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Third Reich's relations with the Turkish Republic 1933-1944

Michael William Rollin

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THE THIRD REICH'S RELATIONS WITH
THE TURKISH REPUBLIC
1933 - 1944

By
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B. A. University of Montana, 1963

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for the degree of
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June 3, 1968
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TO

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&
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INTRODUCTION

In the First World War, Imperial Germany and Ottoman Turkey were associated with the Central Powers. From Berlin's point of view, Turkey's participation was a definite advantage because it created a new front for Russia in the Caucasus and affected the security of Great Britain's life line through the Suez. To further Germany's policies, Berlin requested that Turkey carry out several tasks. These were to close the Turkish Straits to countries other than those aligned with the Central Powers; to close the supply route through the Suez Canal; to invade Russia through the Caucasus; and, finally, to declare a holy war against the Triple Entente.

During the following four years of the war, Turkey was able to close the Straits and successfully attack the Russians. However, the Suez Canal remained open and the holy war was largely disregarded by the Moslems. Germany
willingly supplied the Turks with officers to run the army which was able to defeat the Allied attack on Gallipoli and keep the Russians out of Asia Minor. However, the Germans were reluctant to support Turkey's ambitions among the Turkish minorities in Russia, because Berlin felt that it was diverting attention from prosecuting the war on other fronts in the Near East.

By March 1918, Turkey's value to Germany was becoming questionable. Berlin felt the Turks were more a burden than an asset. Turkey's closing of the Straits - once an important act - had lost much of its significance because of Rumania's defeat and Russia's withdrawal from the war. Further, the entry of the United States into the conflict and the resulting pressure on Germany caused many of the German troops in Turkey to be recalled to the Fatherland. And the Turks were left largely to their own means in continuing the war.

In spite of Germany's and Turkey's differences over political objectives during the war, there was very little animosity after defeat in 1918. Whatever vindictiveness either country held against the other was undoubtedly directed towards the victorious Allies who, in the eyes of Berlin and Ankara, had imposed outrageous peace terms on the defeated nations. Thus, it was not difficult for the Weimar Republic to regain the friendship of the Turks. And throughout the 1920's, numerous German technicians, teachers, and construction firms were invited into the new Kemalist Turkey.
The birth of the Third Reich did not alienate Turkey from its old ally. Many people in Turkey viewed the rejuvenation of Germany with a deep admiration. There was little concern expressed in Turkey for the revisionists' ideas and the totalitarian methods of the Nazi regime, as long as Germany kept its hands off southeastern Europe.

Hitler's foreign policy did not call for a close association with the Turkish Republic. While speaking of his policy against allying with weak powers, the Führer stated with reference to Turkey:

Even in peacetime it was bad enough that the German alliance policy, for want of any aggressive intentions of our own, ended in a defensive union of ancient states, pensioned by world history. The alliance with Austria as well as Turkey had little to be said for them. While the greatest military and industrial states on earth banded into an active aggressive union, we collected a few antique, impotent state formations and with this decaying rubbish attempted to face an active world coalition. Germany received a bitter accounting for this error in foreign policy.  

This was the view that Nazi Germany took toward the Turkish Republic during the twelve years of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Germany had a deep economic interest in Turkey. However, it did not overshadow Hitler's basic premise that to be drawn too closely in that direction at the expense of forming a strong alliance with Great Britain or Italy could be disastrous if another world conflict exploded.

1. Adolph Hitler, Mein Kampf, (Boston, 1943), 657.
In the following chapters a study is made of the
relations between the Third Reich and the Turkish Repub­
lic. The subject is approached topically in an effort to
isolate what the author believes are the most important
events of the twelve years from the standpoint of Berlin.
Running throughout the pages is the question: Did the
Reich use Turkey to the utmost advantage? I believe it
did.
CHAPTER I

GERMAN AND TURKISH ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE BALKANS

1933 - 1941

Prior to the advent of the Third Reich in 1933, the Balkan countries were searching for a way to guarantee their boundaries against encroachment by an outside power. The initial step in reaching this goal was to effect a suitable rapprochement between the states. Throughout the 1920's and the early part of the 1930's numerous treaties, generally bilateral, were concluded. Turkey had signed, by 1933, friendship or commercial treaties

1 Since the First World War, the Balkans have consisted of Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Albania, Rumania and Bulgaria.

2 For a list of the various treaties, see Robert J. Kerner and Harry N. Howard, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente: 1930-1935, (Berkeley, 1936), 21-2. [Hereafter cited as Kerner, Balkan Conferences.]
with Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. However, these and the various other treaties did not remove the noticeable measure of distrust existing between the various Balkan powers.

On February 9, 1934, the Balkan Entente, or Pact, was signed by Turkey, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. The precise aim of the Entente was to guarantee Balkan frontiers against invasion by a Balkan state, specifically Bulgaria, either acting by itself or in combination with an outside power. The weakness of the Entente was evident from the start. A protocol, signed along with the Entente but kept secret, stipulated that if a signatory were attacked by a non-Balkan power and later assisted by a Balkan power, the Entente members would be obliged to go to war against the aggressors. However, Russia and Italy, the two countries most interested in the Balkans, were assured by Turkey and Greece respectively that this section would not operate against them if they invaded a Balkan state.

The Wilhelmstrasse viewed the formation of the Balkan Entente with considerable suspicion. Although Berlin was not in a position to influence directly the Entente, it did not favor the principle of Balkan cooperation.

3 Kerner, Balkan Conferences, 22.
4 Altemur Kilic, Turkey and the World, (Washington, 1959), 52-3. [Hereafter cited as Kilic, Turkey.]
5 Theodore I. Geshkoff, Balkan Union: A Road to Peace in Eastern Europe, (New York, 1941), 212. [Hereafter cited as Geshkoff, Balkan Union.]
eastern Europe was an important trade area which the Nazis did not wish to lose, and as Germany grew stronger it took a more negative view of the Entente. 6

In an attempt to quiet Germany's doubts about the Entente, Tewfik Aras7 called on German Foreign Minister Konstantin von Neurath8 in Berlin. Aras told Neurath that, contrary to what certain "channels" were saying, the Turkish government was not pursuing an anti-German policy in adhering to the Balkan Entente. Turkey supported the alliance of the Balkan States because it believed peace in the Balkans would be best guaranteed by this pact, and with it the peace of the European continent. 9

On March 7, 1936, Hitler addressed the Reichstag and announced the decision to remilitarize the Rhineland. The shock of his speech was felt throughout Europe. In commenting on Turkey's reaction to the announcement, the Foreign Secretary, Numan Menemencioglu,10 said that though his

6 Kilic, Turkey, 51.
7 Tewfik Rüştü Aras, (1883- ). Turkish Foreign Minister 1925-1938; twice President of the League of Nations Assembly; resigned as Foreign Minister after the election of Ismet Inönü as President; Turkish Ambassador to Great Britain 1938-1942.
9 U. S. Department of State, Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, Series C, III, 700-02. [Hereafter cited as D.G.F.P., Series C.]
10 Numan Menemencioglu, General Secretary of the Turkish Foreign Office, 1937-mid-1942; Foreign Minister 1942-1944.
government sympathized with Germany's action, the question of utmost importance to Turkey was whether or not it constituted a threat to world peace. In this respect, the Turks were interested in the effect, if any, remilitarization would have on the Locarno Pact. Menemencioglu refused to take a definite stand in advance of the League's decision, saying that as a non-Locarno power, Turkey should let the directly concerned countries decide.

During this period, the basis of Turkish policy in the Balkans was friendship with Greece, followed by good relations with Yugoslavia. In 1937, diplomatic relations existed between these countries, but they were not extremely close because of Turkish and Greek fear of an expansionist Yugoslavia. This feeling of uneasiness on the part of Turkey and Greece developed after the signing of the Belgrade Pact between Italy and Yugoslavia on March 25, 1937, and both the Italian and Yugoslavian governments were well aware of the fact.

11 The Locarno Pact was a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy signed October 16, 1925. Its primary object was to safeguard the status quo in Europe. For the text of the treaty, see Alexander Baltzly (ed.), Readings in Twentieth-Century European History, (New York, 1950), 172-74. [Baltzly, Readings.]


13 Galeazzo Ciano, Ciano's Diplomatic Papers, 1936-1942, (London, 1948), 102-03. [Hereafter cited as Ciano, Diplomatic Papers.]

14 Ibid., 152-53.
In November 1937, German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop held talks with Mussolini and Italian Foreign Minister Ciano over Italy's aims toward Turkey. Ribbentrop described Turkish concern over the Italian attitude, adding that Turkey would be a good card in Italy's hand. Mussolini denied that his government held any hard feelings towards the Turks and referred the German Foreign Minister to the Turkish-Italian Treaty of 1928. Further, Mussolini requested Ribbentrop to inform Ankara that under the right conditions, the Italian government would be willing to strengthen the treaty.

On March 12, 1938, the German army occupied Vienna in the Nazis' first move in the direction of the Balkans and Turkey. The reaction in Ankara came during the first week in April when the Turkish President, Kemal Ataturk,

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17 Count Galeazzo Ciano, (1903-1944). Mussolini's son-in-law; Italian Foreign Minister 1936-1943; Ambassador to the Vatican 1943; executed in January 1944.

18 Ciano, Diplomatic Papers, 145-46. According to Ciano, the treaty of neutrality and conciliation between Italy and Turkey, signed in Rome May 30, 1928, was automatically renewed every five years, unless denounced after six months notice had been given.

19 Ibid., 145-46.

20 Kemal Ataturk, (1881-1938). Also known as Mustafa Kemal, Military Commander during World War I. Elected President of the Turkish National Assembly 1920; served as Turkey's first President 1923-1938.
instructed the Turkish Ambassador in Germany, Hamdi Arpag, to inform Berlin of Turkey's political position. The Ambassador explained to Ribbentrop that his country's policies rested on a three-fold basis: the Peace of Lausanne, preservation of national security, and the Turkish National Pact of Ankara. Accordingly, Turkey followed a policy of neutrality toward all sides. The Ambassador mentioned his government's friendly ties with the Balkan Pact and other surrounding countries. But most emphatically, Turkey considered as her friends - first, Germany, then England, Russia, the United States and Italy. Arpag carefully pointed out that Turkey was trying to keep out of all coalitions and, most importantly, to refrain from any harmful act against a friendly country. Ribbentrop answered that Germany also desired good relations with Turkey.

About one year later, Germany made another military stride toward the Balkan peninsula. On March 14, 1939, Germany occupied Czechoslovakia causing the collapse of the Little Entente. Turkey became deeply concerned now

21 The Turkish Ambassador to Germany.

22 U. S. Department of State, Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, Series D, V, 719-20. [Hereafter cited as D.G.F.P., Series D.] The Turkish National Pact was a statement of the principles of the National Turkish Revolution, such as self-determination, the opening of the Straits, etc. It was adopted on January 28, 1920.

23 Ibid., 719-20.

24 Originally, a triangular set of agreements signed in 1920-1921 between the three major states of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and
with the future of the Balkan Entente. The protective zone interposed between Turkey and the major European powers by the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact had received a fatal blow, and the Turks began looking for a way to strengthen their Balkan defenses.

With talk of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia still on the lips of Europe's diplomats, the Italians, on April 7, invaded Albania. In a matter of days, Mussolini's forces occupied that mountainous country providing them with a springboard to Yugoslavia, Greece, and perhaps Turkey. The Turkish government viewed the situation with considerable alarm. It was regarded in some circles, not as an isolated action, but as the beginning of a major Italian offensive directed toward a break-through to the Aegean. Rumors and reports circulated that the Italians were reinforcing their garrisons in the Dodecanese. Later these reports were proven false, but this did not lessen Turkey's watchfulness of Italian movements.  

When the new German Ambassador to Turkey, Franz von Papen, arrived in April, 1939, he was immediately

Rumania. On February 16, 1933, it was formalized with a pact of organization signed at Geneva. See J. B. Hoptner, Yugoslavia in Crisis: 1934-1941, (New York, 1962), 11. [Hereafter cited as Hoptner, Yugoslavia.]


26 Franz von Papen, (1879- ). German Chancellor 1932; Vice-Chancellor under Hitler 1933; Ambassador to Austria 1936-1938; Ambassador to Turkey 1939-1944; imprisoned at Nürnberg but freed in 1946 by International Tribunal; later imprisoned by German denazification court; released 1949.
confronted with questions by the Turkish Foreign Ministry as to the intentions of the Germans. Papen denied German support of the Italian invasion and promised to ask Hitler to influence Italian policy in the Balkans.\footnote{Papen, Memoirs, 445-46. For an opposing opinion, see Bullock, Hitler, 507.} The Ambassador immediately sent a telegram to Hitler and Ribbentrop in which he stated the fear and apprehension of the Turkish government. The German Foreign Office took immediate note of the situation and informed the Italian government that a statement of its intentions in the Balkans should be relayed to Turkey. Thus, on May 3, Ciano gave the Turkish Ambassador assurances that Italy had "neither economic, political, nor territorial aims with respect to his country."\footnote{Galeazzo Ciano, The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943, (New York, 1946), 77-9. [Hereafter cited as Ciano, Diaries.]} The Germans now considered other implications of the Albanian invasion, that is, the distinct possibility that Turkey might be driven into the camp of the Allies. This was particularly dangerous if one viewed Turkey's geographical worth as Papen did when he stated in a telegram to Berlin:

\begin{quote}
Turkey is the key to the military situation in the Near East. Whichever side is denied the use of her territory as a base for operations can rule out the idea of domination of the Middle East.\footnote{Papen, Memoirs, 447. The possibility of this happening is also stated in D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 228.}
\end{quote}
In his initial meetings with the Turkish president, Ismet Inönü, Papen warned the Turks that the German government might change its friendly attitude toward their country if they associated themselves with the Western Powers. The Ambassador added that Germany expected strict neutrality from Turkey in the event of war in the Balkans. Inönü assured Papen that the Turks did not have a hostile attitude toward Germany but added that Turkey must look to its own security.

In June 1939, during a conversation with Papen, Menemencioglu explained the Turkish position in the event of an outbreak of hostilities. The Turks would take an active role in any conflict involving the Mediterranean, because it was in their best interests that neither Great Britain nor Italy gain hegemony. An invasion of Yugoslavia would not concern Turkey as long as Bulgaria did not take part. However, this would not be the case if Rumania were invaded and its Black Sea coast occupied, for then Turkey's sphere of interest would be infringed. Overall, the Turks desired the complete neutrality of the Balkans in the event of a war in northern Europe. Turkey firmly hoped that the Balkan Pact would not be used as a means for the great powers to bring the member states into a war.

31 D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 364.
32 Ibid., 764-65.
The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August 23, 1939, followed closely by the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, was a bombshell on Turkey's illusions that it might insure its boundaries by utilization of the natural animosity between the Nazis and the Communists. Now, however, the Turks had good reason to fear that the next move of either power might be at the expense of Turkey. The inadequacy and uselessness of the various treaties with the Balkan countries also became evident. As a result, the Turkish government continued to stress neutrality which was in line with Berlin's views.\[^33\]

There was some talk in Berlin that Turkey might back the action of Great Britain in declaring war on Germany in view of their mutual interests expressed in the Anglo-Turkish Declaration of May 12, 1939.\[^34\] But it soon became evident that popular Turkish feeling was to avoid war at all costs. The Turks would not even say if they would oppose Italy should the Italians enter the war. All that the Turkish Foreign Office stated on this question was: "if Italy entered the war, Turkey would act according to her own interests."\[^35\]

\[^34\] The Declaration provided that negotiations should take place between the two countries with the aim of reaching a reciprocal security pact. Moreover, while the negotiation was taking place, the two powers would co-operate "in the event of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean." See Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, Diplomat in Peace and War, (London, 1949), 147. [Hereafter cited as Knatchbull-Hugessen, Diplomat.]
\[^35\] D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 440.
During the German campaign in Poland, Berlin adopted a policy favoring the status quo in the Balkans. In a conversation with Ciano in Berlin, Hitler stated that, at least in the present situation, the neutral position taken by the Balkan countries was useful. He did not believe anything serious was going to happen in that area in the near future, but should a state, such as Rumania, alter its present position, he would advocate an attack with the aid of Russia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Actually, Hitler's opinion of the power of the small countries was summed up in his statement to a group of German military commanders prior to the war:

The small countries do not frighten me. After Kemal's death, Turkey will be ruled by morons and half idiots. Carol of Rumania is a thoroughly corrupt slave of his sexual desires. The King of Belgium and the Northern kings are weak puppets, depending on the good digestion of their over-fed and tired peoples.

As the period of the "Phony War" drew to a close and Germany readied its armed forces for the invasion of France, a question arose concerning Turkey's position if Italy came into the war. Menemencioglu stated that above all Turkey hoped Italy would stay out of the war. However,

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36 Ciano, Diplomatic Papers, 314-15. Hitler was especially interested in the attitude of Rumania because of reported attempts by the Allies to enlist her support. See Ibid., 308.

should Italy enter the conflict, Turkey would not disavow its obligations under the Tripartite Pact. \(^{38}\) If Italy did not attack the Balkans, the Turks would not take an active part, but would allow Allied warships to use some ports. This non-action, Turkey hoped, would spare the Balkans from the ravages of war. Germany was in accord with this attitude and emphasized to Papen that it be supported with the hope of effectively resisting further Allied pressure. \(^{39}\)

After the German invasion of France, May 10, 1940, the Allies increased the pressure to draw Turkey into the war, thereby diverting any possible Italian operations in southern France. Papen and the German Ambassador to Rome, Mackensen, \(^{40}\) considered bringing joint German-Italian pressure on Turkey to insure its neutrality. But this idea was abandoned after Ribbentrop telegraphed that such an action would be neither "expedient nor necessary in the present situation." \(^{41}\) Evidently, this decision was based on the stunning German successes in northern France.

With German victory in France imminent, Italy, on June 10, declared war on the Allies. Turkey was now faced

\(^{38}\) Signed in Ankara on October 19, 1939, between England, France, and Turkey, this was the result of negotiations following the Anglo-Turkish Declaration of May 12, 1939, and is discussed in Chapter VI.

\(^{39}\) \(\text{D.G.F.P.}, \text{Series D, IX, 200.}\)

\(^{40}\) Hans-Georg von Mackensen, (1883-1947). German Minister in Hungary 1933-1938; Ambassador in Italy 1943.

\(^{41}\) \(\text{D.G.F.P.}, \text{Series D, IX, 443-44.}\)
with the choice of declaring war on Italy in accordance with the Tripartite Pact, or maintaining neutrality. In view of its ill-equipped armed forces, the Turkish government chose the side of neutrality. Great Britain, realizing it could do little to aid the Turkish cause, accepted the decision to remain neutral.\(^42\)

The Axis was now virtually supreme in Europe with the exception of the Iberian peninsula, the Balkan states and Russia. It was natural, therefore, that Germany develop a stronger line towards the Balkan peninsula. Papen reiterated to Inönü the importance of Germany's position as the paramount European military power. And in expectation of an early German victory in Great Britain, the German Ambassador stated Berlin's bafflement that Turkey was still playing the English game."\(^43\)

On October 28, 1940, Italy invaded Greece. The Greeks reacted by calling on Great Britain to honor its commitment of April 1939 to defend the sovereignty of Greece. Without hesitation, the British government sent four squadrons of aircraft and a military mission to Greece.\(^44\) According to the terms of the Balkan Pact, Turkey was under no obligation to enter the conflict unless Italy was aided by a

\(^{42}\) Knatchbull-Hugessen, Diplomat, 167.

\(^{43}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, X, 488-89.

power within the Balkans. Nevertheless, the Turks were in an embarrassing position, considering the close ties between the two countries. Clearly now, it was the decision of the Axis whether or not the Turkish government would be able to maintain a neutral position.

The Italian venture in Greece did not have the blessing of Hitler. Hitler had not planned on operations in this area, but with the Italian reverses in the face of the combined forces of Greece and Great Britain, the Führer had little choice but to aid the Italian armies. On November 12, Hitler issued Directive No. 18 which concerned, in part, preparatory measures to be taken in advance of German military operations in the Balkans. In the directive Berlin instructed the operational planning staff to take into account possible Turkish military activities when forming the approximate ten divisions for operations in the Balkans.

By the latter part of November, Turkey was still clinging to the role of a neutral. The reverses suffered by the Italians created a new problem for the Turkish government, namely, what would be the reaction on the part

\(^{45}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, XI, 408-09. Turkey was most suspicious of Bulgaria.

\(^{46}\) The ironic aspect of the invasion was that "His own system of presenting his partner with a fait accompli had turned into a boomerang." Papen, Memoirs, 464.

of the Reich if the Italians were driven out of Greece, or Albania, or both? When confronted with these queries, Papen disregarded such possibilities and asked Menemencioglu the Turkish position. Menemencioglu simply repeated that Turkey would act only to protect her interests.

Throughout this period, both sides made numerous attempts to obtain Turkey's allegiance. The British Foreign Office felt that unless it did something quickly, Turkey would surely be absorbed by the Germans. Thus, the British requested Turkey and Yugoslavia to make a joint declaration to Bulgaria that they would declare war on the Bulgars if German troops were allowed to cross their territory. The British Foreign Office was unsuccessful. The Turks were well aware of their weak military position in the Balkans, and there was no reason for a belligerent policy when aid from Britain would nowhere approach their needs.

Hitler moved one step closer to action in the Balkans when, on December 13, 1940, he issued Directive No. 20, Operation Marita. In this directive, he assigned the Bulgarian forces the task of providing flank protection along the Turkish-Bulgarian border while the German armed forces invaded Greece. He also made provisions for German

48 D.G.F.P., Series D, XI, 702-03.
50 Trevor-Roper, Blitzkrieg, 46-8.
forces to be ready if Turkey should make a move. The fate of the Balkans was soon to be decided.

During January 1941, Great Britain offered Greece more troops and arms. Much to the surprise of the British, the Greeks declined the offer. The Greek government reasoned that a further build-up might cause the Germans to attack. The Germans, however, did not slow their troop movements into Rumania, much to the consternation of both the Greeks and the Turks. Ribbentrop used the movements in an attempt to bring the Turkish government into a position of guaranteed neutrality. He instructed Papen to inform the Turks that the number of troops in Rumania was sufficient to meet any eventuality in the Balkans. Further, if they should happen to call these forces into play, such action could be tantamount to the destruction of the Turkish state. On the other hand, Foreign Minister Ribbentrop stressed that the Reich had no intention of deliberately attacking Turkey, nor would it violate Turkey's Thracian frontier, as long as the Turks remained neutral.

In Operation Marita the Germans planned to enter Greece through its Bulgarian frontier. Papen knew that the German troop movement through Bulgaria would not be welcomed in Turkey unless assurances were given that Turkish sovereignty would be respected and that the troops would

\[52\] D.G.F.P., Series D, XI, 1105-06.
stay at least twenty miles from the Turkish-Bulgarian border. Papen reported this information to Hitler and advised the Führer to send a personal letter to the Turkish President İnönü stating what route the Wehrmacht would follow if the Reich advanced on Greece.

On February 27, Papen received a telegram from Ribbentrop stating that the Bulgarians would accede to the Tripartite Pact on March 1 and that the entry of German troops into Bulgaria was imminent. The Ambassador was instructed to inform the Turkish government of these facts on February 28. Papen was also told to notify the Turkish President that the Führer was transmitting to him a personal letter clearly explaining Germany's actions in the Balkans.

On March 1, 1941, the Turkish President received the message from Hitler. In the communique, Hitler discussed the unfortunate circumstances which necessitated the German involvement in the Balkans. The Führer stated that the Third Reich had no territorial ambitions in that area, and promised to withdraw the Wehrmacht as soon as the danger was eliminated. Further, Hitler guaranteed that German units traversing Bulgaria would remain an adequate distance

53 Papen, Memoirs, 471.
54 Originally, the pact cementing the Rome-Berlin and Tokyo-Berlin Axis. For a copy of the agreement, see Baltzly, Readings, 417-18.
from the Turkish frontier. In reply, President İnönü stated that if the German forces had to become involved, Turkey would not object as long as Turkish territorial rights were not infringed. Hitler was extremely pleased with İnönü's position. He felt that the Reich could now discount any Turkish action in the current situation.

As the time for the implementation of Operation Marita drew closer, the German government encountered difficulties from another Balkan state - Yugoslavia. In the first week of March, Yugoslavia's Prince Regent Paul visited Berchtesgaden. Hitler, in an effort to get Yugoslavia to accede to the Tripartite Pact, offered the Regent the Greek city of Salonika. On March 25, the Yugoslav government signed the Tripartite Pact in Vienna. However, on the night of March 26-27, a number of Yugoslav officers rebelled against the pro-Nazi leanings of their government and affected a coup d'état in Belgrade. Hitler was furious. He immediately issued Directive No. 25 with the dual purpose of crushing Yugoslavia as quickly as possible.

