5.1 Trade Development

Turkish government has been observed that since 2010, when Turkey – Israel diplomatic relations was deteriorated, the foreign trade between two has not been influenced by political circumstances significantly. Moreover, since 2010, Turkish export to Israel is further increased every year<sup>134</sup>, and got only decline with the fall of energy prices (Inter alia, Israel exports refined oil to Turkey) in 2015<sup>135</sup>. In the first half of 2016, Turkish export to Israel increased to 10.2% when the relations with Israel was going to the reconciliation deal.<sup>136</sup>

However, the incident followed by the imposition banning on the participation of Israeli firms government tenders project in 2015 due to the tension between two countries, and moreover the tension was deteriorated when Israel re-attack Gaza in 2014 and caused almost 100 civilians are dead, the result showed us a 40% reduction value of Israeli export to Turkey. Here are the data of the volume of trade between Turkey and Israel.

**Table III.5.1 Volume of Trade between Turkey and Israel (2013-2015)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Israeli exports: Turkey (USD millions)</b>	<b>Turkish exports: Israel (USD millions)</b>
2013	2,500	2,400
2014	2,800	2,700
2015	1,700	2,400

**Source:** Arab center for research and policy studies <sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup> KPMG-Bakis, *Macro Trends in Turkish and Global Economy, sub of “Our foreign trade with Israel”*, page 22. Retrieved from <https://home.kpmg.com/content/dam/kpmg/tr/pdf/2016/10/tr-bakis-3-eng-1.pdf>, accessed on 12/7/16

<sup>135</sup> Gallia Lindenstrauss, 2016, *Israel-Turkey Normalization: Can Relations Turn Over a New Leaf?*, INSS Insight No. 832, June 29, 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=11974>, accessed on 12/7/16

<sup>136</sup> KPMG-Bakis. Op. Cit.

<sup>137</sup> Turkey – Israel Rapprochement, Op. Cit Page 4

However, although the trade sphere were not impacting Turkey – Israel relations significantly, the crisis between Turkey and Israel had created an uncertainty atmosphere which influencing the stability of economic collaboration between two states.<sup>138</sup>

### **III.5.2 Military Agreement**

The diplomatic history with Israel which tied the relations most impactful for Turkey is their relations in military agreement. Before the Mavi Marmara incident happened, Turkey and Israel had started its military agreement in 1994 for Defense Cooperation Agreement and in 1996 for Military Training Cooperation Agreement, the Military – Security relations between two states became the most intimated in the Middle East. The cooperation reached the sphere of agreement mostly in intelligence sharing, military training and the defense industry.<sup>139</sup>

In the early 2000s, Israel supported Turkey to combat the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) by sharing its technical and intelligence support, Turkey also shared intelligence with Israel in the border of Iran and Syria. The military agreement participated Israel’s combat pilots in the Anatolian Eagle exercise which held at Turkey’s airfield in central Anatolian province of Konya and have conducted training around mountains topography which unavailable in Israel. The relations in military agreement also strengthen by conducting the regular joint exercise in the eastern Mediterranean until 2010.<sup>140</sup>

The defense industry also became part of military agreement in strengthening two states relations, several joint project were joined by Turkey and Israel in take cost of hundred million US dollars for each project, the interdependence of military agreement was seen in this sphere which Israel need

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<sup>138</sup> Gallia Lindenstrauss, Op. Cit.

<sup>139</sup> Metin Gurcan, 2016, *What's really driving Turkish-Israeli reconciliation?*, Almonitor. Retrieved From <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/turkey-israel-normalization-military-security-cooperation.html>, accessed on 11/21/16

<sup>140</sup> Metin Gurcan, 2016, *What's really driving Turkish-Israeli reconciliation?*, Almonitor.

Turkey as the exporter and joint military exercise, and Turkey regularly importing the military tools from Israel.<sup>141</sup>

After the incident of Mavi Marmara, intelligence sharing, military joint exercise and cooperation have been suspended and cancelled. Some defense industry projects are broken off and others became discontinued processes. All the agreements within military project caused harm for both states military joint project.<sup>142</sup>

### **III.5.3. Energy Agreement.**

Israel sees Turkey as the important market for its developing of natural gas production from the Mediterranean's big gas field. Turkey is the loyal gas importer from Israel and it is impacted the economic ties between two countries. Especially in Gas import-export agreement that ran by two states. But after the incident and deterioration of diplomatic relations, Turkey is looking for to import their Gas needs from Qatar, Algeria, Iran and Nigeria.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, in 2015 Turkey and Russia had a dispute on the shot downing of Russian jet by Turkish forces, Turkey imported its Gas supply from Russia for 54 percent, and the incident of Russian jet made Turkey should reconsider its Gas need to another actor. The planning to reconcile with Israel is also considering about its Gas demands from Israel.<sup>144</sup>

### **III.5.4 Tourism Development.**

Tourism is one of the important bilateral relations between Turkey and Israel especially for Turkey to increase their national income. Around the period 2000-2006 was being the golden era for Tourism sphere in Turkey, in which 324 thousand Israeli tourist came to Turkey and increased for half a million in 2007-2008 period. Suddenly, in 2010-2012 after the Mavi Marmara incident the fact says that the number of Israeli tourist to Turkey decreased and dropped below 100

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<sup>141</sup> Metin Gurcan, 2016, *What's really driving Turkish-Israeli reconciliation?*, Almonitor

<sup>142</sup> Metin Gurcan, 2016, *What's really driving Turkish-Israeli reconciliation?*, Almonitor

<sup>143</sup> Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies. Page 4, Doha, Qatar.

<sup>144</sup> Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak, 2016, *Turkish – Israeli reconciliation: The end of “Precious Loneliness”?*, MDC, page 3, Tel Aviv University.

thousand. The impact of Mavi Marmara Incident was influencing bilateral relations in Tourism.<sup>145</sup>

Another data from Hareetz news said that the tourism travel by Israeli to Turkey plunged after the Mavi Marmara attack which caused the diplomatic relations was growing tense and affected the amount of tourism. The biggest amount of Israeli tourist visiting Turkey is when 540,000 people arrived, but the year after the incident the number decreased into 75,000 and during the reconciliation process between two states the number had been increased in 2015 for 224,000, just half number from 2008.<sup>146</sup>

### **III.6 Regional Implication.**

The development of regional circumstance also coloring Turkish national interest, the PKK threat, Syrian regime policy, the new threat of ISIS, Iran's growing power and unprecedented crisis with Russia, also the most important is the development of humanitarian crisis in Gaza after Turkey shut down its cooperation with Israel and downgraded their diplomatic status into minimum level.

#### **III.6.1 Turkish Geo-politic Condition.**

After fall of two states diplomatic relations, Turkey faces many threats from external actors, the development of Kurdish Party in Turkey's border is stronger since Turkey cut its military cooperation with Israel that used to be partner in sharing intelligence in combating Kurdish rebels in their territories. Also Turkey faces regional issues with its Syria Policy in Assad regime and unprecedented crisis

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<sup>145</sup> Serkan Polat, *Crisis and Tourism in Turkey – Israel*, Research Gate, retrieved From [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301579247\\_CRISIS\\_AND\\_TOURISM\\_IN\\_TURKEY-ISRAEL\\_RELATIONS](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301579247_CRISIS_AND_TOURISM_IN_TURKEY-ISRAEL_RELATIONS), accessed in 11/22/16

<sup>146</sup> Rina Rozenberg, 2016, *Even Before Terror Attacks, Jewish-Israeli Tourists Were Avoiding Turkey*, HAARETZ. Retrieved from <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/business/.premium-1.709955> accessed at 12/7/16

with Russia, especially in case of shooting Russia air craft by Turkish forces, and strained relations with Iran and Egypt.<sup>147</sup>

The tension of Turkish national security also threaten by the rise of ISIS, which had bombed some places in Turkey and cause of injuries and death of several citizens. The suspension relations with Israel is downgrading the careful of preventing the external threat like ISIS movement in Turkey.

### **III.6.2 The Increasing of Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza.**

Post the suspension of diplomatic cooperation and the downgrading of Turkey – Israel diplomatic relations in 2011, humanitarian crisis in Gaza was worsen. Israel more limited the aid to enter Gaza and Turkey which becomes the loyal of Palestine supporter has inadequate role to help humanitarian crisis in Gaza could not do maximum effort to involve directly in Gaza to decrease the crisis.

The condition in Gaza even worse, Israel came to attack Gaza in 2012 and at least 161 Palestinians, including 71 were killed in this attack.<sup>148</sup> Israel also killed Ahmed al-Jabari, the Hamas military commander.<sup>149</sup> Israel said that they attacked back Hamas which had sent the rockets into southern Israel, but no one was hurt.<sup>150</sup> Israel said the attack aimed to protect the lives of its own citizens, but Israel just attacked the city and hit the civilians which cause of death for the Palestinians.<sup>151</sup>

Again, Israel came to attack Gaza in 2014, over 500,000 people were displaced and over 100,000 were homeless. Even though little of the destroyed

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<sup>147</sup> Rina Rozenberg, 2016, *Even Before Terror Attacks, Jewish-Israeli Tourists Were Avoiding Turkey*, HAARETZ.

<sup>148</sup> Hamid Dabashi, 2012, *Losing the plot: Why did Israel attack Gaza-again?*, ALJAZEERA, 29 November 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/11/20121128105331462162.html> accessed on 12/7/16

<sup>149</sup> Isabel Kershner and Rick Gladstone, 2012, *Israel and Hamas Step Up Air Attacks in Gaza Clash*, The New York Times, retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/16/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-assault.html>, accessed on 12/7/16

<sup>150</sup> The Associated Press, *Israeli aircraft hit Gaza in response to rockets*, Hurriyet Daily News, retrieved from <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/israeli-aircraft-hit-gaza-in-response-to-rockets.aspx?pageID=238&nID=16072&NewsCatID=352>, accessed on 12/7/16

<sup>151</sup> The Associated Press, *Israeli aircraft hit Gaza in response to rockets*, Hurriyet Daily News.

places have been built but Israel restricted to allow the building material entering the area. Water and sanitation became crucial problems in the Gaza strip, and the banning of the material made the situation even worsen.<sup>152</sup> There are lot of things were banned to enter Gaza including building material and non-building material until some of foods and important ingredients were restricted from Gaza like tomato paste, pasta, Juice even batteries for hearing aids to be used by deaf children.<sup>153</sup> Israel banned the additional items that being considered as the threat for Israel's national security, and numbers of Palestinians living in poverty.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Robert Fantina, *From Banned Crayons To Concrete, Gaza Struggles To Rebuild After A Decade Of Israeli Blockade*, MintPress News, retrieved from <http://www.mintpressnews.com/from-banned-crayons-to-concrete-gaza-struggles-to-rebuild-after-a-decade-of-israeli-blockade/212731/>, accessed on 12/7/16

<sup>153</sup> Robert Fantina, *From Banned Crayons To Concrete, Gaza Struggles To Rebuild After A Decade Of Israeli Blockade*, MintPress News

<sup>154</sup> Robert Fantina, *From Banned Crayons To Concrete, Gaza Struggles To Rebuild After A Decade Of Israeli Blockade*, MintPress News

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **THE DRIVING FACTORS BEHIND TURKEY – ISRAEL RECONCILIATION IN 2016**

Turkey – Israel dispute on Mavi Marmara flotilla incident in 2010 and caused nine Turkish dead within the humanitarian mission to Gaza were continued to the cut of diplomatic cooperation and downgrading the minimum level of diplomatic ties between two states, U.N Secretary General which required to conduct international investigation declared through its Palmer Report that Israel naval blockade in Gaza are legal under international law and the attack over flotilla passenger were considered as act of self-defense. Turkey rejected this report a day after it had been issued and showed its assertive behavior to Israel through some threaten words and conveyed its disappointment of the report by issuing three demands that Israel should be fulfilled if they want to re-establish the diplomatic relations and reach a deal for the reconciliation with Turkey, the demands are Israel should apologize to Turkey regarding the victims, paying compensation for victim's family and naval blockade in Gaza should be lifted.

