



## TURKISH FOREIGN AND ECONOMIC POLICY BETWEEN 1950 AND 1975

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### Abstract

Foreign policy decisions are taken under certain conditions and circumstances. It is accepted that the decision makers act under the influence of both the state and the international environment when making foreign policy decisions. Today, foreign policy and economic relations are even more interrelated with each other. After World War II, the world was divided into two parts. Turkish foreign policy took place alongside the USA, taking into account the Soviet threat, the economy and the domestic policy situation. This is why foreign policy-making is shaped according to the goal allied with the United States and integration with the West. In this study, the relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union during the War of Independence, the period of Atatürk and after the Second World War, will be investigated close relations established by the United States both politically and economically. How the USA tried to interfere with its foreign policy and economic situation to Turkey will be explained.

**Keywords:** United States, Soviet Union, Economy, Foreign Policy.

### 1. Introduction

After the Second World War, Turkey was also affected by the process of foreign policy making in the world system, which was separated by bipolar. Turkey had been taking the United States side taking into consideration the Soviet threat, its relations with the West and its internal political condition, Turkish foreign policy has been shaped aiming to become allies with the United States and to be integrated with the West. Thus, during the 1950s, Turkish - American relations were "in perfect harmony". In 1964, the letter sent by US President Lyndon B. Johnson to prevent Turkey's intervention in Cyprus, which was written in a rude style, marked the first crisis between the United States and Turkey in history.

Later, the second foreign policy crisis during the Cold War with the United States was the poppy cultivation crisis. Turkey's attempts to prevent poppy cultivation by the United States, between the years of 1968-1973, in which the United States - Turkey relations have shown a fluctuating image. This crisis has been an economic crisis with the USA. Another crisis is the suspension of the use of Incirlik in 1974. The USA decided to impose a weapon embargo on Turkey after the Cyprus operation in 1974. As a result, Turkey suspended the use of Incirlik base and other bases within the borders of the country and transferred control of them to the Turkish Armed Forces.

One of the most serious problems Turkey faced at the end of World War II was the improvement and development of the country's economy, which was shaken during the war. Although Turkey did not actually enter the war, it had hard economic difficulties at the end of the war because it kept the army mobilized during the war. In this process, the government carried out new economic and financial policies and on the other hand emphasized on international economic relations (Gönlübol, Ulman, 2014).

With the end of the Second World War, there have been major changes in the political and economic fields in the world and therefore in Turkey. Changes in Turkey's economic policy have shown its impact on the economy's functioning and structure. After the war, it is possible to distinguish the reasons of this transformation as internal and external factors. These internal and external factors have been interacted in the political and economic situation of the period (Şahin, 2000, 93).

Since the Tanzimat Reform era, relations with the global economy in Turkey have followed Europe in general and then the Western world. As the Second World War continued, the rise in inflation and commodity shortages along with the economic decline led to new transformations in political pressures. The newly formed "national bourgeoisie" in opening out Turkey's economy, which is closed to the outside world, played a major role in the United States, which intends to establish the international global system (Kazgan, 2006, 78-79).

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Two powerful countries the US and USSR emerged after WWII. As a result, the Cold War began between the capitalist world headed the United States and the socialist headed the USSR. The pressure exerted by the Soviets on Turkey has pushed Turkey to be in the Western Bloc.

Turkey wanted to join the political and economic institutions and agreements established in the West after the Second World War in order to take part in the Western bloc. In order to join the United Nations treaty, Turkey opened war on Germany on 23 February 1945. As a result, Turkey has become one of the countries that signed the UN treaty. Turkey participated in Bretton Woods Conference for the establishment of post-war international economic order and became a member of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for reconstruction and Development (IBRD). In line with the Marshall assistance plan implemented by the United States and The Truman Doctrine of 1947, became a member of the organization of European Economic Cooperation (OECD) and the North Atlantic pact (NATO). In 1948, started to receive economic aid in the form of Marshall aid, and in order to provide development, Turkey made an effort to get loans from these institutions in the time (Şahin, 2000, 96).