56 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 201-03. The "unfortunate circumstances" referred to the involvement of Great Britain. Ibid., 309.
57 Ibid., 286-87.
and showing Turkey the futility of opposing Germany with force.\textsuperscript{61}

Following orders from the Wilhelmstrasse, Ambassador Papen informed the Turkish government on April 6, 1941, that the Third Reich had been forced to take military measures in both Greece and Yugoslavia. He explained that this action had been caused, first by the continual buildup of British forces in Greece,\textsuperscript{62} and second by the illegal coup d'\textit{état} in Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{63}

While Papen was enumerating the reasons for German involvement, the invasions of Yugoslavia and Greece were taking place. By April 13, Belgrade had fallen to the Nazis, and four days later, the rest of Yugoslavia capitulated. On April 24, the Greek government surrendered and the British began to evacuate in the direction of Crete. Hitler then issued Directive No. 28, Operation Mercury, for the conquest of that island.\textsuperscript{64} Mercury was launched on May 20, 1941, and within six days, Crete was controlled by the Third Reich. With the sole exception of European Turkey, the Axis now controlled the Balkans.

\textsuperscript{61} Trevor-Roper, \textit{Blitzkrieg}, 60-2.

\textsuperscript{62} The Greeks' desire that further British military reinforcements be halted, as mentioned on Page 18, was reversed after the German concentrations in Bulgaria became evident.

\textsuperscript{63} D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 481.

\textsuperscript{64} Trevor-Roper, \textit{Blitzkrieg}, 68-9.
Throughout the 1930's, the Third Reich tried to keep the Balkans as divided as possible. The Nazis believed that if the peninsula could be prevented from forming a united front against outside intervention, then it would be more easily exploited economically and politically. Turkey, on the other hand, continually searched for ways to strengthen the Balkan Entente and keep foreign influence out of southeastern Europe. However, Turkey's attempts were largely fruitless for two reasons: the distrust that the Balkan states felt for each other, and the fear created by expansionist-minded Russia and Italy.

German influence increased in the Balkans prior to World War II, especially in Rumania and Bulgaria. Berlin did not make any military moves into the peninsula during 1939-40, because it felt at that time that those countries were neither strategically important nor did they pose a threat. The Reich mainly desired that the Balkan states adopt a position of neutrality, the more "benevolent" the better.

Italy's disastrous invasion of Greece and the Yugoslavian coup d'état caused the Third Reich to intervene militarily in the southeast. Turkey was the only Balkan country able to remain neutral throughout this period. And the Turks accomplished this partly through their own maneuverings, but largely because the German Wehrmacht was destined for Operation Barbarossa.
CHAPTER II

GERMANY'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH TURKEY

1933 - 1944

When the Nazis gained control of Germany's politics in 1933, the economy had recovered very little from its low point of the depression. The economic policy prior to the advent of Hitler consisted mainly of government spending and other money measures aimed at increasing employment and income. Accompanying this was strict control of wages and prices in the hope that the impact of increased public expenditures would be on employment and output rather than on wages or prices. The National Socialists did not change this basic strategy; rather they tried to make it more effective. Government expenditures were increased, and the controls over prices, wages, and foreign exchange were
tightened. Thus, Nazi policy could not be considered a basic change in Germany's economic policy.\(^1\)

In 1934, Germany's balance of trade dropped to a dangerous low. The gold and foreign exchange in the country's coffers were almost depleted. At this point, Economic Minister Schacht\(^2\) introduced his famous New Plan to guarantee the necessary imports. The New Plan dissolved the system of foreign exchange allotment and substituted an arrangement whereby every import transaction was subject to the approval of the proper supervisory office. The aims of the New Plan were three: (1) to cut imports to what Germany could buy with foreign exchange, (2) to channel German purchases only to the countries that bought equal amounts from them, (3) to give preference to the import of certain commodities, especially those vitally connected with rearmament.

It also set up twenty-seven control boards whose function it was to help determine the value and sources of the various imports and issue instructions as to where they were to go within the domestic market. The boards were used as a tool in the bargaining for more favorable bilateral agreements. In addition, they were to try

\(^1\) Burton H. Klein, Germany's Economic Preparation for War, (Cambridge, 1959), 6. [Hereafter cited as Klein, Economic Preparation.]

\(^2\) Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht, (1877- ). President of Reichsbank 1933-1939; Economic Minister 1933-1938.
restricting, as much as possible, imports to countries with which Germany had clearing agreements. This made it possible for Germany to pay for foreign goods in Reichsmarks rather than in foreign exchange. Along with this policy was another designed to restrict purchases from each non-clearing country to the actual amount of goods that Germany exported to that country. The larger states, and those not dependent on German goods, could retaliate by restricting purchases from Germany. But for the others, there was little choice. This was particularly true in the Balkans.  

The clearing agreements, or bilateral trade agreements, had been created prior to the Hitler regime as a means of overcoming the extreme exchange difficulties in the various countries in South America and southeastern Europe. The arrangements were complex since the monies arising out of the agreements were available only for bilateral trade and thus segregated into special accounts. In order to increase the demand for their goods, the Germans bought from clearing countries far above the world prices. Or they fixed special rates of exchange for the Reichsmark below the official rate and sometimes subsidized their exports. The Germans gained from these arrangements, as did many of their trading partners.  

3 Maxine Y. Sweezy, The Structure of the Nazi Economy, (Cambridge, 1941), 117-18. [Hereafter cited as Sweezy, Nazi Economy.]  

In the Balkans, Germany was often the creditor in the trade agreements. If one of the countries could not pay for German imports in foreign exchange, the Reichsbank would establish a special account for the central bank of the particular government. For the special account, the amounts German importers paid for the goods shipped into Germany were added, and the expenditures of German exporters were subtracted. The foreign country discharged its obligation at its central bank in domestic currency, and that bank settled the account at the Reichsbank.\(^5\)

Through these agreements, Nazi Germany extended its sphere of economic and political influence in the Balkans. The economic plight of this area aided the German effort to garner them into the bilateral trading system, for the Nazis tended to push trade with the weaker countries forcing dependence. The reason also existed, perhaps high in German minds, that trade in the Balkan area could more easily remain accessible in time of war.\(^6\)

A smaller country, such as Turkey, once caught in the clearing network, could hardly escape without help from a large nation. Initially, Germany bought the available surplus and sold in return imports actually needed by the small country. As time went by and the state became more dependent on Germany because of the clearing agreement, it

\(^5\) Sweezy, _Nazi Economy_, 115.

\(^6\) _Ibid._, 121.
had to take what Germany could spare and sell only those things Germany wanted.  

Germany's trade with Turkey had been on the increase prior to the rise of Hitler. One reason was the close association they had had during World War I, but more important was the confidence the Turks felt in German products, and, conversely, the German need for Turkish raw materials such as chromite ore. The Nazi government and the manipulations of Dr. Schacht helped to further trade between the two countries. Between 1933 and 1936, of the total Turkish exports, Germany's share rose from nineteen to fifty-one per cent. As a result, the sums owed by Germany to Turkey had reached a level equal to more than the total German clearing debts to the entire Balkan area.

In April 1936, Numan Menemencioglu of the Turkish Foreign Office met with members of the German Ministry in Turkey to discuss what could be done about the situation, at least from the Turkish standpoint. Menemencioglu said the increase in Turkish exports to Germany had caused a decline in exports to other countries; consequently,

7 Sweezy, Nazi Economy, 122.

8 The principal ore from which chromium is derived. Due to its harshness, surpassed only by the diamond in its non-tarnishing properties and in its resistance to corrosion and heat, it is indispensable for steel of unusual toughness as required in armor plate, gun barrels, aircraft engines, ship machinery, etc. Turkey exported the raw material.

9 Ernst Jäckh, The Rising Crescent, (New York, 1944), 241. [Hereafter cited as Jäckh, Rising Crescent.]
several states were now waiting payment for shipments to Turkey. However, because of the lack of foreign exchange, Turkey was unable to meet her debts. Furthermore, Turkey's high credit balance with Germany had the undesirable effect of restricting the Turkish government's freedom of action in commercial policy, for it had been compelled in the case of almost all orders to attempt having them placed in Germany. As a result, Germany had become too strong commercially in Turkey. The Turkish delegation, therefore, declared that the only way Turkey would be able to carry on her present exchange of goods with Germany would either be for the Germans to pay a proportion of their liabilities in foreign exchange, or to ship the goods, paid for by Turkey through the clearing account, to third countries to which Turkey owed the foreign exchange.\footnote{D.G.F.P., Series C, V, 452.}

In reply, the Germans said definitely their government could not entertain the question of a favorable balance in foreign exchange. Although the second proposal did not seem to be a practical solution, they would submit the idea to their government. Menemencioglu then mentioned that he hoped to talk to Schacht concerning the aforementioned ideas when he met with him later in the year in Berlin.\footnote{Ibid., 453.}

In the meetings that followed, Turkey showed an inclination not only to maintain the exchange of goods between
Germany and Turkey at the same level but to increase it. The Germans did not raise any basic objections, and trade agreements were soon concluded to the general satisfaction of both countries. The main significance of these meetings was that the question of the balance of foreign exchange was brought to the fore, as was the question of German economic dominance in the Turkish Republic. These two issues were to play a major role during the following eight years of economic and commercial relations.

By 1937, Germany had succeeded in becoming the number-one purchaser within the Balkan countries. In terms of actual value, foodstuffs bulked largest in the exports, but most important to the Germans was the acquisition of several scarce metals. Turkey supplied the Nazis with large quantities of raw wool, raw cotton, as well as with skins, cereals, and dried fruits. But of all the goods Turkey exported to Germany, of prime importance was the ferro-alloy chromite. From 1933 to the end of 1937, chromite exports of the southeastern countries to Germany increased from 14,000 tons to 79,000 tons. Turkey was the leading source, accounting in 1937 for around thirty percent of German supplies. This percentage was equal to seventy percent of Turkey's total export of chromite.  

12 Klein, Economic Preparation, 61-2.
During this same year, Great Britain and France (particularly Great Britain) became interested in the economic situation in Turkey, partly as an effort to counteract the predominant influence of Germany in that area. But Great Britain was limited in the degree of pressure it could apply to the Turks, both because of their self-sufficiency as far as the maintenance of their standard of living was concerned and because of the inroads of the Germans in the areas of trade, capital, and technical aid.\textsuperscript{14} In 1937, Great Britain, in particular, and France supplied a mere fourteen per cent of the total Turkish imports and received just eighteen per cent, while Germany supplied forty-four per cent and took thirty-nine per cent.\textsuperscript{15} With these facts in mind and cognizant of the growing power of the Nazis in Europe, the British government saw Turkey as a strategically important position from which it might be able to exert considerable economic pressure on Germany. Thus, during the following year, Great Britain strengthened its position in Turkey by negotiating agreements establishing a large credit in favor of the Turks and enabling the Turkish government to order war material on credit terms.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14} Medlicott, \textit{Economic Blockade}, I, 269.
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, 270.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid.}, 270.
Prior to the economic negotiations with Turkey in 1937, the Germans viewed seriously their large unfavorable balance in clearing payments evidenced by the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports (In millions of Reichsmarks)</th>
<th>Exports (In millions of Reichsmarks)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>118.5</td>
<td>79.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These payments had developed a balance of 91,000,000 Reichsmarks\(^{18}\) in favor of Turkey and, by clogging the clearing system, threatened to paralyze the entire exchange of goods. To counteract this trend, the Germans deprived the Turks of the right to export unlimited quantities to Germany and cut the German imports from Turkey to about sixty per cent of those of the previous year. This arrangement had such excellent results for the Germans that from September 1937 to March 1938 the balance was shifted by 90,000,000 Reichsmarks. By the time new negotiations between the countries began in 1938, the balance in favor of Turkey had been entirely eliminated and in fact had shifted in favor of Germany.\(^{19}\)

\(^{17}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, V, 724.

\(^{18}\) In 1931 the Reichsmark was worth $0.4033 in United States dollars. This was the approximate value to 1945. Irvine E. Eastman (ed.), *World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1945*, (New York, 1946).

\(^{19}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, V, 724.
On June 30, 1938, German negotiator Karl Clodius and Menemencioglu began their discussions in Berlin for the new trade agreement. The Germans were in a very advantageous position because of the favorable balance of trade and could now easily concede an increase in Turkish exports, plus extending a large credit. Further, the Germans could see possible political significance in the negotiations, particularly because of Great Britain's efforts to eliminate German influence in Turkey, especially in the economic sphere. Berlin considered the agreement between Great Britain and Turkey as an attempt on the part of the Turks to prevent the danger of too great an economic dependence on Germany.

It was evident to the Germans from the outset that the Turks desired a considerable increase of trade, with the prime idea of regaining a favorable balance. The method proposed to accomplish this was that both parties lift all restrictions on imports. The Germans waivered but finally agreed. They reasoned that, since the imports from Turkey included a very large proportion of vitally important goods, such an arrangement would be to their advantage. Thus, imports were unrestricted on both sides for the next treaty year.

20 Karl Clodius. German diplomat: expert in economics concerning the Balkans.
22 Ibid., 733. The treaty was to run from September 1, 1938 to August 31, 1939.
In former years, Turkey had been promised a guaranteed rate of exchange for the sums credited to it in the German clearing house. The Turks wanted to maintain the 1937 level of 28,000,000 Reichsmarks, but the sum was reduced to 26,000,000 Reichsmarks through the insistence of the Germans that the higher level was, in principle, bad for their trade negotiations with other countries.  

In view of the agreements between Great Britain and Turkey and the known fact that the Turks had given the British definite commitments as to what raw materials they would send to cover the credits granted, Germany demanded at least equal treatment. The Turkish delegation was reluctant to grant this point. But since Germany was Turkey's best customer by far, the Turks finally guaranteed at least the same deliveries of ores and wheat as had been exported in 1937. Menemencioglu further stated that he would try to provide for an increase in the export of chromite ore from the 65,000 tons of 1937 to 100,000 tons in the coming years. This statement seemed to quiet any fears that the Turks planned to reduce trade with the Germans and gravitate towards Great Britain.

The Turkish negotiators stressed the importance of the two countries understanding that during the following treaty year, war materials would be delivered through the

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23 D.G.F.P., Series D, V, 733.
24 Ibid., 733-34.
clearing system. Germany realized that Turkey did not have the foreign exchange to buy war materials otherwise and felt, economically and militarily, that this policy was desirable. The countries agreed on this point for the duration of the treaty.25

At the conclusion of the treaty on July 25, 1938, Germany felt it had successfully countered Great Britain's move of the previous May. However, it came to the attention of the German Foreign Office that the French were soon to offer Turkey a considerable trade credit in the near future. The Germans realized that this offer, along with that of the British, could go a long way in undermining Germany's economic position in Turkey. And to a larger extent, it was regarded by the Economics Ministry "as a part of the economic offensive against Germany launched in south-east Europe and the Middle East by France and Great Britain."26 Germany immediately offered a credit to Turkey before France could act, hopefully stabilizing the position.

On January 16, 1939, after several months of negotiations over the particulars of the credit agreement, the two countries came to terms. By the agreement, the Germans set up a credit of 150 million Reichsmarks for the payment of industrial orders from the Turks. The time limit on the credit was ten years. By pouring sufficient capital

26 Ibid., 739.
into Turkey, Germany thought it possible to stop any Turkish dependence on British goods.\textsuperscript{27}

With the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Italian invasion of Albania and the conclusion of the Pact of Steel during March, April, and May, 1939, the war tempo in Europe was quickly reaching the breaking point. Germany's economy was not designed for an all-out conflict, and if war broke out, it would have to be short and fast, or more simply stated - a \textit{blitzkrieg}.

In May, the question arose whether Turkish orders for war materials should be delivered. During the first part of the month, Göring informed Weizsäcker\textsuperscript{28} that delivery to the Turks of six 24 cm. guns could not now be considered for military reasons. He added that the Führer agreed with this opinion, and some excuse must be given for non-delivery.\textsuperscript{29} This led to a conference later in the month concerning what policy the Germans should follow in their dealings with the Turks in these matters. It was mentioned that, if the contracts were not fulfilled, especially in cases where Turkish inspectors at the manufacturing plants knew they were ready for shipment, the effects could be disastrous for future economic contracts.

\textsuperscript{27} D.G.F.P., Series D, V, 742.

\textsuperscript{28} Ernst von Weizsäcker, (1882-1951). State Secretary in the German Foreign Office 1938-1943; Ambassador to the Vatican 1943-1945.

\textsuperscript{29} D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 416.
with foreign countries. Clodius pointed out that this
was not the purpose of the conference, but that they were
gathered to examine how the deliveries of the heavy war
materials could be separated from those not as important
in a manner which would create the least friction possible
between Germany and Turkey. With the decision of the
Führer not to continue deliveries of heavy war material,
the committee only suggested that other current delivery
transactions be continued, especially since the country
needed Turkish chromite.\textsuperscript{30}

The Turkish Embassy in Berlin did not waste any time
complaining about the non-delivery of shipments. Clodius
was approached several times by the Turkish Ambassador
who asked questions about the heavy guns and, when the ne­
gotiations for the renewal of the trade agreement were to
begin, Clodius claimed ignorance of the withheld guns,
adding that the Germans were not able to send a delegation
to Ankara at the present. The Germans were trying to keep
the Turks in suspense until they had something definite to
say. Franz von Papen was directed to stall the Turkish
home office on these points. He tried to do this by calling
the Turks' attention to their political attitude toward Ger­
many. This question had arisen in light of the recently
concluded Anglo-Turkish Friendship Treaty.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{D.G.F.P.}, Series D, VI, 581-84.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid.}, 611-12. This treaty was a forerunner of
the Anglo-Turkish-French Tripartite Pact of October 1939.
For further details, see Chapter V.
Throughout the rest of June and July, further economic talks between Berlin and Ankara were at a standstill. The main point of contention was German non-delivery of contracted for war materials. On August 20, with the termination date of the current trade and payments treaty only eleven days away, Germany sent a list of proposals to Turkey hoping the trade agreements could be renewed. The proposals included: (1) cancellation, by mutual consent, of all outstanding armament contracts remaining unfulfilled, (2) non-ratification by Germany of the Credit Agreement of January 16, 1939, envisaging a 60,000,000 Reichsmark credit for arms purchases and continuation of more purely industrial contracts, (3) prolongation of the Payments and Exchange Agreement of July 25, 1938, for a year on condition that the governments agreed on points (1) and (2).\(^{32}\)

Three days later, Papen called on the Turkish Foreign Minister Sükrü Saracoğlu,\(^{33}\) to ask about his government's decision on Berlin's proposal of August 20. The Foreign Minister replied to the effect that if Turkey could not buy in Germany, then Turkey could not supply. Papen attempted to keep the question open by proposing that they at least agree to a month's extension of the current commercial treaty due to expire on August 31.\(^ {34}\) This request

\(^{32}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, VII, 156.

\(^{33}\) Sükrü Saracoğlu, (1890-1953). Foreign Affairs Secretary 1936-1942; Prime Minister 1942-1946.

\(^{34}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, VII, 260-61.
was submitted formally on August 28, but on September 12 Papen reported that Turkey had declined the extension on the basis that it believed in the principle of complete fulfillment of contracts.  

Turkey's action in refusing to renew the trade agreement and in placing all trade with Germany on a compensation basis gave Great Britain the opportunity it was anxiously awaiting. However, it did present a problem in that exports to Germany would be resumed if the Allies were not able to find markets for Turkey's commodities. On September 6, the British Ambassador in Ankara, Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, sent an urgent telegram to London suggesting large purchases of the more important commodities. Since this was the harvest season, he further stated, considerable losses would result if there were no markets, and more important, Great Britain's position in Turkey would be endangered. 

At this same time, the British and French were negotiating with the Turks for the conclusion of a military assistance treaty in the event of aggression by any European power against Turkey. It was concluded on October 19, 1939. The British used this opening to discuss the limitation of chromite exports to Germany. On October 26, the

36 Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, British Ambassador to Turkey 1939-1944.
Turks agreed to cease the export of chromite to the Germans, but they made it a condition that the British government guarantee the purchase of not less than 200,000 tons of chromite each year. The British agreed to the proposals on October 30 only to be faced with a change in Turkish demands. The Turkish government now wanted to add similar guarantees on Turkish exports of tobacco, hazel-nuts, raisins, and figs. These demands impeded negotiations for the Allies knew that they could never completely replace Germany as a market for Turkish exports unless they were prepared to buy the goods and sink them in the sea.

Early in November, the German Foreign Office sent instructions to Papen requesting him to present the following proposals to the Turkish government in the event it still refused to restore the clearing agreement: (1) a comprehensive compensation trade arrangement, and (2) acceptance of (1) would ensure delivery of part of the imports of chromite ore, the rest to be paid for by specific compensations—preferably industrial material other than military arms. Berlin stated that it desired the equal of last year’s chromite ore imports of 80,000 tons but would settle for 60,000 tons. Papen reported on November 9 that the Turkish Foreign Minister seemed agreeable to the German proposal, especially the part in which war materials could possibly be sent in exchange for chromite ore. Turkey

38 Medlicott, Economic Blockade, I, 273.
promised an answer in a few days. It was received on November 17 to the effect that it would enter into negotiations for a general settlement.\textsuperscript{40}

When the discussions began, the Turks drew a clear distinction between chromite ore deliveries and "other" deliveries. They believed chromite was to be delivered only in exchange for war material. The Germans, unwilling to send certain heavy war materials, threatened not to negotiate unless chromite ore was included. However, as the discussions continued, it became evident the Turks were not to be forced into yielding, especially since the British were trying with equal vigor to obtain all the chromite ore for the Allies. The Germans began to see they would get no chromite ore if they made no deliveries of military equipment. Such deliveries could not be promised at the time because of the directive issued the previous May \textsuperscript{41}.

The Germans now had to decide whether further negotiations should be entered into before the chromite ore question was settled, or whether the talks should be completely cancelled at least for the time being. There were several good reasons why Germany should continue the discussions, among them the risk that the other goods of interest such as cotton and olive oil would probably be sold

\textsuperscript{40} D.G.F.P., Series D, VIII, 416.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 455-56.
to Great Britain and the lesser items left to Germany unless they negotiated. But of greater significance was real danger that the Turks would be drawn into the arms of Great Britain if they were ignored. At the London economic negotiations, the Turks made full use of this German eagerness to obtain chromite ore.

Turkey was aware that the Allies were in a better position to grant the heavy war materials desired because of the considerable quantity stockpiled in Great Britain and previously destined for the Polish front. Further, the Turks knew that the Allies were willing to go to almost any lengths to corner the chromite market. Thus, Menemencioglu insisted on certain positive guaranteed purchases before he would agree to the complete withholding of chromite ore from Germany. Finally, on January 8, 1940, in Paris the agreements on chromite and other exports were signed. The chromite agreement was to run for two years with the option to extend it for an additional year. Menemencioglu had tried getting the Allies to contract the purchase of chromite for the next twenty years, but he had to be satisfied with the two-year agreement. Another interesting item was the British desire that considerable amounts of Turkish chromite be marketed in Scandinavia. Turkey agreed with certain limitations.

43 Ibid., 455.
Later events proved the British would have been wiser to have tied up the chromite for a longer period and kept it from going to Scandinavia. 44

The negotiations between Germany and Turkey on items other than chromite had been progressing throughout December 1939. On January 6, 1940, Papen telegraphed Berlin that agreement had been reached with the Turkish Minister of Commerce; in return for the delivery of papers for the goods in customs storage, Turkish products with an approximate total value of 10,000,000 Reichsmarks would be exported. 45 The list included products ranging from olive oil to tobacco. The Germans in return would send industrial goods such as spare parts and railway equipment. A further transaction was concluded later in the month which dealt with virtually the same materials. The German Foreign Office reminded Papen during those negotiations that it was not interested in the greatest volume of trade, but its basic economic interest in Turkey concerned only "concessions in the chromium ore question." 46

The chromite ore situation in German industry was not yet at a critical point. The total mobilization requirement was 12,000 tons of ore per month, and according to the figures of the Reich Office for Iron and Steel the current supplies were adequate for the next thirteen months.

