

Zeki Kunalalp and the Turkish Foreign Service

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By

Yücel Güçlü

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P U B L I S H I N G

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by Yücel Güçlü

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he checked comments he had scribbled on the front of his catalogue. Richard Peuser, Assistant Chief NWCT (A II) Reference, seemed to know instinctively what I was likely to find in the archives; he used his vast knowledge of the records and the field to point me in the right direction on a number of occasions. At the Library of Congress, Christopher Murphy, Turkish Area Specialist, African and Middle Eastern Division Near East Section, complied promptly and cooperatively with all of my requests. At the Middle East Institute, Simone Braune, Librarian, extended courtesy and cooperation to me during my research there. Kamil Dalyan and Hakan Kılıç have done expert computer work on the manuscript.

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FOREWORD

The office of the Secretary General and the Secretary General himself are at the apex of the officials and diplomats who play a role in determining foreign policy in the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ambassador Zeki Kuneralp's nomination as Secretary General in 1960 and again in 1966-1969 was an obvious recognition of his talents. His success was remarkable. His Swiss legal training stood him in good stead. His resources never failed when difficulties were greatest. His judgment was accurate. The wide acceptance which Kuneralp's abilities earned him at a relatively young age did not in any way change his innate kindness and modesty. He was always ready with help and best advice for his junior colleagues.

This is the first full-length biography of Ambassador Zeki Kuneralp written in any language, and the third book in a trilogy about the Secretaries General of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Zeki Kuneralp and the Turkish Foreign Service* completes the cycle of biographies undertaken by Dr Yücel Güçlü which began with his volumes on Numan Menemencioğlu and Cevat Açıkalın, both published in 2002.

I sincerely appreciate all these valuable studies by our colleague, Dr Yücel Güçlü. His efforts are to be commended for a notable achievement. I hope that this book will arouse more interest in the staff and the functioning of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and will be a stimulus to further enterprises.

Professor Ahmet Davutoğlu

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

INTRODUCTION

The year 2014 marked the centennial of the birth of the Turkish diplomat Zeki Kuneralp and the sixteenth year since his death in 1998. He was one of the most able Turkish Ambassadors in the second half of the twentieth century and an integral member of the small group of men who formulated and implemented foreign policy at this critical juncture in Turkey's history. He was often at the heart of historic events during his long years of diplomatic experience. Perpetually at the eye of the storm, he was involved in handling the Cyprus crisis, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) situation, and the Baghdad Pact and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) affairs, among many other foreign policy challenges. Throughout this period, relations with Greece were the most pressing concern.

Kuneralp held the office of Secretary General, the highest position for a diplomat in the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on two separate occasions. Although ultimate responsibility for making foreign policy rested with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in practice the Secretary General frequently exercised real power not only in implementing but also in formulating foreign policy. Almost all important communications were seen by the Secretary General before they were forwarded to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was the Secretary General rather than the Minister of Foreign Affairs who maintained regular contact with Turkish diplomats abroad. Yet there is no single study of either the role of the Minister of Foreign Affairs or that of the Secretary General in twentieth-century Turkish foreign policy. Inevitably the picture of the former is, however, more

complete through biographies and detailed studies of foreign policy problems than the picture of the latter.

To be Secretary General put Kunalalp at the hub of events as well as capping his career. He was near the center of power during many crises of Turkey's Cold War decades. The momentous events he witnessed were significant preludes to the present situation in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. It seems probable that he was unsurpassed among contemporary Turkish diplomats in character and intellectual attainment.

This extraordinary man represented Turkey abroad under all sorts of circumstance. A man with no political axes to grind or personal ambition to satisfy, Kunalalp considered his public service a responsibility that a patriotic Turk should willingly shoulder. He was a fine example of what determination and brains could achieve. What he did, and how and why he did it remain little known to his compatriots. He had acquired an enviable reputation as a diplomat, but the nation as a whole knew about him in a vague way only, because public opinion did not take widespread interest in a man on account of his role in foreign affairs alone.

