

II NCI DÜNYA SAVAŞI ÖNCESİNDE TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASI

Prof. Dr. Hasan KÖNİ

II nci Dünya Savaşı öncesi Türk dış politikası üzerine birçok inceleme bulunmaktadır. Bizde bu devredeki incelememizi iki Amerikan belgesi üzerine dayandıracamız. Belgelerden birincisi 20 Şubat 1937 tarihini taşımaktadır¹ 1937 yılında Türk dış politikasını inceleyen bu belge İstanbul'daki elçilikten Amerikan Dışişleri Bakanlığına yazılmıştır. Eski Dışişleri Genel Sekreteri Numan Menemencioğlu'nun konuşmalarının bir analizi niteliğindedir. İkinci belge ise 4 Ağustos 1939 tarihini taşımaktadır². Gene İstanbul'daki Amerikan Elçiliğinden Amerika Dışişleri Bakanlığına yazılmış olan rapor, devrin Başbakanı İsmet İnönü'nün Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin açılış konuşmasının ve Dışişleri Bakanı Şükrü Saraçoğlunun Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinin kapanışında yaptığı konuşmanın incelenmesi şeklindedir.

Bu iki belgeyi incelememizin bir diğer nedeni Atatürk'ün son zamanlardaki Türk dış politikası ile hemen ölümünden sonra ileri sürülen dış politika tercihlerinde sürekliliğin olup olmadığını ortaya koymaktır.

I- Numan Menemencioğlu'nun dış politika analizleri.

İnceleyeceğimiz birinci belge yukarda belirttiğimiz gibi Numan Menemencioğlu'nun Amerikan elçiliği Konsolosu Mr. Shaw ile yaptığı konuşmalara dayanmaktadır.

Bilindiği gibi 1935'lerden sonrası İtalyan tehlikesinin Akdeniz'de ağır bir biçimde hissedildiği bir devreyi kapsamaktadır. Menemencioğlu İngiliz ve İtalyanlar arasındaki centilmenler anlaşmasının Doğu Akdeniz'de durumu iyileştirdiğini söylemekte, ancak Batı Ak-

1 Doc. 767.68119/988, February 1937, Conversation with Numan Menemencioğlu, Secretary General of the Foreign Office.

2 Doc. 767.00/87, August 4, 1939, Turkish Foreign Relations and Policies

deniz'de İspanya'nın yarattığı karmaşa nedeniyle durumun kötüye gittiğini kimsenin ne olacağını kestiremediğini belirtmektedir. Tabii asıl tehlike Almanya'dan gelmekte ve İngiltere ise yeniden silahlanana kadar sessiz kalmayı tercih etmektedir. Almanya'nın Fransa ile çatışması Rusya ile yaptığı anlaşmaya dayanmaktadır. Ancak anlaşmanın işe yarayıp yaramayacağı bilinmemektedir. Numan Mene-mencioğlu Almanlar ne kadar ileri gidebilecekleri konusunda Avrupalıları denediklerini söyleyerek, Danzig koridoruna saldırabilecekleri kuşkusunu dile getirmektedir. Diğer bir ilginç yorum ise; Almanların "Hayat Sahası" politikasına karşı İngilizlerin ham maddelere ulaşabilmeleri için eski Alman kolonilerini geri vermeye yanaşmak niyetinde olmadıklarının belirtilmesi ve bu durumda diğer ülkelerinde sömürgelelerini geri isteyeceklerinin açıklanmasıdır. Bu durumda güçlenmiş olan Almanya, Çekoslovakya ve Ruslarla savaşa girerken, Batılı güçler sırtı üstü yatabileceklerdir.

Boğazlarla ilgili olarak İtalyanların Montreux Sözleşmesi konusundaki tutumlarına gelince; Numan bey'e göre birisi pek açık olmayan, ikincisi ise tehlikeli olabilecek iki tutum görmek mümkündür. İlk isteklerinde İtalyanlar sözleşmeyi yapan Devletlerle eşit olarak sözleşmeden faydalanmak istemektedirler. Türkiye zaten kendilerine sözleşmeye katılan Devletlerin diğerleriyle eşit olarak çeşitli haklardan yararlanabileceklerinden söz etmiştir. Numan bey bunu anlamamaktadır. İkincisinde ise İtalyanlar anlaşmaya Japonya'nın Milletler Cemiyetine koyduğu çekincelere uygun olarak katılmak istemekteler. Bundan anlaşılması gereken ise, Türk Dışişleri Bakanı Dr. Aras'ın İtalya'nın Habeşistan'daki durumunu hukuken tanıması için ısrar edilmesi. Türkiye bu konuyu ancak Cenevre'de çözüleceğini belirtmekte.