44 Medlicott, Economic Blockade, I, 274-75.
45 D.G.F.P., Series D, VIII, 628.
46 Ibid., 635.
Further, Germany was obtaining chromite ore supplies from Greece, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria equaling another 32,000 tons per year above the current stockpile. The possibility also existed that Russia would provide another 100,000 tons before the end of the year. If Germany received all potential resources, an adequate supply would be assured for the next two years. Germany was also working on separate arrangements to obtain 35,000 tons from Norway and 40,000 tons from Hungary. The interesting aspect about the chromite in Norway and Hungary was that it had been mined in Turkey.\textsuperscript{47}

Berlin was still interested in Turkish chromite but was not interested enough to pay the necessary price. Germany's forthcoming invasion in the west meant that virtually all heavy war materials would be headed towards France. Thus, German policy now was to keep Turkey neutral though still economically connected. Turkey's tripartite pact with France and Great Britain and the economic agreement with the same two countries aroused considerable suspicion in Berlin that Turkey was drifting into the Allied orbit. However, Germany still held one trump card - the Turkish doubt concerning Russia's attitude since the failure of the Russo-Turkish commercial negotiations of October 1939. The Germans hoped this active distrust would forestall any inclination on Turkey's part to join the Allies.\textsuperscript{48} With an

\textsuperscript{47} D.G.F.P., Series D, VIII, 635.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 918.
eye continually on Turkish chromite, Germany worked for a gradual improvement of relations through economic agreements on a moderate scale.

Direct trade between Germany and Turkey fell considerably between August 1939 and July 1940. During 1939, Germany supplied the Turks with fifty per cent of its total imports, but by the middle of 1940 this figure decreased to ten per cent. The primary reason being the failure to come to an agreement after the lapse of the 1938-1939 treaty on August 31, 1939. The principal countries to gain from this situation were the Allies who, as previously mentioned, were able to corner the Turkish chromite market. Germany, however, developed another method to obtain withheld supplies from Turkey through use of its economic connection with other Balkan states.

Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria all had economic relations with Germany and Turkey. Germany had established clearing agreements with these states and had a considerable hold on their economies. Through these countries, the Germans bought Turkish goods ordered specifically for resale to Germany. Great Britain objected strenuously, reminding the Turks of their agreement to prevent such a practice. Turkey justified its actions on the grounds that the assurances had applied to enemy and occupied territory and not to a country such as Hungary. Actually, Turkey was concerned with its own well-being. Since the British could

49 Medlicott, Economic Blockade, I, 610.
not guarantee purchase of the commodities being resold to Germany, no valid reason existed for Turkish producers to suffer.\textsuperscript{50} After the conclusion of the German-Turkish agreement of July 25, 1940, the Germans were not as dependent on this practice. It was, however, still used in relation to certain items such as jute bags.\textsuperscript{51}

The Germans had not been satisfied with the outcome of the earlier economic negotiations of January 1940. The discussions that followed did not yield any notable changes in Turkish attitude until the invasion of France in 1940. The speed of the German victories impressed the Turks and caused them to re-evaluate their relations with Germany. In an interview with Papen, Turkish President İnönü stated "despite their option for the Allies, his government had always wished to maintain friendly relations with old allies."\textsuperscript{52} İnönü added that he desired the conclusion of an economic agreement as a show of Turkish good will. However, the question still remained concerning Turkish reaction to the entry of Italy into the war.\textsuperscript{53} Two days later, Turkey decided to remain neutral. It was thus possible for Germany and Turkey to exchange notes and begin full-scale economic negotiations.

\textsuperscript{50} Medlicott, \textit{Economic Blockade}, I, 607.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 606. More commonly known as gunny sacks.
\textsuperscript{52} D.G.F.P., Series D, IX, 507.
\textsuperscript{53} Under article 2 of the Tripartite Pact, Turkey was obliged to join the Allies if the European war spread to the Mediterranean. The entire treaty can be found in Baltzly, \textit{Readings}, 476-77.
Germany hoped that these talks would include the question of chromite ore, and Turkey had given indications that they well might. Papen, however, on June 14, reported to Berlin that, though such prospects had looked good, İnönü now stated it was impossible because of the firm commitments which Turkey had entered into with the Allies the previous January. The other items in the negotiations were readily agreed upon. The major obstacle to the conclusion of the treaty was Turkish suspicion that the Germans would quickly buy up and export Turkish products but fall into arrears with their own deliveries. The Turks, therefore, submitted a formula by which German goods must arrive in Turkey before the government would give the Turkish exporter permission to ship goods to Germany for the equivalent amount. Papen was hesitant in agreeing to this, but he did include it in the exchange of notes to allay Turkish mistrust.

On July 25, 1940, the German-Turkish commercial agreement was signed. It was to last for one year. According to its terms, the volume of commercial exchange between the two countries was to equal 42,800,000 Reichsmarks. Elaborate lists were devised whereby only designated German goods could be exported in order to obtain certain Turkish goods and vice-versa. All told, both countries were

54 D.G.F.P., Series D, IX, 568.
55 Ibid., 570.
56 Medlicott, Economic Blockade, I, 603.
reasonably satisfied with the outcome. Germany, of course, regretted that chromite had not been included but was relieved that Turkey had decided to remain neutral. The Turks had fared better than the Germans, primarily because they still retained their economic connections with Great Britain concerning several commodities Germany would have liked to pre-empt—most notably chromite. The Turks had also benefitted by the inclusion of finished products from Germany such as locomotive, railway equipment and pharmaceutical products, compared with such raw materials as olive oil, cotton, and similar products they could readily supply.\(^{57}\)

The German conquest of Greece and takeover of virtually all the Balkan peninsula in the spring of 1941 ushered in a new phase of German-Turkish economic relations. Previously, the Turks had the buffer states of Bulgaria and Rumania between themselves and the Third Reich, but now they were faced with a direct threat along their Thracian frontiers. Germany was anxious to cultivate this Turkish neighbor and lead it into close relations with the "New Order," but if this were not possible, at least be assured of Turkish neutrality. The reason for Germany's desire to maintain a friendly Turkey was the planned invasion of Russia. Earlier Hitler had considered either luring the Turks into

the Tripartite Pact\(^{58}\) or forcing them to scrap their alliance with Great Britain. However, with "Barbarossa" to begin in a matter of a few weeks, he would be satisfied with a guarantee of neutrality.\(^{59}\)

Early in May, Hitler called Papen to Berlin and told him to start negotiations for the conclusion of a closer alliance with Turkey. Discussions began in Ankara and a Friendship Treaty was signed on June 5, 1941. The treaty merely stated that both parties would respect the integrity of the other's territory and consult each other "in a friendly spirit in all questions affecting their common interests."\(^{60}\) There was also a secret protocol in which Germany agreed to recognize Turkish sovereignty in the Straits.\(^{61}\) Germany had gained no more than a guarantee of Turkish neutrality.\(^{62}\) At this time, the Germans began to exert pressure on Turkey for the conclusion of an economic agreement that would include the sale of chromite to Germany.

Karl Clodius arrived in Ankara soon after the conclusion of the Friendship Agreement. The prime item on his

\(^{58}\) Not to be confused with the Tripartite Pact previously mentioned between Great Britain, France, and Turkey as this pact was between Germany, Italy, and Japan. For a complete text, see Baltzly, Readings, 417-18.

\(^{59}\) W. L. Langer and E. S. Gleason, The Undeclared War, 1940-1941, (New York, 1953), 511. [Hereafter cited as Langer, Undeclared War.]

\(^{60}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, XI, 938.

\(^{61}\) Germany had not been a signatory for the Montreux Convention of 1936.

agenda was the acquisition of Turkish chromite. The Germans were prepared to offer the delivery of considerable war material to obtain access to chromite, but one obstacle confronted them. In 1940, the Turks had signed an agreement with the British whereby their entire output of chromite would be bought by Great Britain for the next two years. Attached to this agreement was the option for the British to extend their acquisition of chromite for another year. When pressed as to whether they would sell Germany chromite, the Turks made it clear they would not be free to do so until January 1943. Clodius suggested that the Turks sell chromite ore to Germany after they supplied the quantity desired by Great Britain. The Turks answered that the chromite ore agreement bound Turkey not to exceed the production of 250,000 tons yearly and to deliver the entire amount to Great Britain. Thus, if the Turks supplied only chromite to third parties, it would be a breach of contract which Turkey was not about to commit without a release from Great Britain. The Germans offered heavy guns in return for the chromite, and Clodius even threatened to cut off the negotiations. The Turks repeatedly explained that their hands were tied but added that after January 8, 1943, they would be willing to supply Germany with any desired quantity of chromite ore. Further, Turkey was willing to stockpile the amount of chromite desired by Germany from the beginning.

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of the present treaty period, and would, therefore, be able to ship the necessary chromite as soon as the present treaty with Great Britain expired. Menemencioglu pointed out that according to his information, Germany was sufficiently supplied until the end of 1942. Thus, it should make no difference if chromite ore were not shipped until that time.  

Clodius reported to Berlin the stalemate in the negotiations, and German authorities were not at all pleased with the failure to obtain agreement on the acquisition of chromite. The question was raised as to whether negotiations should stop, but Berlin realized there were other factors to be taken into consideration. For one, the prospect of obtaining chromite ore was valuable for the future. For another, if German successes in Russia continued, Turkey might feel pressured to supply chromite ore in 1942. Also, Turkish deliveries of copper and cotton, promised for 1942, would be extremely valuable and would form the basis of an acceptable treaty. Berlin decided that a treaty should be arranged without the inclusion of chromite.  

The proposals to be offered Turkey divided German armament deliveries into three groups, the guiding principle being delivery of the most valuable armament in return for chromite. The first group, including such items as anti-tank guns, explosives, and machine guns, was to be

64 D.G.F.P., Series D, XIII, 556-57.
65 Ibid., 587-88.
used in bargaining for copper or cotton. The second group consisted of larger equipment such as field cannons, bridge-building materials, and mountain guns. These were to be traded only in the event that chromite ore was obtainable in 1942, in which case deliveries would be made item by item for the individual shipments of chromite. The third group contained the heaviest equipment such as howitzers. Only in the event that an agreement was reached that chromite would be delivered after January 8, 1943, could these armaments be promised.  

On October 9, 1941, the economic agreement was signed. Germany obtained copper, cotton, and lesser items in exchange for machine guns, anti-tank guns, and explosives. It was further agreed that before March 31, 1943, the two governments would negotiate a treaty concerning the delivery of chromite ore to Germany. The Turkish government would then approve the export to Germany of an annual amount of 90,000 tons of chromite ore for the periods January 15 to December 31, 1943, and from January 1 to December 31, 1944. Germany had finally concluded an agreement for Turkish chromite, but it would be fifteen months before it could make use of it. 

Since December 1940, Turkey had been receiving shipments of foodstuffs and war materials from the United States.

67 Ibid., 626-27.
Originally, the goods had been contracted by Great Britain from the United States and then shipped by the British to Turkey. In November 1941, the Americans announced they were going to deal directly with Turkey and ship the goods themselves. Berlin did not particularly care for this situation, but little could be done. Turkey vitally needed certain of the items it was receiving from the United States and told the Germans that it was the duty of the Turkish government to utilize every possibility in strengthening its military position. The part of the arrangement that irritated the Germans was the American acquisition of Turkish chromite. Papen attempted to counter the American moves by suggesting to Berlin that a statement be issued to the press to the effect that these deliveries showed President Roosevelt's intention of extending the war to peaceful countries. Weizsäcker instructed Papen to ask Turkey to confirm the fact that these commercial agreements did not involve any political or economical concessions. The Turks denied any such implications, and lend-lease continued.

The halt of the German offensive in Russia in December 1941, combined with the Russian counter-offensive, had serious repercussions in Turkey. The Turks knew Russia desired partial, if not full, control of the Dardanelles. In January 1942, Papen wrote to Berlin that President İnönü had recently stated that "Turkey was interested to the

highest degree in the 'destruction of the Russian colossus' and that Turkey's present neutrality was in the Axis interest, as otherwise the British navy would be able to support the Russians in the Black Sea. With this problem in mind, Menemencioglu approached the Germans in an attempt to gain further arms for the defense of Turkey. He proposed that the Funk Agreement be revived. Papen answered that Germany would expect some political equivalent. Menemencioglu balked at the idea, but Papen, considering the overture by the Turks as a chance to draw them further from the Allies, flew to Berlin for a conference with Hitler.

Papen explained to Hitler that the British at that time were in Ankara studying Turkish military requirements. However, Great Britain was reluctant to send arms to Turkey as long as the Turks were hesitant to join the Allies. Papen suggested Turkey might remain neutral more easily if Germany supplied its urgent military needs. It was also possible Turkey would acquire the attitude it could defend itself against a Russian attack without British assistance. Hitler, under the impression that the arms would tempt Turkey to

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69 George Kirk, Survey of International Affairs: 1939-1946: The Middle East in the War, Royal Institute of International Affairs, (London, 1952), 451. [Hereafter cited as Kirk, Middle East.]

70 Kilic, Turkey. This was an agreement for credits to be used in the purchase of war materials from Germany.

71 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., German Foreign Office Documents: German Policy in Turkey, 1941-1943, (Moscow, 1948), 65-8. [Hereafter cited as G.F.O.D., Turkey.]
join the Axis, authorized Papen to begin discussions. The following summer, Clodius visited Ankara, and an agreement was signed granting the Turks a loan of 100,000,000 Reichsmarks for the procurement of German arms. The loan was to be repaid by the shipment of goods, particularly chromite, due to arrive in 1943.  

In January 1943, Germany and Turkey began final negotiations for the conclusion of the promised "arms for chrome" agreement. During the period from January 15 to March 31, Germany received quantities of chromite under the Clodius agreement. However, because Germany did not supply the amounts of war materials promised, Turkey believed that they were responsible to provide only a part of the 45,000 tons of chromite that Germany was entitled to receive by March 31. This failure of delivery on the part of the Germans could have allowed the Turks to refuse further supplies of chromite, but Turkey declined to use this option, and on April 18, 1943, a new German-Turkish trade agreement was signed. The chromite provisions of the Clodius agreement were delayed until December 31, 1943, thus allowing the Germans an extension to make the shipments on which the chromite allotments would be based.

The new Clodius agreement generally followed the lines of that concluded in October 1941. The importance of German arms to the Turks was clearly demonstrated by the fact that all the goods most important to the Third Reich would be set aside for it. Such Turkish goods as copper, cotton and tobacco were to be traded for German war materials, pharmaceutical products, copper products, and iron and steel wares.74 Chromite was not mentioned in the main agreement which was to last for a period of fourteen months, that is until May 31, 1944. It is clear that when Germany could withhold the arms needed by Turkey it was an effective weapon in driving advantageous agreements with the Turks.

Chromite shipments under the Clodius agreement had not reached German expectations during the first few months of 1943, but this was at least partially explainable for two reasons. First, chromite shipments were generally light during the winter months because of bad weather conditions. Second, Great Britain had previously contracted for all chromite stocks above ground up to January 8, 1943. Thus, Germany was only entitled to the new output which was generally small at that time of year. All told, approximately 1,000 tons of chromite ore were shipped to the Third Reich during the first quarter of the year.75

74 For a more complete list, see Medlicott, Economic Blockade, II, 535-36.
75 Ibid., 531.
During the following quarter, Germany imported increasing amounts of Turkish chromite to the total of about 13,500 tons by the end of June. The Germans were likewise sending increasing amounts of war materials to the Turks which by the end of August had almost reached the value of 100,000,000 Reichsmarks. At the beginning of November, around 30,700 tons had been delivered from Turkey to the Third Reich, and by the close of 1943 about 46,783 tons had been received by Germany since the preceding January. The average chromite delivery by Turkey, which had been a little over 3,000 tons through the first nine months, increased to about 7,800 tons in November and 8,100 tons in December.\(^7^6\) In spite of the fact that the war was going more and more against the Third Reich in 1943, Turkish supplies to Germany were continually increasing.\(^7^7\)

Throughout 1943, the Allied powers met to discuss their combined operations against Nazi Germany.\(^7^8\) The question of Turkish participation against Germany was occasionally raised, but other than suggesting that Turkey be asked to join the Allies, no strenuous effort was made to enlist its aid. In the fall, however, the British presented a note demanding, among other things, Turkey's

\(^7^6\) Medlicott, *Economic Blockade*, II, 531.

\(^7^7\) For the total Turkish exports to Axis countries during 1943, see *Ibid.*, 540.

\(^7^8\) The conferences were held at Casablanca, Adana, Quebec, Moscow, Teheran and Cairo.
complete severance of trade with the Axis powers. Turkey, knowing full well that the German air force was only a few hundred miles away,\footnote{Papen, Memoirs, 507. The Germans had a major air base at Constanta, Rumania.} stated its intention of fulfilling present agreements.

During the first quarter of 1944, shipments of war materials and chromite between Germany and Turkey continued at an increasing rate. By the beginning of March 1944, the Germans had received approximately 62,000 tons of chromite.\footnote{Arnold and Veronica Toynbee (eds.), Survey of International Affairs 1939-1946: The War and the Neutrals, Royal Institute of International Affairs, (London, 1956), 360. [Hereafter cited as Survey, Neutrals.]} However, there was increasing pressure by Great Britain and the United States on Turkey to break its commercial agreements with Germany. Finally, on April 14, 1944, United States Ambassador Steinhardt\footnote{Laurence A. Steinhardt. U. S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, 1939-1941; Ambassador to Turkey, 1942-1945.} and British Ambassador Knatchbull-Hugessen presented the Turkish government with identical notes stating that if the Turks continued to furnish the Reich with important war materials including such items as chromite, copper, iron, and steel, the United States and Great Britain would be forced to apply a blockade against Turkey.\footnote{Cordell Hull, The Memoirs of Cordell Hull, (New York, 1948), 1372. [Hereafter cited as Hull, Memoirs.]} On April 20, Menemencioglu,
fearing a break with the Allies, informed Papen that the Turkish government was obliged to suspend further deliveries of chromite starting May 1, 1944. 83 Papen was not surprised at this decision, but Berlin reacted in a different manner. On April 27, the German government, after ordering Papen's return to Berlin, issued a communiqué stating that the German Ambassador in Ankara would not return to Turkey for the time being. When Foreign Minister Ribbentrop informed Papen of this decision, plus the fact that he was considering counter-measures, the Ambassador answered that such an act would have no effect beyond causing the Allies to rejoice. 84 Upon joint consultation with Papen, the Führer agreed that it was ridiculous to threaten counter-measures since Germany was in no position to carry them out; further it was essential that the Ambassador return to his post. 85

Because the production of durable armour plate was dependent on the availability of chromite, the stoppage of the Turkish source dealt a blow to the German war economy. Thus, in the few remaining days, the Reich transported every available stock into Axis controlled countries. On May 18, Great Britain and Turkey began serious discussion on the possibility of cutting Turkish exports to Germany

83 Papen, Memoirs, 524.
84 Ibid., 524.
85 Ibid., 524-25.
in certain other areas to fifty per cent of such exports in 1943. These trade negotiations were halted during the Turkish Straits affair which resulted in the resignation of Turkish Foreign Minister Menemencioglu on June 15, but resumed shortly thereafter. The Turks then agreed to reduce exports of certain commodities to the Germans by fifty per cent and to discontinue the other fifty per cent when the Allies could provide the corresponding imports. The Allies agreed with this view.

It was evident in July 1944 that the Germans would have their troubles holding the Allied invasion. In view of the continuing successes of the Allies and their increasing pressure on Turkey, the Turkish government agreed to sever its commercial and diplomatic relations with Germany on August 1, 1944.

As is clear, Germany's trade with Turkey was a benefit to the Third Reich's economy. Germany was a ready market for Turkish raw materials, and its industrial goods were in great demand in the Turkish Republic. The Turks had earlier developed confidence in German industry, and Germany's trade experts took full advantage of the situation


87 This affair involved the passage of twelve armed German ships through the Straits, and will be discussed in Chapter III on the Turkish Straits.

The Germans had an ingenious method of obtaining economic exchange with Turkey, and as a result Turkey became more and more dependent on the Third Reich. With Hitler's establishment of the Four-Year Plan, economic relations with the Turks increased significantly. Germany's prime interest in Turkey concerned chromite ore. This steel alloy had immense strategic importance. However, when the Germans could no longer import chromite from Turkey in the latter part of 1939, their preparations for war were not seriously endangered. Germany knew, before the invasion of Poland, that it could not win a lengthy world conflict without the aid of at least two major powers. German economy, therefore, was built on the basis of a short war.

After the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the lightning successes on the Polish front, the Germans did not feel that it was necessary to increase their production of war materials; thus the import of Turkish chromite was not considered vital. However, when Germany failed to end the war in 1940, its need for chromite became painfully evident, and it was forced to turn to other suppliers. The Reich obtained limited amounts from Greece and Yugoslavia, but they were insufficient to meet future needs. Germany attempted to import chromite from Turkey, but was prevented by the fact that Great Britain had an exclusive agreement for the Turkish ore. It was not until January 1943, that Germany finally negotiated an agreement with Turkey over chromite ore.
Had the Germans been preparing for a full-scale war when it broke out in 1939, no doubt they would have attempted to gain complete control of Turkish strategic raw materials. But the Germans, who were counting on a short war, had not deemed it necessary to grant the Turks major concessions until it was too late.
CHAPTER III

GERMANY AND THE TURKISH STRAITS

1933 - 1944

From the Straits Convention of 1841 to 1914, it was a fundamental doctrine of international law that, "So long as the Porte is at peace, His Highness will admit no foreign ships of war into the said Straits."¹ It was the violation of this principle which aroused the indignation of the Allied governments when on August 10, 1914, two German warships, the Goeben² and the Breslau passed

¹ As quoted in James T. Shotwell and Francis Deak, Turkey at the Straits, (New York, 1940), 38. [Hereafter cited as Shotwell, Straits.] The Turkish Straits consist of three bodies of water - the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosporus. It controls the water route between the Mediterranean and the Black Seas.

² The Goeben was renamed the Yavuz and is the only battleship still in service as a combatant vessel in any navy. It is actually rated as a battle cruiser rather than a battleship and has ten eleven-inch guns.
through the Dardanelles and anchored off Constantinople. When the Allies protested this breach, the Turks purchased the vessels from the Germans, though they were left under the command of German naval officers.

On September 26, 1914, a British destroyer stopped a Turkish warship outside the Dardanelles and forced it to return. As a consequence, the Turkish government, though technically still neutral, closed the Straits on the following day. A month later the Turkish fleet, under German command and without declaration of war, attacked elements of the Russian fleet and shelled several Russian ports. As a result, the Allied powers declared war on Turkey: the Straits remained closed until the end of World War I.3

After the defeat of the Central Powers in 1918, the Allies occupied the strategic areas surrounding the Straits. In the Treaty of Sevres (August 10, 1920) which was never ratified by Turkey, the Allies attempted to establish the rule that the Straits would be left open in either war or peace to both merchant and warships of all countries. However, the Greek invasion of Turkey at Smyrna on May 14, 1919, caused the development of a strong nationalistic movement which was eventually sufficient to repel the invaders and overthrow the peace settlement.4

3 Shotwell, Straits, 96-7.
4 Ibid., 106-07.
In the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, which followed the Greco-Turkish war, Turkey was able to improve its situation in the Straits. The principle of full freedom of passage during time of peace or war, Turkey being a neutral, was laid down; however, if Turkey was a belligerent, the government was allowed to exercise belligerent rights under international law. To insure freedom of the Straits, the Treaty called for demilitarization of both the Asiatic and European shores of the passage with the notable exception of Constantinople. The regime established by the treaty lasted until Turkey's demands for even greater improvement resulted in the Montreux Convention of 1936.\(^5\)

Turkey's desire for a revision of the Straits Convention of 1923 was not a sudden decision. The Turkish government's request came after a series of international events which seriously changed the original foundations of post-war Europe. Several of these events were: the failure of the Disarmament and the World Economic Conferences, the undeclared wars of Japan and Italy, the strong foreign policies of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and the gradual deterioration of the collective security system.\(^6\)

The advent of the Nazi regime did not immediately affect Turkey's attitude toward the Straits. In fact the Germans

\(^5\) For the complete text of the Treaty of Lausanne, see League of Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 28, 115-37.

\(^6\) Shotwell, Straits, 120; and D.G.P.P., Series C, V, 430-31.
were never solely responsible for the Montreux Convention. However, the Reich's attempts at economic and political expansion towards southeast Europe along with its growing stature on the international scene did cause considerable consternation in the League of Nations, making the members more agreeable to a change of the Straits Convention of the Treaty of Lausanne.  

