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July 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: MORE BACKGROUND ON TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS AND
TURKEY'S GEOSTRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE

The following are excerpts from a paper by Ali Karaosmanoglu, a member of the Foreign Policy Institute (Ankara) and the Social Studies Foundation (Istanbul).

"Turkey defines its security options within three interacting strategic environments: the global system, implying mainly Turkey's position as regards the Soviet Union and the United States; its bilateral relations with Greece, involving mainly Cyprus and the Aegean; and its position within the Middle East subsystem."

"After the Second World War, Turkey's freedom of choice was strictly limited by the Soviet threat and by the bipolar and heterogenous character of the international system."

"In those years there was a high degree of coincidence between American and Turkish security interests."

"The last two decades have drastically altered the framework within which Turkish policy operates."

"In the 1960s and 1970s the circumstances which had induced Turkey to link its security interests completely with those of the United States underwent significant changes. In this period, Turkey's ties with the United States were steadily reduced. A number of specific political irritants played a role. The first was President Johnson's blunt letter to Prime Minister Inonu in June 1964, warning that Turkey was not permitted to use U.S. military equipment in an operation against Cyprus."

"The most recent indication of improving relations between Washington and Ankara is the considerable increase in U.S. assistance to Turkey proposed last February by the Reagan Administration."

"The disputes between Greece and Turkey -- especially those over Cyprus and the Aegean, two critical strategic areas from Turkey's security standpoint -- constitute an important factor contributing to the erosion of NATO's southern flank."

"The first and probably most urgent problem concerns the

methods of settlement of the Cyprus conflict. For Turkey, intercommunal talks constitute the only valid procedure for reaching a mutually acceptable and lasting settlement in Cyprus. Greece does not seem to have adopted this approach. It rather favors the internationalization of the conflict, drawing in especially the nonaligned nations, the European Community, and both superpowers."

"Turkey believes that bilateral negotiations would be best for the Aegean as well. Because of the special circumstances of that sea, an equitable solution to the existing problems can be found only through such negotiations. Greece again rejects this approach, and favors the automatic application of the equidistance principle as in the continental shelf case."

"It should be noted that this Greek dislike for negotiated settlement has been accentuated since Andreas Papandreou came to power. The present Greek government has asserted that Turkey is a security threat, and has demanded from NATO and the United States "guarantees" to protect Greece from its fellow Alliance member. NATO and the United States have not accepted the view that Turkey menaces Greece, and have refused the Greek demand for guarantees."

"The Turkish perception of Greek-Turkish problems is traditionally more moderate than the Greek one."

"The Republic of Turkey, founded on Kemalist principles, had to eliminate the theocratic remnants of the Ottoman Empire and to develop a secular political structure. Thus, despite its religious and historic affinity with the nations of the Middle East, modern Turkey preferred not to show much interest in the region and especially in the Arab world, although it tried to maintain friendly relations with all its neighbors."

"After the Second World War, options being strictly limited, Turkey approached the Arab world from the unidimensional perspective of East-West tension."

"Turkey's relations with its West European allies were much more intimate than its contacts with Middle Eastern countries--and Ankara's lack of interest in the Middle East was misinterpreted by the Arab nations as an unfriendly attitude."

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FROM J Long

REMARKS: Background on 1930 Treaty and
Venizelos and secret statements (more to
follow on 1930 Treaty)

Page 1 of 10 pages (including cover sheet)

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Greece: A Country Study

in July 1917 brought Greece into the war against the Central Powers. Ten Greek divisions fought on the Macedonian front, and Greek troops were among the Allied contingents that entered Constantinople in 1918.

World War I ended on November 11, 1918. At the Versailles Peace Conference Venizelos lobbied for further territorial gains. Both Greece and Italy shared an interest in Asia Minor, but Greek occupation of the area was more acceptable to Britain. Thus, Venizelos left the conference with permission to occupy Smyrna (Izmir), and Greek troops did so in May 1919. The 1919 Treaty of Neuilly gave Greece almost the whole of eastern and western Thrace (excluding Constantinople) and permission to administer Smyrna and its surrounding areas for five years, after which a plebiscite would be held to determine whether the population wanted union with Greece. In addition, in a separate protocol, Italy agreed to cede the Dodecanese Islands to Greece, and Greek sovereignty over the Aegean Islands, won in the Balkan wars, was recognized. It was a brilliant diplomatic victory, but the treaty was never implemented.

Upon his return to Athens Venizelos called for elections. Despite the happy outcome of the peace conference, the wartime troubles—foreign occupation, blockade, violence, and partisan bitterness—turned the electorate against Venizelos. Apparently, the most telling argument against him was that the territorial gains in Asia Minor could not be held without more war. To vote for Venizelos was to vote for war. The Liberal Party went down to defeat, the proportions of which were exaggerated by the peculiarities of the electoral system. Venizelos himself was defeated and went into self-exile in Paris. At the same time, the royal question reasserted itself. King Alexander died unexpectedly in October of 1920 of infection caused by a monkey bite. In a December plebiscite—the results of which were almost certainly tampered with—the electorate overwhelmingly voted for Constantine's return as king. With Venizelos out and Constantine in, Venizelists throughout the administration were replaced with royalists. Royalists army officers purged in 1917 were reinstated, and Venizelist officers lost their privileged positions.

The War with Turkey, 1921-22

As the Greek army occupied Smyrna, a Turkish nationalist movement under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)

gained strength and in 1920 set up a rival government in Ankara declaring its independence from the pro-Allied Turkish government in Constantinople. It quickly became apparent that Greece had to choose between remaining in Anatolia and risking war with the Turkish nationalists or giving up the irredentist dream, abandoning 1 million ethnic Greeks to probable reprisals. Politically, there was no choice. Apparently fortified with hints of support from the British, the Greek government, now under Dimitrios Gounaris, launched a preemptive strike, with a fatal lack of preparation. European leaders, disturbed by the surge of Turkish nationalism, leaped to end the fighting by offering Greece a compromise by which it would retain eastern Thrace and Smyrna would be placed under a Christian governor appointed by the League of Nations. Greece in return would have to withdraw from all other parts of Asia Minor. The offer was rejected unanimously by the parliament.

The campaign dragged on with little apparent success, and Atatürk avoided disaster three times in 1921 by strategic retreats. A succession of governments in Athens quibbled over strategy while the Europeans offered one last compromise solution, which was rejected. A coalition government joining all royalist parties took office on May 22, 1922, and decided on a final offensive to take Constantinople. After moving 19 badly needed battalions to eastern Thrace, the Greeks were informed by the Allied powers occupying Constantinople that they would resist any attack. The plan was abandoned. Atatürk lured the overextended Greek army to within 97 kilometers of Ankara before mounting a brilliant counterattack that sent them reeling in a disorderly retreat back to the coast. Within two weeks the Greek army escaped, and Smyrna was captured. The Turkish army went on a rampage, burning the Greek section of the city and killing about 30,000 Greeks while Allied ships sat anchored in the harbor. The 2,500-year Greek presence in Asia Minor was over.

The Treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1923, cancelled Greece's gains at Neuilly and provided for the exchange of Greek and Turkish minorities. More than 1.3 million Greeks were expelled from Asia Minor, and 400,000 Muslims were sent from Greece to Turkey. Greece was faced with a 20-percent population increase overnight.

TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS --
the kind you don't
invite to a speech

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The Interwar Period: From Republic to Dictatorship

The Revolution of 1922

The disaster in Asia Minor inevitably had repercussions on the political scene. Almost immediately after the army's evacuation from Smyrna, a delegation of officers and their units landed in Athens and set up a "revolutionary committee," headed by colonels Stylianos Gonatas and Nicholas Plastiras, which demanded Constantine's ouster. Again, a token civilian government was established, but the military committee, backed with armed force, took control. Constantine abdicated and was replaced by his son, George. Constantine left the country and died a few weeks later.

The coup was conducted in the name of Venizelism, but Venizelos refused to participate in the new government. He did agree to act as diplomatic agent in the negotiations of the Lausanne treaty. To expiate the nation's shame, Gounaris, the prime minister at the start of the war, and seven of his closest associates were tried for high treason by a revolutionary tribunal. Six were found guilty and were executed shortly thereafter. The extreme measures helped to restore discipline in the shattered army but were labeled a "monstrous crime" by the Antivenizelists, who promised revenge. Parliamentary elections were held but were boycotted by the royalists; thus the new parliament was, except for seven members, made up entirely of Venizelists.

Royalist officers launched a countercoup in October 1922 in which the new king was allegedly involved. It was quickly put down, but it gave the initiative to extremist republicans. The army was once again purged of royalists, and the revolutionary committee announced the formation of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution. Despite Venizelos' reservations the republic was proclaimed on March 25, 1924, and was ratified in a plebiscite a month later. The popular vote in favor of the change was 70 percent, almost one-third of which came from the "New Greece," the recently incorporated lands and the Anatolian refugees. The republican constitution was not promulgated until 1927.

The early years of the republic were difficult. The vaunted "revolution" of 1922 was no more than the reassertion of Venizelism. It did, however, have lasting significance in two respects. Venizelism was now becoming splintered, especially over the regime issue. Venizelos was once again in self-imposed exile, and the Liberal Party broke up into three separate

factions led by rival personalities, only two of which favored the republican constitution. True to tradition, the party failed to be institutionalized into a coherent organization separate from its founder.

The second major impact of the revolution was the obvious autonomy of the military as a political force. The army, itself split into patron-client networks replicating the general Venizelist-Antivenizelist division, increasingly ignored civilian leadership of all stripes and for much of the 1920s dominated policymaking. Ironically, its splintering prevented any institutional takeover of the political system. The frequent conspiracies and coups in the 1920s and early 1930s had limited goals and can be seen as a kind of interest-group politics. The only real difference between the army and other groups as lobbyists was the army's weapons. That gave their desires an automatic salience to the politicians. But the various military factions had little else in common with one another. The issues prompting coups were usually related to promotion lists, pension benefits, pay scale, and retirement. The coups of 1923, 1926, 1933, the 1925-26 military dictatorship under Theodore Pangalos, his overthrow in 1926, and innumerable abortive conspiracies of the period from 1923 to 1935 were fundamentally based on personal grievances. Only the coups of 1909, 1916, 1922, and perhaps 1935 can be seen as ideologically inspired. In each case republican (Venizelist) officers championed the middle-class causes of economic growth and territorial expansion. But despite the army's self-proclaimed position as guardian of the national honor, in none of these coups did the conspirators intend to establish a permanent military government. They did, however, successfully demand their recognition as political actors on a par with politicians.

Finally in 1926, following Pangalos' ouster by his own troops, new elections were held. The Venizelist-Antivenizelist division still held sway, although the Venizelists were split into two independent parties, and the parliament was evenly divided between the two camps. Neither side had the votes to form a viable government; thus they agreed to an "ecumenical cabinet" joining all factions. This highly unusual arrangement lasted until June 1928, producing most notably the new republican constitution in 1927, which created a presidency vested with powers similar to those the monarch had held, and a second chamber, the senate.

The Second Venizelos Age, 1928-32

Another election was held in 1928 in which the reunited Liberal Party, once more under Venizelos, won 61 percent of the vote. Venizelos again formed a government lasting for four years (1928-32), a period known as the second Golden Age of Venizelism. After the chronic instability of the recent past, the longevity of this government—the third longest in Greek parliamentary history—was a welcome relief and made possible a comprehensive reform using the old Venizelist themes of political, economic, and social modernization.

In the years since the Asia Minor disaster, Greece had undergone substantial social change. The massive influx of refugees strained the resources of the society and the state beyond anyone's imagination. Relocation was the first major problem. Aid from the League of Nations helped, and within a few years about half of the refugees were resettled in rural areas. Urban resettlement remained troublesome even during World War II. Absorbing this new population into the work force, however, created major disequilibrium in the economy. Life in the villages had not changed significantly, and small-scale farming was still the principal source of employment. Venizelos began a program of modernizing agricultural production, shifting from export crops to cereals for domestic consumption. It was hoped that improving agriculture would not only help the chronic balance of payments problems but also stimulate demand for the incipient industrial sector. The state, using foreign loans, started a broad program of land development and public works.

Hints of growing social unrest gave urgency to the economic measures. The lack of upward mobility in Greece caused the emigration of almost 400,000 in the first quarter of the twentieth century, most of them males between 15 and 45 years of age. At the same time, labor strikes, made up largely of disillusioned refugees and encouraged by the Communist Party of Greece (Kommunistikon Komma Ellados—KKE), were becoming dangerously common. In 1928 Venizelos pushed through a special law making illegal agitation against the existing socioeconomic system, marking the official end of Venizelism as an attempted bourgeois revolution.

In foreign policy Venizelos tried to diversify Greece's alliance system, in 1928 normalizing relations with Italy (since 1922 under the fascist leader, Benito Mussolini) and with its Balkan neighbors, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania. He even established good relations with Turkey, for the first time in

modern Greek history signing a treaty of friendship in 1930. Building on Venizelos' initiatives, Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Turkey eventually agreed to a mutual guarantee of their existing borders.

The impact of the Great Depression, however, destroyed the fragile domestic tranquillity. Greece, whose economy was based primarily on the sale of luxury agricultural goods (tobacco, raisins, and olive oil), was particularly hard hit from 1931. While exports fell to next to nothing, imports, especially of food products like wheat, had to continue. Remittances from Greeks living overseas, a major source of foreign currency, also dropped, and the state was caught in the middle. By 1933 about two-thirds of state expenditures were devoted to servicing the foreign debts contracted by Venizelos and his predecessors. Greece was forced to default (see Historical Development, ch. 3).

The 1935 Coup and Restoration of the Monarchy

Venizelos' Liberal Party won the election of September 1932, but the margin of victory was too narrow to form a government. The royalist opposition's minority government could not survive, and new elections were held in March 1933. The conservative Populist Party, the principal royalist party, won a decisive majority. Plastiras, former head of the revolutionary committee formed in 1922 and now a general, failed in yet another coup attempt, but once again violence and instability overtook the political system. Purges of the army, now standard operating procedure, and an attempt to assassinate Venizelos prompted public discussion of a restoration of the monarchy as the only hope for reining in the army. On March 1, 1935, Venizelist officers, many of whom had been forced into retirement as a result of the 1933 coup attempt, conspired to restore their own positions and to "save the republic." The relative importance placed on the two goals is somewhat unclear. The coup, considerably more elaborate than other recent attempts, nevertheless failed. Three army officers were executed, and more than 1,000 others (out of a total of 5,000) were purged from the army, the navy, and the fledgling air force in the most extensive purges thus far. Martial law and strict press censorship were imposed while hundreds of Venizelist civil servants were likewise cashiered. Venizelos, who had accepted leadership of the coup probably had not actively participated in its planning, was sent into exile while

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Paul G. K.

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ANKARA 06131 131619Z
COMPREHENSIVE AND CLEAR AGENDA. WE DO NOT HAVE ANY PRECONDITIONS FOR THIS. IF IT IS SO WITH GREECE, THERE WILL BE NO OBSTACLES TO REALIZATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE DIALOGUE. END TEXT.

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E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PREL, GR 10
SUBJECT: MFA SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT ON DIALOGUE WITH GREECE

1. FOLLOWING IS THE UNOFFICIAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF A JUNE 12 STATEMENT BY MFA SPOKESMAN SUNGAR IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ON PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS' REMARKS ON RELATIONS WITH TURKEY IN A JUNE 5 INTERVIEW WITH GREEK STATE TV. SUNGAR EMPHASIZES THERE ARE NO

PRECONDITIONS TO A DIALOGUE WITH ATHENS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

PM MITSOTAKIS' STATEMENT THAT HE WANTS AN HONEST AND SERIOUS DIALOGUE WITH TURKEY AND THAT THERE ARE MANY THINGS TO TALK ABOUT IS A NOTABLE DEVELOPMENT. FOR SUCH A DIALOGUE, THERE ARE NO OBSTACLES FOR TURKEY WITH REGARD TO DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN POLICIES. TURKEY, THROUGHOUT THE YEARS AND TODAY PERSISTENTLY DEFENDS THE VIEW THAT THE ONLY WAYS TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS AND HAS DECLARED THAT IT IS ALWAYS READY FOR SUCH DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS.

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Rucle
of Kevate on*

THE MOST NATURAL EXTENSION OF MUTUAL BENEFITS WOULD BE FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE AS TWO NEIGHBORS AND ALLIES. DESPITE THE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS LAST YEAR, NO MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE COULD BE ESTABLISHED; THE MAIN REASON FOR THIS WAS GREECE'S LINKING SUCH A DIALOGUE TO THE PRECONDITIONS THAT IT HAD PUT FORWARD ON CYPRUS. IF THE REMARKS OF PM MITSOTAKIS MEAN THAT GREECE HAS LIFTED THESE PRECONDITIONS, WE WILL ACCEPT THIS WITH PLEASURE. IN THE MEANTIME, WE WOULD LIKE TO RECALL THAT TURKEY'S QUADRIPARTITE SUMMIT PROPOSAL ON CYPRUS PROVIDES A VERY IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE TWO

MOTHERLANDS TO ASSIST THE TWO PEOPLES OF THE ISLAND IN FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.

TURKEY IS READY TO SIT AT THE TABLE WITH A

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PAGE 01 OF 02 ANKARA 06309 00 OF 03 180909Z 072323 0870777
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PRECONDITIONS TO DIALOGUE?

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UNCLAS ANKARA 06309

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, GR, TU
SUBJECT: GREEK PM INTERVIEW IN "HURRIYET"

1. SUMMARY: TURKISH DAILY "HURRIYET" PUBLISHED AN INTERVIEW WITH GREEK PM MITSOTAKIS ON JUNE 15. IN ADDITION TO THE PUBLISHED TEXT BELOW, MITSOTAKIS ALSO APPARENTLY REMARKED THAT IF HE COMES TO TURKEY HE WILL WANT TO SIGN A TREATY OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION AND SUGGESTED THAT

BILATERAL PROBLEMS COULD BE EASED BY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN SENIOR MILITARY FIGURES. MITSOTAKIS SAID THAT ALL CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM MINORITIES IN WESTERN THRACE WILL ENJOY EQUAL RIGHTS. FOLLOWING IS THE UNOFFICIAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF THE INTERVIEW. END SUMMARY.

2. BEGIN TEXT

Q - IN HIS SPEECH IN PARIS LAST WEEK, PRESIDENT OZAL REITERATED HIS PROPOSAL FOR A QUADRIPARTITE SUMMIT ON CYPRUS AND SAID "FOUR OF US (OZAL, MITSOTAKIS, DENKTASH AND VASSILOU) ENTER A ROOM AND WE DON'T LEAVE UNTIL WE REACH AN AGREEMENT. I AM SURE WE WILL SOLVE THE ISSUE IN THREE DAYS." WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THIS PROPOSAL?

A - IT IS A GOOD PROPOSAL BUT WE HAVE TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR IT. WE CANNOT RISK BEING UNSUCCESSFUL. THE GENERAL PERCEPTION SEEMS TO BE THAT THE UNSYG'S INITIATIVE IS THE ONLY PROMISING WAY TO A SOLUTION. THERE IS NO REASON FOR BREAKING FAITH WITH THIS PROCEDURE. THEREFORE, WE ARE WAITING FOR THE TURKISH SIDE TO GIVE CLEAR AND WISE ANSWERS TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S QUESTIONS ABOUT THE "TERRITORY AND REFUGEES" ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM. IF THEY DO NOT GIVE SUCH AN ANSWER, WE THINK IT WOULD BE NATURAL FOR THE UNSC TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE AND TO ASSIGN ITS PERMANENT MEMBERS TO WORK WITH THE PARTIES TO THE PROBLEM IN PROVIDING A SOLUTION.

Q - PROBLEMS IN OUR REGION ARE BEING SOLVED ONE AFTER THE OTHER. DO YOU THINK THIS IS AN APPROPRIATE JUNCTURE FOR SOLVING PROBLEMS BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE? DO YOU HAVE SOME

A - I FULLY AGREE. IN FACT I HAVE SAID TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL CONFIGURATION IS ESPECIALLY FAVORABLE TO SOLVING STALLED INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. AFTER GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GREECE, I WAS ALSO THE ONE WHO EXPRESSED OUR GOVERNMENT'S WISH TO ENTER A SERIOUS AND SINCERE DIALOGUE WITH TURKEY. I HAVE NEVER SET PRECONDITIONS FOR SUCH A DIALOGUE. I ONLY DREW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT AS LONG AS CYPRUS REMAINS A PROBLEM, IT WILL UNAVOIDABLY AFFECT THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE DIALOGUE.

return to DT

Q - WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT MR. OZAL'S PROPOSAL TO START ECONOMIC RELATIONS IMMEDIATELY AND INSTITUTE JOINT INVESTMENTS BY TURKISH AND GREEK COMPANIES? WOULD THIS INITIATIVE PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION?

A - I FAVOR DEVELOPING RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IN EVERY FIELD, ESPECIALLY THE ECONOMIC FIELD. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IMPROVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL FIELD WILL MAKE THESE DEVELOPMENTS EASIER.

Q - WE FOLLOWED YOUR VISIT TO WESTERN THRACE AND APPRECIATED YOUR SPEECHES ON TURKISH-ORIGIN GREEK CITIZENS. MAY WE INFER THAT THESE SPEECHES SIGNAL A NEW POLICY TOWARDS THE MINORITY?

