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## MASTER'S THESIS

**TITLE: U.S. presence – interest in the Mediterranean Sea - Historical and Political Analysis. United States and Cyprus (Cold War – 1974 Turkish invasion). The case of East Med pipeline (U.S. attitude, newer perspective due to Russian Ukrainian war and energy interdependence).**

**George Panagiotaras (MAS 21014)**

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## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

This paper is dedicated to my three sons Konstantinos, Dimitrios and Panagiotis the diamonds of my life. To my ex-wife Athena because without her I would never had such a great kids. I promise them that I will never stop the trial of making a better word in my life routine.

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Thanks God that after the Yalta conference (February 1945), and after the outcome of a bloody civil war (30 March 1946 – 16 October 1949), finally Greece followed the West path of development.

## PREFACE

United States after the declaration of independence created the context for a future extrovert foreign policy which would safe their prosperity inland and expand their sovereignty abroad. Wise and perceptive men (George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and many followed) undertook the duty to implement such a Great Strategy. Mediterranean Sea was the first action field which finally after many political and military manipulations established the United States as the one Global Superpower.

American doctrine of Free Sea and Free Trade was pivotal for U.S. foreign policy. U.S. guaranteed the freedom of Mediterranean Sea, proliferating the area from pirates menace. From 18<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>th</sup> century United States constitute the major factor of stability in the area, necessary condition for countries prosperity in the Mediterranean. Nowadays, the main interest is focused in the Eastern Mediterranean, where energy issues seem to disturb the safety in the area.

United States for another time is called to deal the situation offering safety and energy independence to Europe. It is a difficult new world task that U.S. seem to accomplish in a very decisive and skillful way as a powerful State in the diplomatic, military and economic sector.

I always try to have in mind the proverb:

*“The strong advance as far as their strength allows and the weak retreat as far as their weakness compels them”*

Thucydides<sup>1</sup>, History of the Peloponnesian War 431 bC.

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<sup>1</sup> Thucydides' style of historical writing is often described as straightforward and factual, with a focus on dates and events. This style is a departure from the more story-telling approach used by Herodotus, and established a standard for chronological historical writing that has been followed by many subsequent historians.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Mediterranean Sea constitute the first field of action of a new born State: the United States abroad. Over the last three centuries, the United States proved their sovereign dealing difficult situations and guiding the policy of other States under the frame of stability and freedom in sea and trade. The early trade exerted from U.S. in the Mediterranean Sea brought them prosperity and economic growth necessary for their ontology development in many sectors. But what are the keys of such a success story? Wise political men, democratic values, respect of other States sovereignty and finally the unique way of how the U.S. Foreign Policy is rapidly adapted to changes and failures too, compose the structure of such a success.

The US's actions in the international arena are a mix of idealistic and pragmatic considerations, shaped by its desire to protect and advance its national interests. The US has a balance between Wilsonian idealism and Hamiltonian realism in its foreign policy, and the specific balance depends on political climate and the actions of the government at the time. The US's foreign policy objectives are shaped by a combination of ideals and values, the realities of the international arena, and the protection of national interests. The "Jeffersonian awareness" and "Jacksonian instincts" of the American people also play a role in shaping foreign policy through their influence on the United States policy Makers.

During the Cold War, the US had no direct geostrategic interests in Cyprus, but both Greece and Turkey were important NATO allies, American policymakers sought to maintain stability in the region. The US sought to prevent a Turkish military intervention and Soviet exploitation, and although the Cyprus crisis of 1974 strained US relations with Greece and Turkey, all three countries remained members of NATO and the crisis did not have an outrageous influence on the security of the region or the US's relationship with its NATO allies.

The feasibility of the East Med pipeline project is not solely determined by the government, but rather by market conditions, private companies, and investors. Greece's location and existing infrastructure make it a prime candidate for a transit hub, bringing economic benefits to the country. Greece should also focus on energy cooperation and creating a regional energy market, and explore other options such as LNG terminals and small-scale pipelines. The final decision on the pipeline project will depend on cost, technical feasibility, market conditions, and political considerations. The project is still in development and no final decision has been made. Other projects such as a cable linking Israel and Cyprus to Europe are also being considered. The Russian – Ukrainian war presses the problem of Europe energy interdependence to Russia and demands immediate solution.

## INTRODUCTION

This work try to analyze in depth the presence of United States of America in the Mediterranean Sea from the 18<sup>th</sup> century until nowadays. U.S. from the beginning implemented a liberal strategy of free trade and free sees. It was an innovative approach of that period for the reason that United States never acted as colonialist power like European countries did. United States always respected the sovereignty of Mediterranean States under the regime of Free Trade and Free Sees. Whenever the United States deployed military action, was for stability and liberal reasons. Free Trade and Free sees were prerequisites for United States economic growth and proved also to have many benefits for other States in the Mediterranean which allied with the U.S. policy of that period. United States appeared as the number one factor of stability and democracy.

The US has maintained a long-standing interest in the Mediterranean Sea region due to its strategic location and significance to global trade and energy supplies. Historically, US involvement in the region has been driven by its efforts to promote stability and counter the influence of rival powers. The US has also been a major player in promoting democracy and human rights in the region, as well as in supporting efforts to address regional conflicts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Politically, the US has maintained a close relationship with key Mediterranean countries, including Israel, Egypt, and NATO allies such as Turkey and Greece. The US has also been active in promoting regional economic cooperation and has participated in a number of military and peacekeeping missions in the region, including the NATO mission in Libya in 2011. The US presence in the Mediterranean Sea region continues to be driven by a combination of strategic, economic, and political interests, reflecting the importance of the region to US foreign policy and global security.

During the Cold War, the US maintained a strong interest in Cyprus as a strategic ally in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the aftermath of a coup in Cyprus in 1974 and a subsequent Turkish invasion, the US played a key role in mediating between the two sides and in promoting a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The US provided diplomatic, military, and economic support to Greece and Turkey respectively, while also pushing for a settlement that would reunite the island and safeguard the rights of all its inhabitants. The 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus resulted in the division of the island into a Greek-Cypriot controlled south and a Turkish-Cypriot controlled north. The US and the international community have been involved in efforts to reunify the island ever since. The US has provided support for negotiations aimed at reunifying the island and has also provided economic and military aid to Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The US has maintained a strong interest in Cyprus and has played a fundamental role in promoting peace and stability in the region, reflecting the strategic and political importance of the island to US foreign policy in the Eastern Mediterranean.



The East Med pipeline is a proposed natural gas pipeline project that would connect the offshore gas reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean to Europe. The US has traditionally viewed the project as an opportunity to reduce Europe's dependence on Russian gas and to promote energy diversification in the region. However, recent developments in the region, particularly the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine, have led to a rethinking of the US attitude towards the East Med pipeline. The US now sees the pipeline as an important component of a broader strategy to counter Russian aggression and to strengthen energy security in Europe. Overall, the US views the East Med pipeline as a key component of its broader strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean, reflecting its interest in promoting energy security and stability in the region, and in countering Russian influence.

Nowadays, the United States play apart a predominant role in the Eastern Mediterranean respecting the sovereignty of States, trying to guarantee the stability and also the economic development of East Med countries. The energy independence of Europe is aligned with the development of East Med infrastructures, an area where many tension must be synchronized in order to bring the expected and beneficial fruits of cooperation. At the time being Turkey is the number one factor of instability in the area provoking violence for the reason that is excluded for any possible future projects. Turkey's revisionism doesn't follow the letter of International Law and its behavior seems to serve more the Russians interests than the European and West perceptions.

In the first chapter, I tried to give a historical dimension of U.S. presence in the Mediterranean Sea, presenting specific historic incidents and treaties that US very talented build and manipulated in order to establish its sovereignty and to secure the area from the danger of turbulence that always exist. In the second chapter I analyze the relation between U.S and Cyprus over the years which are always positive and productive. False political decisions especially from the side of Cyprus and Greece during the Cold War period, finally led to the 1974 Turkish invasion with negative consequences till today, giving ground to Turkish revisionism. In the third chapter I quote the geostrategic issue of East Med pipeline and newer perspectives due to Russian – Ukrainian war. A controversially project too hard to die. Finally in the Epilogue sector, I anthologize the lessons learned from my thesis analysis as wholeness.

# Chapter 1

## **US presence – interest in the Mediterranean Sea – Historical and Political analysis**

### **1. Early days of the Union – vivid interest for the Mediterranean Sea**

United States presence – interest in the Mediterranean Sea, is inseparably connected with the American War of Independence. Following the 1783 Paris Peace Treaty, which put an end to the American War of Independence, ships from ports of Salem, Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston, initiated trade with Spain (Gibraltar, Malaga and Barcelona), France (Marseilles) and Italy (Palermo, Messina, Trieste and Naples)<sup>2</sup>. As a result many commercial American agencies founded in these areas to accomplish trade transactions and until 1800 United States appointed consular agents in most of these cities. Within a short period of time from 1783 to 1800, In the Mediterranean, American commercial ships were traveling.

The Declaration of Independence's moral tenets of equality, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness demonstrate the need for the newly formed State to establish a modern political and administrative framework in order to organize itself as a Nation State. A Constitutional Convention was organized in Philadelphia in 1787 to resolve the problem of the Articles of Confederation's weak central authority, which resulted in misgovernment and hurt the prospects of the newly formed State. This convention resulted in an expanded system of checks and balances that divided federal power among the legislative, judicial, and executive departments of government, each of which is in charge of exercising ultimate authority over the 13 States. After the Constitution was eventually ratified in 1789, the US started acting like a modern nation through a special creative process.

The newly formed State has to take the first step as an independent entity in the international system in order to improve governance by eliminating the Federal Authority. The state's desire for wealth was the primary driver behind a workable mechanism. "Show the flag" was yet another crucial duty to uphold the nation's honor and demonstrate its existence outside of American borders. The goal of showing the flag was more a political action than a chauvinism reaction of the new born State. Show the flag policy aimed to promote American exceptionalism as a unique example of collective structure in the international field<sup>3</sup>. In addition, the fragile unity of the federation and the

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<sup>2</sup> Hagan, J.K. (1991). This people's Navy: The making of American Sea Power. New York: The Free Press.

<sup>3</sup> Rossignol, M.J. (2004). The Nationalist Ferment: The origins of U.S. Foreign policy , 1789-1812. Columbus O.H.: The Ohio State University Press.

socioeconomic requirements of American society required a functional economy with an effective growth strategy. The additional riches required to achieve American aspirations at home and abroad could only be found in the sea.

Thus, after becoming an independent country, America developed an interest in maritime trading in the Mediterranean Sea. United States proving self-confidence and decisiveness inserted to an area where other European powers such as Great-Britain, France and Spain competed to maximize their influence by establishing new colonies and signing naval trade agreements. United States entered the Mediterranean environment searching for trade partners without any tension of military engagement against the much stronger European powers. This extroverted strategy, which demonstrated the renown American efficiency, started to pay off as soon as American ships started to arrive in the Mediterranean. Achieving the "showing of a flag" objective, American commercial ships waving the Besty Ross cruise the Mediterranean at all major ports.

The original American flag, known as Besty Ross, featured thirteen alternate red and white stripes, a blue canton, and thirteen five-pointed stars set in a circle. Three men—George Washington, Robert Morris, and George Ross—visited Betsy Ross in her upholstery shop in 1776, according to the oral narrative. She led them into her parlor so they could speak in private. A sketch of a flag with thirteen red and white stripes and thirteen six-pointed stars was displayed to Betsy there. Washington asked Betsy if she could use the design to create a flag. "I don't know, but I will try," Answered Betsy. Betsy suggested reducing the number of stars from six to five. She used just one snip of her scissors to demonstrate the process for them. They all agreed to change the design to have stars with five points<sup>4</sup>.

The international balance of power after the beginning of the French Revolution, kept the European countries preoccupied with each other, giving the necessary space for American foreign policy to deploy in the Mediterranean Sea<sup>5</sup>. The main European international powers were to resolve their inner political irregularities in order to maintain their monarchy. This gave the US the chance to advance its national goals without upsetting the major players in world geopolitics or creating a security crisis.

This geopolitical circumstance does not under estimate the ability of the early American political elites with great political instincts for innovation and recreation. It was the American people who took advantage of the geopolitical changes in Mediterranean and deployed a totally successful plan in order to achieve their goals under the nose of European powers. America has always been the place where opportunities are turned into policies that work, helping the US rise to the top echelons of international structure. Extroversion and

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<sup>4</sup> <https://historicphiladelphia.org/betsy-ross-house/flag/>

<sup>5</sup> Walton, M.G., Rockoff, H. (2017). History of the American economy. Boston. MA: Cengage

dynamism characterize American foreign attitude combined in a unique way to perceive the global affairs which has its origins to the first days of the republic<sup>6</sup>.

Despite the numerous issues that existed both inside and outside of the US State, such as conflicts between US citizens and American Indian tribes and the strong British presence, particularly in North America and the Atlantic Ocean, the US State managed to establish itself in the Mediterranean Sea, the hub of European trade. This offensive mercantile policy demonstrates that the newly formed State had a distinct understanding of its objectives in the global context. The political plan adopted by America to protect itself from the European superpowers. The only way out was for the US to quickly become a key role in the ocean. For the US, strengthening its influence through trade in the Mediterranean Sea was crucial for two reasons:

a) To eliminate the opportunity for British Empire to control and re-emerge to the old colonies threw economic penetration. For this reason the new state must abandon isolationism.

b) A basic economic growth model could not succeed based only in conventional agrarian transactions between the committees of the State. The new economic model must offer prosperity to Americans and sovereignty among the powerful states of the era. Merchant expansion in the Mediterranean Sea was urgent to achieve this goal.

This outrageous policy in the Mediterranean Sea has a significant explanation: In its foreign policy and transoceanic naval trade, the US firmly anchored the idea of international mobility within a free market economy. It is clear that the newly formed country had a responsibility and an opportunity to establish a new ethos based on free commerce, free seas and enlightened diplomacy<sup>7</sup>.

## **2. US involvement in the Mediterranean Sea proved by specific incidents in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century**

America has always recognized the Eastern Mediterranean's geopolitical and economic significance. The Eastern Mediterranean was a perfect region for the US to develop its economic agenda through lucrative trade deals that provide the right climate for future political and military involvement during the late eighteenth and for the entirety of the nineteenth centuries. As the primary geostrategic player in the Mediterranean Sea, the Ottoman Empire played a fundamental role in this expansibility. Ottoman Empire during this period confronted many difficulties and marks of decline

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<sup>6</sup> Booth, K., Wheeler J.N. (2008) The security dilemma: Fear cooperation and trust in world politics.

<sup>7</sup> Onuf, S.P. (2000). Jefferson's Empire: The language of American Nationhood, University Press of Virginia.

were obvious. As a result it could not easily restrict American aspiration to establish a presence there.

The Ottoman Empire's drastic decline made it possible for the US to enter the Eastern Mediterranean on friendly terms. The Ottoman Empire was defeated and lost its possessions in the Balkans and in Northern Africa from the late 18th to the end of the 19th century. Nine wars with Imperial Russia that the Sublime Port was involved in ended tragically. Since the US, unlike other Western countries, did not pose a threat to Ottoman sovereignty or territory, Constantinople appeared to embrace the American presence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In reality the Ottomans were persuaded by the American anticolonial position and the Monroe Doctrine's ratification (1823) that, unlike the Europeans, the US lacked the strategic ability to annex Ottoman provinces. It was unable to profit from the ongoing uprisings of the Christian people in the Balkans. Both parties benefited from the scenario. The United States, on the one hand, found a partner to link their status with that of an imperial force in the Middle East and North Africa, while the Ottoman Empire was given the possibility to forge relationships with the new Atlantic actor that, ironically, still exist today.

The Monroe Doctrine<sup>8</sup> was a directive issued by President James Monroe in 1823 that forbade European colonization or intervention in the Western Hemisphere. Additionally, it declared that the United States would not meddle in the internal affairs of European countries. The Doctrine had three main premises: a warning to European powers against extending their political designs to the Western Hemisphere, the non-colonization principle, and the policy of non-interference in European affairs. The Doctrine was issued in response to European powers' interest in the newly independent nations of South America and concerns about Russia's expansion into the Pacific Northwest of the United States. This doctrine wasn't a legally binding agreement, but it became a cornerstone of American foreign policy and had a lasting impact on the Western Hemisphere's international relations for the following century. The Doctrine, which outlined the United States' stance of not meddling in European matters and its support for the independence of countries in the Western Hemisphere, was equally pertinent to the Greek War of Independence.

