TURKISH-ISRAELI POLITICAL RELATIONS

AFTER THE ISRAELI ATTACK ON THE HUMANITARIAN AID CONVOY TO GAZA ON 31 MAY 2010 WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF TURKISH NATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY'S REPORT

By Hafize Zehra Kavak

İNSAMER
İNSANİ VE SOSYAL ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ
HUMANITARIAN AND SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTER
مركز البحوث الإنسانية و الإجتماعية

Araştırma 08

Introduction

Last couple of years witnessed a change in Turkish politician's attitude to Israel. In this respect, it is possible to suppose that Turkey's Israel policy had a changing trend. Israel's attack "Operation Cast Lead" on Gaza and the Davos reaction of Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to the Israeli attacks on Gaza; low chair crisis caused by Israeli Foreign Minister Dany Ayalon to humiliate Turkish Ambassador in Tel Aviv; the rising public support to Palestine and increasing opposition to Israel were all influential in creating this changing trend.

However, in addition to above mentioned happenings, the Israeli Attack on Gaza Flotilla on 31st May 2010 became the turning point in Turkish-Israeli relations. At that time, Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) commandos attacked the Gaza Flotilla and killed eight Turkish citizens and one US citizen of Turkish descent. Mavi Marmara, the largest boat of a flotilla of six which were carrying 10,000 tons of humanitarian aid to besieged Gaza, witnessed the most bloody intervention; nine civilian killed and more than 70 participants from a host of nationalities were injured. One of the injured still remains in coma to this day.[1]

IDF attacked a multinational, civilian endeavor carrying humanitarian aid in international waters. As it is understood from the expressions of Turkish Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdoğan[2] and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu[3] after the incident, the flotilla attack started a new trend for Turkish-Israeli relations. Erdoğan called the Israeli attack as "state terror" while Davutoğlu

describes is as "September 11" of Turkey. First time in history, Turkish citizens were became the direct targets of Israeli aggression and the attack is heavily criticized by the Turkish officials. After the flotilla, it is expected that a break will exist in Turkish-Israeli relations and as Ufuk Ulutaş points it out: "It is now not only Israel's treatment of the Palestinians that will shape the nature of Turkish-Israeli relations, more than anything else, but it is Israel's steps towards salvaging bilateral relations by reassuring the Turkish nation and the state."[4]

In this perspective, supposing that Turkey's attitude on Israel is changing, this paper will analyze this thesis in terms of IDF attack on Gaza Flotilla. The Turkish government's report which is submitted to UN will be the main source and the study will shed light on Turkey's changing attitude to Israel by analyzing the claims of the report.

Since the issue needs background information for better understanding on changing relations, a short history of Turkish-Israeli political relations will be mentioned in the beginning. After that we will focus on the *Turkish National Commission Of Inquiry's* Report on the Israeli attack and try to determine the Turkey's changing perception of the relations with Israel.

Background: A Short History of Turkish-Israeli Political Relations Before May 2010

As one of the states firstly recognizing the state of Israel, Turkey has developed military and economic relations with Israel during the course of time from 1949 to the current day. Turkey recognized the Israeli state and developed relations with Israel; it took a role to be an example for other countries in the region for normalization and had the intent to contribute to the solution of Israeli-Palestinian question. The Turkish Foreign Ministry gives a brief account on Turkish-Israeli relations:

> Turkey was among the very first states that recognized Israel. Upon official recognition on March 28th, 1949, diplomatic relations was established at the level of Legation in 1950. Historical and time tested cordial relations that existed between the Turks and the Jews were yet another important factor in the establishment of solid ties between the two countries. Turkish-Israeli relations are steadily developing in a variety of fields including but not limited to political, economic, technological, scientific as well as military spheres. This progress is partly due to the developments witnessed in the Middle East Process since 1991 as well as the complementary qualifications of the both countries state structures, political systems military equipment and economical organization. Turkish-Israeli relations which have recently been enhanced on the basis of mutual benefit expanded in a wide range of areas, the legal framework of the relations have been established by a number of agreements and many high level visits have been exchanged. Multi-dimensional and transparent relations between Turkey and Israel do not target any third party. These relations are cultivated and developed to serve the mutual interests of both countries as well as to bring about peace and stability of the region. We are also convinced that these relations will be an example for other countries in the region once normalization is achieved. Turkey's relations with Israel also contribute positively to the efforts aimed at the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Palestinian officials who encourage Turkey to continue her contributions aimed at the solution of the conflict also express this view. Turkey has always approached this conflict with an objective view and has expressed her objection to the flawed practices and wrong attitudes of both of the parties. As such Turkey is among one of those rare countries which both the Israelis and the Palestinians trust.

Regular high level visits are exchanged between the two countries. Most recently the President of the State of Israel Shimon Peres visited Turkey on November 11th-12th, 2007 reciprocating the visit of the 10th President of the Republic of Turkey Ahmet Necdet Sezer to Israel on June 6th-7th, 2007. During his visit Mr. Peres become the first ever Israeli President to address the Turkish Grand National Assembly and also co-chaired the 7th meeting of the Ankara Forum together with President Abdullah Gul and President Mahmoud Abbas. Among other notable high level visits, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Israel in May 2005 and the Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert visited Turkey in February 2007. Besides, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tzipi Livni visited Turkey in May 2006 and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Babacan visited Israel within the scope his tour of the countries of the region on October 7th-8th, 2007.[5] And lastly, The Israeli Defence Minister Ehud Barak has visited Turkey on 12nd-13rd February 2008.[6]

The official account of Turkish Foreign Ministry summarizes the relations as such. What interesting here is that the last visit occurred in February 2008 and the diplomatic visits between the two countries suddenly suspended at that year which means Israel's attack on Gaza on December 2008 put a comma to the relations. The increasing relations between the two countries especially in the period following the 28 February Coup D'etat in Turkey[7] have suddenly changed its course by 2009. For instance, Turkey and Turkey was hosting the indirect talks between Israel and Syria; Damascus and Tel Aviv had announced simultaneously the resumption of peace talks under the sponsorship of Turkey on May 2008.[8] Several Israeli officials, visited Turkey for indirect talks and Turkish officials in turn visited Israel several times.[9] However, the cordial relations which were maintained throughout 2008 were undermined by the Israeli attack on Gaza on December 28, 2009.[10]