Numan bey, Almanların da Montreux konusunda kendilerini ziyaret ettiğini belirterek; Boğazlarda Alman çıkarlarının tanınmadığını ileri süren Alman Elçisine, Montreux'nün Lausanne ile ilgili olduğunu ve Lausanne'ın silinmesi imkansız bir barış antlaşması olduğunu açıkladığını söylemektedir. Numan bey Almanya'nın boğazlardaki tarihi çıkarlarından bahseden Alman elçisinin yasal haklardan bahsetmediğini, siyasi bir takım istekler ileri sürdüğünü ve bu siyasi isteklerin ise Rusya'yı zorlamaya yönelik olduğunu belirterek bu konuda Türkiye'nin egemenliğinin düşünülmediğini ileri sürmektedir. Türkiye, savaş gemilerine bazı haklar tanımıştır. Ancak tanınan haklar Sözleşmenin gösterdiği sınırlar içindedir. Eğer Almanya bir

çekince koyarak Sözleşmeye saldırarak olursa Türkiye Almanya'ya karşı boğazları kapamak zorunda kalacaktır. Barış durumunda herhangi bir sorun yoktur, ancak bir savaş durumunda eğer bu savaş Almanya ve Rusya arasında ise Türkiye tarafsız kalacaktır. Bu durumda her iki tarafın filosu boğazlardan geçemeyecektir. Eğer, Türkiye Rusya'dan taraf ise Rus donanması, Almanya'dan yana taraf ise Alman donanması boğazlardan geçecektir. Goeben ve Breslau'nun I nci Dünya Savaşındaki durumları ileri sürüldüğünde ise, Menemencioğlu olayların ve durumun değişik olduğunu ileri sürerek, Türkiye'nin o zamanla herhangi bir uluslararası bağlantısı bulunmadığını belirtmektedir.

Almanya'nın Türk pazarını ele geçirmesi konusunda ise Menemencioğlu Shaw'a, Türkiye'nin herhangi bir ülke ile tamamen veya kısmen ekonomik ve siyasal bağlar içine girmesini tasvip etmediğini belirtmektedir. Mr. Schacht'a Türkiye'nin dışsatımlarını denetime alacak önlemlere başvuracağını açıkladığını söylemektedir. Dışsatımların çeşitlendirilmesi hususunda İngiltere ve Hollanda'ya doğru bir çaba sarfedildiğini belirterek konuyu Celal Bayar'a ve Faik Kurtuluşuna aksettirdiğini açıklamaktadır. Menemencioğlu Almanlar'ın yüksek fiyatla mal almaları karşısında diğer ülkelerden yapılan ithalat için bir ikramiye sistemi olmaktadır, dışalılar için de aynı ikramiye sistemi Menemencioğlu tarafından düşünülmektedir.

Yugoslav-Bulgar Antlaşmasıyla ilgili olarak Numan Menemencioğlu konunun Yugoslavlar tarafından kendilerine getirildiğini belirterek verilen cevabın böyle bir antlaşmanın Bulgaristanı yalnızlıktan kurtaracağı ve Balkanlar dışında başka bir güçle işbirliği yapmasını önleyeceği şeklinde olduğunu belirtmektedir. Türkiye'nin Bulgaristan'la bir anlaşması zaten bulunmaktadır. Ancak o devirde Bulgaristan'ın Yunanistan'la ve Romanya ile sorunları vardır. Yugoslav ve Bulgar birleşmesi ise Bulgaristan'daki hanedan yüzünden mümkün gözükmemektedir. Yugoslavya, Berlin'in etkisine karşı koyabilmek için arkada sağlam bir Türk, Bulgar ve Yunan birleşmesine gereksinme duymaktadır.

II- Savaş Başlangıcında Türkiye'nin Tutumu

Amerikalıların İnönü ve Şükrü Saraçoğlu'nun konuşmalarından çıkardığı yorumlar daha savaşın başlangıcında Türkiye'nin, tarafsız, saldırıyı reddeden, insancıl politikanın savaşın sonuna kadar devam edeceğini göstermektedir.

İnönü'nün uluslararası ortam hakkındaki görüşleri şöyle özetlenmiştir. Birçok ülke aniden çıkacak fırtınadan etkileneceklerdir. Varolan güvensizlik ortamı sonsuza dek sürmeyecektir. Türkiye, uluslararası güvenliği yeniden sağlayacak herhangi bir çözüme olumlu yaklaşacaktır. Ancak, bu çözümün başlıca hedefi daha küçük ülkelerin bağımsızlık ve hür olarak varolma haklarının garantiye alınması olmalıdır. Asla kabul edilmeyecek husus küçük insan gruplarının daha büyükleri tarafından yutulmalarıdır. Bu insanların ve küçük ülkelerin varlığı bütün insanlığın kabul edeceği bir kurala bağlanmalıdır. Türkiye'nin barış arayışı onu kendisi gibi aynı ilke ve idealleri taşıyan ülkelerle ortak bir cephe kurmaya yöneltmiştir. Bu durum Türkiye'nin Balkan Paktına ve Sadabât Paktına girişini açıklamaktadır. Türkiye İngiltere ile ittifak yapmıştır. Kendi güvenliğini ilgilendiren her alanda yeni bağlar kurmaktan çekinmeyecektir. Türkiye, komşularının güvenliğiyle yakından ilgilidir. Onları tehdit eden ortamın ilerde kendine yansıtacağı kanısındadır. İnönü, Sovyetler Birliği ve Türkiye arasındaki ilişkilere dikkati çekerek her iki ülkenin birbirlerinin güvenliği ve refahında ortak çıkarları olduğunu ayrıca belirtmektedir. Fransa ile ilişkilerde olumlu yöndedir. Türkiye istekleri dışında yeni bir mücadele başladığında, bütün tehlikelere rağmen, ortak idealleri olan ve hayati çıkarları paylaştığı ülkelerle birlikte mücadeleye girecektir.