On April 10, 1936, the German Embassy in Turkey was informed by Menemencioglu that on the following day, his government would communicate to the signatories of the Straits Convention of 1923, that due to the changed political situation, the guarantee provided for in Article 18 was ineffective and no longer protected the Turkish territory concerned. Therefore, the Turkish government was prepared to renegotiate the current status of the Straits. This message was not surprising to Berlin, for it had been known to the Germans for several months that the Turks were desirous of a change. However, the Wilhelmstrasse


8 The League itself was not involved in the Montreux Convention. According to that article the signatories would take the necessary action against any country or countries which violated the provisions.


10 D.G.F.P., Series C, IV, 889-91. In December, 1935, the Turkish government had called in several German naval experts and asked their advice as to what additional naval forces Turkey would require to defend the Straits if they were not permitted to fortify them.
did not care either to attend the Montreux Convention in an official capacity or to send an observer. It reasoned that since the British desired to retain the International Straits Commission, and since this was not in Germany's interest, it would be superfluous for Germany to attend.\textsuperscript{11}

Turkey's request was delivered to the signatories of the 1923 Convention, plus Yugoslavia and the Secretary General of the League of Nations. The unsteadiness of the world scene exemplified by the Italo-Ethiopian War and the German remilitarization of the Rhineland did much to cause a generally favorable reaction.\textsuperscript{12} The conference met at Montreux, Switzerland, on June 22, 1936.

From the outset the conference was a battle between the colliding interests of Great Britain and Russia. The original proposal set forth by the Turks included their desire not only to refortify the Straits but also to make Turkey sovereign over navigation. If adopted, the situation would have been exceedingly favorable to the Russians. However, as finally agreed upon on July 20, 1936, the Montreux Convention was a compromise between the Turkish and British positions.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11} DeGFP, Series C, V, 669.

\textsuperscript{12} Ciano, \textit{Diplomatic Papers}, 4. Italy, still smarting from the economic sanctions imposed on it as a result of the invasion of Ethiopia, did not attempt the Montreux Convention. Ciano, in effect, said that Italy would refrain from attending any international meetings until the sanctions had been abrogated.

\textsuperscript{13} Shotwell, \textit{Straits}, 122-23. For the complete text
Generally speaking, the chief beneficiaries of the Convention were Turkey and Russia. The Turks did not obtain complete control over the Straits. But they did register several major gains, for both the demilitarization clauses and the International Straits Commission were abolished. And, most important, when in the role of the belligerent, Turkey was free to close the Straits to warships of all nations. Russia's long sought-for right to send unlimited numbers of warships into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea was its major achievement in the Montreux Convention.¹⁴

The agreements reached in Montreux were, in general, not appreciated in Berlin. Although the Germans expressed satisfaction that Turkey was again sovereign over the Straits, the fact that Russia had improved its position was particularly irritating to the Wilhelmstrasse. Germany had no desire to be relegated to a position in Turkey secondary to that of either Great Britain or Russia. However, the German Foreign Office instructed its representatives in Ankara not to lodge a formal protest against the agreements reached concerning the Straits but instead to quietly inform the Turkish government that Berlin was not especially happy about its attitude in the matter. Hopefully, this

¹⁴ Shotwell, Straits, 124-27. This right of unlimited access by Russian warships through the Straits during time of peace was also strengthened by the fact that no non-riparian power (that is a state which does not border on the Black Sea) could send into the Black Sea a force greater than the most powerful fleet of a riparian state.
would induce the Turks to alter their views. Such feelers by the Reich, however, were too late. On July 30, 1936, the Turkish Grand National Assembly ratified the Convention, and on November 9, 1936, the ratifications of virtually all signatories were deposited in Paris. The Montreux Convention was now international law.

Several days after the signing of the Montreux Convention, the German Embassy in Ankara sent a political report to Berlin discussing the situation created by the Convention. Turkey was now to be viewed as a power to be reckoned with in any international policy dealing with the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. However, the extent of Turkey's strategic importance in the area of the Straits would not be known until it demonstrated the extent to which the Straits would be fortified and controlled.

Turkey's relations with Russia were also regarded as an important factor, for, if the Turks gained the distrust of their northern neighbor as concerns the Straits, it could develop into a threat to Turkey's national existence.

15 D.G.F.P., Series C, V, 795-99. An interesting note to the Montreux Convention is that on July 24, 1936, the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, and Belgium had extended a formal invitation to Germany to attend the conference, which seems a little ridiculous in view of the fact that the Convention had already been signed, though not yet ratified by a sufficient number of states. Ciano, Diplomatic Papers, 20.

16 D.G.F.P., Series C, V, 669. The one hold-out was Japan whose ratification was received on April 19, 1937.
On the other hand, it was believed that as a means of countering any changes in Russian attitudes, Turkey would pursue a continuing friendly relationship with Great Britain. This policy would draw the additional benefit of security against Italy's expansionist designs in the eastern Mediterranean.17

Early in the spring of 1937, the German government started making serious overtures towards Turkey concerning the Reich's accession to the Montreux Convention. Berlin reasoned that since Germany had regained its position of equality on the international scene, it should be treated with equal rights in the Straits question. Thus, the State Secretary of the German Foreign Ministry, Ernst Weizsäcker, informed the German Embassy in Ankara to open negotiations.18

One serious drawback to the Germans' desire for negotiations was their idea that both Germany and Italy would enter into discussions at the same time and on the same basis. When the German Ambassador, Friederich von Keller,19 conversed with his Italian counterpart to see if this was feasible, he was told that nothing could be done in this area "until the Abyssinian question was settled in the League of Nations by recognition of the Italian Empire at

19 Friederich August Wilhelm von Keller, (1873-1960). Last permanent German delegate to the League of Nations until Nazi Germany's withdrawal in 1933; served in many diplomatic posts, his last being Ambassador to Turkey, 1935-1939.
least on the part of Turkey." Keller, not knowing whether to proceed, telegraphed Berlin for additional instructions. Weizsäcker immediately replied in the affirmative.

Upon consultation with Turkish Foreign Minister Aras in August, the German Ambassador was informed that while the Turkish government realized the position of the Germans, it could not agree to a bilateral agreement between the two countries on the Straits question. If Berlin unilaterally declared German adherence to the Montreux Convention, it would be respected by Ankara. Nevertheless, the Foreign Minister did not wish to express his government's opinion on a future bilateral agreement at this time.

With the passage of several months and still no reply from the Turkish government on whether it would agree to treat Germany as a signatory to the Convention through a bilateral agreement, Keller again approached the Turkish Foreign Ministry. After a series of talks with the Turkish ministers concerned, he was left with the familiar statement that before Turkey could assent to such an exchange of notes, there would have to be further examination of the points in issue.

20 D.G.F.P., Series D, V, 710.
21 Ibid., 710-12.
22 The main reason why Germany wanted to gain the rights of a signatory was because according to article 24, paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Montreux Convention, the signatories would be informed of all movements of foreign vessels of war through the Straits.
Germany was not content to let the matter drop; its interest in the Straits was again demonstrated in March 1938. At that time Weizsäcker telegraphed the German Embassy that in view of reports that Turkey would soon recognize Italy's Ethiopian Empire, it was highly possible Germany and Italy could present their common naval interests in the Straits simultaneously. However, during the following month, Italy requested that it be allowed to accede to the Montreux Convention without having to influence German-Turkish relations on the question. Germany reluctantly agreed.

On July 7, 1938, the Secretary General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, Numan Menemencioglu, called on Foreign Minister Ribbentrop in Berlin. Ribbentrop stated that Germany was ready to conclude a bilateral agreement with Turkey which would make the terms of the Montreux Convention effective between the two countries. Inherent in the agreement would be the understanding there would be no revision of the Montreux Convention without Germany. The Secretary General answered that the question was the subject of considerable study by his Foreign Ministry, and

24 D.G.F.P., Series D, V, 718-19. Specifically, both countries wanted to insure a wide interpretation of the term "auxiliary vessels," which was defined in paragraph 6 of annex II in connection with article 8 of the Convention. Such a definition they hoped would affect the passage of Russian ships carrying war materials or troops if it were a belligerent.

25 Ibid., 721. At this time Germany also lost interest in the definition of "auxiliary vessels."
he regretted to say that unsolvable problems stood in the path of Germany's desires.

Foremost, Turkey did not have sovereign rights concerning the Convention. Thus, any alteration such as the one Germany espoused, required unanimous consent of the signatories. Further, Turkey feared that the Convention itself would be endangered if it unilaterally concluded an agreement concerning the Straits. Menemencioglu said that the only alternative he could think of was for Germany to accede unilaterally to the Convention with reservations in hopes that Turkey could find some way to take cognizance of the declaration.26

Ribbentrop expressed his bafflement with the Turkish attitude, saying that he could not understand how the other signatories could object to Germany and Turkey arriving at the same agreement existing between Turkey and the other signatories. The Foreign Minister attempted to sway the Secretary General by stating that a satisfactory German-Turkish agreement on the Montreux Convention would greatly aid the further development of relations between the countries. But Menemencioglu refused to budge from his original position no matter what insinuations Ribbentrop threw at him.27 Prior to his return to Ankara, the Secretary General was handed a new draft proposal which took into

27 Ibid., 730-32.
account the legal objections he raised in his conversation with Ribbentrop. He promised to examine thoroughly the document and report any change in the Turkish position to Berlin. 28

In the following January 1939, Menemencioglu returned to Berlin. Though officially he had come to attend the economic negotiations between the two countries, he immediately brought up the Straits question with State Secretary Weizsäcker. The proposal he handed Weizsäcker granted Germany equality with the signatory powers concerning notification of passage through the Straits of all warships and merchant vessels. However, to the consternation of the Germans it did not mention Germany's right to attend any conference attempting to revise the Montreux Convention. 29

Upon notification of the Turkish proposal, Ribbentrop stated that Germany's position had not changed, and added that in his view Turkey actually was not ready for a settlement of the Montreux question. 30

During the next several months, the relations between Germany and Turkey on the Straits question took on a different aspect. Due to the slow but steady move by Turkey towards friendlier relations with Great Britain and France and the consequent unhappiness of Berlin, Friederich von

29 Ibid., 741-42.
30 Ibid., 743.
Keller was replaced by Franz von Papen as German Ambassador to Turkey.  

After presenting his credentials, Papen talked with Turkish President, Ismet Inönü. The President expressed his fear that if the unsteady situation in Poland was not settled, it might lead to war. Inönü also raised the question of Italian aspirations in the Mediterranean. Papen tried to dispel any anxiety along these lines, but added that if war resulted, then Germany expected strict neutrality from Turkey. And by strict neutrality Papen meant that the Straits be closed to all countries.  

Throughout the summer of 1939, there was a definite movement by Turkey towards a closer alliance with Great Britain and France. Turkey, alarmed by the Polish Question and Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean, was anxious to safeguard its territory. Germany, well aware of Great Britain’s guarantees to Rumania, did not favor the conclusion of a Turco-British Pact, for such an agreement might allow the British to send warships through the Straits in the event of war. This German desire to force, if 

31 Kilic, Turkey. Von Papen arrived April 27, 1939. Hitler hoped that von Papen, having served with the Ottoman army during World War I, might be in a better position to keep Turkey in line with the Third Reich’s policy or at least get the Turks to assume a neutral position if war should break out.  

32 D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 364.  

33 For a more detailed analysis of this drift and German reaction, see the later chapter on the Tripartite Treaty.
necessary, the Turks to close the Straits was also shared by Russia.  

Thus, during the period of negotiations for the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, there was continual pressure by both Germany and Russia on Turkey to close the Straits to warships and war materials of non-riparian powers.

After the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, Turkey held the position that as long as it was a non-belligerent, war munitions and troops in merchant ships of any power could pass through the Straits. Turkey's stand did not receive a favorable reception in Berlin. In a communique to the German Embassy in Moscow, German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop instructed Ambassador Schulenburg to inform Russian Foreign Minister Molotov that it was in the common interest of both Germany and Russia to obtain a Turkish guarantee to prevent the passage of warships of non-Black Sea powers through the Straits at the Lausanne and Montreux Conferences.

Kilic, Turkey. Russia previously tried to stop the passage of warships of non-Black Sea powers through the Straits at the Lausanne and Montreux Conferences.


Count Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg, (1875-1944). German Ambassador in Moscow 1934-1941; directly involved in an anti-Hitler conspiracy in 1944; executed on November 10, 1944.

Vyacheslav Michaelovitch Molotov, (1890— ). Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (equivalent to premiers) 1930-1941; People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs 1939-1949.
Anglo-French war material or troops through the Straits.\textsuperscript{39} No such guarantee was worked out at that time, but on October 24, 1939, Russia assured Germany that it would allow neither a hostile position to be taken by Turkey against the Germans or Russians, nor the passage of British and French warships through the Straits.\textsuperscript{40}

Throughout the period of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, the Russians continually brought up their interests in the area of the Turkish Straits. Initially, and perhaps to maintain smooth relations, the Germans expressed their disinterest concerning Turkish domination of the Straits and added that they understood Russia's desires to establish its own bases there.\textsuperscript{41} However, after the German victory in the West in the summer of 1940, Hitler reversed his stand and decided that the Russians were not to be allowed to expand beyond the Baltic area and Bessarabia, and most important, they were to be prevented from seizing the Straits.\textsuperscript{42} German successes in France also affected the Turks, who began to view their strong stand on the Montreux Convention as perhaps a little hasty.

\textsuperscript{39} D.G.F.P., Series D, VIII, 174.

\textsuperscript{40} United States War Department, Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, (Washington, 1946-1948), VI, 979. [Hereafter cited as N.C.A.]

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 990. The Russians particularly wanted a naval base located in the Sea of Marmara. See D.G.F.P., Series D, VII, 154.

\textsuperscript{42} A. Rossi, The Russo-German Alliance, August 1939-June 1941, (Boston, 1951), 211. [Hereafter cited as Rossi, Alliance.]
When discussions between Germany and Russia began over the future of the Balkans and specifically the Straits in the fall of 1940, Russia was quick to remind its partners of its ambitions in Turkey. In a conversation between Hitler and Molotov, the Führer agreed that there should be an alteration of certain terms of the Montreux Convention. However, Molotov said that he wanted more than a paper guarantee against an attack on the Black Sea via the Straits. Specifically, Russia requested not only naval bases in the Straits but also bases in the Kars-Ardahan region.

In a talk with Papen, Ribbentrop outlined the progression of the talks with the Russians and stated that the time had come to discuss spheres of interest. Berlin realized that it would have to provide Russia with warm water ports and wanted to hear Papen's opinion on the Straits. Papen said that he believed that Turkey considered its sovereignty over the Straits as unquestionable. Although the Turks might allow a revision of the Convention to permit Russia to send its warships through the Straits, any attempt to alter the Treaty by force would involve Turkey's entry into the war.

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44 Kilic, Turkey. The Kars-Ardahan region is located in eastern Turkey close to the Turco-Russian border.

45 Papen, Memoirs, 465.
In an effort to induce Russia to abandon its plans in Turkey, Germany presented the Russians with a scheme based on the conquest of Great Britain which suggested that upon the dissolution of the British Empire, Russia would receive land in Asia in the area of the Indian Ocean. Berlin hoped that an interest in the Persian Gulf and its vast oil reserves would be enough to deflect Russian ambitions. Along with these proposals, Berlin agreed to bring joint pressure on Turkey to alter the Montreux Convention so that Russia was granted the right of unrestricted passage of warships, whereas the non-riparian powers were not allowed the right of passage for their warships into the Black Sea. On November 26, 1940, Moscow replied to Berlin's offer by demanding, among other things, the granting of military installations in Turkey. These growing Russian ambitions alarmed Hitler, who was still contemplating an invasion of Great Britain. Thus, in fear of Russian exploitations, and before it was too late, Hitler answered the Russian demands by ordering his Chiefs of Staff to prepare for 'Operation Barbarossa.'

With the invasion of Russia on the drawing board, Germany's attitude toward the Straits became somewhat reserved. Ambassador Papen was notified to answer Turkish

inquiries concerning Germany's current attitude towards the Montreux Convention by saying that he had not received instructions on that subject. Papen expressed concern that the failure of Germany and Turkey to reach an agreement on the status of the Straits might push the Turks closer to the British. But Berlin insisted that the question remain open. 49

The German buildup of troops in Rumania and its activities on Rumania's Black Sea coast early in 1941 caused the Turkish government on March 18 to ask its Ambassador in Berlin, Hüsrev Gerede, 50 to question Hitler concerning Germany's intentions. The Führer denied any territorial ambitions in the area of Turkey and added that this attitude was the cause of much difficulty with Russia. Hitler then mentioned that Russia wanted bases in the Straits, but quickly pointed out that Germany had refused to agree. However, Berlin did advocate a revision of the Montreux Convention whereby only the warships of Black Sea powers would have the right of exit and entry through the Straits. 51 The Chancellor concluded by saying that Germany was interested in Turkey remaining the guardian of the Straits. Gerede, impressed by the German attitude, said that he would relay the information to Ankara. 52

50 Hüsrev Gerede, Turkish diplomat; Ambassador to Berlin 1939-1942; known to be pro-German.
51 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 309-10.
52 Ibid., 312.
On March 28, Papen telegraphed Berlin that he had talked to Turkish Foreign Minister Saracoglu about the Hitler-Gerede conversation. Saracoglu said that the Turkish President was favorable to the statements made by the Führer, and the President asked that Papen express to Hitler the Turkish government's satisfaction at the German attitude adopted in the interest of Turkey. 53

The German conquest of Greece and Crete in April and May of 1941 placed the German forces within excellent striking distance of ships going to and from the Straits. It also influenced the position of the Axis Powers in relation to Turkey for the Turks would surely have second thoughts about joining the Allies while Hitler was their neighbor. 54 This situation did much to cause the conclusion of the German-Turkish Friendship Treaty signed at Ankara on June 18, 1941. 55 Four days later Germany invaded Russia.

With the German armies striking and advancing along the Russian front in rapid success, Berlin now became vitally interested in control of the Black Sea and specifically, the rights of Russian war and merchant ships to

53 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 384-85.

54 United States Navy Department, Führer Conferences on Matters Dealing with the German Navy, 1939-1945, (Washington, 1947-1949), 1941, I, 98. [Hereafter cited as Führer Naval Conferences.]

55 The events which led to the conclusion of this treaty are discussed at length in Chapter VI.
traverse the Straits. Thus, Papen was instructed to approach Saracoglu with the proposal that Turkey close the Straits to Russian merchant ships. Germany knew that the Soviet merchant tonnage approached 400,000 tons and the Germans did not want it to get away.\textsuperscript{56}

Papen reported to Berlin that he had talked with Saracoglu, and the Foreign Minister was of the opinion that the Russians would not attempt to send their merchant ships out of the Black Sea until the ships were definitely in danger. The German Ambassador felt that if the situation did arise, Turkey would cooperate with Berlin.\textsuperscript{57} However, the Germans were not satisfied with this statement and attempted other ways to get Turkey to close the Straits to all Russian ships.

In August 1941, several suggestions were sent to Papen concerning ways to stop Russian ships. State Secretary Weizsäcker suggested that the Turks be shown the actual paragraph of Molotov's proposal of November 1940 concerning Soviet bases on the Straits,\textsuperscript{58} Ribbentrop said that perhaps Turkey could be persuaded to do everything possible under the Montreux Convention to delay the passage

\textsuperscript{56} D.G.F.P., Series D, XIII, 3. The German Navy had no forces of its own in the Black Sea at this time with which to combat the Russians. Further, the Russian Black Sea Fleet was far superior to the few vessels of the German allies, the Rumanians and the Bulgarians. Karl Dönitz, Memoirs: Ten Years and Twenty Days, (Cleveland, 1959), 387. [Hereafter cited as Dönitz, Memoirs.]

\textsuperscript{57} D.G.F.P., Series D, XIII, 3.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 304.
of Russian merchant ships, thus allowing time to report
the movements of the ships to Axis naval and air forces
in the Aegean. A third person suggested that Papen point
out to the Turks that the political power change in the
Black Sea caused by the rapid German advance into Russia
was sufficient reason to block the Straits. On August
30, Papen reported that he had discussed the problem with
Turkish President Inönü, but Turkey denied the seriousness
of the situation. In the eyes of the Turks, the problem
could not be considered acute until the ports of Novoros-
sisk and Batum were controlled by the Germans. Consequently, Russian merchant ships were free to traverse the Straits.

Towards the end of 1941, Germany considered two dif­
ferent ways to increase its number of warships in the
Black Sea. They were designed both to assure that Russian
merchant ships would not enter the Straits, and to pro­
tect German convoys carrying war materials to the advan­
cing German front along the northern Black Sea coast. One
proposed the idea that Germany send submarines from ports
in France through the Mediterranean as far as Greece. From
that point the submarines would submerge and be towed through
the Straits. However, after simulated runs in the Baltic,

60 Ibid., 403-04.
61 Ibid., 405. The port of Batum was never cap­
tured by the Germans.
The idea was abandoned for navigational reasons.\textsuperscript{62}

The Reich, however, did adopt the other method of transferring light naval vessels to the Black Sea. The ships first passed down the Elbe to Dresden, then by highway to Regensburg, and finally down the Danube to the Sea. In this manner a considerable number of warships were sent to provide convoy escort, to guard the northern entrance to the Straits, and to harrass the Russian fleet.\textsuperscript{63}

With the gradual buildup of Axis naval forces in the Black Sea and their increasing effectiveness against Russian warships and merchant shipping, the Russian Black Sea Fleet assumed the defensive. Germany's army soon controlled the Russian sea coast with the exception of a small area in the southeast. This allowed the Axis to send escorted oil tankers from Rumania into the Straits with little danger of Russian attack, and assured that Turkey would not close the Straits.\textsuperscript{64}

Throughout 1942, the German navy had virtual freedom of movement in the Black Sea. However, with the fall of Stalingrad in the beginning of 1943 and the German with-

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Führer Naval Conferences,} 1941, II, 82-3.

\textsuperscript{63} Dönitz, \textit{Memoirs,} 387-88. The actual transfer of vessels was not a simple process as it involved the dismantling of all extra equipment on the larger ships. See \textit{Führer Naval Conferences,} 1941, II, 84.

\textsuperscript{64} Dönitz, \textit{Memoirs,} 389. During World War II, the Allies did not attempt to send supplies to Russia via the Turkish Straits. The war materials were shipped to Murmansk and the Persian Gulf.
drawal to the west, the German navy's area of control was correspondingly less and less. Grand Admiral Dönitz, in a conference with Hitler in October 1943, expressed his opinion that as long as the Germans held the Crimea, they could safeguard the shipping going to and from the Straits. Hitler agreed and added that only by holding that Russian peninsula could the neutrality of Turkey be assured. By mid-May 1944, the Germans had completely evacuated the Crimea.

The German reverses in the area of the Black Sea had placed their naval vessels in a precarious position. In an attempt to avoid scuttling the ships, several of them were camouflaged and sent into the Straits although it was a violation of the Montreux Convention. On June 5, 1944, the war-transport *Kassel* entered the Bosporus en route to occupied Greece. After being stopped and searched by the Turkish authorities, its true character was discovered and passage through the Straits was denied. Because of the fact that the same type of German ships had been previously allowed through the Straits, the incident created a political crisis in Turkey. Consequently, the Turkish Foreign Minister Menemencioglu was forced to resign. Germany reacted to the situation by halting, temporarily, the

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65 Grand Admiral Dönitz, (1891- ), Commanding Officer of Submarines 1935-1943; Supreme Commander of the German Navy 1943-1945; Head of the German State and Commander in Chief of the German Armed Forces May 1 to May 23, 1945; Convicted at Nürnberg and imprisoned from 1946-1956.

passage of German ships through the Straits. On August 1, 1944, Turkey broke diplomatic relations with the Third Reich.

During its initial years, the Third Reich did not concern itself with the status of the Turkish Straits. Germany was concentrating on rebuilding its internal structure and its position on the international scene. Thus, it was not surprising when the Germans did not demand a representative at the Montreux Convention.

As Germany grew stronger and moved closer to war, its interest in the Straits increased, and attempts were made to accede to the Convention as a signatory. This would have assured the Germans a voice if another Convention were held. However, Germany was not allowed the status of a signatory.

In its dealings with Russia, Germany expressed interest in Russian desires to establish bases in the Straits as part of the lure in the formation of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. But once the pact was concluded, Germany reversed its stand because the Reich actually did not want the Balkans as a Russian sphere of influence. Germany even mentioned the Russian interests in the Straits to the Turks in order to gain special rights in that area, but to no avail.