Turkish Diplomatic Biographies

Biography is a thriving and lucrative field of history writing. The modern method of history writing has to a great extent shaped itself into biographical form and the student in search of a contemporary staging of the drama of the recent past will find it for the most part in character studies of the great men of the period. This insures for the narrative a central figure; it links the reader intimately with one of the participants, stirring the reader's imagination, awakening their sympathy. Biographies suggest how certain individuals had an impact on events or how they exemplified larger forces and conditions. To understand the past one must study individual

biographies. The British historians Keith Neilson and T.G. Otte contend that it is people who make institutions work, and that it is through the lens of individual personalities that the student of the past can best elucidate past international affairs.¹

Biographies have always been a favorite with historians, and although a great many have been written for Western diplomats, the same cannot be said of their Turkish colleagues.² The acute shortage of biographical information about the servants of diplomacy is among the serious lacunae in Turkish history, and Hamit Aral therefore performed a singular service in providing biographical notices for 467 members of the diplomatic service on 31 December 1967. Biographical entries range from detailed curriculum vitae of senior figures to a few lines for junior officials. Certainly, at the senior level it is possible to follow in detail the evolution of careers, individual and collective, and in understanding the men we understand the structures much better. Aral provides considerable information on geographical origins, marital status and the number of children of marriages, which will be of interest to prosopographers. It would have been useful to have had some idea of the character of these men as well, but Aral confines himself to information on bare elements of their careers. *Dışişleri Bakanlığı 1967 Yıllığı* also lacks analysis

¹ Keith Neilson and T.G. Otte, *The Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1854-1946* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.xv.

² Özgür Türesay, “Tarihyazımı ve Biyografinin Dönüşü” (Historiography and the Return of Biography), in Taşkın Takış and Sunay Aksoy, eds., *Halil İnalçık Armağanı – I Tarih Araştırmaları* (Dedication to Halil İnalçık – I Historical Studies), (İstanbul: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009), p.330.

regarding the importance of the different types of duty Turkish diplomats undertook in their rise through the ranks.³

All the same this biographical lexicon acts as a useful resource for historians of Turkish diplomacy, providing quick and easy access to information from a variety of sources. Aral is the foremost expert on the prosopography of the Turkish Foreign Service, and his publication is a consolidated descriptive listing of service personnel. *Dışışleri Bakanlığı 1967 Yıllığı* may not itself have been unerringly comprehensive in its coverage, and it inevitably provides only a skeletal description of internal appointments and promotions, but it is the only list historians have available to them. It may be that future research will compile better and more complete sources, but all subsequent work on this subject will clearly be indebted to Aral's pioneering survey.

Another important reference work for many aspects of this book is the *Mülkiye ve Mülkiyeliler Tarihi*, which was edited by Ali Çankaya. The three volumes of this work offer a substantial amount of information about Ottoman and Turkish administrators.⁴

Turkish diplomats have not generated complete and thorough biographical inquiries, and it is felt that these personages deserve a more generous treatment. They are men and women who do not always act in unison or present a collective view. There are times when the Minister of Foreign Affairs and his officials disagree over policy or when the latter recommend alternative options. Ambassadors may offer advice which the Minister of Foreign Affairs ignores or home

³ See Hamit Aral, ed., *Dışışleri Bakanlığı 1967 Yıllığı* (1967 Yearbook of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), (Ankara: Ankara Basım ve Ciltevi, 1968).

⁴ Ali Çankaya, ed., *Mülkiye ve Mülkiyeliler Tarihi* (History of the Faculty of Political Sciences and Its Alumni), 3 Vols., (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969).

officials contradict. The diplomat abroad may act on his or her own without consultation with Ankara. Their oddly contrasting characters, actions and opinions, their personal experiences, and their relation to contemporary international questions might well merit separate studies.⁵

Examining the way in which Turkish diplomats carried out their tasks requires some study of their personalities and beliefs. The men who represented Turkey abroad were not simply impersonal cameras, recording a changing panorama for their superiors back in Ankara. Their own convictions and experiences shaped the way they went about their work.