American presence in the area was seen as an exceptional opportunity for further multidimensional cooperation. It is obscure that Ottoman – American ties were very strong since the beginning of this unexpected (for the Europeans)

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<sup>8</sup> Dexter Perkins (1963), *A History of the Monroe Doctrine*, chapter 4

interconnection<sup>9</sup>. At this time I am going to mention some specific facts that proves this statement:

a) A prime example of the American foreign policy was the **American – Moroccan treaty** witch signed in 1786 just a decade after the declaration of independence. This agreement sought to provide American ships traveling to the area with a secure route through the sea. The friendship between Morocco and the United States began in 1777 when Morocco was the first country to recognize the independence of America by opening its ports to the United States a year before the Netherlands and six years ago from Britain and most European countries. So why was Morocco the first country which recognized the sovereignty of the United States of America? The answer is because of Piracy and Americans asked Morocco for protection. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century North African pirates (Barbary Pirates)<sup>10</sup> attacked to European ships and enslave the men in order to betray them in Barbary slave trade. It is estimated that about 2 million Europeans enslaved by the North Africans.

<sup>11</sup>After the declaration of independence, American cargo ships were sailing waiving their new flag becoming easy targets to North African pirates. Unable to defend themselves as the United States lacked of military Navy at the time, the Americans send a delegation to Sultan Mohammed III of Morocco, asking him to protect the American ship sailing in Mediterranean Sea. The Sultan agreed to protect American vessels and accepted trade with the United States. This is the main reason why Sultan recognized first the American independence in 1777.

The significance of this region was undisputable<sup>12</sup>. First off, thanks to the Ottoman Empire's presence, it was not strictly under the political control of European nations. Second, it was crucial in bridging the geographic gap between Asia, the Middle East, and South Eastern Europe. Second, this pact marked the start of American naval trade into maritime territory outside the Atlantic Ocean in addition to providing acknowledgment for the American existence. The US took advantage of the chance to explore new places and forge economic ties with a new continent, the Eastern Mediterranean.

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<sup>9</sup> Akalin B. (2015). Ottoman American relations, Francis Hopkins Smith and American issue. Journal of international Education and Leadership.

<sup>10</sup> The Mediterranean and Atlantic oceans were plagued by the Barbary Pirates, who had their base of operations in North Africa. The pirates were active from immediately after the Christian conquest of Granada in 1492 until around 1830, when, following numerous attacks from and treaties with various Western nations, they were ultimately brought under control. The Barbary Pirates' activities peaked in the 17th century.

<sup>11</sup> <https://history.state.gov/countries/morocco>

<sup>12</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas (2020). US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean. Power Politics and Ideology under the Sun.

This US foreign policy choice has two significant implications. The first are the clear economic opportunities provided by naval trade with regional players, which will strengthen the American economy. The second are the clear political messages sending both to the internal and external territory: The newly born State is determined to abandon isolation. It is willing to put into action a new grand strategy, introducing itself to the world community, primarily through energizing its naval strength with a wide range of economic activities beyond its geographical borders. It was a very difficult choice that put the State's capacities to the test and the European nations' suspicions about American actions at the time to the test.

In addition to giving the country the necessary sense of self-worth, the American-Moroccan pact placed the US in the international community. The success of your international political decisions, which bring prosperity to the country, contributes to your sense of self-worth. On the other hand, European hegemonies that lack democratic values increase their pride in their countries as a result of a gracious defeat.

b) **The First Barbary War: 1801 to 1805.** The United States' first major overseas mission was the Barbary War. The United States used force for the first time in its history to defend its maritime commerce lanes in the Eastern Mediterranean and elsewhere in the world. Based on free trade for the US developing economy, American foreign policy was implemented under the influence of the Hamiltonian Declaration. Thomas Paine<sup>13</sup> in the *Common Sense* highlighted how crucial free trade is to the United States and how crucial it is for the American merchant fleet to be able to sail freely across the oceans if the country is to survive: << *Our plan is commerce and that well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe, because it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free port. Her trade will always be her protection and her barrenness of gold and silver, will secure her from invaders*>>. It is obscure that free trade and free seas were the first goal of American foreign policy.

Additionally, the Barbary War was the first conflict to bring a sense of modernity to the Eastern Mediterranean because it was fought to establish the liberal economic ideals of free naval trade as a geostrategic necessity, in addition to being the first instance of the United States' military (naval) power in the area. European wars aimed to the glory of a monarch through the political and the territorial oppression. Barbary war was not at all imperialistic, it was more a war for freedom and economic proliferation not only for Americans but also for Europe and North Africa based on win-win situation. Off course gaining the war, Americans boosted their prestige giving the opportunity for fulfillment

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<sup>13</sup> Chalmers J. (2003) Plain truth: Addresses to the inhabitants of America containing remarks on a Late Pamphlet entitled Common Sense.

of the people's interests and for nation's ability to flourish, breaking the British noose.

For sure this U.S. foreign policy decision to support a war far away from its borders, has a political and historical background years before the war and after the declaration of independence. Particularly, the newly constituted political elite began to see how critical it was to sign certain diplomatic agreements with the Barbary States in order to provide the American naval access to the Mediterranean Sea. The envisaged security of safe passage in the Eastern Mediterranean would be provided by these diplomatic agreements. As a result, the Barbary States (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) received annual subsidies from the United States. These yearly subsidies did not have the desired outcomes, and in 1793, the American government and powerful Americans began to debate the need to construct a war ship capable of defending American economic interests in the Mediterranean.

Thomas Jefferson was a strong advocate for the development of a naval fleet. Jefferson's approach was not the typical Jeffersonian one, but he quickly understood that the refunding of a war naval project is a more practical, honorable, and cost-effective option than paying homage to the Barbary pirates or other players in the international scene at the time. Thus analyzing the methodology and the political goals around the case of building a naval fleet, we can easily assume the approved decision of building a war fleet, belongs unambiguously to Jeffersonian<sup>14</sup>.

In March 1794, the Congress took the decision to build a strong American Navy and approved the construction of six frigates, four with 44 guns and two with 36 guns. The whole budget of the project estimated for 688.888\$ dollars which in nowadays value worth about 50 billion dollars. An incredible amount of money then and now to be spent for military reasons. Even the opponents were persuaded that the state's chances of surviving in the international arena would have been adversely harmed if it had been unable to protect the naval trade routes for its commercial fleet. The majority of Americans supported this Naval fleet expenditure because the colonies had a strong naval tradition dating back to before the start of the War for Independence.

In 1801, the Pasha of Tripoli Yusuf ibn Ali Karamanli, send an official letter to the new U.S. President Thomas Jefferson, demanding him to pay an annual tariff of 225.000\$ as tolls for naval trade. In reality, this demand was an act of blackmail for the Americans because if they didn't pay, the Pasha will declare the war to Americans targeting the ships with American flag sailing in the Mediterranean. Jefferson ignored the demand of Karamanli and after some months the Pasha expelled the U.S. Consul in Tripoli. Following the U.S.

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<sup>14</sup> Julia H. Macleod (1945) Jefferson and the Navy: A Defense JOURNAL ARTICLE, University of Pennsylvania Press (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3815809>)



warships' blockade of the port of Tripoli, the pirates engaged in a few hit-and-run maneuvers.

In contrast, something unexpected occurred in 1805 for the first time in American history. By employing a divide and conquer strategy, the U.S. erected a marionette government in the larger Tripolitania province to undermine Pasha Karamanli's authority. This technique undoubtedly stems from the British diplomatic tradition and emphasizes how crucial a successful outcome to the Barbary War was for the United States. There should be an end to military interference with American nautical trade.

The American diplomacy wisely understood that the defeat of Barbary enemies as its own, may not be adequate enough to offer permanent security. Washington needed to overthrow Yusuf Karamanli's regime and usher in a more amiable one as well. The older brother of Yusuf, Hamet Karamanli who had expelled from the throne was the ideal person for Americans to implement this divide and rule tactic. The concept of replacing Yusuf with Hamet on the throne was first floated by William Eaton, the American Consul in Tripolitania, to his superiors back home in 1801. James Madison, the Secretary of the State, approved the proposal of throne replacement but mainly for political and bureaucracy procedures it had taken into action in late 1804. Eaton was formally chosen by the State to carry out the preparations for installing Hamet, who was subsequently discovered in Egypt. The American side aided Hamet in assembling an army made up of a few hundred Greek and Arab mercenaries. In May 1805, this group, led by Eaton and assisted by U.S. Marines, took control of the port city of Derna in Eastern Libya.

Since the establishment of the State abroad, the conquest of Derna was the first combat to end in victory. Even an open attack on Tripolitania's capital city, however, appeared to be an impossibility in the fight against Yusuf Karamanli because neither the troops nor the infrastructure for supply lines could support such a strategic maneuver. Losing such a conflict carried a very high danger. The American side suggested direct negotiations with Pasha and concentrated on the benefits of Derna's capture and Hamet's appearance. Given how exhausting this battle is on both sides, neither side desired its continuation. The Barbary side after the naval blockade of Tripoli and Derna wanted desperately an access in the Mediterranean Sea. The American side wanted safe passage of commercial fleet in the Mediterranean. Following negotiations, the two sides decided to put an end to the conflict, and American forces obtained the necessary safe passage for Hamet Karamanli and American Marines to leave Derna <sup>15</sup>.

As the Barbary War finishes, the United States win the war not only using the army forces but also with strong diplomacy combined with unorthodoxy

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<sup>15</sup> Whipple A.B.C. (2001). To the shores of Tripoli. The birth of the U.S. Navy and Marines. Annapolis, Naval Institute Press.

methods (divide and rule tactic) in a very efficient way resulting the minimum casualties for human and material work force. The outcome and the importance of this war could be presented with the following bullets:

- The Barbary War strengthened America's reputation and that of its people because it demonstrated to the world for the first time and only a few years after it first entered international politics that it was willing to go to war abroad to defend its rights as a maritime power.
- Direct hits to American sovereignty are not at all acceptable. Any future enemy would seriously take under consideration the potential of this new power.
- This war proved the fundamental issue of free sea trade routes that the U.S. supported and still supports all over the world and directly to the Eastern Mediterranean. U.S. is amenable even to conduct a war operation for free seas and free trade routes.

To sum up, the first Barbary War was the country's involvement in a violent episode outside of the Atlantic Ocean. Everyone in the international community has seen via American foreign policy that it will not put up with any resistance to its efforts to establish a strong naval trading network in the Eastern Mediterranean. The United States did not appear to be an occupying force in the world, but rather one that fought for morals against barbarians and their illegal actions that hurt both Americans and Europeans. US Marines demonstrated their bravery and prowess in conducting successful operations abroad.

**c) The second Barbary war in 1815 only 10 years after the peace settlement with Tripolitania.**

The second Barbary War is also known as Algerian War, fought between United States and once again the Barbary States (North African states of Libya, Tunisia and Algeria). The importance of this war is that it terminated the American and also European practice of paying tribute to the pirate states in order to secure their naval commercial transportations. A practice which lasted almost two centuries (16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup>), imposed by the Ottoman autarchy.

After the 1<sup>st</sup> Barbary War the relationship between U.S. and Great Britain was worsening due to trade with France which resulted another war, the war of 1812<sup>16</sup>. The Barbary States' pirates seized the chance and began to use their

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<sup>16</sup> The War of 1812 was a 32-month military conflict between the United States on one side and Great Britain, its colonies, and its Indian allies on the other. Some American historians refer to it as the "Second War of Independence." Many disputes from the American War of Independence were resolved as a result, although there were no boundary adjustments. For a number of reasons, including trade

well-known tactics of assaulting American and European trade ships, arresting their crews, and demanding ransom. Major European powers were fighting in the Napoleonic War concurrently, which raged until the end of 1815. The US Congress gave its approval for the deployment of a naval squadron against Algerians on March 3, 1815. This fleet was made up of two squadrons and a total of 11 different types of warships that were prepared for action. The one was ported in Boston while the other at New York. All ships gathered, had the capacity of 200 cannons, a mass gun fire power impossible to defeat by the pirates guild<sup>17</sup>.

The American fleet easily captured two Algerian flagships. By the end of June, an American squadron initiated negotiations with the Dey ended with a treaty at 3 July 1815 which included exchange of captives from both sides and most important no further tributes to Barbarians, granted the United States full shipping rights<sup>18</sup>.

The European nations had been at war with one another (and the U.S. with the British) following the First Barbary War. However, there was no major European conflict in the years immediately following the Second Barbary War. This gave the Europeans the freedom they needed to increase their resources and directly challenge Barbary power in the Mediterranean. Over the next century, Tripoli returned to Ottoman Empire control in 1835, while Algiers and Tunis became French colonies in 1830 and 1881, respectively. Italy took control of Tripoli in 1911 by taking advantage of the power vacuum created by the defunct Ottoman Empire. Up to the middle of the 20th century, eastern North Africa's governments were still under the control of Europeans. By that time, European dominance of the Mediterranean Sea was secured by the iron-clad warships of the late 19th century and the dreadnoughts of the early 20th century. The Barbary pirates were unable to compete with the European powers' more expensive and sophisticated ships in terms of numbers or technology within a few decades<sup>19</sup>.

The United republics and the North African Barbary republics of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers engaged in a series of battles during the First and Second

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restrictions brought on by Britain's ongoing war with France, the recruitment of American merchant mariners into the Royal Navy, British support for American Indian tribes opposed to American expansion, outrage over insults to national honor following humiliations on the high seas, and possibly an interest on the part of the United States in annexing British North American territory (modern-day Canada) that had been denied to them, the United States declared war in 1812.

<sup>17</sup> Allen, Gardner Weld (1905). *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*. Boston, New York and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin & Co. p. 281.

<sup>18</sup> According to the article 3 of the treaty: "It is distinctly understood between the Contracting parties, that no tribute either as biennial presents, or under any other form or name whatever, shall ever be required by the Dey and Regency of Algiers from the United States of America on any pretext whatever."

<sup>19</sup> Frank Lambert (2007), *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World*.

Barbary Wars in the early 19th century. The independent nations known as the Barbary states, which were situated around the coast of North Africa, were notorious for their acts of piracy and their demand for tribute from foreign ships through their territorial seas<sup>20</sup>. Between 1801 and 1805, the First Barbary War occurred, then between 1815 and 1816, the Second Barbary War. Both conflicts were fought in response to Barbary pirate attacks on American ships and the capture of American sailors.

With the signing of the Treaty of Tripoli in 1805, the United States formed its first military alliance with another country. This agreement established the United States as a maritime power and put an end to the First Barbary War. The Treaty of Algiers, which put an end to the Second Barbary War and made the United States a significant player in international diplomacy and trade, was signed in 1816<sup>21</sup>.

The United States was significantly impacted by these wars' successful conclusion. It proved the value of having a robust fleet in defending the country's interests and the country's capacity to defend itself against external threats. Additionally, it created new trade and business prospects for the United States because American merchant ships could now sail freely in the Mediterranean without worrying about being attacked.

#### **d) The Ottoman - American Treaty of Trade and Navigation on May 7 1830.**

Reis Effendi signed the first treaty between the Ottoman Empire and the United States<sup>22</sup>. This pact formalized American trade presence in the Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean, allowing American commercial ships to freely enter the Straits. The pact made it possible for both countries' economies to grow, and as a result, direct trade between the United States and the Ottoman Empire exceeded \$1 million in 1851, \$2 million in 1868, and \$5 million in the years that followed<sup>23</sup>

The most important features included the Treaty are the following<sup>24</sup>:

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<sup>20</sup> Brian Kilmeade & Don Yager, (2017) Thomas Jefferson and the Tripoli Pirates: The Forgotten War that Changed American History.

<sup>21</sup> Gregory Fremont, (2006) The Wars of the Barbary Pirates: To the shores of Tripoli: the rise of the US Navy and Marines (Essential Histories) Paperback.

<sup>22</sup> An analogue to a Foreign Minister.

<sup>23</sup> Erhan, C (2004) Main trends in Ottoman – American relations, past present and future.

<sup>24</sup> "Treaty of Commerce and Navigation [between the United States of America, and His Majesty The Sultan of Turkey] (signed in Constantinople May 7, 1830; Ratified by the United States February 2, 1831; Ratified by Turkey October 5, 1831; Proclaimed February 4, 1832)," Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America, IV* (Washington: United States Department of State, 1931-1948), 541-598.

- a) According to Article 1, the two parties' merchants are treated as most-favored nations when it comes to tariffs.
- b) The United States was granted the authority to designate consuls in Turkish ports under Article 2.
- c) Article 4 recognized the principle of extraterritoriality.
- d) Article 7 gave American ships permission to go in the Black Sea on the same terms as the nation with the greatest favor.
- e) A secret article concerned the Sultan's wishes regarding the building of ships either in the United States or Turkey.