İnönü, London Daily Telegraph ve Morning Post gazetelerine verdiği demeçlerde, Türkiye-İngiltere arasındaki karşılıklı yardım antlaşmasına deyinerek; Türkiye ve İngiltere'nin güçlerinin birbirlerine gerektiğini, İngiltere'nin durumunun Akdeniz'de zayıflaması durumunda Türkiye'nin zorlanacağını söylemektedir. Balkanlarda barışın sürekliliği açısından Bulgaristan'ın Balkan Paktına katılması Türkiye'nin tercihleri arasındadır.

Dışişleri Bakanı Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinde yaptığı konuşmasında barışın insanlığa getireceği faydalardan söz etmektedir. Ancak Türkiye herhangi bir savaşa ve getireceği zafere hazırdır. Türkiye uzun seneler barışı tarafsızlık politikası güderek sürdürmeye çalışmıştır. Daha önceki bu durum yakın gelişmelerle değişmiştir. Bazı ülkelerin olup bittilerle varlıklarının ortadan kalkmasına Türkiye tarafsız bir gözle bakamayacaktır. Merkezi Avrupa'daki gelişmeler Türkiye'yi milli güvenliği konusunda yeni önlemler almaya itmiştir. Türkiye'nin barış cephesinde yer almasında ne ham maddesi nede işe yarar bir minerali olan Arnavutluğun işgali önemli bir rol oynamış-

tır. Bunun sonucu Türk-İngiliz karşılıklı Yardım antlaşması doğmuştur. Alman basınının bu antlaşmayı eleştirmesi karşısında Saraçoğlu, Hitlerin, "Kavgam" adlı kitabında Alman halkına İngiltere ile birleşmeyi önerdiğini belirterek, Alman halkına iyi olarak tavsiye edilen bir şeyin Türk halkına kötü olmasını hiç bir mantık kabul etmez demektedir. Türkiye'nin "barış cephesine" katılması sadece Arnavutluğun işgali nedeniyle değildir. Türkiye, Fransa ve İngiltere, Abisina Savaşında, Montreux Konferansında ve Nyon Konferansında işbirliği yapmışlardır. Saraçoğlu'da İnönü gibi Sovyetler Birliğiyle Türkiye'nin yakın ilişkilerine dikkati çekerek, "her uluslararası olay bu iki gücü aynı sırada bulmuştur", demektedir. Potemkin'in ziyareti sırasında her iki ülkenin aynı olaylara aynı reaksiyonları gösterdiği vurgulanmıştır. Balkan Paketi bu bölgede barışın koruyucusu olmaktadır. Ancak Türkiye bütün güçlerle dostça geçinmek niyetindedir, İtalya ve Almanya dahil.

Türkiye'nin bu devrede İngiltere ve Fransa ile imzalayacağı karşılıklı yardım antlaşmasında bazı duraksamalar olduğu dikkati çekmektedir. Rapordan anlaşıldığı kadarıyla Türkiye, İngiltere ve Fransa'nın Sovyetler Birliği ile anlaşmasını beklemektedir. Askeri danışma konusunda ise İngiliz heyetine çekingen davranılırken, Fevzi Çakmak'ın Fransız Doğu güçleri komutanı General Huntziger'i çok olumlu karşıladığına dikkati çekmektedir. Kara orduları arasındaki işbirliği Fransa tarafından, hava ve deniz kuvvetlerinin eşgüdümünün ise İngiliz-Türk görüşmeleriyle sağlanacağı raporda belirtilmiştir. İngiliz ve Fransız askeri makamlarının Türkiye'ye askeri yardımlarda tereddüt ettikleri nokta, Türk ordusunun büyük modern teçhizat açığıdır. Türk Yüksek Komutasının fiziksel ve entellektüel açıdan yenilenmesi ise ülkenin Genel Kurmay Başkanının durumu nedeniyle, rapora göre, bir başka zorluk yaratmaktadır. Raporda alt kışma düşülen bir nota İngiltere'nin Türkiye'ye Amerika'dan gerekli silahları alması için yeterli miktarda fon vereceğinin duyulduğu bildirilmektedir.