During this period, foreign experts came to Turkey and recommended a liberal and open economy. The United States had made recommendations to Turkey in accordance with its own interests. The USA guided Turkey to increase agricultural production and to bring agriculture to market (Şahin, 2000, 97). When the CHP government was in power CHP took step to show that it has changed its understanding of statism. The most important of these steps was the law on encouragement of foreign capital issued in 1947 and the Industrial Development Bank of Turkey (TSKB), which was established in 1950.

This study forms a literature review, by discussing, the reflections of the relations established with the USA between 1950 and 1975 on Turkey's economy. Historical books and internet sources will be used as sources. The question of whether the political and economic pressure of the USA exists on Turkey. Then under which conditions Turkey accepts liberal economy and ideology, will be debated.

## **2. Turkish - Soviet Union relations during the war of independence and the period of Atatürk**

When the Bolshevik Revolution began in Tsarist Russia, the Russians and the Turks were defeated. They fought against each other in World War I. After the collapse of Tsarism, there was a visible change in the relations between the two countries. With the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed on December 15, 1917, the war situation between the two countries was eliminated (Bayur, 1967).

From 1917 until the establishment of the Republic, Turkey first fought with the countries occupying its territory after the First World War. Later, the Republic was established. At the same time, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established, a civil war period followed by conflicts of various sizes with some countries started (Kurat, 1993).

Turkish Soviet relations officially began in 1919 under new conditions. Both countries had just demolished their theocratic and absolute monarchy at the time or were about to collapse. Both countries were busy establishing their own modern regimes. Both the Soviet Union and Turkey, which had been enmity with the West, had not received diplomatic recognition for a long time, and were excluded from the League of Nations (Karpat, 2015).

Both countries were having a difficult times, have established contact with each other for a short period of time and exchange of mutual support had begun. The Turkish-Soviet Friendship Treaty, which constitutes the basis for Turkish-USSR relations, was signed in Moscow on March 16, 1921. With this agreement, Soviet Russia rejected the Sevres treaty, recognized the national boundaries of the new Turkish state, but also the Turkish-Soviet border was determined precisely (Uçarol, 1995).

On January 24, 1924 Lenin died and Stalin period began. Turkey and the USSR signed a "friendship and neutrality agreement" in Paris on 17 December 1925. The most important part of this agreement is that if any of the countries is attacked, the other country shall remain neutral. This agreement is also the first non-aggression and neutrality agreement signed by both countries (Gönlübol, 1997, p.22). The date of 11 March 1927 was the date of the signing of the trade and navigation agreement between the two states in Ankara. Agreement between the government of the Republic of Croatia and the government of the Republic of Turkey concerning the Reciprocal Promotion and protection of investments Trade representations have been partially made diplomatic (Uçarol, 1995).

One of the most important developments of the 1930s is the visit of Prime Minister Ismet İnönü to Moscow. As a result of this visit, the USSR agreed on the idea of opening a \$ 8 million loan to Turkey and



the protocol on the realization of aid was signed in Ankara on January 21, 1934. But since then, the Soviet Union has ceased to be the only state in Turkey's foreign policy. Because now Turkey needed the assistance of both Western states and the Soviet Union in order to conduct economic and social development (Tuncer, 2017).

Between 1933 and 1936, Turkey and the USSR entered a period of close cooperation. The most important problem affecting Turkish-Soviet relations was the Straits problem. At the Lausanne conference, the two countries agreed to some extent on the straits, but at the Montreal conference, the Soviets' recommendations on the Black Sea were not accepted. As a result, the Soviets accused Turkey of subjugating to the oppression of imperialist powers (Tuncer, 2017).

Turkish Soviet relations began to deteriorate in 1939. When the Soviet Union came to a strong position, it started to use Turkey as a pawn in its international relations. In 1939, the Soviet Union encouraged Turkey not to submit to German pressure but to support the allies. Turkey signed an agreement with France and Britain on 19 October 1939. In the meantime, the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact with Germany (Karpas, 2015).

