

UNDERSTANDING THE MAVI MARMARA CRISIS IN TURKISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS*

*Tuğçe KAFDAĞLI***

Abstract

Israel's bloody raid on the Mavi Marmara flotilla in May 2010 caused the death of 9 civilians and a great crisis between Turkey and Israel. The impacts of this crisis are still being felt in between the two countries as well as a in the relations with the USA. The raid happened while the flotilla was in the international waters and carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza. Neither the civilians on board, nor the Turkish government expected such a severe outcome. The aim of this paper is to present the details of the Mavi Marmara crisis between Ankara and Tel-Aviv, relying on various stages in the emergence and the aftermath of the crisis. The paper also aims to make a detailed analysis of Alexander George's defensive crisis management strategy and how this strategy was applied by the Turkish decision makers during the Mavi Marmara crisis.

INTRODUCTION

Humanitarian Relief Foundation is a non-governmental organization. In accordance with the foundation goals it planned to deliver humanitarian aid to region despite Israel embargo to Palestine-Gaza people that need aid. This plan was executed by sea and by counting a large number of national and international aid corporations. This aid was named as Gaza Freedom Flotilla consist of eight ships. But humanitarian aid flotilla was attacked carry out by Israel government during en route on Mediterranean sea international waters. Israel troops boarded the ship and after some brawls ships were pulled to Israel's Asdod harbour.

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** PhD Candidate at Yıldız Technical University/Istanbul, (t.kafdagli@hotmail.com)

Although delivering aid project performing by HRF's is seen as humanitarian and civil initiative in fact the case was carried to states dimension in terms of foreign politics and international relations.

This paper analyzes how and why an international humanitarian aid campaign cause foreign policy crisis between two states. There are four phases in crisis analysis according to Brecher. These are pre-crisis, crisis, de-escalation and post-crisis phases. Because Mavi Marmara crisis is still ongoing we discuss first three phases in this study.

At study referring to crisis literature, aid campaign process will be defined as pre-crisis phase. However crisis phase starts with Israel's military attack to the Mavi Marmara ship. In crisis period Turkey's reaction to the attack and Israel's responses escalated crisis level. De-escalation phase began with diplomatic initiatives among Turkey, Israel and UN. In this phase Israel accepted some demands of Turkey such as releasing of activists, sending the Mavi Marmara back and accepting UN Commission's Investigation. In the second de-escalation phase, Israel expressed that they were sorry because of the incident and compensate for damages of victims. Alexander George's defensive strategy in crisis management will discuss in this case.¹

A.Gaza Freedom Flotilla

1. IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation (HRF)

Humanitarian Relief Foundation starts to its studies with volunteer activities at 1992. At 1995 it institutionalized its volunteer studies. Relief Foundation stated foundation aim at deed of foundation at Article 3 as below²:

“At anywhere, to deliver necessary humanitarian aid to all people being hard up, stricken, aggrieved by war, natural disaster etc. reasons, getting injured, disabled, hungry or lost home, behaved cruelly and making all necessary attempts not to be infringed of these people's fundamental rights and freedoms, to make education activities at all levels for combating with poverty and training qualified person.”

¹ George, L. Alexander. “Strategies for Crisis Manibidment”. Ed. Alexander L. George. **Avoiding War**. USA: Westwiew Press, 1991: 377-395.

² “Vakıf Kuruluş Senedi”. İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı. <http://www.ihh.org.tr/tr/main/pibids/vakif-kurulus-senedi/138>

There is to make necessary organizations for damaged by disasters to take precaution against close disaster or war at foundations' activities to perform its aims. If foundation have difficulties to deliver the aid that it will done in kind to disaster regions, it helps out victims in cash. Foundation build, buy or rent establishments like dorm, house, hostel necessary for sheltering the orphan children. It establishes, builds, rents, buys schools, courses etc. education institutes for providing education or by agreeing existing education institutes provide to be made the education of children ideally. To support the education of teenagers is again among the foundation activities. Foundation makes audible and video broadcasts, organise meetings and protest marches, organise sport organizations, competitions, auctions, organizes commemoration nights and concerts to introduce persecuted people and provide necessary support. Foundation engages in every type of commercial, industrial, cultural and agricultural activity to develop its assets. Foundation in case of taking necessary permissions in law offices, cooperates with the association, organisation, foundation etc. corporations or foundations activated with similar aims at domestic or abroad, when required support them or get support. In related legislation with getting necessary permissions it opens at every level education corporations, social, cultural and sport facility and centers.