It is possible to state that 2009 was a critical year for the bilateral relations and a series of events brought the relations to the level of crises. The attack on Gaza was immediately followed by the suspension of Israeli-Syrian peace talks by Syria, and harsh criticism directed by Turkey against Israel for its belligerence that undermined Turkey's peace efforts. Following the suspension of peace talks, the most striking incident came from World Economic Forum in Davos.11 On January 2009 just after the Israeli attack on Gaza, Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan addressed Shimon Peres at Davos and heavily criticized Israel's inhumane attacks. Erdoğan called Peres: "When it is time to kill, you know how to kill well. I know how you kill children on beaches." Actually Erdoğan's reaction was directed against the format of the panel, which did not give enough and balanced time for each panelists and the right to reply. But Erdoğan criticized Peres' refusal to humanitarian toll and Israel's recent attack on Gaza.[12]

Following the period after the Gaza attack in 2008 up to today, while Turkey is having a consistent and well-organized policy on Israel, Israel had a chaotic policy in contrast. After the attack on Gaza, Turkey consistently criticized Israel for its use of disproportionate violence, to end the siege on Gaza, to stop enlarging the settlements and so on. In contrast, Israel's policy was reactive and contradictory. For example, while Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon stated that Turkey would be a possible supporter to Israel, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu explained his opposition to Turkey's involvement in talks between Syria and Israel.[13]

On the side of Israel, Israel's reaction to Turkey was increasing in last couple of years. In addition to the rising anti-Israeli public opinion in Turkey, even the two TV dramas broadcasted on Turkish channels *Ayrılık and Kurtlar Vadisi Pusu* caused Israel's reaction. And the chair crisis targeting to humiliate the Turkish Ambassador in Tel Aviv is

supposed to be planned to take the revenge. It is crucial to state the changing Turkish Foreign Policy in recent years. The Turkish Foreign Policy of Davutoğlu Era had a transformation from isolationism to a pro-active and multi-dimensional policy. Turkey's cooperation with the other countries of the region has also increased.[14]

2. The Israeli Attack On The Humanitarian Aid Convoy To Gaza: "Nothing Will Ever Be The Same Again"

Today is a new day, a milestone. It is evident that nothing will ever be the same again.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan[15]

a. International Reactions and Turkey's Demands

After the IDF attack took place, Turkish government immediately called UN Security Council to gather. The Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu talked to the audience at the UNSC and the attack is defined as "grave breach of international law and murder conducted by a state".[16] UNSC published a presidential statement as a result of the urgent meeting which condemns the Israeli attack on civilians on international waters. Additionally, the UN Secretary-General Bon-ki-moon called for a prompt, impartial, credible and transparent investigation conforming to international standards. More importantly, it is claimed that the only way to prevent the bloodshed is the removal of unacceptable and counterproductive blockade on Gaza.[17]

Following the UNSC's declaration and Ban Ki-Moon's call, various bodies declared their reaction to Israeli attack, condemned the attack, demanded the removal of the embargo and called the international society to apply necessary sanctions to Israel.[18] In addition to various calls by international organizations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) also called for the setting up of a group of legal experts to bring to justice the Israeli officials who planned the attack and demanded "full compensation in accordance with international standards for the loss of lives and injuries caused to civilians by the Israeli military aggression on the humanitarian convoy of ships as well as compensation for all material damages caused."[19] On the other hand, the USA having an ambiguous position to the case was late to show its reaction. While both White House and the Department of State expressed their regret for the loss of lives, none of them directly condemned the Israeli attack. On the one hand the White House was open to the idea of an international investigation; but the Department of State was in favor of accepting a purely Israeli investigation. The only result of the Turkey-US talks was the release of detained passengers by Israel.[20]

Turkey's Demands

Gathering the UNSC urgently, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu had a speech in which he condemns Israeli aggression seriously, states Turkey's demands and calls the international bodies to apply the necessary investigation and sanctions on Israel. This speech was giving first essential signals showing that Turkish-Israeli relations took a course which cannot be repaired easily. Davutoğlu, accusing Israel with banditry and piracy, continued as follows:

> It is murder conducted by a state. It has no excuses, no justification whatsoever. A nation state that follows this path has lost its legitimacy as a respectful member of the international community. (…) And today this is where we are. Today we have observed through live coverage an act of barbarism where provision of humanitarian aid has been punished through aggression in high seas, 72 miles from international waters. Today many humanitarian aid workers go back in body bags. And Israel has blood on its hands. This is not off the coast of Somalia or in the archipelagos of the Far East where piracy is still a phenomenon. This is the Mediterranean where such acts are not the norm. This is where we need common sen-

> se. This is where civilization has emerged and flourished and where the Abrahamic religions took root. These are religions that preach peace and teach us to extend our hands when others are in need. (…) After the act of aggression, I have heard official statements claiming that the civilians on the ships were members of a radical Islamist group. It saddens me to see that officials of a state stoop so low as to lie and struggle to create pretexts that would legitimize their illegal actions. (…)[21]

After the serious condemnation on Israel which was never heard before within the body of the UN, Davutoğlu was proclaiming the demands of Turkish government:

> No state is above the law. Israel must be prepared to face the consequences and be held accountable for its crimes. Turkey would like to see that the Security Council strongly reacts and adopts a Presidential Statement today strongly condemning this Israeli act of aggression, demanding an urgent inquiry into the incident and calling for the punishment of all responsible authorities and persons. I call on this Council to step up and do what is expected of it. We hereby expect for the following to be included in the decision.
>
> - Israel must apologize to the international community and to the families of those who have been killed and wounded in the attack.
> - An urgent inquiry must be undertaken.
> - Appropriate international legal action must immediately be taken against the authorities responsible for and perpetrators of this aggression.
> - A severe sense of disappointment and warning must be issued by the United Nations. Israel must be urged to abide by international law and basic human rights.
> - The countries concerned must be allowed to retrieve their deceased and wounded immediately.
> - The ships must be expressly released and allowed to deliver the humanitarian assistance to its destination.
> - The families of the deceased, wounded, NGO's and shipping companies concerned must be compensated to the full extent.
> - The blockade of Gaza must be ended immediately and all humanitarian assistance must be allowed in.
> - Gaza must be made an example by swiftly developing it, to make it a region of peace. The international community must be invited to contribute.[22]

After this first reaction of Turkish government, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan delivered a speech at the Ak Party parliamentary group meeting on 1 June 2010. The Turkish Prime Minister was declaring:

> This bloody massacre by Israel on ships that were taking humanitarian aid to Gaza deserves every kind of condemnation. This is a blatant attack on international law, human conscience and world peace.[23]

PM Erdoğan also declared that "The Republic of Turkey is continuing to use all the necessary tools of international law and diplomacy and will continue to do so." The Turkish-Israeli relations were seriously distorted and took a phase which has no return. The first steps towards Israel within this framework are as follows:

> Turkey's Ambassador to Tel Aviv has been recalled to Turkey.
>
> Three joint military exercises with Israel have been cancelled.

Our Minister of Foreign Affairs has gone to New York and the United Nations Security Council was convened in an emergency session.