The USSR wanted Turkey to remain neutral until it was involved in the war in 1941, when the war broke out on Soviet territory, and then the USSR wanted Turkey to enter the actual war against Germany and its allies. After the victory light appeared on the horizon, the USSR opposed Turkey's entry into the war in order to prevent it from playing a role in the reorganization of the post-war world (Karpas, 2015). After the Second World War, relations between Turkey and the USSR, which remained neutral during the Second World War, started to enter a more troublesome path in the new world order. On March 19, 1945, the Soviet Union took the first concrete step and declared that it would not renew the historical Friendship Treaty of 1925.

During the Potsdam conference held on July 17, 1945, the Turkish-Soviet relations were discussed in various sessions. At the end of the conference, the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR agreed that the treaty signed in Montreux on the Straits should be amended because it does not conform to the present conditions. As the next step, it was deemed appropriate that this issue should be discussed directly between Turkey and each of the three countries (Gürün, 1999). After the Potsdam conference which ended on August 2, 1945, the British and the US governments undertook some studies on solving the problems through dialogue and presented various drafts to both Turkish and Soviet governments. Starting in mid-1945, the Soviet Union embarked on a campaign of heavy political pressure on Turkey, and the Soviet radio and newspapers started broadcasting on the way of leaving Kars and Ardahan to the Soviet Union.

On October 25, 1946, Britain announced that it had made a new plan to defend the Middle East. The fact that Turkey wanted to be intergrated in this plan was met with overrated and dissatisfaction in the USSR. As a result of worsening political relations with the Soviet Union, some socialist newspapers and magazines were closed in Turkey on 11 December 1946 (Ahmad, 1976).

Meanwhile, on 3 March 1947, Truman Doctrine was explained and it was stated that Turkey was also included in the scope of this doctrine. In the Marshall Plan of 1948, Turkey took its place. Turkey, which entered the IMF on March 11, 1947, started to develop its relations with the West rapidly. There is no doubt that the Soviet threat has a major role in this. After the announcement of the USSR's atomic bomb on September 23, 1949, the whole Western world, including the USA, began to attach importance to Turkey and its Geopolitics, the bordering neighbor of the USSR. As of 1947, Turkey was directed towards the West through Truman Doctrine. Later, Turkish - Soviet relations deteriorated due to Turkey's membership the NATO in 1952 and joining the Baghdad Pact in 1955. In this period, it was an indication of Turkey's commitment to the West and its political system that it had adopted a parliamentary democracy based on free elections and an economic development plan largely based on free enterprise (Karpas, 2015).

### **3. Relations Between Turkey And The United States**

American relations occupy a great place in Turkish foreign policy. Therefore, American policies for Turkey and American politicians' views on Turkey are very effective in the process of establishing Turkish foreign policy. While identifying foreign policies and security-related strategies, Turkish leaders consider American politicians' views, perceptions and attitudes towards Turkey, other countries in the region, and the issues of the region. On the other hand, the USA considers Turkey as an effective and active Axis country in terms of its strategic position, population, economic potential and capacity to influence regional and international stability.



Turkish – American relations officially began with the trade and Seyr-i Sefain Treaty signed between the United States and the Ottoman Empire in May 1830. In 1862, a new trade and Seyr-i Sefain Treaty was signed and in 1874 extradition and Naturalization Treaties were signed. In this process, the relations between the two countries were mostly economic. The final phase of Ottoman – American relations was the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 - 1920. In this conference, President Wilson exhibited Turkish hostility and expressed his Greek admiration and independence of Armenia (Armaoğlu, 2017).

During the National Struggle period, Atatürk made great efforts to establish relations with the United States. The relations with the Ottoman Empire ended with the Paris Peace Conference and America's relations with Turkey started again with the Lausanne Treaty. In Lausanne, Ismet İnönü tried to draw the American delegation to his side, but could not find much support. But America's attitude has not been as harsh as the Paris conference.

