

THE ATTITUDE OF SAUDI ARABIA ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE

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Kıbrıs Meselesinde Suudi Arabistan'ın Tutumu

ÖZ

Türk-Suud ilişkilerinde yakınlaşma sağlayan faktörlerden en önemlisi, Kıbrıs meselesi ve bu meselede Türkiye'nin karşısında yer alan Batılı devletlerin tavrına karşı, Suudi Arabistan'ın Türkiye'nin yanında yer alması ve Kıbrıs Türklerine yardım etmesidir. Suudi Arabistan, Türkiye'nin milli meselesi olan Kıbrıs konusunda Türkiye'yi güçlü bir şekilde desteklemiştir. Bu tavır, Türkiye'nin genel görüşüne derinden tesir etmiş ve bu şekilde yeni iyi ilişkiler dönemi başlamıştır.

Kıbrıs meselesi, Türkiye'yi Arap dünyasına yöneltmiş ve Arap âlemine yönelik daha mülayim bir siyaset uygulamasını sağlamıştır. Türkiye'nin Araplara yakınlaşma politikasındaki pratik amaç, 1965 BM Genel Kurul oylamasında Türkiye'nin lehinde oy kullanmayan Arap ülkelerinin Kıbrıs konusunda desteğinin elde etmek olacaktır.

Bu makalede Kıbrıs meselesinde Suudi Arabistan'ın tutumu incelenmeye ve açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs Meselesi, Suudi Arabistan, Türkiye, Birleşmiş Milletler, Dış Politika.

The Attitude of Saudi Arabia on the Cyprus Issue

ABSTRACT

The most important one of the factors that brought Turkish-Saudi relations closer, contrary to the attitude of the West that have been against Turkey in Cyprus Issue, is the fact that Saudi Arabia has been on the side of Turkey and has helped the Turkish Cypriots , . In the Cyprus case, which has been a national problem for Turkey, Saudi Arabia strongly supported Turkey. This attitude has deeply affected the general view of Turkey and thus a new era of good relations has begun. The Cyprus Issue led Turkey to the Arab world and ensured a softer policy towards Arabs. The practical aim in Turkey's policy of rapprochement with Arab countries will be to obtain the support of the Arab states that did not side with Turkey in the 1965 United Nations General Assembly vote on the Cyprus Issue.

In this article, the attitude of Saudi Arabia on the Cyprus Issue will be examined and tried to be explained.

Keywords: Cyprus Issue, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, United Nations, Foreign Policy.

1. Introduction

Turkey's recognition of Israel in 1949 is a concrete indication of its parting ways with the Arab world. This situation was perceived as an important event both in the Middle East Arab world and in the entire Islamic world. Recognition of Israel will be the biggest breaking point in Turkish-Arab/Turkey-Middle East relations. This recognition and the start of diplomatic relations with Israel had a negative impact on Turkish-Arab relations.

On the other hand, as Turkey got closer to the views of the Arab states regarding Israel, which is the main factor in the relations between the Middle Eastern states and Turkey, their relations began to improve. In this context, Turkey's post-1965 policy, which can be called pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli, had a positive response in the Arab world. The Arab-Islamic world sided with Turkey after the 1974 Cyprus military intervention and the US embargo.

There are two important issues that have caused the change/transformation of Turkish-Arab relations since the Democratic Party era: The first is the Baghdad Pact (1955), and the other is Cyprus (Armaoğlu, 1991-1993: 212). During the meeting between the three regional heads of state (Turkey, Iran, Pakistan) of the anti-USSR Baghdad Pact, at the Çankaya Mansion on 14-15 July 1958, the situation and future of the Baghdad Pact, the events in Iraq (military coup) and Lebanon were discussed. Apart from the confusion in the Turkish Republic, the Cyprus Issue was also emphasized. General Kasım, who came to power in Iraq, which is a member of the pact, started a new foreign policy based on the USSR (Bostancı, Karaca, 2018: 134-135). While the Baghdad Pact, at the beginning and end, damaged Turkish-Arab relations, the Cyprus incident, which flared up in 1965, directed Turkey towards the Arab world and ensured a softer policy with the Arab world (Armaoğlu, 1991-1993: 212).

The main break in Turkey's foreign policy occurred when Cyprus took the form of an international issue. Turkish foreign policy has taken a new form in accordance with the situation taken by the states in the Cyprus issue. In this sense, Turkey has gone to a retrospective internal reckoning in its foreign policy and international relations (Demir, 2011: 706). In short, Turkey has begun to redesign its foreign policy (Çetinsaya, 1998: 48). The EOKA organization under the leadership of Grivas, which made an intense effort to connect the island to Greece (Enosis), especially in the years 1959-1963, has reached a power far more than the Turks. Not wanting to risk the future of Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, Ankara, through the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT), Dr. Fazıl Küçük and Rauf Denktaş's calls for help did not go unanswered, and EOKA tried to eliminate its aggression and its "enosis" target (Karaca, 2014: 377-379). In fact, attempts to connect the island to Greece gained momentum with the start of British rule here in 1878. Greek notables, Greek metropolitans and the people, who tried to put pressure on the British High Commissioner, or rather kept them, have always expressed the unification of Cyprus and Greece with their rallies and statements (Karaca, 2016: 88-93). As it can be understood from here, the problem Turkey is facing has a long history and has acquired a new and challenging dimension.

When it came to 1964, the famous letter of the US President Johnson and the decision about Cyprus in 1965 at the UN led Turkey to produce a policy that was more independent from the USA and the Western states and that looked after its own national interests (Hakov, 1983: 1878). Under these conditions, Turkey thought that it was necessary to diversify its international relations without changing the basic stance of its foreign policy, and started to establish good relations with Arab states as well as socialist states. This situation required a broader view of foreign policy issues from various perspectives and a synthesis before making a decision (Kamel, 1974: 13). With this understanding, Turkey's policy of leaving confrontation and good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation with Socialist states and Arab countries secured its own security much more than the policy of being

unilateral and taking part in the military blocs formed by the Westerners, and added a new dimension to Turkey's thesis on Cyprus. It has gained supporters (Hakov, 1983: 1878).

Between 1965 and 1971, a dynamism that was rarely seen in the Republican period was seen in Turkish foreign policy due to internal and external factors. This period has revealed how far Turkey can approach the East and how far it can move away from the West, and Turkey has tried to adapt itself to the conditions of the changing world by following a more active policy. Turkey has managed to evolve into a multilateral foreign policy that normalizes its relations with neighboring countries and other states without experiencing any conflicts with its allies (Yeşilbursa, 2007: 78).