The final "secret article" was very difficult to be ratified from the American party because when the treaty reached Washington, Congressional opponents aroused fears that it could implicate the Nation in European sphere of interest. America scarcity of shipbuilding materials, would also negatively affect the ability to construct ships. Furthermore, a secret article was against the principle of open transparent government and would harm the Nation's foreign policy of strict neutrality. Finally, dealing with foreign Nations, America should neither ask nor grant any benefit looked like a bribe. For these reasons the secret article was rejected while the treaty public articles were approved.

### **3. The Truman Doctrine and the Eastern Mediterranean: The beginning of a New Era**

The Truman Doctrine completely transformed the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean after analyzing the initial stages of American involvement in the region and executing the policy of free trade, free navigation, and non-intervention. The Truman Doctrine provided the Western world with political stability in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Eastern Mediterranean's clear waters served as the setting for the United States' inauguration as a worldwide superpower.

Greece and Turkey both played crucial roles in establishing dominance over the East Med and the Middle East. Due to its huge crude oil reserves, the Middle East was essential for American interests. Controlling the Eastern Mediterranean allowed the safe transportation of American commodities from the Atlantic coast through the Suez Canal and up to the Indian Ocean. In the post-World War II international politics, the ports of Piraeus, Thessaloniki, Alexandroupolis, and Izmir, as well as the Turkish Straits and the Souda Bay in Crete, were very significant.

In conclusion, Greece and Turkey were the key factors for the U.S. from a geographical and a strategic point of view for two basic reasons: The first and prominent reason is the security of sea transported goods as prerequisite for

further American economic growth showing great trade balance indexes. The second is that Greece and Turkey may have served as a natural barrier to prevent the Soviet Union's desire to expand into Europe, the Middle East, and even Africa beyond the Black Sea. In order to stifle the top Soviet enemy and its desire to increase its influence across the Black Sea, Washington had to act sensibly first by stabilizing the political and economic situation in both Greece and Turkey.

#### **4. Truman's address – Long term policy and metaphor**

President Harry S. Truman issued the Truman Doctrine in 1947, outlining the United States' commitment to offering political, military, and economic support to all democratic countries under attack from internal or external authoritarian forces. Truman needed the support of the Republicans, who controlled both houses of Congress, to adopt legislation to implement the Doctrine <sup>25</sup>. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, the top Republican spokesman, stood up for Truman and helped dispel the misgivings of isolationists like Senator Robert A. Taft. Truman spoke with important legislative figures, such as Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson and Secretary of State George Marshall, to garner support for the Doctrine. Acheson described the "domino theory," which postulated that if one nation adopted communism, it may spread to others like a disease. Impressed, Vandenberg recommended Truman to testify before Congress and argue forcefully for the Doctrine. On March 7, Acheson warned Truman that Greece could fall to the communists within weeks without outside aid. In his speech to Congress on March 12,<sup>26</sup> Truman explained the Doctrine's tenets and promised to offer financial and economic assistance to nations facing internal or external dangers.

President Harry S. Truman outlined the tenets of the Truman Doctrine in a speech to a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947. In his address, Truman said that it was American policy to aid free peoples who were fending off attempts at enslavement by armed minorities or external influences. He stated that the United States ought to help these free peoples determine their own fates in their own ways, and he promised to give economic and financial aid to nations facing dangers from the outside or from within. This assistance was viewed as crucial for maintaining political and economic order. Despite some dissidents who disagreed with the Doctrine's tenets or its open-endedness, Truman's speech was warmly received. Despite these criticisms, the Doctrine gained widespread acceptance and became a crucial tenet of American Cold War foreign policy in Europe and elsewhere.

Despite few critics, the response to President Harry S. Truman's speech establishing the tenets of the Truman Doctrine was largely positive. Truman's

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<sup>25</sup> Patterson, James T. (1996). *Grand Expectations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>26</sup> McCullough, David (1992). *Truman*. New York: Simon & Schuster. pp. 547-549

proposed aid package and the Doctrine were backed by anti-communists in both parties, and the Doctrine was regarded as a "popularity jackpot" for Truman. Influential journalist Walter Lippmann, on the other hand, was more dubious, pointing out the vagueness of Truman's commitment and sparring with Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson about the Doctrine. Additionally, several detractors claimed that the Greek monarchy Truman advocated for was a dictatorship rather than a democracy<sup>27</sup>. Due to the widespread backing of the Doctrine and the growing concern over a communist takeover, despite these criticisms, \$400 million in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey were approved by a sizable majority of Congress in May 1947. The Doctrine was the first of a series of containment initiatives by the United States, which also included the Marshall Plan and the founding of NATO in 1949, and the increased American aid contributed to the defeat of the communist KKE in Greece.

The Truman Doctrine was an important declaration of American foreign policy made by President Harry S. Truman in 1947. It said that any democratic countries under threat from domestic or external authoritarian forces would receive political, military, and economic support from the United States. The Doctrine, which became a crucial cornerstone of American Cold War policy in Europe and around the world, was created to fight the rising menace of communism, particularly in Europe. Its expansive rhetoric, which pledged to assist all "free people" who were being subjugated, paved the way for a number of later undertakings and promises that aided in the process of globalization. As highlighted by historian James T. Patterson, the Truman Doctrine was a significant development in American foreign policy and was a publicly publicized pledge that the government had not made before.

The Truman Doctrine persisted and had a lasting effect because it addressed larger cultural issues with contemporary living in a worldwide society. It addressed Washington's worry about the spread of communism and made it possible to explain the Doctrine in a way that garnered support from both parties in the media. The Doctrine also elevated nation-building initiatives and modernization programs to the center of foreign policy by mobilizing American economic power to upgrade and stabilize unstable regions without overt military engagement. Historian Dennis Merrill argues that these factors contributed to the enduring nature of the Doctrine and its significance in shaping American foreign policy<sup>28</sup>.

The Truman Doctrine evolved to represent assistance given to keep a country from being influenced by communism. In order to convey the sense of imminent doom posed by the rise of communism and to develop a "rhetorical vision" of limiting it by erecting a barrier around non-communist nations, President Harry S. Truman employed sickness imagery. This imagery was

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<sup>27</sup> Herring, George C. (2008). *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>28</sup> Merrill, Dennis (2006). "The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism and Modernity". *Presidential Studies Quarterly*

reminiscent of the "quarantine the aggressor" approach that Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman's predecessor, had attempted to implement in 1937 to stop the expansion of Germany and Japan. The medical metaphor was also expanded to incorporate disaster-evoking fire and flood imagery, giving the US an easier path to direct military action in succeeding conflicts like the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Truman was able to gain support for his strategy of limiting communism by presenting ideological disagreements in terms of life or death<sup>29</sup>.

## **5. The Greek case under the umbrella of Truman Doctrine**

One of the first countries to receive aid under the Truman Doctrine was Greece, which was fighting a civil war against communist rebels. The doctrine was seen as a major shift in US foreign policy, as it marked the beginning of the Cold War and a commitment to contain communism.

This choice was made in response to a particular historical occurrence. On February 21, 1947, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, a seasoned British diplomat in charge of the British diplomatic mission in the capital of the United States, had to make the announcement that after a century of continuous presence and direct involvement in Greek politics, the British embassy in Washington would be closing<sup>30</sup>, London was unable to continue aiding the Greek government in its struggle with communist rebels. Typically, British military assistance to Greece totaled \$5,6 billion (in current dollars) during the years 1945–1946 alone<sup>31</sup>. Following World War II, the British economy experienced considerable duress, forcing the government to make challenging decisions about how to deploy its resources. Being in the midst of a civil war was an expensive activity, and the government's decision to withdraw its support was probably motivated by the financial difficulties it was experiencing.

Despite the fact that Stalin and Churchill had already decided in October 1944 that Greece would be under British control, he attempted to undermine British influence in the Eastern Mediterranean by taking advantage of the communist party's expanded strength<sup>32</sup>. By proxy, from Tito's Yugoslavia and Hoxha's Albania, both of which were under Soviet sway, Stalin provided crucial backing to the Greek communists. Through the inclusion of the Greek communists in a post-Civil War multiparty administration, Stalin promoted the strengthening of the Soviet influence in Greece while attempting to exhaust

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<sup>29</sup> Ivie, Robert L. (1999). "Fire, Flood, and Red Fever: Motivating Metaphors of Global Emergency in the Truman Doctrine Speech". *Presidential Studies Quarterly*.

<sup>30</sup> During the Greek War of Independence in 1825, prominent Greeks led by Alexandros Mavrokordatos and Georgios Kountouriotis wrote to the British government requesting protection from them. The Greek side obtained two loan packages from London in 1824 and 1825 to help finance the conflict. Following the liberation, the so-called English Party served as the British government's representative in the Greek Parliament, fighting against the respective efforts of the Russian and French parties.

<sup>31</sup> Blair A. (2015). *Britain and the world since 1945*.

<sup>32</sup> Vlavianos H. (1992). *Greece, 1941-1949: From resistance to Civil War, the strategy of the Greek communist party*.



Britain politically and economically. The American commitment to not share Greece with anyone, especially Moscow, may have been misjudged by Stalin. An event like that would have made the American presence in the Mediterranean Sea vulnerable. Giving up complete Soviet access from the Black Sea to the Eastern Mediterranean would have jeopardized the American Naval Grand Strategy. Turkey would have followed Greece inside the Iron Curtain as well due to the geostrategic asphyxiation of being encircled by the Red Army and Soviet protectorates.

The British government recognized that in order for Greece to recover and rebuild after the devastation of the Axis occupation during World War II, it was necessary to defeat the communist forces that were active in the country. The Greek economy had been severely damaged by the occupation, and the British government did not have the resources to provide significant aid to Greece at the time. As a result, it was considered essential to restore stability and security in Greece in order to facilitate its recovery. This included the defeat of the communist forces, which posed a threat to the country's stability and democratic government. The British government made efforts to persuade the American administration to provide more support for their efforts in Greece. The United States was a major world power, and its support could have been crucial in helping the British to stabilize Greece and defeat the communist forces there. It is possible that the British government made appeals to high-level officials in the American administration, including the President, in an effort to secure more support for their efforts in Greece. For instance, the British foreign secretary Ernest Bevin, with an official telegram to his homologous, James F. Byrnes in September 1945, called for a joint involvement in Greece. In early February 1947, the British Ambassador in Washington, Sir Clark Kerr, conveyed the message to George Marshall, the American secretary of State, that in the following months Greece needed in order to survive 70-80 million £ (2,5 billion £ in today's value) and that Washington would have to provide the biggest share of that amount <sup>33</sup>.

Following World War II, Britain's decision to leave Greece had a huge impact on world politics in the second half of the 20th century. One of this decision's most important results was that it opened the door for the US to take a more active role in the region. The United States intervened when the British withdrew from Greece to offer economic and military support to help stabilize the nation and drive out the communist troops there. This marked the beginning of a longer-term American presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, which continued throughout the Cold War and beyond.

Following the end of World War II, the State declined from its highest positions in the international system as a result of this evolution, which decreased the UK's capacities on the global stage. It is true that President Harry S. Truman's administration made efforts to lessen British dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean region and to increase American presence there. This

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<sup>33</sup> Lykogiannis A. (2002). Britain and the Greek economic crisis, 1944-1947.

decision was driven in part by the United States' commitment to the principles of economic liberalism and free trade, which were central to the Hamiltonian economic program that shaped American foreign policy at the time. In order to spread wealth and stability over the world, the United States regarded itself as a champion of these ideas. The United States was concerned that British colonialism in the Eastern Mediterranean might impede the region's economic growth and political stability. As a result, it aimed to promote economic and political openness by reducing British control and increasing American representation. This choice contributed to the end of British colonialism in the area and helped make the United States the region's main political and economic center of focus.

The decision to withdraw from Greece also had significant implications for the broader international political landscape. The conflict in Greece was part of a larger struggle between the Western powers and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and the outcome of the conflict in Greece was seen as a significant victory for the Western side. American foreign policy's response to the British withdrawal from Greece confirmed that the Eastern Mediterranean was a strategic priority for the US. This helped to further cement the position of the United States as a global superpower, and contributed to the overall balance of power during the Cold War.

## **6. The Marshal Plan – aid to Greece (1947 – 1952)**

The Marshall Plan served as a convenient example of Truman's philosophy. The European Recovery Program (ERP), often known as the Marshall Plan, was a U.S. aid initiative that gave European nations financial support to aid in the reconstruction of their economy following World War II. The Marshall Plan was created to provide financial assistance to nations in order to aid in their economic recovery and stop the spread of communism. The Marshall Plan was not specifically focused on Greece, but it did provide some assistance to Greece as part of the broader effort to rebuild the economies of European countries. The Marshall Plan was active from 1948 to 1952 and provided over \$13 billion in aid to European countries.

Greece was occupied by Nazi forces during the war, and many Greeks were killed, imprisoned, or forced to flee their homes. The country's infrastructure was severely damaged, and its economy was in shambles. After the war, Greece was also embroiled in a civil war, which further added to the country's suffering and made it difficult for the country to recover and rebuild. Greece faced severe economic and humanitarian challenges, and many people in the country were struggling to survive. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was an international organization that provided humanitarian aid to countries affected by World War II. UNRRA provided food, clothing, and medical assistance to people in need in Greece and helped to alleviate some of the suffering caused by the war. Despite these

challenges, Greece was able to rebuild and recover thanks in part to the assistance provided by the Marshall Plan and other international aid programs.

Greek politicians had to work with the United States and other international donors to secure funding and support. This frequently required strategic decision-making and adherence to the larger foreign policy goals of the United States and other donor nations. With regard to Greece<sup>34</sup>, the Marshall Plan provided financial assistance to help the country rebuild its economy and infrastructure, which had been severely damaged by World War II and the Greek Civil War. The Marshall Plan also provided support for the development of industries such as agriculture, manufacturing, and tourism, which were important for the country's economic growth. Additionally, the Marshall Plan helped to facilitate international trade by providing funding for the development of transportation and communication infrastructure, which made it easier for Greece to engage in international trade. Overall, The Marshall Plan laid the groundwork for Greece's post-war economic development and helped the country recover from the destruction of World War II and the Greek Civil War. As a result, Greece was able to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1980, marking a significant turning point in the nation's post-war economic progress.

Surely Greece could have better absorbed the Marshall funds, achieving higher development. The Greek economy faced significant challenges in the post-war period, and it was difficult for the country to absorb the full amount of aid provided by the Marshall Plan<sup>35</sup>. Private and state investments in the country were initially low, which made it difficult to fund further economic development. Additionally, some politicians and members of the bourgeoisie may have resisted the implementation of economic programs, which could have hindered the country's economic development. However, despite these challenges, the Marshall Plan and other international aid programs did play a significant role in helping Greece rebuild and modernize its economy, and the country was able to make significant progress in the post-war period.

Overall, the Marshall Plan played a key role in helping Greece rebuild and modernize after the war and contributed to the country's post-war economic development. The Marshall Plan is also remembered as a symbol of the strong partnership and cooperation between Europe and the United States, and it remains an important part of the shared history of these two regions. The Marshall Plan was based on a shared sense of idealism and a desire to help countries rebuild and recover from the devastation of the war. These aid programs were a testament to the strong partnership and cooperation between the United States and other countries, and they were an expression of the shared belief that working together, it is possible to overcome even the most difficult challenges and create a better future. The program helped to strengthen

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<sup>34</sup> Photeine Konstantopoulou (2011). *Documentary History of Greece [1943-1951]: Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan*. Papazisis Publisher's.

<sup>35</sup> Apostolos Vetsopoulos (2002), 'The Economic Dimensions of the Marshall Plan in Greece, 1947-1952: The Origins of the Greek economic miracle', University College London

ties between the United States and other countries and contributed to the creation of a more stable and prosperous world.

### **7. The Turkish case under the Truman doctrine**

Turkish together with Greece were areas with great importance for the American Foreign Policy, and the control of them constituted milestone for U.S Grand Strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean, mostly for geostrategic and less for economic reasons. The peculiarity and biggest difference with Greece was the control of Straits.

With the help of London, Turkey reemerged in July 1936 at the Montreux Palace in Geneva as one of the primary strategic players in the Eastern Mediterranean, commanding one of the area's most strategically significant locations: The Straits. This new development did Moscow absolutely no favors. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits, which link the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, are governed by the Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Turkish Straits, which was signed in 1936. The agreement establishes certain restrictions on the passage of warships and gives Turkey control over the straits.

