

**T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**CIVIL AVIATION AS AN ELEMENT OF SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN
POLICY: TURKISH AIRLINES CASE STUDY**

THESIS

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**Department of Political Science and International Relations
Political Science and International Relations Program**

Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN

ISTANBUL, JUNE 2015

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T.C.
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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Sibel BİLKAY
Signature

FOREWORD

As stated in my resumé, I am one of the first graduates of Çapa Anatolian Teacher Training High School. My mum has tried so hard for her eldest daughter to be a teacher. But I declined my mum's request on 24 November 1997 (Teachers' Day in Turkey) by starting to work at Turkish Airlines Inc. After 14 years of long, tiring, exhausting, yet so pleasant career in the aviation industry; had to leave in 2011 because of staffing. I started working as a 'Civil Aviation Expert' at Istanbul Aydın University where I received my post graduate degree on 01.09.2014. My title can be "expert, lecturer..." or it may have another definition, but I am a teacher in the eyes of my mother. I would like to pass my sincere appreciations to Assist. Prof. Dr. Güven ÖZDEMİR, Vice Director of Anadolu-Bil Vocational High School; to Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN who is also my post graduate degree executive, my thesis consultant and who provided me support with her deepened knowledge and experience, visited me in first days of my teaching career and honored me in front of my class, and also showed new horizons for me with her own deepened knowledge and experience.

I would also like to thank to Mr. Erdal KILIÇ for his significant contributions in arranging the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to include information of consulates and the history, to my dear colleague Mr. Bekir BIYIKLI for assigning an official after my call of help as I could not gather the opening dates of some THY stations and returning my call at the soonest time.

I also want to Thank my dear friend, spiritual sister dear Nuray Uludağ for all her support and the positive impact in the process.

I pass my deepest love to my parents who gave enormous support for me to become whom I am now, my sister Emel and brother Mehmet BABÜR, my niece Merve Irmak BABÜR and my nephew Kerem Mehmet BABÜR whom are my precious and make me happy just with the way they are.

June, 2015

Sibel Bilkay

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKEL	: Progressive Party of Working People
ANC	: Air Navigation Commission
ATM	: Air Traffic Management
ATW	: Air Transport World
BOAC	: British Overseas Airways Corporation
CENTO	: Central Treaty Organization
CIP	: Commercially Important Person
DHMI	: State Airports Enterprise
EASA	: European Aviation Safety Agency
ECAC	: European Civil Aviation Conference
ECO	: Economic Cooperation Organization
EOKA	: Greek Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston
EU	: European Union
EUROCONTROL	: The European Organization For The Safety of Air Navigation
FAA	: US Federal Aviation Authority
G20	: Group of Twenty
HDII	: Airlines Government Business Administration
IATA	: International Air Transport Association
ICAN	: International Commission on Air Navigation
ICAO	: International Civil Aviation Organization
INC	: Incorporation
IOSA	: IATA Operational Safety Audit
ISO	: International Organization for Standardization
JAA	: Joint Aviation Authorities
KKTC	: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
MKEK	: Mechanical and Chemical Industry Corporation
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
RPK	: Revenue Passenger-Kilometers
SDR	: Special Drawing Rights
TBMM	: Grand National Assembly of Turkey
TCI	: Turkish Cabin Interior
TOMTAS	: Turkish Airplane and Engine Corporation
THK	: Turkish Aeronautical Association
THY	: Turkish Airlines
THY INC	: Turkish Airlines Incorporation
TL	: Turkish Lira
TTC	: Turkish Aeroplane Society
UK	: United Kingdom
UN	: United Nations

USA : Unites States of America
USD : United States Dollars
WWI : World War I

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SİVİL HAVACILIĞIN, YUMUŞAK GÜÇ OLARAK TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASINDAKİ YERİ – THY ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZET

Günümüz dünyasında meydana gelen politik, sosyo-ekonomik, kültürel, ticari ve teknolojik gelişmeler, küreselleşmenin önündeki tüm engelleri kaldırmış ve dünyayı birbirine ihtiyaç duyan, birbiri ile iletişim halinde toplumlar haline getirmiştir. Ticaretin ve teknolojinin gelişiyor olması, insanların dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde yer alma isteklerini tetiklemiş ve bu sebeple havayolu ulaşımı en güvenilir, mesafeleri hızlı bir şekilde en aza indiren seçenek olarak tercih nedeni olmuştur.

Küreselleşen dünyada kalite, güvenlik, hijyen, seyrüsefer sistemleri, personellerin eğitimi gibi havacılık faaliyetinin sürdürülebilmesini mümkün kılan konularda standartlar oluşturulabilmesi ve havayolu faaliyetlerinin en azami güvenli ve kaliteli hizmet verir durumda ifasının sağlanabilmesi amacıyla sivil havacılıkla ilgili çeşitli birimler kurulmasına ihtiyaç duyulmuştur.

Bu çalışmada, sivil havacılığın genel yapısı, Türkiye’deki havacılık tarihi, Türk dış politikası ve politika bileşenleri incelenerek; Devlet Umum Müdürlüğü ismi ile 1933 yılında kurulmuş olan Türk Hava Yolları Anonim Ortaklığı’nın yeni destinasyonlar açmasında Türk dış politikası ile paralellik gösterip göstermediği, diğer bir deyişle, şirket içi kararların alınmasında siyasilere etkisinin olup olmadığı irdelenmiş ve Türkiye’nin “Yumuşak Güç” misyonluğunu üstlenip üstlenmediği değerlendirilmiştir.

Sonuç bölümünde, özel şirket statüsündeki Türk Hava Yolları (THY) gibi diğer hava yolu şirketlerinin de benzer misyonları üstlenebileceği, ayrıca günden güne büyüyen havacılık sektörünün bazı alanlarda teşvik edilmesi hususunda çeşitli önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *THY, Yumuşak Güç, Dış Politika, Sivil Havacılık*

CIVIL AVIATION AS AN ELEMENT OF SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY – TURKISH AIRLINES CASE STUDY

ABSTRACT

The political, socio-economic, cultural, commercial and technological improvements in today's world removed all the obstacles that slow down globalization and turned the world into societies which need each other and are in communication with. Improving trade and technology, triggered people demand to move and travel to different parts of the world and thus air transportation became the most reliable, minimizing the distance quickly option.

In a globalizing world, establishing several bodies about civil aviation became necessary in order to form the standards in quality, safety, hygiene, navigation systems, the training of aviation personnel and the purpose of implementing aviation activities in the maximum safety and quality.

In this study, the overall structure of the civil aviation, the history of aviation in Turkey, Turkish foreign policy and policy components are examined, focusing onto Turkish Airlines Incorporate Company, established in 1933, with the name of Governmental General Management. In this regard, whether new opened THY destinations is parallel with Turkish foreign policy followed is determined, with an insight to effectiveness of politicians at intra-firm decisions. And also discussed, THY the undertook "Soft Power" mission of Turkey or not.

In the conclusion, the idea of private entities other than Turkish Airlines (THY) undertaking similar missions is suggested. Meanwhile, need of encouraging aviation sector that grows rapidly is mentioned.

Keywords: *THY, Soft Power, Foreign Policy, Civil Aviation*

1. INTRODUCTION

Commercial aviation became a key sector that serves rapidly within the global system which turned into a single market with improving trade and globalization. Demand for rapid and added value aviation caused improvement in air transportation. In addition, speed and safety helps it become a preference not only in terms of touristic but also commercial perspective.

Global aviation industry has a significant commercial volume and is expected to increasingly continue to develop. Aviation sector is a key factor in the development of the countries not only in Turkey but all around the world. Globally developing aviation sector was once established and developed in terms of state monopoly, but then it has reached an international, even global dimension with contribution of the private sector. In this process, as the countries had sovereignty over the aviation at first, countries started flights for those they had bilateral relations. Later on, with the international agreements, aviation sector removed the boundaries at the sky and undertook the “soft power” mission both in Turkey and the rest of the world.

In this study, using of State Airways Enterprise (Turkish Bird) which is established in May 20th, 1930 under the Ministry of Defense and transformed to Turkish Airlines Incorporated Company (T.H.Y. Inc.) that gained the quality of becoming one of the best airlines in the world, as a "soft power" in Turkish foreign policy will be analyzed with historical perspective. The study aims to identify whether a relation lies between new destinations opened abroad by Turkish Airlines (THY) as a soft power tool in Turkish foreign policy, and incidents, agreements and timing of new consulate openings. The hypothesis is that, there is a meaningful relation between the new destinations opened by THY and foreign policy.

After introduction being the first chapter, second chapter contains conceptual framework comprised of definition of terms about civil aviation and the politics used within the thesis. In the third chapter, international civil aviation agreements, rules

and international civil aviation organizations are mentioned. In the fourth chapter, historical development of aviation in Turkey in general, establishment of THY, enlargement and improvement; simultaneously the relation between improvements in Turkish foreign policy and the new destinations opened by THY are analyzed. In conclusion, findings of the study are evaluated and suggestions are presented about the topic.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AT THE CIVIL AVIATION AND POLITICS

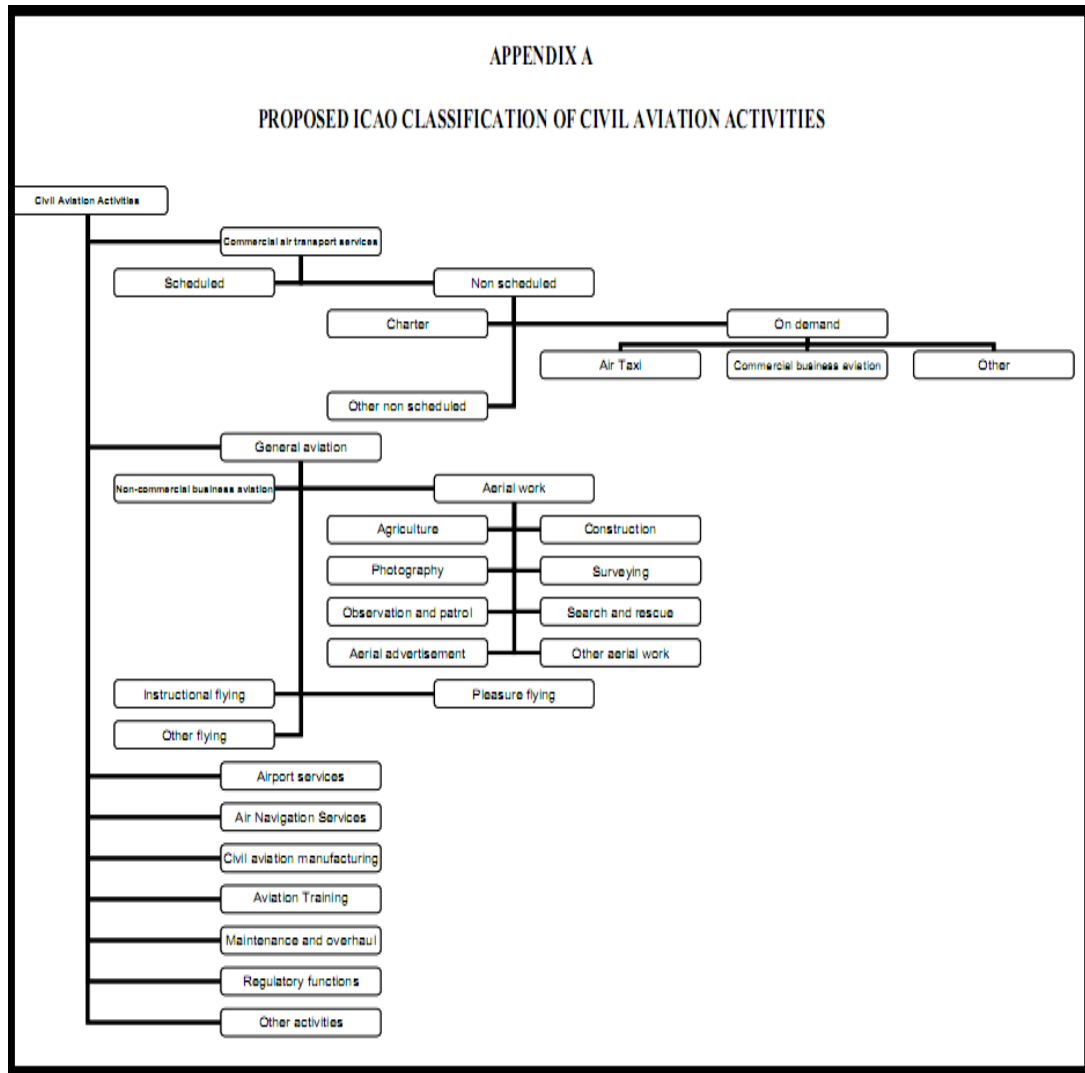
2.1 Civil Aviation

Aviation, although not having a general definition, means the design and/or maintenance of produced air vehicles. The term aviation, in the general sense, is mistaken for civil aviation. But civil aviation, basically, is a sub-branch of general aviation (ICAO Working Paper 2009, p. 4).

As you can see in Table 2.1, general aviation is divided into two sub-branches as civil aviation and military aviation. Civil aviation is divided in five categories within itself as aviation services, manufacturers, air transportation, aerodromes and other services. Air transportation focused in the study is divided in three categories such as general aviation, commercial aeronautics and aerial work (ICAO Working Paper 2009, p. 4):

- i. Commercial Aviation:** The transportation of passengers, cargo or mails for a certain fee.
- ii. Aerial Work:** Works such as air transportations for special objectives, photography, movie shooting, agriculture, observation etc. are evaluated within this scope.
- iii. General Aviation:** General aviation consists of all kinds of activities which are not within the scope of commercial aviation and aerial work.

Table 2.1: International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) classification of civil aviation



Reference: ICAO Working Paper, (2009). *Tenth Session of the Statistic Division*. International Civil Aviation Organization, Montreal, Canada, 23-27 November, p. 4.

2.2 Commercial Air Transport Services

Airline transportation, which gained a rapid growth trend after World War II and still continues to grow today, has become an essential part of modern life with the economic and social advantages. For this reason, it has become an attractive sector in which countries and also private industries across the globe invest consistently. Airline transportation can be described as scheduled or unscheduled transportation of passengers, cargo and mails through air vehicles within a commercial purpose (Sarılgan 2011, p. 6). The airline transportation industry connects cities, countries

and continents to each other with large flight network. In this regard, it can be argued that forthcoming years will be aviation and space age by looking at its growth trend in years. In calculation of sectoral data of air transportation issued by the International Civil Aviation Organization on June 2014, the numbers of national and international passengers were used and the growth in passenger traffic in the last 10 years, which can also be seen in details in Figure 2.1, as follows (ICAO 2014):

“World passenger traffic expressed in terms of Revenue Passenger-Kilometers (RPK) on total scheduled services increased by +5.2% in 2013 compared to 2012, according to ICAO preliminary figures. This represents the fourth consecutive positive growth for the air transport industry since 2009 and corresponds to a slightly higher increase than in 2012. The growth in the second half of the year has been higher than in the first half, similar to world economic growth, which showed an increasing trend over the successive quarterly growth rates of 2013.”

By the end of each year, ICAO publishes the previous year's data. Therefore, 2013 data is presented in this study. Account transactions in airline companies happen the following year.



Figure 2.1: Revenue passenger-kilometers (RPK)

Reference: ICAO, (2014). *Economic Development 2013: Air Transport Yearly Monitor*, July, <http://www.icao.int/Sustainability/Documents/Yearly-Monitor.pdf>

2.3 Foreign Policy

In order to properly define foreign policy, it is necessary to define the concepts of “International Relations”, “International Politics” and “Diplomacy” first:

- International relations, in addition to being a sub-branch of political sciences, is known as a field that studies the relationships, ties and connections between nations. In this regard, the study of international relations, which has the characteristics of an interdisciplinary field, can be described as the mutual interactions of nations and international organizations (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 1971, pp. 25-26). International relations, which is a highly diverse branch, take additions from many different sciences such as economy, philosophy, law, psychology, anthropology and geography.
- International politics can be described as the policies a country pursues towards another country, countries or an international field. In this regard, if there is a need to analyze the main differences between international relations and international politics; international politics is the policies a country pursues towards what lies beyond its national borders and international relations is the evaluation of these policies on a larger, more systematically and scientific scale (Sondermann 1967, p. 2).
- The concept of diplomacy is described as conducting negotiations between countries through representatives. In a way, every other branch of international relations is used as a result of diplomatic failures (Sondermann 1967, p. 2).

With regards to this general framework, foreign policy is, a country conducting the international policy towards another country or countries via diplomacy. Prior to World War II, foreign policies were run through secret policies, but, after the war, it was observed that the legists in international law field in the United States of America (USA), started to familiarize themselves in foreign policies legal approach and scientific institutes in this field were founded in the USA. In this regard, foreign policy became a field that is researched by political scientists in the process and meanwhile other countries removed the restriction on foreign policies. World War II, which was more devastating than the first one, helped the increment of studies on the topic in some way (Kürkçüoğlu 1980, s. 310).

2.3.1 Foreign policy components

The pursuit of a diplomatic tone and policy suited to the conditions and circumstances of the era in Turkish foreign policies ever since the establishment of

the Turkish Republic is considered a necessity of foreign policy. In this regard, the statements in foreign policy form a foundation for concepts in diplomacy and these concepts for components in diplomacy.

