

TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS FROM 1964 to 1980:
THE PERIOD OF CRISIS

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ABSTRACT

TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS FROM 1964 to 1980: THE PERIOD OF CRISIS

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Turkey and the USA, allies under the umbrella of NATO since 1952, witnessed certain disagreements from 1964 to 1980, unlike the period from 1947 to 1964 which was the “golden age” or full convergence of Turkish-American relations. Amicable relations between the two states had a certain breakdown when the Johnson Letter received by the Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü in 1964. The historic letter led a period of crisis until 1980 when the military coup d’etat took place in Turkey. The period was the almost full divergence of Turkish-American relations mainly because of their different policies on the Cyprus issue. Turkey had a certain responsibility and right to protect Turkish Cypriots as one of the three guarantor powers (Turkey, Great Britain, Greece) while the USA aimed to protect the island’s territorial integrity against the Soviet threat. In this regard, Turkey’s Cyprus Peace Operation took place in 1974 despite the policies implemented by the USA to prevent possible intervention to Cyprus by Turkey. Immediately afterwards, the relations were damaged and formed on the basis of their critical disagreements and serious

problems. This thesis offers a chronological analysis of the relations between Turkey and the USA significantly altering as a result of the divergence on the background of major historical events took place during the period between 1964 and 1980. In this sense, the relations are explained in mainly three chapters (general perspectives of their foreign policy, the early American-Turkish relations by the Johnson Letter, and the period between 1964 to 1980).

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, Turkish-American Relations, the Cold War, Cyprus

ÖZ

1964'TEN 1980'E TÜRK-AMERİKAN İLİŞKİLERİ: BİR KRİZ DÖNEMİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler

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Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinde bir yakınlaşmanın görüldüğü ve iki ülke arasında altın çağı olarak adlandırılan 1947 ile 1964 arası dönemden farklı olarak; 1952 tarihinden itibaren NATO şemsiyesi altında müttefik olan Türkiye ve ABD, 1964 ile 1980 arası dönemde belirli anlaşmazlıklara tanıklık etmiştir. İki ülke arasındaki dostane ilişkiler, 1964 yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı İsmet İnönü tarafından alınan Johnson Mektubu ile keskin bir kırılma dönemine girmiştir. Söz konusu tarihi mektup, 1980 yılında gerçekleşen askeri darbeye kadar sürecek olan bir kriz dönemine neden olmuştur. Bu dönem, Kıbrıs konusu hakkındaki farklı politikaları sebebiyle, Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerindeki bir kırılma noktasını temsil etmiştir. Türkiye'nin üç garantör güçten birisi olarak Kıbrıslı Türkleri korumak amacıyla belirli sorumlulukları ve hakları mevcutken, ABD ise adanın toprak bütünlüğünü korumayı Sovyet tehdidine karşı amaç edinmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, Türkiye'nin adaya yapabileceği olası bir müdahaleyi önlemek amacıyla uygulanan ABD politikalarına rağmen, 1974 tarihinde Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı gerçekleşmiştir. Hemen sonrasında, ilişkiler zarar görmüş ve kritik anlaşmazlıklarla birlikte ciddi sorunların temelinde

şekillenmiştir. Bu tez, 1964 ile 1980 arası dönemde oluşan önemli tarihi olayların temelinde yaşanan kırılmanın sonucunda önemli bir değişimden geçen Türkiye ve ABD arasındaki ilişkilerin kronolojik olarak analizini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu bağlamda, ilişkiler üç ana bölüme (ülkelerin dış politikalarının genel perspektifleri, Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinin Johnson Mektubuna kadar olan erken dönemi, 1964 ve 1980 arası dönem) ayrılarak incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dış Politikası, Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri, Soğuk Savaş, Kıbrıs

To my dearest mother and father for making me to be who I am

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EEC : European Economic Community

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

USA.: United States of America

SU: Soviet Union

UN: United Nations

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

CENTO : Central Treaty Organization

OPEC : Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

EOKA : Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston

UNFICYP: United Nations Peacekeeping Force

MLF : Multi-lateral Force

OECD : Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

TMT : Turkish Resistance Organization

CTP : Cyprus is Turk Party

SALT : Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty

UNPKF : United Nations Peacekeeping Force

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

ASALA: Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

States have long been adopting and implementing their policies according to *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of time. In this international settlement, they have approached and conducted different kinds of foreign policy measures which have been shaped by crucial historical events. The bipolar formulation was integrated into the international system following the Second World War where the USA and the Soviet Union remained as the two leading actors of the settlement throughout the Cold War, almost five decades symbolizing a significant mark in the World history.

While the two super powers were competing with each other for global hegemony, Turkey was becoming a key station with its role in securing NATO's southern flank, a central barrier against Soviet's ideology exporting facility as well as a reliable host for American nuclear weapons that were then deployed in İncirlik military base. From this perspective, Turkey's eye-catching geopolitical position, functioning as a bridge between Asian and European continents grabbed the attention of NATO countries' which realized the alluring offers provided by Turkey. In this respect Turkey held the chance to join the NATO in 1952 and afterwards turned into a critical station for military and intelligence facilities of U.S. and its' Westerns allies during the Cold War era. Though Turkey was prioritizing the continuation of the US' military, diplomatic and financial aid as well as remaining under the security umbrellla of NATO, Ankara employed a balance of power policy", implying the 'policy of a nation or group of nations' in order to protect itself against 'another nation or group of nations' by combining its power with against the power of the other side"¹. According to the 'balance of power theory'², Turkey mostly acted in

¹ "The balance of power: Theory and practice", *The Adelphi Papers* (1995), 35.

harmony with the Western Block. On the otherside, the historical breaking points and the compilation of experiences had always reminded Ankara that international politics was shaped by “power” and so “state's own interest”. In other words, this period demonstrated that “prestige” and “power” were in the first place while determining the foreign policy.

As stated above, the southern flank and a staunch ally of NATO, Turkey was in an attracting location with its serious potential to prevent communism’s expansion during the Cold War period. In this regard, the USA provided economic and procured military aids with the aim of having close relations with Turkey in the region, like the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. In this fragile and critical time period, one of the most attention getter examples emphasizing and underlining Turkey’s importance for the USA was the Cuban Missile Crisis taking place in 1962. The crisis might be accepted as a ‘crucial confrontation’ between the USA and the Soviet Union because of the ballistic missiles deployed in Turkey by the USA; while, the Soviet Union decided to install its own ‘intermediate-range ballistic missiles’ in Cuba. Hence, it is worth to argue that Turkey was the important actor in this crisis because of its geographic position, very close to the Soviet Union. In other words, the missiles installed in Turkey, a NATO member, was accepted as the confrontation by the Soviet Union and damaged their relations further. In this regard, it was the symbol of a well-founded allignement between Turkey and the USA in case of any Soviet attacks on Turkey. Therefore, Turkey increased its own importance as a location factor. In the light of this importance and mutual significance of the two states, this thesis will make a deeper analyze of the relations between Turkey and the USA from 1964 to 1980. While reviewing the period, the major historical events (the Johnson Letter, Cyprus intervention, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, Korean War, Turkey's entrance to NATO) will be the main tools while examining the period through neo-realist and political constructivist perspective.

² For details, see Thazha V. Paul, James J. Wirtz, and Michel Fortmann. *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century* (Stanford University, 2004); Michael Sheean, *The Balance of Power: History & Theory* (Routledge, 2004) ; Stuart J. Kaufman, Richard Little, and William C. Wohlforth, eds. *The balance of power in world history* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

This thesis indicates that the relations between Turkey and the USA have significantly altered during the period from 1964 to 1980. During the Cold War, the main inspiration of Turkish-American relations was the Soviet threat. Other motivation factors were shaped according to Turkey's regional power and status. However, it is clear that states have a potential to change their foreign policy when it comes to their self-interest. Turkey's Cyprus intervention of 1974, Turkish ban on poppy, American arms embargo against Turkey are some major examples.

This thesis consists of six chapters which aim to define the parameters of Turkish-American relations. In the second chapter, main definitions related to theories, neo-realism and political constructivism, deserves to be emphasized. The two theories will be explained by touching upon their founders. Moreover, certain examples from Turkish foreign policy will be pointed out in order to form a frame for this thesis. In the third chapter, the summary of Turkish and American foreign policy will be explained from the establishment of Republic of Turkey to the Turkey's 1980 military coup d'état. In this part, the general perspective of this thesis is represented through the general outlook of leaders and foreign ministers. In the fourth chapter, historical turning points and a period leading to the breaking points are profoundly explained by forming an atmosphere between 1964 and 1980 in Turkish-American relations. In the fifth chapter, which is the main part of this thesis, the period of crisis in Turkish-American relations will be profoundly explained by dividing the period into six sub-headings. These headlines will represent the most important historical events in the relations, ranging from the Johnson Letter to military coup d'état in Turkey. This chapter is the part that proves the argument that each state is mainly concerned about its own interests and those powerful countries' self interests have a power to lead foreign aid and World politics. Events, which will be pointed out in this chapter, are the major examples for the the main argument of this thesis. In this chapter, Turkey will be mainly described as a regional power kept under the control by the USA in the event of communist threat during the Cold War. However, when these two states have a disagreement on the subject, they have a tendency to conduct a foreign policy in line with their own interests rather than reaching a consensus. The

last chapter will cover a general analysis and conclusion of the period which is mentioned with details in this thesis.

In that sense, there are some important questions, answer of which will be given through this thesis in the light of historical events by pointing out the historical cases and related documents, analyzing prominent thinkers' articles and foreign policy analysts' opinions, summarizing opinions and memoirs of the important people in foreign policy decision making process. The questions, which will be explained through this thesis, are: what kind of political tools is being used by the USA in order to preserve its status quo at an international relations platform, what is the most belligerent historical events for Turkey in its relations with the USA while conducting its own foreign policy during the Cold War, what is the impact of Turkish Cyprus Peace Operation on Turkish-American relations, what was the Turkey's main motivation to participate in NATO, why did the divergence happen in Turkish-American relations during the Cold War, what are the major factors that differentiate the Cold War period from the previous periods for Turkish-American relations?

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, two main theories will be explained through the significant concepts which this thesis pursues. Although there are many international theories, this thesis adopts two main approaches which are neorealism and neoliberalism. The first section will highlight the former one through "Waltz's groundbreaking work". In this section, two concepts, which are "bipolar world" and balance of power", will be stressed on international political disposition. How these two concepts in the theory of international politics are related to Turkish-American relations in the Cold War structure will be answered not only in this chapter but also throughout this thesis. In the second section, another important theory "neoliberalism" will be pointed out. While this theory's relation with Turkish Foreign Policy is being introduced, "multilateralism" which has been the main trigger in Turkish Foreign Policy after the Johnson Letter will be the main instrument. Hence, the two main approaches will be introduced in this chapter in order to comprehend Turkish-American relations from 1964 to 1980 in the light of major historical developments.

2.1. Neo-Realism:

“Each state pursues its own interest’s; however defined, in ways it judges best. Force is a means of achieving the external ends of states because there exists no consistent, reliable process of reconciling the conflicts of interest that inevitably arise among similar units in a condition of anarchy.”³

Kenneth Waltz

³ Kenneth Neal Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (Columbia University, 2001), 238.

“The fundamental change occasioned by perestroika, the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc, the reunification of Germany, and the end of the 'Cold War' has become a crucial test for the explanation of change provided by the established paradigm of international politics, neo-realism.”⁴ Associated with its founder Kenneth Waltz, neo-realism is a concept which has been derived from realist theory. According to Waltz, the realist theory may not be enough to explain the unexpected events or misapprehensions about the foreign policy manners of states. He also states that the theory should deal with the "structure, regularities and repetitions" while explaining the international order; in other words, the international politics can be identified only if these are described and pictured.⁵ While classic realism focuses on only human selfish nature and domestic factors; neo-realism emphasizes the role of structure in state behavior. In this sense, this theory asserts that the structure of the international politics is the main determinant while states define their policy. As it is stated by the founder of neo-realism, the theory should analyze not only one dimension, which is the point where realism has failed. While criticizing the realism, the theory has pointed out different fundamentals: the separation between the structure and the units of the international system is essential to understand the system and international politics; very essential to understand the system, "ordering principle" is an absence of overarching authority (anarchy) and distribution of power among states. Anarchy is what constraints state behaviors; in this competitive system where states have tried to survive and the self-help comes first, so the cooperation between states has not been impossible, but a remote possibility. In this theory, the structure of international politics has been the main instructor while analyzing states' foreign policy. In the Cold War period, when the detente approach has been on the stage, Waltz and his followers argued that bi-polar world structure provided the World without war. When making comparison between unipolar and bi-polar World, it may be stated that the states have been in a "balance of threat" situation which reduces uncertainty about alliance choices.⁶ In this thesis, it is the main theory which

⁴ Friedrich Kratochwil, “The embarrassment of changes: neo-realism as the science of Realpolitik without politics”, *Review of International Studies* 19, No. 1, (1993): 63-80.

⁵ Waltz, Kenneth N. “The origins of war in neorealist theory.” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, No. 4 (1988): 615.

helps explain Turkish-American relations from 1964 to 1980. From my point of view, the Cold War atmosphere, which creates the bi-polar world, can be explained through neo-realist theory because it is the theory that explains emerging disagreements stemming from the clash of interests among states. In this context, Turkey's Cyprus Peace Operation sets an example to understand how states change their policy in line with the international structure and their interests to survive in international politics.

In the Cold War structure, the states were not capable to change the structure because of powerful stability stemming from bi-polarity. As demonstrated by the foreign policies of many other states, Turkey was also in a situation where it should either be sided with the USA or the Soviet Union in the existing Cold War structure. In the international system, the decision-making process was heavily affected by this structure. According to this theory, the structure was thus the main reason which constrained the foreign policy adopted by states during the Cold War period; however, the main defining factor was the state's interest while making the policy.

2.1.1. Bipolar World:

The World structure was shaped by two leading states, the USA and the Soviet Union in the Cold War period. In this structure, the stability may be easily provided because of lack of uncertainty in the politics.

Whereas there is always a possibility of an “unbalanced system” of relations in a unipolar world structure, the “bipolar one” is usually appreciated by its maintaining of stability. Neo-realist thinkers argue that the unipolar system is not the favorable or suitable option for the World because all states are represented only one which is the most powerful in the anarchic nature. However, bi-polar structure has a chance to balance the power among states. As it is argued by Waltz, there are four main

⁶ William C. Wohlforth , "Realism and the End of the Cold War", *International Security* 19., No. 3 (1994): 91-129.

reasons of why the stability may be easily achieved in the bi-polar structure⁷. Firstly, there are only two states as cores in the international system. There is not periphery. In the Cold War period, any events were related to these two core states. Secondly, while the intensity of competition is increasing; the factors which take place in this competition are also extending. Thirdly, “constant presence of pressure” was experienced during the Cold War. "Bipolar balance" may provide stability in the World. Lastly, responsibilities and dangers are clear in the bi-polar system.

In this thesis, the era which has been analyzed is called “a bi-polar period”. The historical occurrences that will be referred and analyzed in this thesis in fact provide an example of this world structure. While explaining the system, it has been clear that Turkish decision making process was influenced by these two eminent states during the Cold War. However, the seemingly contradictions in the American foreign policy in this region could again only be explained by the state’s interests.

2.1.2. Balance of Power:

“International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power”

Hans J. Morgenthau

“Balance of power, in international relations, the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side. States can pursue a policy of balance of power in two ways: by increasing their own power, as when engaging in an armaments race or in the competitive acquisition of territory; or by adding to their own power that of other states, as when embarking upon a policy of alliances.”⁸

The Cold War brought along the ‘bi-polar’ structure. In this structure, as it is explained above, states have been seeking their position. According to neorealist or structural realist thinkers, the international system is where there is no higher or

⁷ Kenneth N. Waltz, “International Structure, National Force, and the Balance of World Power”, *Journal of International Affairs* 21, No. 2 (1967): 215-231.

⁸ “Balance of Power”, Britannica, retrieved from, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/balance-of-power>. (May 20, 2019)

superior authority. In this structure, there is a constant threat for states. In this environment full of threats and attacks, the key ratio is between two dominant powers. Just like Mearsheimer once argued, it is well worth noting that there is the balance of power when the gap between two prominent states breaks out in the international politics; hence, the key issue is the least significant difference between the leading powers.⁹ In other words, when there have been two powerful states in the system, they can balance each other and small states can protect themselves by forming an alliance with the one side against another. Hence, the Soviet Union and the USA were two leading states which had no marked difference in their power during the Cold War period. In this regard, states, such as Turkey, had an opportunity to provide their security through an alliance with either the former or the latter.

As it has been stated by neo-realist thinker Waltz, balancing behavior which is the baseline of the balance of power is that states have given an answer to the others through their actions in order to readjust the structure.¹⁰ Foreign policy strategy which was adopted by Turkey during the Cold War may set an example for this concept. Therefore, Turkey determined its own position in this structure by paying utmost attention to ‘the question of security’ during that period, which urged the country to use the balance of power to maintain its safety in the structure.

2.2. Neo-Liberalism:

Neo-Liberalism, which is the subheading of Liberalism, has emerged in the Cold War atmosphere. The theory has been formed as an answer to realist theory. It criticizes Realism’s main arguments on the impossibility of cooperation or alignment between states. While structural realists assert that states are not able to make cooperation because of the ‘self-help competitive system’, neo-liberals argue that

⁹ John J. Mearsheimer , “Structural Realism” in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (2nd Edition), ed. Tim Dunne, MiljaKurki and Steve Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 78-89.

¹⁰ Kenneth Neal Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (New York: Addison-Wesley, McGraw-Hill, 1979), 117-118

states are capable of cooperating with each other even when they are in a 'security dilemma'¹¹ position.

Robert Keohane¹², who is one of the leading names of neo-liberal theory, published the book entitled 'Power and Interdependence' in 1977. As it is asserted by this theory, states have gained independence as a result of the economic and political developments taking place in the 20th century; also, the stance of states to pursue their self-interests may result in cooperation.¹³ As mentioned by Keohane's followers, economic relations gained more importance than political interaction because it provides more profit for them. In this structure, states are dependent in an atmosphere where one is affected by another. Hence, as stated by neo-liberal thinkers, power is described as the capability which possesses the state what it wants to pursue. In other words, states have an ability to affect others' behavior in terms of three different ways: 'threats of coercion' (sticks), 'inducements or payments'

¹¹ "Security dilemma, in political science, a situation in which actions taken by a state to increase its own security cause reactions from other states, which in turn lead to a decrease rather than an increase in the original state's security. The logic of the security dilemma was first described by the British historian Herbert Butterfield in 1949. The term itself was coined by the American political scientist John Herz in 1950. Although the concept seems to fit particularly well the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, its advocates do not see it as tied to a specific historical era. Rather, in their view, it reflects the fundamentally tragic nature of international life: state actors strive for peace and stability but end up in military conflict." Retrieved from, "Security Dilemma", Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/security-dilemma> (May 10, 2019)

¹²He became widely known with the publication of *Power and Interdependence* (1977), a book he coauthored with the Harvard political scientist Joseph S. Nye. That work played a key role in establishing international political economy (IPE) as a subdiscipline of international relations. Keohane emphasized interdependence and cooperation in world politics. He was critical of the neorealist approach to international relations and its idea that relations between states are mostly characterized by distrust and competition. The neorealist model casts interstate relations as a zero-sum game, where one's gain necessarily means another's loss. Keohane argued that states are generally not apprehensive about each other's successes and look forward to benefiting from cooperation. Besides security issues, Keohane noted, states pursue mutually beneficial activities such as trade or environmental protection. Keohane was also innovative in considering not only state actors but also transnational actors—for instance, multinational corporations and international trade-union federations. He considered the focus on the state in international relations to be too narrow, particularly in the context of globalization." Retrieved from, "Robert O. Keohane", Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Robert-O-Keohane> (May 10, 2019).

¹³ Joseph S. Nye, "Power and Interdependence Revisited", *International Organization* 41, No. 4 (1987), 725–753.

(carrots), and ‘attraction’. Hence, a state may obtain the outcomes it desires in world politics because others want to follow it, admiring its values, emulating its example, and aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness"¹⁴.

‘Complex Interdependence’ which is introduced by two founders of neo-liberalism, Keohane and Nye, highlights that the international structure or regime has an ability to take place of ‘military capabilities’ and overcome security problems through ‘transnational actors’: these actors are able to bind states together and decrease the level of anarchy.¹⁵ In other words, international organizations are ‘focal points for cooperation’ and encourage the reputation of states through collaboration. World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) are just couple of examples. Therefore, neo-liberal thinkers assert that the anarchy which is the main reason of dispute for the realist thinkers between states may be overcome by international organizations. In other words, this theory accepts not only the importance of states but also of ‘non-state actors’. "Their significance in international relations is increasing parallel to the increasing level of interdependence in international setting."¹⁶ Thus, the more interactions have been taken place in bilateral relations the more importance has been given to international actors. There are two main arguments to explain how cooperation can be possible in this competitive atmosphere. Firstly, there is not universal definition of interest and sovereignty. States in the World can learn their definition through the communication with other states. Secondly, the interdependence between states can increase through cooperation. Thus, increasing cooperation may have a potential to solve common problems by international sanctions since these organizations are the "key arenas" to overcome problems.

¹⁴ Joseph S. Nye, “The Information Revolution and Power”, *Current History*, 19- 22.

¹⁵ Waheeda Rana, "Theory of Complex Interdependence: A Comparative Analysis of Realist and Neoliberal Thoughts", *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 6, No. 2 (2015), 290-297.

¹⁶ Muhittin Ataman, "The Impact of non-state actors on world politics: A challenge to nation-states", *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 2, No. 1 (2003), 42-66.

According to neo-liberalism, there is not a ‘sovereign authority’ in the international platform and this situation may create an opportunity to increase their profit and develop their interest together; thus, cooperation gains more importance for states.¹⁷ As the member of NATO and other international organizations, Turkey has been one of the states partially adopted this theory in some part of their foreign policy. It has remained its prestige and set cooperation through these organizations in according to its own interests.

2.2.1. Multilateralism:

“The world must learn to work together, or finally it will not work at all.”
Dwight Eisenhower

When a dispute occurs between states, bilateralism may not be enough to solve the disagreement. In this case, it takes more than two states to organize the relations in parallel with their common interests, which is called multilateralism. Multilateralism requires a strong commitment among the states in order to implement a joint decision.

As explained by Tago, a single state may not be enough to enforce sanctions or solve disputes without other actors; therefore, ‘diplomatic multilateralism’ is come into being as the main instrument of problem solving. He describes the efficiency of this policy: when a policy is confirmed by international community or the great majority of states, others may feel themselves in an obligation to adopt this policy.¹⁸ In this sense, ‘global problems need global solutions’ which have been confirmed by

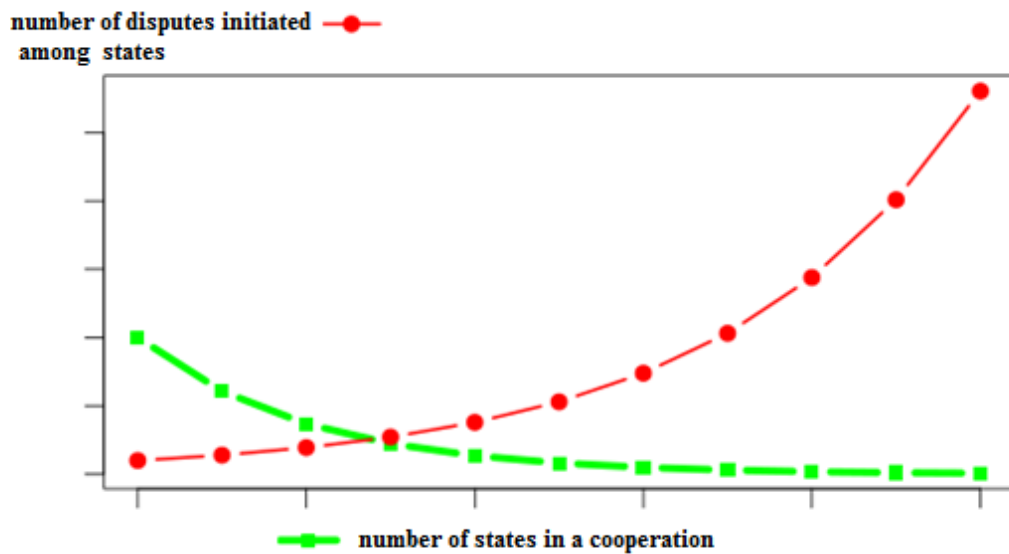
¹⁷ Robert Jervis, "Realism, neoliberalism, and cooperation: understanding the debate." *International Security* 24, No.1 (1999), 42-63.

¹⁸ Atsushi Tago, "Multilateralism, Bilateralism, and Unilateralism in Foreign Policy", *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (2017), 1-17. Retrieved from, <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-449?print=pdf> (May 11, 2019).

international society. UNSC may be given as an example for this international society.

Table 1¹⁹:

The relation between the number of states in a cooperation and disputes initiated among states



As it has been declared in the Figure 1, the more the number of states have been in a cooperation in the international community, the less disputes have taken place. In this sense, "collective security system" of NATO, Turkey is a member of which, is the best shape of this concept. According to "collective security system", when states declare a war against any member of NATO, other member states are responsible for this member's protection. In other word, "all is for one, one is for all".

Turkish foreign policy and Turkey's membership to international organizations are examples of 'Turkey's tendency to opt for multilateralism in solving issues through international organizations'; especially after the death of Ataturk when Turkey

¹⁹ Prepared by the author to indicate the relation between the number of states in a cooperation and disputes initiated among states.

became the founding members of the Council of Europe, UN as well as NATO.²⁰ Under these circumstances, the Johnson Letter reminds that one-sided foreign policy may not be enough for Turkey and it should cooperate with other states to maintain its security in the region. Thus, global disputes can be solved by ‘collective efforts’ which is the guide for Turkey's active diplomacy for today.²¹

²⁰ Umut Uzer, "The Revival of Ottomanism in Turkish Foreign Policy: The World Is Greater than Five", *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 16, No. 4 (2018), 29-36.