The United Nations Security Council has made a statement condemning Israel. The statement called for an investigation and the immediate release of civilians and the wounded.

Matches to be played by our Junior National Football team in Israel have been cancelled.

The NATO Council has been called for an extraordinary meeting today.

Moreover, contacts are being held with the Organisation of Islamic Conference, the Arab League, the European Union and other relevant organisations inviting them to act. Organisation of Islamic Conference will meet on Monday.[24]

On following days, Turkish government has clarified its demands and Turkey had three substantial demands from Israel. Turkey's ambassador to the US, Namik Tan stated on 5 June 2010:

This history cannot and will not prevent us from expressing outrage when injustice arises, even if it is committed by a friend. We cannot avert our eyes when the lives of our citizens -innocents- are lost during an illegal assault in defense of a blockade that is unfair, inhumane and unsustainable. We cannot stand idly by when actions threaten to set back efforts to bring peace to such a volatile region. It will be up to Israel to decide how it reconstitutes its standing as a good bilateral partner and responsible member of the international community.

Israel can start by bringing an end to its blockade on Gaza; by ending its inappropriate and disproportionate police actions toward the Palestinian civilians of that land; and by allowing a prompt, independent, impartial, credible and transparent international investigation into the incident. Moreover, Israel owes an apology to the Turkish nation."[25]

Up to day, these demands declared in June 2010 repeatedly mentioned by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu.[26] On the contrary, Israel rejects the demands and insists that IDF is right in its attack.[27] For this reason, it is possible to state that Turkish-Israeli relations has suspended by the attack on Gaza Flotilla and did not have further development during the one year process after the incident. The changing course of relations with Israel also changed the Turkey's perception of Israel. Below Turkey's Israel perspective will be analyzed through Turkey's report about the Israeli attack which is prepared in cooperation with various state institutions of Turkey.

b. Turkish-Israeli Political Relations Within The Context of Turkish National Commission Of Inquiry's Report

It is within such a context that a multitude of NGO's from a variety of countries came together in a coalition to help alleviate the alarming humanitarian crisis in Gaza. The principal Turkish NGO within the coalition was "İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri Vakfı" (the -Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms- IHH), which enjoys consultative status within the UN ECOSOC and performs humanitarian activities in over 120 countries worldwide since 1992.[28]

After the Israeli attack on humanitarian aid flotilla, three reports has been published: The report by the Panel of Inquiry set up by the UN International Fact-Finding Mission[29]; Turkey's Final Report submitted to the UN30 and Turkel Report prepared by Israel. 31 The reports by Turkey and Israel were prepared to be submitted to the Panel of Inquiry established by the UN General Secretary on August 2, 2010. [32]

Immediately after the Israeli attack, Turkish government established a committee to investigate the event under the charge of Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and Minister of Justice Sadullah Ergin. And following the foundation of the Inquiry Panel by UN General Secretary, the Turkish Prime Ministry established *the Turkish National Commission of Inquiry* to prepare the Turkish Report to be submitted to the UN.[33]

> The Commission investigated the factual background of the attack, the ensuing violence and mistreatment endured by the passengers, as well as the legal implications and consequences of these acts. The Turkish National Commission of Inquiry included senior officials from the Board of Inspectors in the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Under-Secretariat for Maritime Affairs. The Commission examined pertinent international legal instruments as well as numerous depositions made and complaints lodged by survivors to Turkish judicial authorities upon their return to Turkey, solicited verbal and written testimonies from key witnesses, met with relevant authorities, consulted international law experts of renown, and carried out an on-site inspection in the Port of Iskenderun on those vessels in the convoy which had set sail from Turkish ports.[34]

The Ambassador Mithat Rende appointed as the contact person to provide contact with UN bodies and the Commission of Inquiry.35 Turkish National Commission of Inquiry has analyzed the Israeli attack in multidimensional respects in cooperation with the relevant body and institutions and submitted the final draft to the UN on February 2011.

The report prepared by the contributions of all the related department of the state is a symbol of Turkey's official attitude to the Israeli attack and composed by two main parts apart from sections of introduction and conclusion. The first part is about "The statement of the fact" (p. 12-50) and constitutes mainly "The international humanitarian aid convoy", "The vessels that departed from Turkish ports", "Diplomatic contacts prior to the departure of the convoy", "The Israeli attack" and "Mistreatment of passenger victims including journalists." The second part is about "The statement of the law" (p. 51-112). The main topics of this part are as follows: "The right to freedom of navigation on the high seas", "Exceptions to freedom of navigation and the exclusivity of flag State jurisdiction", "The concept of self-defence under the UN Charter", "Israel is estopped from reliance on the San Remo Manual provisions on naval blockades", "The naval "blockade" of the Gaza Strip by Israel was unlawful also in practice and implementation", "The enforcement of the naval "blockade" was in violation of international law", "The legal implications of the Israeli attack", "Additional violations of international law by Israel" and "Entitlement to compensation".

Studying the report to have a picture about Turkey's Israel perspective, two main areas became apparent. First of all, it is possible to have an idea through the descriptions used for Israel such as "bloody and pirate state", "criminal state", "the state against law". Secondly, the report gives a general framework for the future of relations since it stresses upon the Turkish demands. The study, from now on will be focusing on the Turkish Report on this two dimensions.

Descriptions on Israel

> Those reckless Israeli administrators who, thinking that with lies, deceit, shedding blood, aggressiveness, piracy, using state terrorism and massacring innocent people are governing a State are badly mistaken. Such actions by these politicians can only do evil to Israel and the Israeli people. It should be known that we will not be silent to this attack.
>
> ***Recep Tayyip Erdoğan36***

While the Turkish authorities condemns Israeli attack heavily n the one hand, the explanations and selected jargon was shosing that Turkey does not see Israel as a member of democratic international society. Israel, defined as using "state terror" by Turkish Prime Minister, is also described by striking definitions in the report prepared by the Turkish Commission. These are significant signals about how Israel is perceived any more by Turkish officials.

