BASE POLITICS DURING THE POST - COLD WAR ERA:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOUTH KOREA AND TURKEY

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara

June, 2018

To my Father

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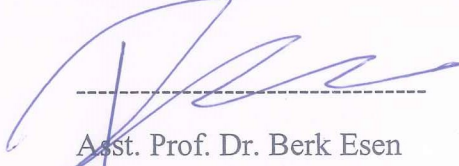İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
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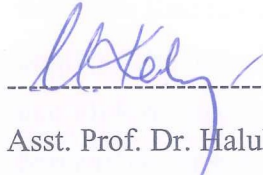

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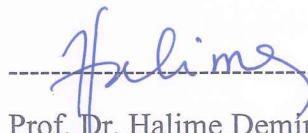

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ABSTRACT

BASE POLITICS DURING THE POST - COLD WAR ERA:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOUTH KOREA AND TURKEY

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U.S. military bases are distributed across over forty countries with approximately eight hundreds installations. Yet, base politics has received rather limited attention from IR scholars to date. South Korea and Turkey have hosted American troops for more than six decades. After the end of the Cold War, the issue of U.S. military presence in both countries became questioned and contentious ever now. With a comparative approach, this thesis aims to examine how host nations' domestic politics influences in base politics. Focusing on base politics during the post-Cold War era, this thesis demonstrates that while high severity of threats to host nations stabilizes the U.S. military presence in host nations, high anti-American sentiment restricts U.S. military operations from bases in host nations. In particular, this research examines base politics under each leadership of the two countries in an effort to analyze influence of two independent variables – severity of threats and anti-Americanism – on base politics which is a dependent variable. When the national security of South Korea and Turkey is threatened, both countries are likely to count on the protection from a more powerful military ally which is the United States. Nonetheless, high anti-Americanism which was increasingly observed after 2002 in both countries has strained alliance relationships in regard to U.S. military bases.

Keywords: Base Politics, South Korea, The Post-Cold War Era, Turkey, U.S. Military Bases

ÖZET

SOĞUK SAVAŞI SONRASI DÖNEMDE ASKERİ ÜS POLİTİKALARI:
GÜNEY KORE VE TÜRKİYE ÜZERİNE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Amerika'ya ait askeri üsler yaklaşık olarak sekiz bin tesis ile kırktan fazla ülkede varlığını sürdürmektedir. Fakat üs politikaları üzerine Uluslararası İlişkiler alanında çok fazla çalışmanın olmadığını, bu konuya çok fazla dikkat edilmediğini söyleyebiliriz. Güney Kore ve Türkiye, Amerika'nın askeri birliklerini altmış yıldan fazla bir zaman diliminde ağırlamıştır. Soğuk Savaş'tan sonra Amerika'nın askeri varlığı iki ülkede de sorgulanırken günümüzde bu konuya dair tartışmalar daha artmıştır. Bu tezin amacı karşılaştırmalı olarak, konuk ülkenin yerli politikalarının askeri üs'e olan etkisinin ne şekilde olduğunun ölçülmesine/sorgulamasına dairdir. Bu tez, Soğuk Savaş sonrası üs politikalarına odaklanarak, yüksek tehdit zamanlarında ev sahibi ülkelerin Amerikan askeri varlığını dengede tutmayı çalıştığını ve yüksek Amerikan karşıtlığının/anti-Amerikan duyarlılığının olduğu zamanlarda da ev sahibi ülkelerde Amerika'nın askeri operasyonlarını sınırladığını gösterir. Özellikle bu çalışma iki ülkenin liderlerinin belirlediği politikalar çerçevesinde iki farklı bağımsız değişkenin yani tehdidin düzeyi ve Amerikan karşıtlığının, bağımlı değişken olan üs politikalarına etkisini ölçecektir. Bütün bunlarla birlikte dikkate değer bir diğer husus Güney Kore ve Türkiye'nin ulusal güvenliğinin tehdit altında olduğu zamanlarda iki ülke de askeri olarak daha güçlü olan müttefik ülke Amerika'dan destek almayı gözünde bulundurmaya eğilimlidir. Fakat, iki ülkede de 2002'den beri Amerikan askeri üste ilişkin giderek arttığı gözlemlenen Amerikan karşıtlığının, ikili birlik ilişkilerini gerginleştirdiği de elde edilen veriler arasındadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerikan Askeri Üsler, Güney Kore, Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dönem, Türkiye, Üs Politikaları

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AKP	The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
ANAP	The Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi)
CCFR	The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
CFC	The ROK-US Combined Forces Command
CHP	The Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
DECA	The Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement
DHKP-C	The Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi)
DLP	The Democratic Liberal Party
DoD	U.S. Department of Defense
DP	The Democratic Party
DSP	The Democratic Left Party (Demokratik Sol Partisi)
DYP	The True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi)
EU	The European Community
EU	The European Union
FOTA	The Future of the Alliance Policy Initiative
FP	The Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi)
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GNP	The Grand National Party
ICBM	Intercontinental ballistic missile
IMF	The International Monetary Fund
KCNA	The Korean Central News Agency
KORUS FTA	The United States–Korea Free Trade Agreement