²¹ "Turkey's Enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy", Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/synopsis-of-the-turkish-foreign-policy.en.mfa> (July 30, 2018)

CHAPTER 3

GENERAL PERSPECTIVE OF TURKISH AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Each state has its own foreign policy which is different from what the other states adopt because current circumstances of each are various and each has different political priorities. While some states prefer to adopt an active policy to be dominant in the political environment, others may have a preference to follow an isolationist policy. Therefore, all have their own individual and unique policy manners in accordance with their profits or interests while following their policy.²² That is to say, the concept of ‘foreign policy’ is centered about the decisions making process which mainly focuses on state’s interest. According to Fatih Tayfur, this process and rationality are the tools which prove the unique foreign policy of each state because of its own ‘unique history and culture’.²³ In this sense, two states, Turkey and the USA, have different foreign policy behaviours because of their distinctive interests. The two states try to maximize their prestige and power in the international environment throughout history. In this chapter, a general framework of each states’ foreign policy behaviours are summarized in order to explain the different periods in Turkish-American relations and mainly provide a general background to the period of crisis (1964-1980) at which the fifth chapter will look closely.

²² Gideon Rose, “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy.” *World Politics* 51, No. 1 (1998), 144.

²³ Mehmet Fatih Tayfur, "Main approaches to the study of foreign policy : A review", *METU Studies in Development* 2, No. 1 (1994), 130.

3.1. A General Outlook on Turkish Foreign Policy between 1923 and 1980:

"Peace at home peace in the world."
Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

Turkey has been an attractive prey for the others for many years since it has an important role which is to connect two different continents. Turkey is a 'Balkan, Mediterranean, and Middle Eastern country', which means it is deeply vulnerable to alteration that occurs in its fragile political environment.²⁴ In this sense, Turkey should have a good diplomatic capabilities to protect its sovereignty in this fragile region; thus, it explains why Turks are described as 'born-diplomats' by many foreign scholars.²⁵

As of Atatürk's period, Turkey has been utmost importance to status quo and west-centered policy.²⁶ Staying out of the Second World War can be given as a proof of Turkey's demand to preserve its status quo; also, its expression of western values as a level of contemporary civilization is an evidence of adopting the west-centered policy. However, not only does Turkey take into consideration the fundamentals of developed states' concerns, but it is also interested in the Eastern world's culture.²⁷ To further understand Turkey's position in the international environment, it might be asserted that Turkey has a balanced policy which have a potential to comprehend both western and eastern values. In this sense, the policy "keep the doors open" should be acknowledged in order to explain Turkey's position. Mustafa Kemal

²⁴ Mustafa Aydın, "Turkish foreign policy: framework and analysis", *Center for Strategic Research* 24, (2004), Retrived from, <http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/mustafaaydin.pdf> (August 10, 2018)

²⁵ Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "An Analysis of Atatürk's Foreign Policy, 1919-1938", *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 20 (1980), 133.

²⁶ Yücel Bozdağlı, "Modernity, Identity, and Turkey's Foreign Policy" *Insight Turkey* 10, No: 1 (2008), 60.

²⁷ Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "Çok Yönlü Bir Dış Politik İzleyebilecek Birikim ve Maharet Dışişlerinde Var", *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, ed. Özdal, Habibe, Osman Bahadır Dinçer, and Mehmet Yegin, (USAK Press, 2011), 21.

Atatürk, founder of the Republic of Turkey, never cut ties with the other countries.²⁸ According to this perception, Turkey made cooperation and signed treaties with other countries to make its relations stronger since 1923. As an example, the problems which could not be solved via the Lausanne Treaty, in which Turkey's territories except Hatay and Mosul were defined, were solved through cooperation and mutual dialogue in that period of time.²⁹ Mosul and Hatay Provinces problem and disagreement on the straits were the vital issues for Turkey. 'Montreux Convention', which is a revision of some articles written in the Lausanne Treaty, was signed on 20 July 1936. As pointed out in the convention, Turkey gained a total control over two straits, Bosphorus and Dardanelles with regard to the Strait's regime.³⁰

Turkey adopted different policy manners according to different conditions. During the interwar years and the Second World War period, Turkey adopted the 'neutrality policy'³¹ despite her critical strategic location. In this period, Turkey preserved its neutral position despite the demands of both the Axis and Allied powers to take Turkey into the war. Except Turkey's neutrality in that period, another significant historical event was ever increasing popularity of the Nazi regime. As a result of this increasing popularity and changing structure of the international environment, the world was getting close to the Second World War. Under these circumstances, Turkey's geographic location once again attributed importance to its role in the international system as it was in the First World War. According to John Keegan, there was a strong tie between the two World Wars, and countries participating in the Second World War participated to reverse the conditions emerged after the First

²⁸ Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "An Analysis of Atatürk's Foreign Policy, 1919-1938", *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 20 (1980), 138.

²⁹ Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "Çok Yönlü Bir Dış Politika İzleyebilecek Birlik ve Maharet Dışişlerinde Var", *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, ed. by Özdal, Habibe, Osman Bahadır Dinçer, and Mehmet Yegin, (Ankara: USAK Press, 2011), 22.

³⁰ William Hale, *Türk Dış Politikası 1774-2000*, Tr. Petek Demir, (İstanbul: Mozaik Press, 2003), 57.

³¹ For details, see Selim Deringil, *Turkish Foreign Policy During the Second World War: An Active Neutrality* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1989).

World War.³² When the Second World War was over in 1945, the new world order has defined by two superpowers which were winners of the War: the USA and the Soviet Union.

In the Second World War environment, Turkey's foreign policy was revised regarding the possible winner of the war. As an example, 'the German-Turkish Non-Aggression Pact' which was signed between Turkey and Germany on 18 July 1941 may be given as an example for this revise. After signing the Pact, Turkey cut the ties with Germany on 2 August 1944 when Germany was defeated in Russia and North Africa.³³ However, the allied powers were insisting on Turkey's participation in the Second World War. While the negotiations on Turkey's participation was being held, Turkish President İsmet İnönü was invited to Cairo in 1943.³⁴ In 1945, Britain informed Turkey that the Axis powers decided to form the United Nations (UN) together with countries which declared a war against Germany and Japan. In 23 February 1945, Turkey declared a war in order to participate in the conference held in San Francisco and to be a founding member of the UN according to the decision taken in Yalta conference in 1945.³⁵

After the Second World War, the faith of Europe was formed in the Yalta and Potsdam conference. While, both conferences left a significant mark in history, two blocks was being came into existence in the international environment. In this context, states are urged to be sided with the one of two blocks in the line with their own interest. At that time, Turkey still preserved its importance for the others because of its unique location. This location was significantly instable and fragile at that time. Hence, in this chaotic environment, other countries tried to convince

³² John Keegan "Every Man a Soldier", in *The Second World War*, (New Zealand: Random House Press, 2011), 1.

³³ Mücahit Özçelik, "İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Türk Dış Politikası", *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitü* 29, No.2 (2010), 253.

³⁴ William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774-2000*. (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 71.

³⁵ Sina Akşin, "Turkey's Declaration of War on Germany at the end of the World War II", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 33 (2002), 288.

Turkey to stand by with them against to Soviet threat and Eastern bloc.³⁶ Southern and Eastern countries were, furthermore, surrounded by instability and different ideologies; therefore, a fear of loss of sovereignty in the region affected Turkish foreign policy's preferences.³⁷ As stated by Hüseyin Bağcı, Turkey, fear of which was security in its own region, tried to define the safe area through signing pacts, being a member of the international organizations, and making cooperation with other countries.³⁸

Moreover, the level of tension between the two superpowers increased after the Second World War. That is to say, states tried to define their policy through standing by either the USA or the Soviet Union. As an example, Turkey conducted a foreign policy focusing on the American preferences.³⁹ Within this time period, the Soviet Union declared 'a bitter war of nerves' on taking the control of straits and a military base planning to be established in Turkey, and Western countries tried to prevent the Soviet influence on Turkey.⁴⁰ In this period, from 1945 to 1990, a great number of countries had a tendency to express their political attitudes by choosing their side in the bipolar world order.⁴¹

Importance of the battleship of Missouri should be explained in order to respond a question when Turkey and the USA got closer. The battleship of Missouri, a ship carrying the body of Turkish Ambassador Münir Ertegün, arrived in İstanbul in June

³⁶ Graham Fuller, *Yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*, (İstanbul: Timaş Press, 2010), 75.

³⁷ Murat Yeşiltaş, "The transformation of the geopolitical vision in Turkish foreign policy", *Turkish Studies* 14, No: 4 (2013), 664.

³⁸ Hüseyin Bağcı, "Türkiye'ye Soğuk Savaş Sırasında Biçilen Elbise Artık Dar Gelmektedir", *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 4, ed. Habibe Özdal, Osman Bahadır Dinçer, and Mehmet Yegin, (USAK Press, 2011), 1.

³⁹ William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774-2000*. (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 83.

⁴⁰ Süleyman Seydi, "Making a Cold War in the Near East: Turkey and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945–1947", *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 17, No:1 (2006), 113.

⁴¹ Faruk Sönmezoğlu, "Türk Dış Politikasında Sapma Olduğu Söylenemez", *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, edited by Özdal, Habibe, Osman Bahadır Dinçer, and Mehmet Yegin, (USAK Press, 2011), 119.

1946, which might be considered that it was a symbol of the American support to Turkey.⁴² Moreover, the Soviet Union declared their demands on straits again on 8 August 1946, which posed a security threat for Turkey.⁴³ Above all, as a result of the Soviet demands, Turkey preferred to take sides with the USA and conducted a "containment policy"⁴⁴ until the end of the 1980s.

The relations between Turkey and the USA were, on the one hand, getting into a vicious circle through diplomatic maneuvers (Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, recognition of Israel by Turkey, allowing the USA to use İncirlik Military Base, sending Turkish troops to Korea, Eisenhower Doctrine) before and after Democrat Party (DP) period, which was considered pro-American.⁴⁵ DP defeated the Republican People's Party (CHP) in the elections of 1950 and President İnönü was replaced by Celal Bayar. This term's Western policy concept was mainly defined by Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Fatin Rüştü Zorlu. On the other hand, problems in Turkish domestic policy were getting deeper: increased foreign trade deficit and inflation, decreased market price of Turkish products in an international market⁴⁶, and scarced foreign exchange reserve; hence, the level of unrest inside Turkey increased. According to İsmail Cem, a former foreign minister, the party could not overcome this problematic period despite its transformation attempts.⁴⁷ It was certain that the attempts planned by the government could not be adopted by the society. Furthermore, it might be argued that the conditions provided by the ruling class were inadequate for the society to maintain economic welfare and public peace. Hence, the coup d'état was issued on

⁴² Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950'li Yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 3.

⁴³ Vefa Kurban, "Internal Power Struggles and the Establishment of I.V. Stalin's Rule", *Russian-Turkish Relations from the First World War to the Present*, (United Kingdom: Cambridge Press, 2017), 109.

⁴⁴ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950'li Yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 3

⁴⁵ William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774-2000*, (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 87.

⁴⁶ Erik J. Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2000), 333.

⁴⁷ İsmail Cem, *Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Cem Press, 1979), 490.

27 May 1960 by the reason of the increasing disagreement between the people and the ruling class. Therefore, the period was over when DP politicians, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan were sentenced to death penalty in Yassıada trials.

Ankara Agreement is an important historical event in the 1960s since the interaction between Turkey and EEC started with this agreement which was signed on 12 September 1963. It is a certain that Turkey, on the one hand, had never-ending willingness to be a part of western states' community since 1923, and it wanted to gain support from other countries because of its political and economic concerns; on the other hand, member countries were not sure whether Turkey would be considered as a European country or not.⁴⁸ According to this agreement, there were three phases, requirements of which shall be fulfilled by Turkey to be a full member of the EEC; also, the agreement which assured its full membership, entered into force two years after it was signed.⁴⁹ The EEC was an important partner for Turkey because of economic reasons (35 percent of its total export was shared with the EEC countries⁵⁰), and the Customs Union would trigger the economic development in Turkey. Hence, it is correct to argue that both sides have significant roles for Turkey's multilateral policy map because this mutual beneficial relations help Turkey's development

After the coup d'état and before the Ankara Agreement, "wave of democratization"⁵¹ gained momentum with 1961 constitution, which mentioned that the fundamentals of

⁴⁸ William Hale, *Türk Dış Politikası 1774-2000*, trans. Petek Demir, (İstanbul: Mozaik Press, 2003), 183.

⁴⁹ "History of Turkey- EU Relations", Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Directorate for EU Affairs, http://www.ab.gov.tr/111_en.html, (September 6, 2018)

⁵⁰ William Hale, *Türk Dış Politikası 1774-2000*, trans. Petek Demir, (İstanbul: Mozaik Press, 2003), 183.

⁵¹ Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, (United Kingdom: London University of Oklahoma, 1991), 15.

human rights cannot be questioned⁵²; however, a pressure which was put on the citizens through prohibitions and restrictions by military regime increased at the same time. The period, from 1960 to 1973, had its own political map and it was called "a period of disillusionment with the West and late detente with Eastern bloc and rapprochement efforts with the Third World"⁵³. It might be argued that, Cyprus was a significant matter in Turkish foreign policy agenda because of leading a crisis between Turkey and the USA. Moreover, it caused to change Turkey's one-sided policy after the Johnson Letter written on this issue. In the letter, it was declared that the USA would not support the Cyprus intervention through military equipment under current circumstances.⁵⁴ Turkey's reaction to the letter, and the reason of why it represents a turning point in Turkish-American relations are be clearly explained in the 5th chapter of this thesis. However, for this chapter, it is enough to say that the Johnson Letter written to İsmet İnönü opened a new period in both countries' history because of its distinctive results which are written down in the chapter entitled 'Turkish-American relations during the Cold War'.

In the 1960s, Süleyman Demirel was on the stage as an important politician. Süleyman Demirel's party, the Justice Party (AP), won the 1965 election after being an elected as the party's chairman in 1964. Demirel, as the "King of Dams", left a significant mark in history since he well managed to establish a coalition government. As a result of this political victory in the early years of his life, he assumed the title of "the youngest prime minister of Turkey"⁵⁵. He put great efforts to improve Turkey's economic situation, such as the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP). However, the process of bettering of working class' life conditions during

⁵² Muzaffer Sencer, "From the Constitution of 1961 to the Constitution of 1982", in *Yearbook of Human* 7, No: 8 (1986).

⁵³ Mustafa Aydın, "Determinants of Turkish foreign policy: Changing patterns and conjunctures during the cold war", *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, No:1 (2000), 105.

⁵⁴ Jacob M. Landau, "Johnson's 1964 letter to İnönü and Greek lobbying of the White House", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 14 (1979), 46.

⁵⁵ Nil Tuncer, "Süleyman Demirel", in *Türk Dış Politikasında Liderler*, ed. Ali Faik Demir, (İstanbul: Bağlam Press, 2007), 130.

Demirel's term was stopped by the Turkish military memorandum issued on 12 March 1971. After this memorandum, democracy was restored in 1973, but any party could not win an 'overall majority' in this election. At first, Bülent Ecevit led the coalition government between Republican People's Party (CHP) and National Salvation Party (MSP) until November 1974.⁵⁶ It was the first time that he served as prime minister of Turkey. The most important historical event during his term was the Cyprus peace operation. The operation left a significant mark in history in terms of showing Turkey's military power to protect Turkish Cypriots. Hence, he may be considered as another important politician in Turkish political history as a result of the Cyprus peace operation which is well explained with its main reasons and outcomes for Turkey in the international environment in the 5th chapter.

Süleyman Demirel once again formed a right-wing coalition well-known as 'Nationalist Front' after a short-period "non-party caretaker government".⁵⁷ During his political life, Demirel had an opportunity seven times to form the government. However, he had to resign six times due to political reasons, such as coup d'état and military memorandum. When the coup d'état was issued in 1980, he was banned from politics for seven years. Demirel's foreign policy understanding was parallel with Atatürk's foreign policy strategy: war is an action which shall be prevented, and the most important guide in foreign policy is the national interest of Turkey, independently of the leader.⁵⁸ To illustrate, Turkey established good relations with the Soviet Union in order to provide a source for its industrial development although the close relations with the state disturbed the USA.⁵⁹ The most important element for his foreign policy understanding was 'the national interest of Turkey'; therefore, Turkey's relations with other countries mainly focused on the country's own interest

⁵⁶ William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774-2000*, (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 105.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Tuncer, Nil, "Süleyman Demirel", in *Türk Dış Politikasında Liderler*, edited by Ali Faik Demir, (İstanbul: Bağlam Press, 2007), 149.

⁵⁹ Cüneyt Arcayürek, *Cüneyt Arcayürek Açıklıyor- 4 Yeni Demokrasi Yeni Arayışlar:1960-1965*, (Ankara: Bilgi Press, 1985), 328.

and it followed balanced policy. To further understand, Demirel stating the USA as "an inalienable allied", conducted a realist policy through pragmatic ties which were established with other countries in the international diplomatic environment.⁶⁰

After the military memorandum which dominated Turkish policy in 1971 and banned Turkish politicians from politics in Turkey, the Cyprus issue continued to be on the agenda. On the one hand, Cyprus issue remained its importance in Turkish foreign policy. On the other hand, cultivation of the opium poppies emerged as a new controversial issue in the relations between Turkey and the USA as a result of the growing pressure of the American government on Turkey in order to adopt limitation controls. However, Prime Minister Ecevit was dedicated to solve this problem and permit for the 'controlled poppy production'. In this sense, it might be argued that the primary concern of the American administration was Turkey during the years of crisis. On the whole, Turkey's economic situation of this period is said to be heavily affected by Turkish opium ban before the decision of Prime Minister Ecevit. After this ban, anti-American movements in Turkey and instability accelerated in Turkey. Inflation rates also increased, and economy in Turkey stagnated; moreover, violence committed by left-wing and right-wing groups intensified, as well. Thousands of people were killed and polarization reached a peak in the society; hence, the coup was issued on 12 March 1980.

3.2. A General Outlook on American Foreign Policy between 1923 and 1980:

"America has no permanent friends or enemies, only interests."⁶¹
Henry Kissinger⁶²

⁶⁰ Yeşim Arat, "Süleyman Demirel: National Will and Beyond", *Political Leaders and Democracy in Turkey*, ed. Metin Heper and Sabri Sayarı, (The United States of America: Lexington Books, 2002), 91.

⁶¹ Dinesh D'Souza, *What's so great about America* (Washington, DC: Rengary Publishing, 2002), 164

⁶²"In December 1968, Kissinger was appointed by President Nixon as assistant for national security affairs. He eventually came to serve as head of the National Security Council (1969–75) and as secretary of state (September 1973–January 20, 1977). He helped negotiate the SALT I arms agreement with the Soviet Union (signed 1972), and developed a rapprochement between the United

The USA was the only country with which Turkey's relations could not be normalized at the beginning of the 1920s because of diplomatic relations which were heavily interrupted by Armenians conducting lobbying activities. However, the General Treaty, known as “Turkish-American Lausanne Treaty”⁶³, was signed on 6 August 1923, 13 days after the Lausanne Peace Treaty⁶⁴, which normalized bilateral relations with Turkey. The main aim of this treaty was to reset the relations with the USA after 2 April 1917 when the USA joined the First World War. It is worthy to assert that anti-Turkish perception took place in the USA as a result of fighting in the different sides. In this sense, it might be argued that some people were against any possible agreement between Turkey and the USA; however, the USA attached importance to Turkey throughout history. As an example, two states decided to continue their relations by signing “modus vivendi”⁶⁵ although the General Treaty was not accepted in the Senate.⁶⁶ Above all, the American administration decided to appoint the first American Ambassador to Turkey, Joseph J. Grew. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that despite all disagreements two states might feel

States and the People’s Republic of China (1972), the first official U.S. contact with that nation since the Chinese Communists had come to power. Although he originally advocated a hard-line policy in Vietnam and helped engineer the U.S. bombing of Cambodia (1969–70), Kissinger later played a major role in Nixon’s Vietnamization policy—the disengagement of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and their replacement by South Vietnamese forces. On January 23, 1973, after months of negotiations with the North Vietnamese government in Paris, he initialed a cease-fire agreement that both provided for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and outlined the machinery for a permanent peace settlement between the two Vietnams. For this apparent resolution of the Vietnam conflict, Kissinger shared the 1973 Nobel Prize for Peace with the North Vietnamese negotiator, Le Duc Tho (who refused the honour). Kissinger’s later books include *American Foreign Policy* (1969), *The White House Years* (1979), *For the Record* (1981), *Years of Upheaval* (1982), *Diplomacy* (1994), *Years of Renewal* (1999), *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: Toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century* (2001), *Ending the Vietnam War: A History of America’s Involvement in and Extrication from the Vietnam War* (2003), *Crisis: The Anatomy of Two Major Foreign Policy Crises* (2003), *On China* (2011), and *World Order* (2014).” Retrieved from, “Henry Kissinger”, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Kissinger> (October 21, 2018)

⁶³ For details, see Fahir Armaoğlu, *Belgelerle Türk-Amerikan Münasebetleri* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 90-103.

⁶⁴ For details, see L. Seha Meray, *Lozan Barış Konferansı/Tutanaklar Belgeler* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 2001).

⁶⁵ For details, see Fahir Armaoğlu, *Belgelerle Türk-Amerikan Münasebetleri* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 11-112.

⁶⁶ Fahir Armaoğlu, “Türkiye’deki Amerikan Okulları Krizi”, *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* (March 1997), 3

themselves to reach an agreement because of Turkey's important role for the American involvement in the region, as it is tackled in this thesis.

Until the Kellogg Briand Pact signed on 27 August 1928, the USA pursued a policy which was shaped by the Monroe Doctrine. In the interwar period, the American main policy was isolation from the Europe since Europe was a problematic region and problems arose there were main reasons of World disorder.⁶⁷ However, the Kellogg–Briand Pact, called 'the Pact of Paris' and signed on 27 August 1928, was the sign of leaving the doctrine and getting back to the international arena. The Pact was an international agreement on which countries reached a decision to solve international problems through peaceful maneuvers. Moreover, 'disarmament issue' gained importance to provide a peaceful environment, such as disarmament treaties, Washington Arms Conference, the Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament, and Naval Disarmament Conference.⁶⁸ However, all these attempts could not prevent the Second World War and it erupted as a result of Hitler's invasion to Poland in 1939 and world economic crisis of 1929 which engulfed the World. Hence, all these changes forced the USA to get in contact with the world as a result of the acute historical developments mentioned above.

The more Kellogg Briand Pact lost its importance in the foreign policy agenda of states, the more invasions emerged in world history. The world became to be a place where countries had a high opinion of their own interest and preferred to be expansionist; for example, Japan invaded China, Italy attacked Ethiopia, and League of Nations that was an effort to transform international environment into a transparent and open to the cooperation to provide peace could not prevent

⁶⁷ Jon Thares Davidann, *Hawai'i at the Crossroads of the US and Japan Before the Pacific War*, (University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 79.

⁶⁸ Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. yy Siyasi Tarihi: 1914-1995*, (İstanbul: Timaş Press, 2016), 198.

interventions in 1930s.⁶⁹ In other words, that ‘big fish eat little fish’ was a popular concept in foreign policy circles.

Hitler’s Germany started the Second World War with the invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939; moreover, the Soviet Union participated in this war by going shares Poland with Germany.⁷⁰ At the beginning of the Second World War, the USA remained its neutrality. In 1935, American President Franklin Roosevelt said, “the policy of the Government is definitely committed to the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of any entanglements which would lead us into conflict.”⁷¹ Japanese extension in the Pacific Ocean was prevented by maritime warfare: Battle of the Coral Sea in 7-8 May 1942, and the Battle of Midway on 3-5 June 1942.⁷² As a result of these wars, the tension between the two of the USA and Japan escalated due to the conflicting interests of the countries in China. Consequently, Japanese Navy attacked the Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 that was a base of the USA in the Pacific Ocean in order to be dominant in the region. After this devastating attack, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt conferred with the Congress to get their approval to declare war on Japan; his declaration was approved by the American Congress approved his declaration, except one dissenting vote.⁷³ After this approval, three ally powers, Germany, Japan and Italy, took out a sword. Therefore, the USA finally participated in the Second World War. This participation might prove that the American administration would like to have a role in the international environment where the world order was being formed again through the war.

⁶⁹ Hüseyin Emiroğlu, "Uluslararası Siyasal Örgütlenme Modeli Oluşumunun Tarihsel Süreci ve Birleşmiş Milletler Örgütü (1941-1990)", *Güvenlik Stratejileri Magazine* 4, No: 4 (2006), 114.

⁷⁰ Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. yy Siyasi Tarihi: 1914-1995*, (İstanbul: Timaş Press, 2016), 324.

⁷¹ Percy L. Graves, *Pearl Harbor,: The Seeds and Fruits of Infamy*, (The USA: Mises Institute, 2010), 8.

⁷² Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih 1918–1994*, (Ankara: Imge Press, 2002), 182.

⁷³ “Pearl Harbor Attack”, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Pearl-Harbor-attack>, (December 19, 2018).

Under these circumstances, the participation of the USA in the Second World War on 2 April 1917 which resulted in negative consequences for Germany because the American Army made military operations that heavily determined the result of the war. This participation was also supported by Great Britain. In January 1942, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill visited the American President Roosevelt in America, and allied powers were determined to defeat Germany.⁷⁴ After the meeting held by Roosevelt and Churchill, 'a joint declaration' was issued and defined as the Atlantic Charter, which became the base of the UN. It was not a treaty, but peace targets of both countries were defined in this charter issued on 14 August 1941 and signed on 1 January 1942: "no territorial changes without the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned; the right of every people to choose their own form of government; and equal access to raw materials for all nations."⁷⁵ It is not an overstatement to say that allied powers were certainly decided to solve the international conflicts through cooperation for the sake of their security and interest, thanks to this charter.