A - YES, IT IS COMPLETELY SO. THE SPEECHES I MADE DURING MY LAST VISIT TO WESTERN THRACE REFLECTED MY GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO PROVIDE FULL EQUALITY AMONG ALL GREEK CITIZENS, WHETHER MUSLIM OR CHRISTIAN. WESTERN THRACE MUSLIMS

SHOULD ENJOY THE SAME RIGHTS AS CHRISTIAN CITIZENS AND SHOULD ACT IN ACCORD WITH THE SAME RESPONSIBILITIES. I SHOULD MENTION A POINT: THIS POLICY IS AGREED UPON BY ALL POLITICAL PARTIES IN GREECE AND I AM DETERMINED TO IMPLEMENT IT ONE HUNDRED PERCENT.

Q - ARTICLE 19 OF THE GREEK CITIZENSHIP LAW FORESEES DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN GREEK CITIZENS OF HELLENIC ETHNIC ORIGIN AND THOSE OF NON-HELLENIC ETHNIC ORIGIN. WE HAVE HEARD THIS ARTICLE IS TO BE AMENDED. IF THE ARTICLE DOES DRAW SUCH A DISTINCTION, WE MAY THINK GREECE ACCEPTS THE EXISTANCE OF AN UNJUST SITUATION FOR MINORITY MEMBERS. WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE AMENDMENT RETROACTIVE TO REDRESS THE UNJUSTICE?

A - IT IS TRUE. WE ARE ABOLISHING THIS ARTICLE. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS ASSIGNED A

LEGAL EXPERTS COMMISSION TO STUDY ALL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF ANNULING ARTICLE 19 OF THE GREEK CITIZENSHIP LAW. I ASSURE YOU THE GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO ANNUL THIS ARTICLE, WHICH REFLECTS THE MENTALITY OF ANOTHER PERIOD. WITH REGARD TO YOUR OTHER QUESTION ABOUT RETROACTIVE AMENDMENT, I THINK IF PEOPLE BELIEVE THEY WERE SUBJECT TO EXTREME OR HARSH DECISIONS, THEIR APPLICATIONS CAN BE CONSIDERED.

Q - WITHIN THE PAST TWO YEARS YOU HAVE MADE A

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NEW MASSACRE CLAIM. ALLEGEDLY THOUSANDS OF PONTIC GREEKS WERE KILLED IN THE BLACK SEA REGION. WE ARE FOLLOWING YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS CEREMONIES COMMEMORATING THE SO-CALLED "PONTUS MASSACRE." DO YOU BELIEVE SUCH ATTITUDES ARE BENEFICIAL TO TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS?

A - PUTTING ASIDE MY VIEWS ON HISTORY, I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU THE INITIATIVE TO HOLD SUCH CEREMONIES DID NOT COME FROM THE GOVERNMENT. THE MOVE WAS INITIATED BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS OF PONTIC ORIGIN.

Q - YOU DEFEND THE THESIS THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM IN THE AEGEAN STEMS FROM LIMITS ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND SAY THAT IN ORDER TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM, APPLICATION SHOULD BE MADE TO AN INTERNATIONAL COURT. THERE ARE OTHER PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, ARE YOU READY TO SOLVE THE FOLLOWING PROBLEMS THROUGH

THE COURTS? A) THE DEMILITARIZED STATUS OF THE AEGEAN ISLANDS; B) PROBLEMS CONCERNING AIR SPACE--THE DIFFERENCE IN AREA BETWEEN GREEK TERRITORIAL WATERS AND GREEK AIRSPACE; C) WHETHER GREEK RESPONSIBILITY ON THE FIR LINE GIVES GREECE A RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY?

A - PERSONALLY I THINK ALL LEGAL PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY JUDICIAL METHODS. THE LIMITATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF IS A HIGH-LEVEL JUDICIAL PROBLEM. THERE IS NO BETTER WAY TO SOLVE IT THAN BY APPLYING TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. WITH REGARD TO CONTROL OF AIR SPACE, GREECE HAS NEVER DEMANDED ANY SOVEREIGNTY RIGHT OVER THE AIR SPACE WHICH WAS GIVEN TO THE CONTROL OF GREECE. GREECE ONLY ASKS THAT THE CONTROL RIGHTS IT WAS GRANTED BY THE ICAO (TO WHICH TURKEY ALSO BELONGS) BE RESPECTED.

Q - WHAT DO YOU WANT AND EXPECT FOR A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM? WHAT IS THE AMOUNT OF TERRITORY TO BE LEFT TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS?

A - YOU SHOULD ASK THE GREEK CYPRIOTS THIS QUESTION. THEY ARE THE ONES WHO CONDUCT TALKS WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. THE AIM OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS TO REACH A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION BASED ON UN RESOLUTIONS AND HIGH-LEVEL AGREEMENTS REACHED IN 1977 AND 1979. IT WOULD

NOT BE LOGICAL FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS--WHO

COMPRISE 18 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND'S POPULATION-- TO DEMAND MORE THAN 25 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND.

END TEXT.

ABRAMOWITZAN

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5. (U) ON JUNE 18, MITSOTAKIS SENT A MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS TO NEW PRIME MINISTER YILMAZ. "I WISH TO REITERATE MY FIRM BELIEF THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEW SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION PREVAILING IN EUROPE TODAY, WE CAN WORK TOGETHER AND PROMOTE GOOD AND FRUITFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. FOR THIS REASON MY GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO ENGAGE WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT IN A SERIOUS AND SINCERE DIALOGUE."

6. (U) FOLLOWING IS UNOFFICIAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION VIA FRENCH, TURKISH AND GREEK OF MITSOTAKIS' FURTHER REMARKS ON A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, MILITARY-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS, AND A POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE PM TO ANKARA, WHICH WERE NOT INCLUDED IN REFTEL. ACCORDING TO THE GREEK PRESS OFFICE NOTE, THESE COMMENTS, PRINTED ON AN INSIDE PAGE, WERE MADE BY MITSOTAKIS DURING HIS INFORMAL EXCHANGE WITH THE JOURNALIST.

BEGIN EMBASSY TRANSLATION:

Q - IN 1985 PRESIDENT OZAL PROPOSED SIGNING A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS AND COOPERATION. YOU, HOWEVER, PROPOSE MORE OF A "NON-AGGRESSION PACT." TURKEY SAYS THAT BETWEEN ALLIED COUNTRIES ONE DOES NOT MAKE NON-AGGRESSION PACTS. WHAT DO YOU SAY ABOUT OZAL'S PROPOSAL?

A - PERSONALLY, I AM READY TO SIGN A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS AND COOPERATION WHICH WOULD CONFIRM REJECTION OF THE RESORT TO ANY KIND OF FORCE TO SOLVE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. IT IS UNIMPORTANT WHAT WE CALL IT. THIS AGREEMENT COULD SIMULTANEOUSLY SET FORTH THE PROCEDURE AND THE MECHANISMS FOR RESOLVING OUR BILATERAL PROBLEMS. NEVERTHELESS, OF COURSE THE

ISSUES OF LEGAL NATURE SHOULD BE SOLVED BY LEGAL MEANS.

Q - OZAL CAME TO ATHENS WHEN HE WAS PRIME MINISTER. NOW, THOUGH IT IS YOUR TURN, THERE IS NO VISIT ON THE HORIZON. AREN'T YOU CONSIDERING COMING TO ANKARA?

A - I WANT TO COME TO ANKARA. BUT WHEN I COME WE

PAGE 02 OF 02 ATHENS 07450 00 OF 02 191529Z 026995 4805458
MUST DO SOMETHING. I AM TRYING TO PREPARE THE
GROUND TO COME TO ANKARA. I AM COMING, BUT FIRST
WE MUST CROSS SOME INSTANCES ON THE CYPRUS
QUESTION. AFTERWARDS, WHEN I GO THERE, I WOULD
LIKE TO SIGN A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, GOOD
NEIGHBORLINESS, AND COOPERATION. IF THESE ARE
ACCOMPLISHED, CERTAINLY I WANT TO COME.

Q - TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE TWO
COUNTRIES (ISN'T IT USEFUL TO INCREASE CONTACTS AT
EVERY LEVEL? FOR EXAMPLE, WOULDN'T RECIPROCAL
VISITS BY THE LEADERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE
TWO COUNTRIES IMPROVE RELATIONS?

A - I AM READY FOR VISITS BY THE LEADERS OF THE
ARMED FORCES. IF EACH IS ABLE TO TELEPHONE THE
OTHER DIRECTLY, PERHAPS CERTAIN ISSUES WILL BE
SOLVED MORE EASILY. I WANT TO SAY THE FOLLOWING:
WE MUST MUTUALLY AVOID PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS. I
PREVENTED CERTAIN UNPLEASANT SITUATIONS BY
INTERVENING MYSELF.

1'KKL/712

Reply message from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, H.E.
A. Mesut Yilmaz, to the Prime Minister of Greece, H.E. Constantin Mitsotakis

HIS EXCELLENCY MR. CONSTANTIN MITSOTAKIS
PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE
ATHENS

ANKARA, 25 JUNE 1991

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU, MR. PRIME MINISTER, FOR THE VERY KIND MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS WHICH YOU HAVE SENT ME ON MY ELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF ANAP AND MY APPOINTMENT AS PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY AS WELL AS FOR THE WISHES OF SUCCESS YOU HAVE EXPRESSED.

I WISH TO RECIPROCATE IN THE SAME SPIRIT YOUR DESIRE TO WORK TOGETHER IN ORDER TO PROMOTE GOOD AND FRUITFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. I WARMLY WELCOME YOUR GOVERNMENT'S READINESS TO ENGAGE WITH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IN A SERIOUS AND SINCERE DIALOGUE.

MY GOVERNMENT, IN LINE WITH OUR WELL ESTABLISHED POLICY OF PROMOTING FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS WITH GREECE, IS WILLING AND READY TO DISCUSS IN GOOD FAITH AND RESOLVE ALL BILATERAL TURKISH-GREEK QUESTIONS TO THE BENEFIT OF BOTH NATIONS. WE SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT A MEANINGFUL, SUBSTANTIVE AND RESULT-ORIENTED PROCESS SHOULD BE INITIATED TO THIS END AND VIGOROUSLY PURSUED. BOTH GOVERNMENTS MAY HAVE VARIOUS IDEAS ON THE MOST PRODUCTIVE COURSE, AND WE FEEL THERE WOULD BE GREAT BENEFIT IN A CALM AND SINCERE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT THE HIGH POLITICAL LEVEL TO EXPLORE THE COMMON GROUND THAT MIGHT EXIST OR THAT CAN BE DEVELOPED IN THIS REGARD. IN ORDER TO LEAD THE WAY TO SUCH AN EXCHANGE, WE INTEND TO CONSIDER IN THE PERIOD AHEAD THE BASIC IDEAS THAT CAN HELP US TO ADVANCE IN A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTION IN OUR RELATIONS AND TO SHARE OUR VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS WITH YOU.

TAKING THIS FIRST OPPORTUNITY, I HAVE THE PLEASURE TO EXTEND TO YOUR EXCELLENCY AN INVITATION ON BEHALF OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO ANKARA. WE WOULD LOOK UPON YOUR VISIT AS AN AUSPICIOUS TURNING POINT IN OUR RELATIONS WHICH COULD MARK THE BEGINNING OF OUR JOINT EFFORTS TO OPEN THE WAY TO A PERIOD OF LASTING FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT AND THE HARMONIZATION OF OUR INTERESTS.

A. MESUT YILMAZ
PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY"

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: GR, PREL, TU

SUBJECT: MITSOTAKIS WELCOMES YILMAZ STATEMENT ON GREEK-
TURKISH RELATIONS

1. (U) ON TUESDAY, JULY 2, THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN
RELEASED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER
MITSOTAKIS IN RESPONSE TO THE PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATIONS
BY TURKISH PRIME MINISTER YILMAZ ON GREEK-TURKISH
RELATIONS:

BEGIN EMBASSY TRANSLATION:

WE HAIL WHAT THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER SAID REGARDING
GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS IN HIS PROGRAMMATIC
DECLARATIONS AS A POSITIVE STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION,
BECAUSE IT EXPRESSES A SINCERE INCLINATION FOR SERIOUS
DIALOGUE. ONLY ONE LAST DECISIVE STEP REMAINS, THAT
TURKEY ACCEPT AS BASIS FOR THAT DIALOGUE, IN ADDITION
TO THE REALISM, LOGIC, AND VISION TO WHICH MR. YILMAZ
REFERRED. INTERNATIONAL LAW AS WELL. THE DIALOGUE,
THEREBY, WILL BE NOT ONLY SERIOUS BUT ALSO
CONSTRUCTIVE, SO AS TO LEAD TO THE RESTORATION OF
SINCERE TIES OF COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEEPEST DESIRE OF BOTH PEOPLES.
END TEXT.

COMMENT

Turkey
last remarks
outstanding

UNCLASSIFIED
(with CONFIDENTIAL attachment)

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Remarks for President's Public Statements

Attached are proposed remarks for the dinner the President will attend in Ankara during his July 20-22 visit to Turkey.

Attachment: As stated.

UNCLASSIFIED
(with CONFIDENTIAL attachment)

Drafted: EUR/SE:BITurner
SESE 6642, 15 Jun 91, x7-6114
Prez Ankara Speech State Dinner
Cleared: EUR:RRJohnson
EUR/SE:DMRansom,PCCollins
S/P:JHughes
P:CvanVoorst
C:MFoulon
NEA/RA:AKeiswetter
EUR/PA:MPearson

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:6/21/91

ATTEN: SNOW/GROSSMAN

PROPOSED REMARKS
FOR THE PRESIDENT AT THE
STATE DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT OZAL
JULY 20, 1991

MR. PRESIDENT, MINISTERS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND FRIENDS,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I WANT AGAIN TO THANK PRESIDENT OZAL FOR INVITING ME TO SEE
FIRST-HAND THIS WONDERFUL COUNTRY AND EXPERIENCE THE WARMTH AND
LEGENDARY HOSPITALITY OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE. IT IS TRULY AN
HONOR AND A DELIGHT TO BE HERE. I UNDERSTAND BETTER NOW WHY IT
IS WRITTEN OUTSIDE ATATURK'S TOMB: "NE MUTLU TURKUM DIYENE."
(NAY MUT-LOO TURK-UM DEE-YEN-EH) ("How happy am I to be a
Turk.")

STANDING THERE THIS MORNING, I COULD NOT HELP BUT THINK OF
THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE FOUNDER OF THE MODERN TURKISH
REPUBLIC--WHOSE NAME I UNDERSTAND MEANS LITERALLY, "FATHER OF
THE TURKS"--AND THE MAN WE AMERICANS CALL THE FATHER OF OUR
COUNTRY, GEORGE WASHINGTON. BOTH MEN WERE GREAT GENERALS,
CAPABLE OF PROSECUTING A WAR TO VICTORY. WHAT MADE THEM
ENDURING HISTORICAL FIGURES WAS THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT
WINNING THE WAR MEANT SECURING THE PEACE BY MAKING FRIENDS OUT
OF ONE'S FORMER ENEMIES. IN ADDITION, BOTH HAD A VISION FOR
THEIR COUNTRIES' FUTURES WHICH, WHILE REQUIRING PROFOUND AND

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By PMC NARA, Date 11/09/04

~~DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
PER E.O. 12958, SEC 3.3 (C)~~

PMC 10/29/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-1-

DIFFICULT CHANGE AT THE TIME, WOULD PROVE ITSELF OVER TIME A VITAL AND INTEGRAL PART OF THEIR RESPECTIVE NATIONS' SELF-UNDERSTANDING.

THEN AS NOW, TURKEY AND AMERICA HAVE ESPOUSED THE SAME IDEALS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND PERSONAL LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY, OPPORTUNITY AND PROSPERITY--WHAT WE CALL THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS--AND THE RULE OF LAW. BOTH OF US BELIEVE IN WHAT ATATURK CALLED "PEACE AT HOME AND PEACE ABROAD," BUT WE BOTH ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT PROTECTING PEACE SOMETIMES MEANS BEING WILLING TO DEFEND IT. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE WORKED TOGETHER IN NATO FOR NEARLY FORTY YEARS. THAT IS WHY WE FOUGHT TOGETHER IN THE KOREAN WAR. THAT IS WHY WE STOOD TOGETHER TO REVERSE THE OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT.

IN LESS THAN TWO WEEKS FROM NOW, ON AUGUST 2, A YEAR WILL HAVE PASSED SINCE SADDAM HUSSEIN UNLEASHED HIS INVASION OF KUWAIT. BY THAT TIME I HOPE THAT THE LAST AMERICAN WILL HAVE DEPARTED FROM NORTHERN IRAQ. IT HAS BEEN AN EXTRAORDINARY YEAR FOR BOTH YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE. WE HAVE HAD TO RISE TO EXTRAORDINARY CHALLENGES. THAT WE SUCCEEDED IN MEETING THESE CHALLENGES IS A TRIBUTE TO THE EXTRAORDINARY FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IT IS ALSO A TRIBUTE TO OUR WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE. NOT LAST, THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD HAS REQUIRED

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EXCEPTIONAL LEADERSHIP FROM PEOPLE LIKE YOUR PRESIDENT, TURGUT OZAL.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW--AND I SPEAK HERE ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE AMERICAN PEOPLE--THAT TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE GULF CRISIS WAS NOT, AND WILL NOT BE, FORGOTTEN. YOU HAVE DESERVEDLY WON THE THANKS OF MIDDLE EASTERN AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES. FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, TURKEY STOOD ON PRINCIPLE IN CONDEMNING IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT. TURKEY'S EARLY AND DECISIVE ENFORCEMENT OF THE UN SANCTIONS REGIME WAS CRITICAL TO INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO ISOLATE IRAQ ECONOMICALLY. FOLLOWING THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES ON JANUARY 16, THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT TOOK THE COURAGEOUS DECISION OF VOTING TO ALLOW COALITION FORCES TO USE TURKISH BASES FOR MILITARY ACTIONS AGAINST IRAQ. IT DID SO DESPITE THE IMMEDIATE RISK OF IRAQI RETALIATION AS WELL AS THE LONGER-TERM RISK THAT TURKEY'S TIES WITH ITS SOUTHERN NEIGHBOR MIGHT SUFFER FOR MANY YEARS TO COME. FINALLY, ON APRIL 2, JUST WHEN IT APPEARED THAT COALITION FORCES HAD SUCCEEDED IN CONTAINING SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AGGRESSION OUTWARD, TURKEY WAS CONFRONTED WITH YET ANOTHER CRISIS WHEN OVER 450,000 IRAQI REFUGEES FLED TO THE TURKISH-IRAQI BORDER.

THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY CAN BE PROUD OF WHAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED TOGETHER OVER THE LAST YEAR, WHICH HAS NOT BEEN

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WITHOUT COST. TURKEY INCURRED ENORMOUS COSTS, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTHEAST, AS A RESULT OF ITS COMPLIANCE WITH UN SANCTIONS, ITS DECISION TO DEPLOY TROOPS CLOSE TO THE TURKISH-IRAQI BORDER, AND ITS GENEROUS RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF DISPLACED IRAQIS CAMPED ALONG ITS BORDERS. THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN THE LEAD, THROUGH ITS CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE GULF CRISIS FINANCIAL COORDINATION GROUP, TO OBTAIN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR TURKEY. WE HAVE ALSO MADE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE TO TURKEY ON A BILATERAL BASIS.

I HAVE TALKED OF EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR NOT OUT OF NOSTALGIA BUT BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN SO EXTRAORDINARY. BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES CAN BE PROUD OF HAVING RISEN SO MAGNIFICENTLY TO THE CHALLENGE. AS I THINK PRESIDENT OZAL WOULD AGREE, WE SHOULD VIEW OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS AS A GUIDE TO THE FUTURE. IT IS FOR THAT REASON THAT WE ARE NOW EMBARKED ON A PROGRAM OF STRATEGIC COOPERATION. THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY HAVE A SPECIAL FRIENDSHIP AND A SHARED DESTINY.

TURKEY'S GROWING ABILITY TO EXPORT TO THE WORLD, ATTRACT TOURISTS AND INVESTORS, DEVELOP THE AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL OF THE REGION THROUGH MAMMOTH WATER PROJECTS, AND EDUCATE ITS TALENTED PEOPLE, HAVE BEEN WATCHED WITH ADMIRATION BY ALL OF TURKEY'S FRIENDS. ALONG WITH OTHER WESTERN STATES, TURKEY AND

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THE UNITED STATES CAN WORK TOGETHER TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD BY ADDRESSING CHALLENGES TO FREE TRADE, STABILITY, AND JUSTICE WHEREVER WE MIGHT FIND THEM. I SAY TO YOU, GEORGE WASHINGTON AND ATATURK WERE ONLY THE BEGINNING.

PLEASE JOIN ME IN RAISING YOUR GLASSES TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. OZAL.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:6/22/91

PROPOSED ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR THE PRESIDENT

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MY FRIENDS:

I AM MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE WARM WELCOME YOU HAVE EXTENDED TO ME AND MY PARTY, AND AM EXTREMELY PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO VISIT TURKEY WITH ITS DYNAMIC, RICH HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

THE LAST US PRESIDENT TO VISIT TURKEY WAS DWIGHT EISENHOWER. WHEN HE ARRIVED IN ANKARA IN 1959, HE SAID HE WANTED TO TALK ABOUT A "WORLD OF PLENTY IN WHICH ALL NATIONS CAN LIVE -- INDEPENDENT AND PROSPEROUS, AT PEACE WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS." THESE SENTIMENTS ECHOED THE WORDS OF YOUR GREAT STATESMAN, KEMAL ATATURK--"PEACE AT HOME, PEACE ABROAD," A GOAL TOWARD WHICH ALL NATIONS SHOULD STRIVE.