Starting from the mid-1960s, the practical purpose of Turkey's desire to approach the Arab world would be to provide the support of 14 Arab states that did not side with Turkey in the 1965 UN General Assembly on the Cyprus issue (Kürkçüoğlu, 1972: 141).

2. UN's Cyprus Resolution (18 December 1965)

Cyprus has been a very important issue in Turkey's relations with the Middle East and Arab states. The "Western" policies pursued by Turkey in the 1950s began to have negative consequences on the Cyprus issue in the mid-1960s. It was clear in both the UN and the Non-Aligned platform that the Middle East countries were not with Turkey on the Cyprus issue (Yılmaz, 2008: 636).

Regarding Cyprus, the situation was shaped against Turkey in the vote held at the UN General Assembly on 18 December 1965 (Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 7). This situation revealed that Turkey was pushed into loneliness both within the Western Bloc and on a global scale. 47 states voted in favor, 54 states abstained and only 5 states voted against with Turkey of the draft resolution, (Gönlübol ve Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493)¹ which refuses the intervention of any foreign country, therefore, opposing the use of the right of intervention granted to Turkey by the Cyprus Guarantee Treaty of 1960. (Gönlübol and Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493) (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1; Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 1).

Those who are against the bill are the USA, Iran, Libya, Pakistan and Albania along with Turkey (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1; Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 1). Albania voted against, especially due to its conflict with Greece due to the Northern Epirus issue, while Pakistan and Iran sided with Turkey due to genuine alliance and friendship (Karasapan, 1965: 15). The rejection vote, which was diametrically opposed to the previous attitude of the USA, stemmed from the thought of mitigating the reaction caused by the Johnson letter in Turkey (Gönlübol and Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493).

As seen in this vote, only the United States of America and the other NATO countries voted against the bill, together with Turkey, and the others, except Greece, abstained (Karasapan, 1965: 16). The abstention of all the Socialist Bloc countries together with the NATO countries expressed the new understanding in Turkish foreign policy. This understanding was an attempt to eliminate the ongoing standoff between Turkey and the Socialist Bloc countries since the mid-1940s and to ensure normalization (Gönlübol and Kürkçüoğlu, 1996: 493).

The abstaining NATO countries argued that international agreements cannot be broken unilaterally and that the issue should be resolved through peaceful negotiations between Turkey, Greece and Cyprus (Karasapan, 1965: 16). In the process in question, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Iraq were among the abstaining states (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1; Cumhuriyet, 18 December 1965: 1). During the negotiations of the issue at the UN, many decision projects came to the fore. Of these, the projects of Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Iraq are in the nature of seeking an average path. In this draft; After reminding the resolutions of the Security Council and gladly stating that the UN forces

¹ BM'nin 18 Aralık 1965 tarihli karar tasarısının tamamı için bkz. Cumhuriyet, 18 Aralık 1965: 1-7.

serve to keep the peace on the Island, it was affirmed that Cyprus is an equal member of the UN Organization and that its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected, and that the UN General Assembly, In agreement with the stakeholders, it was proposed that the UN recommend new mediation efforts for the resolution of the Cyprus Issue by observing the UN Constitution (Karasapan, 1965: 11).

Before the decision, the Turkish delegation headed by Çağlayangil had intense contacts and a strong association was established with the authorities of Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Iraq, Tunisia and Libya, which are close to Turkey (Karasapan, 1965: 12).

In the negotiation process, with the participation of Saudi Arabia and Libya, the Afghan-Iraq bill, which took a four-backed form, was initiated by the delegations of Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Iraq and Afghanistan to amend the 32's bill and to make it a form acceptable to Turkey (Karasapan, 1965:14). However, in the meeting of the Political Commission on 16 December, the authorities of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Afghanistan fought strongly in favor of Turkey in the negotiations on whether or not the 32s bill should be put to the vote first (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 7). However, after intense negotiations, the Political Commission gave priority to the 32s bill despite the strong resistance of the Saudi representative (Karasapan, 1965: 14). Despite a final attempt to nullify the 32s draft during the negotiations, no results could be obtained and the 32s draft accepted by the Commission came to the General Assembly in the form of a proposal (Karasapan, 1965: 15).

Upon the adoption of the draft resolution against Turkey in the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister Demirel said that it would not be possible for Turkey's rights on the Island to be lost in any way (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 7). He stated that it was not possible for him to accept the recommendations contained in it (Tercüman, 18 December 1965: 1). In the meantime, in the days when the UN's Cyprus resolution was discussed, in the media, about 20 parliamentarians, together with the Minister of Industry Mehmet Turgut and Saadettin Bilgiç, Necmettin Erbakan, Etem Kılıçoğlu and Ayhan Songar, where the work on the establishment of the Turkey-Saudi Arabia Friendship Society was completed. There was a news that he was among the founders (Tercüman, 23 December 1965: 7).

3. Visit of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia to Turkey and Cyprus Agenda (29 August-4 September 1966)

On the occasion of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia's visit to Turkey between 29 August and 4 September 1966 (Tercüman, 29 August 1966: 1), Tercüman Newspaper published a special issue on 29 August and made detailed news about Saudi Arabia and included articles about the visit. has included:

Fethi Tevetoğlu wrote in his article; After stating that although there were some disagreements between the two states in the past, they are past and over, and that the strongest factor connecting Turkey and Saudi Arabia is the religious bond, regarding Cyprus; "Our behavior towards the Cyprus cause is our natural duty. Our religion, friendship and brotherhood govern this. In fact, we do not seem to have done much in this regard. I hope Turkey will end this important problem in a way that the rights and honor of our Muslim Turkish brothers in Cyprus will be protected and that they will find comfort and peace." said (Tevetoğlu, 1966: 3).

Due to the visit of King Faisal, Minister of Foreign Affairs Çağlayangil said; He stated that the importance given by King Faisal to the development and strengthening of the Turkish-Saudi friendship and his close interest in Turkey are known by everyone and his sincere and valuable support to the Cyprus cause has not been forgotten (Tercüman, 29 August 1966: 2).