American media asserted that Pearl Harbor revenge must be taken at first, Roosevelt thought that allied powers' priority must be given to the Nazi Regime, and the Japanese Army must be in the second place. Two of allied powers, Great Britain and the USA, wanted to construct a European continent without "a fascist regime of Germany" and encourage democracy development across the World. In other words, it was believed that peaceful co-existence could be succeeded through devastation of the Nazi regime. However, Japan, Italy, and Germany that were axis powers were focused on supporting their expansionist goals and demonstration of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the reasons of why countries participated in allied or axis powers depended on their political system and willingness to maintain which political system.

⁷⁴ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih 1918–1994*, (Ankara: Imge Press, 2002), 169.

⁷⁵ "1941: The Atlantic Charter", United Nations, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1941-atlantic-charter/>, (December 19, 2018)

While the Second World War was proceeding, in order to solve the disputes allies and axis powers held significant conferences such as Washington Conferences (1942-1943), the Casablanca Conference (1943), the Quebec Conference (1943), the Cairo Conference (1943), the Tehran Conference (1943), the Breton Woods Conference (1944), the Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944). The most important two are Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. The Yalta Conference was held in Crimea, on 4-11 February 1945. In this conference, the main concern was the structure of postwar order and Eastern Europe's destiny after defeating Germany. According to the agreement reached during the Conference, the free election of governments shall be responsible from the will of the society, and interim governments established in these lands shall meet the democratic conditions.⁷⁶ Moreover, decisions that were to demolish military industrialization, and control German expansion were taken by the participated leaders who were Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. Moreover, there were other decisions which were taken in the Yalta Conference: the establishment of the UN and arrangements for the straits. However, the countries could not completely agree on the straits' future because Stalin requested to give an amendment about the Montreux Convention, on which other countries did not agree. Lastly, they agreed on scheduling a meeting to establish the UN, and this conference was planned to be held in San Francisco. That is to say, this conference was the starting point of a perception that global problems should be solved through global solutions or cooperation between states.

In this conjuncture, the defeat of Germany was the end of the Second World War; also, capture the eastern part of Germany and Adolf Hitler's suicide led restoration period in Germany. Following these important events, another crucial development was allied powers reaching an agreement to hold the Potsdam Conference near to Berlin. The conference lasted from 17 July to 2 August 1945. The importance of the conference in history might be that it was a sign of the Cold War because of not

⁷⁶“Yalta Conference”, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Yalta-Conference>, (December 19, 2018).

reaching an agreement on territories under German control.⁷⁷ In other words, it represents a clue for a different international structure. While, the world was deling with the forthcoming Cold War. After this conference, the ‘atomic bombs’ which were dropped on Japan by the USA on 6 and 9 August 1945 might be considered as the most tragic event. Also, the Soviet Union declared a war against Japan on 8 August 1945 and invaded Manchuria on 9 August 1945. After these two atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan forces were surrendered by the American forces, which meant the end of Second World War.

After the Second World War was over, the crucial matter might be stated to maintain peace in the world. In this sense, the San Francisco Conference was the step to preserve the harmony between states. There were forty-six nations which had a right to participate in the San Francisco Conference. In this international organization, France, China, Britain, the USA and the Soviet Union were permanent members of UNSC. This permanent membership still preserves its significant role in the international environment because of having a veto right. Under these circumstances, the UN was indeed established as ‘a continuum with the League of Nations’. However, it might be in a situation where the states had to adopt different proposes because of different political structures that were the ground of the Cold War.⁷⁸ In other words, it has been a controversial topic whether it is fully functional or just serves the interest of the permanent states.

In the conjuncture mentioned above, two states emerged as superpowers which drew world politics in the 1940s. In other words, "bi-polar order"⁷⁹ emerged as a result of the Second World War. This new structure was resulted from the European states losing the war and technological developments of this period. Therefore, the USA and the Soviet Union emerged as two superpower states. The former one’s economic

⁷⁷ Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. yy Siyasi Tarihi: 1914-1995*, (İstanbul: Timaş Press, 2016), 394.

⁷⁸ *United Nations (UN)*, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Nations>, (December 19, 2018)

⁷⁹ Henry Kissinger, *World Order*, (United Kingdom: Penguin Press, 2015), 280.

response to the Second World War was ‘the mobilization of an idle economy’: 17 million new jobs opportunities were created, production of industrial materials was boosted by 96 percent, and corporate profits increased two times.⁸⁰ In other words, technological developments and scientific advance took a new shape after the Second World War, and this new route was defined by Vannevar Bush who worked in a Manhattan Project. Vannevar Bush who was the director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) and key advisor to Franklin Roosevelt, increased the American States' military expenditure from 26 million dollars to 600 million dollars.⁸¹ Therefore, the American Army and the American economy became stronger; also, the USA emerged as a pole of the ‘bipolar world order’.

In this bi-polar world system, after 1945, the Soviet Union began to expand in Eastern Europe, which threatened the American security. In the postwar period, relations between the two countries were still tense, and this tension was transformed into a clash on political ideologies: liberalism and communism. The American State represented liberalism, while the Soviet Union was a symbol of the other ideology. Within this scope, the USA began to develop ‘destructive atomic weapons’: super bomb, the nuclear bomb and the hydrogen bomb. However, the other superpower could not catch up on the American nuclear capacity until 1969.⁸² The Soviet Union started nuclear search program in the 1930s, but it conducted its nuclear weapon test in 1949 for the first time. Moreover, the Soviet Union tested its first hydrogen bomb in 1953, while the USA conducted the first successful test of hydrogen bomb two years earlier. The Soviet Union had 84 warheads in the 1950s, while the USA had weapons.⁸³ However, this difference decreased to 2000

⁸⁰ Doris Goodwin, *The Way We Won: America's Economic Breakthrough During World War II* (1992), <http://prospect.org/article/way-we-won-americas-economic-breakthrough-during-world-war-ii>, (December 19, 2018)

⁸¹ Elliot V. Converse III, *Rearming for the Cold War 1945--1960*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office Press, 2012), 10.

⁸² James W Peterson, *American foreign policy: alliance politics in a century of war 1914-2014*, (The USA: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 54.

⁸³ “Arms Race”, Britannica, , <https://www.britannica.com/topic/arms-race>, (August 28, 2017)

warheads in 1980 because of both countries' will to provide their own security. The reason of increasing warheads to provide security can be explained through 'security dilemma' theory: "a situation in which actions were taken by a state to increase its own security cause reactions from other states"⁸⁴. In other words, the countries tend to have more and more power to decrease the influence of other states that have more impact in an international arena.⁸⁵ Hence, there is not only one side that was guilty of the emergence of the Cold War, and it is inevitable in this hostile atmosphere in which not only was American policy about ideology, but also concerned with its national interest.⁸⁶

As explained before, Cold War period was a term when the tension between two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, continued without 'a physical fighting'. The main aim of the USA was to stop communist ideology's expansion during the Cold War. This term was an important and distinctive era in the American history because of the following reasons: tension with the Soviet Union, threat of possible war, increasing budget of defense, armament in Europe, the sense of a 'Sino-Soviet bloc', accepting war as a major danger, and anti-Communist promises all over the World.⁸⁷ In 1953, American Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who was the sibling of 'Allen Welsh Dulles'⁸⁸, paid a visit to Turkey upon the request of Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in order to emphasize Turkey's importance for the

⁸⁴ "Security Dilemma", Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/security-dilemma>, (August 28, 2017).

⁸⁵ John H. Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma", *World Politics* 2, No. 2 (1950), 157.

⁸⁶ Michael F. Hopkins, "Continuing debate and new approaches in Cold War history", *The Historical Journal* 50, No:4 (2007), 926.

⁸⁷ Robert Jervis, "The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24, No. 4 (December 1980), 564.

⁸⁸ He was one of the main actors in the American intelligence history and had a good reputation during his diplomatic life. He was the successful Wall Street lawyer before becoming a spy. For details, see Merve Seren, *Stratejik İstihbarat ve Ulusal Güvenlik* (Orion Kitabevi, Ankara, 2017), 330-337; Allen Dulles, *The Secret Surrender: The Classic Insider's Account of the Secret Plot to Surrender Northern Italy During WWII* (Globe Pequot, 2006); Lucas Delattre, *A Spy at the Heart of the Third Reich: The Extraordinary Story of Fritz Kolbe, America's Most Important Spy in World War II* (New York: Atlantic Press, 2007).

USA. This historic visit⁸⁹ left a significant mark in history in terms of indicating the strong alignment between two states and Turkey's importance in the Middle East region. Turkish newspapers⁹⁰ gave the headline to this visit, which was the pivotal event in Turkish-American relations. Another historic event during this period was the Korean War because of urging the USA to take new initiatives and shaped the Cold War.⁹¹ The war is also significant for Turkey's history because of its role in Turkey's NATO membership. Moreover, it was the 'first deviation of Turkey's main military doctrine', as well as the indicator of Menderes administration's active and dynamic foreign policy.⁹² After Turkey's membership and the Korean War, American President Eisenhower introduced his plan, 'new look', highlighting the balance between the American economic resources and the military requirements during the Cold War. Another American attempt to prevent the Soviet expansion was the Eisenhower Doctrine that declared on 5 January 1957. It was to promise 'military or economic aid' to not only Turkey but also Middle East region. The main aim was to resist communist threat. Under these circumstances, Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes believed to have a chance to gain a popularity in the region through improved economic situation in this region; hence, Turkish government was pleased with the doctrine.⁹³ When all given above was taken into consideration, it is possible to say that the USA tried to get its own side stronger; in this framework, the American foreign policy's main aim was the 'containment' of the Soviet Union.

After the European countries left their leading role in the international arena, the USA and the Soviet Union became the most dominant sides of the World. In this polarized World, the Cuban Missile Crisis was the turning point in American

⁸⁹ In his visit in 1953, Turkey's importance in the international settlement for the USA was emphasized. For details, see Halil Akman, Suat Zeyrek, "John Foster Dulles'in Ortadoğu Gezisi, Temaslar ve Tepkiler (11-28 Mayıs 1953)." *Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi* 2, No. 2, 259-288.

⁹⁰ For details, see *Milliyet*, 27 May 1953, 1; *Cumhuriyet*, 27 May 1953.

⁹¹ Michael J. Nojeim, "US Foreign Policy and the Korean War", *Asian Security* 2, No:2 (2006), 123.

⁹² Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk dış politikasında 1950'li yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 136.

⁹³ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk dış politikasında 1950'li yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 85.

relations with other countries.⁹⁴ American Kennedy announced 'a blockade of Cuba' as a response to the Soviet missiles installed on Cuba, "just 90 miles from US shores"⁹⁵. Kennedy requested these missiles' removal from Cuba, and the Soviet Union removed missiles on the condition that Cuba was not invaded by the American forces. The importance of this crisis was that it proved how close a nuclear war was. After the Cuban Missile Crisis, another important event was experienced by the World: 'assassination of John F. Kennedy'. The 35th American President Kennedy was assassinated on 22 October 1963 in Dallas. The President Kennedy was accompanied by his wife; however, she was with him through the streets of Dallas when he was assassinated.⁹⁶ After Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency term and Cyprus dispute, Vietnam War was escalated and increased the dispute between the Soviet Union and the USA; therefore, "Rolling Thunder" operation was launched by the American forces in February 1965. However, they failed and the American forces lost its prestige. Ending of the Vietnam War that was a long and an expensive conflict was the turn of the 37th American president Richard Nixon's fate: "his inability to do so triggered a pattern of destructive behavior that would end his presidency".⁹⁷ More than 57,000 Americans were killed and the pressure on President Nixon increased. Moreover, the President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger pursue a new policy: negotiations on disarmament issue. Hence, the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) was signed in 1972 as a result of the new policy of Kissinger. The biggest scandal came after these newly adopted policies: The New York Times published news that was a classified document about American history in Vietnam, and this sensation was leaked by Daniel Ellsberg who was a former Pentagon aide.⁹⁸ After the Watergate Scandal,

⁹⁴ Oral Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri: 1947-1964*, (Ankara: İmge Pres, 2016), 287.

⁹⁵ "Cuban Missile Crisis", A&E Television Networks, 2010, www.history.com/topics/cold-war/cuban-missile-crisis, (Januay 16, 2019).

⁹⁶ "John F. Kennedy assassinated", A&E Television Networks, 2010, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/john-f-kennedy-assassinated>, (January 16, 2019).

⁹⁷ Chris Whipple, "Nixon's S.O.B.", *American History Magazine* 52, No. 4 (October 2018), 52

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Nixon's resignation was announced on 9 August 1974, and he ended his term officially.

Member countries of the OPEC placed an embargo on the USA because of the American States' decision to support the Israeli military forces during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War.⁹⁹ Therefore, "1973 Oil Crisis" was marked as a crucial issue which decreased American economic power because of increasing oil prices and the crisis led major inflation in the USA. Following this crisis, American oil production began to decline. Hence, Kissinger spent 33 days in the Middle East to negotiate with Israel and Syria, and that convinced the Arab oil producers to lift the embargo in 1974.¹⁰⁰ After this announcement, Kissinger reached 'a disengagement agreement' on the front of Syria. Therefore, the 1973-74 stock market crash ended as a result of lifting the embargo.

According to the policy concept of Henry Kissinger who was the first secretary of the state to have born abroad, foreign policy shall be an ever-growing process that is ever-changing.¹⁰¹ His détente policy perception placed importance on relations with the Soviet Union and allowed it to make progress in terms of military power.¹⁰² In 1975, the World faced with another important situation: North Vietnam conquered South Vietnam, and Large-scale people immigrate to the USA as a refugee; hence, "a humanitarian flow" started after the end of the War.¹⁰³ In other words, Kissinger's

⁹⁹ "Oil Embargo: 1973–1974", Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/oil-embargo> (accessed on September 4, 2018).

¹⁰⁰"Kissinger Becomes Secretary of State", Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/kissinger> (accessed on September 5, 2018).

¹⁰¹ Harry M. Joiner, "American Foreign Policy", *The Kissinger Era*, (Alabama: The Strode Publishing, 1977), 11.

¹⁰²Henry Kissinger, "Soviet-American Relations: The Détente Years (1969-1972)", Henrykissinger.com, <http://www.henrykissinger.com/articles/fwddetente1007.html>, (September 5, 2018).

¹⁰³ Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova, "Vietnamese Immigrants in the United States", Migration Policy Institute, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/vietnamese-immigrants-united-states>, (September 5, 2018).

concept crumbled: the victory of Communist group in Vietnam destroyed ‘the Paris Peace Accords’ that restored peace in the country and détente with the USSR never fulfilled the hopes Kissinger had aroused.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Kissinger was declared as a liable person during the election held in 1976, and two candidates who were Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter, criticized his détente policy because of turning a blind eye to ‘Soviet abuses of human rights’ and ‘Moscow’s greater assertiveness’.¹⁰⁵ His foreign policy concept was the realistic one, and giving importance to the American interests; however, according to two candidates, his détente policy promised ‘the peace of grave’.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, he could not create the ‘architecture of peace’ that he promised to provide, and his power over the foreign policy decision-making process decreased.¹⁰⁷ However, there has not been anyone has been powerful in the process as he was from 1969 to 1974.

Jimmy Carter, who came to the power in 1977, focused on human rights and "Wilsonian Idealism" that may be described as an "idealistic concept" in the possible world peace by preferring diplomatic maneuvers. Moreover, he argued that foreign policy shall be focused on "democratic idealism", and idealism is more sensible than realism to be an influential state in the World.¹⁰⁸ However, the Soviet Union’s invasion to Afghanistan challenged this Idealism concept, and forced him to adopt the new policy. Hence, the tension between the USA and the Soviet Union was experienced again. Although two countries signed SALT II that was aimed at “curtailing the manufacture of strategic missiles capable of carrying nuclear

¹⁰⁴ “Henry A. Kissinger”, A&E Television Networks, 2010, <http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/henry-kissinger>, (September 5, 2018).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Schulzinger, "Foreign Policy and the 1996 Presidential Election", *US Foreign Policy Agenda* 1, No. 14 (October 1996) 6.

¹⁰⁷ “Henry A. Kissinger”, A&E Television Networks, 2010, <http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/henry-kissinger>, (September 6, 2018).

¹⁰⁸ Erwin Hargrove, *Jimmy Carter as President: Leadership and the Politics of the Public Good*, (London: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 112.

weapons"¹⁰⁹, it could not prevent the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. After this invasion, American state withdrew this treaty; however, both countries agreed on abide by this treaty's articles. In this invasion, the USA worked with the Saudi Arabian and Pakistani people to train them against the Soviet invasion or occupation. Therefore, after the invasion, the Cold War renewed. Hence, Carter declared Carter Doctrine which considered 'Persian Gulf Oil' as the 'vital interest' of the USA and military power is an essential in this conjuncture.¹¹⁰ It was a declaration of the American foreign policy's return to the traditional strategy against the Soviet Union on 23 January 1980.

To conclude, foreign policy is a tool to determine the countries' relations with the others and defined the country's targets. American Foreign Policy mainly depends on guaranteeing the country's security. The most important thing has been the America's national interest for years. In other words, its interest has been shaped its foreign policy. After the end of the Second World War, the USA emerged as a superpower, which affected the foreign policy line. Moreover, its foreign policy in the post-war period was the "containment of the Soviet Union and communism"¹¹¹. However, the most important determinants for its foreign policy have been the national interest and power maximization for many years after many critical periods.

¹⁰⁹ "Strategic Limitations Talk", Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Strategic-Arms-Limitation-Talks>, (September 8, 2018).

¹¹⁰ Michael Klare, "The Carter Doctrine Goes Global." *The Progressive* 68 (2004), 17.

¹¹¹ "War and International Law: America's Foreign Policy: A Brief History", Constitutional Rights Foundation, <http://www.crf-usa.org/war-in-iraq/foreign-policy.html>, (September 8, 2018).

CHAPTER 4

TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY UNTIL THE JOHNSON LETTER

The period from 1923 to 1964, may be considered a period when both Turkey and the USA had good relations with each other. In this term, Turkey declared its political stance, supporting the USA, through Chester Concession, İncirlik Air Base¹¹². Turkey had a fluctuated relation with the USA during the given period, from 1923 to 1964 due to the crucial turning points which are to explain in this chapter by giving historical backgrounds.

4. 1. Turkish- American Relations from 1923 to 1938:

The American representative at the Lausanne Conference Joseph Grew and his Turkish counterpart İsmet İnönü signed Amity and Commerce Treaty which was "the other Treaty of Lausanne in 1923."¹¹³ This treaty would be accepted as a starting point of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Hence, the USA recognized the independence of the newly established Turkish Republic. In this environment, J. C. Crew was appointed as an Ambassador to Turkey, and presented the letter of credence to the Turkish President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1927; while, Ahmet Muhtar Mollaoğlu was appointed as a Turkish Ambassador to the USA.¹¹⁴ This appointment might be argued as the significant step in the normalization of Turkish-American relations.

¹¹² For details, see Selin M. Bölme, *İncirlik Üssü: ABD'nin Üs Politikası ve Türkiye*, (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2012), 149-205.

¹¹³ J.M. V. Lippe, "The Other Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations", *History* 19, 804.

¹¹⁴ Oral Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1947-1964)* (Ankara, 1979) , 7.

Turkish-American relations during Atatürk's period conducted the two main principles: consolidate the Turkish state and to define Turkish national identity, the founding leader of Turkey Atatürk's main concern in the 1920s.¹¹⁵ According to the foreign policy conducted by the Turkish Government at the time, main points of the agenda were "the consolidation of Turkish national independence and sovereignty and after obtaining international recognition, the best foreign policy option during the period was to ensure Turkey's security by avoiding foreign entanglements and by achieving workable agreements."¹¹⁶ Therefore, provide the peaceful environment in the foreign policy and protecting Turkey's political status quo established by the Lausanne Treaty are destinations for Turkish Foreign Policy.¹¹⁷ Hence, according to these core points, Turkey signed Balkan Entente in 1934, Mediterranean Pact in 1936, and Sadabad Pact in 1937. Under these circumstances, Turkish-American relations were heavily affected by developments broke out in this period.

The straits form another crucial issue in the relations between Turkey and the USA. According to the Straits Convention signed on 24 July 1923, it did not satisfy Turkish demands; the guarantees, which "high contracting parties" gave to Turkey would be useless in the years to come and Turkey lost its geopolitical advantage.¹¹⁸ Since 1933, the USA demanded to change the Straits Convention because of the ever-changing conditions in the World politics. They vigorously demanded to sign a particular agreement with the Turkish Government; however, they eventually became a party to the Montreux Convention in 1936.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Şaban Çalış and Hüseyin Bağcı. "Atatürk's foreign policy understanding and application." *SÜ İİBF Sosyal ve Ekonomik Araştırmalar Dergisi* (2003), 198.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Doğan Koçak, ABD Ticaret Antlaşması, *Atatürk Dergisi* 7, No. 1 (1 Nisan 1939), 95-120.

¹¹⁸ Mensur Akgün, "Great powers and the straits: From Lausanne to Montreux." *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 24 (1994), 57-86.

¹¹⁹ Gürbüz Arslan, "Diplomatik İlişkilerin Kesilmesinden Stratejik Ortaklığa Giden Süreçte Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1917-1945)", *Vakanüvis Uluslararası Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3, No. 2, 1-50.

To conclude, Atatürk's foreign policy's main aspect was to participate in international cooperation; moreover, Atatürk's Turkey presented interest in the maintenance of the prestige or status which has been still accepted as the major concern for Turkish diplomacy since Atatürk's death.¹²⁰

4.2. Turkish-American Relations during the Second World War and Post War Period:

"I see a new world war that is certain, unavoidable and close."
Mustafa Kemal Atatürk¹²¹

Trade Treaty signed on 1 April 1939 was a turning point in the relations between Turkey and the USA after Atatürk's death. The aforementioned treaty was signed before the Second World War which was a benchmark in the World History because it created an opportunity for both Turkey and the USA in order to have a close economic relation and develop the diplomatic communication.

Another benchmark in the World History is the Second World War. Broke out in September 1939, the war has usually been explained simply as Hitler's war, and yet the wider conflict which broke out when Poland was invaded by Germany was not the war that Hitler wanted.¹²² During the period, Turkey preserved the neutral position, which made it more important in the eyes of Axis and Allied powers. It should be pointed out that İnönü conducted a "balancing game" which mainly focused on Turkey's interest and aimed to provide an equilibrium between competing states.¹²³ That is to say, the 1940s was one of the most critical periods for Turkey because of presenting a challenge in the application of Turkish political

¹²⁰ Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "An Analysis of Atatürk's Foreign Policy, 1919-1938", *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 20 (1980), 169

¹²¹ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *İkinci Adam*, Cilt.2, (Remzi kitapevi: İstanbul, 1979), 105

¹²² For details, see Richard Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, (Routledge Press: London, 2016), 4th Edition.

¹²³ Selim Deringil, *Denge Oyunu* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003), 271.

agenda; in other words, it was the year of unforeseen events and crisis.¹²⁴ Under these circumstances, Turkey had to be kept out of the war, and yet its sovereignty and territorial integrity safeguarded.¹²⁵

During the Second World War, Turkey was in a situation where it faced the challenging dilemma of being a lonely state located in a hot region; in other words, it found herself in "a diplomatic solitude".¹²⁶ The first request to bring Turkey into the war was launched by Churchill. Roosevelt and Churchill have the same idea that Turkey's participation in the war would provide a privilege for them because of Turkey's geopolitics. In the Tehran Conference (28 November 1943 to 1 December 1943), which was the 'first of the big three meetings' held after the War, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin discussed Turkey's role centered on the benefits of its participation in the war; moreover, manpower that would be devoted to getting Turkish cooperation.¹²⁷ As seen in the iconic photo which was taken during talks in the city of Adana, where İsmet İnönü and Winston Churchill met on a train, Churchill attempted to persuade Turkey to take place in the War. Under these conditions, Turkey was located between "two antagonist blocs" where it was eager to be a part of the Western Bloc and to overcome the problems related security with the Western help; however, expected help came from the US.¹²⁸ Therefore, Turkey's Foreign Minister Numan Menemencioğlu declared, "Turkey was prepared to enter the war in principle, but only if it received adequate protection against a German

¹²⁴ Selim Deringil, "The Preservation of Turkey's Neutrality during the Second World War: 1940." *Middle Eastern Studies* 18, No. 1 (1982), 30-52.

¹²⁵ Selim Deringil, "The Preservation of Turkey's Neutrality during the Second World War: 1940." *Middle Eastern Studies* 18, no. 1 (1982): 30.

¹²⁶ Levent Türer, "Rethinking Turkish-American Relations as a Component of the Turkish Foreign Policy Towards the USSR from the Cold War Until Today." *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları* 3 (2013), 278.

¹²⁷John M. Vander Lippe, "A Cautious Balance: The Question of Turkey in World War II." *The Historian* 64, No. 1 (2001), 63-80.

¹²⁸ Levent Türer, "Rethinking Turkish-American Relations as a Component of the Turkish Foreign Policy Towards the USSR from the Cold War Until Today." *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları* 3 (2013), 278.

attack".¹²⁹ This declaration was stated in order to have a right to participate in the Conference which had an important role in defining the post-war structure. As a result, it might be analyzed that the policy of İnönü was suspended in order to obtain a right to participate in San Francisco Conference held on 25 April 1945 and to be a founding member of the UN. That is to say, its participation in the war is also important in terms of having a role in the formation of post-war world order.