Türkiye'nin Almanya ve İtalya ile ilişkileri konusunda ise, Türkiye'nin İtalya ile ilişkilerinin eskisi gibi devam ettiği belirtilirken Türk-Alman ilişkilerinin Almanya'nın öngördüğü biçimde belirsiz olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Alman askeri yardımları konusunda bazı anlaşmazlıklar olduğu belirtilirken, altmış uzun menzilli skoda topundan sadece ikisinin ve altmış Messerschmidt uçağından ise hiçbirinin teslim edilmediği ileri sürülmektedir. Ticaret konusunda ise Almanya tara-

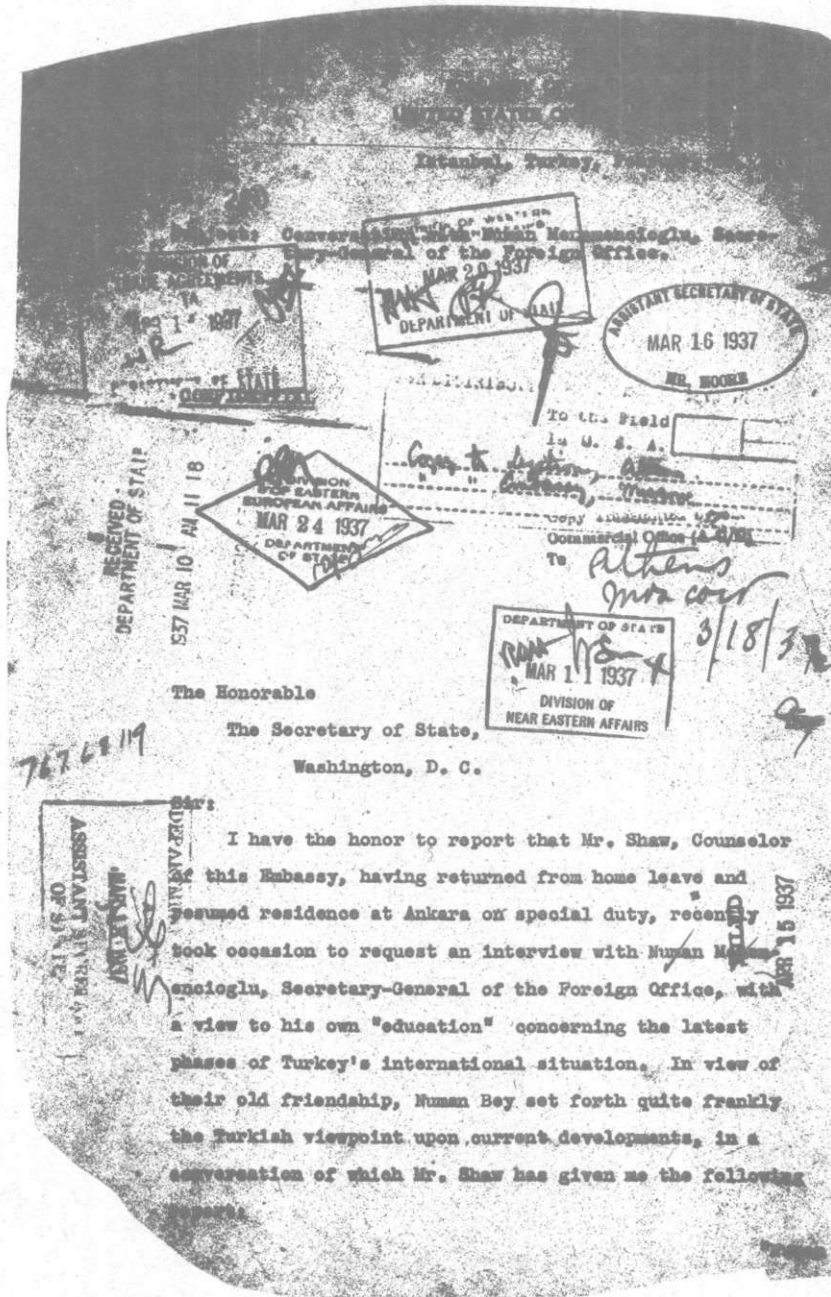
ından taahhüt edilen yüz milyon Marklık kredinin Türkiye'ye teslim edilmediği, Almanya'nın Türkiye ticaretini eline geçirmek için her türlü çabayı gösterdiği, Türkiye'nin ise yeni yollar aramakta olduğu raporda belirtilmektedir.

İngiliz-Türk karşılıklı yardım antlaşmasının imzalanmasından sonra, Türk Hükümetinin aldığı önlemler arasında Alman asıllı kimse-lerin Türkiye'de çalışmaları azaltma yoluna gidildiği belirtilmektedir. Alman ikinci önlem ise Alman ve İtalyanların özellikle Türkiye'nin bazı bölgelerinde dolaşmalarının önlenmesidir. Rapordan öğrenildiğine göre buna en çok Alman arkeologlar üzülmuşlerdir.