The relations between Turkey and Israel were more deteriorated when Israel rejected to fill the demands that Turkish has required but Turkey still in its strong contention and saying it clearly that if all the demands have not be fulfilled, then the reconciliation could not reach a deal. In 2013 through U.S mediation Israel apologized to Turkey about Mavi Marmara incident and agreed to compensate the victim's family but the naval blockade had not reach a deal. But in 2016 Turkey has different behavior to Israel and these two states remained to reconcile although the last demand which is lifting Gaza blockade were not fulfilled by Israel, Turkey tend to transform its assertive behavior to pragmatism and finally agreed to re-establish their diplomatic relations.

In this chapter, the writer will analyze Turkish foreign policy towards Israel in terms of two states reconciliation post the Mavi Marmara incident which reflecting to the driving factors that led Turkey to re-established its diplomatic ties with Israel although the demands were not fulfilled. The terms of naming the driving factors are derived from **The Policy of Analysis Unit from Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (2016)** and **Metin Gurcan (2016)** an Istanbul-based independent security analyst. The first step, the writer will provide the explanation of the transformation of Turkish behavior from assertiveness to pragmatism through Turkish political pragmatism sub and the second step sub would be the explanation of the driving factors which led Turkey to be pragmatist and deal for a reconciliation with Israel.

## **IV.1 Turkish Political Pragmatism**

Turkey – Israel reconciliation showed different situation toward first Turkish foreign policy on Israel within the case of Mavi Marmara incident. Turkey showed its assertiveness behavior to Israel trough issuing some policies to limit the scope of Israeli interest in turkey and tend to threaten them by demands that should be fulfilled, but apparently in 2016 Turkey changed its behavior from assertive to pragmatism and issued new foreign policy towards Israel.

### **IV.1.1 Turkish Assertive Foreign Policy**

Post the incident of Mavi Marmara attack, Erdogan stated that “*nothing will be same again with Israel*”<sup>155</sup> and calling Israel as the “*Inhumane State Terrorism*”<sup>156</sup>, but Turkey tried to choose a soft diplomacy towards Israel rather than using reactive power to reply Israeli act toward theirs dead passengers. Turkey which intended to conduct the open diplomacy with Israel to ask its responsibility

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<sup>155</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, 2015, Turkey-Israel Relations, Journal of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy, Oxford, U.K. Page 16 , footnote #127.

<sup>156</sup> Jay Alan Sekulow, 2015, Turkey-Israel Relations, Journal of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Law & Public Policy, Oxford, U.K, footnote #126.



for the Mavi Marmara attack had not responded well by Israel by refusing to take responsibility for the incident and reluctant to apologize. The case continued to do an international investigation by the UN Secretary General panel's Inquiry, and the results of the report called the "Palmer Report". But the content of the report is more inclined to defend Israel by saying that the Gaza blockade is legal under the auspices of international law and the incidents of the flotilla attacks is considered as part of self-defense, although the use of weapons is not acceptable and unreasonable. Turkey rejected the results of the report and issued policies toward Israel as a measure to defend the Turkish interests over the Mavi Marmara incident.

Turkish policy towards Israel in 2011 caused a decline in the status of diplomatic relations between turkey and Israel, and breaking various diplomatic cooperation between the two states. Situation worsened with the expulsion of the Israeli ambassador from Ankara. Turkish act assertively to Israel by issuing the three demands to be filled by Israel, as a condition if Israel wants to normalize the relations with Turkey. Moreover, Turkish assertiveness shown by conducting an international court to prosecute the Israeli army officials were involved in the Mavi Marmara attack

In a same year, U.S as the Allies of Israel were negotiating Turkey about the demands and Turkish behavior towards Israel, but Turkey refused it and said that the demands are clear<sup>157</sup> and two states will not to step further except the demands were fulfilled. Turkey assertively stood on its strong contention towards Israel through issuing the three demands that should be filled by Israel. Turkey strengthen its interest and showing its assertiveness behavior towards Israel by conducting an international court to prosecute the Israeli army officials whom

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<sup>157</sup> Bulent Aliriza, *The Turkish-Israeli Crisis and U.S.-Turkish Relations*, September 20, 2011. CSIS – Centre for Strategic & International Studies. Retrieved From <https://www.csis.org/analysis/turkish-israeli-crisis-and-us-turkish-relations>, accessed on 12/20/16

involved in the Mavi Marmara attack<sup>158</sup> and also prohibiting Israel to join NATO Summit in 2012.<sup>159</sup>

#### **IV.1.2 The Process of Transforming Turkish Behavior to Israel.**

in 2013, the US president, Barack Obama called on Netanyahu to apologize to the Turks for the incident that happened aboard the Mavi Marmara. and mediation apology mediated directly by Obama over a mobile connection. Israel through his Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had apologized over the incident through phone communication with Erdogan, he said that Israel apologize from any error circumstances upon Mavi Marmara flotilla which caused nine civilians dead and several were wounded. Also they agreed to compensate the victims by paying 20\$ Million dollars.<sup>160</sup>

.In mediation process between Turkey and Israel, Erdogan valuing the “friendship” between Turkish and the Jewish during his conversation with Netanyahu<sup>161</sup>, this statement were contrary with his statement that saying Israel is “Inhumane State Terrorism”<sup>162</sup> and strict to the two states relation would never be same as before. But this transformation behavior after apology from Israel made a progress from the assertive behavior to be pragmatic. However, Turkey still showed its strict behavior through the demands that Israel have to fill if they want to rebuild a good diplomatic history between two states.<sup>163</sup> The apology could not

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<sup>158</sup> *Trial of Israelis in Turkish flotilla raid begins*, Made for minds, 06-11-2012. Retrieved From <http://www.dw.com/en/trial-of-israelis-in-turkish-flotilla-raid-begins/a-16359317>, accessed in 11/14/16

<sup>159</sup> Osman Orsal, 2012, *Turkey says Israel not welcome at NATO summit*, REUTERS, retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-israel-nato-idUSBRE83M0NF20120423>, accessed at 1/18/17

<sup>160</sup> Five Years After Gaza Flotilla Raid, Israel and Turkey Reach Understandings on Ending Crisis, Barak Ravid. HAREETZ, from <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.692478> accessed at 11/23/16

<sup>161</sup> Netanyahu apologizes to Turkey over Gaza flotilla, Herb Keinon. The Jerusalem Post, 03/22/2013. From <http://www.jpost.com/International/Obama-Netanyahu-Erdogan-speak-by-phone-3-v07423> accessed at 12/20/16

<sup>162</sup> Sabrina Tavernise, *Raid Jeopardizes Turkey Relations*, N.Y. TIMES (31 May 2010), <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/01/world/middleeast/01turkey.html>. Retrieved from *TURKEY – ISRAEL RELATIONS*, Jay Alan Sekulow. Oxford CENTRE for the STUDY of LAW & PUBLIC POLICY.

<sup>163</sup> Press statement by H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, regarding Turkish-Israeli relations, 2 September 2011. Retrieved From

reach a deal to reconciliation until the last demand, lifting of Gaza blockade is realized.

#### **IV.1.3 Turkish Foreign Policy from Assertiveness to Pragmatism.**

However, in 2014 and 2015 were the process in issuing the draft agreements of the reconciliation between two states. Although it had been stuck due to Israel Lead Cast operation to Gaza in 2014 made the tension reappeared, But the process finally come to the deal of the reconciliation in 27 June 2016 in Rome. This phenomenon ended the six years vacuum between Turkey and Israel. Which makes odd is Turkey was agree to do reconciliation even though the demand of lifting Gaza blockade is not fulfilled by Israel, which is considered as the biggest demand of Turkey. Turkey's political pragmatism was playing here, they abandoning the idealist thought about defending their demand, rules and previous policy to reach the interest, and chose another option as what they calculated to get better interest. The pragmatism behavior is part of Turkish policy under AKP's governance, which promulgated by the Former foreign Minister, Ahmad Davutoğlu "Zero problems with the neighbors" The policy helps Turkey to establish a firm relationship with its neighbors and strengthen its soft power influence in the region (Kemal Kirişci, 2016).

The writer analyzed that Turkey's agreement to do reconciliation with Israel even the demands were not being fulfilled is due to the choice that rationally have to be chosen by Turkey to get their biggest interest and the awareness of its own missteps foreign policy for the past five years. As long as the interest is work to be reached Turkey was agree to negotiate the required demand and step for biggest benefit through the reconciliation. Turkey has no choice to do not leave and keeping its ideology towards Israel, and based on Alsaftawi analysis, not only Turkey, the agreements authorizes two states are ready to repositioning their foreign policy for the sake of their interest (Alsaftawi, 2016) and this Turkish political pragmatism

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[http://www.mfa.gov.tr/press-statement-by-h\\_e\\_-mr\\_-ahmet-davutoglu\\_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey\\_-regarding-turkish-israeli-re.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/press-statement-by-h_e_-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey_-regarding-turkish-israeli-re.en.mfa) accessed at 11/14/16

was strengthened by the statement of Meliha Altunışık<sup>164</sup> which had interview with Alsaftawi, *“Turkish-Israeli relations have always been based on interests; if they create some common interests, they normalize the relations, but if common interests are not enough, relations are not that close. It’s not like between Syria and Turkey – either very good or very bad. AKP is very pragmatic in that sense”*.

The reason behind this shifting foreign policy influenced by several factors, and there are some driving factors externally and internally that influence Turkish foreign policy to reconcile with Israel, each factor would be provided explicitly to be understood in a whole explanations.

## **IV.2 The Influences of External and Internal Factors in Turkish Foreign Policy towards Turkey – Israel Reconciliation.**

Internal and external factors have influenced Turkish interest for the recent years in the process of dispute between Turkey and Israel. In order to empower and getting their national interest then Turkey should recalculate the effectiveness of its foreign policy toward Israel which would impact Turkish position in the Eastern Mediterranean as the regional power. Playing political pragmatism to fulfil their interest is a step that Turkey have to choose rather than defending their idealism and let its influence in the region reduced. Israel becomes the source Turkish calculation to reconsider its role in the region. The explicit explanation about the driving factors influencing Turkish foreign policy towards Israel would be provided in this sub chapter. The external factors are, regional balance of power and geostrategic consideration, and the internal factors are mentioned in domestic calculations.

### **IV.2.1 The External Factors: Regional Balances of Power**

The reconciliation that made up by Turkey and Israel is supposed to be the balance of Power which turkey wants to increase its power in Eastern

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<sup>164</sup> Meliha Benli Altunisik is a Professor and Chair at the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.

Mediterranean circumstances. The region have several developed countries like Iran, Saudi and Israel. In order to keep his strength in the region, Turkey perceived Israel as one of the main strong actors which could be used to rebalance its power to realize Turkish interest in the region. The confrontation and vacuum relations with Israel since the Mavi Marmara attack in 2010 led Turkey to re-calculate their foreign policy towards Israel. These sub chapters would be provide several external factors that made Turkey should reconcile with Israel in order to rebalance its power in the region.