4.3. Truman Doctrine:

“I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes”¹³⁰

Harry S. Truman¹³¹

It was the first time that American President Truman stated a World divided by two ideologies¹³², which would be explained later as an iron curtain representing the Cold War period. Its launch was a benchmark in the history in terms of

¹²⁹ Bruce R. Kuniholm, "The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East." *Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey and Greece* (1980), 35.

¹³⁰ Truman Doctrine (President Harry S. Truman's Address Before a Joint Session of Congress, 12 March 1947), Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library (n.d.), http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

¹³¹ "Harry S. Truman, (born May 8, 1884, Lamar, Missouri, U.S.—died December 26, 1972, Kansas City, Missouri), 33rd president of the United States (1945–53), who led his country through the final stages of World War II and through the early years of the Cold War, vigorously opposing Soviet expansionism in Europe and sending U.S. forces to turn back a communist invasion of Korea.. Roosevelt died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945, leaving Truman and the public in shock. Truman told reporters the day after taking the oath of office that he felt as if “the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen” on him and asked them to pray for him. He was hardly, however, as scholars have noted, a political naïf.. Early in 1946 Truman brought British statesman Winston Churchill, who had just completed his first term (1940–45) as prime minister, to Missouri to sound the alarm with his “iron curtain” address. The following year Truman put the world on notice through his Truman Doctrine that the United States would oppose communist aggression everywhere; specifically, he called for economic aid to Greece and Turkey to help those countries resist communist takeover." Retrieved from, “ Harry S. Truman”, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Harry-S-Truman>

¹³² Çağrı Erhan, “ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler”, ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 528.

demonstrating the American financial contribution rather than a symbolic aid to the defense of Turkey.¹³³ Under these environment, according to Hüseyin Bağcı, Truman Doctrine lead a situation where Turkey turned its face to the Western countries and aimed to be a part of the western politics, military and economic organizations.¹³⁴ It is well worth noting that the American administration attached an important position to Turkey in their foreign policy in order to protect the region from the Soviet threat. In this sense, it might be argued that Turkey represented a key position for the two blocks of the Cold War because of its domination in the region which is why both the USA and the Soviet Union had always in an effort to make cooperation with Turkey in this period.

While the polarization between two blocks of the Cold War was in full flow, Foreign Minister Necmettin Sadak strengthened a demonstration and indicated willingness of the USA to be in the same side with Turkey throughout his sentence, "The Truman Doctrine was a great comfort to the Turkish people, for it made them feel that they were no longer isolated."¹³⁵ As the doctrine is explained in the former paragraph, the main aim of this doctrine was to provide an environment for the development of the Western European Countries, and Greece, as well as Turkey. In other words, the USA was trying to take these countries under its umbrella. According to Çağrı Erhan, Turkey which had a privileged geographical location between three continents with the control of Straits should be protected against any threat.¹³⁶ Otherwise, the region might be under the Soviet control. At the same time, Turkey had its own significant reasons to adopt this doctrine. The first reason was the situation where it faced with the economic recession; also, it was losing its influence in the region

¹³³ William Hale, "Turkey and the Cold War 1945-1963", *Turkish foreign policy, 1774-2000*. (Taylor & Francis US, 2002), 83.

¹³⁴ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950'li Yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 8.

¹³⁵ Necmeddin Sadak, "Turkey faces the Soviets", *Foreign Affairs* 27, No. 3 (1949), 461.

¹³⁶ Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 531.

because of decreasing economic power. Another reason was that Turkey could not keep abreast of the technological developments in the world during this period because of dealing with the economic development process in the country. Hence, Truman Doctrine got Turkey's hopes up in order to have a powerful position in the international environment and protect itself from the Soviet threat.

4.4. Marshall Plan:

After the Truman Doctrine, another important historical event was the Marshall Plan which had also important role in Turkey's policy in terms of providing an economic development opportunity through financial aid. According to the US perception, the Second World War led stagnation in the international economics and this stagnation caused an increasing populism of the Soviet Union.¹³⁷ Therefore, Turkey gradually found herself in a position where the U.S. for military as well as economic aid were offered because of the emerging struggles; the Marshall Aid which aimed to enlarge economy in Turkey, and "meet its defense costs".¹³⁸ Moreover, political developments which have broken out and narrower effect zone of the Soviet Union in the post-war period in Turkey accelerated as a result of the Marshall Plan. Under these circumstances, Turkey was in need of receiving help to "head towards Western democracies due to the Soviet influence"¹³⁹; following this period, the Democratic Party (DP) which was the first opposition party in Turkey's political history came to the power in 1950 after the 'multiparty system' launched in 1946.

¹³⁷ Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 538.

¹³⁸ Senem Üstün, "Turkey and the Marshall Plan: strive for aid." *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 27 (1997), 31-52.

¹³⁹ Nurgün Koça and Bedriye Koça, "Affects of Marshall Plan on Turkish Economy." *Sociology* 7, No. 2 (2017), 105.

Adnan Menderes served as a prime minister until 1960 when the first military coup d'état took place. His party came to the power as a result of the 1950 elections when Marshall Plan had an important role in both domestic and foreign policy. In other words, this was the beginning of a different period because his party had a different foreign policy than Republican People's Party (CHP). It was clear that Marshall Plan launched a significant convergence in Turkish-American relations because of creating an economic development opportunity. However, Turkey could not receive enough aid to make a significant development in its economy. As a result of this plan and American aids, Turkey experienced a different period in which the Turkish Government's foreign source dependency began to increase.¹⁴⁰ In this sense, it would be right to say that this dependency resulted in both positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, economic growth was increased as a result of the capital of foreign origin. Also, farmers were in a situation where they could produce more effectively as a result of the industrialization in the 'agri-food sector'.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, it led to the critical problems. As an example, increasing foreign-source dependency had an effect on the state's policy. That is to say, the state dependent on a foreign source had to conduct a policy without disturbing the state of foreign capital. Moreover, it is always a possibility that the foreign capital may dominate the market, and sustainable development model may not be succeeded by the state's own efforts. In this sense, it may represent a vicious circle created by the foreign capital.

4.5. Turkey's Entrance to NATO:

While the international environment was being formed by two dominant blocks, the Western block (the USA, Canada, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, Iceland, Portugal, France, Norway, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands) established NATO on 4 April 1949 by signing the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington. In this environment, Turkey's first application to the NATO was denied in 1950 because

¹⁴⁰ Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 542.

¹⁴¹ For details, see Cihat Göktepe, "Türkiye'de İç ve Dış Siyasi Gelişmeler: 1950-1965", *Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1946-2012*, ed. Tuba Ünlü Bilgiç and Cihat Göktepe, 71-72.

NATO was presumed as a Western European Organization; on the other hand, Turkey was assumed as a "cornerstone of a Middle East defense arrangement" by Great Britain since the end of the Second World War.¹⁴²

After NATO rejected Turkey's first membership application, the tie between the two of Turkey and the USA still continued to span. In this context, the Korean War which broke out in 1950 set an example for this assumption. During the War, Turkish soldiers fought side by side with the American soldiers. Hence, the War was a turning point in Turkey's political history. Turkey's decision to participate in the War led to another evaluation of Turkey's position in the international politics which caused "reconsideration of the meaning of westernization, democracy, and secularization".¹⁴³

Menderes Government believed that Turkey's participation in the War would lead positive results for Turkey in the international environment. According to Ayla movie, based on true story, Turkey was one of the states sending the most troops to the Korean War and having an important role thanks to its powerful military troops.¹⁴⁴ The war was one of the 'deadliest wars' in history. A week after declaring that Turkey sent the troops to the Korean War, Turkey made the second membership application to NATO in August 1950. Under these circumstances, American Ambassador George Mc Ghee was the key person because Turkey was located in a very crucial place in order to prevent Soviet extension.¹⁴⁵ As a result of Turkey's importance as a 'southern flank' of the organization and great efforts of the American Ambassador Mc Ghee, Turkey took its place in this international platform.

¹⁴² Feroz Ahmad, *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy, 1950-1975* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977), 391.

¹⁴³ John M. Vander Lippe. "Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkey's Participation in the Korean War." *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, no. 1 (2000): 92-102. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284053>.

¹⁴⁴ Ayla: The Daughter of War. By Can Ulkay (2017, Dijital Yapım Evi, 2017 DVD).

¹⁴⁵ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk dış politikasında 1950'li yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 33.

Despite many debates, Turkey still preserves its importance and position amid the member countries in the organization.

Above all, the document which is related to Turkey's membership to the organization was signed on 17 October 1951; however, the protocol related to the membership of Turkey and Greece was approved on 18 February 1952.¹⁴⁶ According to the USA, Turkey's membership to NATO would be an essential step in order to provide Europe's security and control on Turkish Straits. Since 1952 when Turkey joined the Organization, Turkey has represented the Organization's southern flank and it has maintained an 'enduring relationship'.

4.6. Cuban Missile Crisis:

In 1960s when the USA was informed about the existence of ballistic missiles in Cuba, the World faced another serious crisis. These 'intermediate-range ballistic missiles' were installed in Cuba by the Soviet Union, 90 miles away from the American shores. In this crisis, Turkey was again an important actor because of 'medium-range Jupiter missiles' deployed on its soil by the USA, which had an effect on Turkish-American relations. As a result of these Jupiter missiles, Turkey again found itself in the mid of a significant event broke out between the two leading states of the Cold War, the USA and the Soviet Union.

The Jupiter missiles' main duty was to protect Turkey against the Soviet threat. This protection was of vital importance because of Turkey's geographic position in the region. In other words, it might be argued that the country in a position to prevent the Soviet expansion to the Middle East region. However, according to Çağrı Erhan, the missiles deployed in Cuba was to attack while Jupiter missiles was installed with the

¹⁴⁶Turkey-NATO Together for Peace and Security Since 60 Years. (n.d.). <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-nato-together-for-peace-and-security-since60-years.en.mfa>, (January 5, 2019).

aim of defense.¹⁴⁷ While the tension between the two was increasing, two leaders who were John F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev wrote a letter to each other in order to overcome this crisis. As a result of this communication traffic, the possible first nuclear disaster was avoided by the time the Soviet Union's leader Khrushchev gave a request to mutually remove ballistic missiles. At the end, these two leaders secretly reached an agreement to remove ballistic missiles after this request.

Turkey's position in this crisis was the prominent; however, Turkey realized that its own security would be threatened when it comes to the USA's own interest. In this sense, Turkey was reminded that 'one-sided' policy would not be helpful provide its security in a fragile region and bi-polar international settlement. In this environment, where the Johnson Letter was not received yet, Turkey started to questioning its 'one-dimensional' policy. Moreover, it might be argued that the Cuban Missile Crisis was the first step to determine the new foreign policy route for Turkey because of the American manner which firstly focused on its own national interest rather than considering the alignment under NATO umbrella.

4.7. Review:

When all of the above mentioned was taken into consideration, it is possible to be said that the relations between Turkey and the USA strengthened and institutionalized through Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan and NATO membership. These three periods represented different significant and critical stages in the relations. Turkey's political system's transformation into a multiparty had a major

¹⁴⁷ For details, see Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001).

impact; also, stronger bonds launched a stronger military and economic role in the international arena.¹⁴⁸

Above all, Turkey's membership to NATO would be accepted as the last and the most important step in the relations between Turkey and the USA. That is to say, it would be explained as the last step of institutionalization of the relations. This step was "one of the main pillars of Turkish foreign policy" until the historical letter written by the American President Lyndon B. Johnson to the Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü in 1964.

¹⁴⁸ Şuhnaz Yılmaz, "Turkey's quest for NATO membership: the institutionalization of the Turkish–American alliance." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 12, No. 4 (2012), 481-495.

CHAPTER 5

A NEW ERA IN TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS STARTING WITH THE JOHNSON LETTER

“A new world will then be built and Turkey will take its place there!”
İsmet İnönü¹⁴⁹

As the previous chapters handled, Turkish-American relations followed a fluctuating course. On the one hand, the USA gave importance to Turkey in the region. On the other hand, they experienced critical times and serious crises when a disagreement broke out between the two. After the first golden age, the first serious crisis was the disagreement in the 1960s due to the Cyprus issue, which resulted in the Johnson Letter on 5 June 1964 and US embargo in 1975.¹⁵⁰ In other words, the Letter finished the ‘first golden age’ which was launched by the Truman Doctrine in 1947.

Cyprus had an important role in the agenda of Turkish Foreign Policy in the 1960s and 1970s because of representing Turkey’s manner in order to protect Cypriot Turks despite the American enforcements. Cyprus issue¹⁵¹ was a controversial and complex topic because of main problems on which related countries could not be of the same mind: disagreement on two nations’ status in the island’s administration, unfair attempt of asymmetric powers having voice in the region toward the issue, Greek Cypriot and Greece’s harsh stance, Greek Cypriots’ policy in the Eastern

¹⁴⁹ For details, see Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *İkinci Adam* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2001).

¹⁵⁰ Ramazan Gözen, “Turkish-American Relations in 2009”, *Perceptions* 15, No. 4 (2010), 50.

¹⁵¹ For a detailed research, see Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk dış politikasında 1950’li yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001) ; İsmail Cem, *Türkiye, Avrupa, Avrasya: Strateji, Yunanistan, Kıbrıs*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009); Şükrü Sina Gürel, *Kıbrıs Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1984).

Mediterranean.¹⁵² In these circumstances, Turkey was heavily in an attempt to solve the issue through negotiations in which there were red lines, like property issue and governance of the island. As a result of these attempts, Zurich and London Treaty was taken place in February 1959 with the participation of Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom, which are guarantor powers. The issue of being guarantor was the main reason of the Cyprus Peace Operation which is well explained in this chapter.

5.1. Johnson Letter:

“On 2 June 1964, the Turkish National Security Council (NSC) held a meeting and decided to intervene in Cyprus militarily. The intervention would be performed by the Turkish armed forces which were deployed in the İskenderun area on Turkey's southern Mediterranean coast...The decision of the Turkish NSC was reported to Washington by the American Ambassador Raymond Hare in the evening of 2 June 1964. President Johnson was determined to prevent any Turkish invasion of Cyprus, he cabled to Hare, ordering him in order to meet with İsmet İnönü, calling him out of a cabinet meeting, to express the administration's concern and to urge restraint.”¹⁵³

Johnson Letter¹⁵⁴ was a milestone to determine Turkey's foreign policy stance and a ‘turning point in Turkish-American relations’. Turkey's rapprochement to the USA was the policy that left its position to another strategy. The letter which was sent on 5 June 1964 was received with a great surprise. In the letter, President Johnson declared the stance of the USA in the Cyprus issue: Turkey should not act without "consulting with the United States' Government"¹⁵⁵. Moreover, the President added,

¹⁵² For the diplomatic debate and Turkey's stance on the Cyprus issue, see “Kıbrıs Meselesinin Tarihiçesi”, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/kibris-meselesinin-tarihcesi_-bm-muzakerelerinin-baslangici.tr.mfa (July 10, 2018).

¹⁵³ Nasuh Uslu, *The Cyprus question as an issue of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-American relations, 1959-2003* (Nova Publishers, 2003), 48.

¹⁵⁴ For the full text of the letter, see Johnson, Lyndon B., and İsmet İnönü. “President Johnson and Prime Minister İnönü: Correspondence between President Johnson and Prime Minister İnönü, June 1964, as Released by the White House, January 15, 1966.” *Middle East Journal* 20, No. 3 (1966), 386–393. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4324028, p. 386; Murat Metin Hakkı. *Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History, 1878-2006* (IB Tauris, 2007), 97-100.

¹⁵⁵ Jacob M Landau, Johnson's 1964 letter to İnönü and Greek lobbying of the White House, Hebrew University of Jerusalem The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations 28 (1979), 45-58.

“In all candors that the United States cannot agree to the use of any United States supplied military equipment for a Turkish intervention in Cyprus under present circumstances.”¹⁵⁶ Therefore, Turkey left its politics which was the "guarantee of a single state" in the Cold War period, which meant to have a close relations with the Western block while remaining distant to the Soviet Union during the golden age from 1947 to 1964.

According to Çağrı Erhan, the following items were pointed out in the letter sent by the American President Lyndon B. Johnson¹⁵⁷: Firstly, the USA was Turkey's strong ally for long years. Turkey should not decide without consulting with the America. Secondly, Turkey asserted to have a right to intervene to Cyprus based on the Treaty of Guarantee. However, this interference would lead to a partition of the island. Thirdly, intervention would cause serious conflict between Turkey and Greece and NATO could not approve this kind of policy. Forthly, any intervention to Cyprus from the Turkish side would lead the ‘direct involvement’ by the Soviet Union In this case, NATO allies would not have a chance to take a step to protect Turkey against the Soviet invasion. Lastly, any intervention from the Turkish side would intervene in the UN's mediation efforts.

Therefore, Turkey clearly realized that one side policy would threat its position in the international policy arena. It was also clear that the letter had a strong effect on Turkish-American relations; and also, the letter opened a new chapter, which was ‘multidimensional policy’, in Turkey's foreign policy agenda.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Çağrı Erhan, “ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler”, ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980. (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 686.

5.1.1. İnönü's Reply to Johnson Letter:

Despite Raymon A. Hare, the American Ambassador to Turkey, made a tremendous effort, it was clear in his telegrams¹⁵⁸ from the Embassy in Turkey to the Department of State that İnönü would reserve the country's freedom of action in the island¹⁵⁹.

When the letter written by Lyndon B. Johnson to İnönü was analyzed, it may be asserted that the American administration was away from understanding Turkey's stance on the Cyprus issue. However, Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü replied by explaining Turkey's reaction to President Johnson's letter after receiving the historical letter.¹⁶⁰ According to Süha Bölükbaşı, Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü did not support any operation to Cyprus, he was seeking diplomatic solutions.¹⁶¹ In this environment, Turkey's stance on the issue and its reaction to the Johnson's letter were pointed out in the telegram which was sent by Ambassador Raymon A. Hare to the Department of State,

Have just returned from presenting President's letter to Inonu who read carefully, said disagreed with certain points which he would explain later but that he agreed with final sentence to effect that Government of Turkey would delay any action on understanding there would be full and frank discussion with view reaching peaceful solution of Cyprus problem.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ For the full text of the telegram, see <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d53> and Department of State, Central Files, POL 23-8 CYP. Secret; Flash; Limdis; Noforn. Repeated to Athens, Nicosia, London, and Paris for USRO. Passed to the White House, JCS, OSD, CIA, and USUN.

¹⁵⁹ William Hale, "Turkey and the Cold War 1945-1963", *Turkish foreign policy, 1774-2000*. (US: Taylor & Francis Press, 2002), 98.

¹⁶⁰ For the full text of Turkish Reaction to President Johnson's Letter to Prime Minister İnönü, see https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000615268.pdf

¹⁶¹ Süha Bölükbaşı, *American Relations and Cyprus* (Virginia: University of Virginia, 1988), 75-76.

¹⁶² For the full text of the Telegram, see <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d55> and Department of State, Central Files, POL 23-8 CYP. Secret; Flash. Repeated to London, Paris for USRO, Athens, and Nicosia and to the White House, OSD, CIA, and JCS.

On 13 June 1964, İsmet İnönü wrote a reply¹⁶³ to Lyndon B. Johnson following the disagreement between Turkey and the USA on the Cyprus issue. In the letter which was sent by the American Ambassador Raymon A. Hare, İsmet İnönü pointed out what Turkey feared and criticized Johnson's letter's 'wording and content'; also, the right of Turkey given by the Treaty of Guarantee was well explained.¹⁶⁴ In the mentioned letter, the following items were pointed out by the Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü¹⁶⁵: Firstly, it did not reflect the truth that Turkey decided without consulting with the USA. Secondly, the intervention was necessary in order to protect "the Turkish community against the terrorists living in Cyprus". Thirdly, Turkey made a tremendous effort to settle the Cyprus dispute; however, Greece hesitated to solve the problem. Forthly, according to the 4th Article of the Treaty of Guarantee, Turkey had a right to "take concerted actions"; moreover, it was unpleasant to hear that Turkey's intervention would lead a "partition of the island". Turkey would be certainly loyal to international law. Fifthly, fear Turkey's safety and doubt on its protection by NATO against the USSR pointed out that there was a difference of views. Lastly, Turkey always respected the UN and its principles. However, the UN activities in the region could not protect persecuted Turks in the region. Therefore, Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü reached an agreement and 'called off the operation' after the Johnson's letter. The letter was not the reason for a dispute between Turkey and the USA It was the result of the conflict on the Cyprus issue. Turkish Prime Minister İnönü's response was the case in order to protect Turkish people living on the island. Assertions by the USA were rejected and Turkey's disappointment was pointed out in the letter.

¹⁶³ For the full text of the letter, see Lyndon B. Johnson, and İsmet İnönü. "President Johnson and Prime Minister Inonu: Correspondence between President Johnson and Prime Minister Inonu, June 1964, as Released by the White House, January 15, 1966." *Middle East Journal*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1966, pp. 386–393. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4324028.

¹⁶⁴ Murat Metin Hakkı, *Cyprus issue: A documentary history, 1878-2006* (IB Tauris, 2007), 97.

¹⁶⁵ Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 687-689.

5.1.2. Anti-American policies in Turkey after Johnson Letter:

As mentioned above, the Johnson Letter left a significant mark in the relations between the two of Turkey and the USA in terms of changing the dynamics which had been established since the declaration of the Republic of Turkey. The letter written by Lyndon B. Johnson was the reaction to the possible operation by Turkey to Cyprus. Turkey stated the possibility of three operations on 'three previous occasions' in Cyprus. In response to Turkey's stance on the Cyprus issue, atrocities against Cypriot Turks increased.

Despite all efforts, the peaceful resolution on the Cyprus issue could not be reached and Turkey sank into despair. In this conjuncture, the Johnson letter was the evidence of the situation that Turkey was to solve the issue with its own means and exerted great efforts to overcome the problem. The most important point in the letter was that the USA would not take sides with Turkey in the possible military intervention. After learning the American perception, Turkey's newspapers and television programs mainly targeted the country. As a result of this disappointment in Turkey, the 'anti-American policy' and debates on Turkey's NATO membership were getting more popular in Turkey.

In this international environment, the letter destroyed the general concept of Turkish policy. After the Johnson letter, Turkey inevitably experienced a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Under these circumstances, majority of the people supported the 'improvement of Turkish-Soviet relations'.¹⁶⁶ According to Tamer Balcı from the University of Texas,

“In the mid-1960s, socialist ideas spread among university students, professors, and labor union members. Using the Johnson letter as a base of

¹⁶⁶ Süha Bölükbaşı, “The Superpowers and the third world”: *Turkish-American relations and Cyprus* (University Press of America, 1988), 153.

criticism, the Turkish media, which was overwhelmingly controlled by socialists, demanded Turkey's withdrawal from NATO. The demands in the media turned into an anti-American student movement in the universities. The socialists organized into the Turkish Labor Party (TİP)."¹⁶⁷

The letter launched a new period in which Turkey conducted a 'multilateral policy'. On the one hand, Turkey tried to protect Cypriot Turks. In this issue, Turkish left was nationalistic in their behaviors toward Cyprus issue. In other words, it may be argued that "Turkey could not pursue an independent foreign policy let alone secure the independence of Cyprus"¹⁶⁸. While the leftist group was in this stance; Turkish government started give a role to the Soviet Union in its foreign policy map because of the American perception on the Cyprus issue. It is correct to argue that the American stance urged Turkey to find a new way to solve the issue. In this context, Feridun Cemal Erkin, Turkish Foreign Minister, visited Moscow in 1964 in order to develop Turkish-Soviet relations. Lebanon Crisis may be given as an example for the proof of rapprochement between Turkey and the Soviet Union: when the crisis broke out in 1958, Turkey did not permit the American troops to land in the American military bases in Turkey for non-NATO purposes. The second illustration may be the session held by the UN General Assembly. In this session, the American policy on the Vietnam War was criticized by Turkey. Hence, Turkey's position in the international environment was heavily affected by two blocks' stance on the Cyprus issue. In other words, the Cyprus issue can be considered as one of the most effective historical events in Turkish-American relations in terms of changing the convergence between Turkey and the USA.

While Turkey was seeking the best place, either the Western or the Eastern blocks, the elections of 1965 and 1969 were held in the country. In both elections, the Justice

¹⁶⁷ Tamer Balcı, "The Cyprus Crisis and the Southern Flank of NATO." *International Review of Turkish Studies* (2012), 30-55.

¹⁶⁸ Can Yücel (1967) —NATO'ya Nota [Note to NATO]], *Ant*, issue: 49, 05 December, 6. Retrieved from, <http://www.tustav.org/sureliyayinlar-arsivi/ant-dergisi/>. Quoted in Can Berk, A Critical Analysis of Turkish Left's Interpretation of the World Order and Turkish Foreign Policy, (Unpublished thesis, METU, 2018), 132.

Party (AP) which was led by Süleyman Demirel came to the power. The 1960s was a period when "leftist students viewed the Justice Party (AP) as supporting the 'monopolist bourgeoisie' which collaborated with 'U.S. imperialism' and subordinated the Turkish economy"¹⁶⁹. As the tension continued to increase within the society, the polarization became a phenomenon. The extent of this extremism was demonstrated by "the burning the car of the US Ambassador Robert Komer", known as "Blowtorch Bob", at METU in Ankara by the METU students.

To understand the historical event, it might be better to explain how to take place. Robert Komer, the newly appointed US Ambassador to Turkey, paid a visit to the rector of the Middle East Technical University which was the 'autonomous zone for the left'. When the students realized that the American Ambassador was at the university and had an appointment with Kemal Kurdaş who was the rector, more than 300 students gathered in front of the rector's office and shouted to protest the American Ambassador. The car was shaken by the students who decided to attack. At the end, the car of the Ambassador was set on fire¹⁷⁰.

As a result of the increasing anti-American stance in Turkey, Turkey adopted a different policy despite being a 'southern flank of NATO' and a staunch ally of the USA. After these developments mentioned above, Turkey conducted 'multi-dimensional policy'. In this sense, Turkey attached importance to the 'Cyprus issue' in its foreign policy and the USA could not share Turkey's concern about Cyprus and Cypriot Turks.