In his speech at the dinner given in honor of King Faisal by President Cevdet Sunay on Monday, 29 August (Tercüman, 30 August 1966: 1-7), Sunay addressed Faisal as the "Great Islamic Ruler" and expressed his joy at the visit. He expressed his satisfaction with the development of the Turkish nation and Saudi Arabia (Turkey-Saudi Arabia Friendship Society, 1969: 38-39). In addition to this, Sunay said:

"We always observe the full effect of the principles of brotherhood in the relations between our countries, which rest on the unshakable bonds of a common religious, historical and cultural past. The fact that the feelings of brotherhood that dominates the behavior of the Turkish nation and governments, especially His Majesty, and the government and people of Saudi Arabia, are shown in the same way, is a clear proof of how the relations between our countries are based on solid principles.

Sunay also expressed his gratitude for the Saudi Government's voting in favor of Turkey at the UN in the Cyprus Issue and said: are full of feelings. You have left a deep mark in the heart of the Turkish nation that you are a part of our justified indignation against the common treatment of our kin and religious brothers, who have been in oppression, financial and moral difficulties, and even faced with the possibility of being destroyed. The exceptionally strong atmosphere of Turkey-Saudi Arabia relations will be a source of inspiration."

In addition to these, Sunay also stated that all kinds of opportunities of Turkey are available to Saudi Arabia's efforts for development and welfare (Tercüman, 31 August 1966: 1-7; Milliyet, 30 August 1966: 7).

King Faisal, on the other hand, connects the two countries; He pointed out the issues of religion, belief and Islamic morality (Turkey-Saudi Arabia Friendship Society, 1969: 39-40). The King also touched upon the Cyprus Issue and stated that it is not just religious piety that causes support for Turkey in this matter, but that they take such an attitude in terms of rights, justice and humanity (Es-Saviğ, 1992: 241-242; Tercüman, 31 August 1966: 7.)

"Our hearts will always remain here," King Faisal said as he left Turkey on September 4. (Tercüman, September 5, 1966: 1). Sunay also expressed his gratitude to Faysal for the strong support of Saudi Arabia on Cyprus, and King Faisal also expressed Saudi Arabia's positive attitude regarding the status of Cyprus and the enforcement of international agreements (Milliyet, 5 September 1966: 1- 7).

On the eve of King Faisal's departure from Turkey, to reporters on the Cyprus issue; "In Cyprus, each community must protect its own rights. The State of Cyprus was born with certain agreements." (Tercüman, 5 September 1966: 7).

4. President Cevdet Sunay's Contacts with Saudi Arabia (22 -27 January 1968) and Cyprus Agenda

President Sunay paid a visit to Saudi Arabia between 22-27 January 1968. King Faisal welcomed Sunay at Riyadh Airport. In his statement at the same time, Sunay said the following about the Cyprus Issue:

"Since the visit of His Excellency Melik to our country, an armed conflict has taken place in the Near and Middle-East region and the Cyprus issue has created a critical situation. As a result of these important events, our region was dragged into a serious crisis. As a nation, we sincerely hope that today's tense and always available general situation, which causes our worries and sorrows, will be resolved in a way that will protect the legitimate rights and interests of our fraternal Arab countries and our Cypriot compatriots." (Memory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968: 43-44).

King Faisal gave a banquet in the evening in honor of President Sunay (Foreign Ministry Belleteni, 1968: 23). King Faisal touched upon some issues in his speech here, expressed his satisfaction with Turkey's support for issues that concern Arabs, that they are also interested in the affairs of brotherly Turkey, that they have never forgotten the mujahideen of Cyprus, that the Great Powers do not interfere in the region, that all Muslims live together and support each other. He said that they were aiming (Tercüman, 24 January 1968: 7; Milliyet, 24 January 1968: 1-7).

President Sunay, in his speech on this occasion, stated that the cultural and historical ties between the two nations are a sacred trust passed down from the ancestors and said, "While supporting the causes of brotherly Arab countries that we consider just and legitimate, we have always acted on the principles of peace and justice that we believe in. We believe that His Excellency Melik will have a great impact on the settlement of the Middle East conflict through peaceful means and a just and lasting solution. Turkey sincerely wishes all brotherly Arab countries to be in peace, prosperity and progress. The attitude adopted by Saudi Arabia on international issues concerning Turkey is the tangible result of the friendship and solidarity between our countries. It makes us happy to see our great friend and brother Saudi Arabia by our side in the national causes of the Turkish nation and our Cypriot compatriots" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Belleteni, 1968: 46-48).

The focus of the Turkish-Saudi official talks held on 23 January was the Middle East and Cyprus issue (Tercüman, 24 January 1968: 1).

Meanwhile, President Sunay, after his arrival in Riyadh, broadcast a message via the Mecca radio, stating that if the rights of Turkish Cypriots and Arabs are not respected, a more dangerous situation may arise in the Middle East than it is now (Hürriyet, 24 January 1968: 1; Milliyet, 24 January 1968: 1).

A joint statement on the talks was published in Riyadh and Ankara on 27 January, and the views of the two states on Israel and Cyprus were included (Tercüman, 28 January 1968: 7).

Regarding the Cyprus issue, it was stated in the statement: "The President of Turkey explained the latest developments on the Cyprus issue and confirmed the gratitude of the Turkish Government and the Turkish nation for the continuous support of Saudi Arabia to Turkey on this issue. Both heads of state stated that this issue should be resolved to an urgent and agreed-upon solution in a way that fully protects the security and legitimate rights and interests of the Turkish community." (Memory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968: 49-50).

In the Turkish foreign policy of this period, the emphasis on the relations with the Arab states and the desire to get the support of the Arab states in the Cyprus Issue were effective in the period of softening. For this reason, President Sunay made mutual visits to the countries of the region. Sunay's visit to Saudi Arabia should also be evaluated in this context. Sunay, who was received with great interest in Saudi Arabia, made an important service in the development of bilateral relations with this visit, and also obtained the support he was looking for in the Cyprus issue.

When we look at the period of 1970-1980, although there was a very unstable period in domestic politics, it was a period in which very important works were carried out. The Cyprus landing was made during this period. In this period, when the Cold War was on the rise again, Turkey maintained its importance as a country with NATO bases. If this period is evaluated in the general framework, it is seen that the general line of Turkish foreign policy has not changed (November, 2009: 246). The years 1973-1974 marked a new turning point in terms of both Turkish foreign policy in general and Middle East policy. Among the factors that cause this; Turkey's loneliness in the international arena after the 1974 Cyprus operation, the 1973 oil crisis, the deterioration of Turkish-American relations

after the Cyprus invasion, and the arms embargo imposed on Turkey can be shown (Çetinsaya, 1998: 49-50).