#### **IV.2.1.1 The Regionalization of Kurdistan Worker Party (PKK)**

The PKK is a group of Kurdish which has Marxist-Leninist ideology, and it was shaped in the late of 1970s, and for Turkey, PKK is known as a terrorist organization<sup>165</sup>, it has staged an armed attack against the Turkish government in 1984, and it's aimed to regionalize their own territory and establish an independent Kurdish state within Turkey.<sup>166</sup> Although, in according to a BBC Interview, Cemil Bayik the PKK's forces leaders said "*we don't want separate from Turkey and set up a state*", "*We want to live within the borders of Turkey on our own land freely... The struggle will continue until the Kurds' innate rights are accepted*" he said to the BBC reporter.<sup>167</sup> But turkey accuses this group is trying to create a separate state in Turkey.<sup>168</sup>

The conflict against the PKK has caused people died more than 40,000, and had reached a peak in the mid of 1990s, thousands of village were destroyed in the border of Kurdish South-east and East of Turkey.<sup>169</sup> The south-eastern turkey also has been targeted by the PKK and it was demolished by forcefulness since the war

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<sup>165</sup> *How the Kurds Drove Turkey Back to Israel (and Two Other Reasons for the Deal)*, Steven A. Cook - Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is an expert on Arab and Turkish politics as well as U.S.-Middle East policy. Retrieved from <http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/06/syrias-kurds-are-driving-turkey-back-israel/129432/> accessed on 11/24/16

<sup>166</sup> BBC News, *Who are Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels? 4 November 2016*. BCC News, retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-20971100> accessed on 24 November 2016

<sup>167</sup> BBC News, *Who are Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels? 4 November 2016*. BCC News.

<sup>168</sup> BBC News, *Who are Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels? 4 November 2016*. BCC News.

<sup>169</sup> BBC News, *Who are Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels? 4 November 2016*. BCC News.

against PKK collapsed. The Turkish forces also repeatedly using air strikes against the PKK bases in northern Iraq mountainous.<sup>170</sup>

In 2000s Israel has supported Turkey from its intelligence and technical to combat the PKK in the borders of Turkey, but since the Mavi Marmara incident and the downgrading of diplomatic relations, Turkey suspended all cooperation with Israel and automatically Turkey lost its Israel support in facing the PKK and caused of increasing threats to Turkey national security (Mectin Gurcan, 2016).<sup>171</sup>

Add to the Kurdish movement existence, United States has been allies of the YPG, Syrian Kurdish People Protection Unit. U.S and YPG has a cooperation to turn back the ISIS in Middle East, which is known as the Islamic Radical Movement. Turkey regards that YPG and the PKK is a same group. Turkey is the allies of U.S but U.S received YPG as the allies to combat ISIS, here such dilemma in Turkey's position, then Israel role is needed to mediate U.S and Israel towards this issue.<sup>172</sup>

Turkey concerns on the Kurdistan movement is stricter due to the emergence of Rojava or known as the Federation of Northern Syria, and as called Western Kurdistan. This group exist along the strip of Turkish territory, starts from the Afrin district that has bordered Turkey Hatay province at the west until the border of Turkish city, Cizre in the east.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> BBC News, *Who are Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels? 4 November 2016*. BCC News.

<sup>171</sup> Metin Gurcan. 2016, What's really driving Turkish – Israeli reconciliation? Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse, retrieved from <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/turkey-israel-normalization-military-security-cooperation.html> accessed on 11/24/2016

<sup>172</sup> Metin Gurcan. 2016, What's really driving Turkish – Israeli reconciliation? Al-Monitor.

<sup>173</sup> Metin Gurcan. 2016, What's really driving Turkish – Israeli reconciliation? Al-Monitor.

**Figure IV.2.1.1 Kurdistan Workers Party Inhabited Area.**



Source: *CIA retrieved from BBC News.*<sup>174</sup>

The map above showed us the territories that Kurdish has inhabited. Some territories of Iraq, Syria, Iran, Armenia and especially Turkey has been reached by the Kurdish. The PKK also has been accused by Turkish government as the suspect for several terrors in Turkish district which cause of dead for many civilians.<sup>175</sup> The level of the PKK threat was equated with ISIS threat in the Middle East, which said by Turkish Foreign Ministry, Mevlut Cavusoglu said “*There is no difference between PKK and Daesh [Isis],*”<sup>176</sup>

The fact says that the Israelis have a good way to maintain a close relations with non-Arab groups and countries in the Middle East in order to reduce Jerusalem’s regional segregation (Independent, 2015).<sup>177</sup> This factor was the logic reason behind Turkey-Israel relations and encourage Turkish foreign policy to

<sup>174</sup> Metin Gurcan. 2016, What’s really driving Turkish – Israeli reconciliation? Al-Monitor.

<sup>175</sup> Cengiz Candar, 2015, *Terror in Turkey*, Almonitor, Retrieved from <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/10/turkey-syria-ankara-bombings-kurds-cause-further-disarray.html> accessed on 12/23/16

<sup>176</sup> Leo Candrowicz, Zia Weise, 2015, *Turkey-Kurdish conflict: President Erdogan's double-edged war against the PKK and Isis brings accusations of electioneering*, Independent, retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/turkey-kurdish-conflict-president-erdogans-double-edged-war-against-the-pkk-and-isis-brings-10422726.html>, accessed on 12/21/2016

<sup>177</sup> Leo Candrowicz, Zia Weise, 2015, *Turkey-Kurdish conflict: President Erdogan's double-edged war against the PKK and Isis brings accusations of electioneering*, Independent

reconcile the relations with Israel. The Israelis have supported the Kurdish independence group in Iraq, and this Issue became the concern of Turkey to prevent Israel further step. For instance, refer to Dr. Abdur Rauf (2016) statement that Netanyahu has visibly supported the establishment of the Kurdish state, even though the Israeli government denied for providing weapons, trustworthy sources suggest and military training for the Kurdish forces.<sup>178</sup> Add to the worries of Turkey over Israel and Kurdish relations. Israel was recognized of buying oil from the Kurdish energy sources in northern Iraq (Foreign Policy News, 2016).<sup>179</sup>

Along 2010-2014 there are several conflict between Turkish government and the PKK including the Kurdish people. And since the suspension of diplomatic cooperation between Turkey and Israel especially in military agreement Turkey had lost its partner in getting intelligence information from Israel which used to have sharing intelligence in the borders of Syria, Iran and Iraq to combat Turkish enemies, especially the PKK rebels. The table below provides the data of timeline of the conflict between two opposition including the amount of conflict and the victims from both parties.

**Table IV.2.1.1 Timeline of Turkey – PKK conflict**

No	Timeline of conflict	Amount of the conflict	Turkish death	Kurdish death
1.	<b>2010</b> (14 march – 16 September)	47	87	119
2.	<b>2011</b> (15 March – 29 December)	11	52	59
3.	<b>2012</b> (8 February – 12 September)	18	68	250
4.	<b>2013</b> (7 January – 6 December)	5	-	21
5.	<b>2014</b> (March – 27 December)	11	18	41

Source: *OMICS International*, 2015.

<sup>178</sup> Dr. Abdul Ruff, *Turkey's foreign policy reorientation*, Foreign policy news, retrieved from <http://foreignpolicynews.org/2016/07/11/turkeys-foreign-policy-reorientation/>, accessed on 12/22/16

<sup>179</sup> Metin Gurcan, op. cit, ibid.



The awareness of Turkey to reconcile with Israel is to prevent Israel's support over the independence of Kurdish, due to Israel is known as the country that like to maintain relationship with any group from separatism which potentially could help them to expand their national interest, and Turkey did not want Israel to have a good partnership to the Kurdish like Iran. The choice to reconcile with Israel also to re-establish the sharing intelligence in the borders in order to protect the aggressiveness movement of the PKK from their attack and anything that potentially threatening Turkish National Security.

#### **IV.2.1.2 Turkey's Syria Policy.**

Syria is bordering Turkey and Israel, the two states concern on its Syria's regional strategic location, geographic location and the rise of its military power in the region. But the most important for current regional obstacles is Syrian Civil war which has implicated both Turkish and Israel national interest, and the threat comes from this war have exaggerated this two states relationship. The same interest led Turkey – Israel to do cooperation in term of national interest on Syria for security, economic and humanitarian concerns (Washington Institute, 2013).<sup>180</sup>

Both Turkey and Israel has own history towards the backtracking relations with Syria, and it had begun since the end of cold war, which Syria has played important role to influence Turkey – Israel relations. Syria relations with Iran also affecting both states reconciliation.

The borders of Syria over Turkey and Israel have experienced tensions and border disputes history. Israel has fought Syria and experienced three wars against it in 1948, 1967, and 1973 which Syria used proxy wars against Israel. Syria provided the Palestinian liberation group at the time, named Fatah that was headed by Yasser Arafat to raid Israeli villages and to attack Israeli civilians and got war

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<sup>180</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/Ross20130731-GeorgetownJournal.pdf> accessed on 11/30/16

with Israeli soldiers but it had been collapse in the end of *Six days Wars*.<sup>181</sup> And continued to get relations with Iran which became the supporter of Hezbollah (Shia' Lebanese Terrorist Organization) by supplying it with money, arms and military training<sup>182</sup>. Syrian regime also engaged with Russia to cooperate with the regime to combat the regime opposite fighters and giving support through military cooperation.

Turkey and Syria had a strained relations during the 1990s, especially in 1992 that Syria was helping the PKK to attack Turkey in border dispute and since the time Turkey has classified Syria as its major source of external threat.<sup>183</sup> Turkey and Israel have same major concern on Syria regime headed by Bashar al Assad which threat two states national interest and the protection of national security. The two states are highly concerned about al-Assad's owning of chemical and conventional weapons that will fall into Hezbollah or Jihadist groups in Syria that it would potentially threat against Turkey and Israel.<sup>184</sup>

Israel had stabilized its Syrian borders since 1974 but it has been destructed by Al-Assad which redeployed its forces from the Syrian Golan heights into the strategic locations and the area of Damascus, and it push the group of the Jihadist to get link with Al-Qaeda to gain control of the area near Israel. The prominent Jihadist is Jabhat An-Nusra, which some of its forces have been located in Northern Syria and borders with Israel, and as long as the Jihadist are available in Golan height territory, they will be the concern of Israel due to they are probable to abstain from provoking Israel. The dispute was inevitable since November 2012 that Israel forces has been engaged into conflict with Syrian forces shooting and rockets attack from the Syrian area of Golan Heights near of Israeli villages and the patrols area.

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<sup>181</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy.

<sup>182</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy, page 116.

<sup>183</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy. Page 116. Footnote #3.

<sup>184</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy. page 120.

The conflict between Syrian forces and Jihadist groups in Golan height brings the influence towards Israel national Security.<sup>185</sup>

Turkey has pressured Al-Assad to stop attack against his civilians but it was useless, Syrian regime did not listen on Turkish pressure to end the civil war and to implement the democratic reformation on its country.<sup>186</sup> In the summer of 2012 Syria forces shot down Turkish jet in International airspace which considered by Syria has reached their country's territory. The jet that had been conducting the training was shot down, the Pilots and its crew are death. This evidence following the expelling of Syrian Ambassador from Ankara and deteriorating Syrian relations with Turkey.<sup>187</sup> The condemnation came from Erdogan after the shot downing Turkish jet and calling for Al-Assad to resign and demands to create safe zone in Syria.<sup>188</sup> The Syrian regime under Al-Assad is brutally against its civilian protesters and caused of death from more than 300 hundred thousands of civilians.<sup>189</sup>

Turkey as the majority of Sunni had an interest towards Syria civilians that had been killed by Assad due to the clash between protesters and pro Assad regime also known as Shia majority versus Sunni minority.<sup>190</sup> Turkey now concerns on stability in the region, especially for the Islamic Countries. The result of killing by Assad regime on its own people are attracting Turkey to open its territory to give a place of Syrian refugees. Among three millions refugees fled from Syria to Turkey to look for safety places (Ross and Stern 2013).<sup>191</sup> Turkey welcomed the refugees

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<sup>185</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy

<sup>186</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy page 121. Footnote #51.