¹⁶⁹ Tamer Balçı, "The Cyprus Crisis and the Southern Flank of NATO (1960." *International Review of Turkish Studies* (2012), 30-55.

¹⁷⁰ Amy Austin Holmes. *Social unrest and American military bases in Turkey and Germany since 1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 81.

5.2. Towards Cyprus Peace Operation:

Historical background of the Cyprus issue, one of the main concerns of Turkey, dates back to 1878 when the Ottoman Empire lost its sovereignty and the Britain took control of the island. Throughout history, Cyprus has never been a Greek island¹⁷¹ and Turkish Cypriots lived in a peaceful environment until Greece gained independence from the Ottoman Empire. After the period when Greeks became independent, 'ENOSIS' which means the union of Greece and Cyprus was heavily propagandized. According to this movement, the main aim was the annexation of Cyprus and Hellenize the population living on the island. However, the biggest tension took place in 1955 when the terrorist organization EOKA murdered the Turkish Cypriots and British people living on the island. As a result of this terrorist organization's emergence and its attacks, the dispute stretched beyond Cyprus.

Zurich and London Agreement was signed in February 1959 by Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom, which are entitled to be 'guarantor powers'; also, on 16 August 1960, Cyprus was declared as a 'sui generis' settlement which was a 'bicomunal partnership state' and 'functional federative system'¹⁷². However, 'Bloody Christmas' events froze the process in December 1963 after the island was declared as an independent state with the approval of two communities in the region. In this period, Greek Cypriots adopted a campaign against the Turkish Cypriots and began to attack Turkish inhabited villages. In this framework, hence, Turkish troops was preparing to land on the island to protect Turkish Cypriots because Turkish Cypriots were treated as refugees in their own land.

The most important reason behind the intervention of Turkey was that Archbishop Makarios¹⁷³ violated the rights of Turkish Cypriots and articles of 1960 Treaties.

¹⁷¹ "Kıbrıs Meselesinin Tarihçesi", MFA, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/kibris-meselesinin-tarihcesi_-bm-muzakerelerinin-baslangici.tr.mfa (May 7, 2019).

¹⁷² Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950'li Yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 127.

¹⁷³ For detailed information, see <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Makarios-III>

According to the 4th article of the Treaty of Guarantee, when the Greek military overtook the "Government of the Republic of Cyprus"¹⁷⁴, three guarantor powers had a right to intervene Cyprus and the intervention was a turning point in the issue because of leading a difference of the island's status in an international arena: the UN has agreed on extension of a buffer zone (green line) which was established in 1964 and the island was accepted as a land under occupation the zone has been protected by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force¹⁷⁵ in Cyprus (UNFICYP) since 1964.¹⁷⁶ In other words, after Turkey's operation decided by Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit in 1974, the island of Cyprus has been divided into 'two de facto areas'. These two areas are the area under the effective control of the Greek Cypriots, comprising about 59% of the island's area, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus area in the north, covering about 36% of the island's area.¹⁷⁷

In this operation process, Turkish Prime Minister Mustafa Bülent Ecevit was on the stage due to his active policy on Cyprus. When being elected the chair of Republican People's Party (CHP) in 1972, Turkey was in an economic stagnation period. However, he remained the party's position, 'left of the center' in this difficult period. According to Ecevit, Turkey is located in a unique place and has a multidimensional

¹⁷⁴ "Relations with the United Nations", Deputy Prime Ministry and Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, <http://mfa.gov.ct.tr/foreign-policy/international-organisations/bm-ile-iliskiler/> (May 7, 2019).

¹⁷⁵ "United Nations Peacekeeping Forces, international armed forces first used in 1948 to observe cease-fires in Kashmir and Palestine. Although not specifically mentioned in the United Nations (UN) Charter, the use of international forces as a buffer between warring parties pending troop withdrawals and negotiations—a practice that became known as peacekeeping—was formalized in 1956 during the Suez Crisis between Egypt, Israel, France, and the United Kingdom. Although peacekeeping missions have taken many forms, they have in common the fact that they are designed to be peaceful, that they involve troops from several countries, and that the troops serve under the authority of the UN Security Council. The UN Peacekeeping Forces were awarded the 1988 Nobel Prize for Peace." Retrieved from, "United National Peacekeeping Forces", Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Nations-Peacekeeping-Forces>

¹⁷⁶ "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations: Operation in Cyprus", United Nations, <http://www.un.org/Docs/s1996411.htm> (May 7, 2019).

¹⁷⁷ "General Information on Northern Cyprus", SOS Children's Village USA, <https://www.sos-usa.org/where-we-are/europe/northern-cyprus> (May 7, 2019).

geopolitics.¹⁷⁸ In this sense, the country had main responsibilities determined by the international agreements. Protection of Turkish Cypriots was one of the main responsibilities. In this international spectrum, anarchy, massacres, and chaos on the Island was getting more intense. There was a possibility that this chaotic environment would demolish the independent state of Cyprus and new massacres against Turkish Cypriots would be repeated. In the 1970s, Turkish Cypriots were urged to move another place and leave their house as a result of the attacks targeted them. Under these circumstances, Ecevit had to be in a different stance than before to protect Turkish Cypriots. According to Turkey's guarantor status defined by Zurich and London Treaty, it had a right to intervene to Cyprus if necessary. Hence, this issue gained a position, "supra-political party".¹⁷⁹ As stated by Melek Fırat, Ecevit was able to take a decision to launch the Cyprus Peace Operation because Turkey's political spectrum was the convenient.¹⁸⁰ At the end, he gained a unique position in Turkish history thanks to his active and dynamic policy on the Cyprus issue.

5.2.1. Disputes between Turkey and the United States of America:

According to the document recently opened by the CIA¹⁸¹, Turkey stated that the USA did not share the same concern on Turkey's position in Cyprus and ensuring the security of the Turks living on the island. Hence, after the letter where the USA pointed out its own perception without taking into consideration Turkey's stance, the dispute between Turkey and the USA became apparent.

The widespread effect of the dispute becoming apparent in these two countries'

¹⁷⁸ Bülent Ecevit, "Bölge Merkezli Dış Politika", *Yeni Türkiye* (March- April 1995), 65-67.

¹⁷⁹ Bestami S. Bilgiç, "Türkiye'de İç ve Dış Politika 1971-1983". *Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1946-2012*, ed. Tuba Ünlü Bilgiç and Cihat Göktepe, 244.

¹⁸⁰ Melek Fırat, "1960-1980 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar, Vol 1: 1919-1980.* Ed. Baskın Oran, (İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001), 740.

¹⁸¹ For the full text of Turkish Reaction to President Johnson's Letter to Prime Minister İnönü, see https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000615268.pdf

relations; therefore, Turkey looked for a different actor which would support it in the international policy stage. In this environment, the Cuban Missile crisis emerged in 1962 and ended with taking out these missiles from Turkey. In this crisis, Turkey established a bond with the Soviet Union in order to provide a different a way out. In other words, this crisis during which Turkey conducted multi-dimensional foreign policy may be given an example for this new policy dynamics of Turkey.

Multi-lateral Force (MLF) was created with the aim of increasing deterrence force of NATO. "A multilateral nuclear force or other similar plans to bring nuclear weapons within the reach of West Germany constitute a problem which directly concerns the interests of security of the Soviet Union and states friendly to us."¹⁸² Turkey was planning to have a role in this formation before the Johnson letter. However, it did have nor certain advantage or disadvantage of being a part of MLF.¹⁸³ In this context, the Johnson letter had also influence. Turkey which started to analyze its foreign policy more cautiously after the letter, declared to change its own decision on participation in MLF in January 1965. This step was the certain signal of Turkey's changing foreign policy and the negative influence of the letter on Turkish-American relations. After Turkey's declaration, the USA did not receive support from NATO members and the project was canceled at the end.

In the international spectrum, the "Peace Corps" which was launched in 1962 in different parts of the World is "a service opportunity for motivated change makers to immerse themselves in a community abroad, working side by side with local leaders to tackle the most pressing challenges of our generation"¹⁸⁴. The convention which allowed the volunteer people of the 'peace corps' was signed in August 1962. After

¹⁸² William Alberque. "The NPT and the Origins of NATO's Nuclear Sharing Arrangements", *Institut français des relations internationales* (2017), Retrieved from, http://www.isodarco.it/courses/andalo19/paper/iso19_Alberque.pdf

¹⁸³ Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 691.

¹⁸⁴ "Peace Corps: About", <https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/>

these volunteer people came to Turkey, the news which was related to the ‘peace corps’ became more common. In this organization, members of which were volunteers in Turkey, "67% of them worked in the program of teaching English, 14% of them worked in the program of public development and 6% of them worked in the program of child care"¹⁸⁵. As a result of the reactions broke out in Turkey, the USA started to call the volunteers back. Hence, the USA had to cancel their all programs in Turkey.

After the Peace Corps disagreement, economic pressure put on Turkey during the Cold War was another significant reason for dispute between the two countries. In this period, the USA decided to reduce the amount of aids which were given to Turkey, which was a significant step. During the Cold War period, Turkey's economy mainly depended on the countries such as the USA. For example, ‘the OECD Consortium to Aid Turkey’ was launched in 1962 with the initiative of the USA. However, they were not generous enough to aid Turkey. In 1964, the financial-aid-packets given to Turkey was reduced from 237.000.000\$ to 147.000.000\$.¹⁸⁶ Turkey was unpleasant with diminished aid packages.

Another dispute was the military one. This dispute mainly emerged because of the possible operation which would be made by Turkey. Unlike the financial aid packages, the military aids maintained its amount. However, the USA made an effort to keep the military aids' usage area under American control. In this context, the USA was not able to adopt this policy quite a while, because of Turkey's strong stance in this sense.

Therefore, it is possible to say that the USA put economic, military and political pressure on Turkey through aid packets and bilateral dialogues. In this context,

¹⁸⁵ Oktay Akbaş, "Amerikan Gönüllü Kuruluşları: Barış Gönüllülerinin Dünya’da ve Türkiye’deki Çalışmaları”. *Türk Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi* 4, No. 1 (2006), 92-93.

¹⁸⁶ Çağrı Erhan, “ABD ve NATO’yla İlişkiler”, ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980. (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 699.

Turkey left one-sided or ‘American-oriented’ policy, and adopted a different policy map. Hence, Turkey closed a period which left a significant part and launched with the NATO membership resulted from the Korean War.

5.2.2. Opium Problem:

It was the opium cultivation which was another problem in the relations between the USA and Turkey. The problem mainly stemmed from the American soldiers' over-consumption of heroin during the Afghanistan and Vietnam War. However, in this context, the USA preferred to accuse Turkey of ‘significant drug consumption problems of the American soldiers’.

5.2.2.1. History of the Opium Problem:

It was the ‘opium problem’¹⁸⁷ which was the most significant concern of the Nixon Administration. According to the USA, Turkey was the main cause of this significant problem by the late 1960s.

The turning point was the death of American children younger than 16 years of age because of over drug consumption in 1966. This was the case which triggered the increasing media pressure on the Johnson and Nixon Administration. "The uneasy relationship between Turkey and the United States was further exacerbated by the resumption of poppy cultivation by the Turkish government in June 1974."¹⁸⁸ It is worthy of remark that Richard Nixon who served as the 37th president of the USA mainly focused on anti-drug policy in order to catch the public attention. After coming to power, it was the counter-drug policy which was his main concern and

¹⁸⁷ For details, see Çağrı Erhan, *Beyaz savaş: Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinde Afyon Sorunu* (İstanbul: Bilgi Yaynevi, 1996).

¹⁸⁸ Nasuh Uslu, "The Cooperation Amid Problems: Turkish-American Relations in the 1980s." *Ankara: Turkish Yearbook of International Relations (Milletlerarası Münasebetler Türk Yıllığı)*27 (1997), 13.

created another problem in Turkish-American problems. President Richard Nixon stated in 1973, "the federal government is fighting the war on drug abuse under a distinct handicap, for its efforts are those of a loosely confederated alliance facing a resourceful, elusive, worldwide enemy. Certainly, the cold-blooded underworld networks that funnel narcotics from suppliers all over the world are no respecters of the bureaucratic dividing lines that now complicate our anti-drug efforts."¹⁸⁹ Hence, he affirmed "an all-out global war on the drug menace".

Above all, the fact was different from the Nixon Administration's allegation: the first illegal heroin labs were found out in France and "the French underworld" had a significant role in "trafficking of illegal heroin" in the USA.¹⁹⁰ Turkey's role was in the mid of manufacturing the raw material. Hence, after the problem was located at the center, Nixon Administration turned the heat up on Turkey.

5.2.2.2. Prohibition of Cultivation of the Opium Poppy in Turkey:

After the Vietnam War, the poppy problem became the main concern of the USA. According to the American authorities, approximately '80 per cent of the heroin' was generated through the opium which was planted in Turkey.¹⁹¹

Süleyman Demirel who served as the 9th President of the Republic of Turkey had an important role to determine Turkey's stance until 1971 when the "military memorandum" was staged. Çağrı Erhan states that Süleyman Demirel was aware of the fact that he came to the power thanks to rural workers' votes.¹⁹² Hence, it was

¹⁸⁹ See generally U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, "The Dea Years: 1970–1975", pp. 30–39, p.34. <https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2018-07/1970-1975%20p%2030-39.pdf>

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Foreign Policy in Transition: 1950-1974* (Timaş, İstanbul), 68.

¹⁹² Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 702.

Süleyman Demirel who was trying a solution paying dividends for both Turkish farmers and the Nixon Administration. However, he was not able to do the Nixon Administration's bidding or 'cut off the opium cultivation' since his position was weakened by the discussions in Justice Party (AP).¹⁹³

It was the interim government period when Turkish Prime Minister Nihat Erim came to the power through appointment, not an election. In other words, he was not concerned about defining his policy in parallel with the citizens' will with the aim of receiving votes from them.¹⁹⁴ Hence, there was a difference between Süleyman Demirel and his successor Nihat Erim. Unlike Nihat Erim, Süleyman Demirel apparently preserved Turkey's stance which did not allow to ban opium cultivation. Süleyman Demirel's cabinet reached an agreement for the limitation of poppy cultivation. However, according to the Nixon Administration, the implementation was not enough to overcome the drug problem of the American people.

Under these circumstances, the political party leaders were cognizant of the case that poppy cultivation was the important income for Turkish people living in the rural area. Hence, it might be argued that domestic policy conducted until 1971 were heavily affected by Turkish foreign policy. Unlike Süleyman Demirel, Nihat Erim who served as the 30th Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey signed an 'Opium Agreement' in 30 June 1971. It was a long journey for the USA since Süleyman Demirel came to the power and grappled with the pressure applied by the USA. The agreement indicated the end of the 'laissez faire control' which is a system allowing the companies without 'government control' for the opium cultivation in Turkey. However, the promised amount of money for could not be received from the USA. It

¹⁹³ Intelligence Memorandum, Turkey's ability to Curb Opium Production, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85T00875R001100090023-2.pdf>

¹⁹⁴ Çağrı Erhan, "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", ed. Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol 1: 1919-1980." (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2001), 702.

may be titled as another turning point in Turkish economy because of making a significant loss. At the end, many people lost their homes and livestock.

5.2.2.3. Turkey's Attitude:

Under these circumstances mentioned above, the limitation of poppy cultivation in Turkey could not be referred between 1933 and 1971. In other words, this period was 'free from any limitation' for the poppy cultivation. However, the situation changed in 1971 with the military memorandum: the illegal opium cultivation became the main concern of the Government. 'The Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs' was the case which took the opium production under control and limited its licensing in 1971; hence, the Government marked up the price of the legal opium.¹⁹⁵

On the one hand, the USA stated that the main cause of the addiction problem was trafficking the opium from Turkey. On the other hand, it was a significant income resource for Turkish villagers. Therefore, Süleyman Demirel was reluctant to abandon the poppy cultivation. It is necessary at this point to consider that the city of Afyon and its surrounding small cities mainly depended on the opium cultivation. In this context, it is a fact that Turkish-American relations were of another uneasy period: Süleyman Demirel Government refused the American policy on poppy cultivation in Turkey, which led to a disagreement between two administrations.

The period starting with the '1973 election' was the stage which opened its door to different dynamics in the Turkish domestic and foreign policy. In the general elections, the Republican People's Party (CHP) took 33.39% of the votes and Bülent Ecevit, newly elected party leader. As a result of this election, Bülent Ecevit had to make a coalition. In this context, he decided to make a coalition with Necmettin Erbakan who was the leader of the Islamist National Salvation Party (MSP). This was a turning point in Turkish domestic policy since Bülent Ecevit conducted

¹⁹⁵ Nasuh Uslu, *The Turkish-American Relationship Between 1947 and 2003: The history of a Distinctive Alliance* (Nova Publishers, 2003), 229.

different policies and economic development plans than his predecessors. His policy related opium cultivation would be given as an example: Bülent Ecevit rescinded the opium cultivation restriction implemented by Nihat Erim.¹⁹⁶ That is to say, there was a hung parliament in Turkey and political parties were in a coalition in this period. Therefore, it is not an overstatement to say that it was a period when ‘the vote of poppy growers’ had an essential role in the general election. Hence, political parties participating in the election defended poppy growers against the USA.

5.3. Cyprus Peace Operation:

"Asking who won a given war, someone has said, is like asking who won the San Francisco earthquake."¹⁹⁷
Kenneth Waltz

Dr. Fazıl Küçük, who served as the first Vice President of the Republic of Cyprus, was in the main role together with Rauf Denktaş, late ‘founding president of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’. Both had a significant role in handing down the issue to Turkish government. Rauf Denktaş, who devoted his life to Turks living in Cyprus, always stated that Cyprus belonged to Turks and it would remain belonging to Turks.

A guerilla conflict was launched by the EOKA in 1955 and tension was gradually increasing. After the conflict, Archbishop Makarios was arrested and exiled to Seychelles islands on 9 March 1956 in order to ease the tension. In 1957, the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) was launched by Rauf Denktaş in order to give response to attacks planned by the EOKA militants whose aim was to unite Cyprus

¹⁹⁶ Bestami S. Bilgiç, “Türkiye’de İç ve Dış Politika 1971-1983”. *Türkiye’nin Demoktrasi Tarihi 1946-2012*, Ed. Tuba Ünlü Bilgiç and Cihat Göktepe, 243.

¹⁹⁷ Kenneth Neal Waltz, *Man, the state, and war: A theoretical analysis* (Columbia University Press, 2001), 1.

with Greece.¹⁹⁸

Turkish Cypriots were firstly organized in the military field. In this period, ‘resistance organizations’ which were launched to protect Turks on the island were not disciplined. It was the sparkle that Turkish Cypriot police inspector Ahmet Beyaz killed by EOKA on 9 November 1957; therefore, Turkish people’s belief that armed organization was necessary gained strength.¹⁹⁹ The ‘Cyprus is Turk Party’ (KTP) which was founded by Dr. Fazıl Küçük in order to organize Turkish Cypriots politically gained significance, as well. After the murder of Ahmet Beyaz, Rauf Denktaş paid a visit to Ankara and had a meeting with Turkish Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. In this period, assassinations by EOKA militants sharply increased and Turkish Cypriots urged to leave their villages by force of arms. In other words, the problem had broader influence on the relations between Turkey, the USA and Greece.

Fatin Rüştü Zorlu²⁰⁰ advocated ‘the self-determination’ principle; while, Archbishop Makarios defended the Enosis. This dissidence caused a trouble for Turkey in both foreign and domestic policy. However, Zorlu was very determined to solve the issue. On 18 December 1958 in Paris, Zorlu and Foreign Minister of Greece Evangelos Averoff had a meeting which paved for the Zurich and London Treaties, of February

¹⁹⁸ For details, see Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk dış politikasında 1950’li yıllar*, (Ankara: Metu Press, 2001), 113-116.

¹⁹⁹ Mevlüt Koyuncu and Emrah Balıkçioğlu. "The importance of organizing activities of the Turkish Cypriot Community in the process of becoming a state (1957-1960)." *Journal of Human Sciences* 13, No.3 (2016), 4281.

²⁰⁰ He started his career as a diplomat when he was 22 years old. After the Democrat Party which was led by Adnan Menderes, won the general election in 1950, he took an active role in politics. He served as “a deputy of Gallipoli”, and following Adnan Menderes appointed him as a Minister of Foreign Affairs. He touched upon very crucial issues including Cyprus issue during his successful career. His career was put over the top when the London and Zurich Treaties were signed in 1959. However, this mesmerizing career life ended with the military coup of May 27th 1960. Many politicians, including Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, were put on trial. Zorlu sentenced to death. His execution took place on 16 September 1961; For his political stance, see Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950’li Yıllar* (ODTÜ Press; Ankara. 2007).

1951.²⁰¹ Zurich and London Treaties of February 1951 are very crucial to understand Turkey's stance on the Cyprus issue. According to this agreement, Turkey had a right to intervene together or alone due to its responsibility to protect when 'the constitutional state of affairs on Cyprus' was threatened. On the one hand, it had certain rights related the island after Turkey acceded to this treaty. On the other hand, two other countries which were the Great Britain and Greece had the similar right. Hence, the treaty also gave more prominent role in the Cyprus issue to both countries.

It would be right to say that the treaty did not include sufficient deterrence force for Greece which defended 'ENOSIS'. While Turkey had a right to settle permanently 650 soldiers on the island which obtained a legal status with the signature of this treaty; Greece had an 'authorized establishment of 950 soldiers' on Cyprus. It was very crucial since pointing out the second deviation according to Turkey's military doctrine after sending troops to the Korean War; also, it was the first military permanent presence out of its bounds.²⁰² On 25 December 1963, the World faced with one of the worst humanitarian crises, 'Bloody Christmas' which took four days. This tragic massacre aimed at shoving 'unitary state solution' down Turkey's throat. Therefore, Archbishop Makarios stated that Republic of Cyprus would be located in 'a springing point towards the annexation of the island to Greece at long last'.²⁰³

"The United Nations Buffer Zone"²⁰⁴ was declared and patrolled, as it is explained in

²⁰¹ Halil Erdemir, The Origin of the Cyprus Question: The British Policy on the Creation of Cyprus Republic, *PERCEPTIONS Journal of International Affairs*, 107-121. Retrived from, <http://sam.gov.tr/tr/the-origin-of-the-cyprus-questionthe-british-policy-on-the-creation-of-cyprus-republic/>

²⁰² Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950'li Yıllar* (ODTÜ Press; Ankara. 2007), 136.

²⁰³ Ulvi Keser, "Bloody Christmas of 1963 in Cyprus in the Light of American Documents". *Journal of Modern Turkish History Studies* 13, No.26 (2013), 249-271.

²⁰⁴ "After 1974, most of Cyprus's Greek and Turkish Cypriots have lived separately in northern and southern regions of the island that are currently divided by a UN-controlled Buffer Zone. The Buffer Zone - also called 'the Green Line' - extends approximately 180 km across the island. In some parts of old Nicosia it is only a few meters wide, while in other areas it is a few kilometers wide. Its northern and southern limits are the lines where the belligerents stood following the ceasefire of 16 August

the chapter, 'Towards Cyprus Peace Operation'. The UNPKF in Cyprus had a responsibility to patrol the security zone. It is worthy to remark that this zone was defined as a 'cease-fire' line, which became to be known as the 'green line'. It may be asserted that all these developments led to a division between two communities living in Cyprus.

5.3.1. First Turkish Intervention in July 1974:

"We are going to Cyprus not for war, but to bring peace, and not only for the Turkish Cypriots, but also for the Greek Cypriots as well."²⁰⁵
Bülent Ecevit²⁰⁶

The World believed mistakenly that the problem had been solved; however, the story was just beginning. On the one hand, the tension between two communities was increasing and atrocity headed straight for the top. On the other hand, the World got up to prevent the war through negotiations which were not enough. The negotiations were separately conducted with Greece and Turkey by the USA. From all political developments, it is obvious that the Greek side's egocentric stance was the case which made the problem's solution impossible.

1974, as recorded by UNFICYP. In the eastern part of the island, the Buffer Zone is interrupted by the British Sovereign Base Area of Dhekelia, where the UN does not operate. Another area the UN does not control is Varosha, the former resort town near Famagusta, now under the control of the Turkish military." Retrieved from, <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/about-buffer-zone>

²⁰⁵ *Cyprus Country Study Guide* Volume 1 Strategic Information and Developments, USA: IBP, 71.