As a matter of fact, the Cyprus issue has been the main axis of Turkish foreign policy for the last twenty years. It can be said that the activity of Turkish foreign policy has revolved around Cyprus and studies in other fields have developed as branches of this issue. Because Cyprus, Turkey's vital and national issue, has been the focus of its national interests.

The second important element of Turkish foreign policy is relations with the United States. Looking at the last 20 years, Turkish-American relations have shown a changing structure within the framework of the course of the Cyprus Issue. The Cyprus Issue has always been the cornerstone of Turkish-Greek relations. The United States, on the other hand, gave equal weight to Greece and Turkey. This policy of the USA has created an alarming problem that has shaken Turkish-American relations from time to time.

It is for these reasons that Turkey-US relations will be severely shaken in the 1964 and 1974 Cyprus crises (Armaoğlu, 2007: 783). After the 1974 Cyprus invasion, the West's attitude towards Turkey and the cooling of Turkish-American relations with the 1975 embargo caused Turkey to attach more importance to its relations with the Soviet Union as well as the Middle East states (Arı, 2008: 376). In this context, the Cyprus issue has shaped Turkey-US relations, and the shape of these relations, in a way, has shaped Turkey-Soviet Union relations. It should be known that the Johnson Letter was influential in the positive development of Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union since the end of 1964 (Armaoğlu, 2007: 784).

On the other hand, in the gradual development of Turkish-Arab relations in the 70s; The oil crisis that emerged as a result of the oil embargo implemented by the Union of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries due to the tension between Turkey and the West due to the Cyprus Issue, the economic depression and the West's support for Israel were influential (Ferhavi, 2012). It is also claimed that the main reason for the significant improvement in Turkish-Arab relations in the 1970s was economic factors (Sander, 1998: 227). The rise in oil prices and the 1973 War strengthened the international position of the Arabs. The oil crisis also affected Turkey, and Turkey wanted to get closer to the Arabs economically (Nurettin, 2005: 179-180) and started to develop its relations with oil producing states, especially Iraq, for its oil needs (Kirişçi, 2002: 54; Martin, 2002). : 237-238). In this respect, the policy followed by Turkey in this period with new motives such as the "oil/trade" factor, which was partially added to the Cyprus main factor, became the continuation and development of its post-1965 policy. This policy can be defined as pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli, active participation in the Islamic Conference, and rapprochement with oil producer/rich Arab states in order to meet Turkey's oil and foreign exchange needs (Çetinsaya, 1998: 50).

As a matter of fact, Israel is the main factor in the relations between Turkey and the Middle East states. His relations with Israel improved to the extent that he could get closer to the Arabs. However, it should be known that the main issue that leads Turkey to approach the Arabs first is that the Arabs stand by Turkey on the Cyprus issue and especially in the UN. When the Arab countries established a link between the Cyprus issue and the Israel issue, Turkey had to reshape its Israeli policy and the 1967 Arab-Israeli war enabled the first application of this new policy (Armaoğlu, 2007: 784).

In the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Turkey continued its policy of supporting the Arabs (Turkmen, 2010: 22). Turkey in this war; It welcomed the political support requests of Egypt and Syria and acted together with the Arab states at the UN. While it did not allow the US to use Incirlik Air Base during the war, it opened its airspace to the Soviet planes that went to help Syria (Demir, 2011: 707). Arabs did not remain indifferent to this support, and OPEC members declared that Turkey would be exempted from oil export restrictions (Türkmen, 2010: 22).

On the other hand, emphasizing the view that Israel should withdraw from the occupied territories in order to achieve peace in the Middle East, Turkey also reduced its political and economic relations with Israel. On the other hand, Arabs and Muslims sided with Turkey after the Cyprus invasion and the American embargo. Aid from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Pakistan and Libya struggled for many years in order to prove its depth in the Turkish public, which was disappointed with the attitude of the USA in this crisis. Cyprus would have become one of the Greek islands today had it not been for Turkey's aid and its brave resistance and the successful landing of the Turkish Armed Forces in July 1974.

The Cyprus problem is one of the chronic issues, such as the Palestine, Kashmir, Filipino Muslims issues, where all the evidence points out that the stance of the Turks there is justified.

British historian Arnold Toynbee; "Right and wrong exist in Palestine as in other places. While the world listened to the murderer, it remained deaf to the victim." The word is appropriate for the situation of the Turkish Cypriots (Hatit: 3).

Since its establishment, the State of Saudi Arabia has spent its power and revenues to serve Islam (Alshamri, 2010: 2).² The World Islamic Union Organization (DİBÖ) (Rabitatü'l Alem-i Islam) and OIC can be cited as examples of these organizations. The Saudi Government has hosted these organizations in its own country (Alshamri, 2010: 2).

In Turkish-Saudi relations, close relations have been experienced since 1932, as well as periods of coldness. But the most important reality in relations is that the relations are not completely broken. Various regional events even brought about rapprochement. The most important of these is the Saudi Government's support to the Turkish Cypriots, against the Cyprus crisis and the West's attitude towards Turkey in this crisis. This attitude deeply affected the general understanding of Turkey and thus a new phase of positive relations began.³

Since the beginning of the events, the Saudi government and people have been closely interested in the problems of the Turkish Cypriots and extended a helping hand in the genocide they were exposed to (El-Abudi, 2009: 58).

Muhammed Safvet Es-Sakka Emini, one of the former Deputy Secretary Generals of DİBÖ, said the following regarding the Cyprus Issue: It is a matter of conspiracy. Undoubtedly, the owners of Cyprus, who defend the truth, were swept away between the hands of defeat and the axes of genocide. Brave and determined people are needed to illuminate this issue and reveal the hidden truths. Because these evidences show us the true face of Cyprus and the fact that it was one of the great provinces of the Islamic world at the time" (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 1).

The Saudi Kingdom approached the Turkish Cypriot issue in terms of Islamic solidarity. This meant supporting the will of the Turkish Cypriots towards the formation of a political structure. For this purpose, the Saudi Government supported the demands of the Turkish Cypriots at the UN. Again, the Saudi Government supported the Turkish Cypriots in gaining observer status in the OIC. In addition, DİBÖ encouraged Islamic countries to recognize the TRNC at its meeting in March 1987. While other members of the OIC called for the unity of Cyprus, Saudi Arabia became one of the few Islamic states that fully supported the Turkish Cypriots (Es-Saviğ, 1992: 154).