<sup>187</sup> The guardian, 2012, *Syria crisis: Turkey expels diplomats* - Wednesday 30 May, the guardian, retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/middle-east-live/2012/may/30/syria-crisis-unc-annan-briefing> accessed on 12/15/16

<sup>188</sup> Ross and Stern, page 121, footnote #52, #53.

<sup>189</sup> Regime bombardment kills 25 civilians in east Aleppo: monitor, afp. Bangkok post, retrieved from <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/world/1137769/regime-bombardment-kills-25-civilians-in-east-aleppo-monitor> accessed on 12/15/16

<sup>190</sup> Kathy gilsinan, 2015, *The Confused Person's Guide to the Syrian Civil War*, *The Atlantic*, retrieved from <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/syrian-civil-war-guide-isis/410746/> accessed on 12/20/16

<sup>191</sup> Aljazeera news and agencies, 2016, *Turkey threatens EU with new refugee surge*, retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/turkey-threatens-eu-refugee-surge-161125123835003.html> accessed on 12/15/16

into Turkey but it had consequences of the costing the living refuge in the camps over \$600 million from its national income<sup>192</sup>. Turkish also concern on the Syrian Kurdish, the Kurdish democratic Union Party (PYD) which is the branch of the PKK and empowered by its Military forces the YPG which potentially attack Turkish borders to build Kurdish regionalization.<sup>193</sup>

Syrian regime's act becomes the pivotal role in affecting Turkey – Israel reconciliation to rebuild the cooperation between them and prevent further Syria's regime act towards their national interest which potentially drag Syria and its neighbors into long time dispute, and also issuing warfare and further dispute in the regional.<sup>194</sup>

The two states interest are coming from a same matter, the reconciliation and re-establishment of two states relations were influencing by the threat on national security from Assad Regime. The tension in Syria which caused Civil war since 2011 until present has been creating unstable situation in the region which also threatening its national security in the borders, and it became Turkish own calculation to make up their relations with Israel to rebalance its power against the threat of Syrian regime

#### **IV.2.1.3 The Growing Profile of Iran.**

Iran is one of the strongest power in the region, they develop nuclear power as their weapon, and this thing become controversial and issuing threat over the world especially Israel which considered as the rival of Iran. The Iranian regime perceives Israel as a regional competitor bent on undermining its revolutionary

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<sup>192</sup> Nick Cumming-Bruce, "Number of Syrian Refugees Hits 1 Million, U.N. Says," The New York Times, 6 March 2013; Kevin Sullivan, "Turkey's Erdogan to Air Policy Differences with Obama," The Washington Post, 13 May 2013. Retrieved from Ibid page 121.

<sup>193</sup> Jonathan Spyer, "The Kurds Are for the Kurds," The Weekly Standard, 18 March 2013; Najmeh Bozorgmehr, "Iran reiterates support of Syrian regime," Financial Times, 7 January 2013. Retrieved from ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy page 123. Footnote #39

system and Israel views Iran as its biggest security challenge posturing serious strategic and ideological challenges to the Jewish state.<sup>195</sup>

The development and expanding of Iranian missiles capabilities and nuclear advances are viewed as the threat for Israel and it perceives of Iran's influence in regional is on the rise which could affecting Israeli interest and frightening steadiness in areas bordering Israel. The situation becomes more triggered of Israel and Iran worse circumstances since the rise of Iranian fundamentalist had also increased Iranian aggression and threat perception towards Israel. The increasing of this circumstances was due to the change of Iranian political system, including the rise of the Revolutionary Guards and the principles under President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2005.<sup>196</sup>

Turkey and Iran had own ambition to be regional power in Eastern Mediterranean. Iran becomes the supporter of Assad Regime in Syria and being loyal to be the supplier of Syrian regime, through its Al-Quds force and Hezbollah, Iran is massively offering the Syrian regime support in military arms, forces training, combat support and funding to the Assad Regime.<sup>197</sup> After the fall of Ottoman, Kurds become the minority in Turkey and they repeatedly fight against Turkey government. The main of Kurdish rebels' movement is the PKK and many members of the Kurdish rebels have been spread in Iraq and Iran. For years Iranian government had welcomed the Kurdish and even support for the Kurdish militant to fight against Turkey, and this thing became Turkish concern on two states conflict.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Dalia Dassa Kaye, Alireza Nader, *Parisa Roshan, Israel and Iran A Dangerous Rivalry*, RAND NATIONAL DEFENSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 2011 Santa Monica page ix. Retrieved from [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND\\_MG1143.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1143.pdf) accessed on 11/30/16

<sup>196</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy page x1.

<sup>197</sup> Moran Stern and Dennis Ross, 2013, *The Role of Syria in Israeli – Turkish Relations*, Politics & Diplomacy page 121. Footnote #58.

<sup>198</sup> WANG Bo, 2011, *Turkey-Iran Reconciliatory Relations: Internal and External Factors*, Middle East Studies Institute, Shanghai International Studies University. Retrieved from [http://mideast.shisu.edu.cn/\\_upload/article/86/f1/a2903ac544dab4e4aba6c9bfcce9/8f07916c-765e-4523-996e-28ae286974c6.pdf](http://mideast.shisu.edu.cn/_upload/article/86/f1/a2903ac544dab4e4aba6c9bfcce9/8f07916c-765e-4523-996e-28ae286974c6.pdf) accessed on 11/30/16

Turkey and Israel sees Iran as their national threat, for its part Israel views Iran's support for terror and create threat perceptions over nuclear capability near of Israel. Turkey's interest reconciliation with Israel is due to Iran's growing profile in the region, especially in case of Iran support of Syrian Regime which caused of civil war, and also due to Turkish proxy war against Iran in Syria<sup>199</sup>. The existence of Iranian involvement near Turkish and Israeli borders during and after Syrian civil war has been harshly threatens both countries' security (Ross and Stern, 2013, p 121). The Syrian conflict has been affected Turkish National Interest including fled of refugees and security matter in Turkish borders. An analyst at IHS country risk, Ege Seçkin highlighted that Turkey – Israel reconciliation deal is driven by the increasing of Iran prominence power in the region.<sup>200</sup> Israel interest on Iran is used by Turkey to rebalance its power with Israel to counter Iran prominence in the region.

#### **IV.1.2.4 The Emergence of ISIS as a New International Threat**

ISIS is a new serious problem comes to threat Turkish national security. This militant group which had the main basis in Iraq and Syria perceived Turkey is the enemy that halt this militant group to extend their interest. According to U.S Intelligence, more than 1300 have been suspected as an ISIS militant by Turkish police in 2015 and more than 300 of them were arrested (The Guardian, 2014).<sup>201</sup> And most of them were Turkish which supported ISIS.<sup>202</sup> In 2014, ISIS attacked Turkish Syrian Border, the town of Kobani for the first time. The attack had been

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<sup>199</sup> Soner Cagaptay, 2013, *Syrian Crisis Leading Towards Open Turkey-Iran Conflict*, The Washington Institute 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/syrian-crisis-leading-towards-open-turkey-iran-conflict> accessed on 11/30/16

<sup>200</sup> Mohammed Alsaftawi, 2016, *Who Needs Whom? Turkey and Israel Agree on Normalization Deal*, IAI, Rome, Italy page 11

<sup>201</sup> The Guardian staff and agencies, 2014, *Isis launches attack on Kobani from inside Turkey for first time*, Staff and agencies. Theguardians, retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/29/isis-attack-kobani-inside-turkey-first-time> accessed on 12/8/16

<sup>201</sup> William M. Arkin And Robert Windrem, 2014, *Why ISIS Attacks Turkey*. NBC News, retrieved from <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/istanbul-aturk-airport-attack/why-isis-attacks-turkey-n601081> accessed on 12/8/16

<sup>202</sup> William M. Arkin And Robert Windrem, 2014, *Why ISIS Attacks Turkey*. NBC News

launched through four sides of the town.<sup>203</sup> Due to this attack Turkish court punished three ISIS terrorist to 10 life punishments for the attack in March 2014.<sup>204</sup>

The explanation came from the Turkish expert in Research center in Washington DC, Omer Taspinars said that ISIS attacked Turkey is due to Turkey's attitude of pro-Western and its cooperation with U.S to counter ISIS militant in Middle East, and this thing become the major reason for Turkey to be an ISIS target (PRI, 2016).<sup>205</sup> ISIS backed to be the suspect of threat to Turkey by bombing the country in 2015 and it was considered due to Turkish agreed to join international coalition against ISIS.<sup>206</sup> In July, in a same year, based on Dabiq online news that ISIS said to Turkey that the current government and their forces were clearly one of blatant apostasy and urged the Turkish civilian to take over Istanbul and accused Erdogan as the betrayer whom work for the crusaders.<sup>207</sup>

The role of ISIS terror in Turkey also could not be regardless from the movement of PKK in Turkey. On July 2015 Turkish had been bombed the cultural center in Suruc which caused 32 people dead, and most the victims were the supporter of PKK<sup>208209</sup>. Both Turkey and PKK are the target of ISIS interest. The reconciliation with Israel made Turkey rebalancing its power to counter this Turkish new threat since its diplomatic relations deteriorated with Israel. Turkey's interest in sharing intelligence with Israel is to combat border's enemies and also preventing the closeness of Israel to ISIS which is Israel known as the state that like to build relations with countries, separatist, rebels and communities which

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<sup>203</sup> The Guardian, Op. Cit.

<sup>203</sup> William and Robert, Op. Cit.

<sup>204</sup> William and Robert, Op. Cit.

<sup>205</sup> Fatma Tani, 2016, *Why is ISIS attacking Turkey, a Muslim country?*, PRI, retrieved from <http://www.pr1.org/stories/2016-06-29/why-isis-attacking-turkey-muslim-country> accessed on 12/8/16

<sup>206</sup> Tim Lister, 2015, *Ankara terrorist attack: What does it mean for Turkey?*, CNN, retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/10/world/turkey-ankara-bomb-why-it-matters/> accessed on 12/8/16

<sup>207</sup> Tim Lister, 2015, *Ankara terrorist attack: What does it mean for Turkey?*, CNN.

<sup>208</sup> Ian Bremmer , 2015, *These 5 Stats Explain Turkey's War on ISIS — and the Kurds*.TIME, retrieved from <http://time.com/3980085/these-5-stats-explain-turkeys-war-on-isis-and-the-kurds/> accessed on 12/8/16

<sup>209</sup> TaraJohn, Timeline, *The rise of ISIS: Suicide Bomber with ISIS ties kills 32 in Turkey*, retrieved from <http://time.com/4030714/isis-timeline-islamic-state/> accessed in

could contribute to expand its interest in the region, these matters become Turkey's consideration to do reconciliation with Israel.