²⁰⁶ "Bülent Ecevit was elected to the National Assembly as an RPP member for Ankara (1957, 1961) and Zonguldak (1965, 1969), having joined the party council in 1959. He gradually emerged as leader of the left-of-centre group, and during his service as minister of labour (1961–65) he legalized strikes for the first time in Turkish history. In 1966 Ecevit became secretary-general of the RPP under İsmet İnönü, whose cooperation with the country's military government he opposed. Ecevit became chairman of the RPP in 1972 and prime minister in January 1974. As head of government, Ecevit declared an amnesty for all political prisoners and authorized (July 20, 1974) Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus after the Greek-led coup on that island. His request for a vote of confidence from the National Assembly in September 1974 failed, and, after a severe political crisis, tenuous power passed to Süleyman Demirel of the Justice Party. After further crises in 1977, during which Ecevit briefly formed a government (June 21–July 3), he was again prime minister in January 1978. Acute economic and social difficulties, however, led to the fall of his government in October 1979." Retrieved from, "Bülent Ecevit", Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bulent-Ecevit> (May 11, 2019)

While the world was intensely dealing with the Cyprus issue in the 1970s, two communities started to live in the different zones. On the other hand, Turkey's political spectrum in the 1970s deserves special consideration because the political conjecture was in the edge of transformation. As a result of the general election of 1973 when the world experienced an economic crisis, Bülent Ecevit came to power as the leader of a coalition government. He was the person who was elected in an uneasy period. Hence, he had to conduct a different foreign policy from his successors to solve teething problems and provide a peaceful atmosphere in Turkey. It would be right to say that this new prime minister might have a potential to take a risk in the Cyprus issue, and the USA already realized this significant difference in that period. Ecevit may be accepted as the leader who took initiative in the structure of the Turkish parliamentary system despite the coalition government's dynamics. His policy which was conducted on the Cyprus issue may be given as an example for an assertive policy concept. It was very crucial to understand the solution of this issue. If he did not adopt this policy, we would have still talked about the same problem and Turkish Cypriots would have still hung under a threat. Ecevit's policy and ideas on Cyprus issue have been stated in Süha Bölükbaşı's article, "Boutros-Ghali' s Cyprus Initiative in 1992: Why did it fail?":

While Ecevit was the person who would not accept 'a unitary state' in Cyprus; the USA was not the country advocated independence of Cyprus. From the point of an American view, partition would worsen the situation when it was based on a communist structure; moreover, Turkey should not be on the side which supporting the intervention to the island. This intervention might lead a war between Greece and Turkey. The given war caused a weakened NATO since these two countries were allies in this international military organization. Hence, the island had better to be united with Greece, in according to the American policy.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ Süha Bölükbaşı, "Boutros-Ghali' s Cyprus Initiative in 1992: Why did it fail?" *Middle Eastern Studies* 31 (1995), 460-483.

While the government was changing in Turkey, Greek Cypriots attacked two Turkish villages, which were Geçitkale and Boğaziçi. Grivas was the leader of the attacks against Turkish Cypriots by the members of ‘the Greek National Guard’; in response to these attacks, Turkish armed forces were organized to dissuade Greek Cypriots from violation and armament.²⁰⁸ In this context, the relations between Turkey and the USA were heavily affected. These two countries, Greece and Turkey, were on the edge of a serious war in Cyprus. Under these circumstances, Joseph J. Sisco served as a negotiator between the two countries. However, he pretty realized that it is very difficult to prevent Turkey's intervention in 1974. He held a bilateral meeting with Ecevit, requested 48-hour-permission to prevent the war. However, American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was aware the fact that their ‘chances of halting the fighting’ were not high; in other words, there is a ‘50-50 possibility for a full-scale war’ which would break out.²⁰⁹ Moreover, it was Makarios himself who was also conscious of possible Turkish intervention because of Turkish Cypriot's difficult situation. It must be acknowledged that the most important turning point was the speech of Makarios which was addressed to the United National Security Council: “After the coup, the agents of the Greek regime in Cyprus appointed a well-known gunman, Nicos Sampson, as President, who in turn appointed as ministers known elements and supporters of the terrorist organization EOKA-B .”²¹⁰ Therefore, the single most striking observation is that all actors, even including the Greek Cypriots, pretty realized the impending war.

²⁰⁸ Füsün Türkmen, "Cyprus 1974 revisited: Was it humanitarian intervention?." *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs* 10, No. 1 (2005), 61-88.

²⁰⁹ David Binder, It is in print on July 22, 1974, on Page 1 of the New York edition with the headline: “A Greek-Turkish Truce Accord on Cyprus is Announced by U.S.; Cease-fire is Scheduled Today”. Retrived from, <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/07/22/archives/a-greekturkish-tr-uce-a-ccord-on-cyprus-is-anno-unced-by-u-s.html>

²¹⁰ Füsün Türkmen, "Cyprus 1974 revisited: Was it humanitarian intervention?." *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs* 10.1 (2005), 61-88.; cited in Necati Ertekün, *The Cyprus Dispute and the Birth of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus* (Oxford: K.Rustem & Brother, 1984) Appendix 21, 243-244.

Turkey, as a guarantee power, had a right to intervene to Cyprus if necessary. This period's condition and the path leading to the intervention have been explained in documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey: "a far-right Greek Cypriot junta backed by the military junta in Athens overthrew Makarios to unite the island with Greece, Turkey used its guarantor rights to intervene in the island on July 20, 1974, and established a bridgehead in Kyrenia."²¹¹ However, the Turkish Government requested dismissal of Nikos Sampson²¹² and taking all the Greek members of National Guard away in order to provide the independence of Cyprus. Ecevit's all these demands were denied. He paid a visit to London in order to learn whether the other guarantor power, the Great Britain, will participate in Turkey's military operation to Cyprus. It may be asserted that despite all efforts of Ecevit and his delegation, there was the only one country which looked after Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot people's rights. It was Turkey. The atmosphere of relations between Turkey, the Great Britain and the USA has been well explained by Füsün Çoban Döşkaya: "Kissinger send Joseph J. Sisco to talk with Ecevit. However, he did not accept to talk with Sisco who was there in order to postpone the intervention. According to Ecevit, the USA was not one of the guarantee powers."²¹³ It is well worth noting that Ecevit's policy on Cyprus was getting more assertive; while, the thinly-veiled threat on Turkish Cypriots reached a critical threshold. After these developments and abortive negotiations, Turkey decided to intervene to Cyprus on 20 July 1974 as a Guarantee Power, which was based on the Treaty of Guarantee.

²¹¹ "Cyprus". (n.d.). Retrieved from, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-cyprus-issue-overview.en.mfa> (May 12, 2019).

²¹² "Nikos Sampson, (Nikos Georghiades), was the president of Cyprus for eight days in 1974, but the coup of which he was a part led directly to the Turkish invasion. On July 15, 1974, when military forces under the direction of Greek officers overthrew the Cypriot government under Archbishop Makarios III, Sampson was named president. Turkish forces landed on Cyprus on July 20, and three days later Sampson resigned in favour of Glafkos Clerides. In 1977 Sampson was the only participant in the coup to face trial. He was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment." Retrieved from, "Nicos Sampson", Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nikos-Sampson> (May 19, 2019).

²¹³ Füsün Doskaya, "Turkish-American Relations Concerning the Cyprus Question," Dokuz Eylül University website. Retrieved from, <http://web.deu.edu.tr/kibris/articles/hist.html>.

To conclude, on 20 July 1974, Turkish soldiers and navy almost arrived at Cyprus. At that time, the Greek radio stations were singing the song, "I waited but you did not come" (in Turkish: "Bekledim de Gelmedin") because of a misunderstanding caused from a time difference between Cyprus and Turkey.²¹⁴ When the clock showed 5.00 in the morning (in Turkey Time Zone), Turkish Peace Operation took place in Cyprus to protect Turkish Cypriots' lives.

5.3.2. Second Turkish Intervention in August 1974:

"Ayşe should go on vacation!"
Turan Güneş²¹⁵

Turkey's First Peace Operation was successful because Nikos Sampson resigned and the civilian government came to power in Athens. After the intervention, "a ceasefire" was declared by the UN on 23 July 1974. Turkey's first ceasefire agreement was signed together with the Great Britain and Greece. After the declaration of ceasefire on 22 July 1974, foreign minister of Turkey, the Great Britain and Greece held negotiations on this issue in Geneva. It lasted from 25 to 30 July 1974. In these negotiations, 'measures to adjust and to regularize within a reasonable period of time the situation in the Republic of Cyprus on a lasting basis', and they agree on taking a decision of 'first immediate measures'.²¹⁶

After the declaration of the ceasefire in Cyprus, UNFICYP, the responsibility of which was to protect 'Turkish enclaves', was deployed on the island. According to the resolution 354 by UNSC, UNFICYP troops were on the island to arrange a ceasefire. However, the dispute between two societies in the island started once again

²¹⁴ Mehmet Ali Birand, *Kıbrıs'ın 50. Yılı*, Retrieved from, <http://32gun.com/video/izle/kibrisin-50-yili-1-bolum>

²¹⁵ Turan Güneş served as a Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey in 1974 when the Cyprus intervention took place.

²¹⁶ "Agreements-Geneva Declaration on Cyprus (30 July 1974)". Retrieved from, [https://www.pio.gov.cy/en/agreements-geneva-declaration-on-cyprus-\(30-july-1974\).html](https://www.pio.gov.cy/en/agreements-geneva-declaration-on-cyprus-(30-july-1974).html)

on 23 July 1974 when the commercial activities in “Nicosia International Airport” were terminated by Turkish forces.²¹⁷ According to Dan Lindley, the airport had a special meaning in this context: the airport was used for strengthening Greek side, but it was closed by the Turkish forces.²¹⁸ After a while, it was declared that the whole zone of the airport was under the UN protection. The UN had an important role in this issue in terms of defusing tension between two states. After the UN control, the Greek National Cypriot Guards were removed from the airport. This removal could be said to ease the tension. After this eased tension and declaration of the ceasefire, the ‘First Geneva Conference’ was held in July 1974, and it concluded with the ‘Geneva Declaration’ issued by Turkey, the Great Britain and Greece. According to this declaration, the following decisions were taken by these three guarantor powers:²¹⁹ "Safe zone" should be founded; the enclaves of Turkish Cypriots under the control of opponent forces should be abandoned; civilian peoples and military officials under custody should be released; "constitutional government" in the island should be declared again after providing peace in Cyprus.

It was the second time that the Geneva Conference was held on 9 August 1974 in order to find a permanent solution and prevent the possible second intervention. However, the countries could not agree on a ‘federal solution’, which was demanded by Turkey, to the Cyprus issue. Hence, these two conferences were the diplomatic process where three guarantor powers could not take effective and binding decisions.

During the talks, Turkey was certain that the solution would be provided only if the Greek side accepted ‘two federated states autonomous within their geographical

²¹⁷ "After decades of being used mostly for military purposes, Nicosia International Airport was officially inaugurated in 1968, with the addition of a modern terminal building boasting high-tech facilities and a multitude of restaurants and shops." Retrieved from, <https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/nicosia-airport-abandoned-cyprus/index.html>

²¹⁸ Dan Lindley, "Chapter II: The UN, Peace and Security in Cyprus". *The Work of the UN in Cyprus: Promoting Peace and Development*, ed. Oliver Richmond, James Ker-Lindsay (New York, Palgrave), 77-100.

²¹⁹ Füsün Türkmen, "Cyprus 1974 revisited: Was it humanitarian intervention?." *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs* 10, No.1 (2005), 61-88.

boundaries'. This solution indicated, "two international identities and the loss of the 30% of the island as the Turkish delegation claimed. The Greek-Cypriot side could agree with the autonomy but only in communal and local matters but inside the Republic of Cyprus and not in a wholly separate state"²²⁰. However, two sides' solution proposals were completely different from each other. In this context, it was not possible to split the differences. As it is observed, this difference made the second intervention ineluctable.

When the clock showed 2:25 am, it was Turkish Foreign Minister Turan Güneş who put a call through Bülent Ecevit on 14 August 1974.²²¹ Then, the whole World heard the famous sentence, "Ayşe is going on holiday!", which meant to launch the Second Peace Operation by Turkey.

5.3.3. A Divided Cyprus:

On 14 August 1974, has left a non-negligible mark in the World history in terms of closing an era which has been bethought as a painful period. It is the period, before 1974, known as a path leading to the division of Cyprus into two.

The island was a paradise which was full of problems after the peace operation which had profound effects on two communities living in the island. On the one hand, Ecevit's 'interventionist policy' had two main pillars: prevention of Cyprus' Hellenization and terminating blatant injustice on Cypriot Turks. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots were under a lot of pressure: Greek Cypriots was still implementing brutal policies in villages where mainly Turks were living. Therefore, the green light was given to Turkey's operation to the island. After the mercilessly policies of Greek Cypriots and Greeks, the UN took the control 'over the northern third of Cyprus'.

²²⁰ Gergely Kalotsa, *The 1974 Turkish invasion in Cyprus*. *Mediterrán tanulmányok*, (22), 55-64. (2012). Retrived from, http://acta.bibl.u-szeged.hu/30734/1/mediterran_022_055-064.pdf

²²¹ Alan James, "The UN force in Cyprus." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 65, No.3 (1989), 481-500.

"The Green Line"²²², paved the way for the displacement of about 180,000 the Greek Cypriots, and about 65,000 Turkish Cypriots moved in the opposite direction²²³. The connection and exchange of cultures between two communities were very essential in order to overcome the sharp policies, as it was stated by Olli Rehn who was Enlargement Commissioner, "building bridges between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot community over the Green Line is essential for the reconciliation on Cyprus and helpful for creating a positive political climate which would open the way for a comprehensive settlement on the island."²²⁴. On the one hand, "the Green Line" may be seen as the solution implemented by the United Nation. It may be asserted, however, that the Line caused "exchange of population"²²⁵: nearly 15000 Greek Cypriots and 30000 Turkish Cypriots moved from their residences. It is thus of very significant to explain the division process of the island, which is called 'motherland'.

In the divided island, 'identity politics'²²⁶ was another issue after the determination of 'the Green Line'. It was highly crucial to understand the Zeitgeist, the spirit of time, in Cyprus. The differences in these societies and internal ideological tensions within two communities may be observed through the identity politics concept. The

²²² Green line is a term which is called to define "cease fire line". This line is explained as "two de facto states" in Cyprus. The line called as "Green Line" because the line was drawn with a green pencil.

²²³ Soyalp Tamçelik, "Kıbrıs' ta İç Göç Hareketleri ve Olası Bir Anlaşmada Etkileri'." *Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi Bilig*. Güz(2012), 221.

²²⁴ Green Line Regulation: Commission welcomes Council adoption of measures that further facilitate trade across the Green Line in Cyprus, 17 February 2005. Retrieved from, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-05-197_en.htm?locale=en

²²⁵ "On August 2, 1975, in Vienna, the two parties reached the Voluntary Exchange of Population Agreement, implemented under UN auspices. In accordance with this arrangement, Turkish Cypriots remaining in the South moved to the North and Greek Cypriots remaining in the North moved to the South, with the exception of a few hundred who preferred to reside in the North. After that, the separation of the two communities via the UN-patrolled Green Line prohibited the return of all internally-displaced people." Quoted from, Hakkı, Murat Metin. "Property wars in Cyprus: the Turkish position according to international law." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 15.6 (2011): 847-857.

²²⁶ For detailed information about Cyprus identity, see Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskaçında Kıbrıs* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002).

identity of dwellers was shaped according to the discourse, Hellenism; while, Turkish Cypriots adopted a 'Turco-centrism' concept, which was characterized by Turkish cultural origin.²²⁷ Therefore, after the division of island, the complex structure of two communities revealed. These two dominant societies lived with their cultural norms within their part in the island as a result of 'the Green Line', which was not a physical barrier.

Last but not least, the Greek military coup which took place in 1974 paved the way for Turkish intervention to the island. The intervention's main aim was to provide an atmosphere where Turkish Cypriots lived in safe. However, the solution was the division of Cyprus because the Greek side nourished false hope for Cyprus' unification with Greece. Above all, developments led to the division between 'Turkish Northern Cyprus' and 'the Greek Cypriot Republic of Cyprus'.

5. 4. Aftermath of Cyprus Intervention:

It is necessary at this point to say that the intervention is a milestone in Turkey's foreign relations and international platform. For example, the military regime lasted in Greece was concluded by Turkish intervention and democracy was again introduced to the Greek people. It is thus of great significance to bring to an end of 'ENOSIS' dream.

On the one hand, Turkish Cypriots were looking forward to Turkey's intervention. The intervention afforded pleasure in Turkish side. On the other hand, it caused some eyebrows to rise in the international platform. Greece declared its statement to withdraw NATO by stating Turkey's intervention as a reason. Greek-American relations were also heavily affected by this intervention. Forty five years ago, Rodger

²²⁷ Charis Psaltis and Huseyin Cakal. "Social identity in a divided Cyprus." *Understanding Peace and Conflict Through Social Identity Theory* (Springer Press: Cham, 2016), 229-244.

Davies²²⁸, the American Ambassador appointed to Cyprus, was assassinated in Nicosia while the angry people were protesting outside the American Embassy; moreover, they even threw stones to the building, and set the car on fire.²²⁹ Despite the protests, the USA was indeed another example for the country which did not support Turkey's intervention to Cyprus. This intervention left a significant mark in Turkish-American relations in terms of very significant historical developments, such as 'arms embargo'.

5. 4.1. The United States' Arms Embargo on Turkey and Republic of Cyprus:

“Embargo, means the legal prohibition by a government or group of governments restricting the departure of vessels or movement of goods from some or all locations to one or more countries.”²³⁰ It may also have a role in the international platform as a tool of deterrence policy. In other words, the country, which is more powerful than the other, may impose an embargo in order to define the other country's policy according to its own interests. The American arms embargo sets an example for this argument.

The most significant concern of the USA was the probable war which would break out between Greece and Turkey after the Cyprus intervention by Turkey. For this reason, the first priority was to prevent a dispute between these two countries. In this

²²⁸ “On July 10, 1974, Ambassador Rodger Davies, the newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus, presented his credentials in Nicosia. He arrived on the small island at a tumultuous time with the ambitious goal of fostering a fair, long-term peace agreement between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Six weeks later, on August 19, 1974, Amb. Davies was assassinated. A sniper from 100 yards away shot him in the chest as he tried to keep his staff safe during a violent rally outside the embassy. The sniper was a member of the Greek Cypriot paramilitary group, EOKA-B, responsible for the coup d'état that overthrew the government just one month before." Retrieved from, <https://intpolicydigest.org/2012/08/21/remembering-ambassador-rodger-davies/>

²²⁹ For the full text of the news, see Eyewitness Discloses How Cyprus Ambassador Was Murdered 40 Years Ago (21 August 2014), <https://www.thenationalherald.com/56388/eyewitness-discloses-cyprus-amb-murdered-40-years-ago/>

²³⁰ “Embargo International Law”, Britannica, retrieved from, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/embargo-international-law>, (June 10, 2019).

context, Missouri Senator Thomas F. Eagleton was the person who introduced the bill in order to prevent ‘military assistance’ provided to Turkey; however, American President Gerald Ford objected to ‘Senate Bill 397’.²³¹ In other words, there was a disagreement between two, the White House and Congress. Robert Carlyle Byrd²³², who served as a Senator in the US House of Representatives, was a very significant person in the case of ‘arms embargo’. He received many letters to be informed by the people who were supporting the embargo in the Congress. Although President Ford made a great effort, the Congress was very decisive in imposing the embargo. Hence, this determination of the Congress realized its objective: imposing an embargo in December 1974 with the approval of the Senate. It agreed on the amendment, which was that the USA would imply an embargo provided that President Ford and Turkey could not agree on the Cyprus issue by 10 December.²³³ They could not reach an agreement, at the end. Therefore, the arms embargo entered into force two months later.

It would be correct to say that this embargo decision was a short-term solution to prevent the dispute between Turkey and Greece, but Turkish-American relations reached the turning point in the long run. It was the period which bore seriously different consequences, and resulted in more fragile relations. In this context, it would be asserted that Turkish-American relations went through another difficult period with this decision of the Congress.

²³¹ Jody Brumage, “The Turkish Arms Embargo” (12 January 2015), retrieved from, <https://www.byrdcenter.org/byrd-center-blog/the-turkish-arms-embargo-part-i>

²³² “He was the American Democratic politician who served as a representative from West Virginia in the U.S. House of Representatives (1953–59) and as a U.S. senator from West Virginia (1959–2010). Byrd was the longest-serving member of the Senate and longest-serving member of Congress in American history.” Retrieved from, “Robert Carlyle Byrd”. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Robert-C-Byrd>.

²³³ Jody Brumage, “The Turkish Arms Embargo” (12 January 2015). Retrieved from, <https://www.byrdcenter.org/byrd-center-blog/the-turkish-arms-embargo-part-i>

5.4.1.1. Turkey's Reaction to the Embargo Decision:

The main reason behind the arms embargo was to rebalance the existing military capabilities of Greece and Turkey, which had recently been for Turkey's advantage. Although the significant aim of this decision was to lead deterrence in Turkey's Cyprus policy, the Cyprus issue was the sensitive subject in Turkey's foreign policy agenda. The deadlock was still in the case during the last days of the Ford presidency despite the 'endless rounds of meetings between all parties'.²³⁴

It was Bülent Ecevit who was serving as the Prime Minister when the USA imposed the arms embargo. According to him, Cyprus was the national security subject which would not be ignored by Turkey even if burden implications put into effect. In this context, the embargo was the strongest obstacle to reach a solution in the Cyprus issue. Main reasons for these arguments against the embargo would be explained with the following points:²³⁵ The embargo was supporting the Greek side's irreconcilable stance; it put Turkey in a situation where it was not able to defend herself against a possible threat; it also changed the balance between Turkey and Greece in favor of the opposing party; it caused in weakening of NATO's southern flank against the Soviet Union.

The arms embargo was not fair, according to the common discourse in Turkey. It may be argued that the USA was not good at making sense of the difference between the Cyprus issue and Turkish-American bilateral relations. It is thus of great importance to understand bilateral relations between Turkey and the USA because of 'the Motherland' which caused critical issues in the history.

²³⁴ Murat Karagöz, "US arms embargo against Turkey-after 30 years an institutional approach towards US policy making", *PERCEPTIONS Winter 2005* (2004), 107-130. Retrieved from, <http://www.sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Murat-Karag+C2z1.pdf>

²³⁵ Nasuh Uslu, *The Turkish-American Relationship Between 1947 and 2003: The history of a Distinctive Alliance* (Nova Publishers, 2003), 215.

What has been underlined about the foreign policy initiatives in Bülent Ecevit era that he was certainly bound and determined to solve the Cyprus problem by making no concessions. In this context, American military bases²³⁶, which were stated as ‘military installations’ by Ecevit, were mainly discussed by Turkish officials. It was he who threatened the USA to suspend its bases in Turkey for some years. Therefore, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that Turkey had also an ace in the hole thanks to the geographic position while the USA was using economic and military sanctions. After Turkey's firm stance against the arms embargo, American President Ford stated the three following subjects during his presidential speech to the Congress on 10 April 1975 in order to ease the tension between Turkey and the USA²³⁷. Firstly, the embargo hurt "long-lasting relationships with Turkey" and it was the result of an action of the Congress. This action of the Congress blocked the reconciliation process. Secondly, the relation with Turkey was the essential in order to prevent the USSR threat. Its geographical position, including "gates of the Middle East" would be vital to provide the security of NATO. Lastly, the arms embargo against Turkey should be abolished. It would enable to ease the tension between Turkey, Greece and the USA.

5.4.1.2. Abolition of Arms Embargo:

Turkey was the significant ally for the USA as it was declared by President Ford in his "presidential speech". However, Turkey was on the edge of adopting a different policy against the USA. On 26 July 1975, the Turkish Government canceled ‘the Defense Cooperation Agreement of 1969’. In this context, the Congress should reevaluate its decision in order to ease the tension between Turkey and the USA.

²³⁶ For detailed information about İncirlik Military Base and US Military Base Policy, see Selin M. Bölme, *İncirlik Üssü: ABD'nin Üs Politikası ve Türkiye* (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2012).

²³⁷ For the full text and subjects of the speech, see <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/april-10-1975-address-us-foreign-policy>

After Jimmy Carter came to power on 20 January 1977, his priority was to lift the arms embargo and ease the tension. Although the USA accepted the arms embargo as a foreign policy tool to dissuade Turkey from the policy on Cyprus, the Carter Administration stated "a major policy shift" on 2 April 1978. In this case, it may be asserted that the disagreement between the White House and the Congress became more bitter with the decision on arms embargo. In Washington Post, "President Carter called lifting the embargo 'the most important foreign policy issue facing Congress' and had staked his prestige on convincing Congress that the arms ban had failed to spur the withdrawal of Turkish forces and threatened instead to disrupt NATO defenses in the Mediterranean."²³⁸ Hence, it is an appropriate example to understand the struggle between 'the legislative and executive branches'.

As a result of Turkey's Cyprus operation, the country was isolated in the international platform. This isolation meant Turkey's rapprochement to the Soviet Union. Hence, the USA should ease the tension and develop its relations with Turkey. In this context, Ford Administration did not support the arms embargo when the Congress approved the bill. Moreover, President vetoed the bill although the Congress passed for the second time. Despite all efforts of him, the embargo was put into force at the end. In other words, the Congress passed the bill which lasted for about three years. During this abolishment process, Ford and Carter administrations launched vigorous appeals; however, the Greek and American lobby did not let these two administrations bring their policies into action. What Murat Karagöz has underlined in his article that Ford and Kissinger put a great effort to lift the embargo before the implementation date; moreover, "the Foreign Relations Committee voted in late March to permit the President to lift the embargo in the absence of significant progress if he felt it would improve the prospects of a solution and if Turkey

238 John Goshko, "Hill Lifts Embargo On Arms to Turkey", Washington Post (August 2, 1978), Retrieved from, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/08/02/hill-lifts-embargo-on-arms-to-turkey/edaf7167-2ad7-4623-b979-1457fe3812d9/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.44ebddd3220; Erhan, Çağrı. "ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler" in Oran, Baskın (ed). "Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar, Vol 1: 1919-1980." *İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul* 88 (2001):708-709.

observed the same conditions that were contained in the original ban." .²³⁹ Hence, it was approved by a vote of 41 to 40 on 19 May 1978 and the ban was lifted. It might be asserted that the main result of lifting the embargo is convergence between Turkey and the USA. The main proof of this argument may be that the US military bases in Turkey were reopened.²⁴⁰ In other words, the two states preserved their importance in their defense policy despite crucial disagreements. It might be said that Turkish-American relations was not affected by short-term problems or disagreements. Therefore, the USA should always analyze Turkey's security needs in the region because of Turkey's significant regional power.

5.5. A Review:

"We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow."
Henry Palmerstone²⁴¹

Turkey well conducted multilateral foreign policy during the period from 1964 to 1980. It may be argued that the Johnson Letter, which was written on 5 June 1964, ushered a new age in Turkey's foreign policy concept. Turkey realized that one-sided foreign policy would lead to isolation from the international platform. As a result of this enlightenment period, Turkey became pursue a policy which provided more communication with its neighbors and other countries, including the Soviet Union.