It is argued that the conceptual framework in Turkish diplomacy and Turkish foreign policy expanded drastically after 2004 (Davutoğlu 2010). Ahmet Davutoglu, Former Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, emphasized that history did not come to end with the end of the Cold War, at his speech at Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government - Institute of Politics; on the contrary, the real history began now, and further stated that several conflicts that were implicit during the Cold War period started to rise back to surface and a new global political order was necessary for the resolution of these problems (Davutoğlu 2010). In this regard, Ahmet Davutoglu said the development of a new foreign policy vision was underway in Turkey since 2004, and also mentioned the 6 new principals in Turkish foreign policy as follows (Davutoğlu 2010):

- i. The formation of a new balance between security and freedom,
- ii. The development of relations with neighboring countries through a zero problems strategy,
- iii. A proactive and preventive diplomacy,
- iv. The development of coherent relations with global forces,
- v. The further representation of Turkey in international agencies,
- vi. The creation of Turkish Republic image based on self-confidence and soft power.

Ahmet Davutoglu stated that, Turkey was now pursuing an active and crisis preventing diplomacy within the frame of these principals and on the subject of the relations between Syria – Israel, Turkey was working on negotiator and facilitative activities in the Balkans while applying soft power on the resolution of crises (Davutoğlu 2010). After 2004, the political framework of Turkish foreign policies witnessed a major revision. Turkey started to use political and perspective concepts that were not used much in active politics, but used by many highly developed countries for their foreign policy. In this context, the concepts below shape the new

Turkish foreign policies (Yeşiltaş ve Balcı 2011, p. 17; BİŞAD 2011, p. 13; Davutoğlu 2010):

- **Center Country:** The term center country was first used in Turkey by Ahmet Davutoglu, and described Turkey's ability of movement within the system. This term states that Turkey is not a bridge between East and West, on the contrary, a constituent, constructive and order setting country situation in the formation of a new order on a global and regional level.
- **The Politics of a Wait-and-See Approach:** Together with the political strategy of waiting for things to settle down, to create its own solution instead of an immediate reaction to national and international events; it is to take a position, make decisions and implement these decisions in regard to this strategy.
- **Vision Orientedness:** Vision orientedness, which is a principal Turkey built its new foreign policy strategy upon, is a concept incorporated into the Turkish political literature in 2009, by Ahmet Davutoglu. In line with this principle, in case of a situation that did not concern Turkey, a foreign policy concerning the matter would not be pursued back in the day; with this new point of view, it was stated that even though there were not any crises, Turkey should be present due to its international location and historical background (Davutoğlu 2010).
- **Security – Freedom Balance:** The balance between security and freedom is not easy to build in a political way, because, security is a fact achieved at cost of freedom, and freedom is a fact achieved at cost of security (Erdoğan 2012). For this reason, nations have difficulty building this balance in their foreign policies. Ahmet Davutoglu, together with stating the only way different identities to be able to live together in Turkey lied in forming this balance both in national and international politics; also stated that chaos would occur in case security is forsaken for freedom and authoritarian regimes would occur in case the freedom is forsaken for security. In this regard, Turkey is capable of both resolving its own issues and offering the world a new model when it builds the balance between security and freedom.

- **Proactive Diplomacy:** Proactive diplomacy is the type of diplomacy that thrusts the countries to forefront with intent of creating new circumstances or changing the course of current conditions. Turkey embraced the method of proactive diplomacy instead of a wait-and-see approach since 2002 and started to have an active role in progression of regional events.
- **Rhythmic Diplomacy:** Rhythmic Diplomacy, as stated by Ahmet Davutoglu, is the simultaneous obtainment of mobility and harmony in diplomacy. In this regard, it is possible for chaos to occur in case of mobility without harmony. In addition, no results would be obtained in case of harmony without mobility (Sabah 2009). In this regard, rhythmic diplomacy is the type of diplomacy that foresees moving according to the course of events and adapting itself to the events in international situations.
- **Multidimensional Foreign Policy:** It is a foreign policy principle that was developed in line with the new foreign policy vision after 2002, due to the necessities of Turkey's central country location. According to this, a general and multi-land foreign policy strategy should be pursued without taking any kinds of events, topics or relations with another nation into account. The most important characteristic of this strategy resembles being in a psychological structure and it renders essential to form a simultaneous relationship with differentiating actors in different lanes. For this reason, Turkey now pursues a multi-dimensional and multi-land foreign policy strategy with both regional and global actors. Davutoglu offers to realize his foreign policy vision as a proactive foreign policy line supported by rhythmic diplomacy (Davutoğlu 2009, p. 264). Turkey's neighboring areas have seen more Turkish foreign policy elites and politicians in the past several years than they have in previous decades in their capitals. This proactive diplomacy targeted to achieve "zero problems" with Turkey's neighbors and stepped to the next stage, which was named as "maximum cooperation" by Davutoglu in his first press conference as Foreign Minister (Aras 2009, p. 9).
- **Active Involvement in Global Level:** It is a concept that foresees participating in international institutions, organizations, agreements and having an active role in their activities. A membership for the United Nations Security Council and The Group of Twenty (G20), an observatory position in

the African Union and in the Arab League and the signing of the Kyoto Protocol can be given as examples of this approach.

- **Order-Building Actor:** It is the political view which suggested that Turkey should act as a strong actor in giving a shape to a new world order that was aimed to be built. According to this, in the creation of regional and global orders, Turkey should be defined as a country that did not adjust itself to this order, but, a country which personally pioneered the notion of the creation of the order. There are two principal axes in this regard. The first one is, to try to prevent potential crisis in the axes of peace diplomacy and a new diplomatic tone; and to ensure the pursuit of a constructive diplomacy for peace. The second is, to open application areas for global integration through pioneering the idea of a new order by participating in regional and global organizations.
- **Shuttle Diplomacy:** In international politics, it is the name given to rapid diplomatic interviews made by both parties and individuals related to the subject by implication in case of crisis. Quickest possible solution of the present crisis is aimed with these interviews.
- **Coherent Relations with Global Powers:** It is based on the formation of a coherent and balanced relationship with each and every actor in the international power system, without seeing them as an alternative to another. In other words, it is the situation of not seeing the strategical collaboration agreements as an alternative to another. Although Turkey is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), its efforts of remaining as a dialogue partner with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which was founded as an alternative and an opposition to NATO, can state as an example to this situation.
- **Maximum Cooperation:** It means to develop cooperation with all the countries, including the neighboring countries, at a maximum level. The removal of visas after the negotiations with many countries, the formation of good relations with other countries after the Turkish Airline's decision of launching expeditions to many places in the world, notably in Africa, as a soft power delegate can occur as examples to maximum cooperation.

- **The Alliance of Civilizations:** The Alliance of Civilizations initiative, which was launched by Spain with the co-sponsorship of Turkey in 2005, gathered the support of the United Nations (UN) and in this direction, the High Level Intelligent Group was formed in September 2005, which consisted of scientists and politicians from different countries (UN 2005). The Alliance of Civilizations initiative (Cerrahoğlu 2015), which sprung to life in July 14th, 2005, and held its last meeting between the dates of 13 – 15 November 2006, in Istanbul, and announced the final draft to the public, lost its importance with Spain's withdrawal from the project (Cerrahoğlu 2015).
- **Energy Hub/Corridor:** Turkey plays the role of a terminal and a corridor in the distribution of the oil in the Middle East and Eurasia, due to its geopolitical location. In this regard, the energy terminal always had the importance of a diplomatic view based on the distribution of the oil, which is collected in Turkey and distributed to the world through energy lines. It is foreseen that, with the completion of the ongoing projects, Turkey should become a country which is responsible for 6-7% of the worldwide oil distribution and Ceyhan should be an energy center of significant importance (T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı).
- **Civilization Geopolitics:** Civilization geopolitics is a term used in Turkey's foreign policies for many years. It is also stated that, the perceptions of organic geopolitics, culture and civilization were the foundations of civilization geopolitics. In this regard, a Turkish-Islamic-Ottoman discourse was made by Ahmet Davutoglu, instead of a western-based one. Therefore, a geopolitical discourse, dominated by the emphasis on civilization and a political point of view developed (Yeşiltaş ve Balcı 2011, pp. 27-28).
- **Neo-Ottomanism:** Neo-Ottomanism is Turkey's re-penetration to the old Ottoman geographical area. It also means that, Turkey's foreign policy gets shaped in the axes of the Middle East and Islam (Yeşiltaş ve Balcı 2011, p. 28). The Neo-Ottoman movement, which came into the picture in the period of Turgut Ozal and still continued on a different axe until today is perceived in foreign policy as Turkey's desire that reformed the Ottoman hegemony in the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus (Yeşiltaş ve Balcı 2011, p. 29).

- **Shift of Axis:** It means the cancellation of ongoing alliances and basic orientations by a country for the sake of forming new alliances and new orientations. Although Turkey pursued a western oriented foreign policy ever since the establishment of the Turkish Republic, it recently started to shift its policies from the west to the east, from secularism to pan-Islamism, from the axes of the UN to the axes of the Middle East (Yeşiltaş ve Balcı 2011, p. 30).
- **Middle Easternization:** Regarded as a continuation of the shift of axis, this process meant that Turkey gave importance to its relations with Middle Eastern countries.
- **The Greater Middle East Project:** The Greater Middle East Project, that aims to bring democracy to Muslim countries and globalize these countries' markets, is established on a geography that starts from the Atlantic coasts of Morocco in the west, to the Karakoram Highway in the North of Pakistan in the east; from the coasts of the Black Sea in Turkey in the north and reaches Aden and Yemen in the south (Cumhuriyet 2014). In other words, it is the USA's plan to open up the markets of Middle Eastern countries to the world and form the American hegemony in the Middle East, in light of its plans to fight against terrorism and bring democracy. It is stated that, bonds between Turkey and the USA grew stronger with Turkey's involvement in the Greater Middle East Project, following Italy and Yemen's steps (Cumhuriyet 2014). However, the Greater Middle East Project became one of the main targets of political oppositions in the 2000s in criticizing the Turkish foreign policies (Cumhuriyet 2014).
- **Soft Power:** According to American scientist Joseph Nye, there are three ways to obtain something. The first way is, forcibly obtaining. Brute force and tyranny is used for this. The second is to buy off the opposition. The third way is to persuade the opposition (Kalin 2010). The attempt of persuading someone is regarded as soft power in foreign policy. It is essential to pursue fair, logical and credible policies in the process of persuading the opposition. In the soft power strategy where military power did not indicate an option, all the components of foreign policy should be used in the persuasion of the other country or countries. The strategy of soft power, which uses historical, cultural, traditional, material and psychological elements; appears

predominantly as a very important element in the embodiment of Turkey's foreign policies towards Middle Eastern and neighboring countries.

3. INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION RULES AND AGREEMENTS

3.1 Multilateral Civil Aviation Agreements

The rapid development in aerial technologies and in the air transportation of passengers and cargo brought along international problems that countries could not resolve on their own. In order to provide safe and secure air transportation; the establishment of airports, navigation systems, aerial mapping and report systems were mandatory. Aside from that, the complications about the usage of air space have come to a resolution with contracts. The processing of these activities without complications was deemed possible with the formation of certain standards concerning these activities.

All the rules and standards that would be set about the necessities for safe and secure air transportation, such as the air space, the air traffic control activities, personnel licensing, the establishment of airports, the design of the airplanes, and all the other important elements can be achieved not only with a national initiative, but also international. All the nations understood the vitality of coming together and acting together in line with the requirements. For this reason, at first, reciprocal agreements were made, but later, multi-lateral international agreements were made. At this point of the study, international and multi-lateral agreements and conventions will be discussed.

3.1.1 Paris Convention

The Paris Convention, signed on September 13th, 1919, by 27 countries and came into operation on July 11th, 1922, is special for being the oldest international agreement in the history of air transportation. One of the decisions that was made as part of the peace conference that took place in Paris was, the establishment of the International Commission on Air Navigation (ICAN). It acquired the name International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) afterwards. The organization that

used to work under ICAN had developed the following 8 Annexes in the years between 1922 and 1946 (Başol):

- Annex A – Classification of Airplane and Definitions; the Markings of Airplane, Registration of Airplane; Call Signs
- Annex B – Certificates of Airworthiness / Log Books
- Annex C – Rules as to Lights and Signals; Rules For Air Traffic
- Annex D – Operating Crew
- Annex E – Aeronautical Maps and Ground Signs
- Annex F – Collection and Dissemination of Meteorological Information
- Annex G – Customs

The main rules of international aeronautics set in the Paris Convention are as follows (Başol):

- i. Every country has the right of independence on its respective air space.
- ii. At times of peace, each and every country that signed the treaty must grant another country, which also signed the treaty, the right to fly above their lands and should not harm the airplanes under no circumstances. It is fundamental to treat every country equally, based on the rights granted.
- iii. Each and every country that signed the treaty has the right to ban the flights of other countries above certain parts of their lands because of either military or public safety reasons.

Apart from that, the airplanes must have been registered and the pilots and other personnel must have been licensed in order for the airplanes to have obtained a permit to fly. Military airplanes were forbidden to carry weapons, explosives and photography gadgets (Başol).

3.1.2 Madrid Convention

Spain, Portugal and 19 other Latin American countries which declined to sign the Paris Convention signed the Madrid Convention and repeated the decisions taken there. However, the Madrid Convention failed to hold an international qualification. Furthermore, it was declared void at the Chicago Convention (Başol). Although the

Madrid Convention resembles the Paris Treaty in general, the main reasons that prevent the Madrid Convention to be successful can be listed as (Başol):

- i. Airplanes of the period were not sufficiently developed to tie Iberia and Latin America together;
- ii. Spain's political environment in the period was very unsettled, deteriorating into Civil War;
- iii. A few years after the Madrid Convention, Latin American energies focused on North America away from Iberia.

3.1.3 Havana convention

The Havana Convention was signed by several American states in 1928. The hegemony of the states on air space was accepted and as a result of the Havana Convention, international aeronautical activities were arranged, based on reciprocal or multi-lateral agreements (Başol). The Havana Convention would only apply to private airplanes, not to state airplanes. For this reason, there had been complications in the application of the terms, since there were differences between the Paris Convention and the Havana Convention. Both treaties were abolished during the Chicago Convention (Başol).

3.1.4 Warsaw Convention

Signed on February 13th, The Warsaw Convention is an international convention which edits the rules for international carriage of persons, goods or luggage performed by airplane for reward. According to the convention, the air carrier would be held responsible for any kind of injury and death among passengers, any kind of damages or loss that might occur during the transportation of passenger belongings and ultimately for complications that might occur within case of a delay in flight operations. Moreover, the convention set some standards about passenger tickets, airway bill and other documents concerning air transportation (Warsaw Convention):

- Mandates carriers to issue passenger tickets;
- Requires carriers to issue baggage checks for checked luggage;
- Creates a limitation period of 2 years for a claim to be made (Article 29);
- Limits a carrier's liability to at most:

- 250,000 Francs or 16,600 Special Drawing Rights (SDR) for personal injury;
- 17 SDR per kilogram of checked luggage and cargo, or 20 United States Dollars (USD) per kilogram for non-signatories of the amended Montreal Protocols.
- 5,000 Francs or 332 SDR for the hand luggage of a traveler.”

The Warsaw Convention was special in private law for being the most extensive and accepted treaty that was signed until then. The Montreal Convention, signed in 1999, replaced the Warsaw Convention system.

3.1.5 Rome Convention

The Rome Convention, which was signed on May 29th, 1933, set the regulations for the penalties that would be applied in case a foreign airplane harmed the people, equipments and buildings on land, in other words, third parties (Rome Convention). The minimum and maximum values were determined concerning the respective damages, and those values were stated accordingly in the 8th article of the treaty (Rome Convention):

- i. The operator is liable for each occurrence up to an amount determined at the rate of 250 francs for each kilogram of the weight of the airplane. By the weight of the airplane, its weight with total maximum load as indicated in the certificate of airworthiness or any other official document is meant.
- ii. Nevertheless the limit of the operator’s liability shall not be less than 600,000 francs, or greater than 2,000,000 francs.
- iii. One-third of the amount of the maximum liability, so determined shall be appropriated to compensation for damage caused to property, and the other two-third to compensation for damage caused to persons, provided that in the latter case the compensation payable shall not exceed 200,000 francs in respect of each person injured.

3.1.6 Chicago Convention

After World War II, the aviation industry passed to a growth trend. International transportation developed drastically and rapidly, thanks to the technological developments in the airplane industry. However, this growth brought along several technical, legal and economic issues. The ICAO was founded during the convention that took place in Chicago on December 17th, 1944. Two important treaties were signed at this convention: International Air Services Transit Agreement and International Air Transport Agreement (Rome Convention).

The International Air Transport Agreement is based upon the idea of giving civil airplanes the right to fly, regularly or incidentally, in the air space of other countries, to land on their territories, to transport a passenger, cargo or mail that they would take from a place to any other country and the right to run the same operations in other countries as well. The countries who agreed upon the terms of the Chicago Convention, benefited from the 1st and the 2nd traffic rights of the International Air Services Transit Agreement which was accepted as part of the Chicago Convention (Rome Convention).

3.2 Binary Air Transport Agreements

3.2.1 Traffic rights

With the International Air Transport Agreement, the member countries of the ICAO guaranteed to benefit from the traffic rights. Traffic rights also mean that a country should open its airspace and its territories for the well-being of the air transportation industry. The traffic rights can be summed up as (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013, p. 12; Güntürkün 2008; ICAO):

- **1. Traffic Right (The Freedom of Transit Pass):** It is the freedom given to an airplane to pass above a country without landing on its territories. It is the freedom given to a country to take flights in another country's air space.
- **2. Traffic Right (Technical Landing):** The freedom given to an airplane to land on the territory of a country for maintenance and refueling. The airplane must not have any commercial agenda.