#### **IV.1.2.5 Summary of External Factors: Regional Balance of Power.**

The first external factor is regional balances of power, in this part Turkey perceived Israel as the core actor in the region to balance the power upon several actors in Eastern Mediterranean which considered as the barriers to achieve Turkish national interest. The re-establishing sharing intelligent cooperation in the borders of Turkey with Israel becomes important for Turkey's national security to combat the threat of PKK regionalization and the rise of ISIS. The case of Syrian regime and the growing profile of Iran also being Turkish concern in the region, especially the re-establishment of this relation regards from the same enemies of Turkey and Israel those are Security threat from Syria and Iran. Syria became one of the most concern perceived by Turkey, its regime which attack the civilians creates unstable security condition in the region and threatening Turkish borders stability. The reconciliation which simultaneously to gain Turkish interest to protect Syrian victims that much known as Sunni people. Iran is the closest ally of Syrian regime, its contribution to the regime of Syria made Turkey to reconcile with Israel in order to rebalance Iranian power over Syria and its role in the borders that threatening Turkish national security.

#### **IV.2.2 External Factor: Geostrategic Consideration.**

Since the rise of AKP in Turkey and becomes the lead party government, Turkey has re-orientated its ideology from secular to democracy with tend to Islamic values, and some expert says it is named "New-Ottomans" which pull the country away from the pro-western orientation.<sup>210</sup> Turkey now concerns to be regional power in Eastern Mediterranean and doing effort to spread his influence to the entire region in Eastern Mediterranean. And one of the consideration is re-

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<sup>210</sup> Yaroslav Trofimov, 2016, *Turkey's Autocratic Turn*, The Wall Street Journal, Retrieved from <http://www.wsj.com/articles/turkeys-autocratic-turn-1481288401> 1 accessed on 12/23/2016



establishing the relations with Israel which could be used to reach their interest in the region.

**Figure IV.2.2 Eastern Mediterranean countries.**



Source: ISECN, 2012.

In this thesis, Turkey-Israel reconciliation is holding one of the key for Turkey to considerate it's geostrategic in the Region. Turkish national interest over Syria and Iran has been explained in the sub part of regional balance of power which actually also include of Turkish geostrategic consideration but Russia and the Status of Palestinian post the Palmer report are this thesis main research of Turkish strategy interest in the region during its foreign policy re-calculation towards Israel.

#### **IV.2.2.1 Turkish - Russian Tensions**

Turkey and Russia have the most significant relations in the dependency of Energy<sup>211</sup>, but the relations was deteriorated since the Bayirbucak operation which Russian planes and Al-Assad regimes air force have been bombing the Area in 19

<sup>211</sup> Metin Gurcan, 2015, *After shooting down Russian jet, what's next for Turkey?*, Al-Monitor. Retrieved from <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/11/turkey-russia-syria-best-worse-case-scenarios-russian-jet.html#ixzz4SnEHAjFL> accessed on 12/14/16

November 2015. The target of the operations were about 90,000 Turkmen which considered and controlled by the anti-Syrian regime forces.<sup>212</sup>

The forces attack to Syrian regime opposition has been operated by the Syrian President Ground forces, Al-Assad with the help of Iranian Shiite militias to attack the Turkmen mountain which has borders 9 miles from the Turkish territory that placed by Latakia, Gimam and Kizildag villages. The reason behind Assad regime and Russians attacked the Turkmen Mountain is to expel this opposite Syrian regime from its territory in order to control the area of Turkmen. Syrian regime and Russian want to extend the territory, especially for Assad regime to counter the rebels and for the Russian is to keep Latakia from the Turkmen, because Latakia has its largest military presence, and the area should be clear from the opposite fighters. Importantly, the Syrian regime doesn't want Turkey to have common border relations with the anti-Syrian regime forces.<sup>213</sup>

The diplomatic crisis happens since the clash of downing Russian jet by Turkish air forces in 2015, and it was because when the jet had entered Turkish territory but the warning from Turkish forces was abandoned by the Russian jet, then Turkish shot down the jet for violating Turkish airspace territory, but Russia says that the Jet was over Syria.<sup>214</sup>

The Russian President, Putin said that Russia was on mission to counter terrorism, but Turkey had shot down a plane that was on anti-terrorism mission to attack ISIS.<sup>215</sup> The Turkish president, Erdogan replied over Putin statement and he said that Russia was on charge to help Syrian regime which attack on its own people and he added that there is no ISIS in the area where the jet were flying and strictly said to Russia to do not deceive the mass, due to Turkey know the locations of ISIS,

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<sup>212</sup> Metin Gurcan, 2015, *After shooting down Russian jet, what's next for Turkey?*, Al-Monitor.

<sup>213</sup> Metin Gurcan, 2015, *After shooting down Russian jet, what's next for Turkey?*, Al-Monitor.

<sup>214</sup> Reuters, 2015, *Tension mounts between Russia and turkey over downed plane*, Reuters. Retrieved from <http://europe.newsweek.com/turkey-russia-putin-plane-erdogan-united-nations-isis-iraq-syria-402288?rm=eu> accessed on 12/14/16

<sup>215</sup> Don Melvin, Jethro Mullen and Zeynep Bilginsoy, 2015, *Tensions rise as Russia says it's deploying anti-aircraft missiles to Syria*, CNN. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/25/middleeast/syria-turkey-russia-warplane-shot-down/> accessed on 12/14/16

what have been targeted by Russia and Assad regime were not ISIS but Turkmen Groups.<sup>216</sup>

The diplomatic relations between Turkey and Russia became adversarial and impacted Turkish needs over Russia because more than 54 percent of its natural gas supply was coming from Russia and the confrontation made Turkey should replace the need to other states.<sup>217</sup>

In regional circumstances, Turkey considered if the relations between Turkey and Russia were not reached the reconciliation yet it would affect to the Syrian regime status over Turkish interest. Today the only states that closest to Russia and U.S is Israel (Metin Gurcan, 2016). The evidence showed, based on Haaretz report that Russia was welcoming the process of Turkey – Israel reconciliation and said “*we welcome this process*”, he said at the conference. For addition, this is for the first time that Putin has expressed public support for the process of other states reconciliation (Haaretz, 2016). In a same day of the reconciliation, Erdogan sent a letter of apology to Russia towards the case of shot downing Russian jet.<sup>218</sup>

Metin Gurcan analyzed that the re-establishing relations between Turkey and Israel could be used by Turkish government to help normalization with Russia, especially in the matter of Russia’s support towards Assad regime within Syrian civil war (Metin Gurcan, 2016) Post the normalization with Russia, Turkey could have diplomatic options towards their interest over Syrian civil war. Russia is holding as the actor who ties the closeness with Syria, Iran and Israel. The normalization with Russia would be beneficial for Turkey to play over strategic towards those mentioned states. Several days after the reconciliation with Israel Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu as Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministers conducted a meeting with

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<sup>216</sup> Don Melvin, Jethro Mullen and Zeynep Bilginsoy, 2015, *Tensions rise as Russia says it's deploying anti-aircraft missiles to Syria*, CNN

<sup>217</sup> Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak, 2016, Turkish – Israeli reconciliation: The end of “Precious Loneliness”?, MDC, Page 3, Tel Aviv University

<sup>218</sup> Zülfikar Doğan, 2016, *Little has changed between Turkey, Russia despite reconciliation*, Almonitor, retrieved from <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/11/turkey-russia-sanctions-apology-salvage-economic-ties.html#ixzz4Vy5VKUAg>, accessed at 1/17/17

his Russian counterpart and stated about Turkey's interest for a closer cooperation with Russia to handle situation in Syria.<sup>219</sup>

#### IV.2.2.2 Palestine Humanitarian Status

Post the Mavi Marmara attack and Turkey cut its diplomatic cooperation and downgraded its relation with Israel made the condition of civilians in Gaza has reached the crisis of humanity. Moreover, after Israel cast lead operation in 2012 and 2014 which caused hundred thousand Palestinian were dead. Israel also banned some material products and several goods to enter Gaza, and it was deteriorated humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

Turkey realized that they could not intervene the Palestinian crisis due they still in dispute with Israel and also could not contribute to Palestinian matter without re-establishing its relations with Israel. When the reconciliation has reached the deal in 2016, Turkey can reduce the humanitarian crisis in Gaza through its role to be involved in Gaza to rebuild their infrastructure, sending foods and goods, and also to rebuild the hospital and energy resources. Yildirim as the current foreign ministry said that *"Our Palestinian brothers in Gaza have suffered a lot and we have made it possible for them to take a breath with this agreement,"* Yildirim told a news conference in Ankara.<sup>220</sup>

A day before reconciliation deal agreement processed, the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan made a call with Mahmoud Abbas as the Palestinian President, and told him the reconciliation would reduce the crisis and improve humanitarian situation in Gaza, the Palestinian President expressed the satisfaction.<sup>221</sup> Erdogan and the AKP also tried to maintain Palestinian matter through meeting with Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal two days before official

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<sup>219</sup> Kemal Kirişçiİs, 2016, Turkish foreign policy becoming pragmatic again?, BROOKINGS, retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/07/11/is-turkish-foreign-policy-becoming-pragmatic-again/> accessed at 1/17/17

<sup>220</sup> Ercan Gurses and Jeffrey Heller, 2016, *Israel, Turkey restore ties in deal spurred by energy prospects*, REUTERS. retrieved From <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-turkey-erdogan-idUSKCN0ZD0DS> Accessed on 11/21/2016

<sup>221</sup> Ercan Gurses and Jeffrey Heller, 2016, *Israel, Turkey restore ties in deal spurred by energy prospects*, REUTERS.

announcement of the reconciliation agreement. It's purposed to follow Turkish national interest to concern on Gaza humanitarian status after got an averment that Israel would not lift the Gaza blockade.<sup>222</sup>

Turkey would not abandon the crisis in Palestine becomes bigger, the communication to reconcile and re-think about the current Palestine condition post the break of relation between Turkey and Israel would help the crisis in Gaza. Erdogan is the vocal Turkish leader about his criticism toward Israel over Palestine status and Kemal Kirişçi (2016) concluded that if Erdogan abandoned the Palestinians status it would be serious impact for its political liability and would decrease his government credibility on the public to handle Palestine humanitarian issue.<sup>223</sup> As the final result within the draft agreement, Turkey would send their humanitarian aid to Gaza after the reconciliation and joining the project of rebuilding the destroyed infrastructure.<sup>224</sup> This step with Israel is being Turkish geostrategic consideration to get their national interest over Palestine and also simultaneously to keep its credibility in the region and the heart of Islamic countries.

#### **IV.2.2.3 Summary of External Factors: Geostrategic Consideration.**

In 2015, Turkey had a problem with Russia in case of shot downing Russian jet by Turkish forces in which impacted diplomatic relations status between these two states. Russia is also known as the close ally of Syrian regime which proven by the joining Russian forces to help the regime to attack the Syrian civilian which considered by the regime as the rebels. Israel as the closest ally of Russia influenced Turkey to reconcile with Israel in order to mediate Turkey – Russia reconciliation. Through gaining the strategy of the closeness with Russia, then Turkey could have a role to play within Russia – Syrian regime relations in case of crisis between

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<sup>222</sup> Mohammed Alsaftawi, *Op. Cit* page 12

<sup>223</sup> Mohammed Alsaftawi, 2016, Who Needs Whom? Turkey and Israel Agree on Normalization Deal, IAI, Rome, Italy page 3

<sup>224</sup> Policy Analysis Unit – ACRPS, 2016, Turkey – Israel Rapprochement: Implication for bilateral ties, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, page 2.

Syrian regime and its civilians. Russia also being the most importer of resources to Turkey and the choice to reconcile with Israel perceived as the strategy to geostrategic consideration in order to gain Turkish national interest in Russia and the region to tackle Syrian civil war.