2. Gaza Freedom Flotilla

After the break of cease fire between Israel and Palestine, Israel authorities stated that they permit the transportation of humanitarian aim material to Gaza on 2008, 26th December. Based on this, HRF Humanitarian Relief Foundation applied to Israel authorities on January 2009 to take aim Gaza over land and by sea. But any respond from Israel authorities to this application that repeated a few times in the year wasn't given. With getting worse the humanitarian situation happening in Gaza, HRF Humanitarian Relief Foundation that performing studies oriented to Palestine, performed an organization with cry "Road to Palestine is Open!" to break the embargo and deliver aid to Gaza people. After the convoy entered to Gaza 2010, 7th January they aim to break the blockade to Gaza this time by sea.

HFR's aim organizations by sea unite with the idea of non-governmental organization named as Free Gaza Movement. Free Gaza Movement that is a registered foundation at Cyprus is a human rights organization. This organization succeeded for five times at attempts for reaching

³ "Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım İçin Kapılar Açıldı". Cumhuriyet.26.12.2008.
http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/30902/Gazze_ye_insani_yardim_icin_kapilar_acildi.html [22.11.2013].

Gaza by sea with trying one or two little boats at August-December 2008 period. It is indicated that these navigations aim is to break Gaza blockade. Howsoever organizers claim that they got some threat messages from Israel authorities, Israel authorities didn't interfere to these boats at that time. At sixth navigation that Free Gaza Movement attempt on 2008 December, a ship belongs to Israel navy hit to boat intentionally, damaged heavily and boat was forced to turn its route to Lebanon. The navigation planned to make on 2009 January, was stopped with anxiety of if the Israel navy again hit the boat. Israel Navy stopped the ship named as Spirit of Humanity that's owner is Free Gaza Movement and carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza, on June 29th 2009 together with 21 passengers approximately 21 mile off shore to Gaza. With the refusal of demands of Israel to turn back soldiers board the ship and with pulling Spirit of Humanity ship to Asdod Harbour, passengers were retained and arrested. After these unsuccessful attempts, Free Gaza Movement was being in search of cooperation with other organizations to increase the number of ships at new navigations. There was Turkish humanitarian aid foundation named Humanitarian Relief Foundation (HRF) that has consultant statute at UN Economic and Social Council amongst the organizations that movement contacted. HRF that is performing activities more than 120 country and region including Gaza and also planning its self Gaza navigation committed to participate to flotilla with two cargo ship and a passenger ship that they buy new with having more that 600 passenger capacity. A range of other organization that include Ship to Gaza (Sweden), Ship to Gaza (Greece) and The International Committee to End the Siege on Gaza and European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza decided to participate that name would be known after this "Gaza Freedom Flotilla".

Flotilla's aims, are explained with the explanations of leaders of Free Gaza Movement and HFR as below⁵:

- “(a) Attract attention of international public opinion about situation at Gaza and effects of blockade,
- (b) Breaking blockade and
- (c) Reach humanitarian aid equipment and support to Gaza.”

⁵ "Fethullah Hoca'nın Kalbi Bizden Yana". <http://www.mavimarmara.org/fethullah-hocanin-kalbi-bizden-yana/>.

All in all that interviewed by United Nations Case Investigation Board one-to-one from passengers participate to flotilla said that they share these aims, but emphasise mostly to humanitarian aid. At flotilla was consist of 8 ship and 748 persons. Because of Commercial Shipping Companies not wishing to hire their ships to such a flotilla participant foundations were obliged to buy their own ships. Cargo vessels' that HRF owned crew service is performed via an agency in İstanbul. When several problems appear at Challenger II machines, it stood back from flotilla and here passengers were transferred to Challenger I and Mavi Marmara at international waters. Ship Rachel Carrie's move from Ireland delayed and thus this ship could not participate to flotilla on May 31st. Some passengers, as so previous navigations, plan to board ships at international waters with sailing from Cyprus. But Cyprus authorities at last moment prcaseed these passengers exit. Despite plenty of attempting when getting permission from island's south ports isn't possible, a part of passengers with passing to North Cyprus, check out from Magosa Port.