The Soviet Union tried to alter the Montreux Convention during World War II in order to safeguard its southern flank and obtain better access to the Mediterranean Sea. The Soviet Union maintained that given the altered political and military landscape brought about by the war, the convention's prohibitions on the passage of warships were no longer applicable. Characteristically, Stalin during a private meeting with Churchill on February 10 1945 (one day before the Yalta conference) mentioned that: << *It is unacceptable for the Soviet Union to be at the mercy of the Turks, not only in war but in peace, and for Russia to have to beg the Turks to let her ships go through the Straits*>><sup>36</sup> The Soviet Union also sought to gain a greater voice in the management of the straits, which would have given it more influence in the Black Sea region.

The United States and the United Kingdom, however, opposed any changes to the convention, as they were concerned that the Soviet Union would use greater access to the Mediterranean Sea to expand its influence in the region. It is certainly true that the Soviet Union sought to expand its influence in the region during the Cold War, and gaining greater access to the Mediterranean Sea. Through the modification of the Montreux Convention would have been one way for the Soviet Union to achieve this goal. Additionally, the Soviet Union likely saw the potential inclusion of Turkey in its satellite network of countries in the Balkans as a way to further strengthen its position in the region. In the post-World War II period, the Soviet Union sought to spread its influence across Eastern Europe through the establishment of communist governments in the countries of the region. Turkey, which had a strategic

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<sup>36</sup> Plokhy, M.S. (2010). Yalta: The price of peace. New York: Viking

location and controlled the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits, was a country of particular interest to the Soviet Union. If Turkey had become a communist state, it would have given the Soviet Union greater access to the Mediterranean Sea and would have also served as a bridgehead for further expansion into the Middle East.

However, Turkey was a strong democracy and a key member of the Western alliance during the Cold War. The country's government was fiercely anti-communist and was determined to resist Soviet expansion in the region. Turkey was also under the protection of the United States as a member of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and it was seen as a strategic country in the region by the Western Bloc. Even while the Soviet Union made efforts to increase its sway in the area, including potential inclusion of Turkey in its satellite network, it eventually failed to do so. Throughout the Cold War, Turkey remained a powerful democracy and an important component of the Western alliance.

The Allies' position on Montreux was that the convention was a matter of sovereignty of Turkey and any modification could only be done by negotiation with Turkey. After the end of the war, the Soviet Union continued to push for the modification of the Montreux Convention, but it was unable to secure the changes it sought. Turkey, as the country that controlled the straits, retained its sovereignty over them. It is also worth mentioning that during the Cold War, Montreux Convention was considered a cornerstone for the stability in the region. The strategic location of the straits and the access to the Mediterranean Sea had a great significance for both sides, the Soviet Union and its counterparts. The maintenance of the status-quo was therefore a matter of interest for both sides. It should be noted that the convention is still in force and the passage of ships through the straits is still regulated by it, and Turkey continues to have significant control over the passage of ships through the straits. The United States did not want to share the strategic location of Turkey with any other country<sup>37</sup>, especially with the Soviet Union, as it was seen as a valuable asset that could provide a strategic advantage in the Cold War. Therefore, the US was willing to support Turkey as a means to prevent it from falling under Soviet influence.

### **8. Greece and Turkey under the west sphere of influence.**

In 1947, the British government announced that it would withdraw its troops from Greece and Turkey as part of a wider plan to reduce the country's overseas commitments and economize on defense spending. This decision, known as the "Bevin Plan,"<sup>38</sup> was part of a broader effort by the British

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<sup>37</sup> Gardner C.L (2009). *Three Kings: The rise of an American Empire in the Middle East after WWII*, New York: The New Press.

<sup>38</sup> Anne Deighton (1993) *The Impossible Peace: Britain, the Division of Germany, and the Origins of the Cold War*.

government to scale back its presence in the Middle East and the Mediterranean region in the aftermath of World War II. The withdrawal of British troops from Greece left a power vacuum that was filled by Soviet-backed communist forces. This led to a civil war in Greece, which lasted from 1946 to 1949 and ended in a victory for the non-communist government. The civil war was a major Cold War-era conflict and was one of the first proxy wars between the Soviet Union and the West.

Due to internal political unrest and Soviet expansionism, Turkey was also affected by the British withdrawal from Greece. In order to limit Soviet dominance in the region, the US then took the initiative in giving military and economic support to Turkey under the Truman Doctrine. As a result, the US's status as a superpower in the Mediterranean region was cemented. Early in the Cold War, the British withdrawal from Greece was a key development that profoundly altered the political and strategic environment of the Eastern Mediterranean. The events in Greece also set the stage for a series of US-led interventions in the region in the following years, in order to contain Soviet influence and preserve Western interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

It's likely that the Soviet Union would have been able to develop a stronger footing in the Eastern Mediterranean region if Greece and Turkey had not received help during the civil war in Greece and the political unrest in Turkey in the 1940s. This might have paved the way for the Soviet influence to spread to other regions of Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Several factors made the Eastern Mediterranean region crucial strategically. Control of the region would have given the Soviet Union access to the Mediterranean Sea, which would have been a valuable asset for their navy. It would have also provided them with a foothold in Europe and the Middle East, which would have expanded their sphere of influence in those regions. Additionally, it could have opened up new opportunities for the Soviet Union to spread its ideology and exert political influence in Africa, a continent which was of strategic importance during the Cold War.

The US's containment of Soviet growth began with the 1947 announcement of the Truman Doctrine. This included giving Greece and Turkey financial and military support so they could fight off Soviet influence and communist movements. The US was able to stop the development of Soviet influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, which could have had significant repercussions for the rest of the world, by assisting Greece and Turkey. The US policy of containment and the Truman Doctrine also symbolized the US will to intervene in other countries to stop the spread of communism. It was the starting point for a more interventionist US foreign policy<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Satterthwaite, C.J. (1972). The Truman Doctrine: Turkey. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

## **9. The fragile democracy in Greece and the American Nonintervention.**

Greece having been devastated from the WWI and more from the catastrophic civil war<sup>40</sup>, returned to the international system with the help of American financial and political assistance. In 1952 Greece having the implicit support (material and political) of Washington, entered the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), While the association agreement between Greece and the European Economic Community was signed in June 1961. Despite this overwhelming extrovert development in the international scene, the home state had not been cured from the trauma of Civil War which had a significant impact on the country's political landscape. The conflict resulted in a deep polarization of society, with both sides engaging in acts of violence and repression. The war also had long-lasting effects on the country's political culture, with ideological zealotry, social division, and ultra-radicalism continuing to play key roles in Greek politics for many years after. For many political analysts the Greek Civil War was responsible for the dictatorship from 1967 to 1974 (military Junta)<sup>41</sup>.

United States, In the case of Greece, implemented the policy of economic and military aid, as well as efforts to counter communist influence in the country. One aspect of this policy was the use of cultural diplomacy to promote American values and lifestyle. This included the promotion of American pop culture, such as rock and roll music and Hollywood movies, as a way of creating a positive image of the United States among the Greek public. The idea was that by introducing Greek society to American culture, they would be more inclined to adopt Western democratic values and reject communism. This policy was also referred to as "soft power" by the United States and had been used extensively through the Cold War as a means to counter the Soviet Union's cultural influence.

The United States' approach to the Greek Civil War and its aftermath could be seen as a combination of both Jeffersonian and Jacksonian elements. On one hand, the Jeffersonian approach emphasizes the idea of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and promoting democracy and self-government through peaceful means. This could be seen in the United States' efforts to stay out of the Greek Civil War and future political crisis, avoiding direct military intervention, but providing economic and military aid to the Greek government.

On the other hand, the Jacksonian approach emphasizes the use of military force to defend American interests and values abroad, and a willingness to intervene in the affairs of other countries to defend those interests. This could be seen in the United States' efforts to counteract communist influence in Greece, as well as its use of cultural diplomacy to promote American values

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<sup>40</sup> The war is estimated to have caused around 150,000 deaths, around 10% of the Greek population was left as refugees

<sup>41</sup> PETER SIANI-DAVIES and STEFANOS KATSIKAS (2009). National Reconciliation After Civil War: The Case of Greece. Journal article. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25654436>

and lifestyle. The United States government sought to maintain its close alliance with Greece while also staying out of its domestic crisis, so this approach could be considered a mix of both. They would prefer to see a Greek government that is friendly to their interests and a close ally in the region, without direct intervention in any political crisis, and would utilize all the means available to them to achieve this goal.

The United States' approach to the Greek junta, which came to power in 1967, can be seen as similar to its approach to the Greek Civil War in the sense that it emphasized the bigger picture and the importance of maintaining a close relationship with a valuable ally, rather than getting deeply involved in the country's domestic politics. The US government, under the Nixon administration was initially hesitant to openly criticize the junta when it came to power, as they considered Greece to be a strategically important country in the region, and they were also interested in securing Greece's support in the ongoing Cold War. However, as the human rights abuses committed by the junta became more widely known, the US government began to publicly criticize the regime, but it was done in a cautious manner, in order not to harm their close alliance<sup>42</sup>.

The US ultimately cut-off military aid to the junta and imposed economic sanctions, but it is argued that these actions were not taken until the junta's grip on power had been consolidated. Additionally, there were allegations that the CIA had been involved in the coup that brought the junta to power<sup>43</sup>. The US approach to the Greek junta can be seen as balancing their interest in the big picture and their alliances in the region with the need to speak out against human rights abuses, but again it was not until later and the actions were not as firm as it could be expected.

Moreover it was very risky for the United States to intervene in a decisive way to Junta administration for the fear of losing a key ally in the NATO alliance. The United States has historically viewed Greece as a key ally in the Eastern Mediterranean region and has supported its membership in NATO as a way to promote stability and security in the area. The US has also historically supported Greece in its disputes with Turkey, including over issues related to Cyprus and maritime boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean. This continues to be a main foreign policy goal of the US in the region.

## **10. Greece & Turkey: A problematic coexistence in the region.**

Although both Greece and Turkey have been NATO members since 1952, their diplomatic ties have been tense and have been steadily

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<sup>42</sup> James Edward Miller (2009) *The United States and the Making of Modern Greece: History and Power, 1950-1974*. Southern Connecticut State University.

<sup>43</sup> John M Maury. (1977). *The Greek Coup: A Case of CIA Intervention? No, Says Our Man in Athens*. Washington Post article: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1977/05/01/the-greek-coup-a-case-of-cia-intervention-no-says-our-man-in-athens/47abdd1e-a843-4f43-8057-ac26125be76d/>



deteriorating since the conclusion of World War II. This is a result of a multitude of historical, geographical, and economic conflicts between the two nations, including disagreements over Cyprus, the Eastern Mediterranean's maritime limits, and the treatment of minorities in each nation. Concerns from NATO and the world community have arisen as a result of these issues, which have caused a number of crises and close military encounters between the two countries.

There are several factors that have contributed to the deterioration of diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey, and one of them is the general revisionism in Turkish consciousness. This refers to the idea that Turkey has long sought to revise the existing international agreements and treaties, which have been seen by Greece as a direct threat to its sovereignty and territorial integrity. This revisionism is rooted in the historical narrative of the Republic of Turkey, which portrays the events of the past in a different way than the historical facts, and it is also reflected in the official discourse and in the government's policy. This has led to an increase in tensions between the two countries, as Turkey has been perceived as challenging the existing status quo in the region.

The United States has traditionally sought to maintain a balanced approach towards both Greece and Turkey as they are both important allies in the Eastern Mediterranean region. The US has long recognized the importance of both countries in the region and has sought to promote stability and security by supporting their membership in NATO and encouraging diplomatic dialogue between the two countries. The US has also provided military and economic aid to both countries, and has sought to mediate disputes between them. While the US has been supportive of Greece's territorial integrity and sovereignty, it also has important strategic and economic ties with Turkey, which has led to a balancing act by the US. The US has been trying to avoid taking sides on the disputes between the two countries, but it has been increasingly difficult to maintain a balanced approach in recent years due to the escalating tensions between Greece and Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The tensions between Greece and Turkey reached a violent climax during the summer of 1974<sup>44</sup>, when Turkey launched a military operation against the island of Cyprus, which was then under Greek control. On July 20, 1974, Turkey launched a full-scale invasion of the island, which was met with strong resistance from the Greek Cypriot forces. This led to heavy fighting between the two sides and resulted in the deaths of many soldiers and civilians. The invasion resulted in the de facto partition of the island, with the northern part of the island coming under Turkish control and the southern part remaining under Greek Cypriot control. The invasion was strongly denounced by the world community, and many UN resolutions demanding the removal of Turkish forces from the island followed. Turkish forces continue to be stationed in the island's

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<sup>44</sup> Van Coufoudakis (1985), *Greek-Turkish Relations, 1973-1983: The View from Athens*, Published By: The MIT Press, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2538546>.

northern region despite these resolutions, and Cyprus continues to be a major source of friction between Greece and Turkey.

The United States did not intervene militarily during the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. The US, along with other members of the international community, did condemn the invasion and called for an immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of Turkish troops. The US also supported a number of UN resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Turkish troops and the restoration of the territorial integrity of Cyprus. However, neither the first Turkish invasion in July 1974 nor the second one in August 1974 saw any direct military action by the US to put an end to the invasion. The US did provide some humanitarian aid to the Cypriot population affected by the invasion and imposed arms embargo on Turkey for some time. The US did not want to take any action that would jeopardize its relationship with Turkey, which was considered as a key ally in the region and also had an important role in the Cold War context (further analysis followed in the next chapter).

The Cold War did not have a positive impact on Greek-Turkish relations. Despite both countries being members of NATO and being aligned with the West during the Cold War, their disputes and tensions persisted. The US and other Western countries did try to promote diplomatic dialogue and resolve disputes between the two countries, but these efforts were often unsuccessful. The Cold War context added an extra layer of complexity to the relations, as the US and other Western countries sought to avoid taking sides on the disputes between Greece and Turkey, and also had to consider the strategic importance of both countries in the region. Additionally, the Cypriot dispute, which had been simmering for decades, was exacerbated by the Cold War tensions and the involvement of outside powers, further complicating the relations.

Turkey's potential and significance in the Eastern Mediterranean were unknown following the conclusion of the Cold War. Turkey reevaluated its foreign policy and its interactions with its neighbors as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar world order. Additionally, new political and economic dynamics in the region created challenges for Turkey as it sought to maintain its position as a major player in the Eastern Mediterranean. The pivotal strategic and political changes that were occurring in the region, however, also gave Turkey the impression that it was the ideal time to realize its aspirations for hegemony by enlarging its influence in the Eastern Mediterranean and enforcing territorial revisionism against all of its neighbors, particularly against Greece and Syria.

During the 1990s, Turkey faced a series of economic crises stemming from a number of factors, including a fragile public sector, a weak currency, and a highly corrupt political establishment. The public sector was plagued by inefficiency, lack of accountability, and poor management, which led to a high level of public debt and a widening budget deficit. The currency, the Turkish Lira, was also weak, which led to high inflation and a lack of foreign investment.

The political establishment was also plagued by corruption, which led to a lack of trust in government institutions and a lack of investment in the country<sup>45</sup>. These factors contributed to a period of economic instability and hardship for many Turkish citizens.

In Turkey, leading to increased support for Islamist political parties and the eventual rise to power of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2002. The AKP, led by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has its roots in political Islam and has pursued a number of policies that reflect this ideology, such as increasing the role of religion in public life and promoting a more conservative social agenda. Economic instability in the country, including high inflation and unemployment, contributed to a sense of dissatisfaction among many citizens and helped the AKP gain support. The AKP's rise to power has had a significant impact on Turkish politics and society and has led to increased polarization and tension within the country.

The internal political and economic instability in Turkey<sup>46</sup> has led to a more assertive and aggressive foreign policy, particularly towards its neighbors. The rise of the AKP and its Islamist ideology has led to a revisionist approach towards Turkey's history and its relationship with other countries. This has manifested in a number of ways, such as a more assertive stance in disputes over territory and resources, a more interventionist approach in the affairs of neighboring countries, and a more confrontational attitude towards countries like Greece and Cyprus. The disputes over the Aegean Sea has been one of the most prominent issues in the Turkish-Greek relations, with the two countries having disputes over airspace, territorial waters and the continental shelf. Turkey's assertive foreign policy has led to increased tensions and a deterioration in relations with many of its neighbors, which has negatively impacted the region's stability and security.