67 Führer Naval Conferences, 1944, 58 and 99.
With the invasion of Russia, Germany tried to get Turkey to close the Straits to all Russian shipping. Turkey refused the request and said that it would have to see the full effect of the German campaign before it took such action. Had Germany successfully established itself in the Caucasus, its influence in the Straits would have been paramount.
CHAPTER IV

OPERATION CICERO
OCTOBER 1943 - APRIL 1944

By October 1943, the enemies of the Third Reich were rapidly gaining momentum. Italy had been invaded, the Russian armies were advancing, and the opening of a Second Front was being discussed by the Allied leaders. The ascendancy of Nazi Germany was definitely in jeopardy.

On the evening of October 26, 1943, a man,¹ later

¹ According to Elyesa Bazna, I Was Cicero, (New York, 1962), [Hereafter cited as Bazna, Cicero.], the spy's name was Elyesa Bazna. This was disagreed with by Robert M. W. Kempner in "The Highest-Paid Spy in History," Reader's Digest, June 1950, 92, who stated that the spy's name was Diello. Both sources agreed that he was the British Ambassador's valet. He was a kavass (in Turkey, a person who serves a foreigner) at different times with Jankovic, Yugoslavian Ambassador, with Colonel Class of the United States Embassy, with Mr. Busk, First Secretary of the British Embassy, and with Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugessen.
known as Cicero,\(^2\) visited the home of Albert Jenke\(^3\) with a very unusual proposition. The British Ambassador's valet stated that he had taken photographs of highly classified material in the Ambassador's safe and was prepared to sell the first two films for 20,000 pounds, British pounds sterling; if the Germans accepted the proposition, each additional film would cost 15,000 pounds. Jenke answered that such matters were not in his line of duty, but he would contact the right man. Leaving Cicero to wait, the First Secretary phoned Papen's attaché, Ludwig C. Moyzisch,\(^4\) to come right over.\(^5\)

In a short time, Moyzisch entered the room and, after hearing the offer, indicated his interest but said that the German Embassy did not carry such sums of money and that an authorization would have to come from Berlin. Cicero answered that he was willing to give the Germans until the afternoon of October 30 to consider the proposition, at which time he would contact Moyzisch by telephone and identify himself with the code name Pierre.\(^6\)

\(^2\) Originally called himself Pierre. Was given the code name Cicero for correspondence purposes by Papen because of the very eloquent documents he gave the Germans.

\(^3\) Albert Jenke. Commercial Counsellor to the German Embassy in Turkey 1940-1942; First Secretary of the German Embassy in Turkey 1943-1944; Brother-in-law of German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.

\(^4\) L. C. Moyzisch. Commercial Attaché at the German Embassy in Turkey; member of the Reich Security Department which was headed by S. S. General Ernst Kaltenbrunner.


The next morning Jenke and Moyzisch talked with Ambassador Papen over the advisability of carrying the matter any further. They considered the distinct chance that it might be a British trap, although Papen felt that in either case the amount of money involved placed the matter in the hands of Berlin. A telegram was immediately sent to Berlin stating the facts and asking for instructions.\(^7\)

After reading the telegram from Ankara, Ribbentrop contacted Walter Schellenberg\(^8\) of the Foreign Intelligence Service and requested his opinion on whether the offer should be accepted. Schellenberg did not have much on which to base a decision, but he though that it was worth a gamble and gave his approval of the project. Thus, on October 29, a telegram was sent to Ankara instructing Papen to accept the offer and adding that the money would arrive on the following day by special courier plane.\(^9\)

At three o'clock on the afternoon of October 30, Moyzisch received the promised call from Cicero, and a rendezvous was planned for that evening on the German Embassy grounds.


\(^8\) Walter Schellenberg, (1910-1952). Chief of Amt. VI (Foreign Intelligence Service) of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) 1941-1945; Chief of the unified Intelligence Service (which assumed the military intelligence functions of the Abwehr) 1944-1945.

At the first meeting, Moyzisch insisted that he be allowed to develop the films before handing over the money. Cicero agreed, and the German attaché soon found that at least on the surface the documents looked real enough. The money was paid, and another exchange was planned for the next evening.10

The following day Moyzisch showed Papen the documents. The more the Ambassador read, the more excited he became. The correspondence contained references to the gradual buildup of R.A.F. personnel in Turkey, the volume of Lend-Lease equipment being sent to Russia, the creation of the Second Front, and other such important matters all marked either SECRET or MOST SECRET. However, Papen was not completely sold on their authenticity and said that Cicero's next delivery would help him decide that point.11

At the next meeting with Cicero, Moyzisch obtained two more rolls of film and then asked the valet a few questions about his method of operation. Cicero was reluctant to talk about himself. He did say, however, that he worked alone, used a German Leica camera, and took all the photographs inside the British Embassy. Moyzisch wanted to learn more so that he could answer any inquiries from Berlin, but Cicero quickly changed the subject.12

10 Moyzisch, *Operation Cicero*, 39-41; and Bazna, *Cicero*, 61-4. Both of these accounts differ somewhat; though generally over insignificant matters.


Berlin's reaction to the initial documents was very cautious. Schellenberg was very impressed with the contents and sent a copy to Hitler through Heinrich Himmler.\(^1\) He also called in several experts to determine the reliability of the material. Ribbentrop, on the other hand, believed that it was most likely a British trick, a view which he held throughout the Cicero affair.\(^1\)

Berlin sent continual inquiries to Moyzisch asking him to provide more precise information on Cicero's actual name, his usual hang-outs, and his relatives. Moyzisch resented the questions, for he thought that it was only the value of the material that counted. Particularly irritating to Papen's attaché was the personal interest that the chief of the Main Security Office, Ernst Kaltenbrunner\(^1\) was beginning to take in Operation Cicero. Kaltenbrunner's large staff sent growing numbers of telegrams concerning the progress of the affair, and Moyzisch feared that a leak might occur.\(^1\)

\(^{13}\) Heinrich Himmler, (1900-1945). Chief of the German Police 1936-1945; Reichsführer S.S. 1929-1945; Reich Minister of the Interior 1943-1945; Chief of the Waffen S.S.; Expelled from the Nazi Party and ordered arrested for treason by Hitler in 1945; committed suicide after capture by Allies in 1945.

\(^{14}\) Schellenberg, Labyrinth, 337-38.

\(^{15}\) Ernst Kaltenbrunner, (1903-1946). Commander of S.S. in Austria 1933-1934; Chief of Security in Seyss-Inquart government 1939; Chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) 1943-1945; Tried at Nürnberg & hanged 1946.

\(^{16}\) Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 58.
On November 6, another contact was made. Moyzisch asked more questions about Cicero's personal life. Although Cicero still refused to give his name, he did mention that he was not a Turk, but an Albanian, and further that he hated the British because they had killed his father.  

After showing the newly acquired documents to Papen, Moyzisch was handed a telegram instructing him to report to Foreign Minister Ribbentrop in Berlin. The attaché was to bring all the Cicero material. He left on the Ankara Express the following day to catch a courier plane in Istanbul.

Meanwhile, Schellenberg received a message that Moyzisch was on his way to make a personal report to Ribbentrop. This irritated the Chief of Foreign Intelligence, and he immediately made arrangements for Moyzisch to see him first. Schellenberg also met with his immediate chief, Kaltenbrunner, and complained about Ribbentrop's intervention in the case. Schellenberg believed that Operation Cicero fell within the scope of the Foreign Intelligence Service and not the Foreign Ministry. 

17 Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 61. In his personal account, Cicero claims the latter statement was a deliberate lie in hopes of satisfying Berlin's curiosity. Bazna, Cicero, 73.

18 Schellenberg, Labyrinth, 338. There is an inconsistency between Schellenberg and Moyzisch as to whom the German attaché spoke to first. However, it seems clear that it was not Ribbentrop. According to Moyzisch, he talked to Kaltenbrunner then Ribbentrop, but does not refer to any conversation with Schellenberg. See Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 65.
Moyzisch's flight trip from Istanbul to Berlin was interrupted in Sofia where he received instructions from Kaltenbrunner to proceed to Berlin by special plane. Upon arrival, the attaché was brought directly to the chief of the German Security Police. For almost three hours Moyzisch answered questions on the status of Operation Cicero. Later, Kaltenbrunner explained the conflict between his department and Ribbentrop over the Cicero affair and expressed his desire that all further correspondence be carried on with his department and not the Foreign Ministry. He added that further developments of the operation were necessary before the value of the documents was established.\(^{19}\)

Several days later, the Foreign Ministry informed Moyzisch that Ribbentrop would like to see him. As he entered the Foreign Minister's office, the German attaché was immediately aware that Ribbentrop was extremely displeased about the previous visit to Kaltenbrunner. Ribbentrop asked what facts, if any, he possessed which would prove the authenticity of the documents. The attaché started to relate all that he knew about the operation but was interrupted by Ribbentrop with the comment that he wanted facts not opinions. The Foreign Minister mentioned that if Moyzisch proved that Cicero worked alone, then Berlin could assume that the documents were real. Moyzisch answered that the only way he could discover if Cicero had an assistant

would be for Cicero to give himself away. The conference ended with Ribbentrop instructing the attaché to remain in Berlin for the time being.  

Soon after Ribbentrop's interview, Schellenberg called Moyzisch to discuss the Cicero case. The Foreign Intelligence Chief stated that even if the photographs proved to be frauds, the expenditure was justified, for it was important to know the manner in which your enemy wanted to deceive you. Schellenberg personally believed that the material was genuine because it corresponded to his view of the present military and political situation. Before parting, he told Moyzisch to send all films received from Cicero immediately to Berlin, so that additional copies could be sent to the appropriate authorities.  

On November 22, the Foreign Ministry informed Moyzisch that he should return to Turkey. Several days later in Ankara, the attaché was contacted by Cicero. At their rendezvous Moyzisch told the valet where he had been the past weeks. Cicero was pleased with the importance that

20 Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 75-6.

21 Schellenberg, Labyrinth, 338-39. Schellenberg gave the messages bearing date-time notations to the military communications-intelligence section, in an attempt to break the British diplomatic codes. However, the British were superenciphering the most important messages in a one-time pad, and the Nazi codebreakers found it impossible to use the Cicero documents in deciphering the one-time keys of any other messages. The cryptanalytic services of the German Foreign Office, Pers Z, was probably also involved in the Cicero documents. David Kahn, The Codebreakers, (New York, 1967), 451-52.
Berlin placed on him. Only one roll of film exchanged hands this time for Cicero said that he had had to destroy an earlier one because of Moyzisch's long absence. This one roll, however, proved of considerable political importance since it showed the attempts by the British to bring Turkey into the war and Turkey's equal determination to remain neutral. The British hoped the first step would be the termination of German-Turkish diplomatic relations.  

After sending these latest documents to Berlin, Moyzisch received a confidential communication from Kaltenbrunner. The attaché was told not to show Ambassador Papen anything concerning Operation Cicero and to forward all the Cicero material directly to Kaltenbrunner's department. Moyzisch did not follow these orders, and his failure to do so placed him in a difficult position later on.  

The month of December was the operation's most productive - and its most dangerous. Cicero became very assured of himself. He provided films every few days and they contained such important documents as the complete minutes of the conferences at Cairo and Teheran. However, during the second week of December at a rendezvous, Moyzisch noticed that he was being followed by another car. A chase followed  


23 *Ibid.*, 91. Moyzisch felt that the documents would be of value to the Ambassador in his work.
through the streets of Ankara in which the attaché finally managed to elude his pursuer. Cicero then jumped from the car near the British Embassy, and Moyzisch returned to his office. It was evident that somebody was at least partially wise to Operation Cicero, and according to Moyzisch, this was the beginning of their troubles.  

Three days later Moyzisch met with Cicero and exchanged a roll of film which aroused much concern in Berlin. It was not the contents of the documents that interested Berlin, but the fact that a finger and a thumb were clearly visible on the edge of several transcripts. Without doubt they belonged to Cicero as his signet ring was on the index finger in the photograph.  

Previously, Moyzisch explained to Berlin that while Cicero took the exposures, he held the camera in one hand without the aid of any other support, and with a finger of that hand, he snapped the shutter. On the surface such a method seemed impossible, and now that the picture with the fingers was discovered it appeared that either he had an accomplice or the information on his method was incorrect.

Berlin sent a photographic expert to Ankara in an

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24 Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 95-100. For a slightly different and more heroic account of the chase through the streets of Ankara, see Bazna, Cicero, 81-3. Cornelia Knapp, who appeared later as Elizabet, stated that the pursuers were agents of the American Secret Service (O.S.S.). Bazna, Cicero, 109.
25 Ibid., 102.
26 Ibid., 102-03.
attempt to discover what really was happening. Moyzisch arranged a meeting with Cicero at which the latter was quizzed by Moyzisch while the photographer listened in the next room. Following the meeting, the expert from Berlin expressed his amazement at the photographic ability of Cicero; however, he felt that the odds against Cicero's working alone were about one thousand to one. The photographic expert returned to Berlin the following day, and to Moyzisch's delight no further word was heard on the subject.27

Towards the latter part of December, Cicero photographed a number of documents concerning the gradual build-up of British personnel into Turkey. One report made mention of the possibility that Turkey might allow Great Britain to set up radar in Turkish Thrace to guide Allied bombers in their attacks on the Rumanian oil fields.28 The attaché showed them to Papen, which was, of course, against the instructions of Kaltenbrunner. The Ambassador was very concerned with the content of the documents and decided to talk to the Turkish Foreign Minister Numan Menemencioglu. Papen figured that the mere mention of possible German reprisals could go a long way in keeping Turkish military policy more in line with Germany. The danger in this approach was that the Turkish government might relate

27 Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 104.
28 Papen, Memoirs, 511-12; Bazna, Cicero, 92.
Papen's information to the British and thereby put them on the alert for a security leak. This was precisely what happened.\(^\text{29}\)

Immediately after Papen's interview with Menemencioglu, the latter contacted the British Ambassador Knatchbull-Hugessen. The Turkish Foreign Minister repeated to Knatchbull-Hugessen what had taken place and they both concluded that the Germans must be receiving their information from some top-level source. After returning to his Embassy, the British Ambassador sent a complete report to London. And the following day, Moyzisch had a photocopy of the document.\(^\text{30}\)

The German attaché had second thoughts about sending the document to Berlin for he knew that he had disobeyed Kaltenbrunner's orders by showing the material to Papen. However, the money for the film had been payed to Cicero and Moyzisch would have to account for it. Reluctantly he dispatched the documents to Berlin. A week later he received a letter from Kaltenbrunner which said that he was responsible for a flagrant breach of discipline.\(^\text{31}\)

Shortly after Knatchbull-Hugessen's conversation with Menemencioglu, the British began tightening the security in their Embassy. Cicero reported that rooms were searched, different alarm systems were installed, and locks were


\(^{31}\) \textit{Ibid.}, 107.
changed. All in all, it seemed evident that the British thought the leakage was from within the Embassy. Consequently, the documents that Moyzisch received from Cicero never again reached the high quality of those delivered in December, and the exchanges were fewer and farther between.

During mid-December 1943, Moyzisch was told that a German diplomat in Sofia was eager to find a job for his daughter in the German Embassy in Ankara. The attaché said that he could use her, and she was employed the following January as a secretary to Moyzisch. The new secretary's arrival was to have a profound affect on Operation Cicero.

On January 14, 1944, an event occurred which lifted any doubt concerning the reliability of the Cicero documents.

32 According to Allen Dulles, The Secret Surrender, (New York, 1966), 24-5, the United States during November 1943 received word from its contact (code name Wood) in the German Foreign Office in Berlin that Papen had reported the acquisition of documents from the British Embassy via a German agent. Dulles said that he immediately informed the British who simply changed safes and combinations, thus immediately putting Cicero out of business. This account does not agree with either Moyzisch or Bazna who state that the change was not made until the following January 1944, and even then it did not put Cicero completely out of business. Bazna, Cicero, 105; Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 113.

33 According to Bazna, Cicero, 107-08, the diplomat's name was Knapp, and his daughter's, Cornelia Knapp, referred to by Moyzisch as Elizabet. Mr. Knapp had served in the German diplomatic corps at posts in Bombay, and Cleveland prior to the war, then was transferred to Rome and Sofia. Cornelia Knapp first engaged in espionage for the United States (O.S.S.) while employed as a secretary by the German Embassy in Sofia during 1943. Her primary mission in Ankara was to find the true identity of Cicero.
One of the documents previously received by Moyzisch contained a reference to the fact that the Allies would soon begin a number of air attacks on the capitals of the Balkan countries allied to the Third Reich. The first city on the agenda was Sofia, and the attack was to take place on January 14. Berlin felt that if the air attack occurred, there would be no further doubt about the truthfulness of the documents. On the morning of the 15th, Moyzisch called the German Legation in Sofia and found that the air attack had taken place and the deaths of approximately 4,000 Bulgarians had provided Ribbentrop and Kaltenbrunner with the final proof.34

In the first week of February, Cicero became active again. The pressure within the British Embassy had relaxed somewhat, but more importantly, Cicero had learned how the new safety measures worked. One of the initial films Moyzisch received definitely showed the deterioration of the quality of the documents. The film consisted merely of fifteen shots of the statement of petty expenditures in the British Embassy. The German attaché refused to pay Cicero for the film, but said that he would ask Berlin for its opinion. And to Moyzisch's astonishment, Berlin instructed him to pay Cicero as the film had proved exceptionally valuable.35

34 Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 114; Bazna, Cicero, 117; Schellenberg, Labyrinth, 343-44, who stated that though there were those in Berlin who believed that the attack would take place, little could be done to prevent it.
35 Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 166-67.
Elizabet was beginning to get on Moyzisch's nerves. Nothing seemed to please her. Moyzisch tried to find out what was wrong, but to no avail. Finally, he went to Ambassador Papen in an effort to obtain his help to get rid of her. Papen was not initially enthusiastic, but when his attaché mentioned that such an unstable woman might endanger Operation Cicero, the Ambassador said that he would see what he could do.

As the end of February approached, Moyzisch's meetings with Cicero became less frequent, and also the importance of the material was nowhere near the former standard. Moyzisch reasoned that because of the tightened security measures, the important documents remained in the Ambassador's safe for a much shorter period of time. Thus, Cicero was more dependent on luck. However, Moyzisch did receive one more important series of documents.

During the past weeks, the documents from Cicero had contained repeated references to a new and evidently important operation. Berlin sent urgent telegrams to many of its Embassies and Legations instructing them to find the significance of the new operation. In the beginning of March, Moyzisch received a role of film in which the code name Operation Overlord appeared. He considered the situation very thoroughly, remembering past references in the Cicero documents to something that was to happen on May 14,

36 Refers to the Allied invasion of Normandy which took place on June 6, 1944.
1944. This information, along with the knowledge that at Teheran Churchill had committed himself to the opening of a second front in Europe in 1944, caused Moyzisch to theorize that Overlord was the name of the operation and the code name for the Second Front. He immediately sent a message to Berlin explaining his theory and reasoning, but the only reply was "Possible but hardly probable."  

This film containing the reference to Operation Overlord was the last received from Cicero. The British valet intended to deliver more documents but the work had become very hazardous. There was an increase of agents within the British Embassy, and Cicero felt that if he continued it would only be a matter of time before he was discovered. Moyzisch thought that the valet might possibly attempt to deliver more material, but events soon prevented any chance of that.

Towards the end of March, Papen told Moyzisch that he had contacted Elizabet's father in Budapest and was in-

37 As quoted in Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 125-26, Bazna gives a somewhat different account of the content of the documents given to the Germans. He said that by reading the documents he knew that Operation Overlord referred to the Second Front, and further the name Eisenhower was mentioned as the supreme commander of the operation. Bazna, Cicero, 148-50. However, after reading both books, Moyzisch, I believe, presents a better case.

38 According to Bazna, Cicero, 173, Cicero told Moyzisch that the film deliveries could no longer be made because he had seen Moyzisch's secretary at the British Embassy, and was afraid that he would soon be discovered. Moyzisch claims that Cicero gave no reasons for stopping delivery, much less mentioning anything about Elizabet. Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 126-27.
formed that it would be impossible to bring her back until after Easter. The attaché was happy to hear that she would soon be gone, but he was even more elated a few days later when Elizabet requested some time off over Easter to visit her parents. Moyzisch agreed to the request and even promised to secure the necessary reservations. However, on April 6 when Moyzisch went to the train depot to give Elizabet the tickets, she did not appear.

For the next twenty-four hours, Moyzisch searched throughout Ankara for his secretary - but to no avail. Finally, he realized that there was no alternative but to inform Berlin. Four days later Moyzisch received a dispatch from Kaltenbrunner ordering him to report to Berlin. Operation Cicero was now history.39

39 Actually, Moyzisch did not return to Germany until the conclusion of the war. Knowing what his fate would probably be, he found excuses to stay in Turkey until it was even too late to return by train because of the Russian advance into the Balkans. He was interned until transportation by Swedish ship could be arranged to Germany, and luckily none was available until April 1945. By the time the ship reached Gibraltar, the war was over, and he no longer had diplomatic immunity. Moyzisch was then interned by the British. Moyzisch, Operation Cicero, 151-52. Cicero resigned his position at the British Embassy soon after the disappearance of Elizabet. He had received 300,000 pounds sterling (over $1,000,000) and lived expensively until May 1945, when it was discovered that except for the initial sums, the money was counterfeit. Bazna, Cicero, 183-201, passim. For further information on the use of forged money by the Nazis, see Wilhelm Hoettl, The Secret Front, (New York, 1954), 85. Elizabet had been flown out of Ankara by the O.S.S. on the same day she missed the train. She was never able to positively identify Cicero, although all signs had pointed to the fact that he was employed by the British Embassy. Besides her work with Cicero, she gave her contact all the secret information she could obtain. In payment for her espionage work during the war, she was allowed to become a citizen of the United States. Bazna, Cicero, 203-04.
The documents Berlin first received from Cicero were viewed with considerable reservation. The contents seemed to be "too good." Ribbentrop especially seemed skeptical over the affair. There soon developed a rift between the Foreign Ministry and Reich Security Department as to which should have control over Operation Cicero. Moyzisch received conflicting orders on how the documents should be handled, and it was never clearly settled. Thus, throughout the Cicero episode, the attaché was generally left on his own, and the messages from Berlin were more of an harassing nature than a constructive one.

The information contained in the documents ranged from the Allied conferences held in Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran to evidence of Turkey's absorption by the Allies. Had Berlin believed the information, it would have clearly seen that the Allies were sparing nothing in attempting to defeat the Nazis, and, consequently, the overthrow of the Third Reich was only a matter of time.

However, for some unknown reason, Berlin preferred not to believe the Cicero documents. Perhaps, the future of Nazi Germany was too clearly visible; a fact which Hitler and his thugs did not care to admit. But no matter what the reason, it is clear that one of the most daring and successful spy episodes in history was virtually a waste of time.
CHAPTER V

GERMANY AND THE TRIPARTITE PACT

1939 - 1940

As the Third Reich extended its control into Austria and Czechoslovakia in March of 1938 and 1939 respectively, the Turkish Republic assumed a policy of strict neutrality. This attitude pleased Germany because any Turkish alignment with the Western Powers would compel Germany to become more involved in the eastern Mediterranean than it desired at that time.\(^1\) However, during the latter part of March 1939, the Wilhelmstrasse received reports that Turkey was seriously considering strengthening its ties

\(^1\) During the spring of 1939, Hitler was considering the possibility of military operations in Poland. On April 3, 1939, the Fuhrer, through the High Command of the Armed Forces (O.K.W.), issued a directive on war preparations. Annexed to it was a plan containing the details of Fall Weiss (Case White), the projected attack on Poland. Trevor-Roper, *Blitzkrieg*, 3.
with Great Britain and France through the conclusion of mutual assistance treaties. State Secretary Weizsäcker immediately telegraphed instructions to the German Embassy in Ankara to contact Turkish State Secretary Menemencioglu and inform him of Germany's displeasure should Turkey abandon strict neutrality. About two weeks later, the German Embassy notified Berlin that the Turkish government denied that it was involved in any such negotiations, and furthermore, would continue to reject an assistance treaty with any great power.  

The German Foreign Ministry had several reservations about these assurances. It was well aware through the Turkish press that the Turks had not sympathized with Germany's action in Czechoslovakia, and even less with Italy's action in Albania. The Germans received information during April that the Turks were continuing their talks with the Western Powers. The principal topic was possible defensive measures that Turkey could put into effect with the aid of Great Britain in the event of an Axis attack in the Balkans or the eastern Mediterranean. Thus, Berlin reasoned that Turkey would maintain neutrality, only as long as southeast Europe remained clear of conflict between the

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2 D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 84. On April 4, the Turkish Ambassador Hamdi Arpag personally called on Ribbentrop and stated that Turkey was not adopting a favorable attitude towards Great Britain's attempt at encirclement of Germany. Ibid., 188-89.