LPP	The Land Partnership Plan
MDP	The Millennium Democratic Party
MG	The National Outlook (Milli Gorus)
MHP	The Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)
MNP	The National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi)
MSP	The National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi)
MST	The Mutual Security Treaty
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	The Non-Proliferation Treaty
OPC	Operation Provide Comfort
PKK	The Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê)
ROK	The Republic of Korea
RP	The Welfare Party (Refah Partisi)
SHP	The Social Democratic Populist Party (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçi Partisi)
SOFA	A Status of Forces Agreement
TGNA	The Turkish Grand National Assembly
UNSC	The United Nations Security Council
USFK	The United States Forces Korea
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The issue of U.S. military presence in foreign countries is of vital importance for both the United States and the host nations. Yet, base politics has received rather limited attention from IR scholars to date. Base politics is closely associated with host nations' domestic politics where a variety of actors interact with base policies. While military authorities of the United States and host nations cooperate closely, non-state domestic actors such as the general public, activists, and civic groups actively engage in base politics. Therefore, studying base politics in perspective of host nation's domestic politics will enlighten IR scholars on the neglected area.

South Korea and Turkey as long term allies of the United States have hosted permanent U.S. bases for over six decades. The purpose of U.S. military in South Korea and Turkey is to deter aggression and provide collective security. For instance, U.S. military in South Korea contributed to nuclear deterrence and defense of missile attacks from North Korea. The U.S. military in Turkey, on the other hand, play a key role in counter-terrorism operations in the region. Yet, despite the raison d'etre of U.S. military, anti-Americanism in host nations often challenges base politics. Hence, the goal of my thesis is to demonstrate that host nations' domestic politics – severity of threats and anti-Americanism – influences on base politics. The core of my argument is that while high severity of threats to host nations stabilizes base politics, high anti-Americanism restricts the scope of U.S. operations from military bases in host nations. With a comparative study of South Korea and Turkey, my thesis shows how base politics has evolved in host nations during the post-Cold War era.

1. 1 Significance of the study, case selection, and research question

U.S. military bases are distributed across over forty countries with approximately eight hundreds installations. According to Kane and Heritage research center (2004), a majority of U.S. overseas bases are deployed in Europe and Asia. In

Europe, the United States has nearly 80,000 military personnel at 39 bases in 15 countries including permanent bases such as in Germany, Spain, the U.K. and Turkey as of 2012. In the Pacific region, eight countries host 154,000 American military personnel at 49 major bases including South Korea and Japan as of 2012 (Lostumbo *et al.*, 2013). The omnipresence of U.S. military projects the idea of U.S. dominance and influence over the world (Lutz, 2009). Notwithstanding vastness of U.S. military presence in the world, base politics has been neglected in IR.

Until recently, IR scholars have studied American overseas bases as a part of global network of U.S. defense posture. They have investigated how the global network system of overseas bases works, how it functions under the framework of U.S. defense strategy and eventually how it affects global politics. The strategic value of U.S. military bases in a foreign nation was granted by authorities in the American homeland. Yet, base politics is composed of different actors in varying political environments. Although it is the U.S. administration that has direct power to draw its troops from foreign countries, a variety of factors and actors engage in the matter of base politics. Hence, base politics should be understood in different perspectives encompassing both U.S. perspective and host nations' domestic political perspectives.

IR scholars have been more interested in how the deployment of U.S. forces works with U.S. political agenda and how it projects U.S. power in the global system. Likewise, unless U.S. military bases are located in combat zones such as Afghanistan or Iraq, the media and the public of the U.S. have not paid attention to U.S. bases. A majority of Americans are not aware of the scale of the U.S. overseas military presence. Moreover, IR scholars have overlooked how the presence of U.S. military in host nation affects relationships between the U.S. and the host nation even when there is severe anti-American sentiment in the host nation. Oftentimes, host nation's public accepts U.S. bases as a symbol of American influence in its nation. Thus, anti-Americanism is likely to reflect tensions between the host nation and the United States. After the 2003 Iraq War, anti-Americanism was widespread and even observed highest in some of the U.S. allies. The upsurge of anti-American sentiment has imposed constraints on the U.S. alliance with host nations, thereby affecting the U.S. military presence in those countries.

This thesis investigates base politics of South Korea and Turkey from the end

of Cold War to the early 2010s. With case studies of South Korea and Turkey, I attempt to discover dynamics of base politics in perspective of host nations. The comparative case study of my thesis will demonstrate how host nations respond to base politics under different circumstances.