² Abdullah Bin Hacı Alshamri, "İni'kas El-Ezmet'ül Kıbrısıyye Ala El- Alakat Es- Suudiyye El- Türkiyye Fi Ahd El-Melik Halid Bin Abdülaziz 1975-1982", Kral Halid Bin Abdülaziz Al-i Suud Bilimsel Tarih Kongresine Sunulmuş İlimi Araştırma, 2010/1431 (Bu araştırmada, Kral Halid Devrinde (1975-1982) Kıbrıs meselesinin Türkiye-Suudi Arabistan münasebetlerine etkileri ele alınmakta, Suudi Hükümeti'nin meseleye çeşitli yönlerden yardımları belirtilmekte ve İslami dayanışma bakımından Kıbrıs Türkleri meselesine nasıl baktığı ortaya konmaktadır.)

³ Abdullah Bin Hacı Alshamri, "Gavl Fir-Riyad..Davetü'n Li Fehmi El-Vaki' Et-Türki El-Cedid", El-Cemiyye Et-Türkiyye El-Arabiyye Li'l- Ulum Es-Sekafe ve El-Fünun, "Çevrimiçi", <http://www.turkisharab.com/derasat/gulfiriyad.htm>, 16.06.2010.

While the Saudi Government approached the Cyprus issue with the understanding of Islamic solidarity, it also observed the following basic understanding: Cyprus is the common homeland of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots who do not have minority or majority relations. Each of these elements is one of the two communities of Cyprus. The demands of the Turkish Cypriots to be treated on the same level as the Greek Cypriots and the demands for a solution to create a bi-zonal, bi-communal, united, federal Cyprus were supported. The Saudi Government has ignored Turkey's negative attitude in Arab and Islamic issues since 1923 and has supported the Turkish Cypriots to be in a political formation of their own, despite their privileged relations with Greece. Despite the emergence of many political, historical and cultural obstacles that prevent the development of Turkish-Saudi relations, the Saudis have supported the demands of the Turkish Cypriots in the UN platform since 1960 (Alshamri, 2010: 6). During his visit to Turkey in August 1966 upon the invitation of Cevdet Sunay, King Faisal expressed this issue and said: "The Saudi State has defended the right of the Turkish Cypriots to determine their own destiny, and has shown an attitude towards helping the Turks in the name of defending freedom, justice and truth. " The Saudi Government showed its feelings of brotherhood and friendship towards the Turkish Cypriots and did not see the Turkish Cypriots as a minority. The signing of political sensitivities here had a great impact on the development of bilateral relations. Many mutual visits were made between the authors and the intellectuals, and in parallel with the increase in the number of Saudi students studying at universities in Turkey, the number of Turkish students studying at Saudi universities also increased (Alshamri, 2010: 6-7).

5.1. Aid from Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Community in Cyprus

When we look at the Turkish-Arab relations, there is more confrontation and conflict. While Turkey was on the opposing front regarding the independence of Algeria, it supported Israel and Iran in economic matters and signed the "Triple Scalpel" Agreement with both states for cooperation in intelligence matters.

Due to this negative attitude of Turkey against the Arabs, most of the Arab states did not take sides with Turkey in the 1963-1964 Cyprus incidents, and they took a stand in favor of Makarios' policies. In addition, the fact that the West is on the side of Greece has increased the loneliness of Turkey.

The shape of Turkish-Arab relations until the mid-1960s; neglect, indifference and indifference. The Arabs saw Turkey as an element of the Western exploitation team and did not attach any importance to it. The reason for this situation is that in this period, the parties turned to two different and opposite paths (Alshamri, 2010: 8).

During the reign of King Khalid, many important regional events emerged: the Shah of Iran was overthrown, the Islamic Republic of Iran was established in 1979, the Russians began to invade Afghanistan in the same year, and the Iran-Iraq war broke out in September 1980. Meanwhile, in the Cyprus Issue that emerged, the West adopted a hostile attitude towards Turkey. The Saudi Government, on the other hand, stood by Turkey in the international arena on this issue, supported the Turkish attitude, and provided assistance to the Turkish Cypriot side. This attitude of the Saudi government has left deep traces on the Turkish people, especially on the intellectual class and on the Turkish state administrators. From this point of view, a new era began in the relations between the two countries, and Turkey felt the need to reconsider its policy towards Saudi Arabia. As a result, relations with Saudi Arabia were strengthened and a policy based on mutual friendship was developed. The parties participated in most of the activities related to the region and the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Islamic Countries was held in Istanbul on May 12, 1975 (Alshamri, 2010: 8-9).

5.2. Types of Aid provided by Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Cypriots

Especially during the reign of King Khalid, the Saudi Government provided many aids to the Turkish Cypriots. Some of them are in the form of financial support of the Saudis to Cyprus. In addition, support was provided by humanitarian organizations affiliated to the UN, DİBÖ, OIC, Islamic Development Bank, Saudi Investment Fund and Saudi charities.

5.2.1. World Islamic Union

DİBÖ was established in accordance with the decision adopted at the General Islamic Conference held on 14 Dhu al-Hijjah 1381/18 May 1962. In the establishment agreement; "We will do our best to unite Muslims and we will eliminate the effects of the disintegration between Islamic societies in the world."

Headquartered in Mecca, DİBÖ has many offices in various countries around the world and has strong ties with Saudi Arabia. Therefore, since its establishment, Saudi Arabia has provided all kinds of financial and moral assistance to the work of the Organization. In order to realize its goals, DİBÖ deals with various issues such as Islamic solidarity, Islamic invitation, interest in the issues of the Islamic peoples, Jerusalem, Palestine Issue, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to these, there are also studies to follow Islamic issues in the international arena. Since its establishment, Saudi Arabia's aid to the organization, as the state and the people, has exceeded tens of billions of dollars. (Alshamri, 2010: 10).

The DİBÖ took a stance supporting the Turkish Cypriots, and with the statement at the 27th anniversary meeting held in Mina on March 20, 1986, Islamic countries were encouraged to recognize Northern Cyprus and engage in mutual commercial activities.

DİBÖ also sent delegations to Northern Cyprus, held talks with the authorities, examined the mosques destroyed in the Cyprus events and had many mosques built (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 180-181).

In addition to all these, DİBÖ re-discussed the Cyprus issue in its meetings in 1384 and 1386 Hijri, investigated the genocide and exiles perpetrated by the Greeks on the Turks, and sent a communiqué to the UN, Islamic and Arab countries, humanitarian and state organizations to do their humanitarian duty to save the Turks there. He also wrote a petition to the Saudi Government to provide financial support to the Turkish Cypriots. In the 16th meeting of the organization (Hijri 1394), this issue was brought to the agenda again, the genocide perpetrated by the Greeks against innocent Turks was severely condemned and the issue was seriously brought to the agenda in the press. DİBÖ also discussed the Cyprus Issue in its subsequent meetings (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 220-223).