With a “*modus vivendi*” signed in February 1927, diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United States were established. After that, the first Turkish ambassador to the United States was appointed. In 1939, Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union began to deteriorate. As a result of this, with the end of the Second World War, Turkey found itself in great solitude. In order to participate in the United Nations conference as a founding member, Turkey was included in the conference by declaring war on 23 February 1945, on the condition that it declared war on Germany before 1 March 1945. This situation disturbed the Soviet Union and started to pursue various ambitions on Turkey (Türkmen, 2012, 55).

After Britain showed its first reaction to the growing Soviet pressure over Turkey and announced that it fully supported Turkey, it also asked the United States to join it. With The Truman Doctrine declared on March 12, 1947, Turkey passed to the status of the country under the threat of communism; in line with the doctrine, Turkey received 100,000 dollars in aid from the United States and followed the Marshall Aid, which is generally humiliating. During the direct cold war between the Soviets and the United States, Turkey has been on the side of the United States, regardless of periods of civil or military power.

Events, crises and wars outside the borders of the country require the Turkish state to pay attention to foreign policy (Oran, 2001: 474). In the face of the Soviet Union's demand for rights over Anatolia and the Straits, Turkey felt the need to acquire the support of the United States, the new representative of the west. In 1952, Turkey's membership in NATO gained momentum by the Turkish - American alliance with economic aid and bilateral agreements.

The United States has turned Turkey's NATO membership into an element of imposition of its own interests with the Korean War and Incirlik base before membership started. In 1950, Turkey took part in the Korean War in the United States without a parliamentary decision. In 1951, Turkey allowed the United States to start building bases in Incirlik, and in return Turkey became a member of NATO in 1952. As the only Muslim member country, Turkey's position within NATO has appeared as an American-sponsored position against the Soviets.

After NATO membership, the Turkish army became under the influence of the United States in terms of training of munitions and human elements, and the Turkish economy has been gradually indexed into relations with the United States. After the transition to multi-party life, the Democratic Party that took power has proposed a liberal program, especially with religious specificity and economic freedom.

#### **4. 1950 - 1960 Period Overview in Turkey**

It was the era in which private entrepreneurship/industry was based in economic life between 1950 and 1960. During this period, a national bourgeoisie was allowed to form. With economic relations, foreign relations have been developed. In this period, where liberal policies were based, the implementation of free-competitive policies continued until 1954 (Kuyucuklu, 1993, 196). After the transition to a multi-party period, the Democratic Party that came to power for the first time in 1950, the acquired economic benefits from by the United States used in areas preferred by the USA rather than the needs of Turkey. In the economic environment directed by the USA, the economic structure which is agricultural weighted for the Turkish economy is foreseen.

During this period, the development of agriculture was experienced under the influence of the Korean War. As the world's largest wheat exporter countries, such as the United States and Canada, stopped their wheat export and started to stock in the country, European countries were in need of low quality and high Turkish wheat prices. Under these conditions, Turkey has suddenly become the world's fourth largest wheat exporter country (Berkes, 1975, 152).



This artificial leap brought about economic growth around 13% per annum in the first four years of the DP. With the end of the war, the decline in growth fell to 4% by 1960 (Borotav, 1980, 177). The reason for this decline was the late and hesitant approach by the capital class to transfer large profits from the war years to industrial investment (Bulutoglu, 1970, 153).

The DP government, which came to power after the one-party rule, hoped to play a role in the development of the country very quickly. According to DP's perception, the liberalized market would have made great progress spontaneously and naturally. DP did not plan economic policies by building on an infrastructure (Bulutoglu, 1970, 125). They were handling everything in such a way that they could get quick results. On the other hand, they relied on American aid. In addition to the unplanned management of the economy, the consequences of not being able to adapt to the developments in the world started to be felt since 1954 (Karpat, 2007, 115).