South Korea and Turkey have been long-term allies of the United States since the outbreak of the Cold War. The U.S.-South Korea alliance started with America's commitment during the Korean War. As a result of the three-year war on the Korean Peninsula, the United States and South Korea signed the Mutual Security Treaty (MST) in October 1953. The agreement states that South Korea gives the United States "the right to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about the territory of the Republic of Korea (Sandars, 2000)." Since then, the U.S. military in South Korea played a crucial role in deterring aggression and projecting the U.S. ideologies. The major goal of the U.S. military presence is to protect the national security and interests of South Korea and the United States from the mutual enemy. The U.S.-South Korea alliance has evolved after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Similarly, the establishment of U.S. military bases started in Turkey with the goal of mutual defense and protection from the common threat during the Cold War. There were approximately 7,000 U.S. troops in Turkey at the end of Cold War (Sandars, 2000). The U.S.-Turkey alliance has developed after the Cold War and allowed thousands of U.S. troops to be stationed on 15 bases in Turkey as of 2015 including NATO bases (U.S. Department of Defense, 2015).

To understand base politics with a comparative approach, I have chosen South Korea and Turkey for these reasons: (1) history, (2) strategic importance, and (3) political and economic similarities. First, as mentioned above, U.S. troops were first deployed in South Korea and Turkey to deter the aggression of the Soviet Union. From the Cold War era, South Korea has maintained its alliance with the United States and their alliance has evolved into strategic alliance in the 2000s. Likewise, Turkey's alliance with the United States also started from the Cold War era. As Turkey showed its commitment during the Korean War by sending the third largest troops of coalition, Turkey has maintained stable relations with the United States. Notwithstanding occasional challenges, the U.S.-Turkey alliance has developed over time. For the same reason, Cooley (2008) chooses South Korea and Turkey as a comparative study of base politics. Second, South Korea and Turkey are strategically

important allies to the United States. The United States has emphasized the strategic importance of alliances with South Korea and Turkey. The U.S. military bases in South Korea played a pivotal role in U.S. global defense posture with 28,500 troops across approximately 50 bases (Yoon, 2016, 2017). Strategic alliance with the U.S. was especially emphasized in South Korea by the Lee Myung Bak administration. On the other hand, the strategic value of Turkey derives from its geographic location and NATO membership. As the only Muslim country in NATO, the importance of U.S. military bases in Turkey has been consistently perceived by U.S. officials. Third, South Korea and Turkey share political and economic similarities. South Korean conservatives are traditional pro-American and they value strong relations with the United States. Turkish political elites are also known for secularism and pro-Western stance. Both South Korea and Turkey have taken predominantly pro-American foreign policy. In addition, both countries experienced democratization in the 1990s. Holmes (2014) compares anti-base movements of Germany and Turkey to prove similar types of protest in different settings. Instead, I believe a comparative study of South Korea and Turkey provides better understanding of base politics with similar level of economic and political development.

In this vein, this thesis raises a number of questions in base politics. How does U.S. military presence change under the alliance relationships? Why is there a need of permanent U.S. bases in host nations after the disappearance of the communist threat? If threats to host nation escalate even after the Cold War, is U.S. military presence guaranteed and is base politics stable in the host nation? Meanwhile, if anti-Americanism increases in host nations, how does host nation's government respond to its pro-American policy? This thesis will address these questions with a comparative study of base politics in South Korea and Turkey. Using case examples, I demonstrate that severity of threats and anti-Americanism influence in base politics. I endeavor to show that high severity of threats to host nation stabilizes the U.S. military presence and high anti-American sentiment in the host nation restricts U.S. military operations from bases in the host nation. My argument will be examined in various cases under each leadership of the two countries in an effort to analyze impact of two independent variables – severity of threats and anti-Americanism – on base politics in the following chapters.

1. 2 Literature review

Trends of U.S. military bases

U.S. Department of Defense 2015 report says that there are 587 U.S. bases in 42 countries excluding Afghanistan bases. According to Vine (2015)'s research, he argues that there are over 800 bases in about 50 countries including clandestine bases which the Pentagon conceals. Although the United Kingdom, China, France, Russia, and Turkey also have overseas bases, the United States is the only country which deploys a vast amount of military in foreign territories. Base politics has been overlooked study in IR and even it is only discussed as U.S. base politics (Blaker 1990; Enloe 2000; Gresh 2015; Kawato 2015; Kim 2014; Lutz 2009; Moon 1997; Yeo 2011). Although Sandars (2000) provides history of base politics from the British Empire era and Calder (2007) introduces explanation of British bases and Soviet Union bases, overseas bases of other countries are rarely studied and most of them are not permanent as American bases. Since base politics is a matter of sovereignty, security, and alliance, there is still room for deep and cross-regional study in the discipline of IR.