The Secretary General made a visit to Cyprus at the beginning of Shawwal in 1398 Hijri to deliver the aid allocated by DİBÖ and discussed the two big mosque projects to be built in Lefkoşa and Kozyurt (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 223). In two important decisions adopted at the 20th meeting of DİBÖ, Islamic States were asked to reconsider their relations with the Greek Cypriot government and economic institutions in Arab and Islamic countries were asked to purchase the products they needed from Turkish Cypriots and to establish commercial relations with them (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982). : 223-224).

Again, in the 21st (Hijri 1399) meeting, the Cyprus issue was brought to the agenda and the previous decisions were emphasized again, the continuation of the aid given to the Turkish Cypriots to build their mosques, and the strong condemnation of the Universal Postal Union's decision that the Turkish Cypriot Government did not count the Postal Code (Es- Sakka Emini, 1982: 223-224).

In addition to all these, DİBÖ opened a permanent office in Mecca for Northern Cyprus, decided to give scholarships to Cypriot youth studying at Saudi Universities, and sent Islamic invitees to carry out activities in Cyprus. In addition, Turkish and English translations of the Holy Quran and religious books were presented to the Turkish Cypriots (Alshamri, 2010: 10-11).

5.2.2. Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)

Since its establishment, the OIC has emerged as one of the central organizations that have taken an important place in the international arena, due to the number of states, organizations and movements that have joined its body, and its positive effect in uniting the ranks of about ¼ of the international community (Hatit: 1).

The OIC supports the efforts of the Islamic peoples to preserve their independence, national rights and dignity.

This support gave great hope to the Turkish Cypriots and contributed to the courageous effort of Cyprus to preserve its existence and rights as one of the two communities. Perhaps their fate would have changed had it not been for this courageous opposition of the people, the aid provided by the Islamic countries to Turkey and the 1974 military intervention.

On the other hand, the Cyprus Issue has been on the agenda of the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Countries since 1975. Since the 3rd Islamic Summit held in Mecca in 1981, Cyprus has been involved in the proposals and negotiations of the leaders in the OIC (Alshamri, 2010: 11).

5.2.2.1. Saudi Arabia's Support to Cyprus at the Islamic Summit Conferences

III. Turkey participated with a delegation under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Bülent Ulusu. The Islamic Summit Conference was held on 25-28 January 1981 in Mecca and Taif (Soysal, 2000: 737). Although the Cyprus issue came to the agenda at this summit with the request of the Turkish delegation, Turkey did not present a draft resolution so that it would not affect the ongoing negotiations between the parties in Cyprus (Soysal, 2000: 738). In addition, for the first time and only once, Turkish Cypriots participating in the summit under the leadership of Denktaş were mentioned as the "Federated Turkish State of Cyprus" in the list of observer countries (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 402). This issue can be seen as a positive development according to the term "Cypriot Muslim Turkish Community" used until that time (Soysal, 2000: 738).

The Islamic Summit Conference was held in Casablanca, Morocco between 16-18 January 1984. At this summit, which was attended by the President for the first time from Turkey (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 404), President Evren was appointed as the chairman of the Economic and Commercial Cooperation Continuous Commission together with the Vice President of the conference (Soysal, 2000: 738). Turkish Cypriots participated in this summit as observers and the following statements were included in the 10th article of the final communiqué: "The conference members listened to Rauf Denktaş's speech about the Cyprus case with a sense of brotherhood and friendship, and the previous decisions regarding the Cyprus issue were re-expressed in the conference. Again, the support of the Turkish Cypriots for their just cause and their efforts to keep them at the same level with the Greek Cypriots were mentioned, and the feelings of mutual friendship were expressed. (Alshamri, 2010: 12).

The 5th Islamic Summit Conference was held in Kuwait between 26-29 January 1987 (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 407). In the final declaration of the summit, it was stated that the Turkish Cypriot people took part in the summit as observers, and in the 25th article of the declaration; It has been reported that Denktaş's speech in which he put forward the just cause of the Turkish Cypriots was heard, previous decisions on the Cyprus issue were emphasized, the support given by the UN Secretary was praised and the Secretary General presented his proposals within the framework agreement of March 1986. He also emphasized at the summit that the efforts to ensure that Turkish Cypriots obtain their rights and keep them on an equal footing with Greek Cypriots continue to be supported; A call to strengthen solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots was also made (Alshamri, 2010: 12).

5.2.2.2 Saudi Arabia's Support to Cyprus at the Conferences of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries

The issues of the Turkish Cypriot people were discussed with great care at the Conferences of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic States. Since 1975, this issue has been included in the negotiations and proposals of the foreign ministers, the Cyprus issue has been pointed out and a request has been made to understand and support the Cyprus cause.

At the 6th Foreign Ministers Conference held in Jeddah between 12-15 July 1975, Turkey took its place at the level of Minister of Foreign Affairs for the first time (Soysal, 2000: 748). Rauf Denktaş, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots and the Vice President of the Republic of Cyprus, made a speech for the first time at this conference, which has a special importance for Turkey (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397). In the conclusion statement of the conference; "The statement of Rauf Denktaş, Vice President of the Republic of Cyprus and Head of the Turkish Cypriot Community, was followed with attention and interest by the members of the delegation. It is stated that they are aware of the efforts made by the members of the conference to protect the legitimate interests of the Turkish community and, again, within the framework of the Federal Republic of Cyprus, to create an environment that is independent, sovereign, impartial, free from military bases, and where the Greek and Turkish communities live in peace and security, respecting each other's rights. been done." (Alshamri, 2010: 13).

The papers presented and the results obtained at the 7th Foreign Ministers Conference (Soysal, 2000: 748) convened in Istanbul between 12-15 May 1976 became a turning point in Turkey-OIC relations (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397). The name of the Turkish Cypriot People was also included among the partners in the Istanbul Conference (Alshamri, 2010: 13). In his speech here, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel expressed the Cyprus issue and talked about the difficulties faced by the Turkish Cypriots, while the Minister of Foreign Affairs Çağlayangil stated that he believed that the Cyprus issue could only be resolved through mutual negotiations (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397).

