

SECOND CAIRO CONFERENCE



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Topic: Open Agenda

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Letter From the Secretary-General

Most Esteemed Participants,

It is my honour and pleasure to welcome you on behalf of the Academic and Organisations Teams to the eighth annual session of HASAL Model United Nations Conference. I am İrem Beyza Uralcan, currently a senior at Hüseyin Avni Sözen High School. I have been a member of HASAL International Relations Society for five years now, and this year, I am serving as the Secretary-General of HASALMUN. By opening this document, you have started your preparation process for the Second Cairo Conference. We are truly happy you chose to be a part of this experience, and we wish you the best of luck during the debates.

In order for us to analyse the national and global dynamics of our day, we are obliged to know our past. So far, our world has suffered through two major man-made disasters: World War I and World War II. In this year's edition of HASALMUN, we present you the Second Cairo Conference, where the delegates will have to be very diplomatic and make informed decisions regarding the future of their homelands. There will be three parties attending the conference: Turkish, British, and American delegations—discussing the possible Turkish involvement in the Second World War.

We expect the delegates to direct the flow of the debate and the course of events by taking careful actions and defending their governments' policy as accurately as possible. Moreover, delegates representing the same country are expected to act cooperatively. The delegates may or may not change the outcomes of the Conference. We are very excited to see the end result.

I recommend all participants to read this guide carefully but also quickly. This guide provides you a starting point and a direction. It is very important for the members to do their own researches and get to know their characters, and then to come up with appropriate approaches to the issue. Please do not hesitate to contact me via beyza.uralcan@gmail.com should you have any questions.

Best Regards,

İrem Beyza Uralcan

Secretary-General of HASALMUN 2019

1) Introduction

The Second Cairo Conference of December 4–6, 1943, held in Cairo, Egypt. The meeting was attended by President İsmet İnönü of The Republic of Turkey, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom. This conference was accepted as the second edition of these multilateral talks in Cairo. The two Western Leaders gathered for making their requests regarding the term of the World War II. In other words, the main reason of the reunion was the evaluation of the Republic of Turkey's possible contribution to the Allies in the World War II. The participation of President İsmet İnönü of the Republic of Turkey in this conference was in response to the kind invitation addressed to him by President Roosevelt of the United States and the Prime Minister Churchill of the United Kingdom. These statesmen reviewed the general political situation and examined the possible collaborations to be followed.

Primarily, President Franklin Roosevelt and the Prime Minister Winston Churchill were both in the opinion of that İnönü's permanent neutrality was a strategic advantage for the Allies while they were blocking the Axis Powers from oil reserves of the Middle East. However, all these opinions suddenly changed by the early victories of the Axis Powers until the end of 1942. The "Two Western Leaders" started once again the consideration of the possible contribution of Turkey.

President İsmet İnönü always showed a decent attitude and were in a clear position in the World War II. He deeply knew the sorrow that his country had to suffer and grieve during 11 years of incessant war. Regarding those entire perennial bloody struggle, at that time, he was not even in the opinion of the possibility to contribute the upcoming war. He always pursued a neutral policy with the neighbor countries and in the international platform.

Somehow, Winston Churchill was really eager to see Turkey's enter into partnership and most specifically drove that opening a new front in the Balkans would be an excellent war strategy for Turkey. Thereafter, he requested a secret meeting with İsmet İnönü to agree upon the participation and talk about new military based offerings and plans. He arranged an immediate meeting in Adana, inside of a train wagon on January 30, 1943. (You may find the stated brief information about the Adana Conference in the third section)

Roosevelt still had the prediction that encouraging a possible Turkish attack to Balkans would be too risky and in case Turkey fails, unfortunate effects would eventually appear for the Allies. Beside all those matters, İnönü requested financial and military assurances for Turkey. For instance, he besought for a confirmation regarding in case of a Soviet invasion of the Turkey Straits after the war, Churchill and Roosevelt would back up Turkey without any doubts. In addition to that, it was obviously clear that Joseph Stalin covetingly want the Turkish Straits as he already stated his desire, himself.