Despite the striking number of U.S. overseas bases and its long-standing history since World War II, the study of U.S. overseas politics was neglected (Blaker 1990; Calder 2007; Cooley 2008; Enloe 2000; Holmes 2014; Kawato 2015; Kim 2014; Lutz 2009; Moon 1997; Sandars 2000; Vine 2015; Yeo 2011). To be exact, scholars have not paid enough attention to overseas military bases since they were geographically remote and not politically salient. Moreover, base politics has been neglected because the deployment of U.S. forces was need-based for the host nation and the United States and the deployment process was generally smooth without conflicts and public objections until the Cold War. Especially between World War II and the Cold War when U.S. military bases were extensively prevalent, most host nations welcomed the U.S. military presence (Sorenson & Korb, 2007). U.S. military bases in foreign countries started to become politicized especially after the Cold War since policymakers of both host nations and the United States started questioning the necessity of the U.S. military presence.

Base politics tends to be discussed in two ways. The first approach –often done by anthropologists and legal scholars - is to focus on issues surrounding the base in host nations. Scholars of anthropology and law concentrate on how U.S.

bases cause harm on local communities by looking sex industry surrounding base camps, environmental damage, or crimes committed by U.S. personnel (Enloe, 2000; Kim, 2014; Moon, 1997; Vine, 2009, 2015). For instance, David Vine (2015), an American anthropologist, researches about sixty bases in over ten countries. He observes tensions in host nations and even some antipathy against American troops in their society. He argues that social movements and protests towards the U.S. need serious attention and that expansion of U.S. military bases in the world eventually not only harms local people but also increases damage to the United States. His study provides cross-regional study about the influence of the U.S. military presence and comprehensive current documentation of base issues occurring in host nations. For instance, Vine (2009) uncovers how the United States forced indigenous people to leave their own island, Diego Garcia and how the presence of U.S. military bases in various countries affects local community and conflicts with the U.S. interests. Although anthropological study of U.S. overseas bases alerts policymakers in the U.S., base politics requires IR approaches to study which political environment engenders certain policy.

The second approach is to look at interactions between host nations and the United States. IR scholars attempt to theorize relations of host nations and the U.S. and of local communities and the U.S. bases in the host nations. In this trend of study, IR scholars pay attention to militarism and feminism (Enloe, 2000; Moon, 1997; Kim, 2014), social movements in politics (Holmes, 2014; Yeo, 2011), American globalism and imperialism (Calder, 2007; Cooley, 2008; Lutz, 2009; Sandars, 2000). In traditional study of base politics, scholars primarily focused on U.S. overseas military as an outcome of American policymaking decision and analyzed change of base politics in perspective of U.S. policy. Yet, recent scholars endeavor to broaden area of base politics.

Comprehensive and historical approach of base politics

Even though military retrenchment of U.S. deployment abroad has been the issue in Washington after the Cold War, the U.S. defense posture has been discussed as a strategy of U.S. foreign policy. IR scholars have not paid enough attention to how, why, when, and under what conditions domestic politics and, public opinion, and media of host nations affect basing agreements. Base politics is a complex study.

U.S. military bases have existed for more than a half century all over the world. In modern history, it is not usual to have foreign military in a sovereign state's territory. Thus, base politics needs to be studied comprehensively with proper historical approach and different perspectives.

Christopher Sandars (2000) provides a descriptive and historical approach to base politics by illustrating various political historical backgrounds of American bases in the 20th century. He focuses on American imperialism as Calder (2007) and Lutz (2009) do. His historical description illustrates diplomatic relations of the United States and host countries. Sandars (2000) provides overview of U.S. military bases from the foundation to the 1990s.

Sandars (2000), for instance, calls the network of U.S. overseas bases "the leasehold empire." Host nations cannot exert sovereign authority at the premises of U.S. military even though the United States leases the land on their territory. The politics of bases thus is not only issue of bilateral agreement, but it also a major issue about sovereignty in IR. By lending its own territory, the host nation compromises its sovereignty.

Sandars (2000) analyzes global security system after World War II within the scope of America's single great power of the world. He differentiates the deployment of U.S. forces of today and military presence of colonial times. What today's U.S. overseas bases are different from the ones in the period of imperialism is that the United States of today makes bilateral agreement with host nations which are sovereign states. Sandars provides extensive and historical explanation of U.S. military bases in various regions, including America's territories such as Hawaii and Guam, the Philippines, Germany, Italy, South Korea, Japan, and Turkey. He has substantially improved understanding of history of U.S. military bases with the explanation of transition of colonial military presence to diplomatic, negotiated deployment. He contends that the United States employed its negotiating skills to make host nations to agree to lend their territory not by using imperial power in the modern times.