- **3. Traffic Right:** It is the freedom given to an airplane to carry passengers, cargo or mail to another pre-agreed country.
- **4. Traffic Right:** It is the freedom given to an airplane to load passengers, cargo and/or mails from a pre-agreed country and carry to its homeland.
- **5. Traffic Right:** It is the freedom given to an airplane that departs and lands back to its homeland, to load passengers, cargo and/or mails from a second country to a third country giving the airplane traffic right, and carry passengers, cargo and/or mails taken from this country back to second country.
- **6. Traffic Right:** The freedom given to an airplane to load passengers and cargo from a pre-agreed country via departing/landing to the homeland.
- **7. Traffic Right:** The freedom given to an airplane to carry passengers, cargo or mail between two countries which made a prior agreement without any departing of / landing to the homeland.
- **8. Traffic Right (Cabotage Right):** The cabotage right is given to a foreign airplane to carry passengers, cargo and mail with commercial purposes between two local spots of another country. In other words, the airway of a country to carry another country's traffic (passengers, cargo and mails) between two spots of the same country. Cabotage, basically, is used for domestic flights where the registered carrier takes flight in a country and lands in the same country. The granting of both the 8th Traffic Right and the domestic flight right to another country's airway has been the topic of discussion.
- **9. Traffic Right (Code Sharing):** It is the situation where a flight on a same line is performed by more than one company.

Since the borders between member countries of the European Union (EU) were removed, the traffic rights based on the International Air Transport Agreement did not apply to these countries. All other non-EU member countries, but a member of the ICAO, deal with the matter of rights through reciprocal agreements within the scope of social, economical, cultural and political matters (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü). The members of the ICAO can benefit from the traffic rights by doing

reciprocal agreements between each other, without being subjected to any kind of international legislations. However, these reciprocal agreements must first be registered by the ICAO.

Reciprocal transportation agreements give two countries the freedom to take reciprocal flights. The increase in the number of flights develops bilateral, economic, social and cultural relations, thus, causing both parties to gain profit. For this reason, the update and renewal of reciprocal air transportation agreements render it possible to perform flights to more countries (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü). In this regard, the civil aviation industry, as an element of soft power, plays a very important part in the international communication and interaction of countries. The countries with whom Turkey made a reciprocal air transportation agreement are listed in Table 3.1 in Appendix A.

3.2.2 Open skies

Aviation, as of today, is in a state between the process of liberalization and today's circumstances. Liberalism, led by the USA in a global economic system, directly influenced the aviation industry. Airline industries, previously established by states, piqued the interest of private industries for various reasons such as sectoral growth and profitability and caused private industries to get involved with the airline business. Thus, it resulted in the growth of the industry. The aviation industry, was run on a tight state control and imperfect ownership at first, but, later on, it liberalized and reached a position where it started to live up to the standards of the free market economy through private enterprise, rivalry and reciprocal agreements (Doganis 2003, p. 66).

The EU aimed to create a common frontier during the creation of a mutual market and stated in the White Paper it published, that, its aim was to launch the European Common Aviation Area. With the EU – US Open Skies Agreement signed in 2007, the air traffic in domestic flight became more secure for both parties (United States Department of State of Diplomacy in Action). Today, the USA has two open skies agreements (United States Department of State of Diplomacy in Action):

- i. The 2001 Multilateral Agreement on the Liberalization of International Air, Transportation (New Zealand, Singapore, Brunei and Chile, Samoa, Tonga and Mongolia)
- ii. The 2007 Air Transport Agreement with the European Community and its 27 Member States.

With all this information, it is safe to say that the liberal economy, which foresees the removal of frontiers for the benefit of economy and trade, removes the air borders with the influence of globalization.

3.3 International Civil Aviation Organizations

3.3.1 International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

ICAO was created in 1944 by the Chicago Convention, with a coordinated validation mission, stated as technical and operational standards in civil aviation such as navigation aids and techniques, weather reporting, equipment and crew certifications (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013). ICAO was created for the following reasons (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013);

- i. To ensure the safe growth of international civil aviation,
- ii. To encourage airplane design and management to be used for civil purposes,
- iii. To support the development of airlines, airports and air monitoring facilities for civil aviation,
- iv. To provide the needs of a safe, organized, productive and economical air transportation.

The Chicago Convention and its appendixes are regarded as the constitution of civil aviation. Two countries are allowed to make reciprocal agreements with each other, but the agreement must be registered by the ICAO. All safety and security regulations in civil aviation are determined by ICAO and monitored by mechanisms created by the organization. ICAO members should strictly follow these regulations. The violation of these regulations by a country may result in the cancellation of all kinds of international flights to that country (Uluslararası Sivil Havacılık Örgütü (ICAO)).

Looking at the relationship between ICAO and Turkey, it is seen that Turkey has an observatory position in ICAO, although it is one of the founding members of the organization. Within the frame of this position, Turkey has the right to observe the council and committee meetings, but does not have the right to vote. Turkey is a part of the decision making mechanism, and also has the right to state its opinion. At Air Navigation Commission (ANC), which is a part of the ICAO, Turkey is in an observatory position and has the right to attend the meetings, but does not have the right to vote because of the political reasons (Uluslararası Sivil Havacılık Örgütü (ICAO)).

3.3.2 International Air Transport Association (IATA)

International Air Transport Association (IATA) is an organization created to provide safe, organized and economic air transportation for the benefit of world nations, to encourage the aviation industry, to find solutions for the problems in the industry, to ensure the coordination between airlines and to form a union through fees. The aims of IATA are (Uluslararası Sivil Havacılık Örgütü (ICAO));

- To engage in activities all around the world, to popularize an organized and/or economic air transportation, to improve air commerce and find solutions to the problems of the industry,
- To prepare the environment, directly or indirectly, for reciprocal agreements about international air transportation between companies,
- To collaborate with ICAO and other international organizations, to set up meetings about air transportation and to determine advise-like criteria to be compiled and publish those as a book,

All members of IATA are airline companies and in order for a company to become a member, it needs the approval of both IATA and the native country government(Uluslararası Sivil Havacılık Örgütü (ICAO)).

3.3.3 European Civil Aviation Conference (ECAC)

The European Civil Aviation Conference (ECAC)'s mission is the promotion of the continued development of a safe, efficient and sustainable European air transport system. In doing so, it seeks (ECAC);

- To harmonize civil aviation policies and practices amongst its member states,
- To promote understanding of policy matters between its member states and other regions of the world.

There are 44 European members to ECAC as shown in Table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2: Member States of ECAC

<u>Albania</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>Poland</u>
<u>Armenia</u>	<u>Greece</u>	<u>Portugal</u>
<u>Austria</u>	<u>Hungary</u>	<u>Romania</u>
<u>Azerbaijan</u>	<u>Iceland</u>	<u>San Marino</u>
<u>Belgium</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	<u>Serbia</u>
<u>Bosnia and Herzegovina</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Slovakia</u>
<u>Bulgaria</u>	<u>Latvia</u>	<u>Slovenia</u>
<u>Croatia</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>	<u>Spain</u>
<u>Cyprus</u>	<u>Luxembourg</u>	<u>Sweden</u>
<u>Czech Republic</u>	<u>Malta</u>	<u>Switzerland</u>
<u>Denmark</u>	<u>Moldova</u>	<u>The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia</u>
<u>Estonia</u>	<u>Monaco</u>	<u>Turkey</u>
<u>Finland</u>	<u>Montenegro</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>
<u>France</u>	<u>Netherlands</u>	<u>United Kingdom</u>
<u>Georgia</u>	<u>Norway</u>	

Reference: ECAC, (t.y.). *ECAC's Mission*, Alındığı tarih: 24.10.2014, adres: https://www.ecac-ceac.org/about_ecac/mission

The goal of ECAC is, to support the growth of a safe and effective European air transportation system which improves constantly. In this regard, ECAC set the standards of civil aviation policies and applications on behalf of its members. The organizations that are subject to ECAC are:

- i. The European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation (EUROCONTROL)
- ii. European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA)

3.3.3.1 The European Organization for The Safety of Air Navigation (EUROCONTROL)

In 1960, 6 countries in West Europe (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Germany, the United Kingdom (UK) and Netherlands) signed the treaty in order to create this organization. EUROCONTROL started to operate in 1963. Turkey joined the organization as the 10th member on March 1st, 1989, according to 02.12.1988 dated,

3504 numbered law. The main goal of the organization is, to develop a Pan-European Air Traffic Management System by coordinating all aviation participants. Its most important goal, on the other hand, is, to create a united air space. The main activities of ECAC are (Avrupa Seyrüsefer Emniyeti Teşkilatı (EUROCONTROL) / Uluslararası Örgüt Kimliği):

- To create and develop an Air Traffic Management network,
- To ensure the preparation and the arrangement of Europe-wide civil aviation regulations,
- To analyze the future needs of air traffic and come up with solutions to fulfill those needs,
- To ensure the development of new air navigation systems,
- To provide the necessary education of air traffic service personnel,
- To perform operations and experimentations on air navigations and to analyze the results of the operations of member countries,
- To provide an air traffic control service in Central Europe,
- To collect air navigation fees on behalf of member countries,

3.3.3.1.1 Turkey – EUROCONTROL Relations

Turkey is one of the most important members of the organization. Turkey has a very solid technical and legal infrastructure and its air space is located in the main international air transport axes. All these reasons put Turkey in a very important place and allowed to be involved in all kinds of new constructions led by the EU. Some of Turkey's roles in this organization, which Turkey undertakes actively are (Avrupa Seyrüsefer Emniyeti Teşkilatı (EUROCONTROL) / Uluslararası Örgüt Kimliği):

- Since December 2010, Turkey has taken the part of the vice presidency in the Provisional Council, which has been the main organ of the EUROCONTROL in the active decision making.

- Turkey is one of the three non-EU members of the Provisional Council Coordination Committee of EUROCONTROL, which is responsible for coordinating controversial topics before the meetings and giving advices to senior decision making organs.
- In December 31th, 2012, Turkey became one of the four countries to elect a new general manager for EUROCONTROL.
- Turkey took the part of vice president of EUROCONTROL's Safety Regulation Commission.
- Turkey has assigned representatives for the last 3 terms to represent itself in EUROCONTROL's Performance Review Commission.
- A Turkish military officer, dutied at NATO, was assigned to monitor the issues about Military Air Traffic Regulations.
- A contact office for Turkey opened in EUROCONTROL and a specialist from the State Airports Administration was appointed.
- Turkey and EUROCONTROL co-operate many projects and organize workshops and seminars.

It is clear that the relationship between Turkey and EUROCONTROL is very tight. Although Turkey did not become a member of the EU, in the matter of open skies, it acquired the rights, status and privileges of an EU member.

3.3.3.2 European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA)

The second organization that is subject to ECAS is EASA. EASA is created by the EU within the civil aviation security frame. It has replaced the Joint Aviation Authorities (JAA) as of 2010. It is a security organization responsible for the European air space, which started to operate in July 2002 (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013).

There are regulations that involve security matters and rules for airplane operators, who engage in civil aviation in EASA and responsible for operating airplanes, which have more than 20 seats and weight over 20 tons. These should strictly follow application methods, education, list of minimum equipments, flight safety, quality,

the general division responsible for operations, manager certificates, operational procedures, flight operations (weather conditions, operational flight plans), performance, cargo and balance, gadgets and equipments, communication methods, navigation, airplane maintenance, education of the air service personnel, preparation of manuals and log books, and the carriage of harmful materials (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013).

4. RELATION BETWEEN CIVIL AVIATION IN TURKEY AND FOREIGN POLICY

4.1 Progress of Aviation in Turkey

4.1.1 Pre-republic period

Imam Cevheri of Farab, who was born in the era of the Ghaznavids and interested in theology, literature, physics, medical science and mathematics, was a Turkish scholar, who performed the first trial of aviation known in the Turkish history in 1002, in Nisabur, by letting himself into space from the Minaret of Nisabur Grand Mosque, with the wooden plaques placed onto his arms. Imam Cevheri, who died in this trial because of the weight of the wings, was also the first known aviation martyr (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013).

Hezarfen Ahmed Celebi is the first scholar known in the world history, who achieved to fly. He managed to cross over the Bosphorus, flying, from The Galata Tower in Istanbul on a southwester windy day with a tool attached to his arms similar to bird wings in 1632. By flying 3358 meters, he became the first person ever, who succeeded flying with assembled wings (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013).

Lagari Hasan Celebi, is known as the inventor of the rocket, at science surroundings, and achieved to take-off with a simply designed air rocket filled with gunpowder. Lagari Hasan Celebi, who rose up in the air with the rocket and landed by the wings, flew approximately 300 meters high and remained on air for 20 seconds. However, the Sultan of the period, Murad the 4th, exiled both Lagari Hasan Celebi and Hezarfen Ahmed Celebi to remote corners of the empire, not supporting their work. Together with aerostation holding an important place in the world in the 18th century, studies started in this field in the Ottoman Empire, and rocket experiments started to become significant by the end of the century. By the 19th century, personal trials gained pace and Uzun Hasan and Veli Direko from Of, designed a glider which

is inspired by bird and performed short distance flights. And in 1861, Mr. Atif from Bekek, performed an unsuccessful flight attempt with the plane he designed himself (Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü Havaalanları Daire Başkanlığı 2013).

As the 20th century began with the war, world aviation has gained more mobility and there has been bombing incidents at the Hilal-i Ahmer tents in Bingazi of Ottoman forces during the Tripolis Battle (Akgün ve Uluğtekin 1992, p. 42). Although these bombs did not cause Ottoman troops a material damage, the psychological effect was quite large (Kansu, Şensöz ve Öztun 1971, p. 122). After this attack, the importance of aviation is understood by the Ottomans and started official operations in order to establish aviator force in the army. However, Ottoman Empire did not own any balloons or planes in the years mentioned. In addition, while Mr. Fesa and Mr. Kenan continued receiving their aviation training in Paris, there were attempts of gathering foreign pilots and planes for Tripolis Battle, by former Ministry of War, due to lack of pilots in Ottoman Empire (Kansu, Şensöz ve Öztun, p. 122). In the meantime, Mr. Fesa became the first certified pilot, by receiving his brevet (diploma) from French Aviation Club in 1909 (Kansu, Şensöz ve Öztun 1971, p. 122).

Declining establishing a plane factory offer of an Armenian citizen in 1912, the Ottomans purchased 2 planes (Deperdussin) in March 15, 1912, and yet, those first Turkish planes could not execute a flight due to being damaged by the storm. A REP 20 type plane was purchased in April 26, 1912, named Ordu (Army), with a Turkish flag on the tail and Captain Fesa, who flew this plane became the first pilot to fly over Ottoman lands (Kansu, Şensöz ve Öztun 1971, p. 129). Prior to the Balkan wars, the Ottoman Empire had an air force of two Deperdussin, five REP (French) Bileryo, two Bristol (English) and two Mars DFWs (German) and Nieuports and Harlan (Kansu, Şensöz ve Öztun 1971, p. 129).

While Ottoman budget gradually faded being in act of war, Mahmut Sevket Pasha started relief campaign in order to strengthen the air force, and the plane purchased in this sense was named Ottoman. The Bleriot XI type plane, that was purchased by the Commander-in-Chief Rıza Pasha, has been named as Vatan (Homeland) (Baykal 2010).

The first war Turks participated with planes, was, the Balkan war; but, due to technical deficiency, lack of spare parts and fuel, planes could only execute

reconnaissance mission. By the end of the Balkan War, Plane School was completed and Ord. Prof. Dr. Ali Yar, who completed the pilot basic training in 1913, became one of the first three airplane engineers in the world. The Ottoman army took place in Canakkale, Caucasian, Iraq and Palestinian fronts during the World War I (WWI) with planes and balloons. And, in the War of Independence, airplane and related materials brought from the fronts of the WWI have been assembled. While having problems in finding airplane parts and supplies in this period, supply experts used the liquid mixture of potato, calves foot juice and egg white, due to the difficulties in gathering chemical paint that protects the planes from outer affects and provided stretching by decreasing the profile resistance (Baykal 2010).

4.1.2 Republic period

4.1.2.1 Military aviation

In the early years of the Republic, while civil and military aviation improved through different fields, it can be said that, Ataturk pioneered in establishment of the strong and solid organizations that survived up till now and played a vital role in strengthening both of these fields. In this respect, within the framework of empowering the Turkish Air force campaign Ataturk pioneered, great amounts of grants have been collected from everyone, without distinction of any social status or races, and all Jewish and Armenian citizens have also contributed these campaigns through the associations they established (Türk Hava Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı Tarihçe Şube Müdürlüğü 2005). In this context, 250 planes have been purchased for the Turkish army between the years of 1925 and 1935. In every August 30th of the mentioned years, naming ceremonies were held and the name of the cities, towns that provided donation were given to those planes (Aydın 2011, pp. 51-84). In this respect, the number of the planes donated to Turkish air force between the years 1925-1935 are shown at the Table 4.1 on a year basis.

Table 4.1: Planes donated to air force in 1925–1935

YEAR	AMOUNT
1925	1
1926	26
1927	5
1928	41
1929	32
1930	19
1931	31
1932	28
1933	33
1934	16
1935	26
TOPLAM	258

Resource: Türk Hava Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı Tarihçe Şube Müdürlüğü, (2005). *Gönüllerden Göklere*. Ankara, p. 78.