### **11. 1996 Imia crisis: on the verge of war**

The Turkish cargo ship "Figen Akat" capsized on the tiny, deserted Imia islet in the Aegean Sea on December 25, 1995. The island is part of the Greek Dodecanese chain, a collection of Greek islands in the Aegean Sea, and is situated at its northernmost point. The accident led to a dispute between Greece and Turkey over the sovereignty of the islands, with both countries claiming ownership of the islets. This escalated into a crisis, with both countries deploying naval vessels to the area, and raising their national flags on the islets, bringing the two countries close to a war. The crisis was resolved with the intervention of the United States and the organization of the World Security

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<sup>45</sup> Macovei Mihai (2009). Growth and economic crisis in Turkey: Leaving behind a turbulent past? Brussels: European Commission.

[https://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/publications/pages/publication16004\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/pages/publication16004_en.pdf)

<sup>46</sup> Doğu Ergil, (2000) Identity Crises and Political Instability in Turkey, Published By: Journal of International Affairs Editorial Board, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24357688>

Council, which led to the withdrawal of the Greek and Turkish military forces from the disputed area.

Imia/Kardak and the other Dodecanese islands were given to Greece by Italy as part of the 1947 Treaty of Paris. The islands listed in Article 14 of the treaty, as well as any nearby islets, are to be handed to Greek sovereignty<sup>47</sup>. Regarding the Imia/Kardak islands, the definition of the phrase "adjacent islets" has been challenged by the Turkish and Greek sides. Imia/Kardak, according to Turkey, does not fall under Greek sovereignty because it does not meet the criteria outlined in Article 14 of the treaty. The Imia/Kardak conflict of 1996 was mostly brought about by this disagreement.

On January 31, 1996, a Greek military helicopter searching for Turkish invaders on Imia/Kardak crashed in the Aegean Sea, killing all three members of the crew. This incident further escalated the already tense situation between Greece and Turkey, bringing the two countries even closer to war. Both countries were members of NATO, and the crisis on the southeastern flank of the alliance was a major concern for the United States and other NATO countries, who intervened to resolve the crisis and prevent a war between the two nations.

The United States closely monitored the Imia/Kardak crisis from the beginning and had a primary goal of deescalating the tension between Greece and Turkey, as both countries were members of NATO. The US was concerned that the crisis could lead to a direct military collision between the two allies, which would have significant implications for the stability of the region and the alliance. The US intervened diplomatically to resolve the crisis, and helped to organize a meeting of the World Security Council, which resulted in the withdrawal of Greek and Turkish military forces from the disputed area and the defusing of the crisis. American foreign policy during the Imia/Kardak crisis focused on the realistic aspect of the situation and sought to rapidly de-escalate the tension between Greece and Turkey, rather than taking a confrontational approach. The US State Department worked to find an appropriate course of action that would defuse the crisis without getting caught in the middle of the dispute between the two NATO allies.

The US sought to act as a mediator, rather than a direct participant in the crisis, and worked to bring the two sides to a peaceful resolution. It can be claimed that the United States made the appropriate choice to stay out of the crisis in order to resolve the geostrategic impasse between Greece and Turkey, two NATO allies. This approach allowed the US to focus on resolving the crisis in a way that would benefit both countries, while also preserving the stability of the region and the alliance. By not getting too absorbed in the crisis, the US was able to play a more effective role in resolving the conflict and preventing a war between Greece and Turkey.

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<sup>47</sup> Athanasopoulos H. (2001) Greece, Turkey and the Aegean Sea: A case study in International Law.

Imia still consists a no-go area for both Greece and Turkey. The loser is obviously Greece because before the crisis Imia was a Greek territory. On the other hand, The Imia conflict gave Ankara the chance to further its anti-Greece revisionist agenda in the Aegean Sea. The Greek minister Kostas Simitis publicly in the parliament thanked the American side for its role in acting as a referee. The gain from the side of Greece is that because of the American attitude achieved to avoid a catastrophic war, while the American believed that Greece was clearly the defeated side<sup>48</sup>. At the expense of one of its friends, this time Greece, the American side in the Imia crisis decided to maintain the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean and its foreign policy in the region.

To conclude, Turkey since its establishment as a republic in 1923, has a history of disregarding international law in pursuit of its own national interests. To be more accurate Turkey is respecting the international Law only when it asserts its National interests. On the other hand Greece is considered to be a country that respects and follows international law. The problem is that Greece struggle to develop its ontological structure (military and diplomatic capabilities) in order to be able to impose the letter of International Law when this is needed. I strongly believe that nowadays Greece is oriented to this dimension but I feel a bit insecure if it has enough time to gain the lost soil.

## **12. The Suez Crisis 1956**

The Suez Crisis or the Second Arab–Israeli war, was a political and diplomatic showdown that occurred in 1956 between Egypt and the Western powers (primarily France, the United Kingdom, and Israel) over control of the Suez Canal. The crisis began in July 1956, when Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the canal, which had been under control of the British and French-owned Suez Canal Company since 1875. The move was seen as a major challenge to Western interests in the Middle East, and the British, French, and Israelis conspired to launch a military operation to retake control of the canal. In October 1956, Israel invaded Egypt, and British and French troops landed in the Suez Canal zone. The crisis ended in November 1956, when the United Nations intervened and a ceasefire was reached. The Suez Crisis marked a turning point in post-World War II international relations and had a significant impact on the careers of the leaders involved.

The United States, under President Eisenhower, was opposed to the military operation and instead pushed for a diplomatic resolution through the United Nations<sup>49</sup>. The US also applied economic pressure on Britain and France by threatening to withdraw financial aid. The secret collusion between

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<sup>48</sup> Litsas S. (2014). The Greek failing state and its smart power prospects: A theoretical approach. Mediterranean Quarterly.

<sup>49</sup> Sylvia Ellis (2009). Historical Dictionary of Anglo-American Relations. Scarecrow Press. ISBN 9780810862975.

Britain, France, and Israel was eventually exposed, and the US worked with the UN to bring about a ceasefire and the withdrawal of all invading forces. The crisis had a significant impact on the relations between the US and its European allies, as well as on the political career of British Prime Minister Anthony Eden, who resigned shortly after the crisis. The Suez Crisis also strengthened the position of the United States as the dominant power in the Western world and weakened the power of European colonial powers<sup>50</sup>.

The regional balance of power in the Middle East has been significantly affected by this crisis. Despite Egypt's military setback, Nasser's reputation as an advocate for Arab nationalism rose. Israel left the territory it had taken, but it was able to re-enter the Straits of Tiran after Egypt had blocked it off to Israeli commerce. In the years following the crisis, tensions between Egypt and Israel were lessened because of the United Nations' establishment of a peacekeeping force in the Sinai. The Suez Crisis was a significant blow to the prestige and influence of Britain and France in the Middle East. The withdrawal of their troops from the Canal Zone was seen as a humiliation and a sign of their declining power in the region. The crisis also damaged relations between the United States and its European allies, as the US believed that the actions of Britain and France had destabilized the Middle East. The Suez Crisis further weakened the position of colonial powers and strengthened the role of the United States in shaping the politics of the Middle East.

The Suez Crisis also had an impact on the balance of power between the Soviet Union and the United States in the Middle East<sup>51</sup>. The Soviet Union saw an opportunity to increase its influence in the region, and it began to provide arms and advisers to countries like Syria and Egypt. During the crisis, the United States had acted as a peacemaker, which benefited its relations with Egypt. The underlying conflicts between Israel and its Arab neighbors, however, remained unsolved and would continue to fuel tension in the region. The crisis also set the stage for future conflicts in the Middle East, as the United States would again be drawn into the region to try and resolve these disputes. The crisis also served as a reminder of the importance of the Middle East to the Cold War balance of power and how any regional crisis could have global ramifications<sup>52</sup>.

### **13. Conclusion**

United States showed its vivid interest for the Eastern Mediterranean since the early days of the Union. In the shores of Tripolitania the newly born State implemented its first military expedition. The Truman Doctrine was the

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<sup>50</sup> Peden, G. C. (December 2012), "Suez and Britain's Decline as a World Power", The Historical Journal.

<sup>51</sup> U.S Department of State, archive: The Suez Crisis.  
<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/lw/97179.htm>

<sup>52</sup> Simon C. Smith, ed. Reassessing Suez 1956: New perspectives on the crisis and its aftermath (Routledge, 2016).

first major economic and diplomatic commitment of the U.S. The Suez crisis proved the superiority of U.S. against Britain, France and Israel in diplomatic sector as benevolent hegemon, while in Greek Junta 1967, the U.S. display an indifferent attitude. Furthermore in the Imia crisis the policy that the U.S. adopted was that of equal distance between Athens and Ankara, no matters who was in the right position according to the International Law. In all these cases the United States behaved as a chameleon in order to safe its sovereignty in the Eastern Mediterranean. I really admire the way the American foreign policy adjust and change its Strategy being unique under any incident in the Mediterranean Sea. It reminds me the proverb which implies that you should changing your decision changing your mind, like the water adapts in the laydown of a river.

The Imia crisis, which occurred in 1996 between Greece and Turkey, and the Suez crisis of 1956 were both significant incidents that demonstrated the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean region for the United States. Both crises involved conflicts between regional powers and had the potential to escalate into larger international conflicts. The US was involved in mediating and resolving these crises, forcing its rules, highlighting its strategic and diplomatic interest in the region.

It is true that the United States has often presented itself as a global champion of liberal democracy, but its actions in the international arena have also been driven by the pursuit of its national interests. The US, like any other country, is a sovereign nation that seeks to protect and advance its own interests in the international arena. This can involve promoting values such as democracy and human rights, but it can also involve more pragmatic considerations such as economic and security interests. While it is important to acknowledge the idealistic rhetoric, it is also important to understand the ways in which the US's actions are shaped by its national interests.

It is true that the United States has a long-standing tradition of idealistic rhetoric, particularly in the form of Wilsonian ideals, which promote democracy and self-determination. However, it is also true that the US has always had a realist tradition represented by the thinking of figures like Alexander Hamilton, who emphasized the importance of protecting national interests. The balance between these two traditions has often been influenced by the political climate and the actions of the White House and Congress.

In practice, the actions of the US government are often a balance of both idealistic and realist approaches. The ideals and values of the American people and the political elite can influence the US's foreign policy objectives, but the realities of the international arena and the protection of national interests will also play a role. It is important to note that "Jeffersonian awareness" and "Jacksonian instincts" of the American people can influence the foreign policy decisions of the White House and Congress, as a government will always reflect the will of its citizens.

The major lesson that experienced studying the first chapter of my thesis analysis is that: The International Laws by its own are not adequate for a country to implement its strategy. It is also needed a strong ontological development in diplomatic and military sector. United States have reached this level for many decades while other countries struggle to find their balance in the International arena and in their region of interest.

## **Chapter 2**



# **United States and Cyprus, Cold War – 1974 Turkish invasion**

## **1. United States and Cyprus**

The United States and Cyprus have a strong relationship built on shared values and common interests. Both countries are members of many international organizations, such as the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the International Monetary Fund, which allows for cooperation on a wide range of issues. Additionally, Cyprus has observer status in the Organization of American States, which further strengthens the relationship between the two countries. Both countries also have a long history of military and economic cooperation, and the U.S. has been a strong supporter of efforts to resolve the Cyprus dispute.

Nevertheless, despite the excellent relationship between the two States, there is a long history of cooperation with bright and blur pages in diplomatic relations that put in bind the island itself measuring loses. In my point of view the blur pages had to do with false policy decisions taken from the Cypriot side or lack of diplomacy intelligence on the continuously transformed environment of East Mediterranean arena.

The ongoing struggle between Greek Cypriots in the south and Turkish Cypriots in the north of the island of Cyprus is known as the Cyprus problem, sometimes known as the Cyprus dispute, Cyprus issue, Cyprus question, or Cyprus conflict. The conflict began when the British Empire took control of the island from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, and it was subsequently annexed in 1914. Greek Cypriots make up the majority on the island, while Turkish Cypriots make up a sizeable minority. The two populations have been at odds for many years, with tensions rising in the 1960s and 1970s and dividing the island in 1974 as a result of a military intervention by Turkey. Efforts to resolve the dispute have been ongoing and have included UN-led negotiations, but as of now, the island remains divided and the situation remains unresolved.

Cyprus was ruled by the British in the early 20th century, therefore there were no clashes or atrocities between Greeks and Turks during the Greco-Turkish War or the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey. Furthermore, Turkish Cypriots have consistently rejected Greece's union. The Turkish government has historically opposed any efforts to unify Cyprus with Greece, citing concerns that it would negatively impact the Turkish Cypriot minority on the island. However, it is also believed that Turkey has strategic interests in maintaining control of the island, despite the majority of the Cypriot population identifying as Greek. Turkey has strategic interests in maintaining control of the island of Cyprus, despite the fact that the majority of the Cypriot population identifies as Greek. Also the proximity of Cyprus to Turkey made Turkish to believe that is easier for them to protect and control the island that

the Greeks. On July 12, 1956 the Vice President of United States, Richard Nixon, on a meeting of the National Security Council, reaffirmed that if Cyprus was joined to Greece, the Turks would go to war to prevent it<sup>53</sup>.

In the years following World War II, when Great Britain's influence waned, a power vacuum was left, and the United States filled it. The US was in a unique position at this time since its economy did not need to be rebuilt and was actively booming. This allowed the US to assert its influence in various regions around the world, including the Eastern Mediterranean. The US saw the stability of the region as important to its own national interests, and as a result, it sought to promote stability in the region and maintain good relations with the countries in the region.

When Cyprus gained independence from Great Britain in 1960, American leaders aimed to reduce their country's presence on the island. According to the National Security Agency, Cyprus is significant to the United States principally because of the potential effects on relations between Greece and Turkey and Greece and Great Britain, as well as the potential for interruptions to NATO cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean. This reflects the view that an ideal U.S. policy on Cyprus would involve as little direct involvement as possible, in order to avoid worsening tensions between the involved parties.

The United States viewed Turkey and Greece as crucial allies in its larger foreign policy plan from the start of the Cold War. The possibility of hostilities between these two important friends, who are also NATO members, made the island of Cyprus important to American interests. Cyprus was particularly essential to US interests due to its location close to Turkey's southern coast, which American policymakers saw as strategically important since it served as a buffer between US oil interests in the Middle East and Soviet Union.

Cyprus was supposed to become an independent, non-aligned republic according to the constitutional arrangements, with a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice-president. The council of ministers, which had executive authority, was composed of a ratio of 7 Greek Cypriots to 3 Turkish Cypriots, reflecting the population ratio of 78% Greek Cypriots and 18% Turkish Cypriots. The remaining 4% of the population was made up of minority communities such as Latin, Maronite, and Armenians. The judicial system in Cyprus was unique in its composition and the safeguards it provided for the minority population. The Supreme Constitutional Court has one Greek Cypriot and one Turkish Cypriot member, and is presided over by a neutral contracted judge. The Constitution of Cyprus established a free and independent republic

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<sup>53</sup> John P. Glennon (1989), Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957, Volume XXIV Soviet Union Eastern Mediterranean <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v24>

and was renowned for its intricacy and the variety of protections it offers for minorities<sup>54</sup>.

Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom were given the authority to act to defend Cyprus's constitutional status quo by the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. The United States, while not a signatory to the treaty, did not have any similar obligation to protect Cyprus or its political stability. This gave the US more freedom in its decision-making, as it was not bound by the obligations and rights outlined in the Treaty of Guarantee that the other three countries were. This lack of obligations also means that the US didn't have any direct interest in the matter and could act based on its own national interest.

The United States led numerous peacekeeping initiatives between 1964 and 1974 in an effort to reduce the likelihood of war. Dean Acheson, a former secretary of state, led an independent American effort to bring Greece and Cyprus together in 1964. In July, a proposal was made under which Turkey would support the union in exchange for a sovereign military facility on the island. Additionally, minority rights for the Turkish Cypriots would be granted, and a local international commissioner would monitor them. Makarios, the head of the Greek Cypriots, opposed the proposal, claiming that ceding territory to Turkey would stifle the enosis movement and give Ankara an excessive amount of sway over island affairs. Both the Turkish government and the Greek Cypriots rejected a second version of the proposal that would have given Turkey a 50-year lease on a base. Despite several further attempts, the United States was eventually forced to abandon its efforts to reach an agreement on the issue.

## **2. 1974 Turkish invasion**

The coup in Athens, staged by a group of Greek officers known as the "National Guard," provided an opportunity for Turkey to intervene in Cyprus. On July 20, 1974, Turkish forces invaded the island, citing the need to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority. The invasion was widely condemned as a violation of international law, and Turkey continues to occupy a significant portion of the island to this day. The situation has resulted in the displacement of many Greek Cypriots and ongoing tensions between Turkey and the international community<sup>55</sup>.