In Sandar's book, "America's overseas garrisons: the leasehold empire (2000)," he includes U.S. military bases in South Korea and Turkey among other cases. With his extensive narrative, one can easily grasp the overview of U.S. military bases from the foundation to the 1990s in South Korea and Turkey. He

claims that North Korea was one of major threats to South Korea whose government accepted U.S. troops on its territory. With increasing threats from North Korea, South Korea pursued sustaining the size of U.S. troops on the Korean Peninsula. Sandars (2000) argues that Turkey needed U.S. military aid and support to defer threats from belligerent states in the region. Although he suggests threats as a factor of maintaining U.S. military presence in host nations, his book mainly focuses on the historical background of U.S. military bases in foreign states. Instead, I strive for adopting severity of threats and anti-Americanism as independent variables to understand dynamics of base politics in host nations. In my thesis, I attempt to show varying political actors in base politics. By analyzing severity of threats and anti-Americanism by leadership in South Korea and Turkey, I try to explain base politics in a comprehensive and analytic approach.

On the other side, Calder (2007) offers sub-national level analysis of base politics. While former researchers of base politics provided historical account of base politics, Calder attempts to demonstrate interactions of base politics in policy making process and generalizes the dynamics of base politics in sub-national level. Calder is concerned with categorizing elements which stabilize base politics and diminish tensions around U.S. overseas bases in host nations.

Calder (2007) maintains that U.S. military deployment in foreign nations provides strong alliance, stability and security to both host nations and the United States. He emphasizes the role of U.S. military by providing history and political background of U.S. bases. Calder introduces five hypotheses to explain main factors that enable to stabilize basing agreements. The first variable is demography called "the contact hypothesis." If a host nation's population is condensed, base politics is more likely to be contentious. The history of host nation is a second variable ("the colonization hypothesis"). If a host nation has a history of colonization with the United States, the country may have a remained antipathy to America. The third variable is occupation called as "the occupation hypothesis." If an autocratic or totalitarian regime is replaced to democratic regime in host nation, stable basing agreement is more feasible. Democratization is the fourth variable as he calls "the regime shift hypothesis." A country on a process of democratization might endanger stability of base politics even to the degree where it wants the withdrawal of military bases. The last variable is dictatorship called by "the dictatorship hypothesis." Calder

argues that basing nation tends to support dictatorship if the dictator allows the basing nation to deploy its forces in the host nation. He tries to demonstrate under which circumstances U.S. military presence is safe and suggest how to keep base politics stable.

Calder (2007)'s study of base politics is often compared with Cooley (2008)'s because of his regime shift hypothesis. While Cooley connects stable basing agreements with credibility of democratic regime, Calder includes various types of regime – military regime, decolonization, or feudal regime – as a source of withdrawal of U.S. troops from foreign nations. Although Calder (2007) lays out different types of base politics and encompasses various countries and regions, he does not prove how U.S. military strategy, regional environment, and international system affect base politics. In addition, he fails to take domestic politics and domestic players of host nation into account.

In contrast with concerned scholars such as David Vine (2009, 2015), Amy Holmes (2014), and Cynthia Enloe (2000) who argue that U.S. military bases not only harm U.S. national interests but also lives in host nations, Calder (2007) affirms the strategic value of U.S. military bases by arguing that the presence of U.S. forces is a stabilizer both to host nation and the United States. Calder claims that U.S. military bases serve U.S. national interests. He rather suggests recommendations for American policy makers to lessen conflicts between U.S. overseas bases and host nations. To sum up, Calder makes a contribution in base politics by providing sub-national analysis and adequate categorization and encompassing various types of host nations-basing nation relationships in different regions. Yet, his hypotheses are too generalized to explain specific domestic environment in South Korea and Turkey. His sub-national analysis does not fully interpret how host nations' domestic environment affect in base politics and how domestic political environment interacts with U.S. military in host nations.

Cooley (2008) uses a comparative approach to understand dynamics of base politics. He discovers the linkage between democracy and stability of bilateral agreement on U.S. military bases. He argues that basing agreement of a stable democratic country is less vulnerable to radical change. Cooley also takes regime type into account to explain base politics. He concentrates on contractual credibility of host nations by arguing that a host nation with an advanced democratic system has

higher credibility of basing agreement. In other words, contractual environment affects stability of basing agreement and the level of democracy corresponds with the amount of credibility. Therefore, Cooley posits that basing agreements are most stable under consolidated democracies. Under the phase of democratization, a host nation experiences transition from a totalitarian or illegitimate regime to a democratic regime. And under those circumstances, basing agreement is vulnerable to change especially when the basing agreement was made before the change of regime. Cooley emphasizes the role of regime shift in base politics.

What is unique about Cooley's book, "Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military (2008)," is his encompassing regional case study and categorization. Cooley analyzes base politics in different regions such as the Philippines, Spain, South Korea, Turkey, Okinawa, the Azores, Japan, Italy, and Central Asia then compares base politics of two different regions. Most scholars who study base politics do not compare base politics in two different regions. Yet, Cooley conducts comparative case studies such as the Philippines and Spain cases, South Korea and Turkey cases, and Japan and Italy cases. For instance, he compares base politics of South Korea and Turkey together because of their initial purposes for U.S. military presence. Cooley argues that South Korea and Turkey had political and economic needs for U.S. forces in their countries because the U.S. provided economic aids and the U.S. military presence helped to consolidate the power of regimes of the two countries.