The IMF has been continuously involved in the economic process since 1954. IMF experts have proposed a number of stabilization programs, but the government did not ignore these recommendations. In 1956, devaluation took place and 1 US \$ was TL 5.20.

The DP government visited the United States to find a solution to the crises such as the increase in imports, the steady growth of the balance of payments, the proliferation of the black market, and the increase in inflation but the economic assistance was refused. Due to the increasing external debts and the delays in the payment of these debts, Turkey has now become a sovereign country. The USA intervened in the Turkish economy. The DP government has started to make promises to peasants, especially in order to win votes (Ahmad, Ahmad, 1976, 112).

The 10-year period of power of the DP aims to create a leader Turkey with a development focused on agriculture and trade and capitalization by creating its own enlightened strata. But at the end of their power, the economy collapsed, development plans collapsed, an authoritarian and repressive regime was created. As a result of these events, the DP power was overthrown by a coup on 27 May 1960.

In the first years, the policy of unplanned and unpopular economic development, which existed in the 1950s and 1960s, has yielded positive results because of the overlapping of domestic and foreign positive conditions. But then the economy was inevitably hit by the crisis. This crisis after 1954 created the social and psychological atmosphere of transition to planned economy in the 1960s (Şahin, 2000, 121).

## **5. Critical Conjunctions of Turkey and US Relations**

The US was thinking that the change in the administration that took place in the 1960 coup would not bring about a change in foreign policy. The government of the National Unity Committee said it would adhere to the existing international agreements, particularly NATO and CENTO. During the economic crisis that Turkey experienced during this period, the economic assistance needs started to increase gradually. Therefore, the National Unity Committee needed the economic assistance it would receive from the United States, and there was no option to pursue a foreign policy that would not be approved by the United States. (Tuncer, 2017, 447).

### **5.1. The Cuban Missile Crises and US - Turkish Relations**

The Cuban crisis, which erupted on October 16, 1962 when the United States determined that the Soviet Union had deployed medium-range nuclear weapons in Cuba, brought the two countries to the brink of nuclear war for the first time and became one of the most important crises of the Cold War (Sever, 1997).

In 1959, the Turkish government agreed with the United States to place 15 medium-range and nuclear-headed Jupiter missiles on Turkish territory. Since 1957, the missiles have been gradually placed on Turkish soil, but the firing system of the missiles and the installation of warheads have been completed in mid-1962. Even if Turkey was the "owner" of the missiles, the warheads would be under the supervision of the United States and would not be used without the common permission of the United States and Turkey (Hale, 2003).

The economy of the Republic of Turkey was crushed under the great burden of national defense spending since the war. The Republic of Turkey joined NATO at the time when economic development had to make major moves. Turkey's defense industry spending, which gave extreme importance to security due to its northern neighbor, increased directly with NATO entry. The US realized that the Republic of Turkey had a strategic position in the face of Soviet Russia, which gave Turkey both an advantage and a disadvantage. One of the events that put the Republic of Turkey in a significantly disadvantaged position is the Cuban crisis in October 1962.



In the short term, since the secret USSR-US bargain was not known, the dismantling of the Jupiter was not a big problem in terms of U.S.-Turkish relations in Turkey. However, a few years later, especially in the long run, after the famous Johnson letter in 1964, when the US-Turkey allied relationship was intensively questioned, considering that this decision was taken unilaterally and subsequently admitted to Turkey, it began to be considered how Washington could ignore Turkey as an ally.

Thus, the long-term crisis, even without being known about the existence of a secret bargain for Jupiter, was not reinforcing the alliance relationship in terms of US-Turkish relations, but rather increasing the suspicions about the United States for Turkey. On the other hand, since Turkey has moved away from the threatening position of the USSR directly with missiles after the removal of Jupiter, due to the Cuban crisis, this has been a positive factor in the positive development of relations between the two countries.