B.Mavi Marmara Crisis

As a non-governmental organization HRF's taking aid to Gaza action turns into a foreign politics crisis between Turkey and Israel. As a dominant examination form at crisis literature, herein crisis will be examined by separating phases. Basically crisis being consist of four phases is assumed. First is pre-crisis phase. This phase is the first stimulus' perceived phase. However expressions and/or actions forming crisis' stimulus' haven't just effected defensive party's interest or value. Second phase is crisis phase. At this phase crisis starts exactly. Perceiving the case caused crisis as a threat party's decision maker makes a treatment. This behaviour is intended for treatment coming from counter party. At crisis phase treatment was perceived strategies for crisis management was determining. At this phase pressure for decision makers is heavy. Crisis phase is applying strategies phase. For this reason it is the phase crisis management seen most clearly. With the start of decrease of treatment's density and pressure crisis enters to third phase. This phase is softening phase. At the result of applied strategies at crisis management period climbing of crisis stops. Treatment perceives time pressure and force entry possibility go into decrease. The phase effects between parties are seen and being the last phase is post-crisis phase. Along the crisis period, depending on crisis management the effect occurred by actors perceive on each other. Most

important factor that determines parties' behaviour at post-crisis phase is the result of crisis. If with managed crisis rightly, problem was solved, this phase would continue smoothly. If not went back to Status quo ante or the problem caused crisis wasn't solved, with the results of perceives at post-crisis phase new crisis could be experienced.

When we look at Mavi Marmara specific, we see that crisis didn't complete every phase. The period progressing with flotilla preparations is pre-crisis phase. Secondly the attack to Mavi Marmara by Israel generates crisis phase. At the same time crisis phase is the phase including Turkey's reactions. With Israel's apology and compensation requests becoming negotiable, crisis entered to softening phase. But because of the crisis not completed yet, crisis effects seen post-crisis phase does not happen.

1. Pre-Crisis Phase

As a non-governmental organization HRF has been Free Gaza Flotilla organisation's Turkey leg. While performing an action relating with case treating regional peace, foundation authorities put into words that HRF met with person, corporation and foundations that are effective at politics via getting their opinions. HRF authority stated that they met with MHP, CHP, SP, BBP and AKP⁶:

"We consulted with all corporations and parties in Turkey. We met with MHP, CHP, SP, BBP. We met with AK party. Saadet Party and Büyük Birlik Party gave full support, we met Mr.Gürsel Tekin from CHP,at that time was provincial head. 'I will ask Ankara but if it was to me I want to be in this ship' he said. Apart from that we met with MHP'we cannot say anything about this subject but also we cannot protest' said. Government wing as a matter of fact was uneasy. In other words they thought that this subject bear a big crisis. For this reason they are not much supporter."

Again according to foundation's explanations, government in spite of thinking that the going flotilla will cause a crisis, didn't precase. According to government HRF and performing organisation others are non-governmental organisations and to protest the action they want to do is not right.⁷ But government informed HRF that they don't deem suitable this going.⁸ For this reason HRF emphasizes that AKP didn't give support on the contrary claiming such a

⁶ "Fethullah Hoca'nın Kalbi Bizden Yana". <http://www.mavimarmara.org/fethullah-hocanin-kalbi-bizden-yana/>.

⁷ Zengin, Gürkan. **Hoca: Türk Dış Politikasında Davutoğlu Etkisi**. İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınevi, 2010

⁸ **Ibid.**

thing would be disrespect to their own.¹⁰ With meeting all non-governmental organisations and many opinion leader, they specially emphasize that they departed with their own will.

