

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This research clearly shows that the behavior of a state is affected by the norms of the state itself. The way of a state in making and implementing decisions for its foreign policy is derived from the norms of the state. The norms can be from domestic or international norms. It also cannot be denied that a state can be influenced by the combination of domestic and international norms. In affecting the state's behavior, the stronger norms will have stronger influence toward the state's behavior.

This research explains about the reasons of the restoration on full diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel after Mavi Marmara incident. the fluctuation of Turkey – Israel relations occurred since its relations were reached in 1948. In line with the agreement of Turkey – Israel relations in 1948, two other phenomenons occurred all at once in the Arabian world. Beside the Turkish recognition toward Israel, the first Arab – Israel war and the Israeli declaration on its independence took place in the same year. The Turkish decision was unique since it is categorized as on Islamic state, but it was not involved in the first Arab – Israel war. There must be a question from other Islamic states in asking Turkish solidarity toward Palestine. However, the time goes on and Turkey – Israel relations is still tight.

The relations between Turkey and Israel could not be avoided from the fluctuation phase. It used to be strong but it also used to be weak in the relations.

Since the first time both states agreed on having relations, this situation firstly broke up in 1980 caused by the incident of Israeli Knesset which hurt the Islamic world. Both states' representatives were their minister of foreign affair because they had not gained full diplomatic relations. Even though their status was not in the highest level of bilateral relations, it did not affect on their politics, economic, military and social relations.

The unstable relations between the Arabian world and Israel become the common reason of the fluctuation of Turkey – Israel relations. The accident of Mavi Marmara in 2010 became the evidence that Arab – Israel relations can significantly influence Turkey – Israel relations. Mavi Marmara is actually the name of humanitarian ship from one of the biggest Non-Governmental Organization, İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı (IHH) where its head office is in Turkey.

IHH and its ally tried to sail to Gaza strip in 2010 to give the humanitarian aids to Palestinians. There were six ships contained humanitarian assistance at that time. To give the assistance for Palestinians in Gaza strip, these ships had to break off the Israeli blockade. It has been long time for Israel to keep the Gaza strip from the transaction in Gaza. This standard is conducted by Israeli authority to prevent the military equipment for Hamas. The gate will be opened if the transaction is based on the procedure from Israeli authority such as humanitarian aids.

In the accident of Mavi Marmara, there was a miscommunication between the volunteers of Mavi Marmara and the Israeli commanders. On one side, the volunteers did not accept the screening regarding the standard of the transaction. On the other side, the Israeli authority obliged every transaction to pass the screening from the Israeli authority. The different perception toward the phenomenon made the conflict could not be avoided. The rejection from the volunteers of Mavi Marmara could not be tolerated by the Israeli troops. The commandos of Israel finally fought against the volunteers which was resulted on 10 people killed.

As the President of Turkey, Erdogan could not accept the action of the Israeli troops in the middle of 2010. Erdogan gave his strong response in this incident by cutting off Turkish diplomatic relations with Israel. This phenomenon was signed by withdrawing the Turkish ambassador from Tel Aviv, Israeli capital city. Beside the withdrawal of the Turkish ambassador, Erdogan also decided to cut off the relations in term of joint military exercise, bilateral trade, and social – cultural exchange. Israel had to get this hard consequence because of its military action. Actually, this phenomenon did not give positive impact to both states. Turkey and Israel could not be separated from the military and economic agendas. For Turkey, Israeli military is the most important partner for them. Israel could provide Turkey with its sophisticated military equipment. The big area of Turkey could also be utilized by the Israeli military to exercise. In the level of economy, bilateral trade and tourism objects could increase their economic growth.

Fortunately, U.S. came in the right time in which Turkey and Israel actually needed to restore soon. In 2013, Obama's visit to Israel brought a new hope for both states' restoration because the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu finally agreed to call Erdogan to apologize. By admitting Israel mistake, Netanyahu finished one of the three conditions which were given by Erdogan to restore their diplomatic relations. As what Erdogan stated that restoration could be reached by apologizing, giving compensation to the victims, and opening the blockade in Gaza.

U.S. became the broker in restoring the diplomatic relation between Turkey and Israel in 2016. Through U.S. mediation, Turkey and Israel agreed to restore their diplomatic relations on June 27th, 2016. This restoration made both states reopened their joint military exercise, bilateral trade, and other relations which could strengthen their relations. This restoration was not only achieved from the Israeli agreement to fulfill the Turkish conditions and U.S mediation. The situation of the domestic and international security of Turkey also had role in restoring their diplomatic relations.