After the Johnson Letter, anti-American movements gained momentum in Turkey. The case that the car of American Ambassador was set on fire was an example for anti-American movements as it is explained in this chapter. Despite Turkey's

²³⁹ Karagöz, Murat. "US arms embargo against Turkey-after 30 years an institutional approach towards US policy making." *PERCEPTIONS Winter 2005* (2004). pp. 107-130. Retrieved from, <http://www.sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Murat-Karag+%C2z1.pdf>

²⁴⁰ For details, see Bölme, Selin M. *İncirlik Üssü: ABD'nin Üs Politikası ve Türkiye* (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2012), 292-295.

²⁴¹ It was spoken by former Prime Minister Henry Palmerstone in the British Parliament in 1848.

geopolitical importance for the USA, President Johnson was completely against any disputes between NATO allies while the communism was rising in the World. It had a profound effect. To explain explained this letter's position in Turkish-American relations, Bülent Ecevit, serving as a Secretary General of People's Republican Party in 1964, said:

We realized that our one-dimensional national security approach did not cover all contingencies. We began to discuss whether Turkey's membership in NATO contributed to Turkish security or actually increased dangers. We also realized that NATO's commitment to our security would be useless if our friends changed their minds and did not stand up to their commitments...²⁴²

The period, between 1964 and 1980, would be accepted as a beginning of divergence between two countries. The Cyprus issue, which came out in this period, resulted in escalating tension between Turkey, the USA and Greece. The solution of this problem was not possible with the Greek Cypriots' brutal policy on Turkish Cypriots. The USA was playing the mediator role in this context. However, this role was not enough for the solution and its policy did not include deterrence force enough to prevent brutal movements of Greek Cypriots. EOKA, which was "a Greek Cypriot nationalist guerilla organization", may be asserted as a proof of this argumentation. As many examples are given in this chapter, they organized very significant assassinations which inflicted a deep wound in the history of Turkey. They murdered 364 Turks during 'Bloody Christmas' events. As being a Guarantor Power, which signed the Zurich and London Agreement, Turkey intervened to Cyprus in 1974. After the intervention, the USA showed up as a country which did not share Turkey's concern about Turkish Cypriots.

²⁴² Bölükbaşı, Süha. "The Johnson letter revisited." *Middle Eastern Studies* 29.3 (1993). pp. 505-525. ; Cited in Bulent Ecevit, 'Donüm Noktası', Milliyet, 26 April 1965, 1

The tension between the USA and Turkey was also escalated when it did not commiserate with Turkey's terror problem. ASALA, which was formed in 1975, was conducted anti-Turkish movements in the 1970s, in many countries, such as the USA. In the letter, Sina Baydur Demir described the brutal assassination where her husband Consul Bahadır Demir and Consul General Mehmet Baydar were murdered by this terrorist organization.²⁴³ Declassified CIA documents of 5 July 1961²⁴⁴ stated that this terrorist organization was planning to initiate operations against Turkish officials. Despite obtaining this information and document, the USA did not put ASALA on the Foreign Terrorist Fighters List in 1970s.

These two countries did not also share the same economic concerns. The opium crisis reminded that each country prioritized its own self-interest. As it is explained in CIA documents of 21 May 1970²⁴⁵, the USA urged Turkey to destroy the current opium crop despite Turkey's high income from this cultivation. This was another disagreement between Turkey and the USA. Süleyman Demirel was serving as a Turkish prime minister in 1971, when poppy cultivation ban was implemented. He refused the American decision on Turkey's poppy cultivation. After his refusal, Turkish-American relations reached at the most breaking point in 1974 when Bülent Ecevit Government decided to start poppy cultivation again.

Under these circumstances, the arms embargo was the last straw in Turkish-American relations. The USA took this decision in order to prevent a war between Greece and Turkey after Turkey's intervention to Cyprus. In this environment, Bülent Ecevit's active and dynamic foreign policy might be portrayed. That is to say, his decision to launch an operation led to significant consequences for both countries. As

²⁴³ For the full text, see <https://avim.org.tr/en/Bulten/TASC-FIRST-EMBASSY-ROW-LECTURE-THE-ASSASSINATION-OF-MEHMET-BAYDAR-AND-BAHADIR-DEMIR-MODERN-TRAGEDY-IN-TURKISH-ARMENIAN-RELATIONS-CHRISTOPHER-GUNN>

²⁴⁴ For the full text, see <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP82-00457R007600040006-2.pdf>

²⁴⁵ For the full text, see <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85T00875R001100090023-2.pdf>

an example, Bülent Ecevit suspended the American military bases in Turkey and closed these bases' control to the Turkish Armed Forces. In other words, it is possible to argue that Ecevit used American military base as 'a bargaining instrument'. In 1978 when the Congress lifted the arms embargo, the İncirlik base began to maintain its work.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the Turkish government adopted the foreign policy which was an independent strategy from the USA from 1964 to 1980. In this period, multidimensional foreign policy was adopted by Turkish diplomats and officials who had a significant role to clarify which lessons Turkey learned from the different periods throughout history. Unlike previous years, Turkish-American relations between 1964 and 1980, which left a significant mark in history, may be explained as the ‘war of diplomacy’ in the bi-polar World settlement.

Turkey has been an important actor in its fragile region by itself; while, the USA needs an alliance with Turkey in order to have a voice in the same zone. The aforementioned states, which are Turkey and the USA, have had peaks and valleys throughout history, yet it has been stable ever since. Since the establishment of Republic of Turkey in 1923, Turkish-American relations have been headed by the interest of two states. In other words, the two states, Turkey and the USA, may have different perspectives despite their alliance in the region because of different policy maps which have been conducted by their interest.

Turkish-American relations may be analyzed by being divided into some certain periods. In this sense, the era from 1923 to 1964 may be called a period of time when the two experienced very high level of relations while the Truman Doctrine started a ‘Golden age’ in Turkish-American relations. In that period of time, Turkey and the USA established their alliance on the base of common values. Moreover, the USA declared that Turkey was a ‘trustworthy ally’ and an important actor in the region. As it had been put into words, “the Turkish government’s position against communism between 1920 and 1938, which US officials closely watched and reported to the

White House, established long-lasting friendly relations between the United States and Turkey”²⁴⁶. Another important instrument which motivated the relations was the threat of communism. In 1947, the USA declared the Truman Doctrine in order to prevent the Soviet expansion. Under these circumstances, Turkey’s influence increased in the region and its prestige gained more importance. In other words, two states went into a honeymoon period in their relations.

As mentioned above, this ‘Golden Age’ period starting with the Truman Doctrine; however, it did not last for long and ended with the Johnson Letter. As it is explained in the 4th chapter, President Truman made a call in order to contain “the Soviet threat”. It is worth to mention that the doctrine was the main American policy during the Cold War. In this context, American participation in the Korean and Vietnam War was in the line with this doctrine. Another important step to warn the World against communism was the speech of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. In his speech, “iron curtain” which stated the ideological difference between the Soviet Union and Western allies went down in history in 1946. After this speech, American military and economic aids to protect some certain countries from the Soviet expansion gained momentum. Turkey received its share from these aids, such as the Marshall Plan. Therefore, Turkish-American relations highlighted the converging worldviews of two states in this period.

Certain disagreements and challenges took place between the two allies in the 1960s. Problems emerged at various points heavily affected Turkish foreign policy. Security gap²⁴⁷ along with the significant historical events such as the American missiles deployed in Turkey, arms embargo and sanctions implied by the USA escalated the tension between two NATO allies in the aftermath of Turkey’s intervention to

²⁴⁶ Hakan Güngör, “Turkish-American Relations within the Triangle of Missionary Work, Commercial Activities, and Communism in Interwar Period”. *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 1 (59) (2017), 531-544.

²⁴⁷ Merve Seren, (2015). *Türkiye'nin Füze Savunma Sistemi: İhale Süreci, Temel Dinamikler ve Aktörler* (Seta Press: İstanbul), 7.

Cyprus²⁴⁸ and they signified a shift of axis in the Turkish foreign policy. Cyprus Issue was the turning point which led to strong divergence in the region and broke the alliance's main principle, "one for all, all for one". The Letter written by Lyndon B. Johnson reminded that state's interest was the main guide in the event of clash of interests. On the one hand, Turkey was one of the three guarantor powers and had a right to intervene in order to protect people when it is necessary. On the other hand, the Cyprus issue was the indirect national interest for the USA. In other words, the USA adopted a foreign policy which focused on preserving a 'European territorial integrity'. In this sense, Great Britain was an actor in this issue and supported by the USA, as a European country and an ally of NATO. Therefore, according to the American perception, the island should be kept away from the dispute in order to prevent the division.

The most crucial lesson what Turkey learned from that period was 'nationalization' or 'localization'. Moreover, Turkey's policy on defense industry was sharply changed. In other words, national industrialization gained momentum in the period when Turkey realized that alignments may be broken in the event of having different interests with other states. Therefore, Turkey began to adopt a policy which relied on its own potential in the defense industry and aimed to increase these opportunities. Another significant outcome of that period was that 'diplomacy' would be the best way to solve the international disputes rather than battle. It might be argued that states may have a huge potential to reach a consensus at the table when they have a joint trouble. In that period, Turkey preferred to develop its defense industry in order to be more powerful at the table where countries had consultations in the line with their own national-interest.

In this context, it is not wrong to say that Turkey adopted a foreign policy which was focused on its interest and prestige in the region after the Johnson Letter. In other words, the period when Turkey adopted the "one-sided" foreign policy was over.

²⁴⁸ Emiliano Alessandri, Turkey's global strategy: Turkey and the United States. IDEAS reports - special reports, Kitchen, Nicholas (ed.) (LSE IDEAS, London School of Economics and Political Science; London, 2011).

Another reason for disagreement between the two of Turkey and the USA was the “opium crisis”. As it is clearly explained in the 5th chapter of this thesis, the USA preferred to put a limitation in the cultivation of the opium poppy in Turkey although the problem was mainly because of the French underworld. In this context, it deserves special consideration that the USA could not act in a fair manner while conducting its foreign policy on Turkey. The arms embargo which was imposed because of clashing interest of two states on 5 February 1975 was the last straw that broke the camel’s back.²⁴⁹ Thus, after this embargo, Turkey canceled “Defense Cooperation Agreement” which was signed in 1969. As a result of all these developments mentioned above, anti-American movements were mainly observed in Turkey as it is explained with its reasons in this thesis.

Thus, the Cyprus issue was the main reason for disagreements between the two states. Turkey, a staunch ally of NATO, illustrated that protection of Turks was the significant responsibility for the Turkish state which was realized through “Cyprus Peace Operation”. However, the road to operation on Cyprus was the long way which was surely full with certain challenges. Throughout the road, the USA was not always a pure ally for Turkey which has been explained with reasons in this thesis. It is thus of great importance to understand the certain dynamics of the Cyprus issue for the relations between Turkey and the USA in the Cold War period.

On the other hand, according to the Greek Cypriot side, the history of Cyprus starts with Turkey's intervention to Cyprus in 1974 under "the 1960 Agreements" and closes with the significant attempts to annihilate the Turkish Cypriots on the way to realize Enosis.²⁵⁰ In other words, they have eliminated the years between 1963 and 1974 when Turkey put very crucial efforts to solve the issue. Aforementioned period

²⁴⁹ Merve Seren, “Güvenlik, Strateji ve İstihbarat Uzmanı, AYBÜ Öğr. Ü. Dr. Merve Seren: İttifaklara bağlıyız ama bağımlı değiliz.” Interviewed by Fadime Özkan. *Star Gazete*, 26 November 2018. Retrieved from, <https://www.star.com.tr/yazar/guvenlik-strateji-ve-istihbarat-uzmani-aybu-ogr-u-dr-merve-seren-ittifaklara-bagliyiz-ama-bagimli-degiliz-yazi-1410466/>

²⁵⁰ Rauf R. Denктаş, "The Failed Test of Legality." *Ankara Barosu Review Magazine* 1, No. 3 (2010), 25-32. <http://www.ankarabarusu.org.tr/siteler/AnkaraBarReview/tekmakale/2010-1/3.pdf>

has been remained as a bloodshed stage in history by Turkey. However, Turkey, as a problem-solver-side, was at the table in order to negotiate significant subjects in the same period. "A two-state settlement to reunification under a bi-zonal, bi-communal, federal system"²⁵¹ was in the agenda in the negotiations which were kicked off in 1968 after the Greek military junta of 1967. It would be right to say that this period could not be closed with the consultation because of the Greek side's uncompromising attitude.

Above all, Turkey was an important ally and significant actor in the region in order to be winning party in the war against communism. However, the alliance between Turkey and the USA was broken because of zeitgeist conditions. Turkey has conducted a policy in order to eliminate static threats, determine Turkey's security requirements by following a certain defense policy.²⁵² Under these circumstances, it would be right to say that the USA found itself in a situation where it had to find a way out. Thus, military coup d'état of 1980 was the way out which was waited for a long time by the USA. It launched a new leaf in Turkish-American relation despite uncertainty of the American association with the coup.

Throughout history, Turkey is the vital ally of the USA. In the course of history, the Cyprus issue was a crucial place because it is the main reason of disagreement between Turkey and the USA during the 'period of crisis' (1964-1980) after the 'first golden age' (1947-1964). Starting with the Truman Doctrine, two states shared the common interest in the first golden age period. In that time, the main pillar of the American foreign policy was the Soviet threat and prevention of Soviet expansion. In this sense, Turkey located in a key position for the USA in terms of containing the

²⁵¹ "The term "bicomunal", as defined by the United Nations Organization itself, means that the two communities will participate effectively in the organs and decisions of the central federal government... It was included in the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. It remains to define, through negotiations and the final agreement to be concluded, the specific content of the effective participation in the power organs and the decisions of the central government." Retrieved from, [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/highcom/highcom_newdelhi.nsf/all/3AF861EE6C2042E0C2257A4D0037CD2B/\\$file/CYPRUS%20AND%20FEDERATION.pdf?openelement](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/highcom/highcom_newdelhi.nsf/all/3AF861EE6C2042E0C2257A4D0037CD2B/$file/CYPRUS%20AND%20FEDERATION.pdf?openelement)

²⁵² Merve Seren, *Türkiye'nin Füze Savunma Sistemi: İhale Süreci, Temel Dinamikler ve Aktörler* (Seta Press: İstanbul, 2015), 7.

Soviet Union's expansionist policy. However, the American President Johnson wrote a historical letter which ended the first golden age when the interest of Turkey and the USA clashed on the Cyprus issue. The main dispute took place between the two states was mainly because of this issue. That is to say, the historical events which explained in this thesis were mainly outcomes of the Cyprus dispute between Turkey and the USA despite these two countries' NATO alignment. These historical events left a significant mark in this period may be considered as a prohibition of cultivation of the opium poppy in Turkey and the arms embargo on Turkey. These two significant events, well explained in this thesis, may be accepted as the most effective impact of Turkish Cyprus Peace Operation on Turkish-American relations. Despite all disputes and disagreements between the two states, Turkey and the USA have a permanent ally in the international environment because of their security concern. As a result of all these analysis and crucial turning points explained throughout this thesis, it is worth to be said that the mutual respect have been at "the heart of their alliance".

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APPENDICES

A. GOVERNMENTS IN THE USA (1964-1980)²⁵³

<p>President: Lyndon B. Johnson</p> <p>Vice President: office vacant</p> <p>Speaker of the House: John W. McCormack</p> <p>Secretary of State: David Dean Rusk</p>	<p>1963-1965</p>
<p>President: Lyndon B. Johnson</p> <p>Vice President: Hubert H. Humphrey</p> <p>Speaker of the House: John W. McCormack</p> <p>Secretary of State: David Dean Rusk</p>	<p>1965-1969</p>

²⁵³ Prepared by the author being inspired from https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/list/057_chron.html

<p>President: Richard M. Nixon</p> <p>Vice President: Spiro T. Agnew</p> <p>Speaker of the House: John W. McCormack and Carl Albert</p> <p>Secretary of State: William Pierce Rogers</p>	<p>1969-1973</p>
<p>President: Richard M. Nixon</p> <p>Vice President: Gerald R. Ford</p> <p>Speaker of the House: Carl Albert</p> <p>Secretary of State: Henry A. (Heinz Alfred) Kissinger</p>	<p>1973-1974</p>

<p>President: Gerald R. Ford</p> <p>Vice President: Nelson Rockefeller</p> <p>Speaker of the House: Carl Albert</p> <p>Secretary of State: Henry A. (Heinz Alfred) Kissinger</p>	<p>1974-1977</p>
<p>President: Jimmy Carter</p> <p>Vice President: Walter F. Mondale</p> <p>Speaker of the House: Tip O'Neill</p> <p>Secretary of State: Cyrus Roberts Vance and Edmund Sixtus Muskie</p>	<p>1977-1981</p>

B. GOVERNMENTS IN TURKEY (1964-1980)²⁵⁴

<p>President: Cemal Gürsel</p> <p>Prime Minister: İsmet İnönü</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs: Feridun Cemal Erkin</p>	<p>25 December 1963-20 February 1965</p>
<p>President:Cemal Gürsel</p> <p>Prime Minister: Suat Hayri Ürgüplü</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Hasan Esat Işık</p>	<p>20 February 1965- 27 October 1965</p>

²⁵⁴ Prepared by the author being inspired from Duygu Demirdöven, Turkish Foreign Policy between 1983 and 1999. Unpublished thesis, METU, 2014.

<p>President:Cemal Gürsel and Cevdet Sunay</p> <p>Prime Minister:Süleyman Demirel</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil</p>	<p>27 October 1965- 3 November 1969</p>
<p>President:Cevdet Sunay</p> <p>Prime Minister:Süleyman Demirel</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil</p>	<p>3 November 1969- 6 March 1970</p>
<p>President:Cevdet Sunay</p> <p>Prime Minister:Süleyman Demirel</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil</p>	<p>6 March 1970- 26 March 1971</p>

<p>President:Cevdet Sunay</p> <p>Prime Minister:Nihat Erim</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Osman Olcay</p>	<p>26 March 1971- 11 December 1971</p>
<p>President:Cevdet Sunay</p> <p>Prime Minister:Nihat Erim</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Ümit Haluk Bayülken</p>	<p>11 December 1971- 22 May 1972</p>
<p>President:Cevdet Sunay and Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Ferit Melen</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Ümit Haluk Bayülken</p>	<p>22 May 1972- 15 April 1973</p>

<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Naim Talu</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Ümit Haluk Bayülken</p>	<p>15 April 1973- 26 January 1974</p>
<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Bülent Ecevit</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Turan Güneş</p>	<p>26 January 1974- 17 November 1974</p>
<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Sadi Irmak</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Melih Esenbel</p>	<p>17 November 1974- 31 March 1975</p>

<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Süleyman Demirel</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil</p>	<p>31 March 1975- 21 June 1977</p>
<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Bülent Ecevit</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Gündüz Ökçün</p>	<p>21 June 1977- 21 July 1977</p>
<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Süleyman Demirel</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil</p>	<p>21 July 1977- 5 January 1978</p>

<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister:Bülent Ecevit</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Gündüz Ökçün</p>	<p>5 January 1978- 12 November 1979</p>
<p>President:Fahri Korutürk</p> <p>Prime Minister: Süleyman Demirel</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs:Hayrettin Erkmen</p>	<p>12 November 1979- 12 September 1980</p>

C. CHRONOLOGY OF TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS (1964-1980)²⁵⁵

1964, June 5: American President Lyndon Johnson wrote a letter which was about Cyprus issue. The letter was written by President Johnson in order to prevent “a possible Turkish military intervention to Turkey”.

1964, June 13: After the Johnson Letter, Turkish Prime Minister İnönü gave a reply to President Johnson and explained Turkey’s responsibility to protect the Turks living in Cyprus.

1969, July 3: Turkish-American Joint Defense Cooperation Agreement was signed.

1968-1971: Opium Crisis broke out between two states.

1974, July 20: Turkey launched a military intervention to Cyprus.

1975, February 5: Arms embargo was put on Turkey after Cyprus Peace Operation.

1975, July 26: Turkey cancelled “Defense Cooperation Agreement” which was signed in 1969.

1976, March 26: “Turkish-American Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement” was signed. (This document was not ratified by Turkish Parliament and the US Senate thus did not enter into force).

1978, September 26: The arms embargo on Turkey was cancelled by the American Congress.

²⁵⁵ Aydın, Mustafa, Çağrı. Erhan, and Erdem, Gökhan. "Chronology of Turkish-American Relations." *Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University* (2002). Retrieved from, <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/44/671/8553.pdf>

1980, January 9: Two states held important negotiations on “the New Economic and Defense Cooperation Agreement”. These negotiations were concluded. (**10 January**). Thus, the Turkish-American Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement was initiated by Faruk Şahinbaş (Turkish Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry) and Ronald Spiers (American Ambassador to Ankara) with the three annex agreements on defense industry and installation. These mentioned agreements are on: the military bases, American assistance to Turkey in defense, and cooperation for the development of Turkish national defense industry.

1980, February 22: The Aegean air space was unilaterally opened.

1980, March 10: It was disclosed by Turgut Özal that \$ 300 million credit would be provided by the USA this year.

1980, March 29: Turkish-American Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) was signed between two states.

1980, April 10: Spokesman of the Turkish Foreign Ministry declared that Turkey wouldn't participate in the American intervention to the Middle East. Military bases located in Turkey would be allowed to be used with the parallel of the NATO objectives.

1980, April 25: Turkey reacted to the American troops' action to rescue hostages in Tehran. Turkish Foreign Minister Hayrettin Erkmen stated that “İncirlik base” could not be used by the American forces.

1980, May 26: American Senate investigated and revealed that the military bases in Turkey was under the control of Turkey. It was also stated that Turkey could not be urged to participate in any conflict in the region.

1980, August 1: American Secretary of State Edmund Muskie stated “the need to solve the problems between Turkey and Greece in order to reinforce the southern flank of NATO”.

1980, September 12: On 12 September 1980, the military overthrew the government and declared a military regime.

D. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Uluslararası düzlemde birer oyuncu olan ülkeler, dış politikalarını belirlerken kendi ulusal çıkarlarını ve güvenliklerini ön planda tutarak zamanın ruhuna (zeitgeist) uygun bir şekilde stratejilerini geliştirmişlerdir. Söz konusu stratejiler, ülkelerin kendi ulusal çıkarlarını göz önünde tutmuş ve devamlılıklarını sağlamayı amaç edinmiştir. Uluslararası düzlemin içinde artarak önem kazanmakta olan Türkiye ise stratejisini bahsedilen doğrultuda belirlerken, bulunduğu kırılgan coğrafyada önemli bir aktör olarak varlığını devam ettirmiştir. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sonucunda, Dünya üzerinde lider bir güç olmayı başaran Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) ise kurmuş olduğu ilişkileri önemsemiş ve Türkiye'yi bölgedeki müttefiki olarak görmüştür. İki müttefik devlet, zamanın ruhuna bağlı olarak, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilanından başlayarak günümüze kadar dalgalı bir seyir izlemiş ve önemli kırılmayı 1964 ile 1980 seneleri arasında tecrübe etmiştir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin doğum sertifikası olarak adlandırılan Lozan Barış Antlaşması, tarihte önemli bir dönüm noktası olarak kabul edilmiştir. Antlaşmanın akabinde, karşılıklı olarak iki ülke büyükelçiler atamış ve diplomatik ilişkilerini bir üst düzeye taşımıştır. Söz konusu dönemin dış politikası belirlenirken, mevcut statükonun korunmasına önem atfedilmiş ve barış ortamının sağlanması başlıca amaç olarak belirlenmiştir. 1938 yılında Atatürk'ün vefatıyla birlikte akabinde gerçekleşen İkinci Dünya Savaşı, Türkiye'nin dış politika çizgisinde bir değişim yaratmıştır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı süresinde temel hedefi Türkiye'yi savaşın dışında tutmak olan Cumhurbaşkanı İsmet İnönü, şekillenmekte olan yeni Dünya düzeninde taraf seçmek zorunda bırakılmıştır.

Hiç şüphesiz ki, İkinci Dünya Savaşı esnasında şekillenmekte olan ve sonrasında ortaya çıkan 'iki kutuplu' (bi-polar) düzen içerisinde Türkiye önemli bir aktör olarak ülkelerin dikkatini çekmiştir. ABD'nin liderliğini yaptığını ve Kuzey Atlantik Antlaşması Örgütü'nü (NATO) oluşturan Batı Bloku karşısında, Sovyetler Birliği tarafından Varşova Paketi imzalanarak Doğu Bloku'nun savunma örgütü kurulmuştur.

İki başat gücün öncülük ettiği bu yeni Dünya düzeni, Türkiye'nin bir seçim yapmasını gerekli kılmış ve coğrafyası nedeniyle ülkenin önemini artırmıştır. Her iki ülke de, savunma politikaları doğrultusunda Türkiye'nin müttefikliğine ihtiyaç duymuş ve kendi bloğunda yer alması için strateji belirlemiştir. Batı Bloku'nda yer alması için ABD tarafından yapılan askeri ve ekonomik yardımlar sonucu, Türkiye'nin kararı Batı Bloku'nda yer almak olmuştur.