I ARRIVE TODAY TO SAY THAT, THROUGH A STRONG ALLIANCE, HARD WORK AND FIRM VALUES, ALL OF THE WEST -- AND ESPECIALLY THE PROUD AND ABLE TURKS -- HAVE NOT JUST PROSPERED GREATLY BUT ALSO SUCCEEDED IN MOVING FROM A COLD WAR TO A WARM PEACE.

THESE ARE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS, AND THE LONDON SUMMIT I HAVE JUST ATTENDED CONFIRMS MY BELIEF THAT FREE MEN IN BOTH THE EAST AND THE WEST CAN COOPERATE FOR A STABLE PEACE AND GREATER PROSPERITY.

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By Paul NARA, Date 11/09/04

~~DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
PER E.O. 12958, SEC 3.3 (C)~~
Paul 10/29/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT WITH YOU, PRESIDENT OZAL:
THE COMING ERA. WHEN I REFLECT ON ALL THE YEARS SINCE MY
ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSOR VISITED TURKEY, AND ESPECIALLY ON THE
TUMULTUOUS YEAR JUST PASSED, I SEE THE COMING ERA AS ONE OF
ESPECIALLY CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED
STATES.

THANK YOU FOR THIS WARM RECEPTION. I KNOW, ALREADY, THAT I
AM AMONG FRIENDS AND ALLIES. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING MORE OF
THIS IMPORTANT, BEAUTIFUL AND HISTORIC LAND AND PEOPLE.

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Cont.

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Remarks for President's Public Statements

Attached are proposed remarks for the President's meeting in Turkey with the American community, his arrival statement, and the major policy speech he will deliver in Istanbul.

Attachment: as stated

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Drafted: EUR/SE:DMRansom/BITurner *TA*.
SESE 6666, 15 Jun 91, x7-6114
Pres. Remarks to American Community
Cleared: EUR:RRJohnson
S/P:JHughes
C:MFoulon
P:CvanVoorst *WVK*
EUR/PA:MPearson

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PROPOSED REMARKS
FOR THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

WHENEVER I VISIT AN EMBASSY THESE DAYS I AM REMINDED OF MY OWN DAYS AS AN AMBASSADOR--I KNOW FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WHAT IT TAKES TO MAKE A VISITOR FROM WASHINGTON FEEL WELCOME. I ALSO KNOW HOW MUCH MORE EFFORT IT TAKES WHEN THE VISITOR IS A PRESIDENT, AND FOR THAT YOU HAVE, WELL, MY SYMPATHY--BUT ALSO MY THANKS AND MY ADMIRATION.

LET ME BE CLEAR: EVERY MAN AND WOMAN EMPLOYED IN THIS EMBASSY, BOTH AMERICAN AND TURKISH, CAN TAKE SATISFACTION THAT THE VISITOR WHO IS TALKING TO YOU RIGHT NOW FEELS VERY WELCOME, AND FEELS THAT EVERY MINUTE OF HIS VISIT WILL BE USEFUL AND ENJOYABLE.

I AM ALSO KEENLY AWARE THAT FOR THE LAST YEAR THIS EMBASSY HAS BEEN WORKING AT FULL TILT--ALL THE COMPLICATED AND EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS TO BRING IN A US MILITARY FORCE THAT CONTRIBUTED SO MAGNIFICENTLY TO THE DEFEAT OF SADDAM'S MILITARY AFTER IT INVADED KUWAIT. I SEE MANY PROUD MEMBERS HERE TODAY FROM OUR MILITARY, STANDING TALL, AS WELL YOU SHOULD, AND I KNOW THAT MANY OF YOU ARE FROM THE CRACK FORCE THAT CAME BACK TO TURKEY, AFTER THE WAR ENDED, WHEN SADDAM USED THE REMNANTS OF HIS MILITARY TO DRIVE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS FROM THEIR HOMES. IT IS A REMARKABLE FACT THAT YOUR EFFORTS--

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ALONG WITH THOSE OF THOUSANDS OF TURKISH AIRMEN AND SOLDIERS--
HAVE HELPED GET THESE UNFORTUNATE REFUGEES OUT OF THE MOUNTAINS
AND BACK TO THEIR HOMES. I SALUTE YOU.

IN THESE TWO OPERATIONS, DESERT STORM AND PROVIDE COMFORT,
WE SHOWED THE WORLD WHAT TURKISH-US COOPERATION CAN DO--AND IN
THE PROCESS CREATED SOME IMPORTANT STRATEGIC FACTS FOR THE
FUTURE. THE EMBASSY HERE HAS BEEN IMAGINATIVE AND TIRELESS IN
ORCHESTRATING ALL THIS, AND I HAVE THE HONOR TO CITE YOUR
EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE AND ANNOUNCE THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS
AWARDED THE SUPERIOR HONOR AWARD TO THE EMBASSY AS A WHOLE--
AND HAS AWARDED TO AMBASSADOR ABRAMOWITZ THE DISTINGUISHED
HONOR AWARD.

MORT, YOU ARE RETIRING IN A FEW DAYS, AFTER REACHING THE
HIGHEST RANK IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE: CAREER AMBASSADOR. YOU
ARE GOING ON TO A POSITION OF GREAT INFLUENCE AND HONOR--THE
HEAD OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. YOU
WILL LEAVE HERE IN TURKEY MANY FRIENDS--FROM THE PRESIDENT ON
DOWN--BUT YOU CAN CONSOLE YOURSELF WITH THE THOUGHT THAT WHEN
YOU GET TO WASHINGTON YOU WILL FIND MANY FRIENDS THERE--FROM
THE PRESIDENT ON DOWN, I MIGHT ADD.

MORT, CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU, AND TO YOUR ABLE AND
HARD-WORKING STAFF.

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FINALLY, I WANT TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION FOR THE SACRIFICES EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU--FOREIGN SERVICE AND MILITARY PERSONNEL, SPOUSES AND CHILDREN--HAVE MADE TO REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES OVERSEAS. I REALIZE YOU WOULD NOT BE HERE TODAY IF YOU DID NOT DERIVE GREAT SATISFACTION FROM SERVING YOUR COUNTRY AND HELPING GIVE SHAPE TO THE HISTORY OF OUR TIME. ON THE OTHER HAND, I KNOW IT CAN BE TOUGH AT TIMES--WHAT WITH THE LONG HOURS, DEPLOYMENTS TO THE MOST REMOTE CORNERS OF TURKEY, LIVING CONDITIONS SOMETIMES BORDERING ON HARDSHIP, THE THREAT OF TERRORISM--NOT TO MENTION THE STRAIN OF BEING FAR-REMOVED FROM FAMILY AND FRIENDS BACK HOME. ALL OF YOU CAN LOOK WITH PRIDE AT YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS OVER THE LAST YEAR, AND I HOPE YOU WILL CONCLUDE--AND I AM CONFIDENT YOU WILL--THAT THE SACRIFICES WERE WORTH IT.

I LOOK FORWARD TO MY VISIT HERE IN TURKEY, AND HOPE THAT IT WILL HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT ON THE FUTURE COURSE OF U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS. IT IS THE RESULT OF YOUR HARD WORK AND TIRELESS DEDICATION, AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS OF EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU.

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Drafted: DMRansom/GMStaples *AM*
SESE 6664, 15 Jun 91, x7-6114
President's Arrival Statement - Ankara
Cleared: EUR:RRJohnson
P:CvanVoorst
C:MFoulon
S/P:JHughes
EUR/PA:MPearson *JP*

~~DECLASSIFIED~~

~~White House Guidelines~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: 6/22/91

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), August 28, 1997
By RMC NARA, Date 10/29/04

PROPOSED ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR THE PRESIDENT

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MY FRIENDS:

I AM MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE WARM WELCOME YOU HAVE EXTENDED TO ME AND MY PARTY, AND AM EXTREMELY PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO VISIT TURKEY WITH ITS DYNAMIC, RICH HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

THE LAST US PRESIDENT TO VISIT TURKEY WAS DWIGHT EISENHOWER. WHEN HE ARRIVED IN ANKARA IN 1959, HE SAID HE WANTED TO TALK ABOUT A "WORLD OF PLENTY IN WHICH ALL NATIONS CAN LIVE -- INDEPENDENT AND PROSPEROUS, AT PEACE WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS." THESE SENTIMENTS ECHOED THE WORDS OF YOUR GREAT STATESMAN, KEMAL ATATURK--"PEACE AT HOME, PEACE ABROAD," A GOAL TOWARD WHICH ALL NATIONS SHOULD STRIVE.

I ARRIVE TODAY TO SAY THAT, THROUGH A STRONG ALLIANCE, HARD WORK AND FIRM VALUES, ALL OF THE WEST -- AND ESPECIALLY THE PROUD AND ABLE TURKS -- HAVE NOT JUST PROSPERED GREATLY BUT ALSO SUCCEEDED IN MOVING FROM A COLD WAR TO A WARM PEACE.

THESE ARE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS, AND THE LONDON SUMMIT I HAVE JUST ATTENDED CONFIRMS MY BELIEF THAT FREE MEN IN BOTH THE EAST AND THE WEST CAN COOPERATE FOR A STABLE PEACE AND GREATER PROSPERITY.

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By RMC NARA, Date 11/09/04

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-2-

THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT WITH YOU, PRESIDENT OZAL:
THE COMING ERA. . WHEN I REFLECT ON ALL THE YEARS SINCE MY
ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSOR VISITED TURKEY, AND ESPECIALLY ON THE
TUMULTUOUS YEAR JUST PASSED, I SEE THE COMING ERA AS ONE OF
ESPECIALLY CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED
STATES.

THANK YOU FOR THIS WARM RECEPTION. I KNOW, ALREADY, THAT I
AM AMONG FRIENDS AND ALLIES. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING MORE OF
THIS IMPORTANT, BEAUTIFUL AND HISTORIC LAND AND PEOPLE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Drafted:EUR/SE:GMStaples
SESE 6643, June 13,1991, x7-6114
President's Speech - U.S.-Turkish Relations
Cleared: EUR:JFDobbins
EUR/SE:DMRansom
EUR/SE:PCollins
P:CvanVoorst
C:MFoulon
S/P:JHughes/DWagner
EUR/PA:MPearson

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White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), August 28, 1997

By RLC NARA, Date 10/29/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: 6/22/91

PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE PRESIDENT

U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS

MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:

LET ME EXPRESS AGAIN HERE TONIGHT ON BEHALF OF EVERYONE IN OUR PARTY OUR SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR THE OUTPOURING OF WARMTH AND AFFECTION WE HAVE RECEIVED DURING OUR VISIT. I COULD NOT HELP THINKING DURING MY TOUR TODAY OF THE BLUE MOSQUE, AYA SOFIA, AND THE TOPKAPI PALACE OF THE HISTORY THAT SURROUNDS THESE SITES AND INDEED ALL OF TURKEY. HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY HAVE MADE TURKEY AN INTERNATIONAL CROSSROADS, WITH A GLORIOUS PAST AND A DAZZLING FUTURE.

WE MEET TONIGHT IN A WORLD CHANGED BY THE EVENT OF THE PAST TWO YEARS. FOR OVER FORTY YEARS, THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY SUCCEEDED IN SAFEGUARDING THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, WE REAPED THE REWARD OF OUR VIGILANCE BY WITNESSING THE FALL OF THE IRON CURTAIN AND THE FREEDOM OF THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE. THE WARSAW PACT HAS BEEN DISSOLVED AND NATIONS THAT WERE ONCE OUR ENEMIES HAVE BECOME OUR FRIENDS. WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE DRAMATIC CHANGES SWEEPING EASTERN EUROPE

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Department of State Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997

By RLC NARA, Date 11/09/04

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AND THE SOVIET UNION. AT THE SAME TIME, WE RECOGNIZE THAT TENSIONS ARE INEVITABLE WHEN COUNTRIES MUST SUDDENLY RESHAPE THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, NOT TO MENTION THE IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THEIR ENTIRE WAY OF LIFE. THE UNITED STATES HAS SOUGHT TO FORGE NEW ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TIES IN THIS ENVIRONMENT THAT WILL STRENGTHEN THE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THESE EVOLVING SOCIETIES, MUCH AS TURKEY HAS DONE.

A

AS PART OF ITS EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, TURKEY HAS TAKEN BOLD STEPS SUCH AS ITS BLACK SEA COOPERATION INITIATIVE. THIS WILL ENCOURAGE THE MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES AS WELL AS GREATER ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES WHICH SURROUND THIS IMPORTANT BODY OF WATER. TURKEY'S EFFORTS TO INCREASE TRADE WITH THE SOVIET REPUBLICS, PARTICIPATE IN CULTURAL AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGES, AND, FOR EXAMPLE, WITH ARMENIA, OPEN ITS BORDERS TO FACILITATE TRADE AND POLITICAL EXCHANGES ARE EXAMPLES OF A NEW DETERMINATION BY SO MANY NATIONS TODAY TO ENRICH THEIR TIES WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS TO AVOID THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF THE PAST THAT HAVE LED TO CONFLICT.

THESE POSITIVE, INNOVATIVE STEPS BY TURKEY IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS BALKAN NEIGHBORS

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STAND, HOWEVER, IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE ACTIONS OF TURKEY'S NEIGHBOR TO THE SOUTH - IRAQ. SADDAM HUSSEIN'S BRUTAL INVASION OF KUWAIT LAST AUGUST 2 PROMPTED AN UNPRECEDENTED RESPONSE BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY. TURKEY PLAYED A PIVOTAL ROLE, BY FIRST SHUTTING DOWN THE IRAQI OIL PIPELINE AND BANNING CROSS BORDER TRADE. *Gulf* THESE STEPS, AT GREAT ECONOMIC COST, WERE KEY TO THE SUCCESSFUL ENFORCEMENT OF UN SANCTIONS AGAINST THE IRAQI REGIME. THE U.S. IN TURN, SOUGHT ASSISTANCE FOR TURKEY FROM ALLIES WHO PLEDGED AID TO REIMBURSE TURKEY FOR THE LOSSES IT SUFFERED FROM ENFORCING SANCTIONS.

IN JANUARY WHEN MILITARY ACTION BECAME UNAVOIDABLE, TURKEY'S COURAGEOUS DECISION TO PERMIT ALLIED MILITARY STRIKES AGAINST IRAQ TO BE LAUNCHED FROM TURKISH BASES WAS CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF DESERT STORM. TURKEY'S DECISION TO REDEPLOY OVER 100,000 TROOPS TO THE IRAQI BORDER TIED DOWN OVER TEN IRAQI DIVISIONS AND HELPED DETER FURTHER IRAQI ADVENTURISM. I COULD NOT HELP BUT BE REMINDED AS THE COALITION FORCES SWEEP INTO KUWAIT TO LIBERATE IT FROM THE INVADER, OF THE BRAVERY AND HEROISM OF TURKEY'S SOLDIERS IN THE KOREAN CONFLICT WHERE OUR FORCES AGAIN JOINED TOGETHER TO THWART AGGRESSION. FOR THAT EFFORT AND SACRIFICE FORTY YEARS AGO, AND FOR HER STEADFASTNESS AGAIN IN THIS CRISIS, THE WORLD OWES TURKEY A GREAT DEBT OF GRATITUDE.

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IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR, TURKEY'S IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S. AND HER STRATEGIC ROLE IN THE REGION BECAME CLEARER TO US ALL. TURKEY REMAINS THE LINCHPIN OF NATO'S SECURITY PERIMETER. HOWEVER, BEYOND ITS TRADITIONAL --AND VITALLY IMPORTANT-- ROLE IN NATO AND EUROPE, TURKEY'S POSITION AS NATO'S ONLY MUSLIM MEMBER MAKES IT A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND MUSLIM WORLDS AND WE BELIEVE ENABLES IT TO PLAY A STABILIZING ROLE IN THE VOLATILE MIDDLE EAST.

democ

ASIDE FROM ISRAEL, TURKEY IS THE ONLY STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST REGION WITH A LONGSTANDING COMMITMENT TO PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. TURKEY'S COMMITMENT TO SECULARISM, INSTITUTED BY THE FAR-SEEING FOUNDER OF MODERN TURKEY, KEMAL ATATURK, IS EPITOMIZED BY THE CITY OF ISTANBUL WITH ITS MOSQUES AND WESTERN SHOPS AND INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTING TOGETHER, EACH IN ITS OWN WAY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN TURKEY. TURKEY THUS OFFERS A UNIQUE MODEL FOR ISLAM, NOT IN CONFLICT WITH SECULARISM AND DEMOCRACY, BUT RATHER SUPPORTIVE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN VALUES CHERISHED BY BOTH OUR COUNTRIES OF FREEDOM AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

BEYOND THIS, HOWEVER, TURKEY ALSO SERVES AS A PROVEN MODEL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ITS FREE MARKET REFORMS, UNDER THE STEWARDSHIP OF THEN PRIME MINISTER OZAL, OPENED THE ECONOMY AND EXPANDED ACCESS BY TURKISH ENTREPRENEURS TO FOREIGN IMPORTS,

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Frank
CREDIT, AND INVESTMENT. AS A RESULT, TURKEY IN THE 1980'S BOASTED THE STRONGEST GROWTH RATE OF ANY OF THE COUNTRIES THAT BELONG TO THE ORGANIZATION FOR COOPERATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. EXPORTS SURGED, AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT INCREASED FIVEFOLD. WE HOPE THESE RESULTS WILL ENCOURAGE NEEDED ECONOMIC REFORMS BY TURKEY'S NEIGHBORS IN THE REGION, WHO STAND TO BENEFIT GREATLY FROM CLOSER ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TIES WITH THE TURKISH REPUBLIC, THE NATIONS OF EUROPE, AND WITH THE UNITED STATES. WHEN THAT DAY COMES, I COULD EASILY FORESEE TURKEY TAKING ADVANTAGE OF ITS UNIQUE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION TO BECOME A REGIONAL ECONOMIC HUB BETWEEN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE BALKANS.

FINALLY, TURKEY HAS A KEY ROLE TO PLAY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. ONE OF MY SINCEREST HOPES IS THAT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE GULF CONFLICT, RELATIONS BETWEEN BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY CAN BE IMPROVED. FOLLOWING WORLD WAR TWO, SOVIET MEDDLING IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR AND TERRITORIAL DEMANDS ON TURKEY GAVE BOTH A COMMON ENEMY, AND EARNED BOTH A COMMON FRIEND IN THE U.S. HOWEVER, DISPUTES OVER AEGEAN AIRSPACE, COASTAL WATERS, THE SEABED AND CYPRUS HAVE SINCE PLAGUED THE RELATIONSHIP. BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY COOPERATED MAGNIFICENTLY DURING THE GULF CONFLICT, AS THEY HAVE AS NATO ALLIES FOR SO MANY YEARS. YESTERDAY, I WAS PRIVILEGED TO LAY A WREATH AT THE ATATURK MAUSOLEUM, AND WHEN I WAS IN CRETE I VISITED THE TOMB

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OF PRIME MINISTER VENIZELOS. BOTH LEADERS WERE REVERED FIGURES AND WORKED TOGETHER AS PEACEMAKERS, AGREEING IN 1930 ON A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP. LET ME CALL TONIGHT AS I DID IN ATHENS FOR BOTH COUNTRIES TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND FIND SOLUTIONS TO THEIR DISPUTES. AS WE MOVE TOWARD THE MYRIAD OPPORTUNITIES THAT AWAIT US AS WE ENTER THE NEXT CENTURY, NEIGHBORS AND ALLIES THAT WE CONSIDER TO BE OUR GOOD FRIENDS CAN SURELY FIND A WAY TO BETTER COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER.

LET ME CONCLUDE BY REEMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY. AS I SAID EARLIER, THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY HAVE BEEN FRIENDS FOR OVER FORTY YEARS.

THROUGH OUR CLOSE SECURITY PARTNERSHIP WITHIN NATO, WE HAVE WORKED TOGETHER TO MEET THE CHALLENGES TO FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT TURKEY IS A STEADFAST ALLY THAT HAS EARNED OUR RESPECT AND ADMIRATION AND DESERVES OUR SUPPORT. WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH TURKEY TO ENSURE THAT NATO REMAINS THE BACKBONE OF WESTERN COLLECTIVE SECURITY, AND THAT TURKEY PARTICIPATES FULLY IN ANY NEW

EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURES THAT ARISE. I SHOULD ALSO REEMPHASIZE BEFORE CLOSING OUR FIRM SUPPORT FOR TURKEY'S ADMISSION INTO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION, EVENTS THAT FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE CAN ONLY STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING BONDS BETWEEN NATO MEMBERS AND ALL OF EUROPE IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA.

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I WANT YOU ALL TO KNOW THAT WE TAKE SERIOUSLY OUR COMMITMENT UNDER THE DEFENSE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT TO MAKE A "BEST EFFORT" TO SECURE FOR TURKEY THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO HELP MODERNIZE HER ARMED FORCES, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT THAT COMMITMENT. FINALLY, WE CONSIDER OURSELVES FORTUNATE TO HAVE A FRIEND LIKE TURKEY WILLING TO JOIN US, IF NECESSARY, ON THE FRONT LINES TO DEFEND FREEDOM AND DETER AGGRESSION AGAINST ITS NEIGHBORS. YOU SEE, I KNEW THAT WHEN THE UN DECIDED TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ, TURKEY WOULD NOT HESITATE. AND I NEVER DOUBTED THAT WHEN, REGRETFULLY, IT BECAME NECESSARY TO USE FORCE TO FREE KUWAIT, TURKEY WOULD ASSIST IN EVERY WAY IN A JUST CAUSE.