1. Bloody and Killer State

One basic emphasis of the report maintains that the whole actions carried out during and after the attack to the humanitarian aid filotilla was completely inhumane. This perception is seen repeatedly in the report:

> The Israeli forces mounted a full-fledged and well-planned attack with frigates, helicopters, zodiacs, submarines, and elite combat troops heavily armed with machine guns, laser-guided rifles, pistols and modified paintball rifles. The Israeli soldiers shot from the helicopter onto the Mavi Marmara using live ammunition and killing two passengers before any Israeli soldier descended on the deck. During the attack, excessive, indiscriminate and disproportionate force was used by the Israeli soldiers against the civilians on board. The Israeli military action was of excessive disproportion to such magnitude that the United Nations Human Rights Council Fact-Finding Mission used the terms "totally unnecessary and incredible violence…unacceptable level of brutality."[37]

The report describes the event as "murder" since the Israeli soldiers continued firing with the intent of killing even the passengers waved the white flag:

> A very large number of testimonies all state that Israeli soldiers continued with their deadly shooting even after white flags were flown by a number of the passengers and a multi-lingual surrender announcement was made over the ship's loudspeakers.[38]
>
> At least one witness claims that Mr. Topçuoğlu and Mr. Yaldız were shot upon and killed after the passengers had waved the white flag of surrender. Numerous testimonies also indicate that at least three of the deaths occurred because Israeli soldiers denied timely medical attention to the wounded.[39]
>
> Israeli soldiers shot indiscriminately, killing and wounding passengers, once on the upper deck. The shooting spree of the Israeli soldiers continued in spite of the white flags waved by the passengers and multilingual surrender announcements made over the ship's PA system.[40]

Another aspect of Israeli brutality is, as stated in UN Human Rights Council Fact Finding Mission and also shared by Turkish Report, mistreatments of injured passengers:

> "A large number of injured passengers received wounds to critical areas of the body containing vital organs […]. Furthermore, a number of passengers who were clearly not engaged in any activities to resist the boarding by the Israeli forces, including a number of journalists and persons who had been sheltering from the fire, received injuries, including fatal injuries.[41]
>
> Israeli soldiers' prevention of timely first aid to the injured was mentioned earlier as a cause for a number of fatalities. It should not go unmentioned that when the captain asked an Israeli officer several times for medical assistance for the wounded, the response he got was: "I don't care how many dead people you [will] have, now alter your course to Ashdod".[42]

The report widely gives place to the examples of mistreatment to the passengers even to the women, journalists and children. The events in the ship, prison, hospital, transfers and in the airport are quoted extensively in the report.[43]

According to the Report, another aspect of Israeli brutality is the "blockade" of Gaza Strip. Because "blockade" of the Gaza Strip is a collective punishment and collective punishment is prohibited under international law.[44]

2. Torturer State

According to the findings of the report, the mistreatment turned to the torture in some cases. The explanations and evidences of torture committed by state are as follows:

> Furthermore, the fact that the Israeli forces committed torture, engaged in degrading and inhuman treatment; forcibly deprived passengers of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to privacy, physical security and due process; and abused them physically and psychologically constitutes clear violations of the prohibition of torture and ill-treatment under Article 7 of the ICCPR and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) to which Israel has been a party since 1991. These acts also constitute a breach of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR).[45]

> Israeli soldiers committed crimes not only during the attack phase. Once they assumed control of the convoy, they continuously subjected the passengers to a variety of mistreatment, which amount to no less than torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment under the pertinent international conventions.[46]

> Many of those hospitalized passengers reported maltreatment from the soldiers. Again, such conduct constitutes a violation of the prohibition of torture and the right to health under CAT, ICCPR and the European Convention on Human Rights.[47]

> One woman passenger of Israeli citizenship was brought to court in a small metal box inside a police car, in which she was held for eight hours with her hands and legs shackled. Again, this treatment would amount to torture (…).[48]

The same conclusion was reached by the UN Fact Finding Mission which qualified the Israeli forces' treatment of the passengers as "cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and, insofar as the treatment was additionally applied as a form of punishment, torture."[49]

3. Despot/Rebel State

According to the report, the brutality of Israel is followed by despotism. In addition to Israel's violation of law since it imprisoned all the participants in international waters, Israel committed below mentioned despotism:

All passengers were forced to sign incriminatory statements in Hebrew which most did not even understand; they were not allowed access to legal assistance, or to consular officials, nor provided with proper and timely medical care. They were denied adequate food and were confined to restricted spaces with extreme temperatures.[50]

> Israeli soldiers forced the passengers to fill out forms in Hebrew without translation. Soldiers explained that the forms were admissions that the participants had entered Israel without permission. Passengers were required to sign Hebrew-only statements which most did not understand, saying they regretted attacking the State of Israel. The people who refused were beaten and threatened with prosecution.[51]
>
> When a Greek passenger with signs of severe beating and torture refused to sign the deportation document, he was slapped by an officer, who then attempted to drag him out of sight.[52]

> Some passengers were forced to strip naked and searched multiple times. The temperature was kept excessively cold like "a cold storage". One woman journalist was forced to remove all her clothes and the soldiers forcibly inserted a metal detector between her legs. She stated to our Commission that she had never been subjected to such degrading treatment in her life.[53]

4. Burglar State

The report defines the case of confiscation as a state burglary. Israel confiscated all belongings of the participants and the humanitarian aid cargo of the flotilla. This situation is a violation of property rights at the same time:

> The Israeli officials confiscated all property belonging to the passengers. Aside from the unlawful seizure of personal property, evidences of critical importance to shed light on the attack was destroyed, tampered with or despoiled.[54]

> All journalists' personal belongings were confiscated and no receipts were issued. Of those confiscated electronic media equipment, some were later returned without any memory units or memory cards. Apart from photographic equipment, many passengers also reported the confiscation of money, credit cards, mobile phones, computers, electronic goods and clothes.2 Some electronic equipment was returned irreparably damaged.

> The missing items included approximately 600 mobile phones, 400 video cameras, 350 laptops and cash raised for charities in Gaza. There are no reports of any detainees being allowed to keep money or of any money being subsequently returned. Some activists have reported that their stolen credit cards have since been used.[55]

> Passengers' money, credit cards, camera, laptops, mobile phones were confiscated. This is a clear violation of property rights under article 1 of the First Protocol to the European Convention of Human Rights and article 17 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[56]

Report also emphasized that there were recent articles in the media reporting that were selling property such as laptops confiscated from the passengers.[57]

5. The State Against Law

Israel's being a state who does not obey the international law is mostly stated in the second part of the report. And the report supports this idea with various examples. Israel continues the siege on Gaza in spite of the fact that the siege is unlawful58. Apart from this, Israel committed an unlawful attack in all respects. To give details on this issue would be difficult for this study; the second section of the report already concentrates on the issue deeply. But here it would be useful to give some examples to give a general idea about the picture. The report claiming that Israel is afraid of being questioned by law and darkening evidence:

> The bodies of the deceased were completely washed and repatriated to Turkey without any accompanying medical and autopsy reports. The Mavi Marmara itself, when returned after being held for 66 days in Ashdod, had been scrubbed down thoroughly, blood stains completely washed off, bullet holes painted over; ship records, Captain's log, computer hardware, ship documents seized, CCTV cameras smashed, all photographic footage seized and presumably destroyed or withheld.[59]

Israel has committed various crimes by the attack as stated in the report as such:

> As a consequence of its attack on 31 May 2010, Israel has violated inter alia the right to life, the right to liberty and security of

> the person, freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention, prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of the passengers.[60]
>
> However, the Turkish Report maintains that Israel's violation of right to freedom of navigation on high seas will lead to long standing problems:
>
> The condemnation of Israel's attack is also crucial for the future of the right of navigation on the high seas. Otherwise, a dangerous precedential derogation from that paramount right will be established with far-reaching ramifications that may not be accurately estimated today.[61]

The Turkish Report carries the issue to the international platform and keeps it being just an issue of Turkey and Israel. By doing so, Israel's claims would be weakened.