SONUÇ

Amerikan elçiliği mensubu J.V.A. MacMURRAY tarafından hazırlanan biri Devlet kurucusu Atatürk devrinde, ikincisi onun 1938'de vefatından sonra yerine geçen Milli Kurtuluş Savaşı arkadaşı İsmet İnönü'nün Cumhurbaşkanlığı döneminde yeralan iki ayrı raporun içeriğini vermeye çalıştık. Ortaya çıkan resim Türkiye'nin "barış cephesi" dediği İngiltere ve Fransa'nın yanında olmaya 1937'lerde karar vermiş olduğu ve bu kararın daha sonraki devrede değişmediği şeklindedir. Almanya ve İtalya'ya karşı denge siyaseti güderken kendini Balkan Paktı ve Sadabat Paktı ile güvenceye almıştır. Boğazlar konusunda ise Türkiye'nin tavizsiz olduğunu görüyoruz. Boğazlar politikasındaki bu tutumu günümüze kadar süre gelmiştir. Türkiye'nin ve bütün Batı Dünyasının yanıltığı tek nokta Sovyetlerin-Almanya ile İttifaka girmesi olacaktır. Bu gelişme 1941'lere kadar Türkiye'ye korkulu anlar yaşatacaktır. Olay milli çıkarların ideolojilerin üstünde yeralmasından başka birşey değildir. İkinci Dünya Savaşına giden yolda demagogların gürültüsü bu gerçeği kısa sürede olsa insanlara unutturmuş olabilir. Çevresinde olup bitenden haberdar olan Türkiye, barışçı politikasını sürdürmüş, uluslararası politikanın ve yapılan garanti antlaşmaları gereği savaşa girme blöfünü zaman zaman ileri sürmüştür. Oysa, izlediği denge politikasını 1945'lerde kadar sürdürecektir. Özetle, Türkiye'nin bazı yazarları ileri sürdükleri gibi kaçağa güreşen bir tarafsız olmadığını³ aksine milli çıkarlarına uygun akılcı bir politika sürdürdüğünü kabul etmek gerekir.

³ Frank G. Weber, *The Evasive Neutral*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1979.



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Numan Bey first of all analysed the European situation. He said that as a result of the British-Italian gentleman's agreement and the Turkish-Italian conversations which followed logically from that agreement, the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean had greatly improved. In the Western Mediterranean, of course, with the Spanish mess, things seemed to get worse with the time and nobody could say what would or would not happen. Naturally, the great problem in Europe is Germany and everything that the other countries do seems calculated to advance the German game. England clearly will avoid taking any real stand on anything until she has re-armed. In France the German contention that the present European crisis is due to the Franco-Soviet treaty is, strange as it may seem, beginning to find supporters. At any rate, the French have not concluded the military agreements called for under their treaty with the Soviets and the latter are therefore in a state of complete uncertainty as to whether the treaty is worth anything at all. The Italians are sometimes with the Germans and sometimes with the English. Europe, in short, is in a state of complete 'incorection' with the Germans constantly trying to see just how far they can go and desiring to go just as far as possible before England is in a position to take a definite stand. Numan Bey expressed anxiety lest some sort of German attack on the 'Corridor' be launched in the more immediate future. As to giving Germany back her colonies, he said he thought the English weren't so enthusiastic over these territories as to be unwilling to part with them, but if she did so, some very ticklish problems would arise. Other countries would put in a claim for colonies and insist on 'access to raw materials' and where would the process stop? And if the colonies were returned to Germany, it would certainly be impossible for the Western Powers to sit back while a strengthened Germany went to war with the Soviets and Czechoslovakia.

As to the attitude of Italy towards the Montreux Convention, Numan Bey said the Italians had raised two questions one of which was not clear to him and the other of which presented serious difficulties. The Italians had first of all insisted that they must be treated on a footing of complete equality with the signatories of the Convention. To this the Turks had pointed out that, if the Italians adhered to the Convention, they would naturally be on a footing of equality with signatories. Numan Bey evidently suspects there is more than meets the eye in this Italian demand. The second point is that, if the Italians do adhere to the Convention, they will do so with reservations as to the rôle of the League of Nations substantially similar to the Japanese reservations.

Since

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Since the Italians were still members of the League, Numan Bey thought this was a rather singular point to raise. Of course, if they got out, then things would be quite different. Count Ciano, it seems, did press Dr. Aras for de jure recognition of Ethiopian annexation. Dr. Aras had replied that Turkey in withdrawing her Legation at Addis had given de facto recognition, but that any de jure recognition must come from Geneva. He undertook, however, to help on the cause at Geneva.

Numan Bey said it was quite true the Germans had raised the question of the Montreux Convention. They had sent a note to which a reply would be made shortly and the German Ambassador had recently come to see him. The conversation, I gathered, was distinctly spirited on Numan Bey's side. The Ambassador had started off by saying that Germany's historical interest in the Straits had not been recognized at Montreux. To this, Numan Bey had replied that Montreux was linked with Lausanne and Lausanne had been Lausanne because Turkey and Germany had been defeated in the Great War. It would be very nice if Lausanne and Versailles could be entirely wiped out, but how could it be done? Did the Ambassador wish to claim for Germany the pre-war régime when the Straits were completely closed? It seems the Ambassador did not, but that his Government had in mind putting on record a general reservation to the Montreux Convention and in connection therewith had desired the Ambassador to have an exploratory conversation. Numan Bey pointed out that in talking of Germany's historical interest it was clear that the Ambassador was, not in the field of legal rights, but in that of politics pure and simple. It was obviously an attempt to hit at the Russians, but in trying to hit the Russians, the Germans were bringing up the question of Turkish sovereignty. The Turks had agreed to give certain rights to war vessels of all countries, whether signatory to the Convention or not, but of course on the tacit assumption that these countries recognized Turkish sovereignty and the conditions laid down in the Convention. If Germany for purely political reasons attacked the Convention by putting on record a general reservation, then clearly Turkey was within her rights in closing the Straits to any German vessel. Numan Bey then went on to discuss the practical aspects of the German position. If there were peace then no question arose at all. If there were war between Germany and Russia, Turkey being neutral, then the fleet of neither could pass through the Straits. If Turkey were allied with Russia, then of course they would do everything possible to sink the German fleet and if allied with Germany, they would do the same to the Russian fleet. The famous case of the GOEBEN and BRISLAU was apparently brought up and Numan Bey pointed out that at that time