3 Italy invaded Albania on April 7, 1939.
major powers. In an attempt to counter the moves by Great Britain and France to extend their encirclement of Germany by an alliance with Turkey, the Germans increased their press propaganda and economic pressure. But more important, Franz von Papen was appointed by Hitler as Ambassador to Turkey.\(^5\)

Upon arriving in Ankara on April 27, Papen began a series of talks with Turkish officials aimed at a reorientation of that country along German lines. But it soon became clear that Turkey was definitely drifting into the British sphere of influence. Turkish President Ismet Inönü told Papen that it was Italy's actions that were most instrumental in determining the outcome of the Anglo-Turkish negotiations. Inönü stated that Italy had been following an unfriendly policy towards Turkey since the Ethiopian Campaign and that relations between the countries were slowly deteriorating as was evident in the question of possession of the small islands of the Dodecanese, and more recently the Italian occupation of Albania. In respect to Albania, Turkey was especially alarmed at the size of the

\(^4\) D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 355-56.

\(^5\) Kilic, Turkey, 67. For further information on the economic pressure, see Chapter II, p. 37. Papen's appointment to Ankara was based on several reasons: his previous military experience in Turkey during World War I; his political astuteness shown by his prominent roles in both Hitler's assumption of the Chancellorship and the annexation of Austria.
Italian garrison. Therefore, the Turkish government felt that it was obliged to secure its position even if it meant alignment with Great Britain. Papen cautioned the President that any commitment by Turkey to the Western Powers would probably draw the Turks one step closer to war, but İnönü answered that, personally, he discounted the possibility of war.

At the conclusion of the interview Papen telegraphed Berlin that it should advise Rome to inform Ankara of Italy's peaceful intentions in the Balkans and announce a reduction of its troops in Albania. Papen hoped that such action would forestall the conclusion of a mutual assistance pact, but such preventive moves by the Axis were too late. On May 2, 1939, Turkey signed with Great Britain a declaration which stated that the two countries would soon conclude a long-term treaty and in the meantime would cooperate on a mutual aid basis if an act of aggression occurred leading to war in the Mediterranean area.

6 Initially Italy had occupied Albania with 20,000 men, but by the end of April, this number had risen to 72,000. D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 408.

7 Ibid., 408-09. İnönü also added that "if Germany expected a world war, she would have to make Italy march twenty-four hours ahead of herself, to be sure of Italian participation."

8 Woodward, British Foreign Policy, 76-7. France would have signed the declaration if problems had not arisen with the Turkish government concerning the cession of the Hatay (the Sanjak of Alexandretta). The difficulty was soon resolved, and on June 23, 1939, a Franco-Turkish declaration was announced in terms similar to the Anglo-Turkish declaration. For the text of the declaration, see Documents on Events Preceding the Outbreak of the War, (Berlin, 1939), 321.
Several days after the conclusion of the declaration, Papen visited State Secretary Menemencioglu who stated that, though it was correct that the agreements, except for minor details, had been completed, there was still some question concerning when the declaration would be presented to the National Assembly for approval. The State Secretary assured Papen that it was directed towards Italy, not Germany. Further, it was purely defensive in character and designed to quiet anxiety in the Mediterranean and contribute towards the general peace. The German Ambassador expressed Berlin's displeasure with the entire affair and its hope that Turkey and Italy would soon be able to resolve their differences. The Secretary replied that Italian duplicity had gone too far for any such event in the near future.\footnote{D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 437-38. Italian Foreign Minister Ciano believed that Turkish hostility was also directed toward Germany; see Galeazzo Ciano, The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943, (New York, 1946), 85.}

On May 12, 1939, the Turkish National Assembly approved the declaration of May 2. Turkey had moved from its position of absolute neutrality into the camp of the Western Powers. However, all was not lost on the German side, for a definite pact with Great Britain had not yet been concluded. Papen informed Berlin that it was highly possible that the future pact could be restricted in its scope by German counter measures and suggested that a way
be found for the Italian threat to be reduced in the area of the Dodecanese, but primarily in Albania.\footnote{D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 544-45.}

During June, Ambassador Papen met several times with both the Turkish President and State Secretary. Following instructions from Berlin, Papen expressed Germany's surprise and displeasure with Turkey's move towards Great Britain. He told the Turks that the Wilhelmstrasse viewed the Declaration a definite move by their country to associate itself with the policy of the encirclement powers.\footnote{Refers to Great Britain and France and their policy of trying to surround Germany by the conclusion of military treaties.}

The Turkish officials denied any such implication and repeatedly stated that their policy was only designed to serve Turkish security in the Mediterranean and was in no way intended to damage German interests.\footnote{D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 667.}

In Berlin, Foreign Minister Ribbentrop met with the Turkish Ambassador Arpag and discussed the recent Anglo-Turkish Declaration. The Foreign Minister was particularly annoyed by the fact that Turkey had told the German Ambassador during April that it had no intention of abandoning its neutrality; only two weeks later Germany was faced with a fait accompli. Ribbentrop warned the Ambassador that if it should appear that Turkey was pursuing an aggressive policy, there could be serious repercussions. Arpag quickly
assured the Foreign Minister that the declaration "was an agreement directed not towards, but against, aggression."\(^{13}\)

After receiving the Turkish Ambassador's report concerning the conversation with Ribbentrop, Turkish Foreign Minister Saracoglu questioned Papen about its significance. Papen told him that Berlin wanted to make clear the seriousness of the situation that had arisen as a consequence of the new Turkish policy. Saracoglu stated that he hoped Germany would soon decide if there was to be a change in its relations with Turkey, for this "policy of suspense" was not appreciated by the Turkish government. Papen answered that he would inform the Turkish Foreign Ministry if there were any change.\(^{14}\)

Several days later, the German Ambassador was told by Menemencioglu that a Franco-Turkish declaration analogous to the Anglo-Turkish declaration was soon to be concluded. Papen mentioned to the State Secretary that Berlin would consider it a friendly act if the reference to the Balkan Pact, which appeared in the Anglo-Turkish agreement, were left out of the Franco-Turkish declaration.\(^{15}\) He explained

\(^{13}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 673.
\(^{14}\) Ibid., 709.
\(^{15}\) Papen was referring to paragraph 6 of the Anglo-Turkish Declaration which stated: "The two Governments recognize that it is also necessary to ensure the establishment of security in the Balkans and they are consulting together with the object of achieving that purpose as speedily as possible. Ibid., 636."
that the omission of the paragraph would be regarded by
the Wilhelmstrasse as evidence that Turkey was not attempt-
ting to draw the other states of the Balkan Entente into
the encirclement against the Axis. Menemencioglu answered
that such an act was impossible. An identical text had
already been agreed upon, and the omission of the paragraph
would only cause assertions that the Franco-Turkish Decla-
ration was substantially restricted as compared with the
Anglo-Turkish Declaration. The State Secretary further
stated that the paragraph in point merely meant that the
Balkans were a Turkish sphere of interest and was not an
attempt at collective security with the help of Great
Britain and France. Berlin was not pleased with the Tur-
kish position; however, it did nothing further to prevent
the agreement, and on June 23 the declaration was conclu-
ded. 16

While Turkey negotiated with Great Britain and France
throughout the summer for the conclusion of a definite
pact, Germany attempted to limit the extent of Turkey's
commitments. Papen gave State Secretary Menemencioglu con-
stant warnings that Turkey should not, as advised by
Great Britain, guarantee Rumania's frontiers, as it would
be viewed as an unfriendly act in Berlin. The State Sec-
retary explained that his country did not unilaterally
 guarantee any frontiers; however, if Rumania was attacked

16 D.G.F.P., Series D, VI, 764.
and it was supported by Great Britain, then the Turkish treaty would also come into operation.\textsuperscript{17}

By the end of July 1939, Papen's efforts to persuade the Turks to limit the forthcoming treaties seemed to be resulting in some success. Turkey had abandoned the proposed bipartite British and French pacts and had decided to conclude a tripartite pact. The Ambassador felt that this arrangement provided the Turks with greater elasticity, and Turkey could, if the situation occurred, "raise objections with one of the partners to the policy of the third if it became too burdensome to her own interests and obligations."\textsuperscript{18}

With the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on August 25, Berlin instructed Papen to find if there had been a change in Turkish policy, specifically if the Turks had returned, as Germany desired, to a position of strict neutrality. In a conversation with Papen, President İnönü stated that though his country was impressed by the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Turkey would still act in its own interests. And though Turkey hoped to remain neutral, if a conflict occurred, it could not withdraw from its treaty obligations. Papen pointed out that the Nazi-Soviet Pact had profoundly changed the balance of power in Europe and that a blockade of the Axis was no longer possible. There-

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{D.G.F.P.}, Series D, VI, 846-47.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, 1009.
fore, he advised the President to withdraw his country from the policy of encirclement. İnönü answered that if war did occur, then Italy would likely sooner or later join against the Western Powers and endanger Turkey's position in the eastern Mediterranean. It was because of this possibility that Turkey had entered into agreements with Great Britain and France.  

Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1 had no immediate effect on Turkey's attitude towards the proposed tripartite pact. Foreign Minister Saracoglu mentioned to Papen that he hoped Turkey would be able to stay outside a European war but reiterated that his country's reaction depended on Italy. Of more importance to the Turks in relation to the negotiations with Great Britain and France were the actions of their northern neighbor - Russia.

As a result of a previous Russo-Turkish treaty, the Turks were faced with the possibility that their agreements with Great Britain and France which were likely to be formalized in a Tripartite Pact might lead Russia and Turkey into war. Thus, in early September, Turkish Foreign Minister Saracoglu visited Moscow in an attempt to explain

20 According to the terms of the Russo-Turkish Non-Aggression Pact of 1925, Turkey could not conclude any alliance or agreement with a third country or group of countries if it were directed against the military and maritime security of the Soviet Union. D.G.F.P., Series D, VIII, 115.
the situation to the Soviets and to propose the conclusion of an assistance pact between Turkey and Russia which would apply to the Straits and the Balkans. Stalin informed German Ambassador Schulenburg of the negotiations and added that the Turkish government wanted the inclusion of a restrictive clause stating that Turkey would not be required to aid the Soviet Union in actions directed against Great Britain and France.\textsuperscript{21}

In his reply to the Soviet government, Ribbentrop stated Germany's objection to the proposed Tripartite Pact and added that Turkey might hesitate to conclude the agreement if pressured by Russia. In reference to the proposed Russo-Turkish pact, Ribbentrop felt that basically the instrument would not be in the interest of Germany because of the implications it would contain towards Germany and the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Therefore, if the Soviet Union concluded such a pact with Turkey, Berlin would demand that a reservation in Germany's favor be included.\textsuperscript{22}

Schulenburg relayed this information to Molotov who stated that though Russia agreed with Berlin and was attempting to shape Turkish opinion into the same channel, it appeared that Turkey was too closely involved with Great

\textsuperscript{21} Sontag, \textit{Nazi-Soviet Relations}, 97.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{D.G.P.P.}, Series D, VIII, 114-16. Ribbentrop further objected that even if the treaty contained the reservation in Germany's favor, it would in practice be directed entirely against Italy and Bulgaria, both of which were close friends of Germany.
Britain and France for a complete abort of the Tripartite Pact. However, Molotov added, his government would attempt to "neutralize" the terms of both the proposed Tripartite and Russo-Turkish Pacts.23

During the first week of October, the Turkish government, in hopes of smoothing relations between Germany and Turkey, appointed a new Ambassador to Berlin, Hüsrev Gerede. 24 This move did not change the Turkish attitude toward either the Tripartite Pact or the Russo-Turkish Pact, and negotiations continued. Nevertheless, it soon became apparent that Turkey's talks with Russia were running into difficulties.

On October 9, Schulenburg informed the German Foreign Office that Molotov had mentioned that the chances for the conclusion of a mutual assistance pact between Russia and Turkey were not good. The principal block was that the Soviet government had specifically told the Turks that it had to safeguard German interests; therefore, the clause in favor of the Germans would have to be included in any assistance pact. But, he added, the possibility still existed that the pact might be concluded, as Turkey had not made a final decision.25

23 D.G.F.P., Series D, VIII, 200; and Sontag, Nazi-Soviet Relations, 113.
24 Hüsrev Gerede, Turkish diplomatist; Ambassador to Germany 1939-1942; had fought with German forces during World War I and was notably pro-German.
25 D.G.F.P., Series D, VIII, 244 and 280.
On October 17, the Turkish delegation headed by Foreign Minister Saracoglu left Moscow. No agreement had been reached. Schulenburg reported that he had been informed by Molotov that Turkey's position still was not clear, and the Turks probably wanted time to consider all aspects. Two days later, in answer to Germany and Russia, the Anglo-Franco-Turkish Tripartite Pact was signed.  

The Tripartite Pact brought Turkey firmly into the Allied camp. According to its terms, Turkey was to be assisted by the Allies in the event it was attacked by a European power. The Turks would assist the Allies if there were an outbreak of war in the Mediterranean caused by a European power, or if Britain and France should have to enter a conflict because of the promises given Greece and Rumania in April, 1939. Turkey also agreed to assume a position of benevolent neutrality in any other cases involving an attack upon either Great Britain or France. However, Turkey's obligations were qualified by a protocol which allowed it to refrain from taking any action involving the possibility of war with Russia.  

26 According to Woodward, British Foreign Policy, 14, the Russo-Turkish talks failed "mainly over Russian demands (1) that the treaty should not involve the U.S.S.R. in taking part in a war against Germany, and (2) that Turkey should deny passage through the Straits to warships and transports other than those of Black Sea Powers."  

27 Shotwell, Straits, 133-34. For the complete text of the Tripartite Pact, see League of Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 200, 167-75.
The conclusion of the Tripartite Pact was not happily received by the Wilhelmstrasse. On November 3, Ribbentrop instructed Papen to inform the Turkish Foreign Minister Saracoglu that Berlin considered the Pact a violation of Turkey's responsibilities as a neutral power and "an international affront to Germany." Saracoglu answered with the familiar statement that the Pact was not against Germany, but merely a defensive measure. Further, Turkey had wished to limit the extent of the Pact, but the Allied Powers had refused. Ribbentrop also talked with Turkish Ambassador Gerede and accused Turkey of advocating the encirclement policies of the Allies. Gerede denied any such implications and stated that Berlin's information was simply not correct. Throughout the remainder of the Phony War, Germany followed a policy of neutrality towards Turkey and worked to insure that any attempt on the part of the Turks to fulfill their duties under the Tripartite Pact would be checked by a fear of the Soviet Union.


29 Ibid., 389. Specifically, Turkey had wanted to limit Article 3 which stated: "So long as the guarantees given by France and the United Kingdom to Greece and Roumania by their respective Declarations of the 13th April, 1939, remain in force, Turkey will cooperate effectively with France and the United Kingdom and will lend them all aid and assistance in her power, in the event of France and the United Kingdom being engaged in hostilities in virtue of either of the said guarantees."

30 Ibid., 27-8. The Phony War was the period between the defeat of Poland and the invasion of Norway.
With the conquest of Norway and the following invasion of France, the attitude of Turkey became of great importance to Germany. The Germans felt that should Italy enter the War and conduct its operations either in France or the Balkans that the Turkish Army would surely move against the Italians in accordance with the Tripartite Pact. Consequently, the Wehrmacht might be forced to over-extend its available man-power and endanger the chances for final victory. Thus, the Führer attempted throughout the initial phases of the French Campaign to keep Mussolini out of the conflict, at least temporarily.\(^{31}\)

When the extent of the German successes in France became evident during the latter part of May, the Turkish government began to modify its stand on how strictly the Tripartite Pact would be interpreted if Italy took an active role in the war. On June 2, Turkish Prime Minister Seydam released a statement on the European conflict which avoided any mention of the treaty with Great Britain and France. Also, an editorial appeared in the Turkish newspaper Tan, previously anti-Italian, which commented that "if a belligerent Italy were to confine operations to the French frontier, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean - Turkey's 'security area' - might still remain outside the

war." On June 10, 1940, Italy declared war on the Allies. Turkey now had to make a decision.

Four days later, the Turkish government issued a confidential statement to the Germans which said in effect that if Turkey entered the war at the present time, there was a definite chance that it might result in a Russo-Turkish war. Therefore, Turkey had decided to put into effect Protocol No. 2 of the Tripartite Pact and preserve its position of neutrality. Berlin was relieved by Turkey's assumption of neutrality, for it could now turn its full attention to the invasion of Great Britain without fear of immediate involvement in the Balkans.

Prior to 1939, Germany did not particularly concern itself with the position of Turkey, for the Turks were following a neutral policy. However, when the Nazis began planning the invasion of Poland and the Turks started moving in the direction of alignment with the Western Powers, the importance of a neutral Turkey became clear to the Wilhelmstrasse. A close association with the West would force the Germans to take Turkey's position into serious account in the event of a European war. In an attempt to change Turkey's views, Papen was sent to Ankara as the German Ambassador.

Quoted from Survey, Neutrals, 347.

This protocol stated that Turkey would not be compelled by its obligations under the Tripartite Pact to take any action resulting in an armed conflict with the Soviet Union.
Papen's arrival came too late to forestall the Anglo-Turkish Declaration. However, he continued working to stop the conclusion of a more encompassing and definitive treaty and at the same time tried to bring Turkey's views closer to those held by Berlin. Initially, the Ambassador was unsuccessful due to Turkish fear of Italian motives in the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans and the promises of aid which the Western Powers offered if there were a war in Turkey's "security area." After the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Berlin realized that one trump card existed short of invasion which could possibly control the sway of Turkish foreign policy - fear of an expansion-minded Russia. With this in mind, the Wilhelmstrasse attempted to prevent a Russo-Turkish treaty.

The conclusion of the Tripartite Pact was a disappointment to Berlin, but considering that it followed the failure of Russo-Turkish negotiations and was worded so that it was not an actual threat to Germany, the Pact was definitely not a complete defeat from Berlin's point of view. The German Foreign Ministry figured that the mere thought of a Russian Straits would be sufficient to keep Turkey in the role of a neutral, and it was proved correct.
CHAPTER VI

THE GERMAN - TURKISH FRIENDSHIP TREATY

1940 - 1941

Italy's declaration of war and Turkey's refusal to furnish active aid to the Allies in June 1940 caused the Third Reich to begin pursuing ways to draw Turkey closer to the Axis orbit. The geographical importance of Turkey was apparent to the Germans, especially in relation to operations in the direction of the Suez Canal. Berlin was anxious to gain concessions for the transit of war materials and troops, if necessary into the Near East.¹ And it would be much easier if the Germans were

¹ The Near East is analogous to the British Middle East and includes Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq and the countries of the Arabian Peninsula.
allowed to traverse Turkish territory. As a move in this direction, German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop attempted to force the replacement of Turkish Foreign Minister Saracoglu.

In July 1940, the German Foreign Ministry began the publishing of a sixth German White Book consisting of French military and diplomatic documents which had been captured during the French Campaign. The documents given the greatest attention by the Germans were those allegedly containing information on plans for Allied operations in the Near East, and most significantly, against the Russian oil fields located in the Caucasus. Concerning the operations in the Caucasus, the Germans made a special effort to emphasize the role supposedly played by France's Ambassador in Ankara, René Massigli, and Turkish Foreign Minister Sukru Saracoglu. According to the White Book, Massigli had had an interview with Saracoglu in which the latter suggested that air attacks on the Russian oil fields take off from a base within Turkey. Consequently, the German propaganda machine was now demanding Saracoglu's dismissal.

The Turkish government denied emphatically that either it or any of its ministers had been involved in any dealings


3 Kilic, Turkey, 84; and D.G.F.P., Series D, X, 124-25. In view of this information Ribbentrop was also considering demanding the removal of Massigli from his post through the German-French Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden. The French Ambassador was soon recalled, but whether or not for this specific reason, I do not know.
Turkish Prime Minister Seydam publicly stated that his country's policy had been and was directed solely towards guarding its own interests and had never suggested that such an act be directed against Russia. It soon became evident that, in spite of Ribbentrop's accusations, Turkey was not going to dismiss Saracoglu without a complete investigation.

The Foreign Minister had built his image within the government to such an extent that Seydam was hesitant to oust him unless the Prime Minister was prepared to accept responsibility for the alleged incident. And more importantly, the Turkish public, in light of the capitulations following the First World War, was extremely touchy about doing anything which might be considered the result of pressure by a European power. One official in the Turkish Foreign Ministry asked Papen: "Why are you creating a second Delcassé case?" Ambassador Papen denied that there was any parallel with the present situation and added that the Third Reich was not concerned over who conducted Turkish Foreign Policy.

4 D.G.F.P., Series D, X, 233. The Delcassé case refers to the First Moroccan Crisis, 1905-1906, in which William II of Germany made speeches in Tangiers calling for free trade and equality in Moroccan affairs. The German Foreign Office then suggested an international conference to bring reform and guard interests of countries interested in Morocco. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, who was looking for French ascendency there, opposed the German plan. However, the French cabinet was not in agreement with Delcassé, and he was forced to resign.

5 Considering what had happened, Papen surely must
Berlin soon realized that Turkey could not be coerced into removing Saracoglu. Turkey indicated that it was willing to fight even if pressure were brought by Russia, though no pressure appeared from that sector. And in these circumstances, the German Foreign Office let the matter drop.\footnote{In his memoirs, Papen flatly disavowed any major role in Ribbentrop’s plot. Papen, Memoirs, 463–64. However, it is evident in the official messages he sent to the German Foreign Office that he played a vital role.}

At the beginning of the Battle of Britain in August 1940, Germany realized that this campaign would be greatly benefitted if the Axis were able to attack the British Empire at different points of its vital interests. Specifically, a joint German-Italian operation against the Empire in the Near and Middle East. It was obvious that a friendly Turkey would be an asset to any such operations, for the Turks could present an unpleasant threat to the flank of any military movements in that direction. So throughout the following months, Berlin tried to bring a recalcitrant Turkey into a closer association with the Axis. However, these efforts by Germany soon received a definite setback.

Italy’s invasion of Greece on October 28 posed a direct threat to the sovereignty of Turkey. Turkish
officials questioned Papen on the effect that the Italian-Greek war would have on German policy. He replied that Berlin felt that it was Italy's concern and that the Italians could solve the problem through their own means. However, Germany wanted to make clear that if Great Britain opened a front in Greece, the Reich would likely reconsider its position.7

On November 29, Papen met with President İnönü and extended overtures for Turkish cooperation in the New Order. The Ambassador stated that he was authorized by Berlin to offer Turkey assurances on the same basis as those given by Great Britain in the Tripartite Pact. Germany realized that Turkey's commitments to Britain were completely defensive and felt that the assurances of the Axis Powers added to those of the British would surely meet with the approval of the Turkish people. Also, Turkey would not have to accept a British victory as the only answer. İnönü asked the Ambassador what Germany's position was in respect to peace in the Balkans. Papen answered that, as previously stated, Berlin had complete confidence in Italy's ability but would intervene if a British front were created in the Balkans. When asked what was meant by a British front, Papen said the presence of operational forces.8

8 Ibid., 742-43. Actually, at this time, the situation was not good for the Italians, and Great Britain was sending as much aid as possible. Thus, Papen's statement as much as meant that Germany would take action in the Balkans.
The President stated that Turkey hoped the Germans would not find it necessary to extend military operations into the Balkans. But he was interested in the authenticity of the rumors that the Third Reich would invade Greece in order to save the situation for the Italians. Papen admitted there was a vague possibility but assured the President that if it did occur, Germany would protect Turkey's interests. In reference to the assurances offered by Germany, İnönü mentioned Turkey's profound distrust of Italy. The German Ambassador replied that Germany would be guarantor of any assurances and that Italy would pose no problems. In closing, Papen pointed out that though the European war was not over, it was reaching a turning point; thus, it was important for the Turks not to hesitate too long before deciding on a definite course of action. The President stated that he would instruct Foreign Minister Saracoglu to contact Papen after a serious consideration of Berlin's suggestions.9

On December 2, Saracoglu met with Papen. The Foreign Minister stated that his government was interested in the New Order in Europe as presented by the Axis and would probably like to take an active role, especially concerning problems in the Balkans and the Near East. However, he added the Axis would have to guarantee the sovereignty of Turkey and its zones of interest.10 Also the Turks would

10 The zones, of course, were the Balkans & eastern Mediterranean.
not care to negotiate with Italy. Papen answered that all decisions would be made in consultation with the Italians, but he would try to arrange for the negotiations to be conducted by Germany.11

Two weeks later, State Secretary Menemencioglu questioned Ambassador Papen concerning the state of the political conversations. Papen replied that Berlin had not sent any further instructions and was most likely awaiting the outcome of the Bulgarian-Turkish negotiations.12 Menemencioglu accepted the explanation, but little did he suspect the true reason for Berlin's hesitancy.