Afterwards, İnönü's position regarding possible participation to war turned into a hesitation. He faced with the immediate reduction of the amount of military and financial aid, however, Churchill had promised to supply a substantial amount of aids. The main reason of this unexpected reduction was the foresight statements which were declared by Anglo-American authorities, honestly putting into words that they should be ready for any eventual change regarding the scale of assistance which was promised in the *Hardihood Agreement* of the spring of 1943. According to the *Hardihood Agreement*, a considerable amount of air and ground forces were to be provided by the British Administration to assist in Turkey's defense, in case İnönü and his consultants accept the participation to the Allies. Thereafter, Churchill presented a new plan, which was based upon reduced scale, called Aid Plan Saturn. After all those things, six months later, Churchill faced the *Operation Overlord*, at that time he was already engaged with this huge operation; it can frankly be said that there was no time for strengthening the Republic of Turkey as promised, since Churchill had another ongoing dispute to be followed.

Consequently, at the end of the conference, there were two certain decisions that were recently made. One of them was that, İsmet İnönü was going to keep Turkey's neutrality policy, for now. The other one was to build a new air base near Adana called "İncirlik Air Base" for intended Allied air operations in the region. However, the construction did not go as planned and its due date had to be delayed to a time after the World War II.

2) Definitions of Key Terms

- ***The Atlantic Charter:*** The joint declaration released by the President Roosevelt of the United States and the Prime Minister Churchill of the Great Britain on August 14, 1941 in a battleship, near Newfoundland. The declaration was not considered as a formal written statement by the United Nations.
- ***Hardihood Agreement:*** A proposal which was suggested by British Administration to Turkey regarding their militarist requests.
- ***Operation Overlord:*** A successful Allied operation, invasion of Western Europe in 1944, also known as the Battle of Normandy or D-Day. One of the most critical events of the World War II.

3) The First Cairo Conference of November 22-26, 1943

The First Cairo Conference of November 22-26, 1943 held in Cairo, Egypt. The conference was attended by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and Chairman Chiang Kai-Shek of the Republic of China. The main reason of the first part of the multilateral talks in Cairo was discussing upon a declaration which was goaled for evacuating Japan of all territories it had captured since the First World War, 1914.

Before the conference, President Roosevelt concerned about the status of the ongoing conflict in China. The retrogressive situation was leading to concerns that the Republic of China could give up the military plans about continuous Japanese onslaught. However, tensions were certainly growing because of the relationship between China and The United States. General Joseph Stilwell, the leader of the United States forces is theater, did not get on with Chiang Kai-Shek. On the other hand, there was an urgent need for the supplies to get to General Claire Chennault- the leader of the United States forces in China. Despite everything, Roosevelt moved on positively and wished for productive relations with China after the war. Therefore, he proposed the Cairo Conference as a means of expressing public confidence in the Republic of China. Then, he incentivized China by presenting that “You would inevitably be after the war, you would still be the major power in Asia, and could help prevent renewed Japanese expansionism and oversee decolonization under a trustee system.” With this strategic plan, he was hoping for the prevention of British and Russian powers from using instability to increase their presence in Asia and he requested to advocate for Indochina, a French colony located in the southeast of China, to be established as a trusteeship center instead of turning back to France after he defeated Japan. Therefore, he wanted an assurance toward this plan and requested for a commitment that China would not try to expand across the continent or control decolonizing nations, regarding this request, he also offered a guarantee that the territories captured from China by Japan including the island of Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands, would be returned to Chinese sovereignty. In this case, he received China’s support and backup for the trusteeship center, however, the scenario was about to fail because of the stance against of British and French Administration. In the long run, the plan was not enacted.

Roosevelt and Chiang reached for an agreement over the same ultimate goal which is capturing the Pacific. However, they referred some different points against each other. The Chinese leader desired to reopen the Burma Road, India which had been a major supply line to South China before the irruption by Japanese forces in 1942. Somehow, Burma road was still a British colony and they needed an influent cooperation with British Government. As expected, Churchill naturally did not find this operation feasible, did not accept. Moreover, Roosevelt did know that this campaign was more important than the actual attitude for Japan and he finally understood the value of the Republic of China.

Speaking of the second main reason of the First Cairo Conference, the Operation Overlord, also known as Normandy Invasion, was basically planned in the First Cairo Conference. Churchill and Roosevelt had an over-strategy of the European War; the American administration intended to take hold in the Mediterranean territories, however, the British attitude suddenly changed and somehow, they tried to sidetrack. Moreover they were not willing to capture the Mediterranean lands since they unexpectedly decided to invade northwest. Eventually, since the British side consistently disclaimed such intentions, the issue of Operation Overlord versus Mediterranean could not be discussed at all. Therefore, the target changed toward the way of Germany territories and the operation was delayed to be discussed in Tehran, Iran.