The humanitarian crisis in Gaza was being worse since Turkey and Israel suspended all diplomatic cooperation, moreover after Israel did cast lead operation in Gaza at 2012 and 2014 the status of people's live in Gaza was deteriorated, add to this Israel also banned many products from outside Palestine to enter Gaza, and the banning of goods entering Gaza was very strict. Turkey could not do interfere on humanitarian status to increase the Palestinian's live in Gaza. The choice to reconcile with Israel and abandoning their important last demands which is lifting Gaza blockade should be done to gain Turkish interest in Gaza, and its proven from one of the reconciliation agreement result is allowing Turkey to involve in building infrastructure in Gaza and sending goods to help the crisis.

#### **IV.2.3 Internal Factors: Turkish Domestic Calculation.**

The internal factors led Turkish foreign policy towards Israel to conduct the reconciliation. Turkey realized of the unfinished strategy to be regional power in In Eastern Mediterranean, which caused of something missing in the process of two states dispute after Mavi Marmara incident. Turkish national interest on military agreement with Israel is needed to be re-established due to the consideration of military cooperation for its national security and to finish the suspended project in defense industry. The internal factors also would like to talk about the awareness of Turkish role as the major transit energy country which beneficially could be used by Turkey to empower its domestic income and simultaneously put its interest in the region.

##### **IV.2.3.1 Military Agreement**

The most important of diplomatic cooperation between Turkey and Israel is Military Agreement, which consist of Security and the cooperation in defense industry project which have been started since 1996. In military sphere, the two

countries are strongly tightening the relations through military joint exercise and military cooperation itself. Agreements in military terms included sea, land, air and intelligence cooperation, conducting military training and exercise regularly in eastern Mediterranean like Anatolian Eagle military exercise, also conducting mutual visits and also staff exchange to ensure the trust of their military cooperation.<sup>225</sup>

Defense industry is not regardless from these two states concerns, Turkey and Israel cooperated in many defense projects regarding the arms since the military agreement has been signed, but since the Mavi Marmara incident happened, and Israel refused to apologize to Turkey, then the military agreement was suspended and Turkey has stopped for *16 defense contracts* which estimated for \$56 billion<sup>226</sup>, for example Turkey has suspended 5 billion dollar within the deal for 1000 tanks product of Merkava Mk 3, \$50 million to upgrade the M-60 tanks, and got \$800 million deal for two Israeli patrol aircraft and an Airborne Warning and Control System jet, and also halted Israel Aerospace Industries Arrow-2 for anti-ballistic missile system which reached \$2 billion<sup>227</sup>. However, the cut of ties in Military agreement had caused some defense industry project were halted and others became tremendously cumbersome processes.<sup>228</sup>

Turkey known as the major importer for the military stuff from Israel, and the reconciliation between two states are rebuilding this project and continue the halted projects. The needs not just came from Israel as the producer which imported by Turkey, but the need to continue the project to prevent the lost also came from Turkey. Add to this, according to Mectin Gurcan (2016) report that the request to rebuild military agreement with Israel has been proposed by the Turkish armed forces in the level of political echelons, and it has been consideration that the needs

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<sup>225</sup> Brigadier General Moustapha H. Sleiman, 2010, *The Turkish Middle East role: Between the Arabs and Israel*, page 14. U.S. Army War College, CARSLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA.

<sup>226</sup> UPI, 2010, Turkey 'freezes arms deals with Israel', UP1. Retrieved from [http://www.up1.com/Business\\_News/Security-Industry/2010/06/18/Turkey-freezes-arms-deals-with-Israel/UP1-24011276879457/](http://www.up1.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2010/06/18/Turkey-freezes-arms-deals-with-Israel/UP1-24011276879457/) accessed on 12/15/16

<sup>227</sup> UPI, 2010, Turkey 'freezes arms deals with Israel', UP1.

<sup>228</sup> Metin Gurcan, op. cit.

and projects over the defense stuff was one of the main element which influence Turkey to be agree on reconciliation with Israel.<sup>229</sup>

In side of continuing the defense industry project between two states, the reconciliation also important to rebuild their close military cooperation in side of security interest over the rise of ISIS, Iran, and Syrian regime which borders Turkey and Israel especially in Golan Heights and other needs for re-sharing intelligence information that used to be done in the border of Iran and Syria. The two states are dependence for this borders issues, and Turkey which today are facing serious problem with Syria regime, Iran and especially the PKK and ISIS should reconsider its policy towards Israel regarding to the cost and benefit if this two states military cooperation was discontinue.

#### **IV.2.3.2 Energy Resources Prospect**

The deal that driving Turkey – Israel reconciliation also offering the energy prospect that potentially injecting two states economic development. The agreement issued a deal on the prospect of profitable Mediterranean gas deals cooperation to exploit natural gas which reserves worth for hundreds of billions of dollars under the eastern Mediterranean and the reconciliation made possibility for Israel to send gas supplies to Europe via Turkey.<sup>230</sup>

Israel proposed energy ties to unlock its natural gas wealth and Turkey accepted this thing due to reconsider of its status as the main actor in the circle of Gas export via Turkey and it is perceived by Turkey as the benefit which could measure from Turkish geopolitical position as a major transit route. Turkey considering the fact that its own natural gas production is in the low level of demands, and to satisfy its growing energy demands, Turkey is required to have relationship with Israel and countries of major oil producers like Russia, Egypt, and Azerbaijan as the key suppliers and Transit routes.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Metin Gurcan, op. cit.

<sup>230</sup> Reuters, Op. Cit.

<sup>231</sup> Göktuğ SÖNMEZ, Op. Cit page 9.



Turkey acceptance on Israel's offer in energy prospect also considering the trilateral alliance in the region; Israel, Cyprus and Greece are united to protect the maritime area in Eastern Mediterranean territories in order to build up security in the region and the main interest is to exploit the energy resources. This trilateral movement signed through the acceptance of a MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) in 2013 which declaring that they are cooperating to protect the area where the natural gas fields are located in the Mediterranean.<sup>232</sup> Turkey perceived this alliance threatens its national interest in the region, especially in terms of energy which located in Cyprus Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and Turkey does not recognize the Cyprus legal right to drill for gas field in EEZ, and also the dispute between Turkey and Greece in gaining the EEZ become Turkish concern over its relations with Israel<sup>233</sup>. Therefore, creating balance in energy power with Israel would reduce Turkish concern toward this trilateral alliances.

Israel's offer in the context of energy security would be benefit for Turkey dependency over the demands of energy, especially to Russia. Tamar and Leviathan fields in Israel area are producing huge of natural gas and Israel proposed that they can provide Turkey with 10-15 bcma of natural gas, even though this amount is far from prevent Turkey from its dependency on energy<sup>234</sup>, but the future prospect over the energy would benefit Turkey's economic and especially Israel would send the gas from Eastern Mediterranean to Europe via Turkey that the key of Transit routes is held by Turkey and it would be beneficial to be a player in the energy within the regional. Due to Turkey is located in a strategic location over Middle East. European States, and Asia, and it can be seen from this figure.

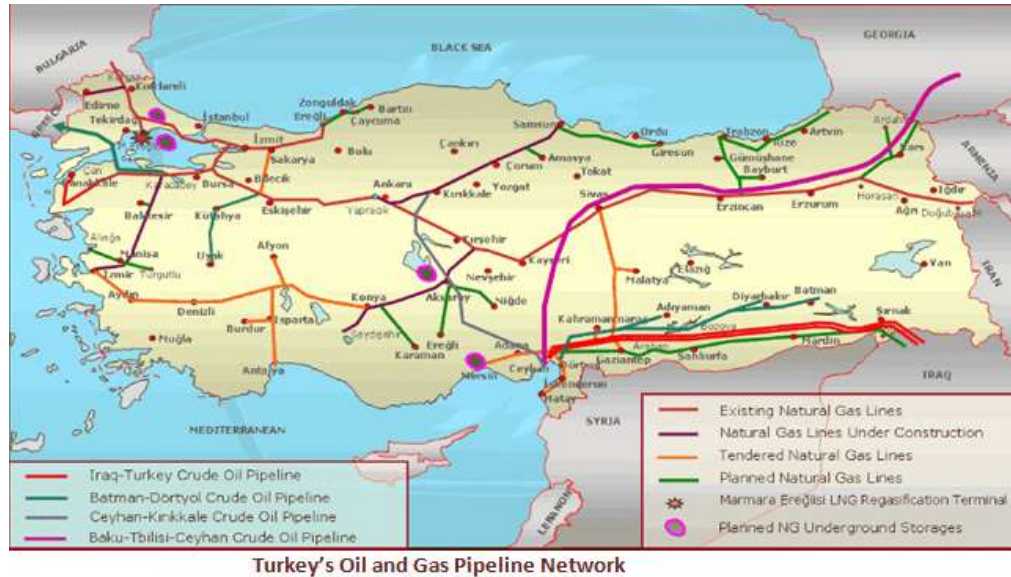
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<sup>232</sup> George X. PROPATAS, The new balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, Ifimes , retrieved from <http://www.ifimes.org/en/8862#sthash.zNSYPhOM.dpuf> accessed on 12/21/16

<sup>233</sup> George X. PROPATAS, The new balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, Ifimes

<sup>234</sup> Göktuğ SÖNMEZ, op. cit page 9

**Figure IV.2.3.2 Turkey as a major transit energy country.**



Source: IENE, *Institute of Energy for South-East-Europe*.<sup>235</sup>

In this context Turkey becomes the only country in the region of wider Eastern Mediterranean that can influence both political stability and energy security. Conversely, Turkey is not the major producers in energy and still relies on 90% of its hydrocarbon supplies from Russia, Middle East and Caspian region.<sup>236</sup> Despite of that, Turkey is holding the key location among the major producers and consumers, and therefore Turkey is strategically to be a crucial player as the energy transit country for the energy of oil and natural gas directly come from countries of European Union (EU), Middle East, Russia and either from the Caspian Sea and also Turkey hold the control in Dardanelle and Bosphorus straits.<sup>237</sup> Therefore, because of this a very beneficial geopolitical position Turkey is enjoying asset through its unique geostrategic, Israel's offer to use Turkey as via of energy supplies into Europe is calculated to increase their domestic needs.

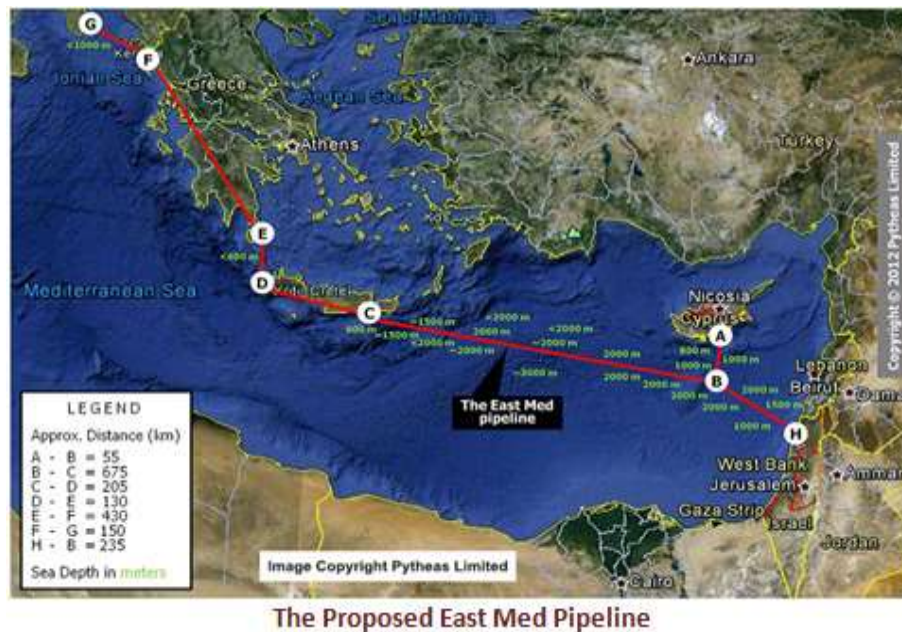
<sup>235</sup> IENE, *The East Mediterranean Geopolitical Puzzle and the Risks to Regional Energy Security*, IENE. Retrieved from <http://www.iene.eu/the-east-mediterranean-geopolitical-puzzle-and-the-risks-to-regional-energy-security-p20.html> accessed at 12/21/2016

<sup>236</sup> IENE, *The East Mediterranean Geopolitical Puzzle and the Risks to Regional Energy Security*, IENE.