On December 13, 1940, Hitler issued Directive No. 20, 'Operation Marita' - the invasion of Greece. The German Foreign Ministry knew that this military operation placed the proposed German-Turkish negotiations in a different light. The Turks did not want further intervention in the Balkans and had even stated that a peaceful southeastern Europe was a basis for talks with the Germans. Therefore, Berlin evidently felt that any further attempts to draw Turkey closer to the Axis would be wasted until the Italian-Greek conflict was resolved. So, for the next several months, the Germans directed their efforts in Turkey towards

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12 Turkey was attempting to bring Bulgaria into a closer association with the Balkan Entente, but was unsuccessful.
assuring its neutrality during the forthcoming German intervention.\textsuperscript{13}

During March 1941, a political revolution occurred in Iraq supported by the Axis. By the end of the month, the Regent, Abdul Ilah,\textsuperscript{14} fled from Baghdad, and pro-Nazi Rashid Ali\textsuperscript{15} assumed the premiership on April 4. Immediately, Rashid Ali contacted Papen in Ankara and asked for military aid. Germany was anxious to aid the rebels; however, it was busy in Greece and, more importantly, Berlin would have to secure the right of transit for arms and troops through Turkey in order to give their cohorts sufficient support. Thus, Berlin decided to wait until the conclusion of the Balkan Campaign before turning its attention to the problem in Iraq.\textsuperscript{16}

It did not take the Nazi war machine long to add Yugoslavia and Greece to its list of occupied countries. By April 24, both areas had capitulated to Germany, and the following day Papen met with Turkish Ambassador Gerede

\textsuperscript{13} For a more detailed discussion of Germany's political policies in Turkey from January - March 1941, see Chapter I, pp. 21-24.

\textsuperscript{14} Abdul Ilah. Regent of Iraq 1939-1941; was the maternal uncle of the infant King Faisal II.

\textsuperscript{15} Rashid Ali el-Gailani. Premier of Iraq March 1940-January 1941, and April-May 1941; fled to Germany after the failure of the revolt; sentenced to death in absentia; after the war was granted asylum in Saudia Arabia.

\textsuperscript{16} George Lenczowski, \textit{The Middle East in World Affairs}, (New York, 1953), 224-25. [Hereafter cited as Lenczowski, \textit{The Middle East}.]
to discuss the possibility of a German-Turkish mutual treaty. The German Ambassador brought up the question of Iraq and asked Gerede if Turkey would be willing to back that country's desire to gain independence. Gerede answered that though he hoped that Germany and Turkey would pursue a parallel policy concerning the Near Eastern Arab States, he was not certain whether the treaty with Great Britain allowed Turkey to make any agreement with the Germans regarding Iraq. However, he personally would support any German proposals in that connection.

In Berlin, there was a definite move to bring Turkey into closer relations with the Third Reich. On May 4, Hitler delivered an address to the Reichstag in which he praised the inspired leaders of the Turkish Republic and the achievements they had made since the defeat of the First World War. The Führer also complimented Turkey's realistic attitude in preserving its independence and not, such as Yugoslavia, following the wishes of the British. In line with this policy, Ambassador Papen was recalled to Germany.

17 Actually, Iraq had gained its full independence in the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930. However, it was obvious from the terms of the treaty that Great Britain was the most favored nation and obtained many rights within Iraq not enjoyed by other nations. It was probably this fact that caused Papen to refer to Iraq as not independent. For a discussion of the treaty's major provisions, see Lenczowski, The Middle East, 219-20.

18 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 637-38.

19 Ibid., 1021.
and directed to acquire the right to ship arms for Iraq across Turkey.

Upon returning to Ankara, Papen was visited by the Iraqi War Minister, Naji Shawkat. The Minister informed Papen that the Gailani government in Iraq was still determined to resist British attempts to restore the former government to power. Nevertheless, he hoped that Turkey could be persuaded to continue mediation of the dispute if only to gain time. Papen agreed that Turkish mediation should continue, for it would allow more time for the mobilization of German-Italian assistance. In addition, it might impair Anglo-Turkish relations. However, the Ambassador pointed out, in the present circumstances the Axis would have a difficult time sending adequate military assistance to Iraq. But it was hoped that this question would be settled very soon.

On May 16, Ambassador Papen met with Foreign Minister Saracoglu and discussed German-Turkish relations. Papen stated that Berlin was extremely interested in sending war munitions to Iraq. And he had been directed to inquire if they could be shipped through Turkey. Germany would demand absolute security of the transit route. However, he added that the war materials would be addressed to Iran so that Turkey would be guarded against any obvious violation of

20 Sayid Naji Shawkat. Iraqi War Minister, April-May 1941.
21 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 812.
its treaty with Great Britain. Saracoglu made no initial objection to these proposals and said that he would present them to his government. But he said that if it was receptive to Germany's proposals, it would first be necessary to contact the British Ambassador Knatchbull-Hugessen and inform him that Turkey felt it necessary to clarify its position towards the Third Reich.22

After reading the report of the conversations, Ribbentrop instructed Papen to conduct oral negotiations aimed at the conclusion of an open treaty with Turkey plus a secret protocol which would allow Germany the right of unlimited shipment of war munitions through Turkey. Also, the German Foreign Minister told the Ambassador to explain that the treaty Turkey had concluded with France and Great Britain was no longer of any value. France had been defeated and Britain was in no position to render effective aid to Turkey. Furthermore, France was moving towards the German side. Thus, the agreement had lost both its legal and practical foundations. Ribbentrop believed that if nothing else, Turkey would be able to explain the proposed treaty with Germany on reasons of self-preservation, in view of the fact that Britain could no longer supply support against the supposed German and actual Russian danger. In regard to the Russian threat, Papen was directed to state that Germany would provide sufficient protection to the

22 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 828.
Turks. And as a final incentive the German Ambassador was to mention the possibility that some land near Adrianople and one or more islands in the Aegean might be given to Turkey.

The following day, Papen telegraphed Berlin and told the Foreign Minister that evidently he had misinterpreted the Ambassador's previous reports, for it would not be easy to effect such an extensive treaty with Turkey. In fact it would be impossible at the present time to conclude a treaty which would allow Germany to ship through Turkey an amount of war material to be determined solely by the Germans. Papen admitted that he had said that İnönü was going to alter his relations with Britain, but this did not mean that the change would be immediate. Actually, it was imperative that Germany allow Turkey gradually to change its relations with the west for it would not be to Berlin's advantage to try forcing Turkey's hand. Papen reminded Ribbentrop that since the start of the war, public opinion in Turkey had been in favor of a British victory simply on the basis of Italo-Turkish antagonism. Therefore, the

23 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 836-37.

24 G.F.O.D., Turkey, 10. There is a close correlation between these documents and those contained in D.G.F.P., Series D; however, occasionally they do differ. According to Jäckh, Rising Crescent, 250-51, Turkish Ambassador Gerede had been offered, in addition to the above, fifty per cent of the output of the Mosul oilfields and a fifteen-year mandate over Syria, if Turkey would permit Germany to transmit war materials across Turkish territory. However, I found no other reference to this information.
Wilhelmstrasse should continue along a moderate policy, because any flagrant disregard of Turkish national dignity could possibly result in a coup d'état similar to the one in Yugoslavia.25

Two days lapsed before Foreign Minister Ribbentrop replied to Papen's communiqué, but in the telegram he agreed with the German Ambassador's statements and cancelled the previous instructions. Instead, the Foreign Minister directed the Ambassador to conduct the negotiations in several phases. Initially, the Foreign Ministry wanted an agreement permitting the passage of war material through Turkey. Papen was instructed to explain that the Turks would gain a guarantee of their national sovereignty and possibly additional land. However, the Turkish government must understand that Berlin wanted the right of unlimited transit, if the need should arise.26

On May 20, Ambassador Papen presented Foreign Minister Saracoglu with a list of proposals and suggested that they be used as the basis for discussion. The documents consisted of an open treaty defining the mutual understanding between the two countries. Along with three secret protocols dealing with areas of land to go to Turkey at the conclusion of the war, transit of war materials, and a trade agreement. The Turkish negotiators agreed with the chief

points, although Menemencioglu felt that his government might be influenced by Great Britain. A question also arose concerning the French request for arms transit to Syria. Saracoglu indicated that a judicial situation existed due to the lapse of the Franco-Turkish trade agreement, but that the transit request would be given every consideration by Turkey.  

Several days later, Great Britain replied to Turkey's feelers on the negotiations with Germany. The British made such caustic remarks against Turkey's participation in the talks that Saracoglu expressed concern that they might break relations with Ankara. Thus, the Turkish Foreign Minister felt that it would be better for his government not to provide any excuse for the world to think that Turkey broke its word with Britain. State Secretary Menemencioglu handed Papen a tentative declaration to be made public simultaneously with the proposed treaty which stated that Germany would not ask anything of the Turks incompatible with the Anglo-Turkish treaty. The German Ambassador objected to the declaration, because he felt that Berlin would probably have to be satisfied with oral promises concerning the transit of arms. The Turkish government then withdrew the declaration and stated that it could not give Germany even oral promises about the transit of arms. Papen argued that at least in regard to French-controlled Syria the Turks had

a legal obligation, but he was rejected by the Turkish
opinion that: "One must be in a position to reply to the
English that nothing had been agreed upon which directly
or indirectly might be aimed against the former allies." 28

Nevertheless, the next day Papen and Saracoglu drew
up a tentative agreement pending the approval of their
individual governments. The open treaty merely stated
promises of non-aggression by each of the signatories. The
secret protocol, on the other hand, contained the changes
in Turkey's frontier which would be taken into account at
the time of peace negotiations. Papen believed that the
political effect of the treaty on world opinion would be
far more important at that time than shipment of material
and, therefore, recommended that Berlin conclude the treaty.
The Ambassador reasoned that the proposed German-Turkish
friendship agreement contained several aspects beneficial
to the Axis: it would appear to the other nations that the
final British ally in Europe had lost confidence in Britain's
ability to win the war; Great Britain could no longer count
on Turkey; and Britain's anticipated verbal attacks on Turkey
would push the Turks closer to the German point of view. 29

Ribbentrop's reaction to Papen's report was anything
but agreeable. He criticized the Ambassador for promising
Turkey areas of land and receiving nothing in return.

29 Ibid., 887-89.
Further, he stated, if Turkey were willing to allow shipment of war material addressed to Afghanistan and Iran, then it did not make sense why the Samsun-Teheran route through Turkey should be the only one allowed for passage, especially in light of the fact that earlier Germany had transferred materials to Iran via Iraq.\(^\text{30}\)

The German Ambassador defended every action he had taken during the negotiations. Generally, he felt that the Turkish government should not be forced into making concessions which it could not justify before both world opinion, and more importantly, its fellow-countrymen. If this did happen, there could very easily be a coup d'\'état. Papen requested permission to continue the talks on the present basis. Ribbentrop refused to grant such authority and instructed him to adopt a more demanding policy. However, the Ambassador was directed not to resume talks until June 2.\(^\text{31}\)

By the first part of June, the situation was completely reversed in Iraq. Britain had sent reinforcements from Palestine, aided by a motorized regiment from Transjordan. These troops fought several successful battles and by the

\(^{30}\) Turkey allowed the Axis to send small quantities of war materials to Iraq in a camouflaged manner. That is, the goods were addressed Iran or Afghanistan when actually they would end up in Iraq. Also, Turkey permitted the shipment of aviation fuel (which it interestingly classified as non-war material) to Syria. D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 887, 915. For disagreeing opinions, see Kilic, Turkey, 891; Knatchbull-Hugessen, Diplomat, 170.

\(^{31}\) D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 915.
end of May entered Baghdad. The rebellion was over. Berlin now took a different view of the German-Turkish negotiations.\footnote{Due primarily to the Luftwaffe's commitment in Crete, Germany had not been able to provide much aid to the Rashid Ali regime. However, about fifty German planes did land in Iraq. Lenczowski, \textit{The Middle East}, 226.}

Foreign Minister Ribbentrop telegraphed Papen on June 1 and informed him that due to the change of circumstances in Iraq during the last few days, Berlin was not interested in the transport of war materials across Turkey. Thus, a political treaty was no longer contingent on a commitment by the Turks. Ribbentrop instructed the Ambassador to notify Saracoglu that Germany was now in basic agreement with the previous proposals. Enclosed with the Foreign Minister's message was a separate telegram containing drafts of a treaty and a secret protocol drawn up by Berlin. In the open treaty, Germany requested mutual promises of non-aggression and consultation over questions of common interest. And in the secret protocol, the Germans promised to guarantee Turkish sovereignty in the Straits, if Turkey would take into account the necessities of German shipping. Further, the Reich would consider Turkish territorial desires in southeastern Europe at the conclusion of the peace.\footnote{For the complete text of Ribbentrop's proposals, see \textit{D.G.F.P.}, Series D, XII, 938-40.}

The following day, Papen questioned Ribbentrop as to the advisibility of the wording of Article 1. Though it
proposed a non-aggression pact for Germany, Turkey would be free to attack the Reich any place outside Germany's national frontiers. Also, the Ambassador thought that the article should be constructed so that it precluded an attack on Turkey by any other power allied with the Third Reich. In answer, the Foreign Minister reminded Papen that the Axis was the master of Europe, and he was certain that Turkey was aware of this fact. Thus, the Third Reich had little fear of a Turkish attack. And concerning the second criticism, Berlin would have no objection if the Turkish government desired to protect its frontiers by concluding treaties with other nations, namely Italy.34

Throughout the next week, negotiations continued between the two countries. Various phrases in the treaty drafts were added and deleted by mutual agreement. Berlin, however, would not budge on what it considered to be the essence of the treaty - neutrality on the part of Turkey. On this point the Turkish government was willing to refrain from any military cooperation with Great Britain. But the Turks would not agree to abandon political discussions with the British because such talks could become absolutely necessary in cases like the administration of the Baghdad Railway if Britain occupied Syria.35 Ribbentrop accused

34 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 952, 954-56.

35 After the British victory in Iraq, it became likely that they would soon attack Vichy-controlled Syria. The Baghdad Railway was regarded by the Turks as their property,
Turkey of trying to protect itself from Germany while openly aiding Great Britain in Syria. However, Papen assured the Foreign Minister that such was not the case. Turkey was only trying to protect its property and sincerely desired to assume a neutral position.36

On June 17, Papen reported to Berlin that he had compared treaty texts with Foreign Minister Saracoglu and except for a minor revision, both parties were in full agreement. The Ambassador stated that Turkey was prepared to conclude the agreement the following evening, and he requested authorization to sign the treaty. Ambassador Papen was immediately granted full powers, and the German-Turkish Friendship Treaty was concluded at Ankara, June 18, 1941.37

The treaty pleased the Germans. In it, the two states agreed to respect each other's territory, to refrain from action, direct or indirect, against one another, and to settle all questions affecting their common interests by

and the fact that the route crossed the Turkish-Syrian frontier four times would put transportation within Turkey on a precarious basis if Britain occupied Syria and the Turks were not able to negotiate with them. More importantly, since Turkey was cut off from Europe, the Baghdad Railway was the main connection with the outside world. On June 8, 1941, British troops invaded Syria and an armistice was signed on July 14. However, Turkey was not forced to close the railway.

36 D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 1024-25.

37 For the complete text of the treaty, see D.G.F.P., Series D, XII, 1051.
peaceful means. Germany, no doubt, would have preferred a closer understanding with the Turks. But this might have necessitated military intervention. Thus, Berlin settled for a neutral Turkey to insure flank protection during the invasion of Russia on June 22.

Turkey's failure to act during the advance of the Axis forces into France in the spring of 1940 left Berlin with the idea that the Turks could be negotiated into a position of neutrality, if not into an outright alliance with Germany. Ribbentrop took the first step when he unsuccessfully attempted to force the Turks into adopting an attitude favorable to the Germans by disgracing Saracoglu and the Turkish government.

The Italian invasion of Greece in October 1940 dealt a blow to Nazi hopes of a German-Turkish alliance because of the mistrust Turkey felt for the Italians. However, the subsequent spectacular German conquest of the Balkans and the potential threat posed by the huge concentration of forces in Bulgaria caused the Turks to reconsider their position.

Berlin's request for the right to transit war material across Turkish territory was carefully considered by Ankara. Personally, the Turks were favorable to the idea, but Great Britain, with whom they had a close alliance, objected vehemently. Turkey was caught between the two belligerents.
Fortunately, the Germans withdrew their request, allegedly due to the failure of the Rashid Ali rebellion, and settled for the mildly worded Friendship Treaty.

The agreement was certainly less than Berlin wanted, but the Nazis had to be content unless they were willing to endanger the Russian campaign and divert substantial forces for an attack on Turkey. However, the Germans did receive one benefit from the agreement - a guarantee of Turkish neutrality. And, furthermore, if the Wehrmacht was successful in Russia, it would present such a threat to Turkey that unless the Turks wanted to suffer a similar fate, a close alliance with Germany would be the only reasonable alternative.
CHAPTER VII

THE EFFECT OF OPERATION BARBAROSSA

ON GERMAN - TURKISH RELATIONS 1941-1944

As the Wehrmacht poured across the Russian frontiers from the Baltic to the Black Sea on Sunday morning, June 22, 1941, there was great excitement throughout Turkey. The Turkish government, which had been deeply concerned over Russia's hostile attitude and the definite possibility of a combined Russo-German operation against the Straits, now felt that it had been granted at least a temporary reprieve. Turkish public opinion regarded both Germany and Russia as actual threats to Turkish sovereignty and was anxious to see each side destroy the other. However, due to its geographical position and the possibility of invasion, Turkey was careful not to agitate either party.
Prior to the invasion of Russia, Hitler had contemplated an advance from Bulgaria through Turkey to Suez, but because of British successes in the Near East, nothing was actually planned. At the end of June, the Führer issued amendments to Directive No. 32 which concerned preparations for events after the defeat of Russia. The directive called attention to the expected British buildup in the Near and Middle East, and ordered plans to be drawn up for the assembling in Bulgaria of adequate troops to cause Turkey's capitulation either freely or through force. Also, an offensive was to be planned from Transcaucasia against Iraq to be launched in conjunction with the one through Turkey. Neither of these operations was to be put into effect until Russia was defeated. However, unaware of Hitler's plans for the future, the Turkish government continued to express its satisfaction with the course of events in Russia.

In a conversation with Foreign Minister Saracoglu and State Secretary Menemencioglu, Papen attempted to explain that it would be in Turkey's self-interest, in view of its mistrust of Russia, to join with the Reich

1 Trevor-Roper, Blitzkrieg, 78-82. The actual directive had been issued to the Commanders-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht on June 19. Whether or not the amendments concerned Turkey, I do not know. But Trevor-Roper seems to indicate as much.

2 Francis H. Hinsley, Hitler's Strategy, (Cambridge, 1951), 156. [Hereafter cited as Hinsley, Strategy.]
as soon as possible. He pointed to Great Britain's decision to side with Russia and stated that the British, who never in the past had advocated European solidarity, must be considered a definite enemy of Europe. The Turkish statesmen were in sympathy with the ideas put forth by the Ambassador, but they were hesitant to commit their government until the situation in Russia was clearer. Instead, they told Papen that for the present it was necessary to remain neutral, which placed a limit on the extent of Turkey's collaboration with the Reich. But if in the future, it developed that a closer alliance with Germany was in Turkey's interests, it would be assured. 

As the Wehrmacht advanced deeper into Russia, the definite possibility arose in the minds of many Turkish generals and statesmen that Germany might soon win an overwhelming victory. Also, there appeared a concern, especially among the Pan-Turanians, for obtaining from the Germans guarantees of freedom for the millions of Turkish-speaking peoples of the Soviet Union. Specifically, Pan-Turanian circles within Turkey wanted to create these areas with the exception of Azerbaijan, into an outwardly

3 Survey, Neutrals, 353.
4 A movement within Turkey consisting of government officials, army officers, and most importantly, the Turkish intelligensia who desired a national unity for all the Turks in the world. They were especially interested in the area between the Black and the Caspian Seas, including the Crimea.

5 A region south of the Caucasus Mountains and west of the Caspian Sea. It is one of the world's most famous oil-deposit areas.
independent Turkish state which would serve as a buffer area between Russia and Turkey.

On August 5, Ambassador Papen reported to Berlin the existence of this movement. After explaining the general feelings within Turkey and the Turkish-speaking areas towards Pan-Turanianism, he recommended that Germany support the idea. Also, he attached great importance to the formation of a strong state in the area above the Caucasus. About a week later, Ribbentrop answered Papen's communiqué and explained what Berlin believed should be the aims of the German diplomatic effort in Turkey.

The Foreign Minister felt that until Russia was definitely smashed during the coming fall, the Embassy in Turkey should not pursue an overly aggressive policy. He believed that no territorial demands should be made on Turkey, and on the contrary, that Papen should emphasize Turkey's role as guardian of the Straits. Ribbentrop agreed with Papen's view of the Pan-Turanian question, and suggested that Turkey's introverted imperialistic tendencies be promoted by the Embassy. Further, he instructed the Ambassador to assume a negative attitude to all peace overtures and attempts at compromise, especially concerning Great Britain. The Foreign Minister was of the opinion that if every German mission abroad followed this policy, it would make it easier for Berlin to pursue its objectives
In the future.  

On August 25, Ribbentrop met with Turkish Ambassador Gerede and brought up the question of Turkey's official attitude toward the Turkish populations in the Caucasus. Gerede stated that Turkey was not interested in any territories outside its boundaries, at least according to the present policy. The Ambassador further stated that the Pan-Turanian idea no longer existed in Turkey. The Foreign Minister did not press the topic but informed Papen later of the conversation.

Early in September, a Pan-Turanian leader, Nuri Pasha, visited German State Secretary Weizsäcker. Nuri Pasha explained his views on Pan-Turanianism and admitted that the movement was not as strong in Turkey as he and his

It had been reported through United States and British radio and press reports during July that Ambassador Papen had started a peace offensive to begin after the conclusion of the Russian campaign. Papen, of course, denied the reports, and was supported by Paul Leverkuehn, German assistant military attaché in Istanbul. D.G.F.P., Series D, XIII, 207-08, 228-31, 305-06; and Ian Colvin, Chief of Intelligence, (London, 1951), 182. [Hereafter cited as Colvin, Chief of Intelligence.] The truth seems to be that Papen had advocated to the Nazi hierarchy the need for presenting a "constructive peace plan" to Europe at the conclusion of the Russian campaign which would hopefully meet with its approval. According to former German Ambassador to Italy, von Hassell (1932-1937), Papen maintained that Hitler did not object to the idea. Ulrich von Hassell, The Von Hassell Diaries, 1930-1944, (New York, 1947), 217.

Nuri Pasha. A wealthy factory owner and brother of Enver Pasha, Turkish War Minister during World War I, who had once occupied a leading post in the Islam Orlu (a Pan-Turanian organization in Turkey); he was reputed to have particular sympathy for his brother's Pan-Turanian plans.
cohorts desired. Weizsäcker stated that Germany had no political, but only economic interests in the area of the Caucasus, and, therefore, approved of Turkey either incorporating the area or establishing an eastern Turkish state. Pasha added that he would like to stay on in Berlin as an advisor concerning the Caucasus, with which he was extremely familiar concerning its geographic, ethnographic, military, and economic aspects. Weizsäcker, somewhat hesitant to grant this request, instructed him to contact Under State Secretary Woermann in regard to further discussions.

Woermann and Nuri Pasha held several discussions during September 1941. In answer to questions placed by the Under State Secretary, Nuri admitted that Atatürk's policy followed the principle that Turkey would, except for a few frontier changes, not seek objectives beyond its present boundaries. However, he explained, this was merely a matter of expediency caused by fear of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Nuri felt certain that at the proper moment both the Turkish government and the Turkish people would adopt the ideas espoused by the Pan-Turaniens. In his report to the Foreign Ministry, Woermann recommended that Berlin should encourage the creation of ethnically Turkish states.

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8 Ernst Woermann. German diplomatist; Director of the Political Department, and Under State Secretary at the German Foreign Office.

9 It was not specifically stated what the proper moment would be, but it would probably arrive when Russia was defeated.
in the area desired by the Pan-Turanians. But he advised that Germany study carefully the economic implications before handing the land to the Turkish government.  