SO MR. PRESIDENT, HONORED GUESTS AND FRIENDS, AGAIN LET ME EXPRESS TO YOU ALL THE IMMENSE PLEASURE THAT I FEEL TONIGHT ON THIS OCCASION, IN THIS MAGNIFICENT SETTING SO RICH IN HISTORY. THERE IS A SPECIAL BOND BETWEEN THE TURKISH AND AMERICAN PEOPLES WHICH I HOPE HAS GROWN STRONGER AS A RESULT OF MY VISIT. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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ISTANBUL

A poet writing fourteen centuries ago described Istanbul as being surrounded by a garland of water, and the city still owes much of its spirit and beauty to the waters that bind and divide it. The former capital of three world empires, ~~Istanbul is the only city in the world which stands upon two continents.~~ The main part of the city lies in Europe and is separated from its Asian suburbs by the Bosphorus. The Golden Horn divides the European city into two parts, the old imperial town of Stamboul on the south bank and the more modern town of Galata on the north.

Tradition says that the original settlement of Byzantium was established where the Topkapi Palace now stands, in the seventh century B.C., although the actual date was probably much earlier. Known from the beginning as an important center of ~~trade and commerce~~, during its first millennium Byzantium had much the same history as other cities in the region. This changed when Constantine the Great, fresh from reuniting the Roman Empire under his control, decided to reconstitute the Empire with Byzantium as its capital. In 330 A.D. the city was rededicated as New Rome, which soon changed to Constantinople. For the next eleven centuries Constantinople served as the imperial and religious capital of the Byzantine Empire. This first golden age of the city is symbolized by the magnificent Haghia Sophia church, which was considered the center of the orthodox Christian world.

The combination of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn and the great land walls built by the early rulers protected Constantinople from numerous sieges. Indeed, the city was taken by force only twice by the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The city taken by Mehmet the Conqueror was a pale shadow of the former imperial Byzantine capital. The Ottomans repopled and rebuilt it, making it by the beginning of the sixteenth century a thriving and populous metropolis, once again the capital of a vast empire. The Ottoman empire reached its peak during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent, who ruled from 1520 to 1560. This second golden age of the city is symbolized by the great Suleymaniye Mosque built in 1557.

When the Ottoman empire foundered at the end of the First World War, Istanbul was occupied by the victorious allied armies. Kemal ~~Ataturk~~, leader of the Turkish nationalist forces, decided to make a clean break with the imperial past of the city, and placed the capital of the new Turkish ~~Republic in Ankara~~. Its imperial past reflected in the unforgettable skyline of the city, Istanbul today remains a vast metropolis that continues to serve as the economic, industrial and cultural heart of Turkey.

HAGHIA SOPHIA AYA SOFYA

The history and architecture of Haghia Sophia make it one

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of the study... was dedicated by the Emperor Justinian on December 26 in the year A.D. 537. For nearly a thousand years it served as the cathedral of Constantinople and was the center of the religious life of the Byzantine Empire. For almost five centuries after the Turkish conquest in 1453 it ranked first among the Imperial mosques of Istanbul under the name of Aya Sofya (Demi). In 1935, during the early years of the Turkish Republic, Hagia Sophia was converted into a museum. The architectural genius of the building is most evident in the magnificent dome, which was pictured by the ancients as being suspended from heaven by a golden chain.

SULTAN AHMET CAMII
THE BLUE MOSQUE

Not far from Haghia Sophia, the Sultan Ahmet Camii, commonly known as the Blue Mosque, is a splendid example of Ottoman imperial architecture. It forms one of the principal landmarks of the Istanbul skyline, with its graceful cascade of domes and semidomes, its six slender minarets and the lovely gray color of the stone set off by the gilded ornaments on domes and minarets. The Blue Mosque was founded by Sultan Ahmet I and constructed between 1609 and 1616. The mosque is celebrated for the light that streams in from its 260 windows as well as for the splendor of the tiles used in the interior--hence the name "Blue Mosque."

TOPKAPI SARAYI
TOPKAPI PALACE

Topkapi Sarayi, the Great Palace of the Ottoman Sultans, is the most extensive and fascinating monument of Ottoman civil architecture in existence. It served as the seat of Ottoman power for over 400 years. Perched on a hill overlooking both the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus

DOLMABAHCE SARAYI
DOLMABAHCE PALACE

Dolmabahce Palace stretches for 600 meters along the shore of the Bosphorus ~~near where the first Bosphorus bridge (1974) links Asia and Europe~~. It was built in 1853 by Sultan Abdul Mecit who found Topkapi too old fashioned. After completion, it served as the chief residence of the Sultans until the end of the Empire. Ataturk stayed there when in Istanbul and died there on November 10, 1938. Predominantly ~~Western~~ in style, Dolmabahce Palace is most noted for the baroque extravagance of its decor. It houses, among other things, an incredible crystal staircase and an alabaster bathroom.

ROBERT COLLEGE

Located on a hill overlooking the Bosphorus in Arnavutkoy, Robert College is a private American coeducational high school founded in 1871 as the American College for Girls. It was the first modern high school of its kind in Turkey and produced many women who played a leading part in the life of their country. In 1971, on the occasion of its centennial, it was combined with the boy's high school of the old Robert College, taking the latter's name. (The original boys' school, located a short distance to the north on the Bosphorus, today houses Bosphorus University (Bogaziçi Universitesi), one of Turkey's most prestigious institutions of higher learning.) Robert College is still considered by many the best high school in Turkey, and its graduates continue to occupy prominent positions in all walks of Turkish life.

ROBERT COLLEGE, ARNAVUTKÖY, İSTANBUL, TÜRKİYE



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Remarks for President's Public Statements

Attached are proposed remarks for the President's meeting in Turkey with the American community, his arrival statement, and the major policy speech he will deliver in Istanbul.

Attachment: as stated

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Drafted: EUR/SE:DMRansom/BITurner *tu*.
SESE 6666, 15 Jun 91, x7-6114
Pres. Remarks to American Community
Cleared: EUR:RRJohnson
S/P:JHughes
C:MFoulon
P:CvanVoorst *CV*.
EUR/PA:MPearson

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PROPOSED REMARKS
FOR THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

WHENEVER I VISIT AN EMBASSY THESE DAYS I AM REMINDED OF MY OWN DAYS AS AN AMBASSADOR--I KNOW FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WHAT IT TAKES TO MAKE A VISITOR FROM WASHINGTON FEEL WELCOME. I ALSO KNOW HOW MUCH MORE EFFORT IT TAKES WHEN THE VISITOR IS A PRESIDENT, AND FOR THAT YOU HAVE, WELL, MY SYMPATHY--BUT ALSO MY THANKS AND MY ADMIRATION.

LET ME BE CLEAR: EVERY MAN AND WOMAN EMPLOYED IN THIS EMBASSY, BOTH AMERICAN AND TURKISH, CAN TAKE SATISFACTION THAT THE VISITOR WHO IS TALKING TO YOU RIGHT NOW FEELS VERY WELCOME, AND FEELS THAT EVERY MINUTE OF HIS VISIT WILL BE USEFUL AND ENJOYABLE.

I AM ALSO KEENLY AWARE THAT FOR THE LAST YEAR THIS EMBASSY HAS BEEN WORKING AT FULL TILT--ALL THE COMPLICATED AND EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS TO BRING IN A US MILITARY FORCE THAT CONTRIBUTED SO MAGNIFICENTLY TO THE DEFEAT OF SADDAM'S MILITARY AFTER IT INVADED KUWAIT. I SEE MANY PROUD MEMBERS HERE TODAY FROM OUR MILITARY, STANDING TALL, AS WELL YOU SHOULD, AND I KNOW THAT MANY OF YOU ARE FROM THE CRACK FORCE THAT CAME BACK TO TURKEY, AFTER THE WAR ENDED, WHEN SADDAM USED THE REMNANTS OF HIS MILITARY TO DRIVE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS FROM THEIR HOMES. IT IS A REMARKABLE FACT THAT YOUR EFFORTS--

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ALONG WITH THOSE OF THOUSANDS OF TURKISH AIRMEN AND SOLDIERS--
HAVE HELPED GET THESE UNFORTUNATE REFUGEES OUT OF THE MOUNTAINS
AND BACK TO THEIR HOMES. I SALUTE YOU.

IN THESE TWO OPERATIONS, DESERT STORM AND PROVIDE COMFORT,
WE SHOWED THE WORLD WHAT TURKISH-US COOPERATION CAN DO--AND IN
THE PROCESS CREATED SOME IMPORTANT STRATEGIC FACTS FOR THE
FUTURE. THE EMBASSY HERE HAS BEEN IMAGINATIVE AND TIRELESS IN
ORCHESTRATING ALL THIS, AND I HAVE THE HONOR TO CITE YOUR
EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE AND ANNOUNCE THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS
AWARDED THE SUPERIOR HONOR AWARD TO THE EMBASSY AS A WHOLE--
AND HAS AWARDED TO AMBASSADOR ABRAMOWITZ THE DISTINGUISHED
HONOR AWARD.

MORT, YOU ARE RETIRING IN A FEW DAYS, AFTER REACHING THE
HIGHEST RANK IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE: CAREER AMBASSADOR. YOU
ARE GOING ON TO A POSITION OF GREAT INFLUENCE AND HONOR--THE
HEAD OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. YOU
WILL LEAVE HERE IN TURKEY MANY FRIENDS--FROM THE PRESIDENT ON
DOWN--BUT YOU CAN CONSOLE YOURSELF WITH THE THOUGHT THAT WHEN
YOU GET TO WASHINGTON YOU WILL FIND MANY FRIENDS THERE--FROM
THE PRESIDENT ON DOWN, I MIGHT ADD.

MORT, CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU, AND TO YOUR ABLE AND
HARD-WORKING STAFF.

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FINALLY, I WANT TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION FOR THE SACRIFICES EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU--FOREIGN SERVICE AND MILITARY PERSONNEL, SPOUSES AND CHILDREN--HAVE MADE TO REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES OVERSEAS. I REALIZE YOU WOULD NOT BE HERE TODAY IF YOU DID NOT DERIVE GREAT SATISFACTION FROM SERVING YOUR COUNTRY AND HELPING GIVE SHAPE TO THE HISTORY OF OUR TIME. ON THE OTHER HAND, I KNOW IT CAN BE TOUGH AT TIMES--WHAT WITH THE LONG HOURS, DEPLOYMENTS TO THE MOST REMOTE CORNERS OF TURKEY, LIVING CONDITIONS SOMETIMES BORDERING ON HARDSHIP, THE THREAT OF TERRORISM--NOT TO MENTION THE STRAIN OF BEING FAR-REMOVED FROM FAMILY AND FRIENDS BACK HOME. ALL OF YOU CAN LOOK WITH PRIDE AT YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS OVER THE LAST YEAR, AND I HOPE YOU WILL CONCLUDE--AND I AM CONFIDENT YOU WILL--THAT THE SACRIFICES WERE WORTH IT.

I LOOK FORWARD TO MY VISIT HERE IN TURKEY, AND HOPE THAT IT WILL HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT ON THE FUTURE COURSE OF U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS. IT IS THE RESULT OF YOUR HARD WORK AND TIRELESS DEDICATION, AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS OF EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU.

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Drafted: DMRansom/GMStaples *MS*
SESE 6664, 15 Jun 91, x7-6114
President's Arrival Statement - Ankara
Cleared: EUR:RRJohnson
P:CvanVoorst
C:MFoulon
S/P:JHughes
EUR/PA:MPearson *MS*

TURKEY -- AN OVERVIEW

TURKEY AND THE GULF

*Turkey
in
GULF!!*

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, underscored Turkey's strategic location between Europe and Asia, and reconfirmed its importance as the only NATO member bordering the volatile Middle East region. Turkey's rapid and forthright application of UN sanctions against Iraq -- at considerable economic cost to itself -- has provided a model of adherence to the enforcement of the rule of law within the international community. Turkey has cut off trade with Iraq, shut the Iraqi oil pipeline, and cooperated logistically with the deployment of forces to the Gulf. Adherence to UN sanctions cost the Turkish economy an estimated US \$2.5 billion in 1990.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Turkey's precursor, the Ottoman Empire, ruled Asia Minor, the Balkans and much of the Arab Near East for over 600 years but by the late 18th century was in decline. The Ottomans sided with Germany in World War I. Defeat ushered in the Empire's end. With the assistance of the Great Powers, Greece invaded unsuccessfully in a bid to regain territories in western Turkey which had belonged to the (Greek) Byzantine Empire. Greece was rebuffed by armies under the command of Mustafa Kemal. Later given the name Ataturk ("father of the Turks"), he founded present-day republican Turkey in 1923.

Ataturk implemented sweeping reforms. These included de-institutionalization of Islam, whereby Turkey acquired a secular government. Secular, anti-communist and western-oriented, Ataturk instituted universal suffrage, free public education and women's rights. He replaced complex Ottoman Arabic script with a western phonetic alphabet and undertook a far-reaching literacy campaign. Ataturk is revered in Turkey and his legacy remains a potent force in Turkish political, social and cultural life.

Though neutral until late in World War II, Turkey's brief belligerency enabled it to become a charter United Nations member. In 1947 Communist pressure on both sides of the Aegean and eastern Anatolia led the United States to declare the Truman Doctrine, beginning American military assistance relationships with Greece and Turkey. Turkey fought alongside other U.N. armies in Korea. Turkey and Greece joined NATO in 1952.

POSTWAR POLITICS

One-party rule of the Republican Peoples Party (RPP), which Ataturk established in 1923, continued until 1946. The opposition Democratic Party won a majority in multi-party elections in 1950. A military coup overthrew the Democratic Party government of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in 1960 after several years of economic and political upheaval. Menderes and two of his ministers were tried, convicted and executed for abuse of authority and treason. Several other members of the government were imprisoned. The military restored civilian government in late 1961.

In elections in 1965 and 1969 Suleyman Demirel's Justice Party (JP), widely seen as successor to the Democratic Party, won working majorities in the parliament. Demirel was deposed in 1971 by a non-violent "coup by memorandum" military withdrawal of confidence in the government. Bulent Ecevit and his Republican Peoples Party filled the ensuing leadership void from 1973 to 1974. Following Prime Minister Ecevit's resignation in late 1974 in the face of economic problems and political violence, Ecevit and Demirel alternately headed coalition governments while economic difficulties grew and political violence escalated. Numerous terrorist groups emerged on both the left and the right, and Turkey's university campuses became major battlegrounds. Many Turks suspected foreign support aimed at destabilizing the state. By the summer of 1980 factional violence was claiming twenty lives a day. Parliament and the government were unable to transcend partisan politics as virtual social anarchy grew.

On September 12, 1980, a "National Security Council" composed of senior representatives of the armed forces assumed control of the government. They moved swiftly to restore order, arresting thousands and capturing large caches of weapons. Political parties were disbanded and a new constitution was drafted. Kenan Evren, Chief of the General Staff at the time, headed the military government. Government was returned to civilian hands following a referendum in 1982.

Turks generally look upon the three military interventions as unfortunate but necessary to preserve civil order, the integrity of the state and the principles of Ataturk.

CURRENT POLITICS

Turkey is a republic with a unicameral parliamentary form of government. The Turkish electorate approved the present constitution in the 1982 referendum, which also established Evren as President of the Republic for a seven-year term to November 1989. The constitution and subsequent legislation provided for a step-by-step return to full democratic politics, a process which culminated in a September 1987 referendum removing political bans on pre-1980 politicians. According to the constitution, sovereignty inheres in the Turkish nation and is expressed by the Parliament, known formally as the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA; in Turkish TBMM). The TGNA, which may sit a maximum five years between national elections, in turn is responsible for electing subsequent presidents to serve a single, seven-year term.

In November, 1983 general elections, at the head of the newly-founded Motherland Party (ANAP) Turgut Ozal bested a military-sponsored candidate and became Prime Minister. A technocrat in previous administrations and an engineer by training, Ozal championed economic liberalization. In elections on November 29, 1987, center-right ANAP again gained a plurality which yielded it a substantial majority in the 450-seat TGNA.

The principal opposition party is the left-of-center Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), chaired by Erdal Inonu, a former physics

professor and the son of Turkey's second president, Ismet Inonu. Also represented in Parliament is the right-of-center True Path Party (DYP) of former Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. The November 1987 election resulted in percentages of the popular vote and TGNA seats as follows:

ANAP.....	36%	popular vote	292 seats
SHP.....	24%	" "	99 seats
DYP.....	19%	" "	59 seats

Nationwide local elections on March 26, 1989 resulted in a significant setback for ANAP, which fell to below 22 percent in provincial councils across the country compared to its 36 percent showing in 1987; the provincial council figures for SHP and DYP were 28.2 and 25.6 percent respectively. A key reason for ANAP's setback was public dismay with persistent high inflation, then running at an annual rate of around 70 percent. General elections are not again due until 1992 but could take place late in 1991.

On November 9, 1989, Parliament elected Turgut Ozal to a seven-year term as President, succeeding Evren. Ozal named then-Speaker of Parliament Yildirim Akbulut as Prime Minister. Akbulut kept the previous cabinet with some changes. Since Turkey's presidency is non-partisan, Ozal was obliged to step down as Chairman of ANAP. On November 17 a special ANAP convention named Akbulut party leader.

As a result of resignations, deaths, and mergers the present parliamentary lineup is: ANAP - 276, SHP - 81, DYP - 60, splinter parties - 12, Independents - 9, vacant - 12. Legal non-Parliamentary parties in Turkey number about 15 and span a wide political spectrum from the religious right to the communist left.

TURKEY'S ECONOMY

From establishment of the Republic until 1980, Turkey was an insulated, near-autarkic, state-directed economy. The inefficiency of that economy in the face of the oil shocks of the 1970's yielded slow growth and severe shortages of many imported essentials (including fuel oil and coffee). These problems contributed to the unrest that wracked Turkey before the September 1980 military intervention.

In January 1980, however, Turkey began an economic turnaround. The philosophical underpinnings of the reforms initiated by now-President Turgut Ozal, first as chief economic planner and then as prime minister, included increased reliance on market forces, decentralization, export-led development, lower taxes and privatization. The reforms have brought Turkey impressive benefits. Turkey's 1986 and 1987 growth rates were the highest of any OECD country. During the second half of 1988, however, the Turkish economy went into a recession which continued into 1989, when GNP grew by only 1.6 percent. The major reason for the decline in growth was a severe drought which reduced agricultural as well as agro-based manufacturing production. The economy underwent dynamic recovery in 1990 in response to measures implemented by the government to stimulate demand. While Turkish officials estimate that the gulf crisis will bring losses of \$2.5 billion to the Turkish economy in 1990, real GNP growth is

Turkey's primary economic problem is inflation which has been fueled by growing public sector deficits. Growth in infrastructure investments to promote development exacerbated the inflationary strains of a high rate of private consumption. While the Turkish Government took measures in 1988 to reduce inflation, the drought caused agricultural prices to soar. Inflation hovered around 70 percent in 1988 and 1989 but began to fall in 1990. The increase in petroleum prices in response to the gulf crisis caused an acceleration of inflation during the last quarter of 1990, and the year-end inflation rate was 49.2 percent (Wholesale Price Index). Unemployment was officially reported as 10.4 percent in 1989, but underemployment is significantly higher. After years of declining real wages, public sector workers have received substantial wage increases in 1989 and 1990, also contributing to the public sector deficit.

Turkey has been an Associate Member of the European Community (EC) since 1964. Turkey submitted a formal application for full EC membership in April, 1987. The membership process is moving very slowly as the EC gives priority to completing formation of its common internal market by the end of 1992. Turkey is expected to continue seeking greater acceptance by the EC and other Western institutions. This reinforces Turkish efforts to address human rights issues, modernize Turkish public institutions and bureaucracy, and generally continue economic reforms aimed at creating a growing, dynamic, externally-oriented economy.

TURKEY AND THE U.S.

U.S.-Turkish relations are fundamentally sound but include issues requiring careful handling. The Turkish government tends to regard levels of U.S. security assistance to Turkey as a touchstone of the relationship. The U.S. provides such assistance to help meet critical, substantial modernization needs of the Turkish armed forces. Beginning in 1980, U.S. assistance increased markedly, rising to a peak of \$878.1 million in FY-85. In later years budgetary strictures reduced U.S. aid levels significantly. The U.S. provided Turkey over \$500 million in military assistance in FY-89 and FY-90 and plans to furnish close to this amount in FY-91. According to NATO military authorities Turkey's annual needs for military modernization assistance exceed \$1 billion.

Ankara objects to the "7-10 ratio" by which Congress, over Administration objections, has linked aid to Greece and Turkey. Ankara complains that the ratio imposes an artificial ceiling on aid to Turkey which overlooks real Turkish needs and NATO-U.S. interests in meeting them. Turks have not forgotten the Cyprus-related 1975-78 U.S. embargo on assistance and arms sales to Turkey, and complain about Congressional insertions of Cyprus-related language into current aid legislation.

Periodic consideration in Congress of resolutions alleging an Ottoman genocide against Armenians significantly complicates U.S.-Turkish relations. Turks believe such a resolution would be an unfair, oversimplified and incorrect political judgment on an issue about which

historians disagree. They also believe that an Armenian resolution would call into question Turkey's territorial integrity, and encourage Armenian terrorists who have murdered over forty Turkish diplomats and citizens in recent years. Turks were disappointed by a statement issued by President Bush in April 1990 which pointed to Armenian massacres by Ottoman Turks.

plc?

→ A "TOUGH NEIGHBORHOOD"

Turkey's geostrategic location--astride the Dardanelles and Bosphorus Straits through which the Soviet Black Sea fleet must pass to reach the Mediterranean, and bridging Europe and the Middle East--makes relations with it of key importance to NATO and the U.S. Approximately 60% of Soviet merchant shipping and much of the Soviet Navy must pass the Turkish Straits in order to gain access to the Mediterranean and beyond. To the east and south, Turkey has land borders with the USSR, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. It stands between the USSR and the Middle East and on the flank of potential Soviet invasion routes into Iran and Southwest Asia. To the west it borders Bulgaria and Greece. Forty miles south of the Turkish coast is the troubled island of Cyprus.