<sup>237</sup> IENE, *The East Mediterranean Geopolitical Puzzle and the Risks to Regional Energy Security*, IENE.

In this occasion, Turkey knows that Israel used of energy supplies via Cyprus to Greece into Europe is facing several obstacles, includes of high cost and time efficiency.<sup>238</sup> This figure provide the routes of Israel energy supplies via Cyprus to Greece and goes to Europe.

**Figure. IV.2.3.2 Trilateral energy cooperation.**

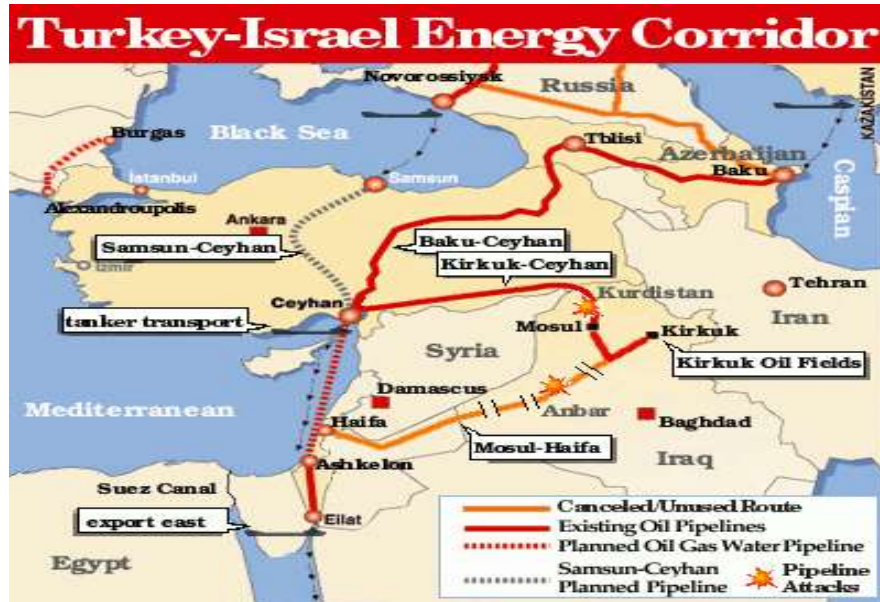


Source: IENE, *Institute of Energy for South-East-Europe*, 2013.

The figure shows us that Israel should export its energy resources to Europe via Cyprus to Greece which needed more distances rather than Turkey which straight to the front and could be spread simultaneously not only European but other states under Turkey as the major transit energy country. The Comparison of effectiveness between Greece and Turkey could be viewed through this next figure.

<sup>238</sup> George X Propatas, op. cit.

Figure. IV.2.3.2 Turkey-Israel energy corridor.



Source: Global Resources Partnership.<sup>239</sup>

Israel's offer of Gas supplies via Turkey is actually very strategic for the country beside of received the energy demands, it could also hold another role in empowering their status to be regional power in Eastern Mediterranean. Israel would supplies the energy to Europe from its territory, goes to Cyprus and Turkey. Whether Cyprus want it or not, the government should be equitably shared its oil and gas resources with Turkey and once again, Turkey is holding the key as the Major Transit energy country.

#### IV.2.3.3 Summary of Internal Factors: Domestic Calculation

Turkish behavior to change its foreign policy to Israel and agreed to do reconciliation is not regardless from the interest that comes from its domestic calculation. Turkish military agreement with Israel becomes the most important of diplomatic cooperation between these two states and the suspension of this sphere made Turkey had to stop the military industry project with Israel in which caused

<sup>239</sup> Turkey-Israel energy prospect, Global Resources Partnership. Retrieved from [http://www.globalresourcespartnership.com/portfolio\\_page/turkey-israel-energy-corridor/](http://www.globalresourcespartnership.com/portfolio_page/turkey-israel-energy-corridor/) accessed on 12/21/16

the lost billion dollars if the project still being halted, and doing reconciliation with Israel could help Turkey to continue its project with Israel and avoiding lost for the state in military sphere, the reconciliation also to bring back the two states in military cooperation including sharing intelligent information in the borders.

Turkish need in energy resources to fill their interest in domestic also influenced Turkey to receive Israel's offer on Gas project and agreed for the reconciliation. Turkey which known as the energy transit countries could be benefited from Israel's offer to build gas routes via Turkey to Europe and simultaneously could influence its interest in Cyprus and Greece which known has border dispute with Turkey. Through the reconciliation, Turkey getting the benefit to stabilize its domestic needs and gaining the interest in the region.

### **IV.3 The Chapter Summary**

The expiration of diplomatic cooperation between Turkey and Israel affected the stability of the respective interests of both countries. Turkey intended to streamline its plan to resolve the problem in Palestine by forcing Israel to open the Gaza blockade as a condition for resumption of diplomatic relations with Turkey, but it turned out to be unsuccessful. Israel refuses to open the Gaza blockade, and the six years vacuum of Turkey and Israel relationship affects the interests of Turkey in regional. Various events and incidents in the domestic and region require Turkey to change its policy towards Israel and abandon demands given to Israel for 6 years. Being pragmatic and established reconciliation with Israel is the best option to maintain the national interests of Turkey and its influence in the region.

The effects of external and internal within Turkey and Israel vacuum relations have driven Turkey to evaluate its policies towards Israel. The emergence problems of civil war in Syria and Iran and the improvement strength of its intervention in Syria and also the increasing threat of the PKK and the emergence of ISIS made Turkey should strengthen its defense and security in the region and

the border. Dismissing the demand and reconciling relations with Israel can balance Turkish security and defense in dealing with problems in the region and the border, the need for cooperation in intelligent sharing and military cooperation to be one factor for Turkey to balance the power with Israel that could help to stabilize Turkish interest in the field of security and defense.

On the other hand, a deteriorated relationship between Turkey and Russia for the shooting of Russian jet made turkey lose one strategy in the conduct of its interests in Russia as a diplomatic tool for Syrian regime to intervene in solving problem within Syrian civil war, and Turkey loss of Russia as one of the energy exporter. Reconciling relations with Israel as the Russia's closest ally is considered as a way to mediate Turkey – Russia relationship. and demands Turkey to Israel to open the blockade of Gaza to launch its interests in Palestine has been rejected by Israel, and the deteriorated relations between the two countries have restricted the movement of Turkey in addressing the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, the growing crisis in Gaza made turkey should choose to ignore its demand to Israel and established the reconciliation to reduce the problem of humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

Cooperation in the field of security and defense is one of the most intention cooperation between turkey and Israel, and the most important is the industrial project cooperation of making military equipment. Termination of diplomatic cooperation between the two countries led to projects that are still running to be halted in the middle of the process, which is estimated expenditure amounting to tens of billions of dollars. The resumption of reconciliation with Israel is able to continue the cooperation projects that were halted and avoid losses for Turkey.

The offer of cooperation in the field of energy by Israel have factorized the reconciliation between turkey and Israel. Energy resources is one of the calculations for Turkish domestic need, and the offer of cooperation from Israel to build a pipeline via turkey for exporting gas from Israel to Europe become a distinct advantage for Turkey, in addition to get a new gas supply, on one side Turkey utilizing its status as the major energy transit country to strengthen its influence in the region.

The use of the foreign policy analysis concept by using rational choice theory and wrapped with the paradigm of neo-realism prove that the factors that driving Turkey turned from assertiveness to pragmatism. Turkey is aware that its assertiveness policy did not work for its interest on Israel. Turkish decision to reconcile the relationship with Israel is a rational choice that Turkey have to do in order to maintain the stability of its national interest and the influence of Turkish power in the region.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

The strong relations between Turkey and Israel since 1948 was not be regardless in the value of Pro-Western ideologies. The fall of Ottoman made Turkey changed their country's orientation from Islamic to Secular, and support of the establishment of Israel state was made Turkey as the only Muslim country who recognized Israel as the new sovereign state. The two states were cooperated in several sectors to strengthen their diplomatic relations, in energy, water and the most important was military agreement that consist of security and defense industry cooperation. Turkey became the major importer of arms from Israel and doing several military joint exercise which located in Turkey's area. Also they have same interest in national security which related of their borders with the neighbor countries like Syria and Iran. Sharing intelligence to prevent any threat comes from the borders becomes the major aim in security cooperation.

Turkey and Israel had reached gold relations history in 1990s which two states diplomatic relations went better which also impacted to their other sectors in improving their relations. Tourism and trade were going stronger, which most of tourism in Turkey came from Israel, and also the cooperation between industries both Turkey and Israel. But since the rise of AKP as the democratic Islamic party won the election in 2002 and wreath the relations with Hamas as the Palestine governance party then Turkish behavior to Israel were decreasing. It is known well that Hamas is the enemy of Israel due to Palestine country dispute, but Turkey under the AKP has different view of ideology, they tried to decrease secular influence in Turkey and changed it with democratic Islamic value that some expert says as the new-Ottomanism value. The first root of deterioration between Turkey and Israel relations came from Davos forum in 2009 which Erdogan as the current Turkish Prime Minister talked in front of international forum saying that Israel



President, Simon Peres as the children killer and have done big crucial thing to attack Gaza which cause dozens thousand people died in 2008. Simon accused Hamas as the root to invite Israel operation to attack Gaza.

The biggest tension of the deterioration of Turkey – Israel started from the Mavi Marmara flotilla attack in 2010 as the main caused of Turkish ambassador for Israel leaving Tel Aviv and Turkey cancelled military joint exercise with Israel. The shock came from Turkey over Israel behavior that attacked Turkish international organization flotilla and caused 10 people were dead, the condemnation not just came from Turkish government but also international reaction which also responded by cut of diplomatic ties with Israel by some countries and demanded U.N Secretary General to conduct international investigation to solve the case between two states.

Finally, U.N secretary general conducted investigation which represented the result through namely Palmer Report, after long investigation the report says that Blockade over Gaza were legal under International Law and Israeli act to Mavi Marmara were reconsidered as the defense action even though the killing of people were unaccepted. Turkey felt that Palmer report was unfair to their people and its sovereignty and tried to bring the case into international court to justify Israel defense forces which involved in the attack on Mavi Marmara flotilla passengers.

Turkey were act assertively, they expelled Israel ambassador from Ankara and suspended all diplomatic cooperation including military projects which still in progress at the time. Turkey demanded three things which Israel should do if they want to re-establish the relations with Israel, Israel should apologize to Turkey, Israel should compensate the victims and the most important was lifting the naval blockade in Gaza. At the first response, Israel refused to apologize and considered that they have done the right things. Turkey brought the case into International court and some Israel forces would be justified in Ankara to be responsible of the attack.