Cooley (2008) investigates democratization process of South Korea and Turkey since the establishment of U.S. bases in South Korea and Turkey. He posits that both countries took different paths of democratization but his hypothesis applies to base politics of the two countries. Cooley argues that when regime's political dependence of security contract and the contractual credibility of political institutions are low, the basing agreement is most contested. And if regime's political dependence of security contract and the contractual credibility of political institutions are both high, the basing agreement is not politicized without restraints.

His study (2008) is very noteworthy and valuable in base politics study since he attempts to theorize what makes base contracts stable and compares two countries in different regions. Yet, Cooley's study is only conducted at an institutional level. By emphasizing democratization, he misses other elements that have influence in

base politics. In addition, given the long term process of democratization and regime transition, security contract with a foreign country is inevitably confronted with challenges over time. Hence, instability of base politics may occur in any regime with a variety of reasons if we observe for a long time. Also, he marginalizes possible factors that might affect basing agreements such as social movements, anti-Americanism, different ideologies, threat perception, alliance relationships, or domestic politics. Cooley does not incorporate various domestic factors with base politics to explain interactions surrounding U.S. military bases. For instance, he refutes Katharine Moon (1997)'s claim that increased NGO's role in democratization affects base politics. Cooley neglects anti-Americanism in analyzing base politics. In addition, he fails to explain why anti-American movements occur in consolidated democracy. My goal of this thesis is to explain under which circumstances U.S. military presence is challenged in host nations by using case examples in South Korea and Turkey. In my thesis, I adopt anti-Americanism and severity of threats as independent variables, distinct from Cooley who disregards anti-Americanism and external threats in cases of South Korea and Turkey.

Catherine Lutz (2009) gathers documentation of how and why American imperialism raises opposition from host countries. She argues that U.S. military bases are the products of empire system and presents how anti-base struggles occur under the imperial system of bases in her works. Lutz claims that imperial ambition is to pursue asserting a state's power and influencing its dominance over other states. Thus, if a state aims to exert its power over other states, regardless of its proclaimed purposes, the state has imperial ambitions. She argues that the defense policy of the Bush administration in the early 2000s is one of the examples.

Lutz (2009) provides adequate classifications of purposes and myths of military bases. She indicates falsified or erroneous advantages of military bases. Although military bases provide protection and security to host nations and the United States, they are the outcomes of political and economic. Military bases often accompany various agreements dealing with economy cooperation, financial aid, or weapon trade. She also points out that military bases are utilized as a tool for the organizational survival of U.S. military. Lutz should be credited with her organized classification in her work and having identified challenges to U.S. bases in host nations. Especially by gathering articles of varying writers on the issue of base

politics, she shows how the imperial status of U.S. bases imposes damages to America and other states.

With a variety of cases, Lutz (2009) reveals how U.S. military bases affect people in host nations. For instance, she introduces anti-base movements in South Korea. During the relocation process of U.S. bases in South Korea, American bases were confronted with strong opposition from local residents, mostly farmers. Although her study is comprehensive and detailed, she does not provide adequate explanation of how base politics have changed and what variables influence in base politics. Hence, in my thesis, I endeavor to explain which factors result in specific policy of military bases in host nations. Although I admit that U.S. military presence itself often causes anti-base movements, I attempt to prove that anti-Americanism provides the opportunity of policy change regarding U.S. military bases in host nations. In addition, the core of my argument is that threats and anti-Americanism are significant elements that affect base politics.

Feminism in base politics

Although most IR scholars explain U.S. base politics as a product of U.S. foreign policy, some scholars approach base politics in different perspectives. Cynthia Enloe (2000) attempts to explain base politics through a feminist perspective and she makes a contribution in illustrating the dynamics of war, conflict, and gender. In particular, Enloe's pioneering study provides a bottom-up approach to investigate interactions between gender and militarization. Claiming that personal is international, Enloe links individual relations with international matters. Enloe focuses on several gender-related areas including tourism, textile industry, agriculture, diplomacy and military bases. Regarding military bases, Enloe points out that the policy of military is masculinized. She indicates that various actors engage in base politics to sustain masculinized ideologies and military operations. For instance, wives of military personnel have enabled U.S. military bases in foreign nation to function properly. In addition, prostitution was employed and justified to meet the sexual needs of soldiers in the past. Enloe argues that women in military bases contribute in a similar way that diplomats' wives do in international politics.