In 1939, despite the very difficult economic situation, Turkey became the country with the strongest air force among the Balkan countries with all these donations (Millman 1995, p. 493). And, as of 1937, Turkey owned bigger and better land army forces compared to any Balkan country back then (Millman 1995, p. 493).

Military aviation industry continued its development with many plane factories with the order of Ataturk himself. These factories can be listed as follows:

- **Aeroplane and Engine Turkish Incorporated Company (TOMTAS):** Studies and researches were withheld, while call for tenders were published for foreign bodies, with Ataturk's order to establish plane factory; which resulted in signing a contract with Junkers Flugzeugwerke A.G. in August 15th, 1925, and operations commenced by October 6, 1926. Factory executed maintenance, repair and overhaul operations of Junkers A 20, F13 and G-23 planes, however, due to some reasons such as an incident between German and Turkish personnel regarding payment gap and shortage to comply some obligations stated in the contract, the factory shut down in June 28th, 1928. In this respect, the Junker's firm transferred its shares to the Republic of Turkey (Özlu 2004, p. 213).
- **TOMTAS Kayseri Airplane Factory:** TOMTAS reopened under the name of Kayseri Airplane Factory in 1931, but this time signed a contract with Curtiss Company, active in USA, about manufacturing Hawk and Fledling

type planes (Bocutoğlu ve Dinçaslan 2014, p. 15). The factory, manufactured 7 different types of 212 planes between the years of 1926-1941. Nowadays, it continues its operations, embodied in Kayseri Air Supply and Maintenance Center Headquarters, performing maintenance and repair work (Bocutoğlu ve Dinçaslan 2014, p. 15).

- **Turkish Aeronautical Association (THK) Etimesgut Airplane Factory and Airplane Engine Factory:** Yet again in the framework of the ambitions for Turkey to build its own plane and engine by itself, through direct order of Atatürk, Etimesgut Airplane Factory, Gazi Airplane Engine Motor Factory and Ankara Wind Panel Factories were opened by the former prime ministers in years of 1939, 1941, and 1945 (Yavuz 2013a, p. 32). THK-1, THK-2, THK-3, THK-4, THK-6, THK-7, THK-9, THK-13 gliders and THK-2, THK-5, THK-10, THK-11, THK-12, THK-14, THK-15 planes have been manufactured in 1945 at Etimesgut Airplane factory. In addition, 30 UK licensed Miles Magister planes have been manufactured, 12 of DC-3 Douglas military planes have been converted to passenger airplanes, which have been used by State Airlines for many years. THK-5 ambulance plane manufactured at the factory, was exported to Denmark in 1950 and France also wanted to purchase the manufactured training airplanes (Yavuz 2013b, p. 27). However, after World War II, all airplane industry has moved to the U.S.A. (Yavuz 2013b, p. 27). Etimesgut Airplane Factory and Airplane Engine Factory has passed on to Machinery and Chemical Industry Corporation (MKEK) in 1952 by law. The Airplane Engine Factory converted to a Tractor Factory in 1954, and the Airplane Factory converted to a Textile Machinery Factory in 1968 (Yavuz 2013b, pp. 27-28).
- **THK Gazi Airplane Motor factory:** The factory that was established with a capacity to be able to produce 200 De Havilland and Gypsy Major plane engines a year, by Turkish Aeronautical Association at Gazi Forestry Area in 1945, is also Turkey's first motor factory. THK Gazi Airplane Factory did not also last long and converted to a tractor factory later (Yalçın 2010, p. 36).

4.1.2.2 Civil aviation

4.1.2.2.1 Private enterprises in civil aviation

In the process of World War I which was followed by the War of Independence, the lack of a national airplane factory on Turkey territory caused serious trouble. Due to lack of airplane supply material during the war, the planes became irreparable and in this respect, immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, Atatürk ordered establishment of the air force industry (Yalçın 2010, p. 37). Bearing Atatürk's "Future is In The Sky" saying at the aforementioned period, private entrepreneurs started taking their place in the field of aviation. The most prominent of these entrepreneurs are Vecihi Hürkuş and Nuri Demirağ.

4.1.2.2.1.1 Vecihi Hürkuş and Hürkuş Airlines

Petty Officer Pilot Vecihi Karakus, is a soldier, who fought in World War I and the War of Independence. He named the plane he drew plans of, "Vecihi K-6", in 1918, and after the proclamation of the Republic, he manufactured this plane in a little workshop in Izmir. First trial flight was performed in January 28, 1925, and despite the fact Hürkuş performed a successful flight, he was charged of causing a threat to public well-being and received a prison sentence of 15 days; then resigned from the army upon it (Vecihi Hürkuş 1. Kitap / Havada 1915 – 1925 2008, p. 5). Then Hürkuş set up a workshop in Istanbul, which followed building his second plane "Vecihi-14" in September 18, 1930. After a 15-minute demonstration flight for the press, he then flew to Ankara in September 30th (Vecihi Hürkuş 1. Kitap / Havada 1915 – 1925 2008, p. 166). But because of manufacturing the airplane without notice of appropriate authorities and flying to Ankara without checks and calibrations, the plane was not permitted for flight. Hürkuş received the final hearing in October 14th, with the following statement (Vecihi Hürkuş 1. Kitap / Havada 1915 – 1925 2008, p. 167);

"Although "Vecihi XIV type aeroplane executed testing flights and succeeded to fly to Ankara from Istanbul, which, prove the ability of performing flying operation; required permission for further operations can not be issued, due to lack of tools to examine and test the aeroplane's aerodynamic qualities."

As this being the case, Vecihi disassembled his plane, then took it to Prague via Istanbul by train, and had the plane inspected by the Czech Government's Aviation

Department Technical Commission. The Commission also stated the plane of Hurkus comply with international aviation rules, and classified it as a well-established sport and training plane, thus, Hurkus flew with this diploma to Istanbul. Later, with the approval of Turkish Army Headquarters, he opened Turkey's first civil aviation school in September 27, 1932, named as Hurkus Civil Aviation School (Türk Havacılık Tarihinde Vecihi Hürkuş'un İlkleri 2011, p. 51). Turkey's first ever civil airline, Hurkus Airlines, opened in November 29, 1954, only had domestic flights and due to some unfortunate events experienced and financial reasons, had to close down in 1960. The very first activities of Vecihi Hurkus in Turkish aviation history, who gained a solid place in Turkish aviation sector, are (Türk Havacılık Tarihinde Vecihi Hürkuş'un İlkleri 2011, p. 51):

- First Turkish pilot to fly with twin engine plane (Caudron G-4) (Eastern Front, July 17th, 1917).
- First Turkish aviation victory after hunting a Russian plane in Caucasian Front (Kelkit, September 26th, 1917).
- Manufactured propeller for Nieuport type plane that he seized from Russians (1918).
- Produced emalite by gelatin for repairing plane wings during the Independence War.
- Performed first expedition flight of the Independence War (Kula / Alasehir August 15th, 1920).
- Won the first aviation victory of the Independence War (Alasehir, August 15th, 1920).
- In the last flight of the Independence War, occupied Seydikoy / Gaziemir airport by himself (Izmir, September 14th, 1922).
- Received Red Striped Independence Medal after being the only person to receive Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) testimonial three times, suggested by Ataturk.
- Performed the first passenger flight with 11 attendees (Edirne, June 1923).

- Planned and manufactured the first Turkish plane (Vecihi K-VI) (Izmir, 1924).
- The first and only pilot between Turkish Airlines founders.
- The first flight with a Turkish Plane in European skies (Prague-Istanbul, April 25th, 1931).
- The first person to parachute in Turkey, from a civil plane (1932).
- Opened the first Civil Piloting School in Turkey (Kadıkoy / Istanbul, 1932).
- Established the first Civil Land-and-Sea Planes Factory in Turkey. (Kadıkoy / Istanbul, 1932). Manufactured his second plane Vecihi XIV type in here. Besides, he manufactured the first Turkish sea plane.
- Manufactured the first Turkish sports and training plane Vecihi XV (Kadıkoy, 1933).
- Performed the first plane engined speedboat project "Vecihi SK-X" and patented technology with a certificate of appreciation and manufactured it (Kadıkoy/Istanbul, 1933).

After 1939, Hurkus was designated to Van after a change in the management board, as a result of success. Those days, Van was in a condition lacking any technical equipments and unable to run any aviation activities. Hurkus resigned upon this designation. Hurkus established Hurkus Airlines with the 5 airplanes purchased of THY and all the airplanes were sabotaged and dismantled. Hurkus, the chief pilot and the first flight engineer of Turkey, flew more than 30,000 hours with 102 different airplanes but suffered quite many difficulties. He became indebted. When insurance costs with the interest fees of the airplanes, which were unable to perform a flight, were added on top of his debts; the low amount of salary given after "public service" was seized (ahmetakyol.net).

4.1.2.2.1.2 Nuri Demirag and Nuri Demirag Plane Factory

Demirag resigned in October 10, 1920, when he was a high grade government officer, and started trade sector by cigarette paper production, and then became the beneficiary of the tender of Samsun-Sivas railway. In this context, it can be said that 1 km in every 8 km of railroad is built by Demirag in those years. With his success,

Ataturk bestowed on him the surname Demirag due to the emergence of the law of surname (Yalçın 2009, pp. 748-749). Nuri Demirag has an important place in the aviation history after founding the first airplane factory in the private sector in Turkey. As an entrepreneur who wanted to dominate the skies with planes manufactured within, instead of buying from abroad and thus being dependent on foreign countries, he established the very first roots of the aviation industry in September 17, 1936. He established Aeroplane Surveying Workshop located next to the pier of Barbaros Hayrettin in Besiktas, which serves as a Maritime Museum today, and turned the workshop founded here into a plane factory shortly (Yalçın 2009, p. 749). However, the first domestic passenger planes were produced here at the airplane factory of Demirag (Yalçın 2009, p. 749). At the same time, Demirag became the entrepreneur who established the first parachute manufacturing center in Turkey (Yalçın 2009, p. 749). In 1939, with the effort and insistence of him, Department of Airplane Engineering in Engineering School (Istanbul Technical University), Machinery Branch Office opened (Yalçın 2009, p. 750).

Nuri Demirag, purchasing 1500 acres in Yesilkoy, activated the first civil airport center and named it "Sky Stadium". The school founded here is a highly advanced school and together with pilot training, maintenance and technical support staff were also trained. School consisted of hangars, workshops and runways of 1000x1300 m in dimension (Yalçın 2009, p. 750).

Demirag produced the first domestic fighter Nu-36 type training-hunter airplane, in partnership with Selahattin Alan, who was one of the first airplane engineers trained in piloting. At landing test, Nu-36 type airplane landed on a drainage pit at the entrance to the runway and ended with Selahattin Alan being martyrs (Yalçın 2009, p. 750). Although the airplane has fallen due to pilot error, though, this accident hence has caused the Turkish Aeronautical Association canceling order of 65 airplanes, which has followed Turkish Aeronautical Association taken to court by Demirag, as a result (İnceöz 1996, p. 74). Despite the positive expert report of 2 separate experts, the court issued final decision favoring the Turkish Aeronautical Association and the factory had to stop operations in 1943. For this reason, although the Nu-38 type twin-engine airplane for 6 passengers received great interest abroad and was taken into A Class of International Aviation Passenger Planes, the plane did not get manufactured. Also, while the orders to Demirag from Spain, Iraq and Iran

are blocked by the government; Sky School shut down. The facilities were overtaken by the government in order to turn into airport and the planes were sold to junkman (İnceöz 1996, p. 74).

4.1.2.2.2 Governmental associations in civil aviation

4.1.2.2.2.1 Turkish Tayyare Cemiyeti (TTC - Turk Hava Kurumu)

Ataturk founded the Turkish Aeroplane Society in February 16, 1925, and opened with an official ceremony in May 15, 1925. Ataturk's opening speech remarks, the future is in the skies, the nations who can not keep control of sky can not be sure of the existence of their future, aviation should be expressed as the highest level of importance as the case with every business (Verel 1985, p. 14). Turkish Aeronautical Association has played a major role in the development of civil aviation by organizing gliders, airplane with engines, and training facilities in Turkey (Verel 1985, p. 14).

In 1928, Aeroplane Mechanic School was opened by the Turkish Aeronautical Association out of necessity, and in this period, sent students to France and Germany in an attempt to receive the airplane engineering training. In 1925, glider workshop in Ankara was established and in 1935 Turkish Aeroplane Society (TTC), named as Turkish Airlines and later in the same year, airline called "Turkish Bird" was established in the civil aviation field (Bocutoğlu ve Dinçaslan 2014, p. 15).

4.2 History of Turkish Bird Becoming THY Inc. and Turkish Foreign Policy

4.2.1 1933-1945 period

4.2.1.1 Turkish foreign policy

The world suffered economic crisis in the years 1929-30, while on the other hand, the newly formed Republic of Turkey was busy with its own build up and wounds of the war in this period. Ataturk followed the neutrality policy until 1945, while Turkey rigorously applied Ataturk's neutrality policy especially against European countries, the Balkans, the Middle East and the Soviet Union relations. In this context, Turkey continued friendly relations with Italy, France and the United Kingdom, and trade agreements were signed. However, Turkey, while maintaining

all the relations with all these countries, signed regional alliances, the Balkan Pact and the Sadabad Pact, bearing the security in the forefront (İleri 2005, p. 376).

4.2.1.2 Establishment of Turkish Airlines

1933-1945 period in Turkish Airlines corporate history, marks the establishment era. In May 20, 1933, the Ministry of Defense established Airlines State Enterprises (HDII). The purpose of this organization is determined as to establish civil airlines in Turkey and to actualize air transportation. In 1935, when Turkish Bird airline started service (Türk Sivil Havacılık Tarihi); it had 2 King Bird (5 seats), 2 Junkers F-13 (4-seats) and 1 ATH-9 (10-seats) airplanes. In this period, Turkey owned a total seating capacity of 28, and the airplanes were carrying passengers between Eskişehir-Ankara. HDII received the name Turkish Airlines (THY) by then (Türk Sivil Havacılık Tarihi). In 1938, it has passed to jurisdiction of Ministry of Transportation with the name of General Service Directorate (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)). The company bought 6 D-Havilland Domini in 1943, 5 Junkers in 1944, 30 Douglas DC-3 and 3 C-47 in 1945, increasing the number of airplanes in the fleet to 52, while seat capacity increased to 845 (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)). In this period, the airports were not yet open to international flights and only performed domestic flights (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

4.2.2 1945-1956 period

4.2.2.1 Turkish foreign policy

After 1945, enriched activities have been witnessed in the field of foreign policy. Russia's Bosphorus-related initiatives and other demands pushed Turkey to follow a policy siding with the USA and Europe; and, in this process, Turkey had to adopt the Truman Doctrine at Turkish foreign policy. In this case, a fully independent Turkey's foreign policy became dependent on the United States and the West. "Helping Greece and Turkey Law 75" agreed on by the US Senate in May 22, 1947, and received approval of USA President Truman afterwards, which followed Turkey to receive Marshall Plan. In this respect, Turkey and Greece received protection and U.S. military assistance which resulted as an end of the Soviet threat (Hatipoğlu 2006, pp. 277-284). Meanwhile, Turkey and Greece, received crucial United States military assistance. On the other hand, with the Marshall Plan being a part of the

Truman Doctrine, all present airplanes and airplane engine manufacture factories were forced to bankruptcy or converted to other factories, which marked as incident of the biggest damage to civil and military aviation industries in Turkish Civil Aviation sector.

When Greek-Turkish relations are evaluated, Turkey, who did not participate in World War II and remained neutral, sent 15 tons of sugar to Greece, who fought with the Italians. In order to meet the needs of the Greek army, Turkey sent 10,000 bottles of tetanus serum in 1941, Turkish Red Crescent gave food of approximately 500,000 Turkish Lira (TL) worth, Kurtulus and Dumlupınar ships carried various food items in 1941 and 1942, to Greece (Hatipoğlu 2006, p. 279). After World War II, Greece and Turkey formed very close relationship because of the Soviet Union trying to take the Middle East and the Balkans under their influence, and the USA's likewise politics in the area.

Despite the signing of Consular Convention with Lebanon, in April 4, 1963, which in return was thought to help to develop cooperation in other fields; however, the law to approve the agreement could only be implemented in June 30, 2004 (TBMM 2004).

Judging by 1950s political conjuncture, Turkey passed to the multi-party period in May 19, 1945, and in terms of sending troops to Korea in the same era, showed forming strong allies with USA and becoming a member of NATO in 1952 (Sever 1997, p. 68).

4.2.2.2 Origin of Turkish Airlines Brand

The birth of the Turkish Airlines brand coincides with the period of 1946-1956. In 1945, the number of passengers was 18 thousand, while that number increased to 37 thousand with new planes purchased. General Director Osman Nuri Bala, with his delegation present, attended the first overseas flight with state airline in February 12, 1947, between Ankara-Istanbul-Athens, to maintain flight services between Ankara-Athens and discuss the matter with Greek Government. The negotiations bear positive result while the flight lasted 2 hours and 40 minutes in total (Sever 1997, p. 68).