6. Falsificator State

Another finding of the report shows that Israel would be described as a falsificator state. The Israeli authorities tried to confuse the international society by photo montages, giving food and water to the prisoners just for filming:

> Henning Mankell is one of the eyewitnesses referring to Israeli soldiers filming the passengers against their will on the way to Ashdod. In his testimony, Mankell expresses suspicion that parts of these footages where passengers are shown with food, would be used to misrepresent the real circumstances on board.145 Abdullah Özkaya supports this argument by stating that "they [Israeli soldiers] put food and water in front of us, then took pictures and filmed us."[62]

7. Racist State

Israel itself is known as being quite sensitive on racism. However, the Turkey's report shows that Israel committed racist behaviors. One Arab parliamentary among the participants of the flotilla was mistreated and the commission described this treatment as racist and sexist:

> Member of the Knesset, Haneen Zoabi was subjected to racist and sexist remarks. Some Westerners noticed a clear distinction in the treatment of "white" and "brown" passengers. Most western women were not handcuffed. Such discrimination is a breach of the ban on discrimination according to Article 2 of ICCPR and article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights.[63]

b.2. Turkish Demands

Another important aspect of the report within Turkish-Israeli relations is Turkish demands. The demands raised by Turkish government on top levels from the very beginning of the event are also stated in the report of Turkish Commission. Therefore, the report having an extensive analysis in legal and political senses, gives place to the demands of Turkish government. In the introduction part of the section which is also having a general evaluation of the case, the demands are stated as below:

> Finally, it is a central principle of international law that when a state violates its international obligations, it has a duty to make reparations for the wrongs committed and provide for compensation. This case is a critical litmus test for the international community in upholding the rule of law. No State should be allowed to act above the law. Impunity must give way to accountability. Israel must acknowledge its responsibility and accordingly convey a public apology to the Republic of Turkey and provide compensation for all damages and losses resulting from its unlawful attack.
>
> The condemnation of Israel's attack is also crucial for the future of the right of

> navigation on the high seas. Otherwise, a dangerous precedential derogation from that paramount right will be established -with far-reaching ramifications that may not be accurately estimated today.[64]

In the final section of the report, similar explanations are brought to the agenda:

> It is a central principle of international law that when a State violates its international obligations, it has a duty to make reparations for the wrongs committed. This principle has been codified by the International Law Commission in its Draft Articles on the Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts.[65]

After this finding, the report gives some examples which are important for the international law. Furthermore, the Turkish demands for apology and compensation is stated:

> These examples of State practice illustrate that it has become an accepted practice by the international community to provide compensation, and this obligation now extends even to civilian victims of military action, because such payments serve the goal of ensuring proportionality by forcing military forces to internalize the real costs of failing to properly assess the impact of a military operation on civilians. Israel should, therefore, be required to pay compensation and issue a formal apology for those killed and wounded during the IDF's military operation against the Mavi Marmara on 31 May 2010.[66]

Last words of the Report are as follows:

> Israel is liable for compensating the damages and losses it caused. Israel's attack must be condemned as unlawful. Any other disposition would establish a dangerous precedential derogation from the paramount right of freedom of navigation on the high seas.[67]

Conclusion: Future of Turkish-Israeli Relations or What is next?

Turkey will never forgive Israel
Abdullah Gul [68]

The report prepared by Turkish Commission of Inquiry and submitted to the UN Panel of Inquiry on February 2011 is explicitly parallel with the early explanations of Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davudoglu that was done immediately following the Israeli attack on the Gaza Flotilla. Therefore the report would be seen as an explanation of Turkish stance to Israel symbolizing a breakdown of relations which is supported by legal and political claims.

The Turkish-Israeli relations were in a tension for a couple of years. Turkish PM Erdoğan's reaction to Peres in Davos, the anti-Israeli propaganda in Turkish TV series, the raising anti-Israeli public opinion in Turkey and the low chair crisis became the stones causing tension in relations between the two countries. But, the attack on humanitarian flotilla, the case of Mavi Marmara became the turning point. The Turkish citizens were killed by Israel in international waters and the reactions to Israel by Turkish officials indicate that the relations will not be the same any more. This idea is also strongly apparent in the report prepared by Turkish Commission of Inquiry and submitted to the UN.

After Mavi Marmara incident, many analysts are of the same opinion that the Turkish-Israeli relations took a serious defect and it is quite difficult to repair the relations.[69] It is possible to say that the Turkish-Israeli relations will be suspended for a long period since Israel is distant to meet the demands of Turkey and also postpones its report which will be submitted to the UN Panel of Inquiry. And also no high level participation by Turkish government occurred to the Israel's reception held by Israel Embassy in Ankara on May 17, 2011 for the anniversary of Israel. This situation too is enough to show the changing color of the relations.70 Additionally,

the Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu is repeatedly emphasized that there would be no improvement unless Israel takes the necessary steps.[71]

On the other hand, not caring the demands of Turkey -neither giving an apology nor accepting compensation- Israeli government launched a deep PR campaign to save the Israel's image in the world. Upon to the critics raised by the world public opinion to Israel, Israel had the intent to blame the humanitarian mission by "terrorism" even the IDF had killed the civilians in international waters. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that Israel did not accept to give an apology or compensation, it expected that Turkish government would prevent the anti-Israeli protests in Turkey in moderate terms. Additionally, Israel seem to not to be content with Turkey's strengthening role in the Middle East.[72]

Endnotes

[1] Ugur Süleyman Söylemez, the Turkish participant of the flotilla injured heavily by his head and still lives in coma in Ankara by May 2011. *See: Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission to Investigate Violations of International Law, Including International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law, Resulting from the Israeli Attacks on the Flotilla of Ships Carrying Humanitarian Assistance,* (27 September 2010), http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/15session/A.HRC.15.21_en.PDF, p. 30.

[2] See for Erdoğan's speech delivered at the AK Party parliamentary group meeting on 1 June 2010 which describes the attack "a turning point in the relations" "Speech Delivered by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the AK Party Parliamentary Group Meeting on 1 June 2010", http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pDetay.aspx.