Despite the recent changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the potential for Soviet aggression has long been a traditional concern for Turkey, which has NATO's longest frontier with the USSR. The guarantee of Turkey's security provided by Turkey's NATO membership and U.S. troop presence, and the important support provided by Turkey to NATO, are complementary factors vital to the interests of both countries. Turkey's armed forces, numbering almost 700,000, are second in size in NATO only to those of the U.S. Some 5000 U.S. military and civilian DOD personnel and their 5000 dependents serve at widely scattered facilities in Turkey. The largest group serves at the Turkish air base at Incirlik, near Adana, where U.S. aircraft train for NATO missions. Numerous other U.S. facilities, all on Turkish bases, perform vital communications, intelligence, and seismic-monitoring functions. An aerial gunnery and bombing range in central Anatolia near Konya is an important training facility. Operation of many of the defense facilities used by the U.S. in Turkey is covered by the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) signed in 1980, which remains in effect. A side-letter exchanged in 1987 extended the DECA to late 1990. In September 1990 Turkey and the U.S. agreed to a "rollover," extending the DECA to the end of 1991.

Turkish-Soviet relations have been warming markedly, although Turkey remains highly conscious of Soviet military capabilities across its border. The signing of the CFE Treaty on November 19, 1990, however, increases the stability and security in the European region. Turkey's relations with neighboring Bulgaria have also greatly improved, thanks in large part to the new Bulgarian government's denunciation of the repression of the Turkish minority.

Turkey faces many problems in its relations with its southern neighbors whom it suspects of supporting terrorism directed against Turkey. The most acute threat posed to Turkey is Saddam Hussein's Iraq, which has deployed a massive military presence. The outbreak of the Gulf crisis

is has exposed Turkey to a direct threat across its southeastern border. NATO allies are pledged to come to Turkey's assistance in the event of an attack.

TURKEY AND GREECE

Although Turkey and Greece are neighbors and NATO allies, a number of issues disturb their relations. These include several questions on the Aegean pertaining to: economic exploitation of the seabed; delimitation of the continental shelf; demarcation of territorial versus international waters; command and control of air and naval forces in the area; and militarization of Aegean Greek islands. The two countries also differ over Cyprus, and Turkey is concerned over Greek treatment of ethnic Turks in Western Thrace. The U.S. and other NATO members are sensitive to the state of relations between Greece and Turkey because of its potential effects on the Alliance. The U.S. believes that differences over the Aegean are bilateral issues to be resolved by Greece and Turkey.

Then-Prime Minister Ozal and then-Greek Prime Minister Papandreu met at Davos, Switzerland on January 30-31, 1988, launching a "Davos process" which provided hope for improved relations over time. Ozal paid an official visit to Athens in June 1988. Bilateral committees, founded under the spirit of Davos, have held periodic meetings in the respective capitals. Ozal and Papandreu met again on the fringe of the NATO Summit in Brussels in May 1989. In part because of uncertain governmental conditions in Greece following inconclusive elections in June and November, 1989, the Davos process waned. President Ozal has met with the new Prime Minister Mitsotakis and hopes to pursue a productive substantive dialogue with the Greek government.

TURKEY AND CYPRUS

Turkish interest in Cyprus dates from 1567, when the island was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. In 1878 it passed under British control. From the outbreak on the island of pro-Enosis (union with Greece) and anti-British activity in 1955, Turkey was drawn into the Cyprus problem by its natural ties with the island's Turkish Cypriot community. In 1959-60, trilateral treaties between Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom granted independence to Cyprus and accorded political equality and certain safeguards to the two island peoples. The treaties made Greece, Turkey, and the U.K. guarantors of Cypriot independence and provided for the stationing of small numbers of Greek and Turkish forces on the island.

In December 1963 fighting broke out between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. In 1964 the United Nations sent a peacekeeping force (UNFICYP) to Cyprus which continues to serve on the island today. One result of the fighting was separation of the island's two communities, with the Greek Cypriot community controlling all elements of the island's government. An attack by the Greek Cypriot National Guard on two Turkish Cypriot villages in 1967 produced another major crisis. Diplomacy by President Johnson's mediator, Cyrus Vance, helped defuse that crisis.

d Cyprus crisis erupted in July 1974 when the mainland Greek junta supported a coup against Cypriot President Makarios. Under Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, Turkey, after seeking U.K. assistance without success, invoked its treaty guarantor right and sent forces to the island to protect the Turkish Cypriot community. The result of that intervention, called a "peace operation" by Turks and "invasion and occupation" by Greeks, was physical division of the island into Greek and Turkish Cypriot sectors, with the 150,000 Turkish Cypriots occupying roughly 37 percent of the island on the northern side of a "Green Line" and the 500,000 Greek Cypriots occupying the southern part. This situation continues to the present.

On November 15, 1983, the Turkish Cypriots declared themselves as the independent "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," although they stipulated that this step would not bar an eventual Cyprus settlement. Only Turkey recognizes the "TRNC." Rauf Denktash is "TRNC President." In February 1988 the Greek Cypriots elected as President an independent candidate, businessman George Vassiliou, to succeed Spiros Kyprianou, who had held the office eleven years.

Efforts to bring a solution to the Cyprus problem have been led by the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSYG) under a mandate given him by the Security Council. The United States supports the UNSYG's good offices mission as the best way to obtain a solution to the Cyprus problem. The Government of Turkey supports the UNSYG's efforts toward what Ankara and the "TRNC" hope will be establishment of a bi-communal, bi-zonal, federal republic on Cyprus. Until such an agreement is reached, Ankara feels the presence of Turkish troops on the island is essential in order to protect the security of the Turkish Cypriots. Under UNSYG auspices, the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, Vassiliou and Denktash, started a series of meetings in August 1988. This process saw the two sides engaged with each other in unprecedented detail. Major differences remain and agreements have yet to emerge, although the process continues.

ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND TORTURE IN TURKEY

Human rights issues are freely and openly discussed in Turkey. An independent and vocal Turkish press often publicizes charges of human rights abuses and International human rights groups such as Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch have visited Turkey frequently. Domestic and foreign observers generally agree that the human rights situation in Turkey is improving. Nevertheless, torture remains Turkey's principal human rights problem. Trial defendants frequently charge that they have been tortured by police officers, usually during incommunicado detention before charges are filed. Turkish leaders have spoken out against torture and authorities increasingly investigate, prosecute and punish those found guilty.

In January 1988 Turkey signed the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane and Degrading Punishment, and in February the Turkish Parliament ratified the Council of Europe Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhumanitarian or Degrading Treatment or

unishment. Turkey was the first country to ratify the latter convention, whose provisions, including international inspections of detention facilities, entered into effect for Turkey on February 1, 1989.

Over the past few years, Turkey has taken other major steps in the human rights field, including: A) the ending of martial law and restoration of civilian democratic rule, culminating in the September 6, 1987 referendum restoring full political rights to politicians who had been denied them under the 1982 Constitution; B) the November 29, 1987 parliamentary elections which were evaluated by European observers and the U.S. Government as free and fair; C) recognition in 1989 of the compulsory jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights; D) the 1990 signing of the U.N. children's rights convention, E) Approval in December 1990 for the establishment of a Parliamentary Human Rights Commission with authority to investigate and report on allegations of human rights abuses; and F) efforts to improve prison conditions despite limited resources.

NARCOTICS

Turkey is the only producer country which has eliminated illicit opium cultivation. Since 1974, the Turkish government has confined poppy cultivation to limited areas under strict controls that make diversion into illicit channels impossible. Turkey is an important producer of concentrated poppy straw and under the terms of U.S. licit opiates policy shares 80 percent of the U.S. market with India. Twenty percent of the market is reserved for non-traditional poppy growing countries including France and Australia.

As a natural land bridge between markets in the West and production areas in Southwest Asia, however, Turkey faces a serious trafficking problem. In 1990, more than one ton of heroin and ten tons of hashish were seized in Turkey, all of which originated from abroad. In most cases, drugs enter Turkey from Iran or through Iran from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Despite a long history of poppy cultivation, Turkey has never had a significant domestic drug problem.

Turkish police authorities have mounted a major enforcement effort to combat trafficking and cooperate closely with their European and U.S. counterparts. The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration maintains offices in Istanbul and Ankara. The U.S. has furnished Turkey some \$7.2 million in narcotics interdiction assistance since 1980, and the State Department is providing currently approximately \$400,000 per year.

January 1991

(Unclas #02320)

background notes

Turkey



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

January 1991



Official Name:
Republic of Turkey

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 766,640 sq. km. (296,000 sq. mi.); slightly larger than Texas. **Cities:** *Capital*—Ankara (pop. 3.69 million). *Other cities*—Istanbul (6.82 million), Izmir (2.61 million), Adana (1.93 million). **Terrain:** Narrow coastal plain surrounds Anatolia; an inland plateau becomes increasingly rugged as it progresses eastward. Turkey includes one of the more earthquake-prone areas of the world. **Climate:** Moderate in coastal areas, harsher temperatures inland.

People

Nationality: *Noun*—Turk(s). *Adjective*—Turkish. **Population** (1989 est.): 55.3 million. **Annual growth rate:** 2.2%. **Ethnic groups:** Turkish, Kurdish, other. **Religions:** Muslim 98%, Christian, Jewish. **Languages:** Turkish (official), Kurdish, Arabic. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—6. *Attendance*—95%. *Literacy*—89%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—62/1,000. *Life expectancy*—66 yrs. **Work force** (18.7 million): *Agriculture*—50%. *Industry and commerce*—21%. *Services*—29%.

Government

Type: Republic. **Independence:** 1923.
Constitution: November 7, 1982.

Branches: *Executive*—president (chief of state), prime minister, Council of Ministers (cabinet). *Legislative*—Grand National Assembly (450 members) chosen by national elections at least every 5 years. *Judicial*—constitutional court, court of cassation, council of state, high council of judges and prosecutors.

Political parties: Motherland Party (ANAP), Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP), Correct Way Party (DYP), democratic Left Party (DSP), several smaller parties. **Suffrage:** Universal, 21 and older.

Central government budget (1989 est.): \$15.5 billion (32,933 billion Turkish lira).

Defense: 2.8% of 1989 GDP or 13.2% of 1989 budget.

National holiday: Republic Day, October 29.

Flag: White crescent and star on a red field.

Economy

GNP (1989 estimate): \$80.5 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1983-89): 5.3%. **Per capita income** (1989 estimate): \$1,433. **Avg. annual inflation rate** (1989): About 68.8%.

Natural resources: Coal, chromite, copper, boron, oil.

Agriculture (15% of GNP): *Major cash crops*—cotton, sugar beets, hazelnuts, wheat, barley, and tobacco. Provides more than 55% of jobs, 25% of exports.

Industry (32% of GNP): Major growth sector. *Types*—Food processing, textiles, basic metals, chemicals, and petrochemicals.

Trade (1989): *Exports*—\$12 billion: tobacco, cotton, textiles, cement, raisins, nuts, leather, glass, ceramics. *Imports*—\$16 billion: petroleum, pharmaceuticals and dyes, iron and steel, machinery, plastics and rubber, transport vehicles. *Major partners*—France, Germany, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, UK, US, USSR.

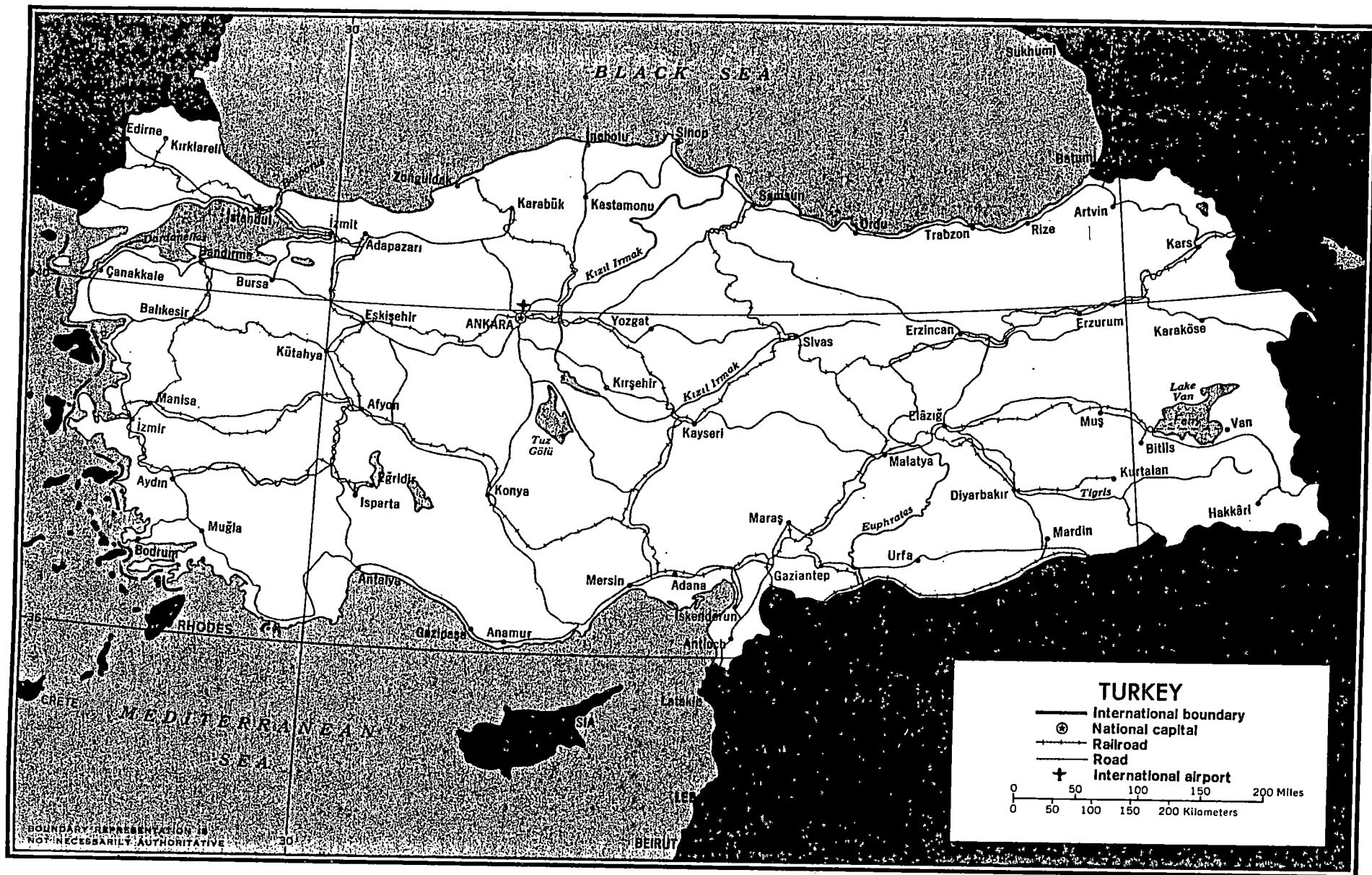
Fiscal year: Calendar year.

Official exchange rate (Feb. 1990): 2408 Turkish lira=US\$1 (adjusted daily).

US economic aid (FY 1946-90): \$4.3 billion. **US military aid** (FY 1946-90): more than \$14 billion.

Membership in International Organizations

UN, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Council of Europe, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Islamic Conference Organization (OIC), European Community (EC) associate member, ITELSAT.



Edirne Kırklareli İstanbul İmit Adapazarı Karabük Kastamonu Samsun Trabzon Rize Artvin Kars

Çanakkale Bursa Balıkesir Eskişehir ANKARA Yozgat Sivas Erzincan Erzurum Karaköse

Manisa Afyon Kırşehir Kızıl İrmak Elâzığ Muş Lake Van Bitlis

Izmir Aydın Isparta Konya Kayseri Malatya Diyarbakır Kurtalan Hakkâri

Muğla Bodrum Antalya Gazipaşa Anamur Mersin Adana Gaziantep Urfa Mardin

RHODES CRETE MEDITERRANEAN SEA BEIRUT

BLACK SEA SÜKHUMİ Batum

İnegöl Zonguldak Karabük Kızıl İrmak

Sinop İnegöl

Tuz Gölü

Euphrates Tigris

PEOPLE

Bridging Europe and Asia Minor, Turkey is a land of geographic, economic, and social contrasts. Slightly larger than Texas, modern Turkey spans bustling cosmopolitan centers, pastoral farming villages, barren wastelands, peaceful Aegean islands, and steep mountain regions. More than half of Turkey's population—expected to reach 83 million by 2005 if its annual growth rate of 2.2% continues—live in urban areas that juxtapose Western life-styles with squatter dwellings that increasingly ring the cities' edges. Most Turks, however, work on farms. Although Turkey is still a developing country, recent improvements in services have resulted in the proliferation of electricity nationwide and telephone connections for all its 34,500 villages.

Although 98% of the population is Muslim, Turkey has been officially secular since the early 1920s. Most Turkish Muslims belong to the Sunni branch of Islam. The state exercises no legal discrimination against its non-Islamic minorities, primarily Armenian and Syriac Christians, and Jews.

Turks of Kurdish origin constitute an ethnic and linguistic group. Estimates of their population range up to 10 million. Although an increasing number have migrated to the cities, the traditional home of the Kurds is in poor, remote areas of the east and southeast, where incomes are less than half the national average and economic development lags.

Culture

Turkish culture, rich in Ottoman and folkloric elements, is traditional and modern. Turkish carpet weaving is one of the oldest crafts in the world.

Ceramics and other Ottoman-era crafts retain their varied regional character.

Modern Turkish cultural life dates from the 1923 founding of the republic and early efforts to Westernize Turkish society. As a result, the arts, literature, drama, and classical and contemporary music have flourished. State support of cultural activities is extensive and encompasses a national network of theaters, orchestras, opera and ballet companies, university fine



Remains of ancient civilizations dot the Turkish countryside, where rural lifestyles contrast those of Turkey's bustling cities.

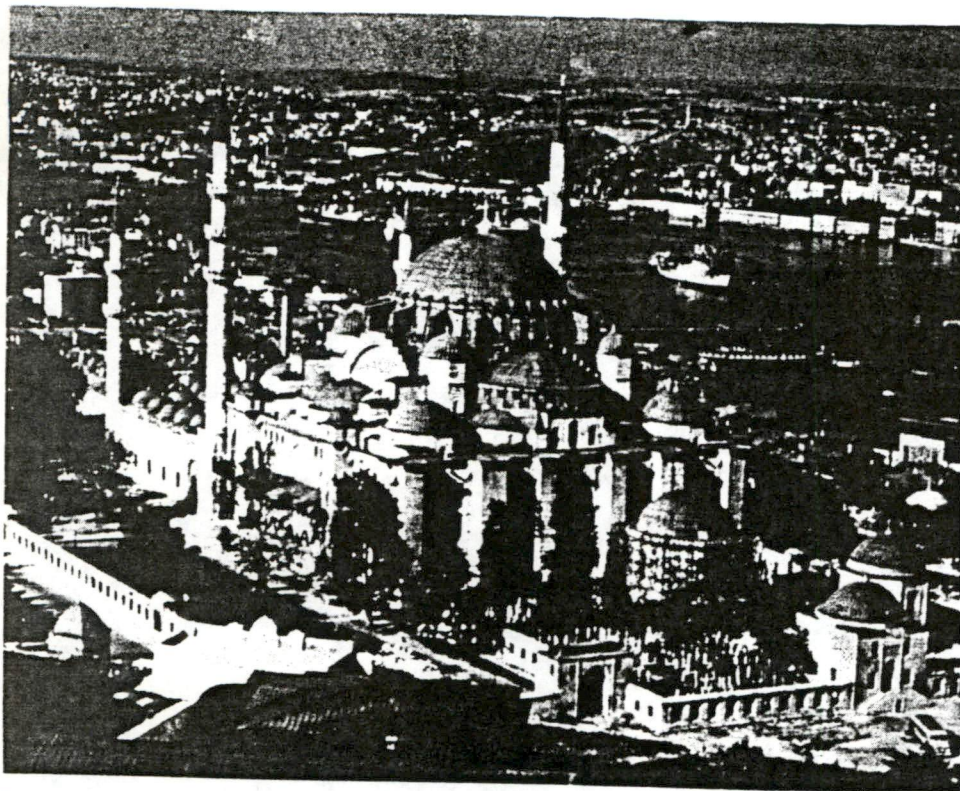
arts academies, and various conservatories. Public funds also are used to provide partial support for private theater groups and for major art exhibitions and festivals.

HISTORY

The legendary Mustafa Kemal, a Turkish World War I hero later known as "Ataturk" or "father of the Turks," founded the republic of Turkey in 1923 after the collapse of the 600-year-old Ottoman Empire. The empire, which at its peak controlled vast stretches of northern Africa, southeastern Europe, and western Asia, had failed to keep pace with European social and technological developments. The rise of

nationalism impelled several ethnic groups to seek independence, leading to the empire's fragmentation. This process culminated in the disastrous Ottoman participation in World War I as a German ally. Defeated, shorn of much of its former territory, and partly occupied by forces of the victorious European states, the Ottoman structure was repudiated by Turkish nationalists who rallied under Ataturk's leadership. The nationalists expelled invading Greek forces from Anatolia after a bitter war. The temporal and religious ruling institutions of the old empire (the sultanate and caliphate) were abolished.