Enloe (2000)'s approach to base politics is different in two aspects. First, Enloe's interdisciplinary approach improves understanding of political system and

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gender politics in base politics. She demonstrates how women are engaged in military bases by arguing that gender, class, and ethnicity are also components to construct the world economic and political system. Second, her approach is not top-down but bottom up. Her main argument is that the political is personal and personal is international. Enloe broadens the study area of base politics by adding a gender perspective. As Enloe challenges hitherto research on base politics and stimulates more studies on linkages between gender, ethnicity, and class and base politics, her study demonstrates how host nation's domestic politics and environment influence women in base politics.

Katharine Moon (1997) also conducts a feminist analysis of base politics. Her work especially shows marginalized and abused women near the U.S. bases in South Korea and arouses attention to the impact of U.S. military bases on local community. In her book, "Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations (1997)," Moon focuses militarized prostitution in local communities around U.S. bases in South Korea during the 1970s. She argues that prostitution was sponsored by governments of both the United States and South Korea. Moon makes a distinctive contribution in showing importance of marginalized and stigmatized actors in base politics. As Cynthia Enloe (2000) states that "personal is international," Moon also demonstrates that the personal interactions of militarized prostitutes with U.S. soldiers have influence in international relations and foreign policy.

In her later works, Moon (2004, 2007) demonstrates the important role of NGOs in increasing awareness of U.S. base issues and changing South Korea's base policy. She argues that the grievances against U.S. military bases in South Korea received broader attention from the public, media and government due to increased rights of NGOs and their activism with developed internet technology and informational revolution in South Korea. In her later article, "Resurrecting prostitutes and overturning treaties: Gender politics in the "anti-American" movement in South Korea (2007)," Moon illustrates how NGOs have emerged and staged anti-American demonstrations in South Korea. She argues that as democratic system has developed in South Korea, anti-American activist movements stir up tension between the United States and South Korea. She provides an untraditional perspective into base politics by suggesting a feminist approach and narrative from the bottom up.

Miduk Kim (2014) also studies base politics as an issue of militarism and

feminism. Kim especially focuses on gender-related problems in U.S. military bases in South Korea. As a result, feminist approaches of Enloe (2000), Moon (1997, 2004, 2007) and Kim (2014)to base politics allow us to understand how the presence of U.S. bases overseas influence local communities and eventually relations between the U.S. and the host nation.

Anti-Americanism in base politics

Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane (2007) have advanced the study of anti-Americanism and provided the analytical framework in their book, "Anti-Americanisms in world politics." In their edited book, they offer the classification of anti-Americanism. Anti-Americanism can be categorized into four different types – liberal, social, sovereign-nationalist, and radical – based on their framework. Liberal anti-Americanism occurs when the U.S. fails its ideals. Social anti-Americanism is displayed when there is unilateralism, lack of social welfare, death penalty, and lack of compliance with international treaties. Sovereign-nationalist anti-Americanism is often observed in host nations. When a country seeks to increase autonomy and sovereignty against the U.S., its desire often comes with anti-Americanism. Radical anti-Americanism, as the name indicates, is realized as radical movement or extreme sentiment against the U.S. leadership.

Katzenstein and Keohane (2007) contend that although anti-Americanism has increased since the 2003 Iraq War, it does not have significant impact on U.S. interests because of American polyvalence. This explanation supports many research surveys such as Pew research report, BBC survey on anti-Americanism, and the German Marshall research on anti-Americanism. Despite the high anti-American sentiment among the public in some countries, American products and culture are still popular in those countries. Hence, the multifaceted anti-Americanism makes it difficult to define anti-Americanism and measure the level of anti-Americanism. In this sense, Katzenstein and Keohane provide a useful typology of anti-Americanism. Although Katzenstein and Keohane (2007) underestimate the potential of anti-Americanism for U.S. interests, its polyvalence can lead into various outcomes. Especially since the influence of civic groups grows in the 2000s, anti-Americanism cannot be ignored in politics.

When it comes to base politics, anti-Americanism is not a popular topic.

Considering base politics has been recently studied, the impact of anti-Americanism on base politics is studied by a small group of IR scholars. The main reason should be that compared to major issues in IR such as grand strategy, great wars, nuclear power conflict, alliance, international cooperation, base politics is seen as a sub-category of defense strategy in IR. Military bases have been considered merely military installations which are utilized by the military authority to protect national interests and security through political agreements. IR scholars have neglected the studies of interactions within military bases and political conflicts surrounding the U.S. bases in host nations. Overseas military bases have received attention from the media and government only when there was government budget-cut or when there were accidents or crimes at the base.

In addition, the U.S. defense posture is mostly discussed in terms of U.S. foreign policy and studied from the American perspective. Traditionally, it was accepted that it was policymakers in Washington who decided military retrenchment and caused change of U.S. overseas bases. However, some IR scholars try to understand base politics in terms of linkages between domestic politics of host nations and international politics.