Consequently, the United States, The Great Britain and the Republic of China released a Cairo Declaration on December 1, 1943. The allies executed an agreement to continue to war against Japan and to avert the Japanese forces from all the territories the country had conquered, which includes the Chinese territories, the Pacific Islands and Korea.

4) Background Information

a) The Situation of the Republic of Turkey after the 10th of November, 1938

The key figure in the creation of modern Turkey, the great leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was born in 1881 in Salonika. He was sent to a military school when he was 12. Therefore, he went to the military academy in Istanbul.

He served against the ones who constantly tried to conquer the Anatolian territories for years and genuinely spent his life for the sovereignty of an independent land. He became a military officer -whose success in the First World War, notably including the repulse of the Allied attempt to force the Dardanelles at Gallipoli in 1915- showed his extraordinary military skills and acute mind.

Thereafter, he started a nationalist revolution in Anatolia, organizing resistance to the peace settlement imposed on Turkey by the victorious Allies in May, 1919. The resistance was faultlessly succeeded with the genuine passion of the Turkish people.

On 23rd of April 1920, Kemal Atatürk opened The Turkish Grand National Assembly and hence established a provisional government in Ankara, in 1921. The following years, the Ottoman Sultanate was formally abolished with the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey was a secular republic with the presidency of the great leader Atatürk at that time, in 1923. Afterwards, he established a single party regime which maintained its continuity through long ages.

He came out with a revolutionary social and political reform to modernize the Republic of Turkey. These progressivist reforms included the alphabet revolution, enfranchisement and emancipation of women in various fields, hat reform and so on... Speaking of foreign relations, he aspired to keep neutrality and establishing friendly relations with the Republic of Turkey's neighbors.

In 1934, when the surnames were introduced, the assembly gave him the surname Atatürk which literally means 'Father of the Turkish People'. Moreover, no one else was permitted to use this grand surname.

In his later years, he lived in Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul which is located on the northern, European side of the Bosphorus. Later on, he suffered from cirrhosis of the liver which naturally caused nervous tension. The illness was not diagnosed until January 1938. Then, in March, he came down with pneumonia. By June he could scarcely stand and after some months resting on his yacht by the advice of his doctors. After a coma in September, he relapsed into unconsciousness again on November 9 and passed away the next day. His passing made the Turkish people grief stricken. Progressivism was the most crucial step in the way of growing into a contemporary civilization and a nation which is down in the mouth did know this matter very well. Hence, the stability of the new republic obviously showed the smoothness of the presidential succession. The day after Atatürk's death, the Grand National Assembly elected his chief lieutenant, President, İsmet İnönü.

b) Brief Information of the World War II

Briefly speaking of the evaluation of the World War II, it all started with the Poland invasion on September 1, 1939. After that, just two days later, the Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. On 1940, some major events appeared which obviously changed the way of the ongoing war. Winston Churchill became Prime Minister of the Great Britain, British expeditionary force evacuated from Dunkirk and in conclusion, British victory in the Battle of Britain forces Hitler to postpone invasion plans. Before the Pearl Harbor, on 1941, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill were already having strategies and plans to break Nazi Power. These two major powers were drafting an agreement, which is now known as ***Atlantic Charter***, in a battleship and therefore, released a joint declaration on this day. State Department's Office of the Historian writes regarding this agreement:

"Both countries agreed not to seek territorial expansion; to seek the liberalization of international trade; to establish freedom of the seas, and international labor, economic, and welfare standards. Most importantly, both the United States and Great Britain were committed to supporting the restoration of self-governments for all countries that had been occupied during the war and allowing all peoples to choose their own form of government."¹

However, it can frankly be said that, these principles of ‘self-determination’ were clearly controversial.

Recently, Churchill surely wanted the contribution of the United States to the war, which is the main reason of the secret meetings with Roosevelt, he had arranged. Nevertheless, Roosevelt did not show a definite decision upon the possible participation to the war. Moreover, at that time, he genuinely expected that the Atlantic Charter would work to convince American people about the importance of the participation of the United States to the war. However, the public was not persuaded until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Roosevelt had additionally hoped for a public corroboration from the British Government that they, Roosevelt and Churchill, had not secretly met in the recent months. The last but not the least, about the Atlantic Charter, it was not considered such as formal declaration or a treaty, however, the United Nations stated that it was considered as an affirmation of the sense of solidarity between the United States and the Great Britain against the Axis Powers.