The new republic concentrated on Westernizing the empire's Turkish core—Anatolia and a small part of



The mosque of Suleyman the Magnificent stands in the midst of modern day Istanbul. The four minarets signify that he was the fourth sultan after the fall of Byzantium.

Thrace. Social, political, linguistic, and economic reforms and attitudes introduced by Ataturk before his death in 1938 continue to form the ideological base of modern Turkey. Referred to as "Kemalism," it comprises secularism, nationalism, and modernization and turns toward the West for inspiration and support. The continued validity and applicability of Kemalism are the subject of frequent discussion and debate in Turkey's political life.

Turkey entered World War II on the Allied side shortly before the war ended and became a charter member of the United Nations. Difficulties faced by Greece after World War II in quelling a Communist rebellion and demands by the Soviet Union for military bases in the Turkish Straits caused the United States to declare the Truman Doctrine in 1947. The doctrine enunciated American intentions to guarantee the security of Turkey and Greece and resulted in large-scale US military and economic aid. After participating with United Nations forces in the Korean conflict, Turkey in 1952 joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Military Coups and Coalitions

One-party rule (Republican People's Party—RPP) established by Ataturk in 1923 lasted until elections in 1950. The Democrat Party then governed Turkey until 1960, when growing economic problems and internal political tensions culminated in a military coup. A new constitution was written, and civilian government was reinstated with the convening of the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in 1961. In addition, the new constitution established a National Security Council (NSC) composed of the chief of the Turkish general staff and representatives of the army, air force, and navy.

Coalition governments, dominated by the RPP, ruled Turkey for the next 5 years. In 1965 and 1969, the Justice Party (JP), led by Suleyman Demirel, won sizable majorities of GNA seats and ruled alone.

Political agitation surfaced in 1968 and increased as left- and right-wing extremists took to the streets. In March 1971, senior military leaders grew dissatisfied with the JP's inability to cope with domestic violence. In a so-

called "coup by memorandum," they called for the JP's replacement by a more effective government.

Demirel's government resigned and was replaced by a succession of "above party" governments, which ruled until the October 1973 general elections. Those elections saw the RPP reemerge as the largest party and its chairman, Bulent Ecevit, become prime minister of a coalition government composed of the RPP and the conservative, religiously oriented National Salvation Party. In 1974, the coalition faltered. Ecevit resigned, early elections were called, and a prolonged government crisis ensued.

From 1975 to 1980, unstable coalition governments ruled, led alternately by Demirel and Ecevit. By the end of 1979, an accelerating decline in the economy, coupled with mounting violence from the extreme left and right, led to increasing instability. Demirel's government began an economic stabilization program in early 1980, but by summer, political violence was claiming more than 20 victims daily. A severely divided GNA was unable to elect a new president or to pass other legislation to cope with the crisis.

On September 12, 1980, the NSC, led by General Kenan Evren, moved successfully to restore public order. Thousands of terrorists were captured, along with large caches of weapons and ammunition. While political activity was banned and the former political parties dissolved, the NSC initiated steps to restore democratic civilian rule by 1983. These measures included a national referendum on November 7, 1982, which resulted in overwhelming public approval (91%) of a new constitution drawn up by the 160-member Consultative Assembly and modified by the NSC. The referendum simultaneously approved General Evren as president for a 7-year term. A temporary article banning former political party leaders from politics for 10 years also went into effect.

New political parties were allowed to form in 1983 as long as founding members were not leaders or members of parliament attached to any pre-1980 political parties. Prior to the deadline

for participation in the 1983 national elections, three political parties—the Nationalist Democracy Party, the Motherland Party, and the Populist Party—were authorized.

In the 1983 elections, the Motherland Party (founded by Turgut Özal, deputy prime minister between 1980 and 1982 and architect of Turkey's successful economic austerity program under the military government) won an absolute majority in the 400-member Grand National Assembly (GNA). The Populist Party came in second, and the Nationalist Democracy Party third. The new government took office in December 1983.

The Özal administration, the first civilian government since the early 1970s to rule without coalition partners, made economic reform its priority. In September 1987, a referendum lifting the 10-year ban on former politicians passed by a small margin. Özal called immediately for national elections, the first since 1980 in which all legal parties were allowed to participate. The elections were held in November, and

Özal won a second 5-year term and a comfortable majority in parliament (292 of 450 seats based on a weighted proportional system). The Social Democrat Populist Party won 99 seats and became the main opposition party. Former Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel's Correct Way Party won 59 seats. No other party reached the 10% level necessary to enter parliament. The Democratic Left Party of former Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit won only 8% of the vote. The next parliamentary election is due in 1992.

In 1989, Özal was elected president. Özal's Motherland Party suffered a setback in March 1989 municipal elections, receiving only 22% of the votes cast; down from 36% in 1987. The opposition has since called repeatedly for early parliamentary elections.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The 1982 constitution preserves a democratic, secular, parliamentary form of government with a strength-

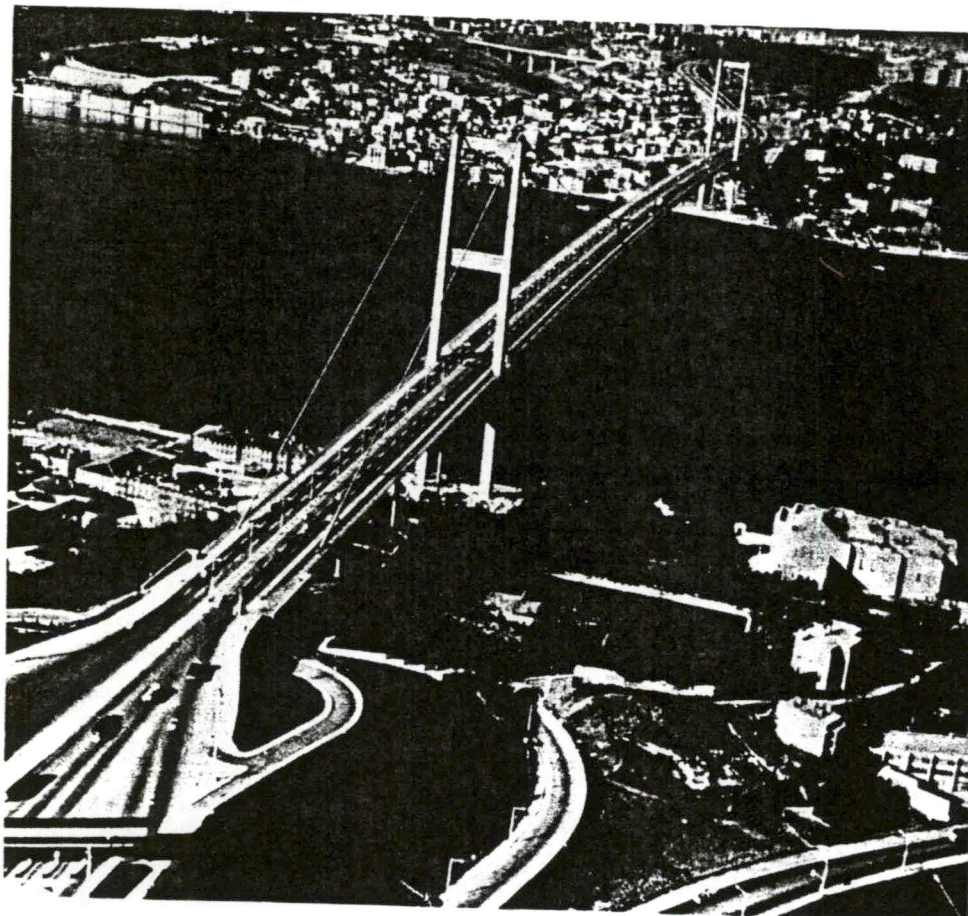
ened presidency. It provides for an independent judiciary and safeguards internationally recognized human rights. These rights, including freedom of thought, expression, assembly, and travel, can be limited in times of emergency and cannot be used to violate the integrity of the state or to impose a system of government based on religion, ethnicity, or the domination of one social class. The constitution prohibits torture or ill treatment. Labor rights, including the right to strike, are recognized in the constitution but can be restricted. The president and prime minister share executive powers. The president, who has broad powers of appointment and supervision, is chosen by the GNA for a term of 7 years and cannot be reelected. The prime minister administers the government. The prime minister and the Council of Ministers are responsible to the GNA.

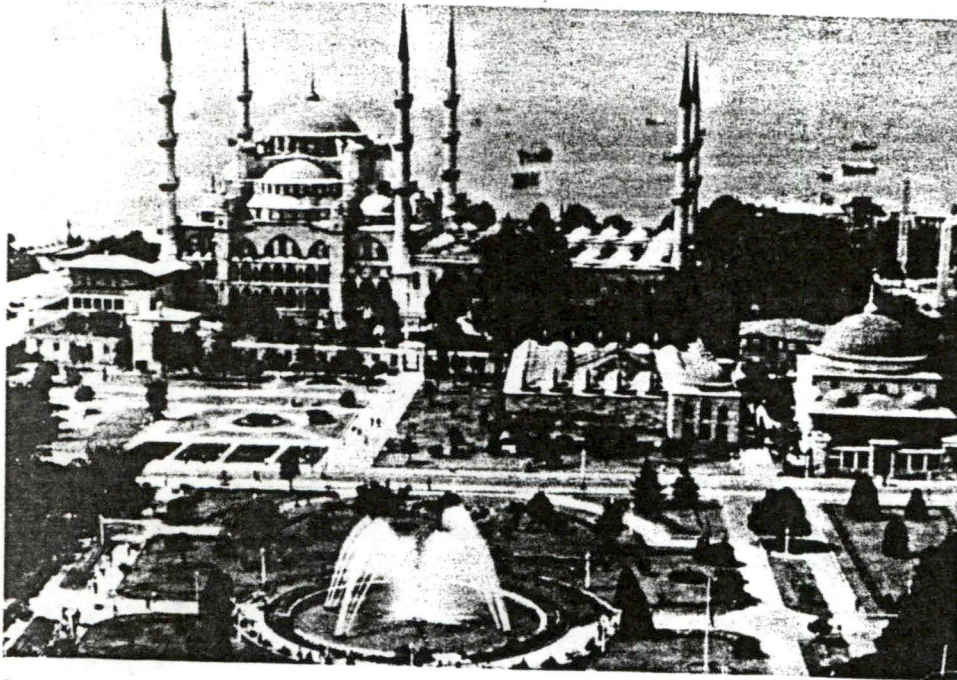
The 450-member GNA carries out legislative functions. Election is by proportional representation. To participate in the distribution of seats, a party must obtain at least 10% of the votes cast at the national level as well as a percentage of votes in the contested district according to a complex formula. This "double threshold" or "barrage" mechanism is intended to reduce the likelihood of coalition governments by reducing the number of smaller parties in parliament.

The president is to enact laws passed by the GNA within 15 days. With the exception of budgetary laws, the president may return a law to the GNA for reconsideration. If the GNA reenacts the law, it is binding. Constitutional amendments require a two-thirds majority for approval. They also may be submitted to popular referendum.

The 1982 constitution preserves the judicial system previously in effect and provides for a system of state

The Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul, the only city to span two continents, is the fourth largest in the world. The bridge connects Europe with Asia Minor.





Ottoman, Byzantine, and Roman civilizations are reflected in the gardens and fountains of Sultan Ahmet Square in Istanbul. In the foreground is the famous Blue Mosque and the church of Sancta Sophia, built by Justinian in the sixth century.

security courts to deal with offenses against the integrity of the state. The high court system remains in place with its functional division, common in European states, including a constitutional court responsible for judicial review of legislation, a court of cassation (or supreme court of appeals), a council of state serving as the high administrative and appeals court, a court of accounts, and a military court of appeals. The High Council of Judges and Prosecutors, appointed by the president, supervises the judiciary.

Only the Motherland Party remains of the three parties that competed in the 1983 elections. The Nationalist Democracy Party dissolved itself, and the Populist Party merged with the Social Democrat Populist Party, a new center-left party.

DEFENSE

Turkey's armed forces, with more than 700,000 members, are the largest in NATO after those of the United States. Turkey entered NATO in 1952 and serves as the organization's vital eastern anchor, sharing a long sea and land border with the Soviet Union and controlling the straits leading from the

Principal Government Officials

President of the Republic—
Turgut Ozal
Prime Minister—Yildirim Akbulut
Minister of Foreign Affairs—
Ahmet Kurtcebe Alpetemocin
Ambassador to the United States—
Nuzhet Kandemir
Ambassador to the United Nations—
Mustafa Aksin

Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Two NATO headquarters are located in Izmir. More than 10,000 US military personnel and their dependents are stationed at installations in Turkey, including a major air base at Incirlik, near Adana, several communications and electronics facilities, and a number of smaller installations. Major American military organizations in Turkey include the Joint US Military Mission for Aid to Turkey and the US Logistical Group, each headed by a US major general. With assistance from the

United States and other NATO allies, the Turkish military is undergoing major modernization.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Besides its relationships with NATO and the European Community (EC), Turkey is a member of the OECD and the Council of Europe. Its primary political, economic, and security ties are with the West. During the last several years, Turkey has continued to expand its relations with Western Europe, rejoining the Council of Europe after an absence of several years and applying for full membership in the EC. Turkey also has continued to expand its trade relations with the Middle East and the Soviet Union.

US-TURKISH RELATIONS

Turkish-American friendship dates to the late 18th century and was officially sealed by a treaty in 1830. The present close relationship began with the agreement of July 12, 1947, which implemented the Truman Doctrine. As part of the cooperative effort to further Turkish economic and military self-reliance, the United States has loaned and granted Turkey more than \$4 billion in economic aid and more than \$14 billion in military assistance.

US-Turkish relations were severely tested in July 1974, when Turkey invoked a 1960 treaty of guarantee for Cyprus and sent troops there to protect the Turkish Cypriot community following the overthrow of the Cypriot government by mainland Greek officers in the Cypriot national guard. The ensuing fighting on Cyprus led to Turkish occupation of the northern part of the island, which remains in place today. Turkey's use of American-supplied arms during the intervention caused the US Congress to mandate an embargo in 1975 on military shipments to Turkey. Resentment of this action led to a Turkish decision in July 1975 to suspend important US defense activities at joint installations and cancel the 1969 defense cooperation agreement. The US embargo was relaxed in October 1975, and in March 1976, a new defense agreement was signed, but not

approved, by the Congress. In September 1978, the embargo ended and US-Turkish relations improved markedly. Turkey lifted restrictions on US activities in late 1978.

The United States and Turkey signed a defense and economic cooperation agreement in March 1980 that established a new framework for US military activities in Turkey and committed the United States to "best efforts" in providing defense support to the Turkish armed forces. The two countries signed an exchange of letters in March 1987 to extend the agreement through December of 1990. It will continue automatically on a year-to-year basis from 1991 on, unless one of the two parties objects by September 18, 1991, or by the 18th of any following year.

Turkey temporarily imposed some restrictions on American military activities in early 1990 in response to the US Senate's consideration of a resolution to declare a day of remembrance for what Armenians and others have described as genocide of Armenians by pre-republican Turkey. Turkey lifted the restrictions after the resolution failed to pass. The unresolved Armenian and Cyprus issues continue to disturb US-Turkish relations.

ECONOMY

The Turkish economy underwent dramatic changes in the 1980s. An export-led growth strategy and free-market principles catapulted Turkey into the ranks of the fastest growing economies in the OECD. Turkey's free market orientation is dynamic, and it is unlikely to return to former inward-looking policies. The industrial sector has assumed greater importance in the Turkish economy, although the public sector, which includes state-owned or controlled enterprises, still accounts for about one-third of industrial production. Ozal's Motherland Party has reinforced and expanded economic reforms since coming to power in 1983.

Agriculture continues as a mainstay, employing almost half the total labor force in the production of cotton, tobacco, grains, fruits, and vegetables. Because of the productivity of Turkey's

Principal US Officials

Principal Officers

Ambassador—Morton I. Abramowitz
Deputy Chief of Mission—Marc Grossman

Counselors

Political Affairs—Michael I. Austrian
Political-Military Affairs—Regina Eltz
Economic Affairs—Charles Jacobini
Administrative Affairs—William Kelly
Public Affairs Officer—Larry Taylor
Defense/Air Attache—Col. Jerry Kafka
Navy Attache—Capt. Jesse James
Army Attache—Col. Robert Jiminez

Consuls General

Istanbul—Thomas Carolan
Izmir—Eugene Zajac

Consul

Adana—Harry Cole

US Mission Addresses

The US embassy is located at 110 Ataturk Blvd., Ankara. The consulate general in Istanbul is at 104-108 Mesrutiyet Caddesi; the consulate general in Izmir at 92 Ataturk Caddesi, third floor; and the consulate in Adana, on Ataturk Caddesi.

soil and the efforts of Turkish farmers, the country was one of the few in the world that was self-sufficient in food during the 1980s. Ambitious government projects, including a \$21 billion irrigation program to create a new "fertile crescent" in the semiarid southeast, stress agriculture's important role in foreign trade. Turkey's regional climatic diversity and usually adequate rainfall permit a broad range of crops.

Growth in GNP averaged almost 7% between 1983 and 1989. The pace of Turkey's growth, however, slowed in the late 1980s. Unrestrained government spending, rapid economic development, and drought conditions have had a price: unemployment stands at 14.4%, and inflation remains steady at almost 70%. One of the main reasons for inflation is the public sector deficit, which reached 7.5% of GNP in 1989 and is expected to exceed that ratio in 1990. Severe drought conditions were a major factor in a recession that continued into 1989. Agricultural production dropped by almost 11%, pushing real

GNP growth to the lowest level since 1980—1.8%.

Turkish authorities have enacted austerity measures to reduce inflation, including an ambitious program to privatize inefficient state economic enterprises that contribute substantially to the deficit. Better than normal agricultural conditions led to economic recovery in 1990, with real GNP growth expected to reach 9%. Yet, lower import duties—reduced to stimulate domestic production and demand by creating greater competition—and the Turkish lira's real appreciation against currencies of its primary trading partners, the United States and Germany, led to a major acceleration in imports and stagnation in export growth in 1990. The trade deficit further worsened as all commercial relations with Iraq were suspended. A current account deficit in excess of \$1 billion is expected for 1990.

Domestic economic problems were offset in the 1980s by substantial improvements in Turkey's external account as exports expanded from \$5.7 billion in 1983 to \$11.6 billion in 1989. Turkey posted a current account surplus of \$1.5 billion in 1988, the first time since 1973. This remarkable improvement came as a result of the lowest trade deficit in a decade (\$1.8 billion) and a jump of about 60% in tourism revenues (from \$1.48 billion to \$2.36 billion). In 1989, a surplus of \$966 million was achieved.

Turkey has an exemplary record for repayment of its foreign debt, which stabilized at \$41 billion at the end of 1989. Turkey refinanced military debts during 1988 and 1989 by exchanging them for long-term commercial credits.

Turkey has attracted foreign investment by implementing one of the more liberal foreign investment laws in the world. Between 1981 and 1989, net foreign direct investment increased from \$95 million to \$633 million. As of mid-1990, the government had authorized foreign direct investment projects totaling \$5.6 billion.

Turkey's economic orientation is increasingly toward the West, although it is looking for new markets in Asia and the Middle East. In April 1987, Turkey applied for full membership in the EC. In 1989, the EC announced it would consider no new members before

1993, the target for completion of the EC's single market plan. In 1990, the EC called for closer economic cooperation with Turkey under the existing association agreement and will review Turkey's membership application.

With potential membership in the EC as the catalyst, Turkey continues to liberalize its economy and harmonize related legislation to bring it closer to Western standards. In the 1990s, measured economic growth with financial stability will remain a major domestic goal.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

US Department of State Dispatch

As the Department's new weekly paid subscription magazine, the *US Department of State Dispatch* is the most comprehensive source of official information on US foreign policy. *Dispatch* includes speeches, congressional testimony, fact sheets, *Gists*, country profiles, treaty actions, updates on Central and Eastern Europe and events in the Persian Gulf, and more. Published by the Bureau of Public Affairs, the new magazine is indexed every 6 months. *Dispatch* is available by subscription only from: The Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing office (address below), and the National Technical Information Service, US Department of Commerce (5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield VA 22161-2171).

Computer Information Delivery Service (CIDS)

The Department of State is part of the Computer Information Delivery Service (CIDS), an established computer network providing access within minutes of release to time-sensitive US foreign policy information for subscribers around the world. CIDS will carry full texts of *Dispatch*, *Background Notes*, and the official transcripts of the daily press briefings, press conferences,

Travel Notes

Customs: A visa is not required of holders of US tourist passports (regular, official, or diplomatic) who plan to stay in Turkey for 3 months or less. Persons who plan to come to Turkey for longer stays must apply for a visa from a Turkish embassy or consulate.

Currency: There are no restrictions on the importation of Turkish lira or hard currencies into Turkey. However, residents of Turkey must declare all currencies in excess of the equivalent of \$5,000 upon entry. Visitors to Turkey may exchange Turkish lira up to the equivalent of \$5,000 into foreign currency without any documentation.

Climate and clothing: Clothing and shoe requirements are about the same as for the eastern US. Climate on the periphery (Istanbul, Izmir, and Adana) is Mediterranean with cool, rainy winters and hot, moderately dry summers. The Black Sea coast receives the greatest rainfall. Shielded by mountains, the interior (Ankara) has continental climate with cold winters and dry, hot summers. Climate in the eastern mountainous area is often severe.

Health: Public health standards in the larger cities approach those in the US, but care must be taken, especially in rural areas. While tap water in major cities is generally potable, it is recommended that

bottled water be used at all times, because of possible intermittent contamination of water lines. Turkish law requires that at least one pharmacy be open in a neighborhood at all times.