Something changed when U.S President, Barack Obama convinced Netanyahu, Israeli prime minister to apologize to Turkey and reconcile the relations to continue their diplomatic relations. Obama mediated this apologies and Netanyahu called Erdogan to feel regret with something error happens in 2010, and Turkey accepted this apologize to be reconciled with Israel. The reconciliation between Turkey and Israel took three years within its process due to each of leaders were still in doubt to do reconciliation.

Turkey still not accepted the reconciliation except Israel would fill all the three demands, and it was stated assertively by Erdogan that Turkish demands were clear that Israel should do all Turkish demands to reconcile with them. Evidently, in 2016 Turkey accepted the reconciliation with Israel even though the demands were not being completed by Israel, which is the most important demands that lifting of naval blockade in Gaza. There are several factors that drove Turkey to accept this reconciliation even though the demands were not fulfilled.

The writer analyzed that there are something more important for Turkey behind the reconciliation rather than be harsh to lift the naval blockade in Gaza. Turkey look to the future, calculating their policy to Israel as their bigger national interest in the region. Turkey reconsiders Israel as the important role to reach its interest to be exist in the region, and it was known that Turkey was playing political pragmatism in this case, that as long as the reconciliation with Israel would give bigger benefit to Turkey rather its cost, it is no matter to leave the policy that has been implemented previously.

The three major factors that writer has provided at the previous discussion which are balance of power, geo-strategic consideration and domestic calculation were playing role to influence Turkish foreign policy to Israel to change its behavior from assertiveness to pragmatism and conducting the reconciliation. The important of Israel role over Turkish national interest made Turkey to think rationally and recalculating their foreign policy to Israel in order to look for any opportunity behind the reconciliation.

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## APPENDICES

### **Press statement by H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, regarding Turkish-Israeli relations, 2 September 2011**

Distinguished Members of the Press,

You all know very well the reason why I will deliver this statement today.

Approximately 15 months ago on the 31st of May 2010, Israel carried out an armed attack in the international waters of the Mediterranean, against an international aid convoy in which hundreds of passengers from 32 countries participated to bring humanitarian aid to Gaza.

During this attack, Israeli soldiers killed 9 civilians, 8 of whom were Turkish and 1 was a US citizen, they injured many passengers and also forcefully brought the ship and its passengers to Israel.

These people were subjected to all sorts of degrading treatment throughout their two-day captivity at the hands of Israel.

Dear Friends,

Approximately 15 months have elapsed since this unlawful attack.

However, the concrete facts remain unchanged.

I find it necessary to repeat them.

The Israeli attack took place in international waters.

Those killed by Israeli soldiers were innocent civilians.

Those, whose lives were claimed, were civilians who wished to respond to the cry for help of the Palestinian people under the plight of the blockade enforced by Israel in violation of international law and human values.

War is a harsh reality of the history of humanity.



And war, above all, is the gravest violation of the human right to life, which constitutes the most sacred value.

Indeed, all civilizations have developed the concept of a “just war” in order to regulate even war according to certain rules.

For this reason, the use of military force has been restricted by very strict conditions in the United Nations Charter.

Furthermore, it is for the conviction of the sanctity of the right to life, that even when the war is warranted, the killing of innocent civilians is accepted as a war crime.

However, Israel, not in war but in peace time, not in a military but a civilian convoy; killed civilians who participated in a peaceful event organized to bring aid to innocent people suffering under a cruel embargo. This is the picture!

Moreover, it did so, neither in its territory nor territorial waters, but in international waters, where freedom of navigation prevails as the most fundamental principle of international law.

The crime committed by Israel is not a simple offense.

It is international law that has been violated.

It is the conscience of humanity and the most fundamental human value, the right to life that have been violated.

There is an irreversible truth:

And that is, the fact that attacking civilians in a ship part of an aid convoy, firing multiple times at unarmed people at the back of their neck is a crime against humanity.

This crime cannot be covered under any guise nor justified under any circumstances. One other thing must also be underlined.

No state is above the law.

The world is currently changing.

Those who claim the lives of civilians, or commit crimes against humanity are sooner or later brought before justice and face trial for their crimes.

Neither the Israeli Government who ordered the attack against the Mavi Marmara nor the ones that actually carried out the attack are above or immune from the law. They all must be held accountable.

In fact, they have already been convicted by the conscience of humanity.

Distinguished Members of the Press,

You will recall that, as Turkey, we promptly acted to ensure that this clear crime would not go unpunished and that justice would take its course.

To this end, within hours of the Israeli attack we called for an urgent session of the UN Security Council that very same day.

In my speech before the UN Security Council, I stated that humanity had drowned in the waters of the Mediterranean with this Israeli attack which totally disregarded all norms of law, human conscience and values of humanity.

Indeed, the UN Security Council, in the first hours of 1 June 2010, adopted a Presidential Statement with the agreement of all its members -an agreement of the entire international community.

With this Statement, the Security Council called for a prompt, impartial, credible and transparent investigation conforming to international standards, into the tragedy caused as a result of Israel's use of armed force.

Furthermore, the UN Human Rights Council based in Geneva, adopted a resolution by which it established a Fact-Finding Mission comprising highly prominent and specialized lawyers and launched an investigation process into the attack.

The UN Secretary General also set up an Inquiry Panel in line with the call by the Security Council.

As Turkey, we have fully cooperated with the Panel. We provided every contribution to speed up the investigation process and submitted our national report.

Whereas Israel, despite being represented in the Panel, continuously acted with the intention to delay its work.

Again, as you all very well know, we requested the Government of Israel to issue a formal apology and pay compensation to the families of and those close to the deceased. Moreover, we continued to emphasize that the blockade enforced against Gaza, which was explicitly criticized in the UN Security Council Presidential Statement, must be lifted.

We also declared that if our conditions were not met, the Turkish-Israeli relations would not be normalized.

On the other hand, upon being informed by the Government of Israel of its readiness to meet with Turkey with a view to apologize from the Turkish public and pay compensation to the families of and those close to the deceased, we held a total of 4 rounds of meetings at different times.

During these meetings, agreement was reached a couple of times between the Turkish and Israeli delegations negotiating the texts of an agreement, which accommodated our claims for an apology and compensation.

Indeed, ad referendum agreement was reached for the first time over two separate texts as a result of the meetings held in Geneva upon the request by the Israeli Prime Minister following Turkey's contribution to the relief efforts to put out the forest fires in Israel in December 2010. This agreement was also endorsed by the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu. However, due to the disagreements within the Israeli Council of Ministers, this agreement could not be implemented.

Throughout this process, all the delays in the publication of the Palmer Commission's report- I am emphasizing this since we are faced with a serious press manipulation- were caused as a result of the Government of Israel's request for additional time to form its internal consensus over apology and compensation, in other words every postponement was at the request of the Government of Israel.

The last request made by Israel for a 6 month-additional period was not accepted by Turkey. Because it was understood that all these requests for delay were aimed at prolonging the process.

The leaking to the press of the report, to which neither Turkey nor Israel is a side,

bearing only the signatures of its Chair Palmer and Vice-Chair Uribe, and before it was officially submitted to the UN Secretary General on 1 September, is quite thought-provoking in this sense. Yesterday I spoke in a frank manner to the UN Secretary General Mr. Ban Ki-moon on this subject. He expressed great astonishment and dismay that this report which had not yet been submitted to him and whose details he was not yet fully acquainted with would be leaked to the press as it had. Unfortunately, the Israeli side has not acted in a manner compatible with State solemnity and confidentiality in this process.

First of all it should be stated that this report reflects only the views of the people abovementioned.

The report clearly establishes and expresses the crimes committed by Israeli soldiers and other officials.

In this respect, it explicitly concludes that attacking vessels with substantial force at a great distance from the blockade zone was excessive and unreasonable.

It also states that the loss of life and injuries caused by Israeli soldiers was unacceptable, none of the nine deaths was accounted for by Israel and that the evidence showed that most of the deceased were shot multiple times, including in the back, or at close range.

The report clearly documents serious mistreatment of passengers, including physical mistreatment, harassment and intimidation, unjustified confiscation of belongings and denial of consular assistance.

The report however alleges that the inhumane blockade enforced by Israel against Gaza is lawful.

It is not possible and even out of the question to accept this approach.

The Fact Finding Mission, comprising highly competent and specialized lawyers mandated by the UN Human Rights Council have reported that the Gaza blockade is unlawful. They clearly documented this in their work following the incident last year.

This conviction was both endorsed by the UN Human Rights Council and supported

by the UN General Assembly.

When this is the case, clearly then the controversial views put forward by the Chair and Vice-Chair of the Panel exceeding their mandates are based on political motives, rather than on legal grounds.

Turkey in no way accepts this approach, which jeopardizes the functioning and integrity of the panel.

Turkey totally rejects this approach, which it finds incompatible with the letter and spirit of the Presidential Statement adopted by the UN Security Council by consensus.

In this vein, we are determined to refer this issue to the competent international legal authorities.

Dear Friends,

Turkey's stance against this unlawful act of Israel from the first moment has been very clear and principled. Our demands are known.

Our relations with Israel will not be normalized until these conditions are met.

At this juncture, Israel has wasted all the opportunities it was presented with.

Now, the Government of Israel must face the consequences of its unlawful acts, which it considers above the law and are in full disregard of the conscience of humanity. The time has come for it to pay a price for its actions.

This price is, above all, deprivation of Turkey's friendship.

The only side responsible in reaching this stage, is the Government of Israel and the irresponsible act of the Government of Israel.

In this context, our Government has decided to take the following measures at this stage:

1. Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel will be downgraded to the Second Secretary level. All personnel starting with the Ambassador above the Second

Secretary level, will return to their countries on Wednesday at the latest.

2. Military agreements between Turkey and Israel have been suspended.

3. As a littoral state which has the longest coastline in the Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey will take whatever measures it deems necessary in order to ensure the freedom of navigation in the Eastern Mediterranean.

4. Turkey does not recognize the blockade imposed on Gaza by Israel. Turkey will ensure the examination by the International Court of Justice of Israel's blockade imposed on Gaza as of 31 May 2010. To this end we are starting initiatives in order to mobilize the UN General Assembly.

5. We will extend all possible support to Turkish and foreign victims of Israel's attack in their initiatives to seek their rights before courts.

Distinguished Members of the Press,

I would like to emphasize another point.

We in Turkey, we are the representatives of an understanding that advocates peace instead of eternal conflict and wants to establish justice instead of tyranny. Our foreign policy is based on this fundamental understanding.

That is why, in the same manner that we have raised our voice against the massacres in Bosnia, in Kosovo, we have also shown our reaction following the brutal Israeli attacks on Gaza.

Today, the Government of Israel must make a choice and the time has come to make that choice.

Those who rule Israel need to see that it will only be possible to ensure real security by building a real peace.

They should also understand that the path to building real peace passes through the strengthening of friendships, not by murdering citizens of friendly countries.

However, it is also clear that the current Government of Israel is incapable of seeing this simple reality and comprehending the consequences of the huge changes taking

place in the Middle East.

On this occasion, I would like to emphasize that the measures we have adopted and we will adopt are linked only to the current Government of Israel's attitude.

Our aim is not to harm or jeopardize the historic Turkish-Jewish friendship, on the contrary, we aim to encourage the Government of Israel to correct this mistake that does not benefit this exceptional friendship.

Turkey has always demonstrated a sincere and constructive attitude regarding the prevention of developments that adversely affect regional and global peace and stability and has always sought to correct their negative impact.

Turkey has made known her demands and expectations in a very clear manner from the beginning and has done her part.

I would like to underline it once more.

The Government of Israel is the responsible party for the point we have reached today.

As long as the Government of Israel does not take the necessary steps, we will not be able to revert from this point.

I thank you.