By the end of October, the German Foreign Office had started to take positive action concerning the Pan-Turanian question. Minister von Hentig was recalled to Berlin to consult with Nuri Pasha on the question. Also, the O.K.W. had been directed to separate the ethnically Turkish and Mohammedan prisoners of war, in the hope of gaining the Turkish government's good will. Ambassador Papen reported to the Wilhelmstrasse that the Turkish government did not object to Germany placing prisoners of Turkish ethnic origin in special camps. However, the Turks were opposed to any policies which would accentuate Pan-Turanian propaganda within Turkey, for it might place their government in a very awkward position. Therefore, Papen recommended that any such propaganda be confined to the prisoner camps and to the training of persons who might be sent into German-occupied areas in Russia.

During November 1941, the German offensive began to experience difficulties. Hitler's plan of completing the

10 D.G.F.P., Series D, XIII, 571-75.
11 von Hentig. German diplomatist. Official at the German Foreign Ministry who had been on temporary duty with the Eleventh Army in the area of the Crimea.
12 The High Command of the German Armed Forces.
Blitzkrieg against Russia by capturing Leningrad and Moscow and occupying the Caucasian region was becoming the subject of a spring offensive. The Führer demanded that Moscow be captured before the end of the year, and a final drive was launched by Army Group Center on November 16. The assault failed, and by December 6 the entire Army Group was under extreme pressure from the Russians. On December 7 the third member of the Axis, Japan, attacked Pearl Harbor. Four days later Germany declared war on the United States and was soon followed by Italy. With the United States’ declaration on the two remaining Axis powers, the sides were definitely drawn. However, the entry of the United States into the war did not particularly bother the Führer. Of far more importance to Hitler was the condition of the Wehrmacht in Russia.

With the entry of the United States, the Turkish government viewed the German-Russian war with greater concern. Previously, Turkey had thought it possible that a compromise could be reached between Great Britain and the Axis, but with the United States actively on the side of the Allies such ideas began to fade. The Turks believed that the only way their country could be kept intact would be by the

14 Alan Clark, Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941-1945, (New York, 1965), 180. [Hereafter cited as Clark, Barbarossa.]
15 Ciano, Diaries, 405; and Bullock, Hitler, 661-64.
16 Bullock, Hitler, 664-65.
reinstitution of the balance of power, especially in the Mediterranean. In a communique to Berlin, Ambassador Papen explained this situation and emphasized that now more than ever the Turkish Republic desired a policy of neutrality. But, he stated, there were two conditions which might possibly force Turkey to abandon the role of a neutral: first, if the Axis were successful in defeating Russia in the spring; second, if the Wehrmacht occupied the Caucasus and threatened Britain's oil supply in the Persian Gulf. In both instances, Turkey would see that it was unlikely that the Allies could win the European war and would perhaps be ready to support the Axis militarily. But, Papen warned, Berlin must not attempt prematurely to force Turkey to assume an active status in the war, whether by ordering the government to declare war or demanding transit rights. Such actions would undoubtedly cause the Turks to join the other side on the basis of violation of sovereign rights.17

Throughout the winter of 1941-1942, the Wehrmacht remained on the defensive in Russia. By February, it was evident that the German armies would pull through, but the unusually cold winter was an ordeal that neither side would forget.18 Because of this undecided situation, Berlin was hesitant to push Ankara too far. Nor was Turkey prepared

17 G.F.O.D., Turkey, 49-51.
18 The special medal given to those who participated in this winter campaign was known as the Gefrierfleisch Orden, the Order of the Frozen Meat. Clark, Barbarossa, 181.
to accept a German victory as a *fait accompli*. The coming German offensive could prove to be decisive.

While the Turkish government hesitated to commit itself to either warring block, an assassination attempt was made on the life of German Ambassador Papen. On February 24, a man was killed by the premature explosion of the device with which he had planned to liquidate the Ambassador, who was only eighteen yards away. The Turkish authorities announced on March 5 that the dead man was Omar Tokat, a communist, and that his co-conspirators, also communists, had been taken into custody. On information gained by interrogation, the police raided the Russian non-diplomatic offices in Ankara and also requested the Russian Consul-General at Istanbul to surrender a suspect who was within the consulate. The Consul-General refused, but when the police surrounded the building and threatened forced entry, the man was soon given up. On April 1, four persons, two Russian and two Turks, were placed on trial in connection with the assassination attempt. The suspects stated that prior to gaining Turkish nationality they had been involved with communist activities in Macedonia, and after arriving in Turkey, they had become communist couriers between Turkey and Yugoslavia. Sayman declared that both he and the

19 These people were: Georgi Pavlov, an official of the Russian trade mission at Istanbul; Leonid Kornilov, also a member of the Russian trade mission at Istanbul and allegedly of the NKVD; Abd ur-Rahān Sayman, a Turkish medical student; and Sulaimān Sav, a Turkish barber.
dead man had been instructed by the Russians to assassinate Papen and thereby cause a war between Germany and Turkey. The Russians had told the assassin that by pressing a certain button of the device, he would produce a smoke-screen behind which he could escape. Evidently, he had pushed the button before firing and had killed himself.20

Because of the failure of the plot and the immediate efforts by the Turkish government to apprehend those involved, Berlin hesitated to criticize Turkey. Hitler, in commenting on the event and political assassinations in general, was very content to blame the entire incident on the Russians.21 The event no doubt helped to increase Germany's prestige within Turkey and conversely caused the Turks to view the Russians with considerable suspicion.

In June 1942, the Germans launched their summer offensive. Germany's success in the Crimea, and especially in the direction of the Caucasus, had a definite influence on the Turkish government's views towards the Pan-Turanian movement. During late August, Foreign Minister Menemencioglu

20 Kirk, Middle East, 452-53. I could not find exactly what type of device was used in the assassination attempt, nor did I discover what happened to the accused.


22 Numan Menemencioglu was appointed Foreign Minister
told Papen that contrary to the suspicions in Berlin that Turkish troops had been withdrawn from the Russian-Turkish border, Turkey did not sympathize with the Russians and would not enter into any negotiations with them.  

Menemen-cioğlu said that Turkey realized that Germany faced an immense task in Russia, and the Turks were ready to assist the Third Reich in every way possible short of war. Specifically, the Turkish government was interested in the cultural existence of the Turkish minorities in southern Russia and would be willing to cooperate with Germany in this area. However, when questioned as to the type of cooperation Berlin could expect the Foreign Minister answered that he was not sure at that time.

The following day, the Ambassador met with Prime Minister Saracoğlu who continued to elaborate on the future of the Turkish minorities within Russia. He felt that since the majority of the people in the minority regions belonged to the Turkish race, that Turkey had a legitimate interest

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in August after the death of Prime Minister Refik Seydam on July 7. Shukru Saracoğlu replaced Seydam as Prime Minister. Germany had hoped that Ambassador Rusrev Gerede would be appointed Foreign Minister, because of his pro-German outlook. Hitler, Secret Conversations, 443. Gerede was replaced by Saffet Arian, the previous Minister of Defense, 1940-1941, who remained Ambassador to Germany until the cessation of relations in August 1944.

23 Berlin was obviously referring to the Russo-Turkish negotiations during May 1942 which were actually no more than a renewal of the previous Russo-Turkish Non-Aggression Pact.

24 G.F.O.D., Turkey, 82-84.
in the solution to the question. He suggested that a portion of the younger people be sent to universities within both Germany and Turkey which would have the advantage of orienting the regions towards both countries. However, as Prime Minister, it was his duty to insure that for the present the Russians would not be given an excuse to slaughter the Turkish minorities. This was the reason for Turkey's neutral position.  

In his report to Berlin, Papen outlined the conversations with the Turkish officials, and then added his own opinions. The Ambassador agreed with the idea that the only way to reach a lasting solution of the Russian question would be to obtain the cooperation of the various minorities in the country by educating them to the idea of independence within the German framework. Then Germany could appoint one of these educated local inhabitants to appear outwardly as the head of the government though the actual power would be in the hands of a German director. The Ambassador admitted that this completely differed from the German administration in the Ukraine and other regions in Russia. But he believed that in view of the Turkish question, and the fact of the common Mohammedan religion, the area would otherwise have to be administrated on a German police basis.  

25 G.F.O.D., Turkey, 87-90.  

26 Ibid., 91-93.
On September 12, Foreign Minister Ribbentrop notified Papen that the German Foreign Ministry had no desire to enter into talks with Ankara concerning its future cooperation in the administration of the Turkish minorities. Furthermore, he said that there was no reason at this time for Germany to extend assurances to Turkey that its wishes would be given any consideration in this matter. However, Berlin would reconsider its position if the Turkish government changed its political attitude toward the Third Reich.

The German offensive, which had been steadily moving through southern Russia since the previous June, received a serious blow in November with the Russian encirclement of Stalingrad. This was followed by a series of defeats and the fall of Stalingrad on February 2, 1943. The initiative seemed to have passed to the Russians. Berlin instructed Ambassador Papen to find what effect the Axis defeats in Russia, North Africa and the South Pacific had on Turkish neutrality. The Wilhelmstrasse was informed that since Turkey did not desire Russian ascendancy in Europe, it did not intend to renounce its neutrality and would defend it in all circumstances.

The Allied declaration at Casablanca of Unconditional Surrender, and its extension to Great Britain of a free

27 G.F.O.D., Turkey, 104-06.
28 Ibid., 118-19.
hand in Turkey, was followed at the end of January 1943 by Prime Minister Winston Churchill meeting with President İnönü at Adana, Turkey. The Prime Minister was rebuffed, when he tried to enlist Turkish support, with the comment that Turkey would not enter the war until it was imperative because of post-war reasons. Papen reported to Berlin that Turkey's role in the war was the topic of conversation and suggested that Germany stabilize the situation through assurances of some sort. Several days later, Hitler telegraphed a message which stated that Germany had no aggressive intentions toward the Turkish people. The President expressed his gratitude for Hitler's communique and added that only in extreme circumstances would his country declare war on Germany.29

As a result of the Adana conference it was evident in Berlin that no binding agreements had been concluded with the British. For the present, Turkey would follow a neutral policy. Turkish fear of German reprisals, if they joined with the Allies, and Allied reprisals if they joined the Germans would necessarily cause that country to align with the victor only at the last moment.30

In March, the Germans recovered from the defeat at Stalingrad and launched a counter-attack. With a dozen or

29 Survey, Neutrals, 356; and Papen, Memoirs, 495-96.
so fresh divisions strengthening the southern front, the Wehrmacht advanced up to eighty miles in certain areas before the spring weather halted further operations. The German High Command now began to plan for a new offensive to be launched during the summer.

In Ankara, the Turkish government was receiving pressure from both the Axis and the Allies. Great Britain was trying to obtain permission from Turkey to establish an advanced air base between Istanbul and Izmir. However, the Turks were proving very obstinate, largely because of the German military position. The Turkish negotiators argued that the German summer campaign might be directed against Turkey as well as Russia. Further, it was suspected by the British that Berlin had intimated to the Turks that their cities were very accessible to aerial bombardment. In any case, Turkey remained neutral.

On July 5, 1943, the German offensive in Russia surged forward. For eight days, the German forces hammered at the Russian defenses with only minor gains. Two days later, the Russians launched a counter-offensive and immediately penetrated the German lines. The Wehrmacht was not aware of the fact, but except for a few short-lived occasions it would never again regain the initiative.

The Italian surrender in September led to the British occupation of the Dodecanese islands of Samos, Cos, and

31 Survey, Neutrals, 356; and Knatchbull-Hugessen, Diplomat, 191.
Leros. It appeared to Berlin that Britain was attempting to demonstrate to Turkey that it could join the Allies without fear of German reprisals. Against the advice of the military to evacuate German outposts in the Aegean, Hitler ordered an aerial bombardment of the islands to be followed by an invasion. The attack began on November 12, and by the middle of November the successful German action had assured Turkish neutrality. 32

Throughout the remaining months of 1943, the Allies met in a series of conferences held in Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran. One of the points agreed upon by both the Russians and British at the Moscow conference was that Turkey should be brought into the war. This was presented to the Turks at the Cairo conference in November. 33 But Turkey, pointing to the close proximity of the Luftwaffe refused to budge. 34 Again, at the Teheran conference, the Allies agreed to try persuading the Turkish government to declare war on Germany. This time, they set a target date, February 15, 1944. However, at the second Cairo conference, they were met with a series of Turkish demands for military supplies which had to be delivered before the Turks would venture towards alignment with the Allies. Meanwhile, Papen had been informed of the British negotiations through Operation Cicero. He

33 This was the first of two Cairo conferences; the second was held after the Teheran meeting.
immediately warned Ankara that compliance with the Allies’ requests would undoubtedly lead to German reprisals. Confronted with the lack of military materials and German threats, the Turkish government refused to commit itself.  

As the Russian forces approached the Balkans in early 1944, the position of both Germany and Turkey became very difficult. The Allies had agreed at the second Cairo conference to end Lend-Lease supplies to Turkey, and this was put into effect during March 1944 on the grounds that the Turks had not lived up to the terms of the Tripartite Pact. The Turkish government strongly objected, but to no avail. More importantly, from Germany’s point of view, its forces in Bulgaria were no longer able to perform their proper function. Thus, it became only a matter of time before Turkey would have no alternative but to join the Allies. On May 1, the Turks, under Allied pressure, stopped the shipment of chromite to Germany. And three months later, with the Allies invading Europe in both the east and west, the Turkish Republic severed relations with the Third Reich.

Germany’s successes in Russia during 1941-1942 did not

35 Survey, Neutrals, 359. The Allied Leaders decided that supplying Turkey with sufficient materials would create too large a drain on Operation Overlord.

36 Walter Warlimont, Inside Hitler's Headquarters, 1939-1945, (New York, 1964), 399. Specifically, the German forces were prepared to launch an attack on European Turkey should the Turks join the Allies - Operation Gertrude.
produce the results in Turkey that Berlin desired. It had hoped that the Turkish government would consider the conflict all but over after the Wehrmacht captured Stalingrad and advanced towards the Caucasus. But the Turks, playing the game of neutrality and waiting until there was no alternative, refused to commit themselves. Turkey did not want to join the losing team.

In an effort to gain Turkish cooperation, the Germans hinted that they might be given a part in the future administration of Turkish minorities in Russia. In Pan-Turanian circles, these proposals were very attractive, but the cautious policy of Turkey's leaders repressed these ideas to a minimum. Germany was not pleased; however, there was little it could do besides threaten that if Turkey did not assume a more pro-German policy, it would not be consulted on these matters in the future.

As the events in Russia began to turn against Germany in 1943, Berlin was not as demanding towards Ankara. The German Foreign Ministry now took the position that perhaps a neutral Turkey would better suit its purposes, at least for the time being. The Germans knew that the Allies were trying to gain Turkey's active support, and they were in a better position than the Reich. Therefore, whenever it appeared that the Turkish government was leaning too strongly towards the Allies, the Wilhelmstrasse threatened reprisals. This policy was effective only as long as Germany could carry it out.
By the summer of 1944, the Third Reich was under attack from both the east and west. In these circumstances, the attitude of Turkey was of minor importance. When the Turkish government broke relations in August, Nazi Germany was fighting for its existence and accepted the decision without mentioning reprisals. Perhaps Berlin realized that if it attacked Turkey, it would provide Russia with an excuse to rush to that country's rescue, thus allowing a further extension of the hated communist menace.
CONCLUSION

Germany and Turkey had conflicting objectives early in the formative years of the Third Reich. Berlin did not want a close understanding between the Balkan countries. Nevertheless, throughout the 1930's the Turks pushed for the creation of a mutual security system within the Balkans, and they were partially successful with the creation of the Balkan Entente. But with the Germans, Italians, and Russians all actively pursuing their own interests in the Peninsula, the Entente proved to be no more than a loose organization of states with largely divergent ideas. This was exactly what the Germans wanted, because it allowed for easier political and economic exploitation.

Economically, Turkey provided Germany with numerous resources. The Germans controlled the chromite exports until Berlin halted the delivery of heavy war materials in
1939, and Turkey reciprocated by stopping the export of that vital alloy. In the long run, this was the Third Reich's biggest mistake in its relations with Turkey. But it was not evident at the beginning of the war. Germany was not on a full war economy in 1939, and its stockpile of chromite was considered sufficient for a short war. If Hitler had known that France and Great Britain would declare war after the invasion of Poland and that the war was to last for an extended period, the Nazi economy would undoubtedly have been regeared. The Turkish chromite market would not have been lost. However, in other economic areas, Turkey continued to be both a large supplier and market for the Third Reich.

The Turkish Straits served a definite purpose in Nazi foreign policy. After originally expressing disinterest in that strategic waterway, Berlin used it with advantage in dealings with the Russians. A vague promise that Russia could eventually establish bases in the Straits was a part of the lure for the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. But in 1940, when the Soviet demands for the bases became a threat to Germany's objectives, Berlin, in an effort to gain Turkey's good will, mentioned Russia's plans to the Turkish government. In addition, the Nazis stated that if Turkey would conclude a treaty with Germany along the lines of the Tripartite Pact, the Reich would guarantee the sovereignty of the Straits. But the Turkish
government refused. Throughout the war, the Third Reich was never allowed to send its warships openly through the Straits. Germany did not force the issue, since it believed that the collapse of Russia would open the waterway to all Axis shipping.

The documents received in Operation Cicero clearly outlined the vast extent of the Allies' war effort. Why it was disregarded by the Nazi leaders is largely left to supposition. Probably the documents informed Berlin of what it did not care to admit— that because of the huge Allied industrial complex and growing military strength, further resistance by the Axis would only prolong the outcome of the war.

Turkey's political position became important to Germany in 1939 when the Wehrmacht prepared for the Polish invasion. Formerly, the Turkish government took a neutral stand in international affairs, but during that summer the Turks made a definite move towards alignment with Great Britain and France. Berlin tried unsuccessfully to forestall any agreement by requesting Rome and Moscow to give Ankara assurances that they had no designs on Turkish territory. Though the Tripartite Pact was signed, it was not directed towards Germany, and Berlin felt that a potentially hostile Russia would keep Turkey neutral.

The Wehrmacht's smashing victory in France and Italy's declaration of war impressed on the Turks what their future might hold if they assumed a belligerent status. Berlin
used this opportunity to begin negotiations for a German-Turkish Pact. Turkey was hesitant either to join the Axis or to conclude a treaty which would be viewed unfavorably by Britain. However, the Italian attack on Greece and the consequent German invasion of the Balkans demonstrated to Turkey the need to negotiate some type of agreement with the Third Reich or it might be next. The German-Turkish Friendship Agreement signed in June 1941 was not all that Germany wanted, but it did assure Turkish neutrality during the forthcoming Russian campaign. And Berlin believed that after Russia was crushed, Turkey could be easily drawn into the New Order.

During the military successes of 1941-1942, Berlin tried to entice the Turks into active cooperation by offering them promises of political control over the Turkish minorities in Russia. There was a definite interest in Turkey especially among the Pan-Turanians, but the Turkish government refused to commit itself until the Russian defeat was a certainty. In 1943, the Wehrmacht was stopped by the Red Army. Germany now wanted to be assured that Turkey would remain neutral. Therefore, whenever it appeared as though Ankara was drifting too close to the Allies, the Reich would threaten reprisals. In this manner, Turkey was kept a neutral until pressured by the Allies into breaking relations in August 1944.

Germany was correct in not forcing Turkey to join the Axis powers. Prior to a Russian defeat, the Turkish govern-
ment would never have accepted such an ultimatum unless the Nazis had invaded and defeated the Turkish Army. Had Berlin ordered an invasion before the Russian campaign, little would have been gained. A victory would not have been easy and undoubtedly would have necessitated postponement of Operation Barbarossa. Admittedly, it might have opened the way to the Near East and allowed Germany to fully exploit the Turkish economy. But the Nazis would have had to consider at least one serious problem. In view of Russia's interests in the Straits and other parts of the Near East, would Moscow have allowed it? It was highly unlikely. Short of declaring war, the Russians would have demanded zones of influence both in the Straits and in other areas. Germany certainly would not have agreed to this. Therefore, until Russia had been defeated, a neutral Turkey was of far more benefit to the Third Reich than a hostile one.
Throughout the wealth of documents covering the Second World War, there were few which dealt with the precise problem of German-Turkish relations. The multitude of document publications concerning the period prior to the outbreak of the war generally held nothing of importance, the notable exception being the *Documents on British Foreign Policy* which contained an interesting account of negotiations leading up to the Tripartite Pact. The volumes dealing with the Nürnberg Trials provided many wasted hours of enjoyable reading, because the Allied tribunal was far more interested in hanging the accused than in providing an explanation of Nazi foreign policy. *Hitler Directs His War*, and *Nazi-Soviet Relations* were both useful and con-
tained much material used in this thesis. *German Policy in Turkey*, and the *Führer Naval Conferences* provided some information, but the former was largely a tirade against the Pan-Turanians and the latter referred only occasionally to operations in the Black Sea.

Undoubtedly, the prime documentary collection for this topic proved to be the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series C and D. Series C was the less valuable of the two, because of the sparse number of documents contained for the years 1933-1936. But Series D, though it ended in December 1941 (much to my regret), formed the basis of my thesis. If these volumes had not been available, this study could not have been written.

Memoirs and diaries made up the bulk of the other primary materials consulted. Actually, most had very little to say concerning Germany's relations with Turkey. Goebbels and Mussolini gave brief mention to the subject, as did Weizsäcker, Hassel, and Keitel. *Ciano's Diplomatic Papers*, *Ciano's Diaries*, and Halder's *Private War Journal* discussed Turkey's importance during the war, but generally and in a superficial manner. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* merely left the idea that Turkey was not worth worrying about. Perhaps, the greatest disappointment were the books by Schacht. He was so busy explaining why nobody understood him, that the treatment of the Third Reich's economy was far from adequate. Bazna, Moyzisch, and Schellenberg all provided extremely
interesting and valuable material for the chapter on Operation Cicero. Without these books, that chapter would have had to be omitted.

The Memoirs of Cordell Hull gave a good appraisal of Turkey's importance from the United States' point of view but was of little value. Shotwell's *Turkey at the Straits* explained much of the history of the Straits question, especially during the 19th century. However, it was published in 1940 and of little use for the war period. Knatchbull-Hugessen devoted several chapters to his stay in Ankara. But he was too critical of the Germans and too laudatory toward the Turks; also his statements were far from enlightening. Papen's *Memoirs* was another major disappointment. While the Ambassador spent many pages explaining the situation in Turkey, he seemed too intent on building his role as peace-maker and international "good guy." But then, with his reputation as a pro-Nazi, perhaps he had every right.

Secondary sources were very important in the preparation of this thesis. Many of the books cited in the bibliography did not dwell at any length on the German-Turkish problem but did add information not found elsewhere. Churchill's volumes presented an excellent over-all picture of the situation in Turkey throughout the war, although he did not go into detail. In *The Power of Small States* the author provided an interesting analysis of Turkey's neutrality
and how it was able to remain in that position. Woodward's *British Foreign Policy* occasionally referred to Turkey, but the lack of footnotes was a definite drawback. The series published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs included two volumes, *The War and the Neutrals* and *The Middle East in the War*; both contributed greatly to the study. Especially valuable were the multitude of footnotes. Several economic studies were investigated though most considered only the period prior to the war. Sweezy's *Structure of the Nazi Economy* was very good in the description of German foreign trade. *Germany's Economic Preparation for War* barely mentioned Turkey; however, its value lay in the illuminating evaluation of the German economy at the outbreak of the war. The most thorough study of German economic designs in Turkey were the two volumes entitled *The Economic Blockade*. The author provided insights not found in purely German sources. And although it was written from the British viewpoint, the importance of German trade in Turkey was highlighted.

Kilic's *Turkey and the World* was extensively used for background material. The author was often too pro-Turkish to be taken very seriously. Lord Kinross, while writing an excellent biography of Ataturk, said virtually nothing about the Turkish president's opinion of Nazi Germany. One of the best of the secondary books was *The Middle East in World Affairs*. The roles of Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq
during the Second World War were all given close attention. And it included Germany's intrigues within each country. A more recent and exhaustive study in the same vein was The Third Reich and the Arab East. Colvin's Chief of Intelligence was regrettably unfootnoted, but included an informative chapter on diplomatic life in Ankara.

The vast majority of related articles contained nothing of any value to the topic. Most of them were written during the war or shortly afterwards and consequently were extremely prejudiced and sympathetic toward Turkey. The two most worthy of mention were written by Cramer and Edwards, and they provided nothing new. Kempner's article "The Highest Paid Spy in History" was a recital of information found in Moyzisch's Operation Cicero.
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