[3] See for Davutoğlu's speech delivered at UN Security Council on 31 Mayıs 2010 which describes the attack "banditry and piracy" and condemns it by saying that "According to our Abrahamic tradition and my belief, killing one human being is killing humanity as a whole. Yesterday humanity drowned in the international waters of the Mediterranean." "Address by H. E. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Turkey at the United Nations Security Council, 31 May 2010, New York" http://www.mfa.gov.tr/anasayfa-3105-un.en.mfa; see also the first official announcement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs "Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım Filosuna İsrail Savunma Kuvvetleri tarafından güç kullanılması", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=117798 (May 31, 2010).

[4] Ufuk Ulutaş, "Turkey and Israel in the Aftermath of the Flotilla Crisis", *Seta Policy Brief,* (June 2010), Brief No. 43, p. 2.

[5] "Turkey´s Political Relations with Israel", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-israel.en.mfa.

[6] "Türkiye-İsrail Siyasi İlişkileri", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-israil-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa. For the timeline of Turkish-Israeli relations see "Timeline of Turkish-Israeli Relations, 1949–2006", http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/documents/44edf1a5d337f.pdf.

[7] For detailed analysis see Ufuk Ulutaş, "Turkey-Israel: A Fluctuating Alliance", *Seta Policy Brief,* (January 2010), Brief No. 42, p. 4-6. According to Ulutaş, "It is not a coincidence, therefore, that the zenith years of the Turkish-Israel relations (the late 1990s) are characterized by heavy military involvement in Turkish politics, which reached its peak with the so-called soft coup of February 28, 1997; the bilateral relations were unusually intensified at the hands of the military officials."

[8] Ulutaş, Turkey-Israel: A Fluctuating Alliance, p. 6; see also "Syria and Israel Start Peace Talks", *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* (May 21, 2008) http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2008/Syria+and+Israel+start+peace+talks+21-May-2008.htm & (SANA News Agency, May 21, 2008).

[9] See Ufuk Ulutaş, "Reclaiming Israeli-Syrian Peace Talks", *SETA Report,* (November 2009), No. 2, p. 20-23.

[10] Ulutaş, "Turkey-Israel: A Fluctuating Alliance", p. 6.

[11] Gökhan Bacık, "Turkish-Israeli Relations after Davos: A View from Turkey", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11, No. 2, (2009), p. 31-41; İlker Aytürk, "Between Crises and Cooperation: The Future of Turkish-Israeli Relations", Insight Turkey, Vol. 11, No. 2, (2009), p. 57-74.

[12] Ulutaş, *Turkey-Israel:* A Fluctuating Alliance, p. 6. For the developments of the relations after the panel at the World Economic Forum in Davos see Özlem Tür, "Türkiye-İsrail İlişkileri: Yakın İşbirliğinden Gerilime?", Ortadoğu Analiz, (Nisan 2009), V. I, No. 4, p. 22-29.

[13] Ofra Bengio, "Altercating Interests and Orientations between Israel and Turkey: A View from Israel", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11, No. 2, (2009), p. 43-55.

[14] Bülent Aras, "The Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11, No. 3, (2009), p. 127-142.

[15] Turkish Prime Minister, see "Speech Delivered by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the AK Party Parliamentary Group Meeting on 1 June 2010", http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pDetay.aspx.

[16] See "Address by H. E. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Turkey at the United Nations Security Council, 31 May 2010, New York" http://www.mfa.gov.tr/anasayfa-3105-un.en.mfa.

[17] See the official document "Security Council Condemns Acts Resulting in Civilian Deaths during Israeli Operation against Gaza-Bound Aid Convoy, Calls for Investigation, in Presidential Statement", http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sc9940.doc.htm.

[18] "International Reactions on Organization Level to Flotilla Intervention", http://www.freedomflotillafacts.com/en/uluslararasi-kamuoyu.

[19] See the official document "Final Communique of the OIC

Expanded Extraordinary Executive Committee Meeting At the Level of Foreign Ministers on the Israeli Aggression against the Freedom Flotilla Shipping Humanitarian Aid To Gaza", http://www.oic-oci.org/topic_detail.asp?t_id=3870&x_key=.

[20] Ufuk Ulutaş, *Turkey And Israel In The Aftermath Of The Flotilla Crisis,* p. 9. For different international reactions' links see "International Reactions on Organization Level to Flotilla Intervention", http://www.freedomflotillafacts.com/tr/uluslararasi-kamuoyu.

[21] "Address by H. E. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Turkey at the United Nations Security Council, 31 May 2010, New York" http://www.mfa.gov.tr/anasayfa-3105-un.en.mfa.

[22] "Address by H. E. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Turkey at the United Nations Security Council, 31 May 2010, New York" http://www.mfa.gov.tr/anasayfa-3105-un.en.mfa.

[23] "Speech Delivered by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the AK Party Parliamentary Group Meeting on 1 June 2010", http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pDetay.aspx.

[24] "Speech Delivered by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the AK Party Parliamentary Group Meeting on 1 June 2010", http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pDetay.aspx.

[25] Namık Tan, "Israel owes Turkey an apology for flotilla attack", *The Washington Post,* (June 5, 2010), http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/06/04/AR2010060404016.html.

[26] See for one of the last anouncement of Davutoğlu, "İsrail'e Karşı Tutumumuz Ciddi", http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/isra-il-ile-arabulucuya-ihtiyacimiz-yok.html (May 18, 2011).

[27] "Foreign Ministry officials said Saturday that Israel would not apologize to Turkey for the deaths of nine Turkish pro-Palestinian activists who were killed during the Israel Navy's raid on the Turkish-flagged 'Freedom Flotilla' ship earlier this week." "Israel: We will not apologize to Turkey over Gaza flotilla deaths", (June 06, 2010), http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/israel-we-will-not-apologize-to-turkey-over-gaza-flotil-la-deaths-1.294373.

[28] Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010, Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, Ankara, (February 2011), p. 14.

[29] *Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission to Investigate Violations of International Law, Including International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law, Resulting from the Israeli Attacks on the Flotilla of Ships Carrying Humanitarian Assistance,* (September 27, 2010), 66 s. http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/15session/A.HRC.15.21_en.PDF.

[30] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, Ankara, (February 2011), s. 120.

[31] *The Public Commission to Examine the Maritime Incident of 31 May 2010,* The Turkel Commission, (Report/Part One), Government Printing Israel, (January 2011), 294 s. The second part of the report has not been published yet. For a study analyzing this three reports in legal perspective see: "Mavi Marmara'nın Uluslararası Raporlardaki İzdüşümü", Mavi Marmara, İHH Araştırma ve Yayınlar Birimi (ed.), İstanbul: İHH Kitap, 2011.