Official peace negotiations between Greece, Turkey, and Britain took place on July 25, 1974. The negotiations took place in Geneva, Switzerland, where Turkey agreed to cease its march on the island of Cyprus in exchange for staying there until a diplomatic solution was established. Greek soldiers, however, took control of more Turkish-Cypriot enclaves as Turkish forces

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<sup>54</sup> DE SMITH, S. A. The New Commonwealth and its Constitutions. Smith De, London: Stevens & Sons 1964 <https://academic.oup.com/ajcl/article-abstract/14/4/702/2586124?redirectedFrom=fulltext>

<sup>55</sup> <https://mfa.gov.cy/turkish-military-invasion-and-occupation.html>

continued to advance. After establishing a new cease-fire line, the powers stated on July 30 that the withdrawal of Turkish forces must be contingent upon a "just and lasting settlement acceptable to all parties concerned," mentioning "two autonomous administrations — that of the Greek-Cypriot community and that of the Turkish-Cypriot community."

On August 8, 1974, Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus held their second round of peace negotiations. Representatives from Cyprus took part in the discussions. The President of Cyprus, Makarios, who was devoted to a unitary state, rejected the Turkish Cypriots' desire for geographic separation from the Greek Cypriots, which was supported by Turkey. The negotiations came to a standstill as a result, and no agreement was achieved. On August 14th, Turkey demanded that Greece recognize a federal state of Cypriots, which would have given 34% of the island to Turkish Cypriots, who made up 18% of the population and 10% of the landownership. When Turkey rejected Clerides' request for 36 to 48 hours to consult with the governments of Cyprus and Greece, the negotiations came to an end. Turkey began a second onslaught within hours, and by the time of the final cease-fire on August 16, Turkey controlled 36% of the island. A buffer zone, known as the "green line," was established between the combatants and is now administered by the United States.<sup>56</sup>

The Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 caused significant political upheaval in Greece. The military dictatorship that had been in power since 1967 collapsed and was replaced by a civilian government led by Konstantinos Karamanlis. On Cyprus, the leader of the Greek Cypriots, Archbishop Makarios, was forced to flee the island during the invasion and was replaced by Glafcos Clerides as Acting President. Clerides served as President until 1977. Despite this change in leadership, the situation on the island remained tense and the division between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots persisted.

In the early stages of the Cyprus crisis, the United States, under the direction of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, initially refrained from taking any significant action. Before committing the US to a course of action, Kissinger's policy called for waiting and observation of the situation. Thomas Boyatt, among other regional experts, felt that the US response was insufficient and too slow. Kissinger's strategy, though, was influenced by the bigger picture of American foreign policy, where Cyprus wasn't the main focus. The only reason the crisis was on American radar was because of the possible threat it posed to NATO security and the Eastern Mediterranean. The US finally became involved in the situation and participated in the negotiations, although its major goal was to maintain regional stability<sup>57</sup>.

The involvement of the Soviet Union in the crisis, as well as preventing a war between Greece and Turkey, were the two pillars of United States strategy at the time. This is reflected in the statement made by Henry Kissinger,

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<sup>56</sup> <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/about-buffer-zone>

<sup>57</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume XXX, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, 1973-1976. Kissinger and Joseph Sisco.

the US Secretary of State at the time, that the two most important objectives for the United States were to prevent war between Greece and Turkey and to prevent Soviet exploitation of the situation. He placed more emphasis on the latter objective, as he felt that preventing Soviet involvement was of primary importance<sup>58</sup>. When it came to responding to the crisis, the United States and Great Britain's coordination was comparatively poor. Under the Treaty of Guarantee, Great Britain was obligated to Cyprus, whereas the United States had no such connection or history. The United States may have prioritized avoiding Soviet involvement over other issues due to this lack of direct involvement.

There are two main reasons that triggered United States to follow a neutral position towards Cyprus invasion. The first is that Washington initially had close ties with Archbishop Makarios during the Enosis struggle, but Following Cyprus's declaration of independence as an independent state in 1960, ties between the two sides worsened. Makarios pursued an independent foreign policy, taking part in the Non-Aligned Movement's establishment in Belgrade<sup>59</sup> (1961) and not aligning with the Western orientation of Greece and Turkey<sup>60</sup>. Makarios was perceived by the US as having a limited awareness of the Cold War's effects on the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore The Greek Junta wanted to neutralize Makarios in order to control the political development on the island, but Makarios ordered 2.5 million dollars' worth of small and medium arms from Czechoslovakia to arm a militia that was loyal to him out of self-protection<sup>61</sup>. This move alarmed the United States, as it was concerned that Makarios would open the door to the Soviets for protection against Athens and threaten U.S. policy in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time.

Secondly, Greece decided not to get militarily involved in the Turkish invasions of Cyprus in 1974 because of the political turmoil and instability in the country following the end of the military dictatorship, as well as the limited military capabilities of the Greek armed forces at the time. Greece's decision not to intervene militarily in the Turkish invasions of Cyprus in 1974 did indeed mean that the US did not have to intervene to prevent a conflict between two NATO members. The US did, however, play a role in monitoring the situation and working to prevent a wider regional conflict from erupting. Maintaining a strong presence and influence in the Eastern Mediterranean is certainly one of the key goals of US foreign policy in the region. The US wide range of interests

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<sup>58</sup> Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*,

<sup>59</sup> Three influential individuals—Josip Broz Tito, the president of Yugoslavia; Gamal Abdel Nasser, the president of Egypt; and Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India—organized the Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade in 1961, the movement's first formal summit. These three leaders previously met in Brijuni, which has been referred to as the "Third World's Yalta," highlighting the Non-Aligned Conference and Movement's view that it was created in response to the division of "spheres of influence" between major world powers following World War II and the creation of the two blocks during the Cold War.

<sup>60</sup> Prashad, Vijay. 2007. *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*. New York: New Press.

<sup>61</sup> Warner G (2009), *The United States and the Cyprus crisis of 1974*.

in the Eastern Mediterranean, including maintaining stability and security, countering terrorism, and promoting economic and political development, made them to supervise the situation without any benefit to act forcedly to a no NATO State (Cyprus)<sup>62</sup>.

The best option for Washington to track how the crisis was evolving and safeguard its own interests was to monitor the Cyprus problem from a distance, engage in negotiation, and refrain from committing to large and official involvement. There was no assurance that American engagement would aid in a swift, peaceful resolution, and involvement in the crisis could draw the US into a protracted ethnic conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, the United States would not benefit from a potential protracted confrontation in the region because Greece and Turkey were already staunch friends and NATO members.

### **3. Cold War affects in Cyprus issue**

The Cyprus conflict is a complex issue that involves multiple factors, including political influence and the involvement of external agents. To fully understand the conflict, it is important to examine these factors in a systematic and comprehensive manner.

Cyprus was not only the victim of bad political decisions of Makarios and Greek Junta, but more from the Cold War pressure that influenced the political decisions of the United States and other countries in the area. Small countries like Cyprus which were surrounded from Western and NATO aligned countries, may not had the opportunity to deploy a fully independent foreign policy, as Makarios wanted and surely the possibility of creation a Soviet protectorate was a mass danger for the stability and prosperity in the area that no one could accept nor Greece and Turkey. As a result governments should take wise decisions taking under consideration the imprint of these decisions in International arena. The pursuit of National interest is welcome under the international Law but must be reformed in a way that not affect the goals of the Grand Strategy of the Superior power in the area. Otherwise the incoming upheaval will create war tensions with unsafe and no manageable results, mainly for the country which create the upheaval.

Turkey is considered strategically important for the United States in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East region. In 1946, the Joint Chiefs of Staff stated that Turkey has the potential to effectively resist Soviet expansion in the area with proper equipment and support, due to its firm resolution to oppose Soviet expansion and its capable ground army<sup>63</sup>. The United States considered Turkey to be more geostrategically important than Greece during

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<sup>62</sup> Glen D. Camp (1980) Greek-Turkish Conflict over Cyprus. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2149584>

<sup>63</sup> Memorandum by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, August 23, 1946 (Document 675), Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, The Near East and Africa, Volume II.

the early Cold War period. As a result, the U.S. made both Greece and Turkey important parts of its foreign policy. This interest in the stability of Greece and Turkey also extended to the small island of Cyprus, which is located approximately 80 kilometers off the southern coast of Turkey. The United States was focused on preventing a Turkish military intervention in Cyprus during the Cold War. American policymakers believed that if Turkey intervened, it would create an opportunity for the Soviet Union to exploit the situation and enhance their own position in the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>64</sup>. This was a major concern for the United States as it sought to contain Soviet expansion in the region.

The Cold War's Cyprus Crisis was distinct from earlier crises and wars including the Korean War and the Vietnam War, the Suez Canal Crisis, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Korean War. The Cyprus crisis did not have the potential to develop into a significant geopolitical or nuclear conflict, in contrast to such situations. Although the Soviet Union was interested in the problem, unlike in Korea and Vietnam, it did not escalate into a proxy conflict. For Greece, Turkey, and the ethnic Cypriot inhabitants, the Cyprus crisis did have a considerable impact; yet, from a global geopolitical perspective, it was regarded as a relatively minor problem. The United States had already begun to scale back its active engagement in international conflicts at the time of the Cyprus crisis, and it was also in the process of leaving Vietnam. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, thought that the US should be more discriminating about when and when it intervenes. He stated that the US should place less emphasis on forming ties with smaller nations and pursuing international development initiatives. Because of this, despite being in the strategically significant Eastern Mediterranean region, Cyprus was not seen as being crucial to American foreign policy. As a result, the US did not devote a large amount of financial, military, or diplomatic resources to the problem.

After World War II, the Greek Cypriots began to demand self-determination and unification with Greece, known as enosis. Greece attempted to raise the issue at the United Nations, but faced opposition from Turkey, Britain, and the United States. Turkey favored preserving the status quo or partition, while Britain saw Cyprus as a strategic Mediterranean stronghold. In 1958, under pressure from the United States, Greece agreed to a negotiated settlement and abandoned the idea of achieving enosis through the UN. In order to prevent a possibly disastrous conflict between allies, the US was worried about the potential effects of a divided Cyprus on Greek politics. They opposed the island's right to self-determination and insisted on direct negotiations only including Turkey, Britain, and Greece, not the Cypriot people

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<sup>64</sup> Telegram From the Department of State to Certain Posts (Nicosia, London, Paris, Bonn, Athens, Ankara, USNATO, USUN, USCINCEUR, and the White House), Subject: Policy Considerations in Cyprus Situation, Washington, July 18, 1974, 2344Z (Document 97), Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, 1973-1976.

themselves. This resulted in the February 1959 Zurich-London agreements and the August 16, 1960 founding of the Republic of Cyprus<sup>65</sup>.

The Soviet Union had a growing interest in Cyprus after the island achieved independence for a number of reasons. With its borders on the Black Sea and its strategic interests in the Middle East, the Soviet Union had long wanted to expand its influence in the eastern Mediterranean. NATO valued Cyprus' strategic importance due to its two significant British bases. The Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL), the island's communist party, also exerted considerable influence among Greek Cypriots. The Cyprus issue gave the Soviet Union the chance to promote the destabilization of NATO's southeast flank. Moscow considered the possibility of Turkey leaving NATO just as crucial as keeping Cyprus neutral.

Following the installation of a military government in Athens, the Soviet Union saw Greece as a bigger threat to their interests in Cyprus than Turkey. They continued to support Makarios as the rightful leader and expressed worry over foreign meddling in Cyprus' domestic affairs. When the new Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia was being installed in June 1971, Makarios was invited to attend. While there, he spoke with Soviet leaders about the Cyprus problem, bilateral issues, and the dire Middle East situation. The success of the intercommunal negotiations based on the "absolute sovereignty and unity of the state" was wished for in the joint declaration.<sup>66</sup> It is true that the Soviet Union played a significant role in supporting the state security of Cyprus and protecting Makarios, the President of Cyprus, from assassination attempts. According to Russian archives, the Soviet Union provided financial support to the left-wing political party AKEL and sent weapons to the party to protect its leaders from nationalist organization EOKA-B. This took place in the 1970s.

Regarding the Cyprus problem, a number of circumstances prompted Turkey to think about improving relations with the Soviet Union. One of the main explanations was that Turkey thought that by approaching the Soviet Union, the United States would become alarmed and change their position on the Cyprus issue. Additionally, Turkey thought that the Soviet Union would positively support its stance on Cyprus, which would have helped to win the support of the Communist bloc in the UN. Another reason was that Turkey anticipated the Soviet Union would at least take a neutral posture, which would have precluded backing the Greek side on the Cyprus problem.

The Finance Minister of Turkey, Deniz Baykal during the National Security Council in 15th July 1974, suggested that a military intervention in Cyprus has become necessary, due to changes in the way superpowers are reacting to regional crises. He argues that states that take initiative and create

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<sup>65</sup> Robert Holland (1998). Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959. Oxford University Press

<sup>66</sup> Yulia Nikitina, Denis Kuznetsov, Leili Rustamova (2020). Diplomatic Relations between Cyprus and the Soviet Union/Russia: From Cold War Games to Friendship and Comprehensive Cooperation. [file:///C:/Users/george/Downloads/Yulia+Nikitina,+Denis+Kuznetso,+Leili+Rustamova\\_Diplomatic+Relations+between+Cyprus+and+the+Soviet+Union\\_181-198.pdf](file:///C:/Users/george/Downloads/Yulia+Nikitina,+Denis+Kuznetso,+Leili+Rustamova_Diplomatic+Relations+between+Cyprus+and+the+Soviet+Union_181-198.pdf)



<<fait accompli>><sup>67</sup> are now in more favorable positions. He also expresses concern that Greece is about to become Turkey's southern neighbor and that this should be prevented<sup>68</sup>.

It is evident that the Turkish invasion in Cyprus was a multifactor matter, and a conflict of many interest in the area. This development could be avoided under deferent political and diplomatic manipulation especially from the side of Greece and Cyprus respectively. Greece felt a National embarrassment. Cyprus under Makarios administration proved its political immaturity and finally Turkey was a great winner that took advantage of the political fluidity of Greece and the desires of Great powers (United States and Soviet Union) in a beneficial way for its National interest. The split of Cyprus created and still creates a headache both to the countries in the area and the United States. It is a problem that remains unsolved till today provoking upheaval and gives the opportunity to Turkey to express its National revisionism which is going to be developed in the next chapter.

#### **4. Conclusion**

During the Cold War, the United States had no direct geostrategic interests in Cyprus, but because Greece and Turkey were significant allies, American authorities were interested in safeguarding the region's relative stability. The US aimed to thwart any military action by Turkey and stop the Soviet Union from taking advantage of the circumstance to strengthen its position in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Cyprus crisis of 1974 tested the ties between the United States, Greece, and Turkey, but all three countries continued to be NATO members, and the crisis did not result in enough instability in the Eastern Mediterranean to justify Soviet invasion. The crisis did not have a significant impact on the United States' relationship with its NATO allies and did not threaten the security of the region as a whole.

The United States acknowledged the importance of a stable Eastern Mediterranean region for its overall geopolitical goals and objectives, as well as Greece and Turkey's continued membership in NATO. The Greek-Turkish-Cypriot issue, a protracted ethnic war between two NATO members close to a crucial buffer zone between the Soviet Union and American oil interests, did not require the United States to get heavily involved in order to accomplish these goals. The US instead aimed to preserve the status quo and stop any substantial escalation or destabilization in the area. This approach allowed the US to focus on its broader strategic interests while not getting bogged down in a complex and intractable local dispute.

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<sup>67</sup>sth already accomplished

<sup>68</sup> Süha Bölükbaşı (1988) The Superpowers and the Third World, Turkish – American relations and Cyprus. University Press of America

Turkey invaded Cyprus in 1974 with the intention of reestablishing the island's political equilibrium by seizing a third of it and preventing Greek-Cypriot domination in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Soviet Union did little to hinder the Turkish invasion because they had their own strategic interests in the area. Cyprus had two British military posts and was a non-aligned nation at the time of the Turkish invasion. It also had a strong Communist Party. The Soviet Union, aware of the fact that Cyprus was part of the Western sphere of influence, and also mindful of the recent crisis in the Middle East (October 1973), decided not to intervene in the situation.