1947 yılında açıklanan Truman Doktrini'ni, Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinin altın çağının başlangıcı olarak almak yanlış bir karar olmayacaktır. Ortadoğu bölgesine özel bir ehemmiyet atfeden ABD için, Türkiye bölgede etkin ve aktif olabilmeyi sağlayan önemli bir müttefik olmuştur. 1953 yılında Amerika Dışişleri Bakanı John Foster Dulles tarafından yapılan ortadoğu gezisi program, bu ehemmiyeti ifade etmiştir. Türkiye'nin bölgede önemli bir aktör olmasının bir başka kanıtını ise, 1955 tarihinde Irak'ın çekilmesiyle sonlanan Bağdat Paketi'nin yerine kurulan CENTO'nun merkezinin Ankara'ya oluşturmuştur. Yaşanılan bu süreç içerisinde, Batı Bloku'nun savunma örgütü olarak adlandırılan NATO, 4 Nisan 1949 tarihinde kurulmuş ve Dünya üzerindeki ülkelerin bu doğrultuda bir seçim yapmasını gerekli kılmıştır. Batı Bloku'nda yer alan Türkiye, 1952 yılında ABD'yle olan müttefikliğine resmîyet kazandırmış ve 'tek boyutlu' bir dış politika izlemeye başlamıştır. Türkiye'nin Atlantik İttifakı'na kabulü; Batı bloğuyla olan siyasi, askeri, ekonomik ve kültürel angajmanına resmîyet kazandıran en güçlü adımı teşkil etmiştir. Bahsi geçen üyelik sonrası risk ve tehdit algılaması değişmiş, NATO'nun güvenlik algısı ve yol haritasına Türkiye tarafından büyük bir önem atfedilmiştir. 1952 yılında üye olduğu uluslararası askeri örgütün 'güney kanadı' (southern flank) olarak adlandırılan Türkiye, jeopolitik konumu sayesinde Sovyet yayılmasının engellenmesi konusunda önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Türkiye'nin NATO üyeliğini güçlü bir biçimde savunan ve bu doğrultuda Türkiye'ye destek olan Amerikan Büyükelçisi George Mc Ghee, ülkenin jeopolitik konumuna dikkat çekmiş, Türkiye'nin konumu gereği Sovyet yayılmasında hayati bir noktada bulunduğunu vurgulamış ve NATO'ya alınmasında kilit bir rol üstlenmiştir. Söz konusu tek taraflı politika (one-sided policy) ise, Soğuk Savaş dönemi denge politikası başlığı altında yürütülmeye çalışılmıştır. Bir başka deyişle, iki kutup arasında denge kurarak güvenliğini sağlamaya çalışan Türkiye, tek

tarafa yönelmiş ve Kore Savaşı'na katılmasının bir sonucu olan NATO üyeliğiyle bloklar arası seçimine resmîyet kazandırmıştır.

“Birimiz hepimiz, hepimiz birimiz için.” diyerek toplu savunmanın temel unsurunu açıklayan NATO, Türk dış politikasında önemli bir eğilimi ifa etmiştir. Savunma politikasını bu doğrultuda belirlemiş ve Sovyet yayılmasına karşı tampon bir bölgeyi temsil etmiştir. Özellikle, Küba Krizi döneminde coğrafi konumunun ehemmiyeti anlaşılan Türkiye, 1960’ların ortasında ABD stratejilerini temel alan tek taraflı politikasının çok doğru olmadığını anlamış ve çok boyutlu bir süreç yürütmenin gerekliliğini kavramıştır. Dış politikada ve güvenlik konusunda işbirliği içerisinde bulunan iki ülke, çatışan çıkarları doğrultusunda farklı yollarda yürümeye başlamıştır. Nixon yönetimi döneminde 1960’larda gerçekleştirilen haşhaş ekiminin yasaklanması ise söz konusu kriz dönemine daha fazla bir ciddiyet atfetmiştir. Önemli bir ekonomik gelir kaynağı olan haşhaşın ekimine dair getirilen bu yasak, iç politikayı da etkileyerek çeşitli sorunlara yol açmıştır. Özellikle, seçim döneminde bir propaganda aracı olarak kullanılan bu konu iki ülke arasındaki anlaşmazlığı bir üst boyuta taşımıştır. Bütün bu gelişmelerin ışığında Türkiye’nin yürümeye başladığı yeni yolda, çok boyutlu bir dış politikaya yönelen Türkiye, uluslararası düzlemden izole olmamak gerektiğini anlamış ve Sovyetler Birliği dahil olmak üzere komşu ülkelerle ilişkilerini yeniden düzenlemiştir. Yaşanılan sürecin bir diğer sonucu ise, Türkiye’de artmakta olan Amerikan karşıtı hareketler olmuştur. Bu durumun en önemli kanıtı ise, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi’ne gelen Amerikan Büyükelçisi’nin makam aracının yakılması olmuştur. Söz konusu durum dahilinde iki ülkenin karşılıklı anlaşmazlık boyutu, geri dönülmesi zor olan bir sürece girmiş ve karşılıklı gerilim tırmanmıştır.

Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinin birinci altın çağının sonlanması ve artık kriz döneminin oldukça belirgin bir şekilde görülerek ifade edilmesi ise oldukça sancılı bir tarihi süreçle gerçekleşmiştir. Amerikan Başkanı Lyndon B. Johnson tarafından Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı İsmet İnönü’ye yazılan ve literatürde ‘Johnson Mektubu’ olarak yerini alan bu önemli hadise, Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinde yeni bir çağ başlatmış ve Türk dış politikasında bir eksen kaymasına neden olmuştur. İki ülke

ilişkilerinde kriz döneminin perdesini aralayan tarihi mektup, ülkelerin Kıbrıs üzerindeki farklı stratejilerinden dolayı ortaya çıkmış ve Türkiye'nin üç garantör devletten birisi olması durumunu göz ardı etmiştir. Bu noktada, ABD'nin doğrudan olmasa da dolaylı bir şekilde 16 Ağustos 1960 tarihinde kurulan Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin toprak bütünlüğüyle ilgilendiğini söylemek yerinde olacaktır. Sovyet yayılmasına karşın Avrupa'nın bütünlüğünü savunan ABD, İngiltere'nin adadan çıkmasını istememiş ve NATO müttefikleri arasında çıkabilecek olası bir savaşı engellemeye çalışmıştır. Ancak, bu doğrultuda bir politika izleyen ABD, Kıbrıslı Türklere karşı yapılan saldırılara kayıtsız kalmıştır. Yukarıda bahsi geçen mektupta ise, NATO aracılığıyla kurulan müttefiklik anlayışının ABD'nin kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda gerçekleştirilmeye çalışıldığı farklı cümlelerle ifade edilmiştir. Mektubun en önemli maddesini; olası bir Kıbrıs müdahalesi durumunda adada bir bölünmenin yaşanacağını ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin müdahalesi durumunda, Türkiye'nin NATO müttefikleri tarafından korunamayacağını anlatan cümle temsil etmiştir. Ayrıca, üç garantör ülkeden birisi olan Türkiye'nin adaya müdahale hakkı olmasına karşın, Yunanistan'la ortaya çıkacak bir savaş iki müttefik arasındaki çatışmayı anlatmaktadır ve bu durumun NATO tarafından onaylanmayan bir politikayı ortaya çıkaracağını Başkan Johnson mektubunda açıklamıştır. Son olarak, ABD'den alınan silahların kullanılmayacağını anlatan maddesiyle ise silah ambargosunu dolaylı yollarla dile getirerek, Türkiye'nin bir eksen kayması yaşamasına neden olunmuştur.

Adadaki garantör devlet olmak konumunu önemseyen Türkiye, 5 Haziran 1964 tarihinde yazılan Johnson Mektubu'na bir cevap yazmış ve kendi hayal kırıklıklarını söz konusu mektup aracılığıyla belirtmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı İsmet İnönü cevaben yazmış olduğu mektupta, Kıbrıs'a yapılacak olan olası bir müdahalenin adadaki Türkleri korumak amacıyla olacağını belirtmiş ve Türk tarafının sorunun çözümüne dair harcamış olduğu çabayı dile getirmiştir. 1950'lerde eylemlerini artıran ve diplomatlar dahil adadaki birçok Türk'ü öldüren EOKA terör örgütü, halkın can güvenliğini tehdit etmeye devam etmiştir. Bu çerçevede, adanın Yunanistan'la birleşmesini savunmuşlar ve 'enosis' fikrinin destekçisi olmuşlardır. Böyle bir ortamda, Türkiye ise sorunun çözümüne dönük adımlar atmaya çalışmış ve

adanın birleşmesi fikrine karşılık ‘taksim’ politikasının savunucusu olmuştur. Kanlı Noel olarak adlandırılan üzücü bir hadiseyle sonlanan görüşmeler ise, sürecin daha fazla karmaşık bir hal almasına yol açmış ve Türkiye’yi adım atmaya dair zorlamaya başlamıştır. Belirlenen yeşil hattın ve Kıbrıs’ta kurulan Birleşmiş Milletler Barışı Koruma Gücü’nün (United Nations Peacekeeping Forces) de yetersiz kalmasıyla birlikte, ciddi anlamda bir müdahale tekrar gündeme gelmeye başlamıştır. Söz konusu müdahalenin ortaya çıkışıyla birlikte, lider profili önem kazanmış ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti liderlerinin risk analizinin farklılığı gözler önüne serilmiştir. Bu noktada, İsmet İnönü kendi döneminin bir gerekliliği olarak çatışmadan daha uzakta bir politika izlemeyi tercih ederken, dönemin başbakanı Bülent Ecevit ise aktif bir politikayı tercih etmiştir. Kıbrıs Türkleri’nin korunmasını temel sorumluluklarından birisi olarak gören Türkiye, 1970’lerdeki kaotik sürecin ortasında bir karar vermek durumunda kalmış ve aktif dış politikasının bir sonucu olarak Ecevit dış politika sahnesinde belirlemiştir. “Kıbrıs’a savaşılmaya değil, barışı için gidiyoruz.” diyen Ecevit, Kıbrıslı Türklere yapılan katliamlar sonucunda 20 Temmuz 1974 tarihinde adaya müdahale edilmesini kararlaştırmıştır.

Ecevit öncülüğünde kararı verilen ve büyük bir cesaretle gerçekleştirilen müdahale sonucunda, Türkiye’nin adaya dair tutumu uluslararası kamuoyu tarafından anlaşılabilir ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin korumasına dair bir politika anlayışının belirlendiği görülmüştür. Birinci Kıbrıs Harekatı akabinde, üç garantör devlet arasında yeniden müzakereler başlamış ve çözüm yolları için bir araya gelinmiştir. Adada ateşkesin ilan edilmesiyle birlikte, Kıbrıslı Türkler derin bir nefes almıştır. 1974 yılında ilan edilen Cenevre Deklarasyonu’nda alınan kararlar doğrultusunda adaya barış getirilmesi hedeflenmiştir. Güvenli bir bölgenin kurulması kararlaştırılmış ve karşılıklı her iki topluluğun da güvenliğinin sağlanması amaç edinilmiştir. Ancak Türkiye tarafından önerilen ‘federal devlet’ çözümü diğer garantör devletler tarafından kabul edilmemiş ve bağlayıcı kararlar yeterince etkin bir şekilde uygulanamamıştır. Gerçekleşen olaylar ve Rum tarafının tutumu sonucunda, adada huzurun karşılıklı bir şekilde sağlanamayacağına dair inancı artan Türkiye ise ikinci bir müdahaleyi düşünmeye başlamıştır. 14 Ağustos 1974 tarihinde, literatürde yerini alacak olan bir cümle (“Ayşe tatile çıksın!”) dönemin dışişleri bakanı Turan Güneş

tarafından dile getirilmiş ve ikinci operasyonun başlatılması emrinin verildiğini ifade etmiştir. Söz konusu Kıbrıs Barış Harekati sonucunda, uluslararası düzlemde oldukça sancılı bir süreç yaşamış olan Türkiye, diğer ülkeler tarafından kendisine karşı gerçekleştirilebilecek yaptırımlara aldırmaksızın garantör devlet olmanın sorumluluğunu üstlenmiş ve gerekliliklerini yerine getirerek Kıbrıslı Türkler'i öncelikli konuları arasına yerleştirmiştir. Barış Harekati'nin sonucunda adanın bölünmesi süreci başlamış ve iki topluluk da keskin bir sınır çizerek, Ecevit'in müdahaleci anlayışta olan dış politikasını tecrübe etmiştir. Bu müdahaleyle anlaşılmıştır ki, adanın Helenleşmesine izin verilmeyecek ve Kıbrıslı Türklere uygulanan adaletsiz tutumlara göz yumulmayacaktır. İki topluluk arasında bir köprü kurmanın çok mümkün olmadığına anlaşılmasının akabinde, karşılıklı nüfus mübadelesine karar verilmiş ve iki topluluğun kendi bölgelerine geçerek adadaki varlıklarını devam ettirmelerine karar verilmiştir. Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) tarafından belirlenen 'Yeşil Hat' (Green Line) neticesinde, adadaki kimlik politikası ayrı bir önem kazanmış ve iki topluluk da karşılıklı Helen ve Türk kimliğini öne çıkararak stratejilerini belirlemişlerdir.

Gerçekleşen Barış Harekati sonucunda, adada yeni bir sayfa açılmış ve Kıbrıslı Türkler'in güvenliklerinin sağlandığı bir atmosfer oluşturulmuştur. Rum tarafının, adanın Yunanistan'la birleşmesi hakkındaki umutları nihayetinde son bulmuştur. Ancak, maalesef ki söz konusu durum Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerini derinden etkileyerek iki devletin çıkarlarının çatıştığı zaman farklı politikalar izleyebileceğini ve müttefikliğine zarar gelebileceğini göstermiştir. Söz konusu iki önemli hareketin akabinde gerçekleşen bir dizi tarihi hadise kanıtlamıştır ki, Türkiye'nin politikası kendi öncelikleri göz önünde tutularak belirlenmeli ve müttefiklik olgusuna mutlak suretle bel bağlanmamalıdır. 1975 yılında başlatılan silah ambargosu ise, bu görüşün en önemli kanıtı olmuştur. Bu doğrultuda, Türk dış politikasında bir mihenk taşı temsil eden Kıbrıs sorunu, iki ülke arasında unutulmayacak bir süreci başlatmış ve üç yıl sürecek olan silah ambargosunu başlatmıştır. Söz konusu ambargo ise, yukarıda bahsedilmiş olan Sovyet yayılmasına karşı toprak bütünlüğünü korumayı ve Avrupa'yı bir arada tutmayı amaç edinen ABD tarafından, Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasındaki silah dengesini sağlayarak olası savaşı önleme nedeniyle uygulanmıştır.

Ancak, bu ambargonun uzun surely bir çözüml olduđu söylenemez. Uygulanan ambargo, kısa surely bir çözüml olmuş ve iki ülkenin arasındaki anlaşmazlığın ABD tarafından çözülebilmesini sağlayamamıştır. Ayrıca, Türkiye'nin NATO müttefikliği kavramına olan inancını sarsmış ve bağıllığını sorgulamasına neden olmuştur. Kırılgan bir zemine oturmuş olan Türk-Amerikan ilişkileri oldukça hassas bir konu olan Kıbrıs konusunda, ayrı fikirlerde olunması nedeniyle daha da çıkılmaz bir hal almıştır. Dönemin başbakanı Bülent Ecevit'in ifade ettiği üzere, ulusal bir güvenlik konusu olan Kıbrıs mevzusu, Türkiye'nin kapalı gözlerle bakamayacağı bir durumu teşkil etmiştir. Ayrıca, uygulanan ambargolar ve sert politikalar, çözüml ulaşılmasını geciktirerek, iki ülke arasında yeni engelleri teşkil etmektedir. Ayrıca, Türkiye tarafından ambargo kararının uygulanması ise Yunan tarafının lehine bir durum yaratmış ve Türkiye'yi herhangi bir tehlike durumunda kendini savunamayacak hale getirmiştir. NATO'nun güney kanadı olarak ifade edilen Türkiye'nin kendini savunamaması, Ortadođu coğrafyasının olası bir Sovyet tehdidi karşısında savunmasız kalması ve NATO'nun zayıflaması demektir. Bir başka önemli arguman ise, uygulanan silah ambargosunun adil bir şekilde ifa edilemediğidir. Bunun nedeni olarak ise, iki ülkenin önemli bir savunma örgütünde müttefik olmalarına rağmen, Türkiye'nin en hassas konusunda yeterince işbirliği içerisinde hareket edemeyişleridir. Kıbrıs sorununa kadar İncirlik'te üsleri bulunan ABD, uzun vadede ilişkilerine zarar getirecek bir adım atmaktan çekinmiş ve tam tersine Türkiye'nin kendi bloğunda yer alması için gerekli zemini hazırlamıştır. Gerek Türkiye'nin ambargo karşısındaki sert duruşu gerekse de hükümetin değışerek Ford yönetiminin değışen bakış açısının bir sonucu olarak, söz konusu karar yeniden gözden geçirilmiştir. Dönemin Amerikan Başkanı Gerald Ford'un yapmış olduğu konuşması, ABD politikasında yeniden bir değışimin yaşanmakta olduğunu açıklamıştır. Fakat çabaları yetersiz kalan Ford'un halefi olan Jimmy Carter'ın ilk önceliği, silah ambargosunu kaldırarak ilişkilerin normalleşme sürecine sokulmasını sağlamak olmuştur. Bu doğrultuda, 2 Nisan 1978 tarihinde Başkan Carter, silah ambargosunun kaldırılması için bir çağrıda bulunmuştur. Aynı yıl, ABD tarafından silah ambargosu kaldırılarak Türkiye'nin savunma politikasını yeniden gözden geçirmesi gerektiği hatırlatılmıştır.

Jonson mektubunun başlattığı ve Türkiye tarafından çok boyutlu bir şekilde yürütülmekte olan dış politika anlayışı söz konusu dönem içerisinde haşhaş krizi ve silah ambargosu sebebiyle derin sınavlar geçirmiştir. ABD tarafından uygulanan silah ambargosunun bir başka sonucu ise, Türkiye'nin iç politika anlayışında da görülmüştür. Bu doğrultuda, savunma stratejisini millileştirme yolunda önemli adımlar atmış ve kendi güvenliğini sağlayabilmek için yerli üretime yönelmiştir. Kıbrıs konusundaki anlaşmazlık belirgin olana kadar savunma stratejisini NATO'ya bağlı bir şekilde düzenleyen Türkiye, ABD ile olan müttefikliğini göz önüne alarak belirlediği politikaların yetersiz kalabileceğini anlamıştır. Bu doğrultuda kendi kendine yetebilmesi üzerine eğilmiş ve söz konusu dönemden çıkarmış olduğu en büyük ders bu olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, uygulanmakta olan silah ambargosu sebebiyle olası bir saldırı karşısında kendini savunabilmesi için gerekli olan araçların teminini başka ülkeler aracılığıyla karşılamak durumunda kalan Türkiye'nin yeni stratejisi kendi sanayisine yatırım yapmak ve savunma araçlarını kendi sanayisinde üretmek olmuştur.

Yukarıda bahsedilen bütün bu süreçler iki ana teori olan neorealizm ve neoliberalizm öncülüğünde değerlendirilmiştir. Neorealist teori, uluslararası düzlemin yapısının ülkelerin karar alma süreçlerinde önemli bir etken olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Soğuk Savaş sonrasında oluşan iki kutuplu düzen, devletlerin karar alma süreçlerini etkilemiş ve uluslararası sistemin yapısını oluşturması nedeniyle ehemmiyet arz etmiştir. Söz konusu teoriye göre, güvenlik tehdidi içerisinde olan iki kutup karşılıklı ilerleyerek birbirlerini dengeleme görevi görmüşlerdir. Böylece, uluslararası düzlemde bir üst otorite olmamasından kanaklanan anarşi kaosu çözümlenmiş ve ülkeler arasındaki anlaşmazlıklar en alt düzeye indirilebilmiştir. Tek kutuplu sistemin içerisinde her daim bir dengelenemeyen yapıdan söz ederken, iki kutuplu sistemde ise kutupların karşılıklı olarak yarattıkları istikrardan söz etmek mümkündür. Neorealist düşünürlerin ifade ettiği şekilde, tek kutuplu (unipolar) bir Dünya barışın sağlanması için uygun bir seçenek değildir çünkü yalnız bir devlet tarafından anarşik bir doğa içerisinde hegemony kurulmasını mümkün kılmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, system üzerinde bir güç dengesi kurulmuş ve system istikrarını sağlamıştır. Bu minvalde, iki başat güç dışındaki devletler kendilerini korumak ve

devamlılıklarını sağlamak amacıyla bir diğer güce karşı birlik olarak stratejilerini belirlemişlerdir. Türkiye'nin de Soğuk Savaş döneminde uygulamış olduğu denge politikası, bu bağlamda açıklanabilmektedir. Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinin dönemsel incelenmesinde kullanılan diğer bir uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi ise neoliberalizmdir. Soğuk Savaş döneminde ortaya çıkan ve liberalizmin bir alt kolu olan bu teori, realist teorinin aksine ülkelerin iş birlikleri yapabileceklerini ve ortak çıkarlara sahip olabileceklerini savunmuştur. Soğuk Savaş döneminde imzalanan Varşova Paktı'nı ve NATO'nun kuruluşunu örnek göstererek, ülkelerin müttefiklik algısının varlığından söz etmiştir. Türkiye'nin de bir NATO üyesi olması ve ortak çıkarları doğrultusunda işbirliği içerisinde bulunması, söz konusu argümanı güçlendirmektedir. Ancak, Kıbrıs konusundaki anlaşmazlık ile ortaya çıkan çıkar çatışması ise müttefiklik algısının bir sınır dahilinde yapılabileceğini hatırlatmıştır. Evrensel bir şekilde ortak çıkarların olmayabileceğini hatırlayan Türkiye ise, bu teori tarafından savunulan çok taraflılık politikasını benimsemiştir. Sorun ortaya çıktığı zaman iki taraflı ilişkilerin yetersiz kalabileceğine inanan bu anlayış, ortak kararların uygulanması için ikiden fazla devlete ihtiyaç duyulduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, daha fazla devletin bir müttefiklik anlayışıyla hareket etmesi durumu söz konusu olduğu zaman, uluslararası düzlemde ortaya çıkan sorunlar da nihayetinde azalacaktır. Türkiye ise, tezde detaylarıyla anlatılan Kıbrıs sorunu nedeniyle çok taraflı (multilateral) bir politika izlemenin gerekliliğine inanmıştır. Özellikle, Johnson Mektubu'nun Türkiye'ye ulaşması akabinde, tek taraflı bir politika anlayışını bırakarak çok boyutlu bir politikaya yönelmiştir. Uluslararası örgütlerin ülkeleri ilgilendiren sorunların çözümünde önemli bir rol oynayabileceği inanan bu teori, uluslararası düzlemdeki aktörlerin müttefik olmasının sistemdeki istikrarı sağlayabileceğini düşünmektedir. Sonuç olarak, dönemsel gelişmeler ışığında değişen dinamiklere bağlı olarak Türkiye, dış politikasında uygulamakta olduğu stratejiyi dönemsel değiştirmek zorunda kalmıştır. Farklı görüşleri benimsemiş ve farklı teoriler ışığında hareket ettiği görülmüştür.

Sonuç olarak, açıklanmış olan iki önemli uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri de göz önünde bulundurularak söylenebilir ki, yaşanan tarihi olaylar hem Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerini derinden etkilemiş hem de Türkiye'nin iç siyasetindeki dengelerin belirlenmesinde

rol oynamıştır. Johnson Mektubu ile keskinleşen ve açıkça dile getirilen Türkiye ve Amerika arasındaki politika farklılıkları, 1964 ile 1980 arası dönemde ilişkileri etkileyen başlıca unsur olmuştur. Bu dönemdeki en önemli fikir ayrılığı ise Kıbrıs sorunu sebebiyle yaşanmış ve coğrafi konumundan dolayı Avrupa'nın toprak bütünlüğünün sağlanması konusunda Türkiye de bir aktör olarak sahnede yer almıştır. Kıbrıs konusunda ABD'nin oldukça hassas olmasının sebebi “yayılma etkisi” (spill-over effect) doğrultusunda adadaki olası bir bölünmenin artan bir etki yaratılabileceğini ve Avrupa kıtasının toprak bütünlüğünü etkileyebileceğini düşünmesi olmuştur. Türkiye ise, üç garantör devletten birisi olmasından kaynaklanan sorumluluk sebebiyle adadaki Türklerin can güvenliklerinin sağlanması noktasında başrol üstlenmiştir. Sadık bir NATO müttefikisi olan Türkiye'nin, Yunan tarafının göstermiş olduğu uzlaşmaz tutum sonucunda adada gerçekleştirmiş olduğu iki önemli Barış Harekatı neticesinde uluslararası arenada izolasyon süreci yaşamış olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. ABD tarafından uygulanan silah ambargosu ise, Türkiye kaynaklı olmayan bu izolasyon sürecine bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bir diğer ifadeyle, savunma politikalarında müttefikleri olan ve dış politika stratejisini bu ülkelerle ortak bir doğrultuda gerçekleştiren Türkiye, kendi güvenliği söz konusu olduğunda aynı işbirliğini ve yardımlaşma durumunun ifa edilemediğini görmüştür. Dönem içerisindeki en büyük sorunu Sovyet tehdidi olan ve Avrupa kıtasının toprak bütünlüğünün korunmasını temel endişelerinden birisi haline getiren ABD, kendi politikası doğrultusunda Türkiye'yle fikir ayrılıkları yaşamıştır. Yaşanılan fikir ayrılıklarına ve farklı ulusal çıkarlarına rağmen, önemli bir bölgesel güç olan Türkiye'nin güvenlik sorunları bulunduğu coğrafya sebebiyle ABD'nin de ilgi konusu olmak durumundadır. Bütün bu süreçlerin akabinde yaşanan 1980 tarihli askeri darbe sonucunda, yeniden yakınlaşma dönemine girilerek, kriz döneminin üstesinden gelinmiştir. İki daimi müttefik, ilişkilerinde kriz dönemleri yaşanmasına rağmen fikir ayrılıklarını uzun vadede çözümlenerek, karşılıklı saygıyı her daim korumaya özen göstermişlerdir.

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