Turkish Airlines started flights to Nicosia, Beirut and Cairo in 1951, to Jeddah as of 1953, for Hajj purposes. In the same year, when opening the Yesilkoy Airport to

international air traffic, airport was upgraded to have an international standard runway, terminal and the necessary technical equipment (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

4.2.2.3 The relation between 1945-1956 period Turkish foreign relations and new THY destinations

As seen in Table 4.2, Turkish Airlines actualized the first international flight to Athens, Greece, as terms of political conjuncture and political allies against the Soviet threat. The Cyprus problem has also emerged in 1951, corresponding to the years, Turkish Airlines launched flights to Nicosia. From this date, Cyprus referred to as having strategic importance for Turkey.

At his speech at the Parliament, in May 19, 1950, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes stated the Government would seek closer cooperation with countries in the Middle East and Turkey would pull out the attention of its allies to securing Eastern Mediterranean (Yeşilbursa 2010, pp. 67-98). This description of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes also shows, why THY launched the first international flights to Lebanon (1951) and Egypt (1953). Jeddah flights were introduced in 1953, because of difficulty of travel of the pilgrims and air travel being more comfortable and shorter alternative of travel.

Table 4.2: New Turkish Airlines flight destinations in 1945-1956

COUNTRY	CONSULATE OPEN DATE	FLIGHT CITY	TURKISH AIRLINES FLIGHTS START DATE
GREECE	1926	ATHENS	12.02.1947
TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS	1978	NICOSIA	1951
LEBANON	1963	BEIRUT	1951
EGYPT	1925	CAIRO	1953
SAUDI ARABIA	1926	JEDDAH	1953

References: THY website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 17.04.2015, adres: www.thy.com and T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 17.04.2015, adres: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.en.mfa>.

4.2.3 1956-1967 period

4.2.3.1 Turkish foreign policy

In increasing allies process, Turkey and Iraq signed Mutual Cooperation Agreement in February 24, 1955, and to begin with the development effort in line with the Alliance; Baghdad Pact was established with United Kingdom in April 4, Pakistan in

September 23, and the participation of Iran was in November 3. The USA has been involved as an observer member of the pact. Due to the separation of Iraq, Baghdad Pact changed the name to Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) instead, and in 1958, continued its activities as amended. The purpose of the pact is, to avoid the Soviet Union influence in the Middle East via establishing cooperation in the field of security and defense (Türk Bilim Dünyası 2011).

In March 1959, Turkey and the USA signed a treaty in accordance with the Eisenhower Doctrine. Eisenhower Doctrine proposed the USA helping the Middle East countries that will be a target of communism, directly or indirectly; by using the armed forces if necessary which showed itself in the act of USA interfering Lebanon civil war with military intervention. In those years, one of the main reasons Turkey relied on USA and to the Western world was, depending on the help to come from the United States in order to maintain economic development. The Democratic Party management considered relations with the West as the only way out for economic development, and, in this context, the majority of foreign relief Turkey received until 1960, was made either directly by the USA, or via European Economic Cooperation Organization and other international organizations (Hacettepe Üniversitesi).

Turkey, in parallel with receiving military help from the USA within the framework of the Truman Doctrine, began to apply a pro-Western policy about Palestine. In this context, Turkey recognized Israel in March 28, 1949, after declared its independence, on May 14, 1948. Therefore, Turkey being the first Muslim State to recognize Israel within the UN, has created a negative influence between Turkish-Arab world relations. However; Egypt, Jordan and Syria that did not recognize Israel as a state, had to recognize Israel after all, unofficially, when lost the war against it, and signed a peace treaty (Türkiye İsrail İlişkileri 2011).

Jewish, the left-wingers, scholars and engineers who left Hitler's Germany after 1933, were invited to Turkey for contributions in the reconstruction of the universities, a variety of industrial establishments and companies. In addition, while there were intense relations with Germany in trading, cultural and economic fields during the cold war, labor agreement was signed between Turkey and Germany in June 1, 1961, and was actualized in April 30, 1964 (Türkiye-Almanya Federal Cumhuriyeti Siyasi İlişkileri; İkili Sosyal Güvenlik Anlaşmaları). In April 5, 1966,

Turkish workers began to go to Netherlands within the scope of the labor agreement signed with Netherlands (İkili Sosyal Güvenlik Anlaşmaları).

4.2.3.2 THY becoming Incorporated Company

General Directorate of State Airlines name was removed on May 21, 1955, and renamed it Turkish Airlines after this date and continued its activities. The former government initiated to turn it into joint stock partnership and Turkish Airlines Incorporated Company Main Agreement was signed in February 20, 1956, and approved by the Council of Ministers (THY Magazin Dergisi 1983, pp. 12-15). THY Inc. was established in March 1, 1956, with a capital of 60 million TL, and in 1957, opened to foreign capital operations. In this regard, 6.5% Turkish Airlines shares were bought by British airline company, British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC). Since then, Turkey began to organize timetables to countries with busiest political relations to. Especially within the context of bilaterally signed labor contracts in Europe, Turkey increased the passenger traffic between Turkey and Europe. In the same year, THY became a member of IATA. In addition, the pilots Zihni Barın and Nurettin Gurun, brought 2 x F-27 type airplanes to Istanbul from the United States with a 30-hours flight (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

THY opened sales offices in Rome and Athens in 1959, and started flights to Frankfurt in 1960, Brussels, Tel Aviv, Munich in 1964 (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)). Amsterdam flights started in 1965, a year after the labor agreement signed between the Netherlands and Turkey. In the same year, Belgrade, Tabriz, Zurich, Budapest, Geneva flights started. In August 18, 1967, THY rented a Mc Donnell Douglas DC-9 type, the first jet airplane to its fleet (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

4.2.3.3 The relation between 1956-1967 period Turkish foreign relations and new THY destinations

Turkey officially became a member of NATO in February 18, 1952, and with the purpose of improving the economic and social relations with NATO member countries, implemented several new initiatives. Some of these were, labor contracts signed with Germany and the Netherlands, by which, migration of labor from Turkey to Germany, the Netherlands and some other European countries started and these initiatives played an active role in start of THY European flights. As seen in Table 4.3, the vast majority of flights that began in this period were to European countries.

Turkey officially recognized Israel Government, 11 months after Israel declared its independence and since then gave importance to the development of socio-economic relations with Israel. In the same years, Turkey receiving several reliefs from USA, due to Truman Doctrine, followed a western approach towards Israel's policies.

Iran, as a member of the Baghdad Pact, which began to operate as CENTO since the 1960's, was one of the other countries in the Middle East that had close ties with Turkey.

Table 4.3: New Turkish Airlines flight destinations in 1956-1967

COUNTRY	CONSULATE OPEN DATE	FLIGHT CITY	TURKISH AIRLINES FLIGHTS START DATE
BELGIUM	1924	BRUSSELS	1957
ITALY	1924	ROME	1960
GERMANY	1920	FRANKFURT	1960
AUSTRIA	1924	VIENNA	1961
UNITED KINGDOM	02.09.1924	LONDON	09.09.1961
GERMANY	1920	MUNICH	1964
ISRAEL	28.03.1949	TEL AVIV	1964
NETHERLANDS	1924	AMSTERDAM	1965
SERBIA	06.1999	BELGRADE	1965
IRAN	01.01.1921	TABRIZ	1965
BULGARIA	1923	SOFIA	1966
SWITZERLAND	01.10.1925	GENEVA	1967
		ZURICH	1967
HUNGARY	1924	BUDAPEST	1967

References: THY Web Site, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 25.11.2014, adres: www.thy.com and T.C: Dışişleri Bakanlığı, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 25.11.2014, adres: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.en.mfa>.

Perhaps most important reason of the newly opened stations in Europe, was, Turkey signing labor agreements. The labor agreements signed in this period are as follows (Uluslararası İşgücü Anlaşmaları 2014, p. 102):

- i. **Turkey-Germany Labor Agreement (October 30th, 1961, BadGodesberg):** This agreement between Turkish Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, providing an opportunity for Turkish workers to work in Germany, is the first agreement ever, in the concept of a permit for Turkish workers to go abroad. By this agreement, it is intended to regulate and determine the placement of Turkish workers in Germany. As West European

countries stopped massive hiring in 1973-1974, no more labor can be sent to Germany since that date.

- ii. **Turkey-Austria Labor Agreement (May 15th, 1964, Vienna):** The Labor Agreement, signed between Turkey and Austria in May 15, 1964, started actualization in September 17, 1964. The official name was "The agreement between the Republic of Turkey and Republic of Austria Bringing Turkish Labor Workers to Austria, Employment of Turkish Workers in Austria" and designated providing foreign labor force with Turkish workers and strengthening the economic solidarity between the two countries. Again, because of 1973-1974 decisions, workers intake was stopped.
- iii. **Turkey-Belgium Labor Agreement (July 16th, 1964, Brussels):** Belgium demanded workers from Turkey in the 1960s, to work in coal mines, and in this respect, Labor Agreement was signed between the two countries. Because of the oil crisis in 1974, Belgium also stopped the intake of foreign labor and the Labor Agreement with Turkey's unilateral implementation repealed. Nowadays, although it is not a function in the full sense of the deal, it is still officially valid and allows some applications in favor of our citizens. Especially in case of family reunions, having holidays during the national and religious holidays same as our country -a total of 3 days- are still present in their contracts.
- iv. **Turkey-Australia Labor Agreement (October 5th, 1967, Canberra):** Turkey – Australia Labor Agreement, signed in Canberra, in October 5, 1967, remained valid from the date it was signed. Included 29 items, and the official name was "Agreement between the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Government of the Republic of Turkey about the Turks living and Working in Australia" with the purpose of selection, transportation and employment of Turkish workers and families who wanted to go to Australia for work.

In 1966, workforce agreement was signed with the Netherlands, but was enacted in 1968 (İkili Sosyal Güvenlik Anlaşmaları). To mention migration in those years, with today's numerical value; 4 million Turkish citizens went to Western Europe, 300 thousand to North America, 200 thousand to the Middle East countries, 150 thousand

to Australia. Over time, including those returning to Turkey, this figure reaches a total of 8 million people (İkili Sosyal Güvenlik Anlaşmaları). In this period, Turkish Airlines was preferred as the national figure, among those wished to visit Turkey, combined with national feelings, and helped the company increase number of flights, flight network, fleet and the company's growth.

4.2.4 1967-1980 period

4.2.4.1 Turkish foreign policy

The situations related with island of Cyprus are the most important political event of this period. Cyprus has been given to England in the late Ottoman period. Afterwards, the Greeks living in Greece and Cyprus wanted to perform "Enosis" ideal and Turkey desired to provide security of Turks living in Cyprus and also Turkey itself. In this respect, the status of the island habitats of Cyprus, have been the subject of dispute between the two countries, prior to 1960 (Özarslan 2007, p. 27). However, the decision of the two common communities living on the island came to the agreement by Turkey, Britain and Greece facilitating as the guarantor and Cyprus Republic was established. This means that, any State has been prevented to invade Cyprus. According to the agreement made by the parties, the country's independence and constitutional laws, the Constitution, were agreed to the integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus. In this respect, according to the Treaty of Guarantee 1, Republic of Cyprus will not enter into political or economic integration fully or as part of any state in any way. However, in this period, the ruling Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) in Greece, continued its Enosis policy prior to 1960, and at the Convention collected on March 11, 1966, it concluded this decision about Enosis (Türk'ün Yüce Tarihi):

"The Convention confirms AKEL's position in national liberation war and does not disconnect independence, full sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and foreign bases used to spy on Cyprus, will agree the removal of the radio stations. However, with the realization of these goals, the people of Cyprus would have the opportunity to determine their future within framework of the self-determination principles that were agreed by the entire world, away from all kinds of foreign pressure. Nevertheless, the national rehabilitation of the people – the justified ambitions around Cyprus and Greece to merge - depends on the free will of the once separated people, without a result of blackmail or any enforcement, but free will."

AKEL, saw Enosis as two-stage. First-stage was, removing Turkish military force from the island and demolishing the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (KKTC) to gain territorial integrity; while the second phase was connecting Cyprus to Greece. The decision of the ruling party of Greece triggered Cypriot Greeks Parliament and at an session in 1967, they declared a decision as follows (Kıbrıs Gerçeği / Acheson Planları Neydi 2007):

“Whilst the House of Representatives, as an interpreter to Cypriot Greeks' national ambitions, declares the unwavering decision in order to perform necessary measurements soonest possible,

a. The battle prosecuted with the support of entire Hellenic world, will stop until reaching triumph, regardless of whatever challenges encountered. Triumph, by the way, means to safeguard the ties with Cyprus as a whole, united.

b. For strengthening the unavoidable condition for Greece-Cyprus Union, any measures are to be taken for the success of national bonds between The Cypriot Greeks and Homeland citizens.”

In this respect, the Greek Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA), established in the 1950s, and other gangs began the cruel actions against Cypriot Turks. "Christmas massacre", in 1964, the killing of hundreds of Turks continued, and in this regard, the Turkish Government decided actions on November 16, 1967, to Cyprus, but despite the operational decision, that interference was abandoned because of pressure from the United States. In July 15, 1964, Greek and Cypriot Greek coups tried to seize the KKTC. However, Turkey did not remain silent to all those. In accordance with the fourth item in warranty agreement, Turkey started Peace Operation in Cyprus, in July 20, 1974, while the scope of this operation was solely the existence of the KKTC, and to avoid danger for entire nation of Cyprus, Cyprus's independence, together with intendancy to re-establish territorial integrity, security and constitutional base of the KKTC (Kıbrıs Gerçeği / Acheson Planları Neydi 2007). Operations brought peace, tranquility and liberty to Cyprus and the Cypriot Turks were saved from extinction. However, danger of integrating Cyprus to Greece is completely eliminated. Therefore, Turks today live in security on the island, with regards to Peace Operation of 1974 (Kıbrıs Gerçeği / Acheson Planları Neydi 2007).

4.2.4.2 THY: passing to jet era and outreach

This period is identified as "Jet Age transition period", in addition to THY being an incorporated company. In July 9, 1968, THY rented its 2nd Jet plane and increased the capital from 90 million TL to 200 millions (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)). In 1972, THY became a company with a fleet of 3 Viscount, 7 F-27, 8 DC-9-30, 1 DC-9-10, 2 DC-10 and 3 B-707 and a capital of more than 400 million TL (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

In December 4, 1974, Cyprus Turkish Airlines was established with THY's 50% partnership. In 1978, THY became an airline fleet of 22 airplanes and 3,306 seats. In 1969-1973 periods, opening flights to Germany became vital and with the labor agreement, Germany-Turkey destinations experienced busy passenger traffic. In this regard, the number of 528 thousand passengers in 1967 reached 2.5 million in 1973. With the legislation dated February 17, 1977, and issued as 53315/6967, THY was nationalized again, while the cost of the shares belonging to BOAC was paid by the Ministry of Finance (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

4.2.4.3 The relation between 1967-1980 period Turkish foreign relations and new THY destinations

Due to the labor agreement signed between Turkey and Germany in 1964, THY flew mainly to Germany and Denmark in this period and, as a result of increasing demand, launched flights to new destinations. In this period, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland and Denmark are the countries, Turks preferred to work in. In the period of 1967-1980; labor agreements were signed with France in January 20, 1972, Switzerland in January 5, 1969, Libya in January 5, 1975 and Sweden in June 30, 1978, whilst the agreements signed with Switzerland and the Netherlands started actualization. Table 4.4 shows Turkey's new destinations which opened in this period.

Table 4.4: New Turkish Airlines flight destinations in 1967-1980

COUNTRY	CONSULATE OPEN DATE	FLIGHT CITY	TURKISH AIRLINES FLIGHTS START DATE
FRANCE	23.02.1924	PARIS	01.08.1968
GERMANY	1920	KOLN	1969
		DUSSELDORF	1971
		STTUTGART	1971
		HAMBURG	1972
		HANNOVER	1972
		NURNBERG	1973
		BERLIN	1973
DENMARK	1948	COPENHAGEN	1973
IRAQ	11.03.2010	BAGHDAD	1978
IRAN	01.01.1921	TEHRAN	1978
ITALY	1924	MILAN	1972
PAKISTAN	1947	ISLAMABAD	21.07.1977
LIBYA	1952	TRIPOLI	1978
KUWAIT	1969	KUWAIT	19.09.1979

References: THY website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 20.04.2015, adres: www.thy.com and T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 20.04.2015, adres: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.en.mfa>.

4.2.5 1980-1990 period

4.2.5.1 Turkish foreign policy

In the 1980s, Turkish foreign policy entered a new era with the Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, and liberal point of view in internal politics reflected in the foreign trade of Turkey. Ozal has developed a free trade system depending on external relations. Bearing in mind the necessity to form relations with countries other than Europe, with regards to improve Turkish foreign trade; started establishing close relations with countries from Black Sea, Middle East, Central Asia and Far East geography (Dursun 2008, p. 426).

Turkey re-assigned a consulate to Israel again in 1986, and meanwhile, became the first country to recognize the State of Palestine in November 15th, 1988. However, without posing a negative attitude to Israel followed the balance policy on the Palestinian issue. Turkey did not comply with embargo put by the United States in the 1980s, against Iran, and good relations between Iran and Turkey continued with the newly-formed Islamic regime in 1979, and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan established Economic Cooperation Organization in 1985 (Dursun 2008, p. 426).

Formed close relations with the Soviet Union and the former socialist countries, and as of 1988, the Sarp Border Gate opened, which, closed afterwards since 1937. In 1986-1990 period, Turkey and the Soviet Union signed many contracts as convertibility, economic and commercial agreements, also the Science and Technology Agreement. In addition, in 1990, the volume of trade between Turkey and the Soviet Union reached 1.5 billion dollars (Ataman 2003, p. 55).