Telecommunications: Telephone and telegraph services, domestic and international, and generally dependable. During peak hours, circuits are often overloaded. Turkey is seven hours ahead of EST. Daylight savings time is used.

Transportation: More than 20 scheduled airlines connect Turkey with all parts of the world. Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, and Dalaman are Turkey's primary international airports. Turkish Airlines (THY), Turkish state railways, and a variety of intercity bus companies serve many points in Turkey, Europe, and the Middle East. Local buses, share cabs, and minibuses (dolmus), although somewhat crowded, provide satisfactory local transportation. Taxis are readily available. Main roads are fairly good in and between the large centers; secondary roads are generally adequate. Roads frequently lack shoulders. Drivers should exercise extreme care because of heavy truck and other traffic, and unpredictable drivers. Driving at night in the countryside should be avoided because of many or poorly-lit vehicles on the highway.

and other key events. For information concerning subscriptions, call the CIDS Information Center at (703) 802-5700, or write the Office of Public Communication, Bureau of Public Affairs, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 20520-6810.

Publications Concerning Turkey

Also available from the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 20402:

Turkey Post Report—US Department of State (1990).

Turkey, A Country Study—American University (1989).

Foreign Labor Trends—US Department of Labor.

Foreign Economic Trends—US Department of Commerce.

Economic trends and trade information is available from the Interna-

tional Trade Administration, US Department of Commerce, Washington, DC, 20230, or from any Commerce Department district office. ■

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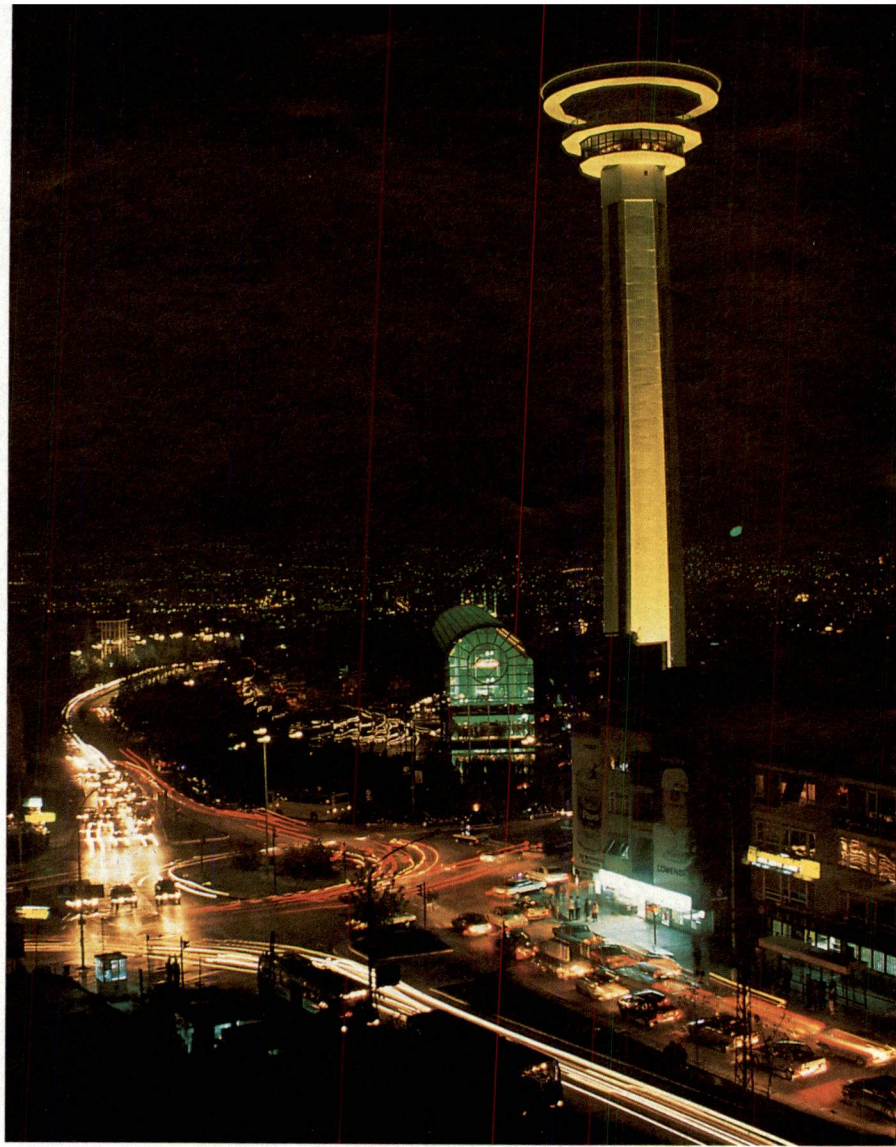


TURKEY
Central Anatolia

CENTRAL ANATOLIA

The tawny-yellow central Anatolian plateau, cleft by ravines and dominated by volcanic peaks, forms the heartland of Turkey. Covered with wheat fields, and lines of poplars in the valleys, this boldly contoured steppeland has a solitary majesty.

The plateau was one of the cradles of civilization. At Çatalhöyük remains of settlements from as early as the 8th millennium B.C. have been found. It has been the homeland of many peoples and the historic battleground of East and West. Here the Hattis, Hittites, Phrygians, Galatians, Romans and Byzantines established their rule, and in the 11th century the Turks made the plateau their home. In its turbulent history the plateau has seen many invaders such as Alexander the Great and Tamerlane. In the course of nine millennia the people of the plateau have reflected the dramatic contours of the surrounding landscape in their art, from the vigorous paintings of Çatalhöyük to the bold lines of Seljuk Turkish architecture, down to the impressive modern form of Atatürk's mausoleum.



ANKARA

Ankara, the capital of Turkey, is set in the strategic heart of Central Anatolia, a site chosen by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic. Though the city is thoroughly modern in appearance, its origins date back to the Paleolithic and Neolithic Ages. Excavations have brought to light the remains of the early Bronze Age Hatti civilization that was followed in the 2nd millennium B.C. by the Hittites. Later settlers in the region were the Phrygians who established a city on the same site in the 10th century B.C.. The Lydians and Persians followed and then came the Galatians who made Ancyra their capital in the 3rd century B.C.. It was the Galatians who laid the foundations of the Ankara citadel. The region was conquered in turn by the Romans, Byzantines and Arabs until 1073 when it was captured by the Seljuk Turks commanded by Alpaslan. In 1402, the city passed into the hands of the Ottomans commanded by Yıldırım Beyazıt. However, it was not until



after the First World War that Ankara came to the forefront, as the centre of the national resistance led by Atatürk, which liberated the Turkish homeland from foreign powers. On the 13th October, 1923, Ankara was declared the capital of the new independent Turkey.

Dominating the modern part of the city is the imposing limestone Anıtkabir, the Mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk. Completed in 1953, this fusion of ancient and modern architectural concepts is a fine accomplishment of Turkish architecture. There is a museum displaying some of the gifts and personal items of Atatürk. Atatürk's house is situated in Çankaya next to the Presidential Palace and is also a museum which is open on Sunday afternoons.

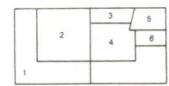
The oldest parts of the city are in and around the ancient hisar or citadel. Inside the walls is the Seljuk Alaeddin Mosque of the 12th century and some very interesting examples of old houses. Close to the gate, Hisar Kapısı, is the beautifully restored bedesten (covered bazaar) housing the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations

and its priceless collection of Paleolithic, Neolithic, Hatti, Hittite and Phrygian works. (Open every day). Outside the citadel are the 13th century Arslanhane Mosque and the 14th century Ahi Evlan Mosque.

Beneath the citadel, near Ulus Meydanı (Nation Square) are such Roman remains as the baths from the 3rd century A.D., the column of Julian from the 4th century and the Temple of Augustus, built in the 2nd century B.C. in the Corinthian style. This temple is noted for the inscribed "Political Testament of Augustus" on its walls. In the 5th century the Byzantines converted the temple into a church. Excavations are continuing, near to the citadel, of a Roman theatre. Close by the temple is the 15th century mosque and mausoleum of Hacı Bayram.

From Ulus Meydanı, with its equestrian statue of Atatürk, continue down Atatürk Boulevard to the Ethnographical Museum, where there are some Seljuk carved wooden doors and other artefacts of daily life. Nearby is the Sculpture and Painting Museum. Ankara hosts two international festivals in April, "The Arts and Music Festival" and the famous "Children's Festival 23 Nisan".

1. Anatolian Mother Goddess
2. The Atakule Tower, Çankaya, Ankara
3. Decorated Interior Panel, Ethnographical Museum, Ankara
4. A Quiet Corner, Kuşulu Park, Ankara
5. Anıtkabir, Ankara
6. Music, an Important Part of the Ankara Scene



ESKİŞEHİR (231 km from Ankara)

Eskişehir was founded in the 1st milenium B.C. by the Phrygians, on the banks of the River Porsuk. Of interest is the 13th century Alaeddin Mosque and the 16th century Kurşunlu Mosque. Meerscham pipes and other souvenir items from this same stone are made in Eskişehir. There are three museums here; the Archaeological Museum has Phrygian objects and sculptures from the area; the Ottoman House Museum, a fine example of 19th century domestic architecture, houses a collection of local ethnographical items; the Atatürk Culture Museum has a photographic exhibition of Atatürk's life, personal effects, and a display of items made in Meerscham stone.

Sivrihisar (91 km. east of Eskişehir) A charming old town, full of typical Ottoman houses. The 13th century Ulu Mosque formerly a caravanserai is very interesting. Sivrihisar Kilims are particularly famous.

Seyit (Battal) Gazi (45 km. south of Eskişehir.) On the hillside above the town is the impressive 13th century mosque complex built in memory of the islamic hero Seyit Battal.

Yunus Emre Köyü (Sarıköy) (75 km. east of Eskişehir) This village is the burial place of Yunus Emre the great poet of the 13th century. Today his poetry is still read, and its message of love and humanity is as relevant as ever. Every May his name day is celebrated. In addition to his grave, visitors can see a small museum.

PHRYGIAN SITES

The most important Phrygian sites of Anatolia are to be found in the provinces of Ankara, Eskişehir and Afyon.

Yassihöyük (Gordion) (93 km. from Ankara on the Eskişehir road, turn right to Yassihöyük for the last 12 km.) This was the Phrygian capital, and the place where Alexander the Great cut the Gordion Knot to gain the key to Asia. The tumulus of King Midas, of the golden touch and the asses ears, can be visited, and nearby are the remains of the ancient city, which is still being excavated, and also a small museum.

Ballıhisar (Pessinus) (133 km. from Ankara on the Eskişehir road, turn right for the last 16 km.) An important cult centre, the most important remains being those of a temple to Cybele, the mother goddess. The small open-air museum has some interesting sculpture.

Midas Şehri (66 km. South of Eskişehir, past Seyitgazi) This site is of particular interest for the two open air cult temples cut into the rock surface, there are also inscriptions and a small complex of rock tombs. An interesting recent discovery is an underground passage from the site to the valley below. Close to Midas Şehri other Phrygian monuments can be found at Doğanlı Kale, Kümbet and Deveboynu.

Aslantaş and Aslankaya (34km. and 52km. respectively north of Afyon) These were both cult centres, and at the former there are two monumental lion reliefs and at Aslankaya there is a temple and a lion relief.

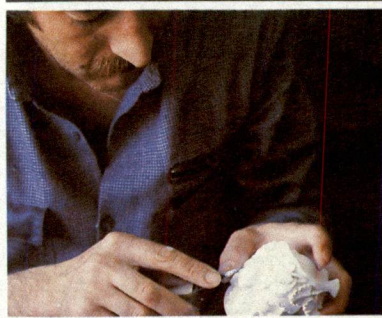
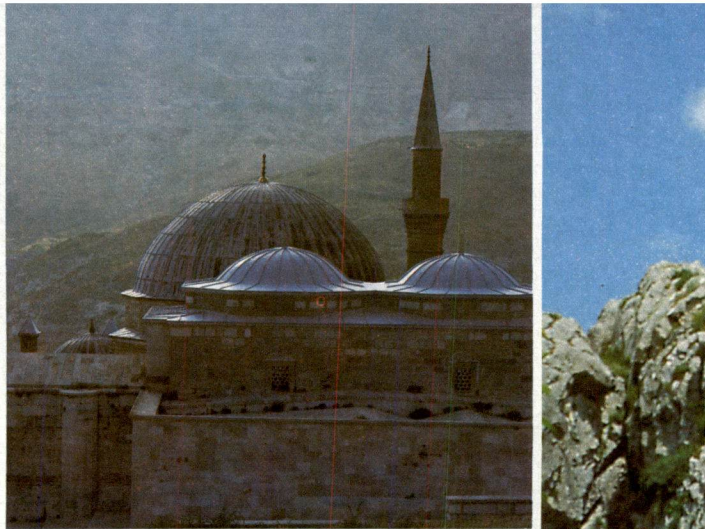
ÇORUM (242 km. from Ankara)

Is an important city on the road from central Anatolia to the Black Sea. Today the 13th century Ulu Cami and the 19th century clocktower are of particular interest. The region is noted for the finest chickpeas in Turkey.

HITTITE SITES

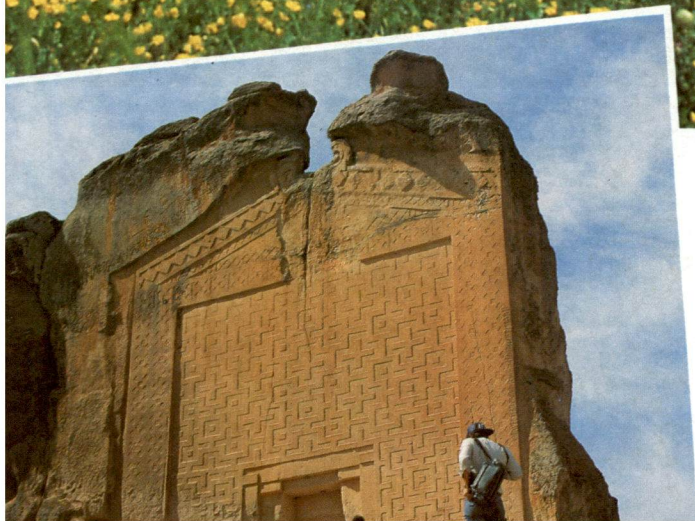
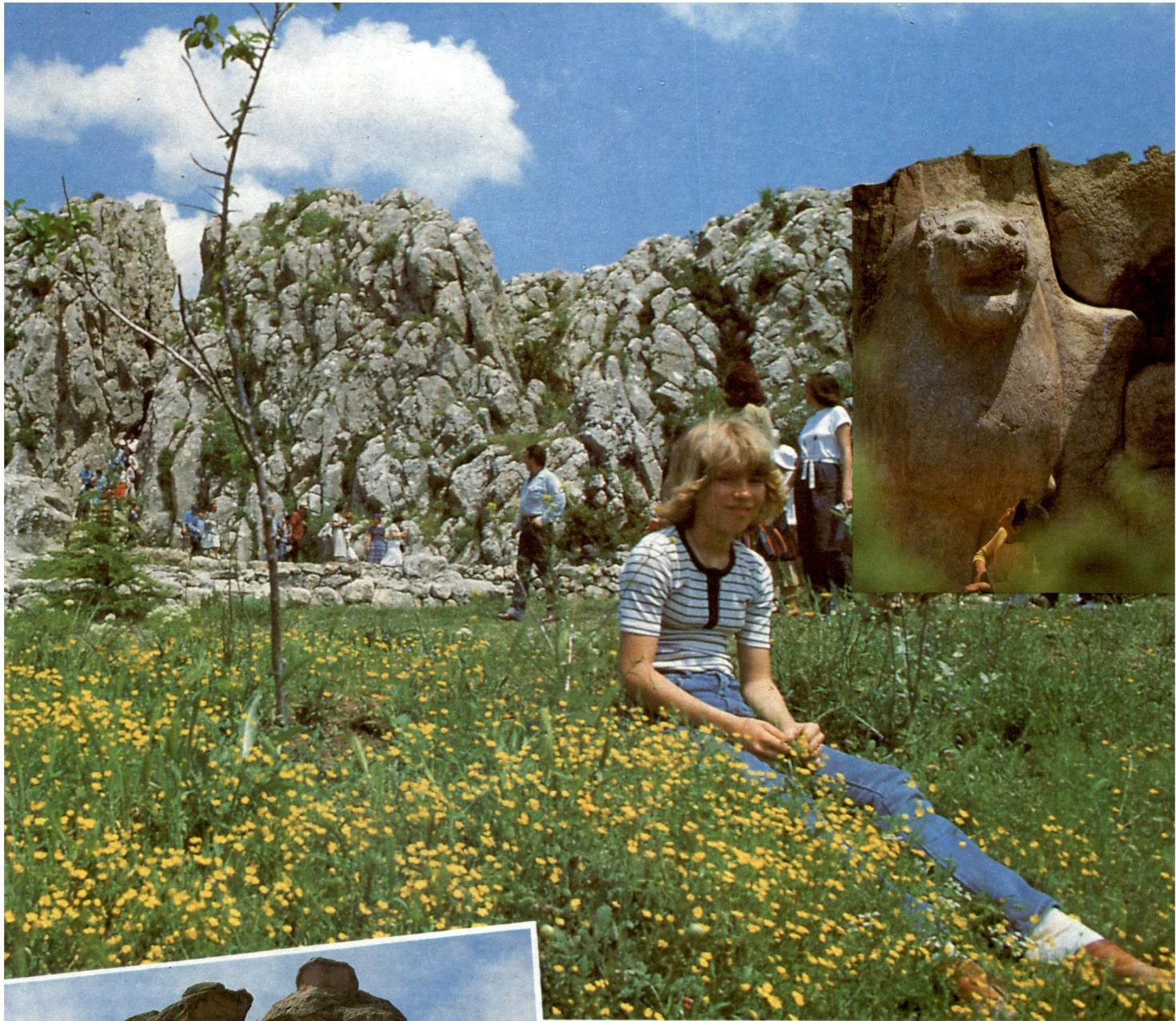
The important early Hittite sites are all to be found in the province of Çorum.

Boğazkale (Hattuşaş) (181 km. from Ankara on the Samsun road, turn right for the last 29 km.). The Hittite city of Hattuşaş is ringed with impressive double walls broken by the Royal Gate,



the Lion Gate and the Yer Kapı (an underground tunnel). The largest ruins are those of the great temple of the Storm God Teşup. Hattuşaş was the Hittite religious centre, and was known as the city of Temples because there were over seventy temples in the city. In 1180 B.C. Hattuşaş was devastated by the Phrygians. The city walls are now being extensively restored. The Acropolis of Hattuşaş contains the government buildings, Imperial Palace and archives of the Hittite Empire. All of the ancient Hittite central region is today a national park.

Yazılıkaya (2 km. from Boğazkale) This open-air rock pantheon contains fine reliefs of Hittite gods and kings dating from the 13th century B.C..



Alacahöyük (36 km from Boğazkale) Before the arrival of the Hittites, the site was the centre of the flourishing Hattian, Bronze Age culture, and it was from the Royal Tombs of this period that the magnificent gold and bronze objects were uncovered that are now in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. All the standing remains, such as the Sphinx Gate, date from Hittite times.



1. Seyit (Battal) Gazi Complex, Eskişehir
2. Hand Carving Meerschaum Stone
3. The Phrygian Temple, Yazılıkaya, Eskişehir
4. The Lion Gate Hattuşas, Boğazkale, Çorum
5. Springtime at Yazılıkaya, Çorum

ÇANKIRI (130 km. from Ankara)

The Galatian settlement here in the 3rd century B.C. was called Gangrea and subsequently the town was known as Kangri. Above the city are the ruins of an 11th century fortress and in the city is the Ulu Mosque built by, Turkey's greatest architect, Sinan in the 16th century. Just outside the city is the Taş Mescit of 1235, a medieval hospital. To the North of Çankırı is the beautiful Ilgaz National Park and ski centre.

KIRIKKALE (75 from Ankara)

This rapidly expanding industrial centre is east of Ankara, on the important highway to the east and to the Black Sea.

YOZGAT (217 km from Ankara)

The city was founded in the 18th century by the Ottomans. Two buildings from this period are the Çapanoğlu Mosque and the adjoining Süleyman Bey Mosque. The 19th century Nizamoğlu Mansion an important work of Turkish domestic architecture now houses ethnographical exhibits. Çamlık National Park is 5 km south of Yozgat.

AMASYA (336 km from Ankara)

Set in a narrow gorge of the Yeşilirmak (Iris) River, Amasya dates from the 3rd century B.C..On the craggy rock face of the gorge are the ruins of the citadel, inside which are the remains of an Ottoman Palace and a secret underground passageway. Hewn from the rock face above the city are impressive Roman rock tombs which are illuminated at night. With its many important works of architecture the town is like an open air museum. Among the city's many historical buildings are the 13th century Seljuk Burmalı Minare Mosque, the 15th century Yıldırım Beyazıt Mosque and complex, the Ilhanid hospital with lovely reliefs around its portal, the unusual octagonal Kapı Ağa Medrese, the Torumtay Mausoleum and the Gök Medrese. There is an Archaeological Museum with an interesting collection including the mummies of the Mongol Ilhanid rulers of Amasya. In Amasya's Hatuniye quarter (Yalı Boyu) on the northern side of the Yeşilirmak River there are traditional old Turkish mansions, one of the loveliest is the 19th century Hazeranlar Konağı, which has been restored, and now houses an art gallery on the first floor and an ethnographical museum on the second. Various bridges over the river give the city a romantic atmosphere, visit one of the cafes, restaurants, teagardens, parks or hotels by the riverside. If you go to the top of Çakallar hill you will have a beautiful view of the city. Just 50km. N.E of Amasya is Borabay Lake, a popular place for a daytrip, set amidst outstanding scenery.