# Chapter 3

## **The case of East Med pipeline. (U.S. attitude, newer perspective due to Russian – Ukrainian war and energy interdependence)**

### **1. The East Med Pipeline**

A proposed natural gas pipeline called the East Med Pipeline would carry gas from the Eastern Mediterranean region to Europe. The pipeline would run from the offshore gas fields in the Eastern Mediterranean, through Cyprus and Crete, and then under the Mediterranean Sea to mainland Greece and Italy. The project is being developed by a consortium of companies from Greece, Israel, and Cyprus, and is intended to diversify Europe's energy sources and reduce its dependence on Russian gas. The project is still under study and not yet approved as it is facing many challenges such as the high cost, political opposition and environmental concerns.

According to European Commission Regulation 347/2013, which was issued as part of the European Union's Connecting Europe Facility (CEF) initiative, the East Med Pipeline was identified as a Project of Common Interest (PCI). Energy infrastructure initiatives that are deemed to be critically important for the EU's market integration and energy security are given the PCI designation. The CEF program was able to provide financial assistance to the East Med Pipeline since it qualified as a PCI and helped pay for the project's technical, economic, and environmental evaluations. In the presence of US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Greece, Cyprus, and Israel signed an intergovernmental agreement for the East Med Pipeline on March 20, 2019 in Tel Aviv. This signified support from the United States for the project. The US has been advocating for the diversification of Europe's energy sources, and the East Med Pipeline is seen as an opportunity to reduce the EU's dependence on Russian natural gas<sup>69</sup>.

The East Mediterranean Gas Forum (EMGF) was established in January 2019 by energy ministers from six Eastern Mediterranean nations to foster cooperation and communication regarding the exploration, development, and export of the region's natural gas resources. The forum brings together countries that have offshore natural gas reserves, including Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Israel, and Palestine, as well as countries that are potential consumers

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<sup>69</sup> <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/dem/release/menendez-bill-to-reshape-us-strategy-in-the-eastern-mediterranean-approved-by-foreign-relations-committee>

or transit routes for the gas, such as France, Italy, and Jordan. Several major energy companies, such as Total, Eni, Novatek, and Exxon Mobil have also signed exploration and production agreements with the relevant governments<sup>70</sup>. Due to its opposition to the East Med pipeline and its signing of exploration and production agreements with the unrecognized government of Libya, Turkey is referred to as the exception to the peace in the region. France and the United States submitted requests to join the Forum as members and permanent observers, respectively, in January 2020<sup>71</sup>.

Greece, Cyprus, and Israel's presidents inked a deal on January 2, 2020, to build the East Med Pipeline in Athens. Both Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Cypriot President Nikos Anastasiadis referred to the agreement as "historic." For the project to be implemented successfully, the agreement includes provisions for assuring the security of the pipeline and a common tax system. On July 19, 2020, the Israeli government accepted the agreement, allowing the project to proceed<sup>72</sup>.

Greece, Cyprus, and Israel have been negotiating a final investment decision on the East Med pipeline for several years. The proposed pipeline would transport natural gas from the Eastern Mediterranean to Europe, with the goal of helping Europe diversify its energy resources. The estimated cost of the project is \$7 billion and the planned completion date is 2025. The Aphrodite field in Cyprus would be the starting point for the East Med pipeline, which would then travel across the waters of Crete and on to the Greek peninsula before joining the current natural gas infrastructure in Europe. The project is viewed as a method to utilize the significant natural gas reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean that have recently been discovered and lessen Europe's reliance on Russian gas.

Suddenly, in January 2022 the United States through President Joe Biden, announced the withdrawal of program support, for not economic viable and environmental friendly reasons. U.S showed an apparent U-turn over a project supported by the former Trump presidency<sup>73</sup>.

## **2. United States attitude**

The US has expressed concerns about the project potentially causing tension between Turkey and other regional countries. The US government typically evaluates proposed energy projects based on a variety of factors, including their strategic importance and potential impact on regional stability.

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<sup>70</sup> <https://theintercept.com/2020/02/06/congress-exxon-mobil-eastmed-pipeline-cyprus/>

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-gas/france-asks-to-join-eastern-mediterranean-gas-forum-idUSKBN1ZF1V2>

<sup>72</sup> <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-01-02/leaders-from-israel-to-greece-set-to-sign-eastmed-gas-pipe-deal?leadSource=verify%20wall>

<sup>73</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/us-voices-misgivings-eastmed-gas-pipeline-greek-officials-2022-01-11/>

To better understand the U.S. policy in East Med pipeline project, it is important to analyze the scope of other countries which are interested to the project even if they are against.

The East Med pipeline, a 1900 km long underwater pipeline that would bring natural gas from the Eastern Mediterranean to Europe, was agreed to be built by Greece, Cyprus, and Israel in January 2020. The pipeline would depart from Cyprus' Aphrodite field, travel across Crete's waters, and then continue on to the Greek mainland, where it would join up with the region's current natural gas network. Up to 12 billion cubic meters of offshore natural gas are expected to be transferred annually from the oil reserves between Israel and Cyprus to Greece, where it will then be routed to Italy and other Southern European nations.

The project has been met with opposition from Turkey, which claims that the pipeline would pass through territories that are under its jurisdiction. Turkey has also disputed the maritime borders in the Eastern Mediterranean, which has led to a long-standing dispute with Greece and Cyprus over the rights to exploit hydrocarbon resources in the region. Despite this, the three countries have emphasized that the project is a commercial venture that will benefit the entire region and Europe.

Turkey has opposed the East Med pipeline since its inception, primarily because the project excludes Turkey and does not involve Turkish companies. Turkey also maintains that Turkey is the only viable alternative for an Israel gas supply to Europe. The country has opposed the maritime borders of the Eastern Mediterranean, which has led to a long-standing dispute with Greece and Cyprus over the rights to exploit hydrocarbon resources in the region. In addition to this, talks between Turkish and Israeli officials on the issue of the pipeline failed due to political tensions between the two countries<sup>74</sup>. The relationship between Turkey and Israel has been strained for years, and there have been several diplomatic crises between the two countries, which has made it difficult for them to reach agreements on a variety of issues, including energy. Turkey has also proposed its own pipeline, the Turkish Stream, which would transport natural gas from Russia to Turkey and then to Europe<sup>75</sup>, but the project has not yet been fully developed. Turkey's opposition to the East Med pipeline and its proposal for the Turkish Stream reflect its desire to be a major player in the European energy market and its interest in securing a reliable source of natural gas for its own energy needs.

Russia is a significant producer of natural gas in the globe and a key natural gas supplier to Europe. Moscow has been charged with limiting supplies to Europe for political reasons, notably during tense political situations or price wars. For instance, Russia cut off natural gas shipments to Ukraine in 2006 and

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<sup>74</sup> <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/9/israel-turkey-relations-herzog-visit-erdogan>

<sup>75</sup> <https://www.energyintel.com/00000183-f97b-d82d-a3fb-fd7fdb9a0000>

2009, which caused shortages in other European nations that depend on pipelines that pass through Ukraine to acquire their gas.

The International Energy Agency (IEA) has called on Russia to be a more reliable supplier of natural gas to Europe and to send more gas to Europe<sup>76</sup>. In September 2021, the IEA noted that Europe's dependence on Russian gas had risen as a result of declining domestic production and the slow development of alternative sources of natural gas. The IEA urged Russia to increase its gas exports to Europe to ensure a reliable and secure supply of natural gas for European consumers.

It is true that the Trump Administration and former US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo backed the East Med pipeline proposal. The Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum, an initiative that brings together nations in the region to foster cooperation on natural gas production and excludes Turkey, was also endorsed by the Trump Administration. Energy Secretary Dan Brouillette, who was in charge at the time, declared in December 2020 that the US would endeavor to assure the construction of infrastructure for the East Med pipeline. By lowering Europe's reliance on Russian natural gas, the US government envisioned the East Med pipeline as a means of fostering energy security and independence in that continent. The Trump administration also had a complicated relationship with Turkey and worked to improve ties between the US and Israel, Greece, and Cyprus.

It appears that there has been a change in the position of the US government regarding the East Med pipeline project. The US State Department has recently announced that Washington is shifting its focus to electricity interconnectors that can support both gas and renewable energy sources. The State Department has stated that the US remains committed to physically interconnecting East Med energy to Europe, but it will now prioritize projects that can facilitate the integration of renewable energy sources, such as wind and solar, into the European energy mix. The State Department specifically mentioned the planned Euro Africa interconnector from Egypt to Crete and the Greek mainland, and the proposed Euro Asia interconnector to link the Israeli, Cypriot and European electricity grids as examples of the types of projects that the US will support. These projects would create a more robust and diversified energy infrastructure in the region, allowing for the integration of multiple energy sources and providing a more reliable and sustainable energy supply for Europe<sup>77</sup>.

Israel has reportedly raised concerns about the viability of the East Med pipeline project. The country has been investing heavily in renewable energy sources, such as solar and wind, and is looking to reduce its dependence on fossil fuels. Additionally, the natural gas reserves in Israel may not be sufficient to justify the construction of such a large and expensive pipeline. The cost of

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<sup>76</sup> <https://www.ft.com/content/668a846e-d589-4810-a390-6d7ff281054a>

<sup>77</sup> [https://commission.europa.eu/news/commission-participates-launch-euroasia-electricity-interconnector-2022-10-14\\_en](https://commission.europa.eu/news/commission-participates-launch-euroasia-electricity-interconnector-2022-10-14_en)

the project is also a concern, as the project would require significant investment from private companies, and it is not clear if it would be economically viable in the long term.

Another worry is that Israel's natural gas could compete with US LNG, which has been in high demand in Europe due to problems with the energy supply. The US has been increasing its exports of LNG to Europe, and the East Med pipeline project could be seen as a potential threat to this market. The US government's shift in focus towards electricity interconnectors that can support both gas and renewable energy sources. The integration of multiple energy sources, could be a strategy to avoid this competition.

Greece has been a strong supporter of the East Med pipeline project, as the pipeline would run through Greek waters and connect with the existing natural gas infrastructure on the Greek mainland. The project would provide a new source of natural gas for Greece and help the country reduce its dependence on Russian gas. Additionally, Greece sees the East Med pipeline as a way to become an energy hub for the region and increase its strategic importance in the Eastern Mediterranean. The East Med pipeline project is also viewed as a method to utilize the substantial natural gas reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean and lessen Europe's reliance on Russian gas. The project would bring economic benefits to Greece by creating jobs and generating revenue through transit fees. Greece has been working closely with Israel, Cyprus and the EU to develop the project and secure the necessary funding and support. the main obstacle that Greece faces is the opposition from Turkey, which claims that the pipeline would pass through territories that are under its jurisdiction. The maritime borders disputes in the Eastern Mediterranean, which has led to a long-standing dispute with Turkey over the rights to exploit hydrocarbon resources in the region.

Greece and France have a strong alliance in the Eastern Mediterranean region<sup>78</sup>. Both countries have a history of cooperation on a wide range of issues, including security, energy, and regional stability. The two countries have a shared interest in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly in the exploitation of its natural resources. In recent years, the relationship between Greece and France has grown closer in the context of the Eastern Mediterranean. Both countries have a strong interest in the East Med pipeline project and have been working together to support its development. France has been a strong advocate for the project and has been providing political and financial support to Greece and Cyprus in their efforts to develop the pipeline.

France has also been working closely with Greece and Cyprus to address the maritime disputes in the Eastern Mediterranean and to promote regional stability<sup>79</sup>. The French Government has been keen on promoting the

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<sup>78</sup> <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/analysis/france-and-greece-defense-partnership-view-turkey>

<sup>79</sup> Dorothee SCHMID Elisa DOMINGUES DOS SANTOS (2022) The France-Greece Partnership Beyond the Eastern Mediterranean

stability of the region and has been involved in several diplomatic initiatives to de-escalate tensions between Greece, Cyprus, Egypt and Turkey. Both countries have a shared vision for the region's stability and security. The French government has also provided military support to Greece, particularly in the form of joint military exercises and the deployment of French navy ships in the Eastern Mediterranean. The two countries have also been working together on the issue of migration, which has been a major concern in the region.

The countries of Greece, Cyprus, Israel and France, seems to be in favor of East Med pipeline for beneficial reasons. The countries of Turkey and Russia are obviously against the foundation of the project because the first is excluded and the second loses the monopoly of Gas production and delivery to European countries. At the same time the Super power of our planet and the number one factor of stability in the area, the United States made a sudden U-turn not to vanish the project but more to degrade it for non-economic viable and environmental friendly reasons.

In my point of view, the United States in a way to calm down the hostile tensions between East Med pipeline supporters and enemies (Turkey and Russia) made a diplomatic maneuver first to avoid any possible future war incident and secondly to gain time in order to deploy a more safe Strategy in energy Europe dependence issue. Personally it is difficult for me to believe that the countries which conceived and supported the project did not took under consideration the environmental and finance viability issues. The United States as a historical and sovereign protector of stability in the area over time, cannot risk any turbulence which may change the balance in the area. Any change would probably harm irreparably the unity of NATO and any project failure would made the Russia energy Europe dependence more strong for many decades. Moreover the decision if any project is economic viable is not taken by the governments but from enterprises that pay and invest their capital. The brands of ExxonMobil, Eni, Chevron, Novatek, Shell and Total are very strong to be ignored in a cut of East Med pipeline project and seems to have different opinion. The East Med pipeline project is not at all done.

### **3. Newer perspective due to Russian – Ukrainian War and energy interdependence**

A few weeks after the United States announcement of withdrawal on East Med pipeline project and specifically on 24 February 2022, Russia invaded to Ukraine escalating a war which started in 2014. This war is still ongoing (February 2023) causing millions of immigrants and devastation of Ukraine. In this war the majority of European countries and also the United States support tentatively the State of Ukraine in a giant effort to repel the Russian forces from

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[https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/schmid\\_dominguesdossantos\\_france\\_greece\\_partnership\\_2022.pdf](https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/schmid_dominguesdossantos_france_greece_partnership_2022.pdf)



its territory. European countries and Greece among them are offering to Ukraine armament, health and humanitarian aid. The EU Council decided to provide €18 billion in financial assistance to Ukraine in 2023. To help Ukraine with immediate requirements including infrastructure repair and support for individuals who have been displaced by the conflict, financial aid would be provided. Additionally, the initiative would aim to help Ukraine's long-term post-war reconstruction, and support the country's goal of European integration. On the other hand, the US announced more than \$3,75 billion in military aid to Ukraine in the first few weeks of 2023 through Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken. This will raise the entire amount of U.S. military aid provided to Ukraine since the start of the Administration to an unprecedented \$24.9 billion..

It is not my purpose to analyze the causes of the war nor the consequences nor to predict the future. In the framework of this thesis analysis I will try to analyze how the blowing of Russian – Ukrainian war is going to change the future of East Med pipeline project.

The problem of Russia energy dependence to Europe became worse after the beginning of the war. Surely Russia weaponize its gas infrastructures to exert the maximum pressure to European countries, blackmailing them in order to become less decisive to support Ukraine. As first shot, Russia in September 2022 decreased the gas flow to Europe quoting technical reasons and maintenance obligations<sup>80</sup>. The German minister of economy Robert Habeck, forced some German companies to stop production.

The disruption of gas supplies from Russia to Europe has raised concerns about Europe's energy security and dependence on Russian gas. European leaders have called for diversifying energy sources and increasing investment in renewable energy to reduce reliance on Russia. The incident has also highlighted the need for better energy infrastructure and interconnections within Europe to ensure a more resilient energy supply. At the time being, The EU is planning to develop the Euro Asia interconnector<sup>81</sup> and the Euro Africa interconnector<sup>82</sup>.

The electrical grids of Israel, Cyprus, and Greece would be linked by the undersea energy cable known as the Euro Asia Interconnector, which also has the potential to connect to other European nations. The project's objectives include enhancing the energy security of the Eastern Mediterranean region and tying it to the European electrical grid. The cable would have a capacity of 2000MW and its completion is planned for 2030. However, the project is still in the planning stages and is facing challenges such as funding and political tensions in the region.

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<sup>80</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-62732835>

<sup>81</sup> [https://commission.europa.eu/news/commission-participates-launch-euroasia-electricity-interconnector-2022-10-14\\_en](https://commission.europa.eu/news/commission-participates-launch-euroasia-electricity-interconnector-2022-10-14_en)

<sup>82</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/EuroAfrica\\_Interconnector](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/EuroAfrica_Interconnector)

By connecting the power grids of Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, and Europe, the Euro Africa Interconnector (EAI), a significant infrastructure project, will improve energy security and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Along with offering a different energy path to Europe and reducing reliance on Russia, it will also facilitate the integration of renewable energy sources and the decarbonization of the energy system. The project is being implemented by a consortium of private companies and is supported by the European Union and international organizations. The completion date of the project is expected to be 2026 and the cost of the project is around 2 billion euros.