When European policy evaluated; Turkey applied for a full EU membership in April 14, 1987, after fulfilling the demanded obligations and EU reforms. Ozal's perspectives of EU membership were, Turkish products competing with European goods, reaching a high level of Turkish economy dynamism by economic development and industrialization objectives; and Turkey applying a balancing strategy against addiction to the USA, in politics (Ataman 2003, p. 57).

4.2.5.2 THY: development

With the Civil Aviation Law, issue number 2920, brought in October 14, 1983, by liberal Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, establishing private airline companies was allowed in Turkey. In this context; THY fleet modernization, fleet expansion efforts and new airline companies that started operations increased mobility in the industry. However, the newly-formed companies experienced the bankruptcy due to capital shortage, lack of maintenance-repair and other infrastructure facilities, qualified personnel and/or know-how of industry; thus, these companies had to end to their activities in the sector (Korul ve Küçükonal 2003, p. 25).

With 60 billion TL in capital in 1984, Turkish Airlines has re-formed into a State-owned organization. In 1985, THY began the "First Class" application, and applied first to Jeddah and London, then began to apply in other lines. In the same year, with 4 newly bought Airbus planes, Far East flights started with first flight to Singapore. After reaching 150 billion TL in capital, in 1987, started flights to the USA since 1988, and the New York expedition was the first. In 1989, Turkish Airlines and Lufthansa established Sun Express Airlines with partnership (Sun Express). As of 1990, the company was established by central Antalya, and held charter flights between Europe and Antalya. The company with strong capital structure continues Antalya centered scheduled passenger transportation today (Sun Express).

4.2.5.3 The relation between 1980-1990 period Turkish foreign relations and new THY destinations

Minister Turgut Ozal carried out active foreign policy in 1980-1990 period. Ozal, described traditional Turkish foreign policy as "passive", and while not using an initiative in any meaning did not fit in modern understanding and the world; he conducted the strategy in Kuwait War himself (Yavuzalp 1998, p. 81). In this respect, new world order declared by the President of the United States during Kuwait crisis, which was the national interest of Turkey, was named "active foreign policy" by Ozal in accordance with the appropriate policy making efforts (Yavuzalp 1998, p. 81).

Prime Minister Turgut Ozal had a significant role in THY jumping a leap. In 1986, while Turkey was in process of starting THY intercontinental flight, Ozal instructed THY to purchase seven airplanes for intercontinental flights while THY's intension was only three (Yavuzalp 1998, p. 81). Therefore, the purchase of long-haul airplane to perform transcontinental flight was actualized in accordance with this instruction.

Together with Turkey's integration with the intercontinental travel and integration mission, THY has taken an active role in the rescue operations and many crisis situations. In Iran-Iraq War, in 1985, when the Japanese Nissan factory in Baghdad was besieged with 215 Japanese engineers and technicians with their families, Japanese Ambassador to Baghdad, Yutaka Nomura, requested a private rescue plane from companies via Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the Japanese airline companies declined to fly without guarantee of Iran and Iraq. Then, the Ambassador called Turkey's Ambassador to Tehran, Ismet Birsal, and asked if THY could help them. The ambassador passed the request directly to Prime Minister Ozal, and he allowed the rescue operation. In March 15th, 1985, a Turkish Airlines DC-10 plane flew to Baghdad rescued the 215 Japanese (Yavuzalp 1998, p. 81). Prime Minister Ozal, himself, played a significant role in the development of foreign policy and improvement of THY. New flight destinations opened in this era can be seen in Table 4.5. Intercontinental flights to various countries in different continents started back then, with regards to these foreign policy improvements.

Table 4.5: New Turkish Airlines flight destinations in 1980-1990

COUNTRY	CONSULATE OPEN DATE	FLIGHT CITY	TURKISH AIRLINES FLIGHTS START DATE
PAKISTAN	1947	KARACHI	01.1981
SWEDEN	1923	STOCKHOLM	05.1982
JORDAN	11.01.1947	AMMAN	31.05.1982
SYRIA	1946	DAMASCUS	22.02.1984
SPAIN	01.01.1951	MADRID	02.11.1984
SINGAPORE	12.02.1969	SINGAPORE	1986
FRANCE	23.02.1924	LYON	1987
INDIA	08.07.1948	DELHI	1987
SAUDI ARABIA	1926	RIYADH	02.11.1988
NORWAY	1926	OSLO	1988
SWITZERLAND	01.10.1925	BASEL	1988
TUNISIA	1957	TUNIS	1988
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	NEW YORK	1988
ALGERIA	1962	ALGIERS	1988
FINLAND	1961	HELSINKI	1988
JAPAN	1925	TOKYO	1989
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	MOSKOW	1989
THAILAND	1958	BANGKOK	1989
LIBYA	1952	BENGHAZI	1990

References: THY website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 20.04.2015, adres: www.thy.com and T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 20.04.2015, adres: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.en.mfa>.

4.2.6 1990-2003 period

4.2.6.1 Turkish foreign policy

In 1983-1989 period, Prime Minister Ozal, brought Turkey's foreign policy in line with a new vision based on the new political perspective concept of "mutually dependent regional networks" instead of a dependency based one. In an effort to decrease dependence to Europe, the economic and political relations with USA deepened whilst forming close relations with the Islamic world. Liberal economy policy improved and entered into commercial partnerships with many countries (Demiray 2015, p. 35).

After the 1980s, as a result of the ambiguity in the international system caused by end of the cold war, the Gulf War, dissolution of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; the policy developed by Prime Minister Ozal formed a necessity for Turkey to develop new strategies in both political and economic perspectives in Turkey, with

regards to global change. In this period, while Turkey tried to develop an active policy domestically in historical, cultural, religious, ethnic and strategic effect zone on the one hand; looked out to obtain strategic cooperation with the countries who have power in reconstruction of the world, such as the USA, the EU organizations in international system, on the other hand. In addition, Turkey took the initiative in the development of relations in the region, using the boosting of cooperation in the fields of economy and security. In this context, Turkey pioneered in the establishment of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization in 1992, in Istanbul, with participation of presidential representatives of member countries, with the regional institutions in the region, with purpose of avoiding possible conflicts that might rise. He worked to balance and solve in peaceful ways with the help of mechanisms present in the organization. Thus, while protecting regional peace and stability, expansion within the framework of the same organization by developing economic cooperation with the countries of the region is aimed and also performed structural integration in economic and commercial areas as well as the development of mutual confidence between member states (Demiray 2015, p. 36).

In order to promote the economic, cultural and technical cooperation, Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) was founded in 1985, by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan which accepted Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan as a member since 1992 (EİT (Ekonomik İşbirliği Teşkilatı)).

In 1991, Turkey and the Soviet Union signed a cooperation agreement and within this framework; Turkey opened a consulate in Baku, and Soviet Union in Trabzon (Ataman 2003, p. 55).

4.2.6.2 THY: outreach

THY being in the scope of privatization in 1990, sold 1.53% to public. In 1991, the company added Boeing 737 planes to its fleet, while the capital increased to 2 trillion TL. The average age of the planes in the fleet in 1992, is decreased to 6.2 and reached 55 foreign and 23 domestic destinations, in total of 78. In January 1994, THY reaching 6 trillion TL capital was incorporated to Prime Ministry Privatization Administration the same year (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

In 1996, Airbus firm awarded Turkish Airlines "the world's most effective user airline of A-340". In 1998, THY made an agreement with The Qualiflyer Group and

same year in November, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce awarded THY "1st prize Gold Plaque" for bringing most currency into the country. In 2000 THY made Code Share Agreements with Austria Airlines, Cathay Pacific Airways, Czech Airlines (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

4.2.6.3 The relation between 1990-2003 period Turkish foreign relations and new THY destinations

1990-2003 periods are important with many incidents around the world and in Turkey. Gulf crisis and the recession in the world economy occurred, adversely affecting the world economy (Kılınç). As a result of the crisis in Turkey, in April 5, 1994, devaluation, also named as "April 5th Decisions" happened. Turkey entering the European Customs Union in 1996 survived the Asian crisis in 1998 and faced with the Marmara Earthquake in August 17, 1999. All these events did not affect the growth trend of Turkish Airlines and THY continued to increase the capital.

Table 4.6: New Turkish Airlines flight destinations in 1990-2003

COUNTRY	CONSULATE OPEN DATE	FLIGHT CITY	TURKISH AIRLINES FLIGHTS START DATE
LIBYA	1952	BENGHAZI	1990
CROATIA	01.04.1993	ZAGREB	1991
AZERBAIJAN	05.02.1993	BAKU	25.03.1991
SPAIN	01.01.1951	BARCELONA	13.07.1992
BAHREIN	12.04.1986	BAHREIN	1992
KAZAKHSTAN	02.03.1992	ALMATY	25.05.1992
UZBEKISTAN	25.04.1992	TASHKENT	25.05.1992
FRANCE	23.02.1924	NICE	05.06.1992
TURKMENISTAN	29.02.1992	ASHKhabAD	29.03.1993
ROMANIA	01.1994	BUCHAREST	29.03.1993
UNITED KINGDOM	02.09.1924	MANCHESTER	02.06.1993
UKRAINE	03.02.1992	KIEV	01.11.1993
ALBANIA	1926	TIRAN	1995
JAPAN	1925	OSAKA	1995
KYRGYZSTAN	1992	BISHKEK	24.05.1996
BOSNIA-HERZIGOVINA	1993	SARAJEVO	1996
GEORGIA	14.07.1992	TBILISI	1996
SOUTH AFRICA	22.03.1994	JOHANNESBURG	1996
SOUTH AFRICA	22.03.1994	CAPE TOWN	28.10.1997
UKRAINE	03.02.1992	ODESSA	01.04.1997
UKRAINE	03.02.1992	SIMFEROPOL	21.04.1999
MACEDONIA	06.02.1992	SKOPIJE	02.09.1998
CHINA	1997	BEIJING	20.05.1999
CHINA	1997	SHANGHAI	2000
MOLDOVA	03.02.1992	CHISINAU	12.10.2000
CZECH REPUBLIC	11.10.1924	PRAG	2000
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	MIAMI	2000
KOREA	11.08.1949	SEOUL	2000
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	CHICAGO	2000
POLAND	1923	WARSAW	2000
KOSOVA	17.02.2008	PRISTINA	2002
HONG KONG	N/A	HONG KONG	28.10.2002

References: THY website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 21.04.2015, adres: www.thy.com and T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı website, (t.y.). Alındığı tarih: 21.04.2015, adres: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.en.mfa>.

4.2.7 2003-2015 period

4.2.7.1 Turkish foreign policy

Turkey's geostrategic importance and place in world politics increased as a result of September 11 events and in 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), gained

power alone in elections. In this respect, Turkey revealed a new foreign policy in political and cultural ties vision, due to being at a location of the middle of Europe, the Balkans, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Black Sea (Davutoğlu 2009, p. 553).

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Davutoglu determined Turkey's new foreign policy vision and also introduced new foreign political concepts to the literature. In the perspective of this new foreign policy vision and the strategy, Turkey overtook an active role in international policy since AKP won the elections as ruling party, and gained a position to interfere all the situations and incidents in the world. Whilst Turkey followed a zero problems strategy with neighboring countries politically and performed efforts to form good relations; also tried to form political, economic, cultural and social bonds with African, Latin American and Far East countries. While constructing organizations in both governmental and civil societies, most effective way to promote Turkey and form alliances in various fields with the far off countries are aimed, through using the soft power method, public diplomacy, as a foreign policy tool. In this perspective, Davutoglu gave clues of this new foreign policy with these words (T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı 2013);

"Dear friends, finally the method on this philosophy and strategic goals we want to reach is: transforming Turkey as, not concerned with only the near area but as an actor that represents the change into a global power in the global geography of the world. If you are in Africa, need to be in Africa's every corner, not just North Africa and East Africa because of being in good relations through history. If you are in Central Africa, West Africa, South Africa, it means you are in world politics at the same time through relationships developed with these countries."

In this period, the new consulates opened mutually, especially in Africa and Latin America countries, removing visas with many countries increased trade and cultural interaction by using soft power tools when developing diplomatic relations with, and maintained Turkey and the world's bilateral reach out in political, trading, cultural, social and scientific areas.

In order to evaluate Turkey's African expansion in the 2000s; Turkey made an effort to improve relations with African countries in every field, as a result of the desire to become a regional power/actor who wanted to have an active role in the events concerning Turkey (Tepeciklioğlu 2012, pp. 60-63). In 2003, Turkey followed the

"Strategy of Improving Economic Relations with African Countries" which was prepared by the Secretariat of Foreign Trade (Oba 2011). Improving trade relations, opening new consulates, Turkish businessmen investments and relief made to Africa can be seen as a result of this strategy.

2005 was acknowledged and announced as "African Year" at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Official Website. Presidential visits were held to countries in the continent. Signed economic and trade agreements. Turkey gained a status as observer country in the region in the same year and Turkey was approved as a member to African Development Bank and African Development Fund. Another improvement in this period was, supplying African students higher education scholarships and the increase in the THY African flights and destinations (Oba 2011).

Turkey Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), established under Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1992, had a significant role in improving relations with Africa. The agency had offices in Ethiopia, Senegal and Sudan in Africa and sent committees to those countries that did not. The committees activated projects in improving manufacture sectors and economic relations whilst providing humanitarian aid (TIKA).

African Union declared Turkey as a strategic partner in 2008. In the same year, Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit was held and signed Turkey-Africa Cooperation Istanbul Declaration: Cooperation and Solidarity for A Common Future and Turkey-Africa Partnership Cooperation Framework in order to improve the binary relations. Emphasized the need to maintain cooperation in intergovernmental, trading, investment, health, peace, safety, infrastructure, energy, transportation, culture, tourism, education, media, information and communication technologies to improve the partnership formed (Afrika Birliđi).

Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK), Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON) contributed significantly in introducing Turkey's economic opportunities to African businessmen and bureaucrats (Afrika Birliđi).

Over the past few years, particularly with "Arab Spring" in the Middle East, Turkey's political and economic developments in the immediate vicinity, with the changes as a result of the elements of the new Turkish foreign policy opened to discussions (Yalçın 2014, p. 14). In this regard, new Turkish foreign policy concepts like "zero

problems with neighbors", "rhythmic diplomacy", "soft power diplomacy" within the context of the new agenda are constantly subjected to evaluation by experts (Pirinççi ve Demirtaş 2015, p. 12). Therefore, dynamics of the new Turkish foreign policy and validity of the elements built by Davutoglu are to become clearly visible in the near future.

4.2.7.2 THY: becoming global brand name

By the end of 2003, online check-in practice is introduced together with electronic ticket practice. While number of passengers exceeded 12 million in 2004, online customer service started as a new application. In addition, Association of European Airlines (AEA), declared THY as Europe's second best in flight takeoff timing and the least baggage loss. In 2005, US Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), named THY Maintenance Center error-free in a test applied. Same year, the World Aviation Authority JAA MAST gave THY, report of highest performance operations report in technical maintenance and repair, with regards to flight safety inspection. Again in 2005, while passing to a price modeling of providing passengers different price alternatives, THY decided to establish THY HABOM INCORPORATED COMPANY (Inc), THY TECHNICAL Inc. and THY TRAINING Inc. Same year, THY bought 36 A-330-200, A-321-200 and A-320-200 from Airbus and 23 B-737-800 from Boeing, adding 59 new planes to its fleet in total, that stated the biggest purchase in its history.

While THY added 100th plane to its fleet in 2006, decided to participate global airline companies' alliance, Star Alliance. Same year, THY became the first "IATA Operational Safety Audit (IOSA) Operator" in Turkey after passing the Aviation Safety Standard "IOSA Program". THY started tele-sales the same year and THY Technical Inc. established, gained International Organization for Standardization (ISO) 9001:2000 quality certificate and THY General Manager, Temel Kotil, was elected a Chair to IATA. In 2007, THY won "National Quality Prize" in aviation sector and joined Star Alliance in 2008, while establishing Anadolujet in order to provide cheaper domestic flights. And in 2010, THY was awarded first in the world, in economic class treats by Skytrax (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)).

The number of planes was increased to 180 at the end of 2011, that was 158 by the end of 2010. THY is awarded Best Airline in Europe by Skytrax "World Airline

Awards 2011” evaluation, Best Airline of South Europe and Best Premium Economic Seat in 2011. In addition, THY received the Best Market Leader Award of Airline Industry Success Awards organized by Air Transport World (ATW) in 2010. TURKBINE Technical, HABOM Center, Airplane Seat Manufacture Company and Turkish Cabin Interior (TCI) Systems Inc. were established the same year (THY 2012).

The number of planes THY had as 180 by the end of 2011, increased to 202 by the end of 2012. THY received Best Airline in Europe again by Skytrax World Airline Awards 2012, Best Airline of South Europe and Best Premium Economy Seat Award with its “Comfort Class” seat. In addition, THY received Silver Stevie Prize by Stevie International Business Prize in 2012. Again in the same year, in 2012 Freddie Awards, THY received best airline program in Europe/Africa with Miles&Smiles program and best credit card program award (THY 2013).