Turkey

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Turkey was not tied by any international engagement. The situation was quite different now. The Ambassador referred to the possibility of the Russian Black Sea fleet sailing out and attacking Germany in the Baltic. Numan Bey asked the Ambassador whether he thought it likely that the Russian Black Sea fleet which according to him consisted of two ships the seaworthiness of which was open to question, would take the risk of fighting the modern and efficient German fleet and leave the Russian Black Sea coast completely without defense.

62.6731

"On Germany's domination of the Turkish market, Numan Bey said that he did not favor any exclusive or quasi-exclusive political or economic tie-up between Turkey and any country. He said he had warned Mr. Schacht that Turkey would be compelled to take measures to control her exports. Some progress in the direction of a sounder diversification had been made with England and Holland, although trade with France amounted to nothing. He said he had submitted the problem of what to do about Turkey's exports to Germany to Celal Bey and Faik Kurtoglu. He suggested that some system of bounties on imports from countries other than Germany might be used. I said I didn't think this would be of much help to those who couldn't buy in the Turkish market because of the high prices given by the Germans. He said there might also have to be some sort of bounties for exports as well.

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"Concerning the Bulgarian-Yugoslav Treaty, Numan Bey told me that when Stoyadinovitch had consulted them about it, the Turks had taken the position that it would be a good move as tending to bring the Bulgarians out of their isolation and make it more difficult for them to tie up with some non-Balkan Power. Yugoslavia was the only Balkan country in a position to do the trick. Turkey already had a treaty with Bulgaria; there were still some questions outstanding between Rumania and Bulgaria and clearly the Greeks weren't likely to make a treaty with Bulgaria. As to any Bulgarian-Yugoslav union, Numan Bey didn't think that the possibility enters into the sphere of practical international politics because such a union would involve doing away with the Bulgarian dynasty. He did not deny the possibility of German influence at Belgrade, but felt that it could not get very far, as the Yugoslavs knew that if they should really turn Berlin-wards they would have a solid Turkish, Bulgarian and Greek combination against them in their rear."

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Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. Mack Murray

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Subject: Turkish Foreign Relations and Policies.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
AMERICAN
1939
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The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward, for the Department's information, translations of two recent authoritative statements regarding Turkey's foreign relations and policies, one of which was made by the President of Turkey, Ismet İnönü, at the opening of the Fifth Congress of the Republican People's Party on May 29, 1939, and the other by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sükrü Sarıca, at the closing session of the Grand National Assembly

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Assembly on July 8, 1939. While these statements do not disclose any facts or considerations which have not already been brought to the Department's attention, they are of interest for the light which they throw on the viewpoints and intentions of the present rulers of Turkey in respect to the existing international situation.

It is the view of President İnönü that the dominant characteristic of the present international situation is the fear of many nations that they may be "overwhelmed by a sudden storm". The prevailing insecurity cannot continue indefinitely. It must end either in nations flying at each other's threats or in their finding the road to peaceful collaboration. Turkey will welcome any solution calculated to restore international security, but the right of smaller countries to independence and free national existence must be fully recognized. "We do not accept, we shall never accept, the theory according to which the smaller groups of humanity are destined to be absorbed by the larger ones. The right of each nation conscious of its individual existence to form an independent State, assured of the safeguard of its integrity, must be consecrated as an inviolable law common to all humanity". Turkey's search for security has led her to form a common front with nations which share its principles and ideas. This explains Turkey's joining the Balkan Entente and the Saadabad Pact. The present security crisis has led Turkey to enter into an alliance with Great Britain. Turkey will not avoid other engagements which may be of assistance in the insurance of her security. Turkey is deeply concerned

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over the security of her neighbors and she will take all steps in her power to check the dangers which may threaten them "because we are convinced that a little later these same dangers would threaten ourselves". The President called attention to Turkey's cordial relations with the ~~Soviet Union~~. "Each of these two countries has the most complete and the most direct interest in the security and welfare of the other". He referred to the community of interests between Turkey and France. In concluding, he declared that if, in spite of Turkey's wishes, a new struggle should break out, the Turkish nation would take part in the struggle without hesitation and scornful of all dangers. If need should arise Turkey would take its place side by side with the nations which have the same ideals and the same vital interests. It is Turkey's most fervent wish, however, to see a peace established "which allows everyone to share in the riches of our globe".