The effects of the crisis, which started in Cuba and took over the whole world at a time, have been reflected in many aspects in Turkey. These reflections can be described as positive and negative. The economic impact of the crisis in Turkey comes at the top of the important effects. We can divide these effects into two parts: the effects that occur during the crisis and the post-crisis effects. The economic effects of the crisis include the situation of the stock market, the situation of the Turkish lira, the trade problems between Cuba and Turkey during the blockade period. Due to the Cuban crisis, changes in the state of the Republic of Turkey in the economic sphere did not cause major concerns about the future of the country. In this period, the United States has provided ongoing assistance, as before this period (Sander, 1979). In addition, credit support was provided during and after this period, rather than the aid of the USA to the Republic of Turkey (Ernest, Philip, 1998).

## 5.2. 1974 Cyprus Crisis, Johnson Letter And Closure Of Incirlik Base

After the Republic of Cyprus declared its independence in 1960, the first conflicts between Turks and Greeks on the island emerged on issues such as the formation of armed forces and the collection of taxes. In 1963, inter-communal conflicts erupted, and although the UN sent peacekeeping forces to the island, the events did not listen and continued to be armed with support from the homeland on both sides (Türkmen, 2012).

As a result of the events of December 1963 as "Bloody Christmas" in Cyprus, President Cemal Gürsel wrote a letter to US President Lyndon Johnson asking for help not to shed more blood from the American administration. But the United States continued its long-distance approach to the matter.

The attacks against the Turks continued in Cyprus and there was no support that İsmet İnönü expected from the West. In particular Makarios' arrangement on military service had made Prime Minister İnönü to be determined on intervention. The Council of Ministers, Meeting on June 2, decided to engage in a military intervention in Cyprus (Nasuh, 2000).

In an effort to prevent military intervention, the United States placed a special force of six fleets, consisting of an aircraft carrier, a cruiser and four destroyers, eight hours away from Cyprus. This force settled between Turkey and Cyprus and aimed at preventing the Turkish military operation (Nasuh, 2000).

The toughest step taken by the United States to prevent Turkey from taking troops to Cyprus is the letter sent to Prime Minister İsmet İnönü on June 5, 1964, with the signature of President Johnson. The letter of President Johnson, who invited Prime Minister İsmet İnönü to discuss the issue, was extremely far from the diplomatic style. President Johnson emphasized the following points in his letter:<sup>1</sup>

1. The Turkish government's commitment to 'consult fully in advance' with the American executives is not in line with the Turkish government's commitment to this kind of action, which could have a broad repercussions.
- 2 - 1959 treaties required full consultation between the beneficiary states. However, the United States believes that in this case all consultations are not used and therefore there is no possibility of unilateral intervention. In addition, this intervention will cause an unavoidable conflict between Turkey and Greece. However, joining NATO basically means that the member states of NATO do not conflict with each other.
- 3 - The intervention of Turkey in Cyprus could lead to the same intervention of the Soviets in Turkey. NATO allies have not yet taken a decision to protect Turkey against the USSR.

<sup>1</sup> <https://tr.scribd.com/document/38718043/Johnson-Letter> [Access Date : November 14]



4 - Turkey's military intervention could undermine the UN's efforts to improve the situation in Cyprus. Most UN members will respond harshly to Turkey's one-way hard intervention, which can sabotage the solution.

5 - Turkey will not be able to use the weapons provided by the United States in the framework of military assistance in Cyprus.

6 - Turkey's intervention could lead to the mass murder of the Turkish Cypriots.

President Johnson's letter was seen as a turning point in the relations between Turkey and the United States. The content of the message is described as direct intervention to Turkey's independence and internal affairs. In addition, the assertion that Turkey could be left alone by its allies in NATO should it be attacked by a Soviet (Akalin, 2011).