The number of planes THY had as 202 by the end of 2012, increased to 233 by the end of 2013. Purchased MNG Technical Inc. and combined with HABOM Inc. In addition, signed a good-will agreement with US based Solena Fuels Corporation for bio-fuel production. THY received Best Airline in Europe, again by Skytrax World Airline Awards 2013, and also received the best business class treat award with “Flying Chef” service THY provided for “Business Class” passengers at long haul flights (THY 2014). The number of planes THY had as 233 by the end of 2013, increased to 261 by the end of 2014. THY received Best Airline in Europe once again in 2014 Skytrax Awards, worlds best business class treat service, best business class commercially important person (CIP) lounge treat and Best Airline of South Europe Awards (THY 2015).

4.2.7.3 The relation between 2003-2015 period Turkish foreign relations and new THY destinations

The revision of Turkish foreign policy, especially after 2003, caused Turkey opening consulates mainly in African countries, signing commercial agreements, deepening or newly establishing relations between. This global perspective of Turkish foreign policy has been supported by THY and the flight network has widened accordingly.

As seen on Table 4.7 in Appendix B and Table 4.8 in Appendix C, THY started or was in the urge to start flights to all the countries Turkey opened consulates or

improved trading and mutual relations. Whilst the company started flying to 21 new destinations in 2006, it started flight schedules to those countries Turkey started or deepened trading and mutual relations immediately. Opening a new route to Khartoum in April 23rd, 2006, after the visit of former Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, in March 2006, is an example to that.

In 2010, a number of diplomatic visits, called as Turkey's African extraction were actualized. Following the opening of the Consulate of Tanzania in May 18th 2009, THY started flights to Dar Es Salam, 10 months later. And began to fly to city of Entebbe of Uganda, another country from African continent, in June 14th, 2010, and opened Embassy in Uganda in October 29th, 2010. Almost simultaneously with 2012, 2013 and 2014, consulates opened in Argentina (2012), Djibouti (2012), Chad (2013), Sri Lanka (2013), Benin (2014), Luanda (2014), Republic of Congo (2014) and THY started flights to those countries.

In March 2012, Deputy Prime Minister Bekir Bozdag and the accompanying delegation went to an opening of the hospital in Mogadishu, capital of Somalia. This is the first time Turkish Airlines organized a flight to Mogadishu (SETA 2013, p. 140). In this regard, as a different Turkish foreign policy function, THY opened a new flight.

As a result of THY expansion policy, THY flies not only to those newly opened consulates, but to all various destinations through "Code-Share" agreement that THY does not fly directly, with the mission of taking Turkish flag all around world. Code-share flight is the ability of issuing its own flight code and numbers at a different pre-agreed airline flight operated by them and also perform sales (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)). For example, a passenger who wishes to fly to Tampa, USA, that THY does not fly to, can purchase and join a flight through THY website (Türk Hava Yolları (THY)). As seen at Figure 4.1, a passenger flying with TK1 IST/JFK on May 30, 2015 needs to travel New York/Tampa transit. Pre-mentioned TK8511 flight is a code-share flight between Turkish Airlines and JetBlue Airways. Examples of Code-share flight are shown in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2.

Outbound: Istanbul - Tampa			
Previous Day		Saturday 30 May 2015	
Departure	Arrival	Flight	Duration
13:15 Istanbul (IST)	16:50 New York (JFK)	TK1	16h31
19:30 New York (JFK)	22:46 Tampa (TPA)	TK8511	

Figure 4.1: Flight ticket sales

Reference: Turk Hava Yolları (THY), (t.y.) *Online İşlemler*, Alındığı tarih: 12.02.2015, adres: <https://online.turkishairlines.com/internet-booking/availabilityInt.tk>

FLIGHT INFORMATION	
Flight	TK8511
Operated by	Jetblue Airways
Aircraft Type	Airbus Industrie A320
Departure	New York, John F Kennedy International (JFK) - Terminal 5 Saturday 30 May 2015 19:30
Arrival	Tampa, Tampa International (TPA) Saturday 30 May 2015 22:46
Duration	🕒 3h16
Secured Flight Information	This flight requires the provision of additional passenger information.

Figure 4.2: Code share flight

Reference: Turk Hava Yolları (THY), (t.y.) *Online İşlemler*, Alındığı tarih: 12.02.2015, adres: <https://online.turkishairlines.com/internet-booking/availabilityInt.tk>

Without a code-share flight, to be able to make the journey from Istanbul to Tampa, there is a need to buy an Istanbul – New York ticket, check local time of arrival, and purchase New York – Tampa ticket from another company and this takes hours just to buy a ticket. In addition, in case of a delay in the linked flight, Tampa tickets are lost and have to get a ticket again, need to pick up luggage and have to check in again. But in Code Share flights, the situation is very different:

- Passenger ticket purchase is a few minutes from the site.
- In check-in process, the final destination Tampa boarding pass is given to the passenger at THY counter. In case the passenger does not perform online

check-in, the most comfortable seat at all flights including to Tampa can be chosen and yet again receives all the boarding passes (IST/JFK and JFK/TPA).

- The luggage is linked to Tampa. Does not have to pick up baggage or check-in again at New York.
- Perhaps the most important advantage of Code-share tickets is that, necessities such as accommodation, meals, telephone, taxi fares are all paid for by the airlines in case of a delay in the linked flight. Moreover, a 5 star hotel is arranged for business ticket passenger and at least a 4 star hotel placement for the economy ticket passenger is a rule. Delays would be a high cost in the business, therefore, no delays experienced except the unusual incidents.

A code-share agreement is a highly prestigious business, because it is performed by large-sized firms with scheduled flights and big companies make code-share agreements with major companies only. For this reason, it can be said that, THY is in a situation to compete with big companies in the sector. As one of the world's best, THY adds new awards each year.

4.2.8 General evaluation of THY in 2015

Turkish Airlines Inc. established in 1955, by the Government (THY Opet), is owned by the Turkish Prime Ministry Privatization Administration today with 49.12% share and the rest 50.88% by private sector (T.C. Başbakanlık Özelleştirme İdaresi). In other words, since 2006, THY is in a private company status. In The Ministry of Foreign Affairs website surveys, it is found out that THY was located in the portal of all consulate and external agencies websites as a portal (T.C. Kabil Konsoloslugu; T.C. Pretoria Büyükelçiliği; T.C. Washington Büyükelçiliği; T.C. Kongo Brasavil Büyükelçiliği). THY brand and portal entry can be found at all the official websites of agencies abroad.

At an interview given to Haberturk Newspaper in April 24th, 2015, Hamdi Topcu, who chaired THY Board for 12 years, was asked "How did they entrust you THY without any aviation experience?" by a reporter, and replied "I was in the transaction, while establishing the AKP. Mr. Tayyip Erdogan offered me to be a member of the THY Board. I hesitated, stating the lack of experience in the sector, but accepted

when I was told the real issue was to control financial situations" supported the idea that THY is managed by the governments. In the same interview when the reason for the resignation is asked, he replied "...when I've felt the quest of change, I had to allow that to proceed" (Par 2015).

Civil Aviation General Manager Bilal Eksi, has declared with the foresight of global air cargo industry to become a more profitable option than passenger sector and trade to flow from West to East, Turkey, as a the Transit Flight Center between Europe-Asia, is eager to receive the biggest share in air-cargo transportation (UTİKAD).

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In this study, where history of Turkish Airlines since its establishment up till now, the politics of Turkey of these periods, the developments happened in the world and the general framework of civil aviation are drawn; the proof and details that THY performed Turkey's soft power mission are scrutinized.

THY was 100% state owned between years of 1933 and 1955. That is why, THY flight destinations were determined by political decisions of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Prime Ministry. Those destinations were mostly the countries with closer bilateral relations. For example, the reason for performing the first international flight to Athens, Greece, in February 12th, 1947, was; the relief sent to both Turkey and Greece by US Senate in May 22nd, 1947, and those two countries forming close relations against the threat from Russia. In order to determine new THY destinations as of 1951; Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia were chosen due to Turkey's political approach in the related era, which was explained in detail at second chapter with regards to expansion to Middle East statement of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.

In years 1956-1967, THY became an incorporated company and Turkey made attempts to appear in the global arena by both CENTO and NATO memberships. By participating to NATO in 1952, Turkey started new initiatives with other NATO members in socio-economic and cultural relations to form closer bonds. One of the biggest indications of this, was, labor agreements signed with Germany, Netherlands, Italy, Belgium and other countries in order to supply the labor demand in Europe with Turkish citizens. 6.5% of THY shares were sold to British BOAC, and, bearing all these reasons in mind, majority of the flights were performed to European countries. With labor agreements and improved trading, economic and social relations with European countries; THY Inc. gained place in a highly potential trading sector.

THY achieved a big leap in years 1967-1980. Shares were bought back from BOAC and were nationalized in February 17th, 1977. Labor agreements with France, Denmark, Libya, the Netherlands and Sweden were signed in this era. The agreement dates and opening new destinations to these countries were synchronous.

THY caught a growth trend since period of 1980-1990, with effect of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's active foreign policy. It is observed, THY bought 7 planes at once and started continental long-haul flights with direct orders of Turgut Ozal. In this decade, THY added flights to 19 new countries, 3 being transoceanic.

Although years of 1990s have been a negative and intensive period, in both domestic and foreign policy, because of dispersion of the Soviet Union, many countries proclaiming their independence, Gulf Crisis and the earthquake in 1999; improvements in aviation sector have triggered THY improve synchronously. In this period, two and a half months after opening a consulate in Kazakhstan, in March 2nd, 1992, THY started expeditions to Almaty. The situation was similar with Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. As of 1990-2002 era, Turkey was performing flights to 32 countries.

Since 2003, Turkish foreign policy revised and this revision lengthened until current dates. Due to Turkey's new vision, relations with all the countries improved and THY became a global company in this period. Nowadays, there are very rare countries where THY does not perform a direct or indirect flight via bilateral agreements. The expeditions to some countries are the stations forming a solid base to the hypothesis of the study. The dates of opening consulates in Ghana, Djibouti and N'djamena after Turkey's Africa expansion in foreign policy are synchronous with the flights starting dates.

THY, founded under state in 1955, received a private company status as of today with 50.88% shares offered to public. Although THY is operated as a private company in stock shares market; it is still managed by governmental bodies as shown with this study. This situation reinforces the hypothesis of the study. In THY, all appointments are made by the Government, from the Board of Directors to lower staff. THY former Chairman, Hamdi Topcu, made the remarks that verified the situation.

All findings of THY portal in official websites of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Turkish representations, Turkish representations authorities taking place in official protocols and these being assigned by the government again, facts stated in Topcu interview, it is understood that THY is managed from Ankara. THY, always held a high risk of loss in flights performed to those remote areas of the world because it took a considerable time to wait for the trading agreements to mature for the country where only a trading agreement is made. Nevertheless, THY is known as a company to perform scheduled flights. In order to have a chartered expedition completely removed, THY would have needed to wait for the next charter expedition period or has revised with an alternative frequency. One of the main stations has constantly been Ataturk Airport, where THY has planned the first flights, and it has been very hard to get the frequency from Ataturk Airport. Another major company of the sector, Pegasus Airlines, has been performing its flights from Sabiha Gokcen Airport because of the lack of frequency from Ataturk Airport.

Within the scope of this study, the information with regards to the profit/loss has not been added, because in a competitive environment the disclosure of such information is acknowledged as a trade secret. Companies use such values when to issue a new flight to a country and/or city, which, in turn, means the present airline company, performing flights, to claim loss.

The way for Turkey to say “count me in” in every aspect, can happen in line with strengthening the aviation sector. THY flying to many various destinations as possible, obtaining a place in the civil aviation sector, receiving awards that prove it is better than many airlines in the world are positive improvements on Turkey's behalf as it can pass the enlargement trend to industry, trade and tourism sectors in parallel with the sectoral development.

As a result of the study, following suggestions can be made on the topic:

- Turkish Republic allowed the establishment of private airline companies since 1985, and needed to act fair and equal under competition conditions to the companies. For this reason, each particular airline with "Turkish Republic" tail number on, should be entitled to be listed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website.

- Turkey's historical frame was referred to having airplane engines, body factories in the 1940s. However, in the past, private enterprises are forced into bankruptcy or received wrong policies. The private sector, and, in particular, those airline transportation firms in growth trend, should be encouraged to airplane maintenance and repair services by Government, while incentives in this regard should be provided. Turkish Airlines has been a private company since 2006, and should have benefited from other private companies' rights, or, concessions that have been offered to THY should have been presented to the other companies, thus, private entrepreneurships in aviation sector would have moved forward.
- Subsequent to the third airport in Istanbul, Turkey to become a center for the "transit flights" is a well known fact. General Directorate of State Airports Authority (DHMI), stated the number of transit passengers at the Ataturk and Sabiha Gokcen Airports 12 million 55 thousand by 2014, and 46.7 million in total while THY carried the majority of this. With the third airport functioning, the number of transit passengers will increase significantly. The biggest advantage of the third airport remarks being operational in the field of transit cargo, too. For this reason, in order to meet the growing demand, the private sector must be encouraged in the field of cargo transportation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Table 3.1

Table 3.1: Countries which Turkey has bilateral agreements with

Europe (EU Members)				
GERMANY	FINLAND	SWEDEN	HUNGARY	SLOVENIA
AUSTRIA	FRANCE	LITHUENIA	MALTA	GREECE
BELGIUM	CROATIA	ITALY	SLOVAKIA	ESTONIA
BULGARIA	NETHERLANDS	ROMANIA	POLAND	SPAND
CZECH REPUBLIC	ENGLAND	LETONIA	PORTUGAL	LUXEMBURG
DENMARK	IRELAND			
Europe (Non EU Members)				
ALBANIA	MONTENEGRO	MOLDOVA	UKRAINE	NORWAY
BELARUS	KOSOVO	RUSSIA	ICELAND	SWITZERLAND
BOSNA HERZEGOVINA	MACEDONIA	SERBIA		
America				
North	South			
U.S.A.	ANTIGUA BARBUDA	GUETAMALA	PARAGUAY	VENEZUELA
CANADA	ARGENTINA	GUYANA	PERU	CUBA
MEXICO	BELIZE	HONDURAS	SAINT LUCIA	EL SALVADOR
Middle DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	BRAZIL	COLOMBIA	SAINT VINCENT AND GRENADINES	NIKARAGUA
JAMAICA	ECUADOR	COSTA RICA	TRINIDAD TOBAGO	URUGUAY
PANAMA				
Middle East				
BAE	ISRAEL	LEBANON	JORDAN	
BAHRAIN	QATAR	SAUDI ARABIA	YEMEN	
IRAQ	TRNC	SYRIA		

IRAN	KUWAIT	UMMAN		
Central Asia				
AZERBAIJAN	UZBEKISTAN			
GEORGIA	TAJIKISTAN			
KAZAKHSTAN	TURKMENISTAN			
KYRGYZSTAN				
Asia				
AFGHANİSTAN	SOUTH KOREA	MALDIVES	SRI LANKA	CAMBODIA
BANGLADESH	INDIA	MALESIA	THAILAND	LAO
BRUNEI	HONG KONG	MONGOLIA	VIETNAM	PAKISTAN
CHINA	JAPAN	NEPAL	ENDONESIA	SINGAPUR
PHILIPPINES	MYANMAR			
Africa				
BENİN	CHAD	GAMBIA	COMOROS	EGYPT
BOTSWANA	DEM. REP. OF CONGO	GANA	KONGO	MAURITANIA
BURKİNA FASO	ETHIOPIA	SOUTH AFRICA	LESOTHO	MOZAMBIQUE
BURUNDİ	MOROCCO	SOUTH SUDAN	LIBIA	NIGER
ALGERIA	IVORY COAST	CAMEROON	MADAGASCAR	NIGERIA
DJIBOUTI	GABON	KENYA	MALI	CENTRAL AFRICAN REP.
RAUNDA	SIERRA LEONE	SWAZILAND	TOGO	CAPE VERDE
SAO TOME & PRI.	SOMALI	CHEYSELLES	TUNISIA	ZAMBIA
SENEGAL	SUDAN	TANZANIA	UGANDA	ZİMBABWE
ANGOLA	GUINEA	ERITREA	EQUATORIAL GUINEA	NAMIBIA
Oceania				
AUSTRALIA				
FIJI				
NEW ZEALAND				
			TOTAL	161

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APPENDIX B: Table 4.7

Table 4.7: THY direct flight destinations (2003-2015)

COUNTRY	CONSULATE OPEN DATE	FLIGHT CITY	TURKISH AIRLINES FLIGHTS START DATE
MOROCCO	02.04.1957	CASABLANKA	27.03.2005
PORTUGAL	1931	LISBON	07.06.2005
KAZAKHSTAN	02.03.1992	ASTANA	19.10.2005
SLOVENIA	01.04.1993	LJUBLJANA	16.01.2006
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	1979	ABU DHABI	22.01.2006
TAJIKISTAN	1992	DUSHANBE	26.01.2006
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	ROSTOV-ON-DON	03.02.2006
YEMEN	1988	SANAA	03.02.2006
UKRAINE	03.02.1992	DONETSK	07.02.2006
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	KAZAN	28.02.2006
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	ST PETERSBURG	15.03.2006
QATAR	1980	DOHA	24.03.2006
OMAN	1986	MUSCAT	24.03.2006
ITALY	1924	VENICE	31.03.2006
IRELAND	1973	DUBLIN	07.04.2006
LATVIA	03.09.1991	RIGA	19.04.2006
ETHIOPIA	1926	ADDIS ABABA	22.04.2006
SUDAN	N/A	KHARTOUM	23.04.2006
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	EKATERINBURG	26.04.2006
UKRAINE	03.02.1992	DNEPROPETROVSK	28.04.2006
INDIA	08.07.1948	MUMBAI	05.05.2006
BELARUS	1992	MINSK	25.05.2006
NIGERIA	30.08.1962	LAGOS	27.07.2006
KENYA	22.06.1968	NAIROBI	01.08.2006
GEORGIA	14.07.1992	BATUMI	29.05.2007
UKRAINE	03.02.1992	LVIV	27.07.2007
SAUDI ARABIA	1926	MEDINAH	11.11.2007
SYRIA	1946	ALEPPO	15.05.2008
UNITED KINGDOM	02.09.1924	BIRMINGHAM	15.12.2008
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	UFA	05.03.2009
IRAN	01.01.1921	MASHAD	15.03.2009
SENEGAL	1963	DAKAR	22.03.2009
BRAZIL	17.07.2009	SAO PAULO	05.04.2009
SWEDEN	1923	GOTHENBURG	29.06.2009
CANADA	1953	TORONTO	11.07.2009
INDONESIA	10.04.1957	JAKARTA	03.08.2009
MALI	N/A	BAMAKO	2010
ITALY	1924	BOLOGNA	01.03.2010
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	SOCHI	25.05.2010