The agreement of the restoration on full diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel did not mean that the problem well done. The other problem took place when there were some of International Non – Governmental Organizations (INGOs), especially IHH and Hamas rejected the agreement. Both INGOs have close relations with the Turkish authority. The tight relations between Turkish authority and the INGOs could be seen when Erdogan formally welcomed the volunteers to sail to Gaza strip. Furthermore, Erdogan welcomed

Israeli first enemy, the Hamas leader to stay in Turkey. This situation also made Erdogan dilemma whether Turkey had to restore the diplomatic relations with Israel or not. If Erdogan did not agree to restore its diplomatic relations with Israel, he also would face a new problem with Turkish military which is known as the closest Israeli military ally. Furthermore, the relations between Turkey and U.S. also make Erdogan confused in considering the restoration with Israel.

In this research, the writer uses constructivism as the applicative theory in explaining the reasons why Turkey agreed its restoration with Israel. Constructivism is a theory in which the state behavior is determined by the social construction. For constructivists, the behavior of a state is constructed the norms. The applicative theory of this research uses the domestic and international norms of Turkey which influences the restoration.

The domestic norm which cannot be separated from Turkish political field is the ideology of Turkey since the Atarturk era, secularism. The separation between religion in public area and politics becomes the root of the Republic of Turkey. The difference between Turkish secularism and the western countries secularism is on the founder. In Turkey, secularism was established by Mustafa Kemal Atarturk from the Turkish military in 1923, no wonder if the first guardian of Turkish secularism is derived from the Turkish military. Meanwhile, the secularism in western states was maintained by the elites of society.

Talking about military, it also will relate on the security of a state including Turkey. The relations between Turkey and Israel were also caused by

the security, strategy, and the military cooperation at first. The declining on Turkey – Israel relations in 2010 affected the relations on their military. Before the Flotilla incident took place, Turkey used to renew its military equipment from Israel. The Turkish military equipment used to be modernized by the Israeli military. Turkey realizes that Israel always has its sophisticated military equipment. Therefore, the Turkish military cannot be separated from the Israeli military. The declining relations after the Flotilla incident changed the Turkish – Israeli military cooperation rapidly. This situation made the military elites of Turkey force Erdogan to restore the Turkey – Israel diplomatic relations in order to prevent the Turkish domestic military stability.

The other norms which influenced the restoration process between Turkey and Israel in 2016 were the Turkish international norms. The military agreement between Turkey and U.S has been strengthening the Turkish security since 1957. This agreement assisted the Turkish military equipments supply. Besides Israel, the closest Turkish military ally is U.S. army. It has been running for long time for U.S military equipments to be sent to Turkey. This military equipments supply benefits the Turkish military in modernizing its military equipments. U.S. is like Israel which has the sophisticated gunfire, tanks, and airstrikes. This situation makes the Turkish military depend on the U.S. military assistance. Moreover, U.S. has significant role in maintaining Turkey from the international threats.

Those norms cannot be rejected by Erdogan. Even though Erdogan is the President of the Republic of Turkey, he does not have enough power to change the norms. When Erdogan tries to force to change the norm, he will face a new

problem even with the Turkish military. The Turkish military is well known as the loyal institution in Turkey which maintains Turkish secularism. The relations between Turkey, Israel, and U.S. are the gifts from Turkish former government. This situation cannot be avoided by Erdogan since it is the root of relations. The Turkish military maintains the secularism of Turkey which is also supported by the Israeli and U.S. military. It is difficult for Erdogan to change this condition. Therefore, Erdogan decided to restore Turkey – Israel diplomatic relations on June 27th, 2016 even though some INGOs did not agree.

The contribution of this research toward the international relations studies is that the research grows with some subjects of international relations given in classes. This research explains about the restoration on full diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel in 2016. Turkey and Israel are located in the Middle-east. Actually there are some terms which are used to call Middle-east such as the Frontier Asia, the Arabic World, the Near-east, and the Islamic World. Middle-east is the common term which is used to call this area. Discussing International relations issues cannot be separated from the discussion of Middle-east. This research can contribute in the subject of the international relations in Middle-east.

The case study of Turkey – Israel normalization can be contributed in classes discussing conflict resolution. This case can explain the reason why the conflicting parties must restore their relations ties. Through the real case study, the students can hopefully understand the materials easily. Beside its contributions for the class of International relations in Middle-east and conflict resolution, the

introduction of diplomacy classes can also use this research to explain about the real phenomenon of the diplomacy between the two conflicting parties.

The writer of this research has tried hard to analyze this research. The necessary data is used to strengthen the analysis of the phenomenon. The writer also tries to look for the factors in details why Turkey agrees to restore its diplomatic relations with Israel. Even if the Turkish domestic and international norms can prove the reasons of the agreement, the other question toward this phenomenon which is still needed to discuss is about how long the influence of norms can maintain this restoration since Erdogan habitually changes the Turkish domestic constitutions.