Pearl Harbor surprise was a military attack by the Imperial Japanese Naval Air Service against the United States military base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii in December 7, 1941. This unexpected surprise was also known as the Battle of Pearl Harbor in the international platform. Japanese Administration called it Hawaii Operation. Indeed, it was the action which had made the United States Administration enters the war. The tension between two major countries had been growing over the years and the war between them was already planned since the 1920’s as well. However, the breaking point had not seriously appeared until Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which was a larger region divided between China and Russia. Additionally, after the

¹ KatEschner, F. (2018). *Months Before Pearl Harbor, Churchill and Roosevelt Held a Secret Meeting of Alliance*. [online] Smithsonian. Available at: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/months-pearl-harbor-churchill-and-roosevelt-secret-meeting-180964435/>

war Japanese Forces established a puppet government Manchukuo, which will help to create some military strategies in 1945. After two years, Japanese Forces were obsessed with China and perennial military conflict crisis between the two countries started with the Second-Sino Japanese War in 1937. At that time, the conflict between them was officially started. Therefore, Japanese Forces showed their military abilities and some actions such as USS Panay Incident, the Allison Incident and the Nanjing Massacre had showed up simultaneously.

In conclusion, the similar actions between two countries had continued until the Pearl Harbor Attack and however, hereupon, the things were about to get serious.

Beside the Japanese side of this ongoing war, the actual leading player had already been on the stage, Germany. On 1942, Hitler was suffering setbacks at Stalingrad in Southern Russia. The Soviet Forces had been launching several operations against Nazi Government.

c) The Adana Conference of January 30-31, 1943

After the Casablanca Conference of January 14-24, 1943, Churchill had proposed to force Turkey to join the Allies in the war. Then, General Marshall and the other United States officers strictly opposed that strategy, stating that the extension of the war toward a Turkish front would be risky and redundant. Thereafter, the meeting had been arranged by Churchill and he had taken his way to Yenice, Adana.

Turkish President İsmet İnönü and Prime Minister Winston Churchill secretly met in a railway car parking on a storage track at Yenice that is a small district near Adana on 30-31 January, 1943 before the First Cairo Conference. Winston Churchill genuinely tried to persuade İsmet İnönü for his contribution to the Allies and President İnönü showed radical reluctance to join the war. Nevertheless, Churchill made some promises of military help, for instance; a list of military equipment was already drawn up, which was called “the Adana Lists”. Churchill also said that he was going to supply war material (full capacity of Turkish railways) for Turkey. However, İnönü was determined to keep Turkish neutrality in this operation. Therefore, Churchill obviously declared that if Turkey administration refused this request, he would not stand against Soviet Powers from controlling the Dardanelles.

5) Major Parties Involved

The representatives who participated in the Second Cairo Conference are listed in below:

The Republic of Turkey

İsmet İnönü, President

Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Prime Minister

Numan Menemencioğlu, Foreign Minister

Fevzi Çakmak, Field Marshal

Kazım Özalp, Military Officer

Asım Gündüz Paşa, General of the Army

Refet Bele, Army Officer

Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Army Officer

The Great Britain

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister

Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary

Hastings Ismay, Churchill's Chief Military Assistant

Henry Maitland Wilson, Army Officer

Alan Brooke, Senior Officer

Wilfred Lindsell, Army Officer

Alexander Cadogan, Foreign Minister

Peter Roy Drummond, Air Marshal

Baron Coleridge, Chief of Staff

Andrew Cunningham, Chief of Naval Staff

Charles Portal, Senior Royal Air Force Officer

John Dill, Senior British Army Officer

Harold Redman, Brigadier

Harold Alexander, Army Officer

Archibald Clark Kerr, Diplomat

The United States of America

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

George Marshall, General of the Army

William D. Leahy, American Naval Officer

Henry Harley Arnold, General Officer

Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's closest advisor, social worker

William Averell Harriman, Ambassador

6) Conclusion

Taking a look on the wartime partnership between Churchill and Roosevelt, they always had different strategies and plans for the postwar. They both had been working on the destruction of Nazi Germany with their absolute hard-nosed personalities and government policies. So, what if they disliked each other during the operations? They would probably have sedulously proceeded with the eradication of Nazi Germany. Most likely, they would not reflect the bad relationship between each other to their military strategies during the World War II. However, the policies that they will be following for each other, during the sketching process of the postwar of the Cold War, are obviously controversial. Additionally, an unexpected deterioration would have already been changed come into being of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Beside the destruction of Nazi Germany, these two major partners, Churchill and Roosevelt were determined to polishing Japan off with the possible collaborations comes from the Republic of China. That was exactly why they had arranged the First Cairo Conference of 1943. After the meeting, they actually got what they literally had wanted, continuing the war against Japan, since they both motivated the Chairman Chiang Kai-Shek of the Republic of China. However, these strategies did not utterly meet their requests regarding their ongoing interests. Since Churchill had already had a meeting with İsmet İnönü in Yenice, it was actually time for recalling why they genuinely want; the possible contribution of the Republic of Turkey.