TANZANIA	18.05.2009	DAR ES SALAAM	14.06.2010
UGANDA	29.10.2010	ENTEBBE	14.06.2010
EGYPT	1925	ALEXANDRIA	19.06.2010
AZERBAIJEN	05.02.1993	NAKHICHEVAN	25.06.2010
MONTENEGRO	12.06.2006	PODGORICA	08.07.2010
GHANA	01.02.2010	ACCRA	15.07.2010
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	WASHINGTON DC	06.11.2010
BANGLADESH	2001	DAKKA	26.12.2010
VIETNAM	02.05.1997	HO CHI MINH CITY	29.12.2010
MOZAMBIQUE	N/A	MAPUTO	2011
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	LOS ANGES	04.03.11
IRAN	01.01.1921	SHIRAZ	14.03.2011
CHINA	1997	GUANGZHOU	15.03.2011
IRAQ	11.03.2010	ERBIL	12.04.2011
FRANCE	23.02.1924	TOULOUSE	16.04.2011
SPAIN	01.01.1951	MALAGA	06.05.2011
SPAIN	01.01.1951	VALENCIA	06.05.2011
IRAQ	11.03.2010	BASRA	11.05.2011
GREECE	1924	THESSALONIKI	27.05.2011
ITALY	1924	GENOA	16.06.2011
ITALY	1924	NAPLES	28.06.2011
AFGHANISTAN	1920	KABUL	09.07.2011
IRAQ	11.03.2010	AL NAJAF	18.07.2011
IRAQ	11.03.2010	SULEYMANIAH	18.07.2011
ITALY	1924	TURIN	02.08.2011
IRAQ	11.03.2010	MOSUL	16.11.2011
LIBYA	1952	MISURATA	15.12.2011
UNITED KINGDOM	02.09.1924	LONDON GATWICK	20.12.11
DENMARK	1948	BILLUND	2012
DENMARK	1948	AALBORG	2012
SAUDI ARABIA	1926	DAMMAM	21.02.2012
SOMALIA	1979	MOGADISHU	05.03.2012
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	NOVOSIBIRSK	14.03.2012
GERMANY	1920	BREMEN	26.04.2012
GERMANY	1920	LEIPZIG	31.05.2012
SAUDI ARABIA	1926	YANBU	12.06.2012
MONGOLIA	24.06.1969	ULAANBAATAR	03.07.2012
COTE D IVOIRE	2010	ABIDJAN	04.07.2012
UNITED KINGDOM	02.09.1924	EDINBURGH	16.07.2012
KYRGYZSTAN	1992	OSH	18.07.2012
AZERBAIJEN	05.02.1993	GENCE	31.07.2012
REPUBLIC OF DEMOCRATIC CONGO	06.2011	KINSHASA	01.08.2012
DJBOUTI	05.2012	DJBOUTI	05.09.2012
MAURITANIA	2010	NOUAKCHOTT	16.09.2012

YEMEN	1988	ADEN	02.10.2012
EGYPT	1925	SHARM-EL SHEIKH	08.10.2012
EGYPT	1925	HURGHADA	16.10.2012
MALDIVES	1979	MALE	26.11.2012
KENYA	22.06.1968	MOMBASA	07.12.2012
ARGENTINA	2012	BUENOS AIRES	11.12.2012
LIBYA	1952	SEBHA	13.12.2012
NIGER		NIAMEY	15.12.2012
BURKINA FASO	08.06.2009	OUAGADOUGOU	17.12.2012
IRAN	01.01.1921	ISFAHAN	20.12.2012
CAMEROUN	2010	DOUALA	21.12.2012
CAMEROUN	2010	YAOUNDE	21.12.2012
IRAN	01.01.1921	KERMANS SHAH	26.12.2012
GABON	NO CONSULATE	LIBREVILLE	31.01.2013
SRI LANKA	2013	COLOMBO	01.02.2013
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	HOUSTON	01.04.2013
JORDAN	11.01.1947	AQABA	03.04.2013
MALASIA	1964	KUALA LUMPUR	26.04.2013
GERMANY	1920	FRIEDRICHSHAFEN	02.05.2013
SPAIN	01.01.1951	SANTIAGO D.C.	21.05.2013
MALTA	1967	VALETTA	25.05.2013
AUSTRIA	1924	SALZBURG	28.05.2013
SPAIN	01.01.1951	BILBAO	31.05.2013
SAUDI ARABIA	1926	AL QASSIM	03.06.2013
FRANCE	23.02.1924	MARSEILLE	04.06.2013
ESTONIA	1935	TALLINN	11.06.2013
LITHUANIA	N/A	VILNIUS	11.06.2013
LUXEMBOURG	01.12.1972	LUXEMBOURG	25.06.2013
NEPAL	NO CONSULATE	KATHMANDU	01.09.2013
AFGHANISTAN	1920	MEZAR-AL SHERIF	19.11.2013
PAKISTAN	1947	LAHORE	28.11.2013
NIGERIA	30.08.1962	KANO	12.12.2013
CHAD	2013	N'DJAMENA	12.12.2013
NETHERLANDS	1924	ROTTERDAM	04.03.2014
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	ASTRAKHAN	02.04.2014
RUSSIA	03.06.1920	STAVROPOL	22.04.2014
ALGERIA	1962	ORAN	07.05.2014
ANGOLA	2010	LUANDA	13.05.2014
ALGERIA	1962	CONSTANTINE	15.05.2014
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	BOSTON	20.05.2014
ITALY	1924	CATANIA	23.05.2014
BULGARIA		VARNA	30.05.2014
CANADA	1953	MONTREAL	03.06.2014
FRANCE	23.02.1924	BORDEAUX	12.06.2014
GERMANY	1920	MUNSTER	19.06.2014

BENIN	2014	COTONOU	23.06.2014
ITALY	1924	PISA	26.06.2014
ALGERIA	1962	BATNA	31.07.2014
ALGERIA	1962	TLEMCEM	31.07.2014
LUANDA	2014	ANGOLA	13.08.2014
REBUPLIC OF CONGO	2014	AVENUE	15.10.2014
UKRAINE	03.02.1992	KHERSON	15.10.2014
NIGERIA	30.08.1962	ABUJA	03.03.2015
IRAN	01.01.1921	AHVAZ	16.03.2015
PHILIPPINES	13.06.1949	MANILA	31.03.2015
TAIWAN		TAIPEI	31.03.2015
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1925	SAN FRANCISCO	13.04.2015

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APPENDIX C: Table 4.8

Table 4.8: Cities and countries THY fly to with code-share agreement

CITY	COUNTRY	DATE FLIGHTS STARTED	AIRLINES WITH CODE-SHARE AGREEMENT
ADELAIDE	AUSTRALIA	05.03.2014	SINGAPORE AIRLINES CODE SHARE AGREEMENT
AHMEDABAD	INDIA	23.04.2012	OPERATED BY AIR INDIA LIMITED
ASMARA	ERITREA	19.8.2014	OPERATED BY AGYPTAIR
ATLANTA	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
AUCKLAND	NEW ZEALAND	26.12.2011	THAI AIRWAYS CODE SHARE AGREEMENT
BALTIMORE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
BANGALORE	INDIA	23.04.2012	OPERATED BY AIR INDIA LIMITED
BERGEN	NORWAY	22.04.2013	SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
BOA VISTA	CAPE VERDE	02.05.2011	OPERATED BY TAP PORTUGAL AIRLINES
BOGOTA	COLOMBIA	08.07.2014	OPERATED BY AVIANCA AIRLINES
BRISBANE	AUSTRALIA	26.12.2011	THAI AIRWAYS COD SHARE AGREEMENT
BUFFALO	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
BURLINGTON	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
CALGARY	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
CALI	COLOMBIA	08.07.2014	OPERATED BY AVIANCA AIRLINES
CHARLESTON	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
CHARLOTTE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
CHELYABINSK	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
CHRISTCHURCH	NEW ZEALAND	05.03.2014	OPERATED BY SINGAPORE AIRLINES
CINCINATI	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA EXPRESS
CLEVELAND	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA EXPRESS
DALLAS	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	11.10.2008	OPERATED BY UNITED AIRLINES
DENVER	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA AND UNITED AIRLINES
DETROIT	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)

EDMONTON	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
FARO	PORTUGAL	02.05.2011	OPERATED BY TAP PORTUGAL AIRLINES
FORT LAUDERDALE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
FORT MYERS	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
FREDERICTON	CANADA		IT IS PLANNED, NOT YET.
FUKUOKA	JAPAN	25.10.2009	OPERATED BY ASIAN AIRLINES
FUNCHAL	PORTUGAL	02.05.2011	OPERATED BY TAP PORTUGAL AIRLINES
HALIFAX	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
HANOI	VIETNAM	05.03.2014	OPERATED BY SINGAPORE AIRLINES
HARARE	ZIMBABWE	2011	ALL THE FLIGHTS ARE CANCELLED
HARTFORD	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
HYDERABAD	INDIA	23.04.2012	OPERATED BY AIR INDIA LIMITED
HYANNIS	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
JACKSONVILLE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
JUBA	SUDAN	2011	OPERATED BY EGYPTAIR
KALININGRAD	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
KHANTY-MANSIYSK	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
KIGALI	RWANDA	15.05.2012	EKREDİTE BUYUKELÇİ / KAMPALA ELCİLİĞİ BAKIYOR / OPERATED BY ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES
KILIMANJARO	TANZANIA	07.12.2012	OPERATED BY ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES
KIRUNA	SWEDEN	22.04.2013	OPERATED BY SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
KOLKATA	INDIA	23.04.2012	OPERATED BY AIR INDIA LIMITED
KRAKOW	POLAND	01.07.2014	OPERATED BY LOT POLISH AIRLINES
KRASNODAR	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
KRASNOYARSK	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
KRISTIANSAND	NORWAY	22.04.2013	OPERATED BY SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
KURGAN	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
LAS VEGAS	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	11.10.2008	OPERATED BY UNITED AIRLINES
LONDON STANSTED	UNITED KINGDOM	14.06.2005-09.02.2014	ALL THE FLIGHTS ARE CANCELLED TO TERMINAL 2

LONG BEACH	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
LULEA	SWEDEN	22.04.2013	OPERATED BY SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
LUSAKA	ZAMBIA	2011	OPERATED BY ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES
MADRAS	INDIA	23.04.2012	OPERATED BY AIR INDIA LIMITED
MAGNITOGORSK	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
MASS	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
MEDELLIN	COLOMBIA	08.07.2014	OPERATED BY AVIANCA AIRLINES
MELBOURNE	AUSTRALIA	23.10.2011	THAI AIRWAYS COD SHARE AGREEMENT
MINERALNYE VODY	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
MINNEAPOLIS	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA EXPRESS
MONCTON	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA EXPRESS
NAGOYA	JAPAN	25.10.2009	OPERATED BY ASIAN AIRLINES
NASHVILLE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA EXPRESS
N'DJAMENA	CHAD	12.12.2013	SOME DAYS OPERATED BY ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES
OKINAWA	JAPAN	16.01.2012	OPERATED BY ASIAN AIRLINES
OSTERSUND	SWEDEN	22.04.2013	OPERATED BY SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
PERM	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
PERTH	AUSTRALIA	23.10.2011	THAI AIRWAYS COD SHARE AGREEMENT
PHILADELPHIA	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	19.01.2011	OPERATED BY UNITED AIRLINES
PHOENIX	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	19.01.2011/ 12.05.2014	OPERATED BY UNITED AIRLINES / JETBLUE AIR AGGREGMENTS (12.05.14)
PITTSBURGH	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.14	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
PORLAND	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.14	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
PORTO	PORTUGAL	02.05.2011	OPERATED BY TAP PORTUGAL AIRLINES
PRAIA	CAPE VERDE	23.06.2011	OPERATED BY ROYAL AIR MOROC AIRLINES
RALEIGH DURHAM	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
RICHMOND	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)

ROCHESTER	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
ROUYN	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
SACRAMENTO	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	11.10.2008	OPERATED BY UNITED AIRLINES
SAL	CAPE VERDE	02.05.2011	OPERATED BY TAP PORTUGAL AIRLINES
SALT LAKE CITY	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
SAMARA	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
SAN DIEGO	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	11.10.2008	OPERATED BY UNITED AIRLINES
SAN JUAN	PUERTO RICO	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JETBLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
SAO VICENDE	CAPE VERDE	02.05.2011	OPERATED BY TAP PORTUGAL AIRLINES
SARASOTA	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
SEATTLE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	11.10.2008	OPERATED BY UNITED AIRLINES
SKELLEFTEA	SWEDEN	22.04.2013	OPERATED BY SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
STRYACUSE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
STAVANGER	NORWAY	22.04.2013	OPERATED BY SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
SURGUT	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
SYDNEY	AUSTRALIA	26.12.2011/ 25.10.2009	THAI AIRWAYS AND ASIANA AIRLINES CODE SHARE AGREEMENT
SYKTYVKAR	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
TAMPA	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)
TRONDHEIM	NORWAY	22.04.2013	OPERATED BY SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES
TYUMEN	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
USINSK	RUSSIA	22.02.2012	OPERATED BY UTAIR AVIATION JSC
VAL D'OR	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
VANCOUVER	CANADA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
WASHINGTON DC BALTIMORE	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	29.03.2013	OPERATED BY AIR CANADA
WEST PALM BEACH	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	12.05.2014	OPERATED BY JET BLUE AIRLINES (CODE SHARE AGREEMENT)

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T.C. Dışışleri Bakanlıđı, (t.y.) *Afrika Birliđi*, Alındıđı tarih: 24.06.2015, adres:
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/afrika-birligi.tr.mfa>.

RESUME



Name & Surname : Sibel BİLKAY
Place of Bith & Date : İstanbul / 11.10.1977
E-mail : sibelbilkay@hotmail.com

EDUCATION:

- **High School** : 1990-1995 Capa Anatolian Teacher's Training Collage
- **Collage** : 1997-2001 Anadolu University –Public Relations
- **Undergraduate** : 2002-2006 Anadolu University- Faculty of Business Administration
- **Graduate** : 2011-2015 İstanbul Aydın University-Science of Policy and International Relationship

WORK EXPERIENCE:

- **1996 STFA OGDEN/AHL Terminal Staff**

In Ataturk Airport C Terminal, Charter Flights operational executive.

- **1997-2005 THY/Catering Division.**

Last 2 years I was a conducting front accounting and 6 years I was as a fiduciary cash. In addition, sales of aircraft over the duty-free sales automation system check, calculate monthly commissions, would be charged.

- **2005-2009 THY Ground Operations for Passengers.**

Passenger Services Agent / Desks-Boarding Officer: 737-type aircraft, all check-in and boarding procedures alone can do in 1.5 hours .. I did this several times on flights torent. I was one of the lead of the team on crisis management. Created after the accident in Diyarbakir, "TK

Family Support Team" group, the intervention team were serving in the trauma team. Between 2003 and 2011, I trained constantly. This team will serve those who elected and five-stage psychological test administered by TMI. Ticket sales have been trained for. However, ticket sales department actively worked except in case of crisis.

- **2009-2011 THY Cargo Division**

Export Area Manager (expert): total of all stations in THY flies all over the world was divided into five regions. I worked each of these regions. So that, I know every country's customs and transportation rules. To briefly summarize the work in each shift, daily air cargo configurations, set notoc forms of hazardous substances and prepare to make physical checks, the aircraft is not appropriate to provide downloading of cargo, preparing statements and supply the necessary documents, prepare statements according to the rules of the country. The effective date of reservation of cargo and cargo sales continues our certificates.

- **2014-2015 Istanbul Aydın University**

I worked in Istanbul Aydın University as a Civil Aviation Expert at Civil Aviation MYO.

PRIZES:

- In **14.01.2004**, was given by **Turkish Airlines/General Purchasing Division Chief Executive**-Mr. Ali DORUK for my discipline and outstanding achievement award.
- In **19.12.2007**, was given by **Turkish Airlines/ Passenger Service Coordination Manager**-Yusuf ATASEVEN for thanks letter for customer-oriented service approach.
- In **27.12.2007**, was given by **Turkish Airlines/ Passenger Service Coordination Manager**-Yusuf ATASEVEN thanks letter for selfless work and discipline.
- In **04.03.2009**, was given by **Turkish Airlines General Manager**- Ass. Prof. Temel KOTİL for thanks letter because all my efforts and dedication to my task.