At that time, the Turkish army was equipped with only American weapons, and in Turkey there was an American monopoly from the pain of a gun portfolio. This made the Turkish authorities think. Because the United States did not allow the use of its own weapons in Cyprus intervention. In addition, the United States made it clear that NATO would not be part of Turkey if it intervened in Cyprus (Yavuz, 2006, 38). While the United States was taking such a step, it was also concerned that there could be some unintended changes in Turkey's foreign policy. This situation had caused a shock in Turkey. Because Turkey was unable to get the support it expected from the US and Western allies, and it was unable to accept the fact that it was in the face of these elements. Therefore, Turkey had to change its foreign political expansions and in this direction sought to improve its relations with the Eastern Bloc and the third world countries. During this period, many official visits were made between Turkey and the Eastern Bloc countries and Turkey received assistance from the Soviets (Uslu, 2001). In addition, the NATO alliance has been questioned in Turkey and the need to stand on its own feet in the field of security has emerged.

### **5.3. 1974 - Cyprus Extraction**

The Cyprus issue of Turkey is one of the important turning points that affects and directs Turkish American relations. So much so that in Cyprus intervention, two allies of the United States have faced and the United States has taken a stand in favor of the other ally of Greece.

Despite the US opposition, the US Congress's response to Turkey's operation on Cyprus was harsh. In spite of President Ford's efforts to prevent the future of relations between the two countries, the Congress did not abstain from its attitude on this issue and decided to impose a weapon embargo on Turkey since February 5, 1975 (Sönmezoğlu, 1995).

On July 25, 1975, the Turkish government issued a note to the US government with the decision of the Council of ministers.:

1. The defense and cooperation agreement of 3 July 1969, which regulates joint defense and cooperation between Turkey and the United States, and other agreements related to it, have lost its legal validity.
2. The activities of all joint defense facilities in Turkey under the authority of this situation have been suspended from the date of July 26, 1975, provided that the joint defense facility of Incirlik remains exclusively a NATO mission.
3. All facilities whose activities have been suspended shall be transferred to full control and supervision of the Turkish Armed Forces (Sönmezoğlu, 1995).

So the American Congress had partially lifted the embargo. However, this situation was not enough by the Turkish government. Then the US Senate stopped the decision to impose an embargo on Turkey and with President Carter's signature the embargo was lifted and, as a result, the Turkish government allowed US facilities and activities on Turkish soil to start again (Uslu, 2001). The weapon embargo imposed by the US after Turkey's intervention in Cyprus has caused a serious cut in Turkish American relations. In addition, Turkey has not made concessions to the United States on Cyprus. Although this is the most important indication that Turkey is not an American puppet, it is an important fact that the bilateral relations have not been able to completely remove itself of dependence on the United States.

### **5.4. 1974-Poppy Crisis**

In 1968, Nixon, president of the USA, sought to end the poppy cultivation of opium from Turkey within the framework of the struggle for drug use that became widespread after the Vietnam War, and again a tension between the two countries emerged. During this period, the drug issue has become the domestic



policy of the United States. The United States, which cannot fight drugs in itself, has developed foreign political approaches in the fight against drugs. The United States saw the solution of the drug problem not in the country but outside the country. They were countries producing poppy. This is the most urgent task which is also very crucial for the European Union. Because Turkey was the country where the highest quality Poppy was produced in the world and the most Poppy was going to the USA from Turkey.

The American President, Nixon, gave great importance to the fight against drugs in his campaign work and promised the American people that they would solve this problem. He chose Turkey as the first target in this direction. He asked Turkey to stop poppy production immediately and threatened to impose economic sanctions on Turkey if its request was not met. However, Turkey reacted strongly to the threats of sanctions.

The Prohibition of poppy cultivation, which had a very important place in Turkish agriculture, would harm the sector. On the other hand, the government did not want to compromise the United States in the face of increasing anti-Americanism in Turkish public opinion. Despite all this, the Turkish government has made some arrangements on the issue of poppy (Alkan, 2003, 54-61).

But these regulations could not be implemented. Later on 12 March 1971, the military-supported Nihat Erim government came to power in Turkey and published the previous government's regulations on Poppy in 1971 and in the same year, enacting the bill which brought very heavy penalties to those who violated poppy prohibitions (Erhan, 1996, 76). With the ban, the Erim government sought to prevent Turkish American relations from deteriorating because Turkey needed US economic, military and political support during this period.