As with the roles of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Secretary General, there is no general study of the impact of ambassadors on Turkish foreign policy in the twentieth century. In recent years, there has been a marked increase in

⁵ Ali Birinci, *Tarihin Gölgesinde Meşahir-i Meçhûleden Birkaç Zât* (In the Shadow of History: A Few Persons Among the Unknown Famous), (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2001); idem, *Tarih Uğrunda Matbuat Âleminde Birkaç Adım* (For the Sake of History: A Few Steps in the World of Press), (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2001); idem, *Tarih Yolunda Yakın Mazînin Siyasî ve Fikrî Ahvâli* (In the Path of History: The Political and Intellectual Environment of the Recent Past), (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2001); İlber Ortaylı, "Türk Tarihçiliğinde Biyografi İnşası ve Biyografik Malzeme Problematiki" (Biographical Construction in Turkish Historianship and the Problematic of Biographical Material) in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e: Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar. I. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi (24-26 Mayıs 1993, Ankara)*, (From the Ottoman to the Republic: Problems, Studies, Debates. First International History Congress [24-26 May 1993, Ankara]), (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), pp.56-63; Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Son Devir Osmanlı Biyografik Kaynakları" (Late Period Ottoman Biographical Sources) in Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Vekayi'nüvis Makaleler* (The Chronicler Articles), (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1994), pp.211-216.

the number of studies of individual ambassadors⁶, but the view they give is constricted by tight chronology and concentration on Turkey's relations with just one country or region.⁷

The careers of Turkish representatives who staffed the embassies⁸, legations⁹ and consulates¹⁰ have not been examined

⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *Kırk Ambar Sohbetleri* (Forty Store Conversations), (Ankara: Aşina Kitaplar, 2006), pp.256-258; Onur Kırılı, "Anılar ve Yaşamöyküleri" (Memoirs and Biographies) in Engin Berber, *Türk Dış Politikası Çalışmaları Cumhuriyet Dönemi İçin Ulusal Rehber* (Studies on Turkish Foreign Policy: National Guide for the Republican Period), (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), pp.140-144.

⁷ See, for example, Ömer Engin Lütem, *Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri 1983-1989* (Turkish-Bulgarian Relations 1983-1989), Vol.1: 1983-1985 and Vol.2: 1986-1987, (Ankara: Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yayınları, 2000 and 2010); Ayhan Kamel, *Dost Pakistan* (Friendly Pakistan), (Ankara: Aşina Kitaplar, 2008) and Numan Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri* (Africa in the Process of Globalization and Turkish-African Relations), (Ankara: Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu, 2011). Unfortunately, these works are not yet available in English translation.

⁸ The Embassy is the residence of an ambassador. It is also inaccurately used to denote the building which contains the offices of the ambassador and other key members of his staff. The proper term for the latter is the "chancery." Confusion is avoided through the practice of using the two terms "embassy residence" and "embassy office."

⁹ Legations are rare now, but they were once very common. A legation is a diplomatic mission similar for most practical purposes to an embassy, but lower in rank, and presided over by a minister rather than an ambassador.

¹⁰ A consulate is an office established by one state in an important city of another state for the purpose of supporting and protecting its citizens traveling or residing there. In addition, these offices are

heretofore with the exception of a few prominent individuals. Not that scholars were not interested, but the identity of most diplomatic and consular representatives was unknown. Those whose names were mentioned in histories—even Ambassadors and Ministers—were not usually included in encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries.

Although the personality and ability of individual Ambassadors played a vital role in determining the atmosphere at the Embassy, other senior officials also influenced both the course of day-to-day work and the texture of everyday life. Some of them were consistently acute commentators, not afraid to give their own opinions on political events. These men provide an interesting cross-section of views and perspectives on diplomacy during the Cold War period in Turkish history. Their careers intertwined at various points; some of these diplomats formed friendships, others merely demonstrated a professional respect for one another. The Archive of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the period contains numerous tributes to the skill and dedication of individual members of staff. The present book puts living faces on what are generally just names in most of the diplomatic studies of the time, fleshing them out with their career histories and personal attributes.

charged with performing other important administrative duties such as issuing visas (where these are required) to host country nationals wishing to travel to the country the consulate represents. All consulates, whether located in the capital city or in other communities, are administratively under the ambassador and the embassy. They often also serve as branch offices for the embassy, supporting, for example, the latter's political and economic responsibilities. Consulates are expected to play a particularly significant role in the promotion of their own country's exports and other commercial activities.