Denktaş, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots, also made a speech here and talked about the struggle of his people for their legitimate rights, dignity and honor in Cyprus. After the speech, the members took a decision on the Cyprus issue. In this decision, it was stated that within the framework of a bi-communal, impartial, independent republic with equal rights in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots have the right to have their voice heard in all international meetings where the Cyprus issue will be examined impartially. In addition, it was decided to invite the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot people to take part in the future Islamic Conference meetings (Alshamri, 2010: 13). Also at the conference, Fethi Tevetoğlu was appointed as the Deputy Secretary General of the OIC, thus Turkey had a say in the top management of the OIC (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 397).

Meanwhile, during the Foreign Minister Çağlayangil's visit to Saudi Arabia, his Saudi counterpart, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, in his speech on March 28, 1977; He stated that the Foreign Ministers of the two countries agreed on the decision taken at the 7th Islamic Conference and expressed their satisfaction with the meeting between the leaders of the Turkish and Greek peoples (El-Abudi, 2009: 59).

At the 8th Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Islamic Countries held in Tripoli, the capital of Libya, between 11-14 May 1977, (Soysal, 2000: 748). In his speech, Muammer Gaddafi referred to the Cyprus issue and stated that a national and religious struggle continues in the region and that they have to make an effort to ensure equality between Muslims and non-Muslims in Cyprus (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 398). In the conference conclusion statement; At the conference, the speech of the Leader of the Turkish Cypriot Community, Rauf Denktaş, in which he talked about the struggle of his people to protect their honor and their legitimate rights, was carefully listened to. It is stated that it is supported

in ensuring its neutrality and the security of its lands (Alshamri, 2010: 14). In addition, the decision titled "The Cyprus Question and the Turkish Cypriot Community"; He called on all OIC members to take the necessary measures to strengthen and expand the solidarity with the Turkish Cypriot people (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 398).

The 9th Islamic Conference was held in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, between 24-28 April 1978 (Soysal, 2000: 748) In his speech here, Rauf Denktaş thanked all member states for supporting the just struggle of the Turkish Cypriot community (İhsanoğlu, 1994). : 398-399). In the 12th article of the conference's final statement; The members listened to the speech of the leader of the Turkish Cypriot people, Denktaş, with feelings of brotherhood, and Denktaş, in this speech, talked about the struggle of the oppressed people to reach a just and permanent solution, and pointed out the establishment of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federal system for the settlement of the Cyprus issue, It was reported that he expressed his appreciation and thanks to the member states for their support to the Turkish Cypriots in their struggle. In the decisions taken at the 7th and 8th Term meetings held in 1976-1977, the reconciliation between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus in February 1977 was mentioned, the satisfaction of the Turkish side's determined stance for the resumption of the talks between the parties was expressed, and the talks between the parties were constructive. and the hope of a fruitful resumption without delay was expressed, and it was stated that the principle of equality between the two sides within the framework of the federal government was supported, and that the conference members were encouraged to do all necessary work to strengthen solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots (Alshamri, 2010: 14).

In his speech at the 10th Islamic Conference (Soysal, 2000: 748) convened in Fez, Morocco between 8-12 May 1979, Denktaş called on the member states to increase their political and economic support to the Muslim Turkish community (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 399). In the final declaration of the conference, it was mentioned that the economic and political support of the member states to the Turkish Cypriot Community was increased, a call was made to oppose the economic embargo applied to the Turkish society, and it was decided that the Muslim people would help the Turkish Cypriots in their legitimate struggle (Alshamri, 2010: 15).

The 11th Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Countries (Soysal, 2000: 748), held in Islamabad between 17-22 May 1980, approved new measures to be taken for solidarity with the Turkish Cypriot people, and its member states were encouraged to further strengthen solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots. By encouraging them to take all necessary measures, he invited them to use all the means at their disposal to ensure that they benefit from the international aid coming to the Island, and asked the Islamic Development Bank to support the economy of the Turkish Cypriots (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 401).

Solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots was confirmed in the declarations of the 1981 (Baghdad/Iraq), 1982 (Niamey/Niger) and 1983 (Dhaka/Bangladesh) Conferences (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 403).

In the conclusions of the 1984 (Sana), 1986 (Morocco), 1988 (Riyadh) and 1990 (Cairo) Conferences, in which the Turkish Cypriot Community participated as an observer; The hope that the mediation efforts of the UN Secretary-General to find a permanent and just solution to the Cyprus Problem will result, were expressed. was found (Hatite: 12-14).

As a result; The Islamic Conferences, besides their rightful wishes, did not exceed the limit of sentimentality towards the words of the Turkish Cypriot community and supported the efforts and steps taken to prevent the Cyprus issue from reaching more serious dimensions. This attitude has left deep traces in many ways (Hatite: 16).

5.2.3. Islamic Development Bank

At the end of the Islamic Countries Finance Ministers Conference held in Jeddah on 15-16 December 1973, it was decided to establish a bank in order to promote economic cooperation among Islamic states (Oguz and Orsan, 1975: 116). The headquarters of the Islamic Development Bank is in Jeddah. The Bank carries out its activities in accordance with Islamic principles in order to ensure the economic development of Islamic countries. For this purpose, Turkish Cypriots obtained a significant share of the Bank's aid (Alshamri, 2010: 15-16).

5.2.4. Saudi Development Fund

The Saudi Development Fund, which was established in 1397/1977 with a capital of 10 billion Riyals in order to support the economic and social efforts of the developing countries, has increased its capital to 25 billion Riyals since 1981 in order to meet the increasing needs of the third world countries. The Fund constitutes one of the main development channels through which the Saudi Government transfers its foreign aid (Salam from Saudi Arabia, 1986: 11).

The Saudi Development Fund has provided various assistance to the Turkish Cypriots. Among these, the construction of the road between Nicosia (Nicosia) and Girne Harbor and the construction of the Selimiye Mosque on the Famagusta (Famagusta) road can be mentioned (Alshamri, 2010: 15-16).

All this shows how Saudi Arabia provides assistance to the Turkish Cypriots politically, economically and morally. This attitude created results that enabled the development of Turkish-Saudi relations. This has had repercussions in helping the Turkish Cypriot community, and progress has been made in improving relations between Turkey and Islamic countries. All these have caused Turkey to reconsider its relations with the West. As Russia, America and European states took the Greek side against the Turkish Cypriots, a period of coldness began in Turkish-Israeli relations.