In the following years, a new era was beginning for Turkey. Because the military government was replaced by a democratically elected government. Indeed, elections were held in 1973 and the Ecevit government came to power. In the election process, especially the issue of poppy was the most important issue of the campaign. When the Ecevit government came to power, it declared that it would fulfill its promise that the poppy ban would be lifted (Ecevit, 1975). And in 1974, the Turkish government lifted the ban on poppy cultivation (Palabıyık, 2007, 63-71).

Following the lifting of the ban, the United States stepped back and imposed restrictions on aid to Turkey. Because, according to the Americans, there was a decrease in drug addictions and related crimes in the United States as a result of the ban on Poppy in Turkey. In other words, the re-release of the poppy cultivation in Turkey would destroy America's drug-related gains. The United States warned Turkey on this issue and stated that bilateral relations would be damaged.

Despite everything, Turkey has lifted barriers on the poppy cultivation. As a result of the taken measures, poppy smuggling significantly declined. The USA's pressure on Turkey regarding poppy cultivation has allowed the Turkish government to make an arrangement on this issue. However, in the future, the prohibition was abolished taking into account the national interests of Turkey. With the lifting of the ban, arrangements on this issue have worked and Poppy smuggling has been largely avoided. Despite all this, the poppy issue was so important that it would cause deep wounds to Turkish American relations. However, the issue of the Cyprus issue in this period prevented the growth of this phenomenon by blocking the issue of poppy.

## 6. Conclusion

Ottoman - Russian relations have a historical background that dates back to centuries. During the history of Russia, the desire to go down the hot seas and the position of the Straits continued in the first years of the Turkish Republic after the Ottoman Empire. Events, crises and wars outside the borders of the country require the Turkish state to pay attention to foreign policy (Oran, 2001).

The world states that are experiencing the Cold War could not be impartial between Soviet Russia and the United States. After the Second World War, in the bipolar world led by the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics and the United States, Turkey has taken the Soviet threat, relations with the West and internal political conditions into consideration, and the Turkish foreign policy, however, largely aligned with the goal of becoming allied with the United States and integration with the West. Thus, during the 1950s, Turkish - American relations were "in perfect harmony". With the establishment of the Turkish - American alliance, Turkey was freed from its isolation in the international arena, while the United States gained a strategic advantage by acquiring a base close to the Soviets (Kurat, 1959).





After the start of relations with the United States, the economic aid that started with Truman Doctrine turned into an economic embargo in times of crisis. After the abolishment of the capitulations which had imposed heavy pressure on the Ottoman economy for centuries, prevented economic development and restricted sovereign rights on the territory of the state, the Turkish governments at the end of World War II paid attention to the economic relations with foreign countries and feared that these relations would work against them. However, with the impact of political and economic developments during the war, Turkey started to change its closed Policy and gradually abandoned its shy behavior in foreign economic relations and became open to foreign economic assistance to Turkey.

At the end of the war, the economies of not only Turkey but of all European countries have been devastated. In this process, the United States considered Soviet Russia as a threat to Europe, but in case of Europe's economic and social situation goes back to its former strength, it could prevent this threat. Turkey has applied to many US and UK since 1945 to seek financial assistance. The United States has agreed to provide military assistance under the name of Truman Doctrine. But this aid has not made a refreshing impact on the Turkish economy. Following that, Turkey acted to benefit from Marshall Assistance.

In May 1950, with the new power under the leadership of the Democratic Party and the end of the one-party regime, Turkey entered a front line both politically and economically. The new government's economic policy was based on liberal views. The liberal ideas envisaged in domestic economic policy have also been expressed in foreign economic policy. In this period, the aid of the United States occupied the largest part of Turkey's aid (Gönlübol, Ulman, 2014). Turkey is under the influence of the USA as a result of the above-mentioned economic and military assistance; The Turkish economy has also been indexed into relations with the USA over time.

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