Despite Turkey assess the situation as a non-governmental attempt, because of the crisis generating potential of aid flotilla a crisis desk was set up at foreign affairs.¹⁰ Improvements related with case were followed from here. Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu stated that they were in touch with Israel at that term. He added that this touch was every level. He stated that they warned Israel not to use force to civil purposed ships and they didn't use this as a bluff. Turkey delivered necessary warnings to all related parties with different scenarios between May 27th and May 31st Davutoğlu explains herein mentioned scenarios as follows¹¹:

When Mavi Marmara set sail, we studied on four scenarios technically. First of all, when ships approaches, Israel put their ships towards Mavi Marmara, make blockade in their territorial waters, waited for a while, they protest, Israel would be not passing. Thus a peaceful protest is happened. Secondly an intervention can be happened. A technically intervention. Pulling ships to port by accompanying can be happened. Thirdly an operational meaningly intervention can be happened. But not an armed raid form. Last scenario was an intervention to ship but without cases causing loss of life maybe not using gun maybe brawl etc. Can be happened. Teorically this was being. Human thinks teorically but this becoming is not an expectable thing.”

2. Crisis Phase

Organisers that want to get humanitarian aid to Gaza was wishing Middleeast to get out of war and chaos environment that it is in, to constitute a new softening at region and bring a breath of fresh air in solving problems. Organisation claim that they aim to give hope to Gaza people and right after embargo terminated, to contribute specially region peace generally world peace. However humanitarian aim flotilla get attacked while sailing Medirreanean international waters executed by Israel government.

⁹ “Fethullah Hodja’s Heart is With Us”, <http://www.mavimarmara.org/fethullah-hocanin-kalbi-bizden-yana/>.

¹⁰ Zengin, ibid, 236.

¹¹ Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi. c.74. 01.07.2010.
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem23/yil4/bas/b127m.htm> [20.12.2013]

¹² **Ibid.**

¹³ “İşte İsrail Görüşmesinin Ayrıntıları”. **Bugün**. 05.07.2010, <http://gundem.bugun.com.tr/israil-gorusmesinin-ayrintilari-haberi/108279> [20.12.2013]

Six ships at flotilla came together on May 30th 2010 at South Cyprus offshore meeting point. At the same day about 16:30 the rotate of ships moving to south, were at 70-80 mile distant parallel from offshore to shore.¹⁴ At about 22:30 harrasment and treatment messages started to come from Israel to the captain of Mavi Marmara that is the admiral ship of flotilla.¹⁵ Mavi Marmara ship's captain for every time delivered messages to messages sent by Israel as stated 'They sailing with approximately 600 passenger from moving offshore to south and *bringing humanitarian aim equipments that existing at flotilla to Gaza*'. However Israel's treatment and harassment messages orientated to the ship sailing international waters continued.¹⁶ At next period flotilla's TURKSAT satellite broadcasting and communication was cut off by Israel, at about 03:00 a.m. with surrounding flotilla with about 30 zodiac and battle ships, at near 04:30 Israel soldiers made first attemptions to board Mavi Marmara from zodiac boats.¹⁷ During the approaching Israel soldiers started to fire with non-lethal weapons as gase bomb, stun bombs (shocking grenade), tear gas bomb and paintball.

In response of understood that many passengers injured, when bridge deck was raked, HRF Head and one of the main organisers of flotilla Bülent Yıldırım with putting off his white shirt, used it as white flag by means of surrendered. However this motion didn't help and ship's raking continued. Israel armed forces stated that operation's active phase was over at 05:17 with maintaining control of ship, setting free of 3 soldiers.¹⁸ At operation that continues 45 to 50 minutes 10 passengers were killed, more than 24 passengers get real bulletin hurt; also a great number of passengers were hurt with plastic bulletins, beanbag buckshots or another manners. Ships were pulled to Israel's Ashdod Port. Here documents for the passengers' exit were issued and after they were sent to prison to wait until exit time. During exit from country processes legal documents to sign were given to all passengers. Passengers stated that documents' language was Hebraic, related with acception of the people entered Israel illegally and acception of giving consent to be deported and entering Israel prohibition for ten years. Almost all of the passengers refused to sign this document. Some of the Israel authorities entered to a joint effort in pressing direction the passengers to sign the said text. Some passengers that refused to sign were treated by physical violence. Passengers

¹⁴ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*.