In particular, King Khalid contributed to the improvement of Turkish-Saudi relations and Turkey participated in most of the activities of the OIC. (Alshamri, 2010: 16-17).

The contribution of the support given by Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Cypriots during the reign of King Khalid to the Turkish-Saudi relations can be explained as follows:

1. His help to the Turkish Cypriot community during the Cyprus crisis in 1974 during the reign of King Khalid had a very positive resonance in the Turkish public opinion. As a result of this situation, Turkey started to support Arab issues, take part in the activities of the World Islamic Union and the Islamic Conference, and hosted the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries held in Istanbul on May 12, 1975 for the first time. The conference was an opportunity to reveal the Turkish thoughts about the Saudi Government. Again, Saudi Arabia's attitude towards helping the Turkish Cypriots in various ways can be added to this. Thus, this open attitude displayed at the international level has led to the improvement of the cultural relations between Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

2. The Saudi Government has shown its feelings of friendship and brotherhood to the Turkish Cypriots and supported the Turkish view in the solution of the Cyprus problem, which is based on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federal state. In addition, it supported the wishes of the Turkish Cypriots in the UN platform and helped them to participate in the Islamic Conferences as an observer. Saudi Arabia has been one of the few Muslim states to contribute fully and continuously to the problems of the Turkish Cypriots.

3. Saudi Arabia openly supported the aspirations of Turkish Cypriots and helped to equate them with Greek Cypriots, despite its special relations with Greece and Turkey's negative stance on the Palestinian issue and Arab issues. In this way, he showed his feelings of friendship and brotherhood to the Turkish Cypriots.

4. The Saudi Government has stood by the Turkish Cypriots in the international arena so that they can get their right in aids to Cyprus. He supported the efforts of the UN Secretariat General in the mediation task given by the UN Security Council, and argued that the Turkish Cypriots have the right to express their opinions in the international community where the Cyprus issue is discussed. It contributed to the demands of the OIC member countries to increase the solidarity and support with the Turkish Cypriots, and brought the establishment of a fund to provide economic aid to the Turkish Cypriots.

5. Many benefits have been achieved with the improvement of Turkish-Saudi relations. Among these benefits can be noted membership of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. This situation helped Turkey to re-balance in the international arena. The OIC was instrumental in Rauf Denktaş, the Leader of the Turkish Cypriots, in explaining the views of the Turkish side in the meetings he attended. As a result of enabling the OIC to get to know the Arab and Palestinian causes closely, Turkey has effectively supported the Arab view at the UN.

6. In the face of the West's hostile attitude towards Turkey, Saudi Arabia's aid to the Turkish Cypriots initiated an atmosphere of cultural and religious revival in Turkey and thus had an impact on Turkey's domestic situation. In this environment, Turkey felt the need to reconsider its attitude towards the Arab cause, and Turkish intellectuals who were pro-European Union and defended Western values suffered a blow and were disappointed in the practice of democracy, liberalism and freedom. In addition, the USA, together with the Western powers, began to put pressure on Turkey to make concessions in Cyprus. This contradiction has led to a deepening of the depression among the secular intellectuals in Turkey.

The aid provided by Saudi Arabia to the Turkish Cypriots has had a very positive effect on the Turkish society. This aid has also been instrumental in Turkey-Saudi Arabia strategic solidarity (Alshamri, 2010: 17-19).

The interest in the Turkish Cypriot cause continues at all levels. In this regard, Saudi Arabia has published many articles and books reflecting Turkey's point of view. In addition to spiritual aid, Saudi Arabia contributed to the repair of many mosques damaged in the war.

At the World Islamic Press Preparatory Conference organized by DİBÖ in the capital of TRNC, Nicosia, between 21-23 July 1979/26-28 Recep 1399; Establishing a temporary general secretariat for the Islamic Press under the umbrella of DİBÖ, opening Islamic journalism departments in Islamic Universities and training trained master Muslim journalists, establishing a news center, researching the possibilities of publishing daily newspapers or weekly-monthly magazines in different languages that will be published on the same day in Islamic and world centers important decisions such as

The General Secretariat of DİBÖ conveyed these decisions to all members and relevant places (Es-Sakka Emini, 1982: 215-216). In addition, efforts were made to introduce the Cyprus issue to the Islamic world and to gain the support of this world. (Al-Abudi, 2009: 60). This conference has very positive effects on the Turkish Cypriots, as well as promoting the Cyprus issue and breaking the press embargo created to hide the truth in this issue (Milliyet, 22 February 1984: 7; Tercüman, 22 February 1984: 10).

During the official negotiations that started on February 22, Turkey once again expressed its satisfaction with the friendly attitude of the Saudi Government on the Cyprus issue (Hürriyet, February 23, 1984: 13).

When Fahd and Evren started bilateral talks, Vahit Halefoğlu also met with his counterpart, Prince Faysal. After the meeting, Halefoğlu stated to the Turkish press that there was great affinity between

the views of the two sides, and that he once again told Faisal about the talks in Cyprus and the reasons for the proclamation of the TRNC (Hürriyet, 23 February 1984: 13).

During Evren's meetings in Saudi Arabia, the Turkish delegation had the opportunity to first-hand explain the situation in Cyprus and the reasons for the proclamation of the TRNC to their Saudi counterparts, and also expressed their satisfaction with the friendly attitude of the Saudi Government on the Cyprus issue.

Conclusion

Turkish-Saudi relations have fluctuated between coldness and closeness since 1932. One of the reasons for this situation is the system on which both states are based. While the new Turkey was a republic founded on the foundation of secularism and separated religion and state affairs, Saudi Arabia was established as a monarchy based on sharia. But these fundamental differences did not harm the relations. Perhaps the most typical feature of the relations between Turkey and Saudi Arabia is that although there was a long period of suspicion between the two countries, there was never a complete break in relations. Moreover, some regional events have even brought about a convergence in political relations due to the bilateral interests of both states. The most important thing that brings convergence in bilateral relations is the fact that Saudi Arabia is on the side of Turkey and helps the Turkish Cypriots in the face of the Cyprus crisis and the attitude of the West against Turkey in this crisis. This attitude of the Saudi Government has deeply affected the general view of Turkey and thus a new era of good relations has begun. Especially between 1974-1978, Turkey, which was left alone by applying an economic embargo due to the Cyprus Peace Operation, turned its direction to the Middle East countries as an alternative to the West.

There is a historical cooperation between Turkey and Saudi Arabia, and Saudi Arabia has strongly supported Turkey, especially regarding Turkey's national issue, Cyprus.

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