3/ In connection with the President's speech, there is enclosed, as of interest to the Department, a copy of an excerpt from an article in the LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH AND MORNING POST of July 10, 1939, relative to an interview which he gave recently to a correspondent of that newspaper. In discussing the Anglo-Turkish Declaration of Mutual Assistance, the President said that he felt that Turkey's strength was as important to Great Britain as Great Britain's strength was to Turkey. If Great Britain's position in the Mediterranean weakened, Turkey would suffer. Since the aims of the two countries were identical, it was essential to their

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their mutual interests that they stand together. The President had great hopes that the new relationship between Great Britain and this country would assist Turkey to transform her present precarious trading system into a free exchange of goods. With reference to the situation in the Balkans, the President stated that Turkey would like to see Bulgaria join the Balkan Entente. Turkey had always worked to this end, and had not yet lost hope of Bulgaria's adherence.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his statement to the Grand National Assembly, pointed out that Turkey was an advocate of peace because of the "innumerable benefits which it brings to Turkey and to humanity as a whole". He reviewed the progress accomplished by Turkey during the years that she has lived in peace. "No victory could give us what a series of years of peace has bestowed upon us". If, however, there should be an attempt to make Turkey pay more dearly for this peace than what war would cost, "one would see that we are ready also to show how fit we are for war and desirous of the victory which it promises". Mr. Saracoglu declared that for many years Turkey had pursued its search for peace through a policy of neutrality. The situation which existed previously, however, had been completely changed by recent developments. "The distance between the sound of words and the click of arms, between the thunder of controversy and that of cannon has become less and less; the independence of certain countries has been entirely or partially suppressed by faits accomplis created through violence". The new developments in the field of international politics caused Turkey to reflect and to consider whether peace would be ensured by her continuing

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continuing to remain neutral. The events in Central Europe persuaded Turkey that there was "not much more time left for us to take the measures which were indispensable for national security and to find another way capable of serving the cause of peace". Finally, the invasion of Albania, "a country producing neither food-stuffs nor raw materials, having no mineral wealth and no fertile land", led Turkey to abandon her policy of neutrality and join the "peace front". The result was the Turkish-British Declaration of Mutual Assistance. Referring to criticism in the German press of Turkey's action, Mr. Saracoglu stated that these newspapers seem to have forgotten that Hitler, in MEIN KAMPF, had recommended to the German people an alliance with England. "One might justly doubt the logic which considers bad for the Turkish people a friendship which it recommends to the German people". A Declaration of Mutual Assistance similar to that between Great Britain and Turkey was entered into with France as soon as all differences between France and Turkey had been removed by the settlement of the Hatay problem. Mr. Saracoglu pointed out that while the invasion of Albania was the principal factor which brought about Turkey's adherence to the "peace front", her action in this regard was the natural result of the political developments in recent years. He mentioned the various occasions upon which Turkey, England, and France had cooperated in the past - the Abyssinian War, the Montreux Conference, and the Nyon Conference. Today "we are busy working out the details of the definitive long term arrangements which will insure the unity of the three Powers".

It is the opinion of the Turkish Foreign Minister that all civilizations are the fruit of long periods of

peace

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peace and that war can never create a civilization. In the present European civilization, the small independent States play a rôle just as important as - perhaps more important than - the larger States. "To suppress them would be to hinder the march of civilization and of progress. That is not possible, and those who think that it is possible are preparing for a bitter future". Mr. Saracoglu stressed the cordial friendship existing between Turkey and the Soviet Union. "Every international event has always found the two Powers side by side in the same ranks". The visit of Mr. Potemkin to Ankara demonstrated once more that "without understanding, without previous conversations, the two countries in the presence of the same events have the same reactions and the same thoughts". The Balkan Pact would continue to serve peace in the Balkans with the same efficacy and the same authority as heretofore. "Our recent contacts and exchanges of views have clearly proved that to us". Turkey desired to maintain normal relations with all powers, including Germany and Italy. The Foreign Minister pointed out, however, that the desire for normal and friendly relations must be mutual. Relations with Italy continued as in the past, and while, in the case of Germany, a certain hesitation was noted for a time, this had now disappeared except in respect to one matter which it was hoped would be favorably settled in the near future.

With reference to the Foreign Minister's statement regarding the negotiations in progress relative to the definitive long-term arrangements which will assure the unity of Turkey, Great Britain, and France, it may be stated that these negotiations are being carried on in a rather

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rather desultory fashion. It would appear that formulae are being exchanged with France and Great Britain with regard to the clauses of the definitive treaties of mutual assistance. It may well be that the procrastination of the Turkish Government in this matter is, as is freely rumored, motivated by Turkey's reluctance to undertake more concrete engagements except in the light of such agreement as may eventually be reached in the pending negotiations of the British and French Governments with the Soviet Government. The French Ambassador informed a member of my staff yesterday that after a long period of inaction he had just received a memorandum from the Turkish Government which he had forwarded to Paris. It is the opinion of the Embassy that a considerable time will elapse before the definitive treaties are ready for signature.