No full-dress scholarly effort has been made to examine Kunalalp's career in diplomacy or any other aspect of his fascinating life. He is poorly served by historians. He was the subject of some commentaries in the press, which usually appeared at the beginning or end of one of his many important assignments.¹¹ References to him in other works are slight and inadequate: brief pen-portraits in the recollections of his contemporaries and occasional mentions in erudite studies record his abilities and acknowledge his greatness, but fall short of giving a satisfactory explanation for his success as one of the stars of Cold War Turkish diplomacy and foreign policy.

The study of ambassadorial diplomacy is important because it offers an opportunity not only to examine the impact and effect of diplomatic strategies but also to view Ministers of Foreign Affairs and their officials and the Turkish government as a whole from the perspective of a foreign power. It provides proof of the old adage that theory and practice are seldom the same thing.

Perhaps few Turkish diplomats have had sufficiently eventful and interesting lives to merit full-length biographies, but Kunalalp hardly belongs to their number. His stature might itself be reason enough to earn him that accolade. A biography of him was long overdue.

Subject Matter

This book is not a conventional biography. It is not only a portrait of a larger-than-life Turkish diplomat, whose Foreign Service career spanned almost four decades – from 1941 to 1979 – but it also offers a glimpse into the evolution of the

¹¹ See, for instance, Bedi Şehsuvaroğlu, “Londra’ya Bir Büyükelçi Zeki Kunalalp” (An Ambassador to London: Zeki Kunalalp), *Yeni İstanbul*, 6 August 1969, p.2.

organization of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and gives an account of the attitudes and methods of the Ministry's officials. A good biography should cast light upon its subject's times as well as upon his – or her – life: upon the way things were done as much as upon the way a particular individual reacted and behaved. Hence not only Kuneralp the man is addressed but also the great developments of his time. An attempt is made to blend biographical narrative with explorations of various aspects of the foreign policy issues Kuneralp was involved in. The book treats in detail the major problems with which Kuneralp was directly concerned at each of his postings, that is, meeting the right people abroad, promoting Turkish interests, reporting to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, subordinating local matters to the political and economic goals of Turkey, and conducting diplomacy so as always to be in accord with Ankara's policy makers whose big picture he always kept in mind. However, no pretence is made to have covered the whole field of Turkish foreign policy during the period under review.

The men who conceived and executed Turkish diplomacy rather than the policies and stratagems through which they attempted to advance Turkey's interests are examined. The study aims to present a group of people, identified by their common employment in a branch of the Turkish bureaucracy, and the circumstances under which they pursued their careers. The beliefs and attitudes that united these diplomats or the differences in background and experience that separated them are explained. The Turkish Foreign Service is described, its structure and its role in government, the conditions of service, and the opportunities it offered to those who sought a career in it.

The emergence of a professional mentality, Foreign Service reform, the training of diplomats, and the sources of their views on world politics are discussed. It is argued that

Turkish diplomats in the Cold War period were realistic in their assessment of international affairs and convinced of the importance of their role in the maintenance of international stability. Of all the prominent diplomats mentioned, only a few have been the subject of full scholarly biographies; for the rest one must rely on memoirs, or the press.

The present survey covers events with which most readers will already be familiar from history books or morning newspapers and nightly news broadcasts. But a new human dimension is added by blending biography and diplomatic history. The book recalls many facts that are known, but some that have been ignored. It goes into details and events in the wider historical context.

More space is given to Cyprus affairs and Turkish-British relations than to other questions in which Kunalp was involved, because the difficulties he encountered are little known but interesting and dramatic. He was a major policy actor in the Cyprus conflict. He took up his appointment as ambassador to St James's Court during the critical period in Turkish-British relations caused by the Cyprus crisis. He had to deal with tense situations. Cyprus was at the forefront of Turkish thinking. For almost six decades, from the early 1950s onwards, the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic was influenced (to an inordinate degree) by the country's concern with the island. Greece remained the principal adversary. Kunalp himself is the prism through which these matters are seen. His role with reference to the diplomatic efforts which were made to preserve the peace in Cyprus merits close scrutiny.¹²

¹² Cyprus is situated in the easternmost part of the Mediterranean, roughly equidistant from Asia Minor to the north and Israel to the east, some 240 miles north of Egypt, and 500 miles east of Greece. It measures about 3,572 square miles.