¹⁵ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*

¹⁶ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*

¹⁷ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*

¹⁸ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*.

¹⁹ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*.

persuasion efforts for signing the said text continued nearly until plane's lift-off moment at airport. Most of the passengers were sent to Ella Prison situated near Berşeva in two hours distance by highway, after the transactions in Ashdod, in groups. According to moving hours passengers were detained for 24 to 72 hours. The citizens of countries that haven't diplomatic relation with Israel and Jordanians were earlier released and sent to Jordan by high way. Many of the passengers were brought from prison to Ben Gurion International Airport in Tel Aviv about to be deported by airway.

a) *Crisis Management*

Opening fire from Israel soldiers to 'Mavi Marmara' ship that was bringing humanitarian aid to Gaza and many countries' citizens were in and result of that broken of relations between Turkey and Israel is one of the lightest sample of a non-governmental organisation effecting foreign politics. This case passes to history as a sample of showing that recently at Turkish Foreign Politics how a non-governmental organisation can effect. A civil society action was caused to crisis between two countries. At result of this crisis decision maker makes diplomatic and politics provisions. It requested from opposite side a series as apology, compensation, pulling away the blockade.

If needed to make an assessment about Turkey's strategy, it is possible to say it made use of A.George's horizontal escalation strategy. According to A.George there is two kind of escalation strategy applying. First is vertical escalation including escalation in crisis own subject. As for second is horizontal escalation defender party studying to damage attacker in other fields. Spreading crisis to other fields treatment can be successful in generating marketing conditions in its favour.²⁰ Case is in military format. Israel soldiers attacked a ship that also Turkish citizens were in. There is despite military options on the Turkey, it didn't choose its answer at military format. It carried case to legal and politics format. It carries on crisis management process in politics and legal field not in military field.

Davutoğlu with meeting UN Turkish Constant Delegate Ertuğrul Apakan ordered to call UN Security Council urgently for extraordinary meeting. He gave first press statement at Caribbean to TRT. After the explanation plane departed towards New York. In the meantime he was informing to plane from communication towers that he wants to meet with Israel Defence Minister Ehud Barak Davutoğlu. Davutoğlu met with Barak at airport when plane grounded to New York. In the meantime upon the request of Turkey UN Security Council

²⁰ George, "Strategies...", 387.

made extraordinary gathering decision. Davutoğlu with obtaining promise, defined Israel's action as piracy, barbarism and brigandage, with emphasizing superiority of law he said that Israel must be punished because of the action it did.¹⁹ Foreign Minister ranged what will have to be done as following²² :

“Israel must apology from international society and families of died and injured in attack.

Urgently investigation must be started.

About responsible authorities and attack's offenders proper international legal steps must be taken urgently.

Serious disappointment must be stated by United Nations and warning must be done. Call for showing respect to basic human rights and international law to Israel must be done.

Permission related countries to take back their died and injured citizens must be given.

Ships must be set free and allowed to reach humanitarian aid to its place.

Died and injured person's families, NGOs, ship owner companies must be compensated wholly.

Blockade oriented to Gaza must be end instantly and humanitarian aid reaching their place must be allowed.

Gaza for being peace region, with being reconstructed quickly, must constitute a sample. International society must be invited to contribute in this direction. ”

3. De-escalation Phase

Turkey wanted Israel a Presidency Explanation condemning the attack. After Security Council meeting Bargain both for this explanation and words at text was done. This bargain was done with USA.²³ For example using action word instead of actions was important. Because when action said, it would indicated directly the responsible. One of the other important word was if the case's investigation will be done independent or neutral. If it is independent, Israel can do the investigation, if it is neutral, Israel cannot do the investigation.

²¹ “**United Nations Security Council's Israel Explanation**”, **Hürriyet**, **01.06.2010**, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/14899943.asp?gid=301> [28.12.2013].