Following her meeting in Athens with Israel's Foreign Minister Yair Lapid and senior diplomats from Greece and Cyprus, US Under Secretary of State Victoria Nuland stated in a press conference on April 7, 2022 that the region's nations have realized that relying on Russian oil and gas is "an extremely bad bet" in light of its invasion of Ukraine. Furthermore she continued referring that the East Med pipeline project would run in deep waters and would require significant investment and construction time, making it unlikely to provide immediate relief for Europe's dependence on Russian energy:

*"And frankly, we don't have 10 years, but in 10 years from now, we want to be far, far more green and far more diverse" in energy sources, Nuland said. "So what we're looking for within the hydrocarbon context are options that can get us more gas, more oil for this short transition period."*

Additionally, Nuland stated that the US and regional partners are searching for alternate routes to deliver gas to markets, including Israel, Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey.

*"One project that has US backing is an electric cable linking Israel and Cyprus to the European continent".*

On October 2022 Cyprus Energy Minister Natasa Pilides told The Associated Press that<sup>83</sup>: *"transferring gas by pipeline to Egyptian processing plants where it would be liquefied for export aboard ships is the "most likely option" to quickly get gas to mainland Europe"*.

ExxonMobil's statement on March 2022 highlights the fact that there are multiple options for getting the natural gas from the Eastern Mediterranean to markets, and different factors such as cost, infrastructure and political considerations will ultimately determine the most viable option. While the East Med pipeline may not be the immediate solution, it remains a possibility for the future, especially as the world's demand for natural gas is projected to continue to grow. Additionally, the development of liquefaction facilities and the expansion of LNG export terminals in the region also provide a viable alternative for exporting the natural gas to global markets.

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<sup>83</sup> <https://www.timesofisrael.com/eastmed-pipeline-that-would-send-israeli-gas-to-europe-not-viable-says-us-official/>

Licenses for exploratory drilling have been given to ExxonMobil and Qatar Petroleum in two of the 13 blocks in Cyprus' exclusive economic zone off the country's southern coast. One deposit that they found is thought to hold 5-8 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Additionally, a group made up of Total Energies of France and Eni of Italy has been given exploration licenses for seven blocks and has already found one important find. According to Chevron and Shell, who control a license for a single block, the confirmed well has 4.1 trillion cubic feet of natural gas<sup>84</sup>.

From the above analysis, it is obvious that strong governments of United States, Israel, Greece and Israel may decline the East Med pipeline project as prevail solution to the energy independence of Europe. On the other hand the giants petroleum worldwide enterprises have found huge reserves of gas in the East Med basin area. These enterprises have not at all reject the East Med pipeline project which still consists one of their predominant solution to deliver the extracted gas to Europe.

## **4. Conclusion**

Which option is economically and technically possible for a pipeline project like the East Med pipeline is not solely up to the government. The market, which includes private businesses and investors, will ultimately decide if the initiative is feasible and profitable. However, governments can play a role in shaping the market conditions and providing support for certain projects.

It is also true that Greece's role as a transit hub is important, regardless of which route is chosen for the pipeline. The country has a strategic location and existing infrastructure that would make it an ideal transit point for natural gas from the Eastern Mediterranean to reach Europe. Greece's role as a transit hub would bring economic benefits to the country through transit fees and the creation of jobs. Greece's opening to the Eastern Mediterranean has been a successful diplomatic initiative for the country, and it has the potential to bring significant economic benefits through the development of natural resources and the creation of a regional energy hub. However, it is important for Greece to continue to evolve its strategy and explore new opportunities beyond the East Med pipeline.

One area where Greece could focus is on the reconceptualization of what the region could do together on energy and climate more broadly. This could involve exploring new forms of energy cooperation such as the integration of renewable energy sources, the development of interconnectors to facilitate the integration of different energy systems, and the promotion of energy efficiency measures<sup>85</sup>. Greece could also focus on promoting the use of natural

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<sup>84</sup> <https://www.naturalgasworld.com/east-med-gas-revival-gas-in-transition-103114> january 12, 2023

<sup>85</sup> <https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/1175567/beyond-the-eastmed-pipeline/>

gas as a transition fuel to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and support the decarbonization of the energy sector. Additionally, the country could work towards creating a regional energy market that would allow for the efficient trade of energy resources and the sharing of infrastructure.

It should be emphasized that there are other options being thought about than the East Med pipeline for getting natural gas from the Eastern Mediterranean to Europe. Liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminals and small-scale pipelines that would link various resources to existing infrastructure are further options. Cost, technical viability, and market circumstances will all play a role in the solution's selection. Overall, the Eastern Mediterranean region has a lot of potential for energy cooperation, and Greece may pursue a lot of chances to keep up its successful diplomatic endeavors in the region.

It is important to note that the EastMed pipeline project is still in the planning and in development stages, and no final decisions have been made regarding its construction or feasibility. While the project may face challenges, such as the deep water location and the long construction timeline, it is still being considered as a potential option for delivering natural gas to Europe. Additionally, there are other proposed projects, such as the electric cable linking Israel and Cyprus to the European continent, that are also being considered as alternatives for getting gas to markets. Ultimately, the final decision on which project to proceed with will depend on a variety of factors, including technical feasibility, economic viability, and political considerations.

## Epilogue

Throughout the last three centuries many States try to expand their territory and to implement their policy in order gain a better position in the International arena. The ability to ensure any State its survival is considered by many to be the ultimate test of a state's success. This involves protecting its citizens, territory, and national interests, and ensuring its continuity as a sovereign entity in the international arena. In order to achieve this, a state must have a strong sense of national identity and a clear understanding of its place in the world. It must also have the means to defend itself against external threats, as well as the ability to maintain stability and security within its own borders. The pursuit of survival is a key driver of state behavior and is often the guiding principle behind a state's foreign policy decisions. None of them have reached such a great success in international politics like the United States does. But how the United States lead the worldwide developments?

The United States foreign policy is guided by a set of ideological principles and values that shape its approach to international affairs. These principles and values serve as the foundation for decision making and inform the actions taken by the US government in its interactions with other countries. This can include diplomatic, economic, and military actions, all of which are influenced by the country's overall foreign policy goals and objectives. Understanding the ideological pillars of US foreign policy is crucial for comprehending the country's behavior in the international arena. Comparing and contrasting the US approach to foreign policy with that of other major international actors can provide valuable insight into the similarities and differences in their norms and values, and help to shed light on the motivations behind their actions. This can be useful for analyzing international relations and predicting future developments in the global arena.

Most US Presidents and their administrations tend to draw from the various schools of thought in American foreign policy when formulating their approaches to representing US interests abroad. While these efforts may not always be successful, the US has had a significant impact on shaping the political, economic, and social landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean region. US foreign policy has had a substantial impact on the region, as seen by the political and economic ties it has developed with other nations, as well as its engagement in regional conflicts and peacekeeping initiatives.

The growth and expansion of the United States after its independence can be attributed to several key factors, including individualism, mobility, and exceptionalism. These factors have significantly contributed to the development of the nation into a prominent player in the current international order and a leader in the Western world. Individualism refers to the emphasis on individual rights and freedoms and the importance placed on individual achievement. Mobility refers to the ability of individuals to move freely within the country and to pursue opportunities for personal and economic growth. Exceptionalism refers to the belief that the US is unique and stands apart from other nations,

and that it has a special role to play in shaping the world. These elements have combined to create a dynamic and innovative society that has been a driving force behind the country's economic and political success<sup>86</sup>.

To conclude I wanted to enumerate the lessons learned that I obtained by deploying my Thesis Analysis.

1. The importance of balancing interests: The US has had to navigate a complex and often conflicting array of interests in the region, including its relationships with various countries, its involvement in peacekeeping efforts, and its efforts to counter terrorism and promote stability. Balancing these interests has been a key challenge and has required a nuanced and strategic approach to foreign policy.
2. The value of diplomacy: Diplomatic engagement has been a critical tool for the US in the Mediterranean region. The US has used diplomacy to build relationships with key countries, resolve conflicts, and promote its interests in the region. This has demonstrated the value of effective diplomacy as a means of achieving foreign policy goals.
3. The role of military power: The US has also shown how crucial a role military might can play in fostering regional security and stability. The US military has participated in a number of operations in the Mediterranean, including efforts to maintain peace and fight terrorism. While the use of military force can be effective in achieving certain foreign policy objectives, it must be used judiciously and with caution, given the potential risks and costs involved.
4. The importance of regional cooperation: The US has also learned the value of regional cooperation in achieving its goals in the Mediterranean region. Working with regional actors and building partnerships has been crucial in promoting stability and security, and in advancing US interests in the region.
5. International laws serve as the legal framework for countries to conduct their affairs in the international arena. However, they are not always sufficient on their own to ensure the effective implementation of a country's foreign policy strategy. In addition to a strong understanding of international laws and norms, a country also needs to have a well-developed diplomatic and military capacity to be able to effectively implement its foreign policy.
6. The support for the transatlantic community and NATO has been a consistent aspect of the United States' foreign policy towards Europe. This support has been demonstrated through various means, including diplomatic engagement, economic cooperation, and military support.

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<sup>86</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas (2020) US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun. Springer.

7. Russia, has its own plans to export natural gas to Europe, including through pipelines such as the Nord Stream and Turk Stream. The proposed East Med pipeline would directly compete with these pipelines and would represent a challenge to Russia's dominance in the European gas market.
8. Turkish strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean differs from that of the United States and other nearby nations. From the one side Turkey wink at Russia, while on the other uses its valuable position in NATO to intimidate its 'enemies' deploying a revisionist attitude. In my point of view Turkey under this exerted policy goes to extremes and as a result she is going to win its assertions or lose everything. But Turkey is not the only strong power in the area.
9. For Greece, the East Med pipeline represents an opportunity to play a central role in Europe's energy security, as well as to improve its own energy supplies and infrastructure. The pipeline would also boost Greece's economic growth by creating jobs and attracting investment, and would help to strengthen Greece's relationship with the countries involved in the project, such as Israel and Cyprus.
10. The Middle East and the Mediterranean region are interconnected and interdependent, with political, economic, and cultural ties that span centuries. The region has been shaped by a complex and dynamic history, including periods of prosperity and cooperation, as well as conflict and instability.
11. U.S. and European policy must take into account the region's broader geopolitical framework, including how events in the Middle East and North Africa as a whole affect the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the influence of major powers like Russia and China.
12. The United States has a range of interests in the Mediterranean region, including promoting stability, protecting its citizens and allies, and advancing its economic and security interests. The U.S. also seeks to promote democracy and human rights, and to counter transnational threats such as terrorism, proliferation, and organized crime.

I strongly believe that in the near future the developments in the Eastern Mediterranean, are going to put in test the limits of United States foreign policy effectiveness. The Mediterranean region is facing a range of threats to stability, including political and economic instability, conflict, terrorism, and migration. These threats pose significant risks to the security and well-being of the countries in the region, as well as to the broader international community. At the time being, the United States made a great diplomatic maneuver by withdrawing their support on the East Med pipeline project in order to calm down the tensions and to organize another strategy which may this time includes Turkey. The United States will never relent in its efforts to ensure peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean's clear waters. The East Med

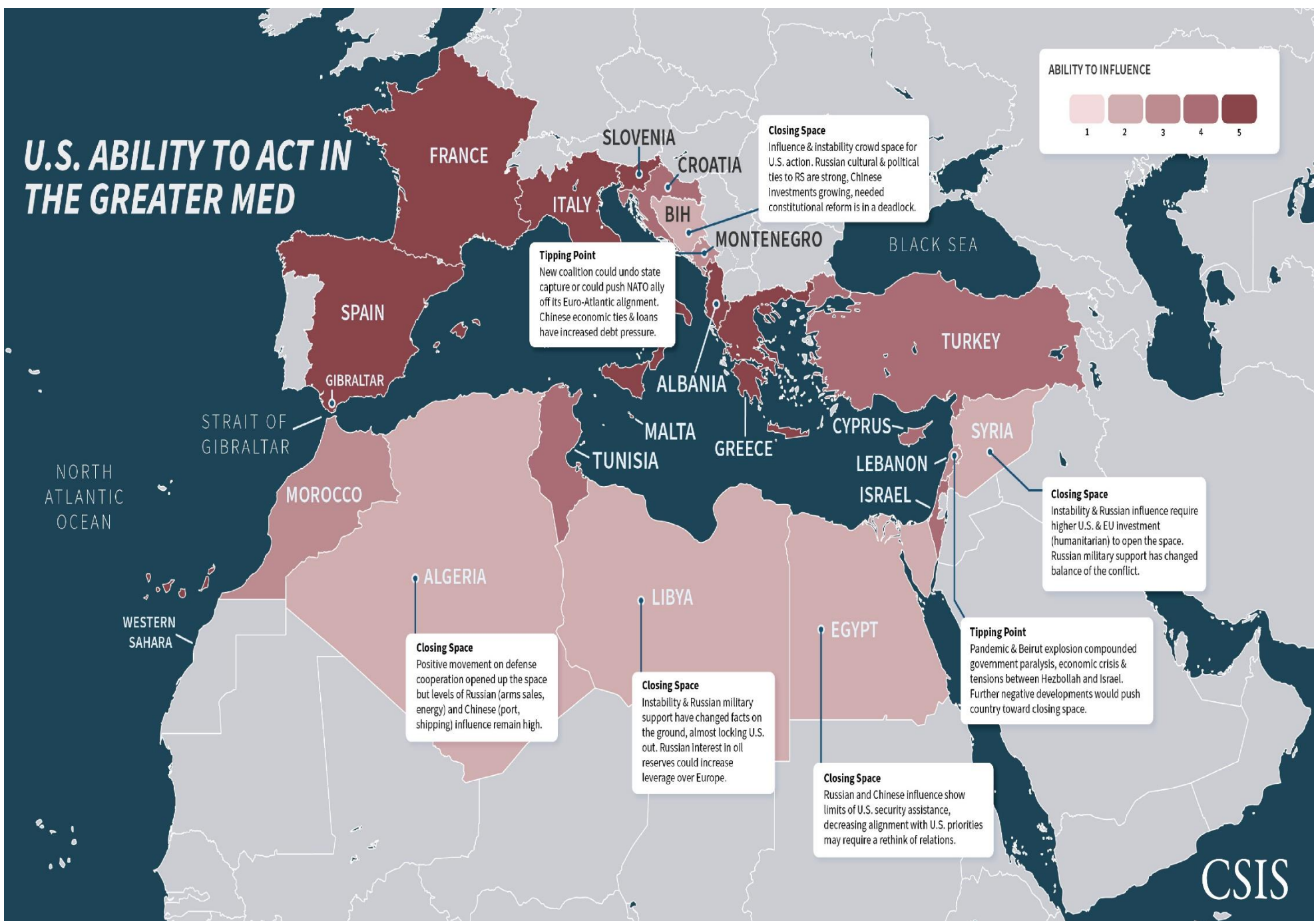
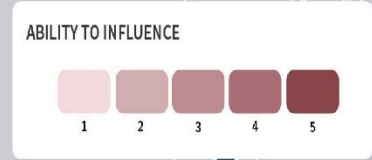
pipeline project cannot be easily rejected for three main reasons. The first is the Europe energy independence which urge after the recent boom of Russian – Ukrainian war. The second is the giant gas reserves that global petroleum enterprises seem to have found and the third is that according to environmental and energy Europe policy, the Natural Gas fuel can be used until 2050<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip\\_21\\_6682](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_21_6682)



# U.S. ABILITY TO ACT IN THE GREATER MED



**Closing Space**  
 Influence & instability crowd space for U.S. action. Russian cultural & political ties to RS are strong, Chinese Investments growing, needed constitutional reform is in a deadlock.

**Tipping Point**  
 New coalition could undo state capture or could push NATO ally off its Euro-Atlantic alignment. Chinese economic ties & loans have increased debt pressure.

**Closing Space**  
 Instability & Russian influence require higher U.S. & EU investment (humanitarian) to open the space. Russian military support has changed balance of the conflict.

**Tipping Point**  
 Pandemic & Beirut explosion compounded government paralysis, economic crisis & tensions between Hezbollah and Israel. Further negative developments would push country toward closing space.

**Closing Space**  
 Positive movement on defense cooperation opened up the space but levels of Russian (arms sales, energy) and Chinese (port, shipping) influence remain high.

**Closing Space**  
 Instability & Russian military support have changed facts on the ground, almost locking U.S. out. Russian Interest in oil reserves could increase leverage over Europe.

**Closing Space**  
 Russian and Chinese influence show limits of U.S. security assistance, decreasing alignment with U.S. priorities may require a rethink of relations.

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