In many ways the story of Kuneralp's service is the story of Turkish policy in the eastern Mediterranean over a 38-year period, in which the Turkish role evolved from one of relatively detached observer to one of primary and often decisive actor. What made the difference, in addition to Cyprus, was the competition with Greece for regional power and influence. There was almost inevitably a difference of outlook between the political leaders and strategists in Ankara, with their eyes on the international balance, and the officials in the field and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, concerned above all with how to protect and advance Turkey's diverse interests amid the conflicts and complexities of local and regional politics. As Secretary General in Ankara, where his work was more arduous than when he was assigned abroad, Kuneralp always spoke clearly and forcefully in offering assessments and counsel to his own government, and then used all his tactical skills to make Turkish policy effective in Ankara for the foreign diplomats. He was able to judge the Turkish-Greek conflict coolly and to appreciate the views and emotions of both sides; at times he had a key part in Turkish endeavors to contain the conflict and promote peaceful agreements.¹³

¹³ For much of the twentieth century, the eastern Mediterranean area has been plagued by territorial disputes that are partly ethnic or religious, partly economic, and partly a legacy of past European colonial involvement. Unlike the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has received widespread attention in the world, the international public knows relatively little about strife in Cyprus. It entered the international arena as an issue of decolonization in the 1950s; was transformed into an ethnic clash in the 1960s; and further metamorphosed into a dangerous regional problem between two NATO allies,—namely, Turkey and Greece. Relations between Turkey and Greece have not usually been a major international issue in the eyes of most of the world, but they have frequently been of concern to members of NATO, to the United Nations—

After providing background on Kuneralp's family and education, the survey outlines his entry to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1941 and the course of Turkish foreign policy during the Second World War, discusses his assignment as Third Secretary at the Bucharest Legation in 1943-1947, examines his position as Chief of the Private Cabinet to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1947-1949, reviews his role as First Secretary at the Prague Legation in 1949-1952, and considers his Counselorship at the Permanent Mission to NATO in 1952-1957. This senior diplomat's offices of First Deputy Secretary General and Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1957-1960 are dealt with. Special emphasis is placed on Kuneralp's Ambassadorship in Berne in 1960-1964; his post as Ambassador in London in 1964-1966 is treated extensively; considerable space is devoted to his second term as Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1966-1969; his second tenure as Ambassador in London in 1969-1972 receives particular attention, and his last official duty as Ambassador in Madrid is focused upon. Finally, general observations and conclusions about various aspects of Kuneralp's career are summarized. The least well-known part of the story is the account of Kuneralp's life up to 1938.

The story of any man's life, however close its contacts with important events in history and with some of the outstanding people of his day, can be but a cold and colorless thing if it affords no intimate glimpse of the personalities involved. Thus a wide cast of characters is introduced, many of whom crop up throughout Kuneralp's career. The leading politicians and officials of Turkey, Britain and the United States animate

which has maintained a peace-keeping force on Cyprus since 1964—and to the various countries that Turkey and Greece have sometimes sought to enlist in support of their cases.

an information-intensive account and recreate the atmosphere of tension and brinkmanship that characterized the era.

Every piece of information about Kuneralp's life and career is clearly linked to particular pieces of evidence, and the information driving the analysis is never hidden from the reader. He is characterized in considerable detail, but patterns are also brought out to connect him with others, such as with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil, with both of whom he worked smoothly. This approach is bound to emphasize overarching similarities, but it remains attentive to subtle differences without sacrificing the coherence of the account.

As the historian Sinan Kuneralp himself correctly put it, "very little has been published either in Turkey or elsewhere on the Turkish foreign service."¹⁴ The position of the Turkish Foreign Service personnel therefore receives the attention it deserves. A topography of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its staff is given and the procedures of recruitment, assignment and promotion of the officers are described.

The evolution of the Foreign Service in the second half of the twentieth century and the way in which it responded to Turkey's changing role in international affairs is examined. The last century was one of unprecedented change in the way foreign policy and diplomacy were conducted. The work of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs expanded enormously in the twentieth century, and oversaw the transition from Empire to Republic. The significance of the continuity provided by the Secretary General and other senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be seen in the wider

¹⁴ Sinan Kuneralp, "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic," in Zara Steiner, ed., *The Times Survey of Foreign Ministries of the World* (London: Times Books, 1982), p.510.

context of contemporary Turkish foreign policy. The book aims to add to the literature on Turkish diplomatic practice, as distinct from diplomatic history or foreign policy making and management.