²² “**Foreign Minister Davutoğlu's Speech at United Nations Security Council (May 31th, 2010)**”, **Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/bakan-davutoglu_nun-birlesmis-milletler-guvenlik-konseyi_nde-yaptigi-konusma-_31-mayis-2010_.tr.mfa [25.12.2013].

²³ Zengin, ibid, 241.

After these diplomatic relationships, UN Security Council condemned Israel's military operation with Presidency Explanation.²⁵ At explanation it is emphasized that Israel must set free the ships and civils that holds and humanitarian aids must be reached to its aim.

After UN meeting, Davutoğlu passed from New York to Washington just about to meet with USA Foreign Minister. At the meeting he sent a diplomatic note over USA that if Israel do not set free all Turkish citizens in 24 hours, diplomatic relations with Israel will be cut off. After Washington delivering this note to Israel the information about all passengers that are surveillance will be set free via Council of Ministers Decision took partat Reuters News Agency.

A threesome independent expert team consisted of International Court Former Chief Prosecutor Sir Desmond da Silva and Council of Prcaseing Every Kind of Discrimination Against Women former member Mary Shanthi Dairiam went into action.²⁶

Board completed the numbered A/HRC/15/21 numbered report investigating the Israel government's and authorities' actions oriented to Gaza Freedom Flotilla that is sailing international waters and is in the purpose of reaching humanitarian aid equipment to Gaza, Just about to be presented to UN Humanitarian Rights Council at Geneva by UN at September 22th, 2010. 56 papered prepared report charge Israel with treating against international law and humanitarian rights law. Firstly, it put forth that the military operation done at Mavi Marmara ship is against the international human rights and law. Report, while determining that Israel commandos used disproportional force at raid performed to aim ship, it assessed the military operation as unacceptable monstrosity. At the report prepared for commission, additionally at the end of investigations about case, to be underlined finding evidences enough to execute a murder investigation against Israel stand out toward us as a quite important evidences. Because of reaching the evidences about not generating a military treatment for Israel, not occurring the right to defend itself is stated. It underline that Israel to apply blockade to Palestine is illegal in a term humanitarian crisis was experienced.

²⁴ "UN Security Council's **İsrael Explanation**", **Hürriyet**, 01.06.2010, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/14899943.asp?gid=301> [28.12.2013].

²⁵ "Left All in Israel Decision", **Sabah**, 06.02.2010, http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2010/06/02/israilden_herkesi_birakma_karari[22.11.2013]

²⁶ It is an international body being constituted of delegates coming from 15 members of African countries, 12 members of Asian countries, 5 members of East European countries, 11 members of Latin America and Caribbean countries 10 members of West European countries.²⁶

²⁷ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*, 1.

²⁸ United Nations Human Rights Council, *ibid*, 1.

Upon Turkey's attempts by UN, UN secretary general generated a panel for investigation of subject at August 2nd, 2010.²⁷ At panel began studies at August 10th, 2010 former New Zealand prime minister Geoffrey Palmer as president and former Colombia head of state Alvaro Uribe took place as two independent member³⁰: Former Foreign Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk on behalf of Turkey and former Foreign Affairs Ministry General Manager Joseph Ciecchanover on behalf of Israel took places.

This panel's report after one year by postponing for various times, finally is published. Upon the panel getting both two country's opinion and document and assessment reports related with case, completed its studies July 2011, explanation to World Public Opinion was postponed three times because of party country's putting forward various reasons. Upon last performed explanation initiative, Israel Prime Minister Netanyahu attempted about to delay the report's August 28th explanation for six months but this wish was refused by Turkey. Hereupon report took place at New York Times dated September 1st by being unfiltered.³¹ At later officially published report, it is stated that panel's assessments doesn't include a result getting responsibility at legal frame and hereafter for not being repeated such an case, summary part includes that it carries purpose to put forth the realities related with the case's occurrence form and put forward recommendations about this subject.

At part of case's occurrence form, environment and evidences related with realities, clearly, with stating restrictions at determined subjects at international law about international waters navigation, these are stated explicitly. With sustaining Israel's security is under the treatment of militant groups at Gaza contention, it accepts that Israel's blockade applying from sea is proper to international law for preventing weapon entrance to Gaza and it is applied as legal security prevention. According to be recorded that blockade applied to Gaza is legal, it can be assessed as having no importance of compromises given to Mavi Marmara victims and accordingly to Turkey about getting final aim.