The Republic of Turkey had already established a well-based economy. Additionally, İsmet İnönü tried to base good relationships with Britain and France. Moreover, it was such a legitimate action to avoid bad relationships with Germany and also had valid grounds for resolving the hostility which was established during the First World War. Regarding that, Turkish politicians were not hesitated to define Germany as a friendly country, in the diplomatic platform. Turkey had been developing stronger economic relations with Germany. Furthermore, most of Turkish politicians, such as Fevzi Çakmak, the Field Marshal, were in favor of a pro-German attitude. Giving some example from the previous experiences; during the 1930s, economic relations between the two countries increased, and by 1938, 44 percent of Turkish exports were bought by Germany and 11 percent of Turkish imports came from Germany.²

² Ozden, Hakan. "The Diplomatic Maneuvers". *Dergipark.Gov.Tr*, 2018, <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/105790>.

Turkey exported agricultural commodities and chromite, an ore used in artillery production to Germany and imported machinery, machine parts, manufactured goods, and armaments from Germany. However, the good trade relations with Germany came to an end just because Turkey had already based the alliance with Britain in 1939. In addition, Turkish officers decided to sell all of the produced chrome to Britain until 1943. It was actually such a breaking point of the relations with Germany.

The Republic of Turkey was situated at one of the most substantial geo-strategic and geo-political center of the world. The esteemed allies did know this fact very well and even Soviets insisted upon the immediate contribution of Turkey to the war, since they definitely believed that if Turkey joins the war, it would have been finished as soon as possible. In spite of that, Turkish Administration detected the immediate Soviet threat.

When examining the actions that were taken in 1941 and 1942, these were the periods when the neutrality policy of Turkey was openly realized. For instance, in January 1941, Britain suggested that Turkey declare war on Italy, which was followed by another request to wage war against Germany if Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were invaded by German troops. This suggestion is thought to have been articulated during a visit to Turkey by British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and General Sir John Dill. However, Turkish decision makers refused to enter the war because of the attitude of Soviets as well as Turkey's military deficiency. Having been both impressed and perturbed by the military success of Germany, Turkey decided to revise close relations with Britain in 1941 to protect national interests without frightening Germany, which was succeeding in 1941. Thus, Turkey in 1941 was content to act in accordance with the permanent and enduring needs of the state, which were mainly based on the drive to survive by maintaining national territorial integrity.³

Putting the final marks, İsmet İnönü already adopted the foreign policy principles which were rewritten down in the history by the founder of the Republic of Turkey, the great leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He notably cooperated closely with Western democracies and genuinely based

³ Ozden, Hakan. "The Diplomatic Maneuvers". *Dergipark.Gov.Tr*, 2018, <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/105790>

the priorities of Turkish foreign policy; they aimed to protect the territorial integrity of the Republic of Turkey and the republican regime by establishing good relations with great powers and other nearby countries. However, he never waived the Turkish neutrality policy and got out of the line of cooperation. In conclusion, he willingly infused the motto “peace at home, peace in the world “into young generations.⁴

⁴ Ozden, Hakan. "The Diplomatic Maneuvers". *Dergipark.Gov.Tr*, 2018, <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/105790>

7) Relevant Documents

The Press Communique of the First Cairo Conference of November 26, 1943

<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/122101.pdf?v=d41d8cd98f00b204e9800998ecf8427e>

The Press Communique of the First Cairo Conference of December 6, 1943

<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000003-0864.pdf>

8) *Further Readings*

- Cairo-Tehran A Goal Is Reached: November-December 1943

<https://history.army.mil/books/wwii/sp1943-44/chapter16.htm>

- Overlord Versus Mediterranean at the Cairo-Tehran Conferences

https://history.army.mil/books/70-7_10.htm

- Cairo Conference, World War II (1943)

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Cairo-Conference>

- The Cairo Conference (British Pathe)

<https://youtu.be/TTl6RC43h7g>

- Roosevelt, Churchill, and Inonu during the Cairo Conference in Egypt (CriticalPast)

<https://youtu.be/L6XX49PiiV4>