With respect to military consultations between the countries in question, preliminary contacts have already been established through the visits of French and British Military Missions to Turkey. As has been reported to the Department, the British Military Mission were disappointed with the treatment which they received in Turkey. It would appear that the French Military Mission has had greater success. The latter, which was presided over by General Huntsiger, former Commander of the French troops in the Levant, an officer with whom the Turks were already acquainted, was received cordially by the Chief of the Turkish General Staff, Fevzi Çakmak, who had avoided meeting the British Military Mission. The French Ambassador and the French Military Attaché have expressed themselves as

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very much pleased with the results of the discussions between their Military Mission and the Turkish military authorities. It is probable that collaboration between the Turkish Army and the British and French Armies will be worked out principally through discussions between the French and Turkish military authorities, and that naval and air cooperation will be arranged through British-Turkish conversations. It would appear that the principal problems confronting the British and French military authorities in respect to military cooperation with Turkey are (1) the Turkish Army's great lack of modern equipment and the difficulty in repairing this deficiency immediately in view of the rearmament programs in the course of execution in Great Britain and France; and (2) the necessity of rejuvenating, intellectually as well as physically, the Turkish High Command, and the difficulty in effecting this change in view of the outstanding position occupied in the country by the Chief of the Turkish General Staff.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs stated in his speech that Turkey desired to maintain normal relations with Germany and Italy, and that, while relations with Italy continued as in the past, a certain hesitation had been noted for awhile in the case of Germany, but that this had now disappeared except in respect to one matter, which it was hoped would be favorably settled in the near future.

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The Embassy understands that an arrangement is now under discussion whereby Great Britain would make available to Turkey funds for the purchase of military equipment in the United States.

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It would appear that Mr. Saracoglu was unduly optimistic in this respect. Uncertainty still prevails in the field of Turkish-German relations, and it would seem to be the aim of Germany to keep Turkey in a state of uncertainty as to what policy Germany intends to pursue. The unsettled matter referred to by the Minister is believed to be the question of the delivery of military supplies ordered by Turkey in Germany. In so far as the Embassy is aware, Germany has not taken any definitive action in this matter. In respect to certain supplies, the German policy seems to be to refrain from making deliveries, without definitely refusing to do so. Of the 24 long-range cannon ordered from Skoda, only two have been delivered, and of the order for 60 Messerschmidt planes placed by Turkey in Germany about eight months ago, none has so far been delivered. It is the belief of the Embassy that neither of these two items will be furnished to Turkey by Germany. On the other hand, it is understood that certain other military supplies have been delivered since the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish Mutual Assistance Pact. In this connection, there is enclosed, as indicating the German attitude in the matter of the delivery of military supplies to Turkey, a Memorandum of a Conversation had by Consul Latimer relating to this matter.

As regards general commercial relations, it may be stated that while the Turkish-German Agreement with reference to the extension to Turkey by Germany of a 150,000,000 Mark credit has not yet been put into effect, German agencies are continuing to make large-scale purchases in Turkey. It is understood that the Turkish authorities are making plans to meet the alternative courses

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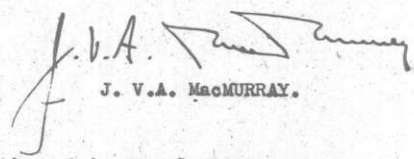
courses of action which they consider Germany may pursue with regard to trade with Turkey. On one hand, Germany may endeavor to expand her trade with Turkey to the utmost with a view to diminishing Turkey's trade with other countries and thus reducing Turkey to greater dependence on Germany. In this connection, it may be stated that Turkey's trade with free exchange countries is now greatly hampered by the high prices of Turkish commodities brought about largely through the operation of clearing agreements, especially that with Germany. On the other hand, Germany may greatly reduce her purchases in Turkey with a view to disorganizing Turkey's economy in consequence of her inability to find markets for the products previously purchased by Germany.

Since the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish Mutual Assistance Pact, the Turkish Government has adopted two measures which have been directed against Italian and German nationals. With a view to reducing the large number of German nationals employed in Turkey, the Government decided early in June not to renew the employment contracts of German nationals. This decision has been applied not only to German citizens employed in military factories and other establishments of importance to national defense, but also to those engaged as teachers, doctors, et cetera. It would appear that in carrying out this decision the Turkish authorities have made no distinction between Aryans and non-Aryans, and that German Jews receive the same treatment as non-Jews. There is, however, some reason

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reason to believe that the Turkish Government is now intending to conclude new contracts, at the beginning of the next academic year, with at any rate certain of the medical and other professors whose services are particularly desired. The second measure - one which has been made applicable to all foreigners, but which is directed against Italians and Germans, - is the establishment of "temporary" restrictions on travel to certain areas in Turkey, particularly the western and southern coast regions. These areas are now accessible to foreigners only by special permission. The Embassy has heard that the Assistant German Military Attaché, a Secretary of the Italian Embassy, and a German archaeologist are among those who have complained against restrictions placed upon their movements.

Respectfully yours,


J. V. A. MacMURRAY.

Enclosures:

- 1/ - Translation of inaugural address of President İsmet İnönü at the opening session of the Fifth Congress of the Republican People's Party;
- Okun* 2/ - Translation of Statement of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- 3/ - Copy of excerpt from THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, London, July 10, 1939;
- 4/ - Copy of Memorandum of Conversation of June 15, 1939.

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