[32] For the UN explanation about the panel see: "Secretary-General Receives Initial Progress Report from Panel of Inquiry on 31 May Flotilla Incident", http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sgsm13101.doc.htm. The Ambassador Özlem Sandberk will represent Turkey at the Panel. See "Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım Konvoyuna Düzenlenen Saldırıya İlişkin Olarak Oluştulan Panel'de Ülkemizin Temsili", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118229 (August 07, 2010).

[33] For the preparation process of the report, see: "İsrail'in Özgürlük Konvoyuna Karşı Düzenlediği Saldırıyı Soruşturacak Komisyon", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118050 (June 14, 2010); "Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım Konvoyuna Düzenlenen Askeri Operasyona İlişkin Birleşmiş Milletler Soruşturma Paneli", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118197 (August 02, 2010); "BM Soruşturma Paneline Sunulacak Raporun Hazırlanması Maksadıyla Kurulan Ulusal Araştırma ve İnceleme Komisyonu", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118256 (August 11, 2010); Uluslararası İnsani Yardım Konvoyuna Yönelik Saldırıya İlişkin BM Soruşturma Paneli", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118512 (September 16, 2010). This aim is expressed in the report as follows: "The Turkish Commission of Inquiry was also tasked to prepare a report for consideration by the Panel of Inquiry set up by the UN Secretary-General on 2 August 2010 on the matter, in accordance with the Presidential Statement issued by the UN Security Council on 1 June 2010 which called for a "prompt, impartial, credible and transparent investigation conforming to international standards", see

Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010, p. 10.

[34] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 10.

[35] "BM Soruşturma Paneline Sunulacak Raporun Hazırlanması Maksadıyla Kurulan Ulusal Araştırma ve İnceleme Komisyonu", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118256, (August 11, 2010).

[36] "Erdoğan: Son Kararımız Hayırlı Olsun", http://www.trt.net.tr/haber/HaberDetay.aspx?HaberKodu=-93b265eb-3c1d-40e9-8b44-75bf944ca817, (May 31, 2010).

[37] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 4.

[38] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 26.

[39] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 28.

[40] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 115.

[14] See paragraph 169 of the Report of the Fact Finding Mission.

[42] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 30.

[43] See Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010, p. 35-50.

[44] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 78.

[45] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 6-7, 105-106.

[46] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 35.

[47] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 106.

[48] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 107-108.

[49] See paragraph 181 of the Report of the Fact Finding Mission.

[50] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 5.

[51] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 108.

[52] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 47.

[53] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 107.

[54] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 5.

[55] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 49-50.

[56] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 108.

[57] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 50. According to Report "Encryptereality, $3.5mn stolen from Gaza convoy survivors by Israeli pirates, YouTube, (June 11, 2010), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HBqorl059xI&-feature=player_embedded (1 July 2010). See also the news regarding the subject "IDF soldiers suspected of theft from Gaza flotilla ship", Haaretz, (August 18, 2010), http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/idf-soldiers-suspected-of-theft-from-gaza-flotilla-ship-1.308862; "Israeli soldiers stole laptops on flotilla, investigation finds", Today's Zaman, (August 20, 2010), http://www.todayszaman.com/news-219551-102-israeli-soldiers-stole-laptops-on-flotilla-investigation-finds.html; "Israeli Soldiers Steal Around $3m From Gaza Flotilla", http://wn.com/israeli_soldiers_steal_around_$3m_from_gaza_flotilla.

[58] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 63-67.

[59] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 6.

[60] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 117.

[61] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 8-9.

[62] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 38-39.

[63] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 109.

[64] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 8-9.

[65] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 109.

[66] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 112.

[67] *Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010,* p. 117.

[68] Turkish President, "Türkiye Bu Saldırıyı Asla Affetmeyecek", http://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/170/49363/turkiye-bu-saldiriyi-asla-affetmeyecek.html (June 03, 2010).

[69] For the evaluations on Turkish-Israeli relations aftermath Mavi Marmara attack see: Taha Özhan, "Turkey, Israel and the US in the Wake of the Gaza Flotilla Crisis", Insight Turkey, Vol. 12, No. 3, 2010, pp. 7-18; Merve N. Sürmeli, "Son dönem Türkiye-İsrail ilişkileri, Özdem Sanberk ile söyleşi", Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, http://www.bilgesam.org/tr/images/stories/bilgesoylesi/bilgesoylesi6.pdf; Thomas Fuster, "Turkish-Israeli RelationsStrain on a Fragile Alliance", http://en.qantara.de/Strain-on-a-Fragile-Alliance/7029c7098i1p154/index.html (June 11, 2010); Chris Zambelis, "Israel-Turkey axis turned on its head", http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/LG20Ak01.html (July 20, 2010); Ufuk Ulutaş, "An Apology Would be a Good Start", http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=58437&q=an-apology-would-be-a-good-start (December 26, 2010).

[70] Baha Bakır, "İsrail Resepsiyonu'na Mavi Marmara protestosu!", Haber Türk, (May 17, 2011), http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/631329-israil-resepsiyonuna-mavi-marmara-protestosu; "Ankara İsrail'i kutlamadı", Star Gazetesi, (May 17, 2011), http://www.stargazete.com/politika/ankara-israil-i-kutlamadi-haber-352100.htm.

[71] "Davutoğlu 2010 Türk Dış Politikasını Değerlendirdi", http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=59240&q=davutoglu-2010-turk-dis-politikasini-degerlendirdi (December 29, 2010).

[72] Ulutaş, *Turkey And Israel In The Aftermath Of The Flotilla Crisis,* p. 11.

Bibliography

Aras, Bülent, "The Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11, No. 3, (2009).

Aytürk, İlker, "Between Crises and Cooperation: The Future of Turkish-Israeli Relations", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11, No. 2, (2009).

Bacık, Gökhan, "Turkish-Israeli Relations after Davos: A View from Turkey", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11, No. 2, (2009).

Bakır, Baha, "İsrail Resepsiyonu'na Mavi Marmara protestosu!", *Haber Türk,* (May 17, 2011), http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/631329-israil-resepsiyonuna-mavi-marmara-protestosu.

Bengio, Ofra, "Altercating Interests and Orientations between Israel and Turkey: A View from Israel", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 11, No. 2, (2009).

Davutoğlu, Ahmet, "İsrail'e Karşı Tutumumuz Ciddi", http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/israil-ile-arabulucuya-ihtiyacimiz-yok.html (May 18, 2011); http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/israil-ile-arabulucuya-ihtiyacimiz-yok.html (May 18, 2011).

Fuster, Thomas, "Turkish-Israeli Relations Strain on a Fragile Alliance", http://en.qantara.de/Strain-on-a-Fragile-Alliance/7029c7098i1p154/index.html (June 11, 2010).