The history of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its operation and its impact on Turkish foreign policy have received scant investigation. There has yet to be a substantial academic study of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the second half of the twentieth century. This is a major gap.

Sources

The work is based primarily on Kuneralp's reminiscences, now declassified dossiers in the Archive of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, files in the Turkish Embassy in London, the Prime Minister's Office Ottoman Archive documents, British and American diplomatic records, memoirs and autobiographies of pertinent Turkish and Western officials and statesmen, contemporary press accounts, relevant secondary sources, and the author's interviews and communications with the Kuneralp family. Unfortunately, few details of Kuneralp's youth and early adulthood are preserved in the record to give much idea of the circumstances which molded the mature diplomat.

Memoirists have two choices. They can recycle their diaries—telling the reader where they went, who they saw, and what they did—or they can critically interpret events through which they lived. In the second approach, which I consider more interesting and useful, the daily events are synthesized to support a larger argument. Kuneralp uses this approach.

The choice of the title of Kuneralp's reminiscences, *Sadece Diplomat* may make some wary that the work presents an oversimplification of him and his evolving views, but the opposite is true. He relates in detail how, when, and why his

positions changed or remained constant. His analysis provides clear insight into administering foreign policy throughout the Cold War. The book is not “official,” and has not been written as an apologia for an Ambassador or for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or for Turkey. It is, rather, a scholar’s candid and factual record of what he saw and knew at first hand.¹⁵

The records of the retired Foreign Service officers in the Personnel Department of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs contain information to be found nowhere else. They include: name, rank and grade, duty status, date of rank, geographic location of assignments, source of assignment, educational level, awards, medals and decorations, date of birth, official photograph, dependents’ names, genders and ages, and type of discharge. All of this lies buried in files identified only by the name of the officer. Depending on the richness of the file, one can collect anything from a few details to a fairly complete life history and character sketch of an individual. These files are of historical value not only in relation to the personal information they contain, but also, and far more importantly, as evidence of the way in which the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself actually worked.

The accessible political, economic and protocol files in the Archive of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs also contain a great deal of other potentially very useful miscellaneous information. They comprise original material enabling the reader to form a judgment about the quality of Turkish foreign policy and its representatives. Indeed, obtaining such material became my main activity for a number of years. The more I read, the richer the reality began

¹⁵ Zeki Kuneralp, *Sadece Diplomat Anılar-Belgeler* (Just a Diplomat: Reminiscences-Documents), (İstanbul: İSİS, reprinted, 1999). For a favorable assessment of Zeki Kuneralp’s memoirs, see Ortaylı, *Kırk Ambar Sohbetleri*, p.257.

to look. But at the same time I experienced renewed frustration because of the lack of access to material dealing with the wider aspects of the Turkish position in the Cold War era.

As far as possible, I examined the files of the years from 1938. The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs' filing system was reorganized in that year to conform to a change in the structure of the Political and Economic Departments of the ministry. The filing system, therefore, can be most clearly studied in relation to the organization of the offices it served. The division of responsibility within the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 24 January 1938 is shown in chapter two.

The documents in these files are arranged so as to facilitate the work of the individual departments and officials: sometimes the arrangement is alphabetical (by countries, by subjects, or by individuals), sometimes it is chronological, sometimes it is topical. Sometimes secret papers are segregated; sometimes they are not. There is no uniform filing system. There is no place where, for instance, all the telegrams from the Embassy in London may be found. Several copies of one telegram may be found in various files; the only surviving copy of another telegram may be found in the file of another mission abroad to which it was sent for information (bearing the departmental file number, and not the telegram number given in London); occasionally no copy can be found.

All Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents cited here exist in the archives either as original typescripts or manuscripts, or, in the case of many summary reports, as typed copies. The authenticity of these is not in question. Most of these materials are used for the first time in this biography.

Here, a cautionary note is in order. The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs archive is far from complete in so far as much