Merzifon (50 km northwest of Amasya)Of interest in the town are several Ottoman monuments including the Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Medrese and the Kara Mustafa Paşa Mosque.

TOKAT (422 km from Ankara)

The Tokat region has been an important centre of Turkish culture. Among the city's main historical buildings are the ruins of a 28 tower castle, the 12th century Garipler Mosque, the Yağbasan Medrese, the 16th century Ali Paşa Mosque and the 17th century Ulu Mosque. The Pervane Bey Darüşşifası (or Gök Medrese) one of Tokat's finest buildings, is now a museum. Spanning the Yeşilirmak is a 12th century Seljuk bridge. The Latifoğlu Mansion has recently been restored to its original state, and offers a fascinating glimpse of life in a 19th century Turkish home.





Niksar (69 km. northeast of Tokat) In Niksar, the onetime capital of the Turkish Danişmend Emirs, places of interest include the well preserved citadel, the 12th century Yağbasan Medrese, the Ulu Mosque and some very early Turkish monuments.

Zile (67 km. west of Tokat) It was here that Julius Caesar said "Veni, vidi, vici" (I came, I saw, I conquered). Beneath the fortress is the restored Ulu Mosque of 1269.

1		3
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1. Rooftops and Rock Tombs, Amasya
2. The Decorated Ceiling of a Mosque Fountain, Merzifon
3. Ilgaz Ski Centre, Çankırı
4. Red Amasya Apples
5. Tokat Museum, Formerly the Gök Medrese

SİVAS (441 km. from Ankara)

Sivas was an important commercial centre at the crossroads of the Persia and Baghdad caravan routes. From 1142 to 1171 it was the capital of the Turkish Danişmend Emirs. In 1919, the National Congress that made the decision to liberate Turkey from occupying powers was held in Sivas. Today the 19th century building where the congress was held is the Atatürk Congress Museum, with a display about the War of Independence as well as an ethnographical and handcrafts exhibit. Sivas was and still is an important centre for fine carpets.

Of the many historical buildings the most important are the Danişmend Ulu Mosque, the 13th century İzzeddin Keykavus Şifahanesi and the beautifully decorated Gök Medrese. The Çifte Minare Medrese and the Buruciye Medrese were both built in 1271.

Kangal (68 km. south of Sivas) This town's claim to fame is

as the home of the dog of the same name. Used as sheep dogs, they have since proven themselves in the fields of police and security work. Twelve kilometres northeast of Kangal is the interesting spa of Balıklı Çermik, the hot waters are full of tiny fish which play an important part in the cure of skin complaints for which the spa is famous.

Divriği (165 km. southeast of Sivas) This was a Byzantine site that became the capital of the Turkish Mengücek Emirs in the 12th and 13th centuries. Above the town is a ruined citadel and beneath this is the magnificent Ulu Mosque completed in 1229 with an ornate portal in the baroque style. UNESCO has declared this mosque one of the important cultural heritages of the world.

KAYSERİ (314 km. from Ankara)

Kayseri was known as Caesarea in Roman times. The city lies at the foot of Mt. Erciyes (3,916 mts), an extinct volcano which



is today a ski centre. Close to the Byzantine fortress is the Huan Mosque and Medrese and the Mahperi Hatun Mausoleum, a complex erected in the 13th century by the wife of the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat, the Sultana Mahperi. Further to the south of the complex is the beautifully decorated Döner Kümbet of 1276, the Archaeological Museum and the Köşk Medrese, a Mongol building of classical simplicity. Near to the city's bedesten (covered bazaar) is the restored Ulu Mosque built in the 12th century. The Hacı Kılıç Mosque, north of the Çifte Medrese, is from 1249 and has much fine detail, particularly around the doors. Kayseri has many medreses (theological schools), the Çifte Medrese is one of the most interesting, because it was the first medieval school of anatomy, and the Sahabiye Medrese is one of the most beautiful, with a lovely Seljuk portal. Tightly knotted silk rugs make a beautiful and lasting memento of the city.

In Develi, to the south are three more important Seljuk buildings, the Ulu Mosque, the Şeyid-i Şerif Tomb and the Develi Tomb.

South of Kayseri (50 km) are the Sultan Marshes (Sazlığı) which are of interest to bird-lovers. Visitors should arrive early at the village of Ovaçiflik, where local villagers will greet them, and take them by boat through the marshes which are incredibly beautiful, as are the birds. April and May are the best months.

Kültepe (13 km. beyond Kayseri on the Sivas road, then left for a further 3 km.) This is the Hittite city of Kanesh, although today only the foundations can be seen. Many finds from this site are now in the Kayseri Archaeological Museum.

Sultan Han (46 km beyond Kayseri on the Sivas road) This caravanserai, built by the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat in the early 13th century, is one of the most beautiful in Turkey.

KIRŞEHİR (181 km. from Ankara)

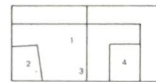
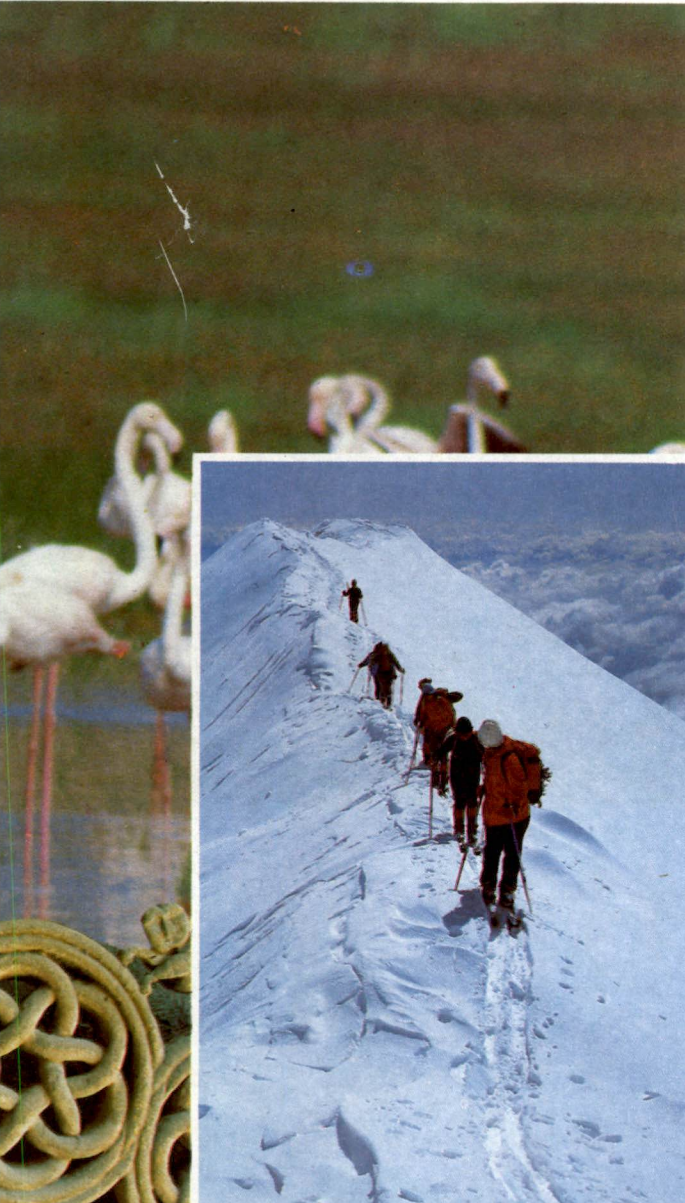
Founded in ancient times, Kırşehir became in the Middle Ages, the centre of the Ahi Brotherhood, a Moslem sect based on moral and social ideals, that played an important role in the spiritual and political life of Anatolian towns. Among Kırşehir's many fine Seljuk buildings are the Cacabey Mosque 1272, (a former astronomical observatory), the Alaeddin Mosque of 1230 and the Ahi Evran Mosque, beside which is the mausoleum of the founder of the Ahi sect. On the Kayseri road out of Kırşehir is the attractive Aşık Paşa Mausoleum of 1333, built during the period of Mongol rule.

AKSARAY (221 km. from Ankara)

Important in Seljuk times, most of Aksaray's historical buildings date from the 14th century, such as the Ulu Mosque, the Zinciriye Medrese, and the Kızıl Minaret which is noted for its attractive decorative brickwork. Just 40 km to the west of the town is the well preserved caravanserai of Sultanhan, built by the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat and 15km. towards Nevşehir is the Ağzıkarahan Caravanserai, these are two of the most famous from the Seljuk period.

Ihlara (11 km. from Aksaray on the Nevşehir road, turn right for a further 32 km) The Melendiz River has eroded this impressive canyon into the walls of which Byzantine rock chapels covered with frescoes have been cut. Some of the best known are the Ağaçalı Kilisesi also known as the Daniel Church, the Yılanlı Kilise, also known as the Apocalypse Church and the Sümbüllü Kilise, the Hyacinth Church.

Güzelyurt (7 km. from Ihlara) Another interesting valley with dwellings dating from prehistoric periods Güzelyurt, has an underground city, buildings carved into the rock, interesting traditional buildings, churches, the Manastır valley and "fairly chimneys". Within this small area are all the features characteristic of the region. Sivişli Kaya is the most important church.



1. Flamingos at Sultan Sazlığı, Kayseri
2. The Çifte Minare Medrese, Sivas
3. A Seljuk Stone Carving, Kayseri
4. On the Summit of Mt. Erciyes, Kayseri

NEVŞEHİR (274 km. from Ankara)

This city is the capital of the area. The castle on the hill occupying the highest point of the city is Seljuk. The Kurşunlu Mosque built for the Grand Vezir Damat İbrahim Pasha in 1726 by the architect Sinan is surrounded by a complex of buildings which include a medrese (theological school), a hospice and a library. The ablutions fountain in the courtyard still bears the original engraving. Nevşehir has a museum where local finds are displayed.

THE GÖREME REGION

Violent eruptions of the volcanoes Erciyes Dağı and Hasan Dağı three million years ago, covered the surrounding plateau with tuff. From this brittle rock the wind and rain have eroded Göreme's spectacular, surrealist landscapes of rock cones, capped pinnacles and fretted ravines, in colours ranging from warm reds and golds to cool greens and greys.

Göreme known in Roman times as Cappadocia, is one of those rare regions in the world where the works of man blend unobtrusively into the landscape. Dwellings are known to have been hewn from the rock as far back as 4,000 B.C.. During Byzantine times chapels and monasteries were hollowed out of the rock, and their ochre toned frescoes reflect the hues of the surrounding landscape. Even today, troglodyte dwellings in rock cones and village houses of volcanic tuff merge harmoniously into the landscape.

Ürgüp (20 km east of Nevşehir) This lively tourist centre is at the foot of a rock riddled with old dwellings. It is a good place to stay in order to tour the region. The country surrounding Ürgüp is particularly beautiful with lovely valleys, of many-coloured rock in unusual formations, into which numerous churches and homes have been carved. Keşlik monastery near Cemil Köy is an interesting early christian monastery, and Pancarlık Church some three kilometres along a track off the Mustafapaşa road, has a beautiful isolated setting and its interior has some interesting and well preserved frescoes. In the village of Taşkınpaşa is the Seljuk Mosque of Taşhunpaşa with an interesting portal. Mustafapaşa is worth visiting for the interesting old houses with carved decoration, there is also a restored medrese, and a three storey church carved into the rock. The valley of Kızılçukur is a lovely place, particularly at sunset, the Üzümlü (Grape) church in the valley is particularly attractive. Every October, in Ürgüp, there is a wine festival.

Göreme - Open - Air Museum (8 km northwest of Ürgüp) This monastic complex of rock churches and chapels covered with frescoes is one of the best known sites of Central Turkey. Most of the chapels date from the 10th and 13th centuries from the Byzantine and Seljuk periods and many of them are built on an inscribed cross plan with a central cupola supported by four columns. In the narthexes of several churches are rock cut tombs. Some of the most famous of the Göreme churches are the Elmalı Kilise, the smallest and newest of the group; the Yılanlı Kilise which has fascinating frescoes of the damned in the coil of serpents; the Barbara Kilisesi; and the Çarıklı Kilise. A short way from the main group on the road to the lower valley is the Tokalı Kilise or Buckle Church with beautiful frescoes of New Testament scenes.

Göreme - Çavuşın - Zelve On the road leading north from the Göreme Valley are the troglodyte town of Göreme with its houses attached to rock cones, Çavuşın, with its churches in a rock face, and the red-coned monastic complex of Zelve.

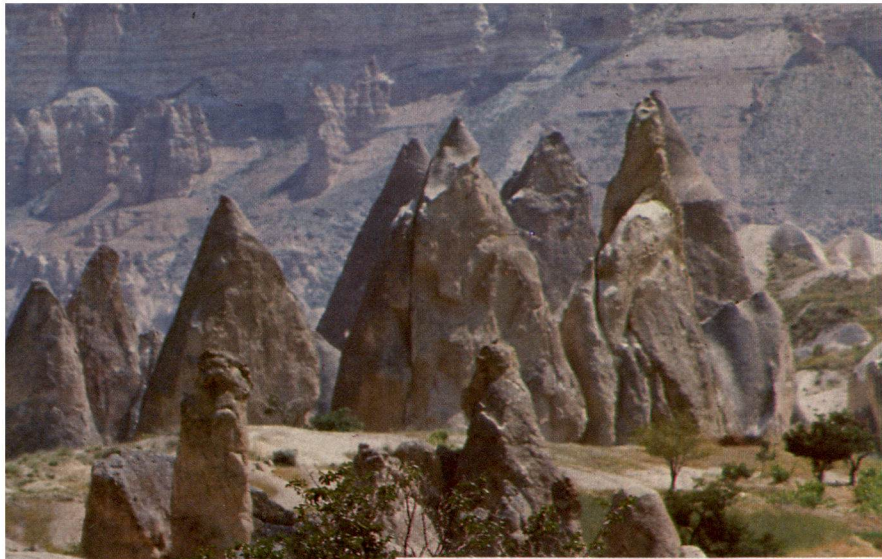
Avanos This is a charming small town, on the banks of the Kızılırmak river. The town has many lovely examples of old Turkish houses, and is a popular place in which to stay. The town is traditionally famous for its pottery, onyx ware, and for its carpets. On the road from Avanos to Ürgüp is the Seljuk caravanserai Sarıhan,



which has just been restored. The Özkonak Underground City, 21 km north of Avanos, is the largest underground city in the region.

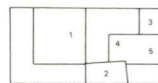
Uçhisar and Ortahisar On the road from Avanos to Nevşehir is the village of Uçhisar, clustered around a rock pinnacle, from which there is a splendid view of the whole erosion basin. Off the Nevşehir-Ürgüp road is Ortahisar, another village at the foot of a crag honeycombed with caves.

Soğanlı (63 km. southeast of Nevşehir) In this valley there are around sixty chapels, some of which have had the natural rock cones above them carved into domes, and some have frescoes.



Kaymaklı, Derinkuyu and Mazı (19 , 29 km and 30 km south of Nevşehir) These intriguing underground cities of rooms interconnected by tunnels sometimes seven levels deep, were used in Byzantine times as a place of refuge from raids.

Hacıbektaş (46 km north of Nevşehir) In the town is the beautifully preserved seminary of the Bektāşi order of dervishes and the mausoleum of the order's founder, the 13th century mystic, Hacı Bektaş Veli. Also of interest is the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum.



1. Springtime in Göreme
2. A Restaurant in an Ancient Cave, Göreme
3. Who Can Resist?
4. The Buckle Church, Göreme
5. A Solitary Fairy Chimney

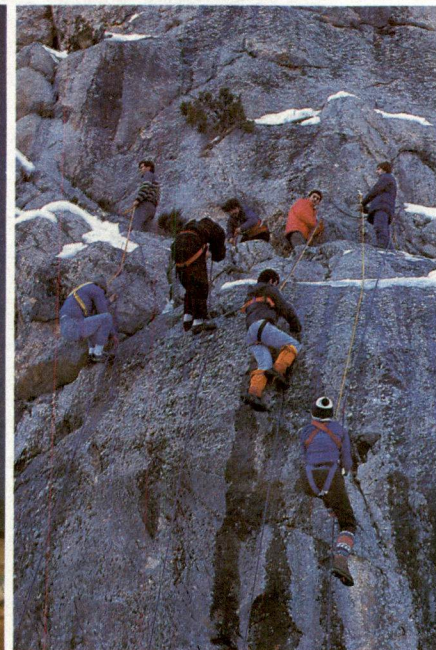
NIĞDE (341 km from Ankara)

The "Nahita" of Hittite times this city is situated in a valley flanked by volcanic peaks, and commands the ancient trade route from Anatolia to the Mediterranean. Niğde's castle owes its present form to the Seljuks, and from that period is the elegant Alaeddin Mosque. From the 14th century period of Mongol rule are the Sungur Bey Mosque, and the Hüdavend Hatun Mausoleum one of the finest in Anatolia. The 15th century Ak Medrese is now an archaeological museum.

Eskigümüş (9km.along the Niğde-Kayseri road, right turn 5km.) This Byzantine monastery and church,with massive columns and fresco covered walls dates from the 10th and 11th centuries. The frescoes are amongst the best preserved in Turkey.

Bor (14 km south of Niğde) Bor was a former Hittite settlement and its historical buildings include the Seljuk Alaeddin Mosque and the Ottoman bedesten.

Kemerhisar (5 km south of Bor) This is the site of the important Roman city of Tyana. A further 1.5 km. will bring you to some Hittite ruins and a Roman aqueduct.



KONYA (263 km. from Ankara)

Konya is one of Turkey's oldest continuously inhabited sites, and was known as Iconium in Roman times. From the 12th to the 13th century Konya was the capital of the Seljuk Turks and one of the great cultural centres of Turkey. It was during this period that the Moslem mystic Mevlana Celeleddin Rumi founded the sect of the Whirling Dervishes. The striking green tiled mausoleum of Mevlana is Konya's most famous building. The former dervish seminary attached to the mausoleum is now a museum devoted to manuscripts of Mevlana's works and various accouterments of the sect. Every year in the first half of December the Commemoration of the Whirling Dervishes is held in Konya. On the ancient citadel mound is the Aleaddin Mosque, built in 1220 in the reign of the great Seljuk



1		
2	3	5
4		

1. The Whirling Dervishes, Konya
2. The Mevlana Mausoleum, Konya
3. Rock Climbing on Aladağ Mountain, Niğde
4. Seljuk Tiles in the Karatay Medresesi, Konya
5. Anatolian Spring Colour



Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat. To one side of the mosque is a small remaining part of the Seljuk Palace and the Karatay Medrese, now a museum of Seljuk ceramics. At the other side of the mosque is the İnce Minareli Medrese of 1258, with its marvellous baroque Seljuk portal. Other Seljuk works are the Sırçalı Medrese and the Sahip Ata Complex, and also of interest is Konya's Archaeological Museum. The Koyunoğlu Museum has a varied collection including a natural history exhibit, a display of old Kilims, and within the museum complex is the restored İzzettin Koyunoğlu house, which illustrates the way of life of a prosperous Konya family.

Sille (10 km. north of Konya) Sille has a Byzantine church and several rock chapels with frescoes.

Çatalhöyük (45 km. south of Konya) This fascinating neolithic site dating back to the 8th millenium B.C. is one of the world's

oldest towns, and the mud houses were entered through holes in the roofs. The famous temple and mother goddess cult figures and neolithic frescoes from the site are now displayed in Ankara's Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.

İvriz (18km. beyond Ereğli, 168 km. east of Konya) At this Hittite site is one of Turkey's finest neo-Hittite reliefs of a king and fertility god.

Beyşehir (94 km. west of Konya) This town is set on the shores of Turkey's third largest lake, Beyşehir lake. Of particular interest are the beautiful Seljuk Eşrefoğlu Mosque and Medrese, and the Kubad-Abad Seljuk Summer Palace from the 13th century. On the beautiful Kızkalesi Island, opposite the Kubad-Abad Palace, is another Seljuk palace.

Eflatun Pınar (17 km. north of Beyşehir) Beside Beyşehir lake is this unusual Hittite monumental fountain.

Akşehir (130 km northwest of Konya) This town is famous as the birthplace of the 13th century humourist Nasrettin Hoca, whose mausoleum is here. Also of interest are the 13th century Ulu Mosque and the Altınkale Mescidi. The Sahip Ata Mausoleum now houses the town's museum.

KARAMAN (373 km. from Ankara)

This town was formerly the capital of the Karamanid Emirate, the first Turkish state to use Turkish as the official language as op

posed to Persian. Yunus Emre, the first great Turkish poet, to write in Turkish, lived here in the 13th century. The castles date from Seljuk times and among the many beautiful Karamanid buildings are the Arabeğlu, Yunus Emre and Aktekké Mosques and the Hatuniye Medrese.

Alahan (50 km. south of Karaman) 3 km. up a steep narrow road are the remains of a beautiful Byzantine monastery. There is much still standing, and some of the carving is very fine. The location was well chosen as the view from the monastery is breathtaking.



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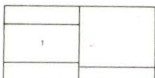
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1. The Dedegöl Mountains from Beyşehir Lake.



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Front cover : The Summer Gold of the Anatolian Plateau

Hatti Idols (inset)

Back Cover : Portal Detail Ulu Mosque, Divriği

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Karayolu tüneli	Tunnel	Yat rotaları	Recommended yacht route
Uluslararası yol no.	International road no.	Şelale	Waterfall
Uzaklık (km)	Distance (km)	Termal	Spa/Thermal center
Devlet sınırı	International boundary	Tarihi yer	Historical site
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