Özhan, Taha, "Turkey, Israel and the US in the Wake of the Gaza Flotilla Crisis", *Insight Turkey,* Vol. 12, No. 3, (2010).

Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission to Investigate Violations of International Law, Including International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law, Resulting from the Israeli Attacks on the Flotilla of Ships Carrying Humanitarian Assistance (September 27, 2010), http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/15session/A.HRC.15.21_en.PDF.

Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010, Turkish National Commission of Inquiry, Ankara, (February 2011).

Sürmeli, Merve N., "Son dönem Türkiye-İsrail İlişkileri, Özdem Sanberk ile söyleşi", Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, http://www.bilgesam.org/tr/images/stories/bilgesoylesi/bilgesoylesi6.pdf.

Tan, Namık, "Israel owes Turkey an apology for flotilla attack", The Washington Post, (June 5, 2010), http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/06/04/AR2010060404016.html.

The Public Commission to Examine the Maritime Incident of 31 May 2010, The Turkel Commission, (Report/Part One), Government Printing Israel, (January 2011).

Tür, Özlem, "Türkiye-İsrail İlişkileri: Yakın İşbirliğinden Gerilime?", Ortadoğu Analiz, (Nisan 2009), V. I, No. 4.

Ulutaş, Ufuk, "An Apology would be a Good Start", http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=58437&q=an-apology-would-be-a-good-start (December 26, 2010).

-----, "Reclaiming Israeli-Syrian Peace Talks", *SETA Report,* (November 2009), No. 2.

-----, "Turkey and Israel in the Aftermath of the Flotilla Crisis", *Seta Policy Brief,* (June 2010), Brief No. 43.

-----, "Turkey-Israel: A Fluctuating Alliance", *Seta Policy Brief,* (January 2010), Brief No. 42.

Zambelis, Chris, "Israel-Turkey axis turned on its head", http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/LG20Ak01.html (July 20, 2010).

"Address by H. E. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Turkey at the United Nations Security Council, 31 May 2010, New York", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/anasayfa-3105-un.en.mfa.

"Ankara İsrail'i kutlamadı", *Star Gazetesi,* (May 17, 2011), http://www.stargazete.com/politika/ankara-israil-i-kutlamadi-haber-352100.htm.

"BM Soruşturma Paneline Sunulacak Raporun Hazırlanması Maksadıyla Kurulan Ulusal Araştırma ve İnceleme Komisyonu", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118256 (August 11, 2010).

"Davutoğlu 2010 Türk Dış Politikasını Değerlendirdi", http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=59240&q=davutoglu-2010-turk-dis-politikasini-degerlendirdi, (December 29, 2010).

"Encryptereality, $3.5mn stolen from Gaza convoy survivors by Israeli pirates", YouTube (June 11, 2010), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HBqorI059xI&feature=player_embedded (July 1, 2010).

"Erdoğan: Son Kararımız Hayırlı Olsun", http://www.trt.net.tr/haber/HaberDetay.aspx?HaberKodu=-93b265eb-3c1d-40e9-8b44-75bf944ca817 (31 May 31, 2010).

"Final Communique of the OIC Expanded Extraordinary Executive Committee Meeting at the Level of Foreign Ministers on the Israeli Aggression against the Freedom Flotilla Shipping Humanitarian Aid to Gaza", http://www.oic-oci.org/topic_detail.asp?t_id=3870&x_key=.

"Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım Filosuna İsrail Savunma Kuvvetleri tarafından güç kullanılması", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=117798 (May 31, 2010).

"Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım Konvoyuna Düzenlenen Askeri Operasyona İlişkin Birleşmiş Milletler Soruşturma Paneli", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118197 (August 02, 2010).

"Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım Konvoyuna Düzenlenen Saldırıya İlişkin Olarak Oluştulan Panel'de Ülkemizin Temsli", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118229 (August 07, 2010).

"IDF soldiers suspected of theft from Gaza flotilla ship", Haaretz, (August 18, 2010), http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/idf-soldiers-suspected-of-theft-from-gaza-flotilla-ship-1.308862.

"International Reactions on Organization Level to Flotilla Intervention", http://www.freedomflotillafacts.com/tr/uluslararasi-kamuoyu.

"Israel: We will not apologize to Turkey over Gaza flotilla deaths", (June 06, 2010), http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/israel-we-will-not-apologize-to-turkey-over-gaza-flotilla-deaths-1.294373.

"Israeli Soldiers Steal Around $3m From Gaza Flotilla", http://wn.com/israeli_soldiers_steal_around_$3m_from_gaza_flotilla.

"Israeli soldiers stole laptops on flotilla, investigation finds", Today's Zaman, (August 20, 2010), http://www.todayszaman.com/news-219551-102-israeli-soldiers-stole-laptops-on-flotilla-investigation-finds.html.

"İsrail'in Özgürlük Konvoyuna Karşı Düzenlediği Saldırıyı Soruşturacak Komisyon", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118050 (June 14, 2010).

"Mavi Marmara'nın Uluslararası Raporlardaki İzdüşümü", Mavi Marmara, İHH Araştırma ve Yayınlar Birimi (ed.), İstanbul: İHH Kitap, 2011.

"Secretary-General Receives Initial Progress Report from Panel of Inquiry on 31 May Flotilla Incident", http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sgsm13101.doc.htm.

"Security Council Condemns Acts Resulting in Civilian Deaths during Israeli Operation against Gaza-Bound Aid Convoy, Calls for Investigation, in Presidential Statement", http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sc9940.doc.htm.

"Speech Delivered by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the AK Party Parliamentary Group Meeting on 1 June 2010", http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pDetay.aspx.

"Statement by the Secretary General of NATO on Israeli operation against ships bound for Gaza", (June 01, 2010), http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-C69D9EDC-0E346F8E/natolive/news_63983.htm?mode=pressrelease.

"Syria and Israel Start Peace Talks", *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* (May 21, 2008), http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2008/Syria+and+Israel+start+peace+talks+21-May-2008.htm & (SANA News Agency, May 21, 2008).

"Timeline of Turkish-Israeli Relations, 1949–2006", http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/documents/44edf1a5d337f.pdf.

"Turkey's Political Relations with Israel", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-israel.en.mfa.

"Türkiye Bu Saldırıyı Asla Affetmeyecek", http://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/170/49363/turkiye-bu-saldiriyi-asla-affetmeyecek.html, (June 03, 2010).

"Türkiye-İsrail Siyasi İlişkileri", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-israil-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa.

"Uluslararası İnsani Yardım Konvoyuna Yönelik Saldırıya İlişkin BM Soruşturma Paneli", http://strasbourg.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowAnnouncement.aspx?ID=118512 (September 16, 2010).