After UN Palmer report Turkey Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu emphasizes that Turkey's ships at flotilla must not be attacked and stated that BM Palmer Report is not recognized by Turkey as legally. Besides Davutoğlu stated that the sanctions put into words from attack and

²⁹ "UN established 'Mavi Marmara' Board", *Milliyet*, 24.07.2010, <http://dunya.milliyet.com.tr/bm-mavi-marmara-heyetini-kurdu/dunya/dunyadetay/24.07.2010/1267679/default.htm> [20.11.2013]

³⁰ **Ibid.**

³¹ Neil Macfarquhar And Ethan Bronner, Report Finds Naval Blockade by Israel Legal but Faults Raid http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/02/world/middleeast/02flotilla.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=Report%20Finds%20Naval%20Blockade%20by%20Israel%20Legal%20but%20Faults%20Raid&st=cse

possible to apply Israel become clearness. Davutoğlu ranged these sanctions with five article and carried the Turkey-Israel relations to more stretched phase. Five point article sanctions can be ranged as follow:³²

Turkey Israel diplomatic relations will be put down second clerk level. All officers over this, initially ambassador, will go back to their countries latest on Wednesday.

2-All military agreements between Turkey and Israel are suspended.

3-As being the coastal state by having the longest coast at East Medirreanean Turkey, will take every type of provision that see necessary for navigation freedom.

4-Turkey doesn't recognize the blockade that Israel apply to Gaza. The examination of blockade that Israel apply to Gaza from May 31st, 2010 at International Court of Justice will be provided. In this direction we start to attempt to move UN General Assembly.

5-Needed support for claiming right attempts of all Turkish and foreign victims of Israel attack at court will be given.

Result

Gaza Freedom Flotilla by HRF and other non-governmental organizations was prepared as a aim organization to break blockade at Gaza and get humanitarian aim to Gaza people going by sea. This movement as a wholly civil attempt effects Turkey and Israel relations at getting crisis point form in terms of results. At the result of Israel's armed attack to flotilla going to Gaza, dead 9 person and injured tens of person pushed Turkey to crisis management. While doing that as meeting UN and USA frequently, also with contacting international foundations diplomatic relations, it waited support about this subject.

The reasons of Turkey owned a civil movement this much can be counted as being the citizens died on attack are Turkish and recently the Turkey-Israel relations strained with one minute and low armchair crisis. Turkish-Israel relations that starting to strain with crisis experienced at Davos, are carried higher levels with Mavi Marmara case. Also at this study Mavi Marmara case that is an important milestone at straining Turkey-Israel relations is

³² "Press Statement By H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister Of Foreign Affairs Of The Republic Of Turkey, Regarding Turkish-Israeli Relations, 2 September 2011", Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 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 [30.12.2013].

examined. But at these relations straining, the action of non-governmental organization at Mavi Marmara Case constitutes the main reason of case. As not being a similar one at Turkish Foreign Politics History, the civil level action of HRF as being a non-governmental organization with gaining a politic and legal form is carried to state actor level.

After Israel's attack with the attempt of Turkey, two different reports both General Assembly and Human Rights Council were issued. Council report of these reports finding Israel blockade unfair and open sea action lawless, report belongs to General Assembly board finding Israel blockade fair and assessed Israel's action as a defence. Turkey doesn't recognize General Assembly report and make a range of requests like compensation, decreasing diplomatic relations level, apology to Israel. It is seen that the non-governmental organisation's action as a civil actor was caused to breakdown of two country relations as multidimensional.

At 2013 Israel apology from Recep Tayyip Erdoğan via USA related with the subject and does meetings related to perform compensation requests. But this also is again not enough for relations to turn back former progress for this moment. On the other hand HRF that finds this apology and compensation insufficient, again presented a case to Israel at International Criminal Court as a civil society action. When we look at the Mavi Marmara case rising and after developments, it is seen that non-governmental organisation is effective at Turkish Foreign Politics.

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