Andrew Yeo (2011) and Amy Holmes (2014) illustrate which factors influence basing agreements by focusing on social movements. Andrew Yeo (2011) looks into social movement and its success (or failure) of changing elite consensus in the issue of the U.S. bases in host nations. He provides a comprehensive, comparative case analysis of the U.S. bases in several countries such as the Philippines, Japan, Ecuador, Italy, and South Korea. Both Holmes and Yeo pay attention to anti-base opposition in host nations and highlight the connections between bilateral agreement and the local public of host nations. In particular, Yeo's delineation of anti-base protests in South Korea enlightens on the dynamics between the South Korean civic groups and policymakers.

Yeo (2011) explains cases of anti-base movements in the Philippines, Japan, Ecuador, Italy and South Korea. His main argument is that the success of anti-base movement is dependent on changing policymakers' minds who eventually decide to modify basing agreements or shut down bases to the extreme. Also he points out that when there is vivid division among policy makers regarding the issue of U.S. bases, it is easier for the activists to have effect on changing security consensus of the

politicians. He highlights how social movements of host nations play a role in national security and alliance. Although Yeo emphasizes the role of non-state actors such as individual, civic groups, and the media in foreign policy, he acknowledges that it is security consensus of policy makers to employ real power on base politics.

Unlike other scholars who study base politics in post-colonial nation-states or focus on base politics mainly in the post-war era, Yeo (2011) tests his theory in social movement cases in various countries after the Cold War era. His detailed description of anti-base movements makes his theory compelling and persuasive. For instance, he applies his theoretical framework to explain social movements in South Korea and their effects. He displays how anti-base movements in Korea have developed and how the South Korean government has responded to them in different ways. Yeo coins the term, "security consensus" which is an understanding of elite groups or policy makers who have actual power to change basing agreements. He argues that strong security consensus among politicians constrains anti-base movements.

In the South Korean case, Yeo (2011) claims that strong security alliance between South Korea and the United States and external threat, especially North Korea have strengthened the security partnership tighter. Yet, the support for the U.S.-South Korea alliance has been decreased and anti-base movements have increased in South Korea. When the base relocation to Pyeongtaek was first discussed in 2001, there were massive social movements regarding the land property and environment issues. Also, the young generation of Korea who does not have a war experience seems to have more negative attitude towards America's strong influence on South Korea's security matters and politics. However, South Korea's old generation and policy makers value the U.S.-South Korea security alliance and have strong security consensus.

Yeo (2011)'s theory explains that social movements which failed to break strong security consensus among South Korean elites do not succeed in changing base contracts. His analysis corresponds with realist perspective which takes into account domestic factors and material-based threat perceptions. In addition, he argues that ideology, norms, and institutions also affect elite perceptions. Although Cooley (2008) ignores bilateral security alliance regarding base politics of South Korea by focusing on mainly regime-shift, Yeo attempts to explain how security

alliance of the United States and South Korea influences elite perceptions of South Korea. For example, President Roh Moo Hyun who was a progressive and advocated strong security independence from the U.S. acquiesced to U.S. foreign policy because of strong security concerns.

Despite his systematic analysis of base politics, Yeo (2011)'s argument does not explain adequately how powerful anti-base movements fundamentally change base politics. Rather, his theory suggests when anti-base movements succeed in influencing policy makers. He assumes that the ultimate goal of anti-base movement is to affect policy regarding the U.S. military presence and it is only achieved by changing political elites' ideas and perceptions. Yet, we cannot exclude influence of civic groups, NGOs, and the media who are not legislators but active players in base politics. For instance, Cooley (2008) contends that high technology and informational revolution were effectively utilized by civic groups in South Korea. Anti-base activists engage in social movements to promote the public's understanding and knowledge of existing status of basing agreements or base politics. Also some of activists choose to influence base politics not solely by convincing politicians. One of their goals is to enhance awareness of the general public about disproportionate power of security allies, infringement of sovereignty, or even crimes committed by U.S. military personnel in the host nation. Overall, Yeo's study provides dynamic interactions between anti-American movements and policymakers. Yet, the purpose of my argument is to offer synthesized explanation of how threats and anti-Americanism affect base politics. My theoretical framework highlights the influence of severity of threats to the host nation in accordance with alliance theory. Additionally, I try to link anti-Americanism with changes of base policies.

Amy Holmes (2014) sheds light on social movement against the U.S. bases in Germany and Turkey. She provides a comparative analysis of base politics in Germany and Turkey since the Cold War era. Holmes chooses Germany and Turkey for her case analysis because of their NATO membership and strategic importance to the U.S despite different levels of economy and democracy. She displays how social movement plays a role in international relations. She describes several social movements in Germany and Turkey and how the U.S. responded to them. Holmes observes left-wing social movements against the U.S. military presence in Turkey. Although she examines social movements in host nations as Yeo (2011) does, she

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explains what causes social unrest or anti-base movement against U.S. military in host nations and different forms of social unrest. She does not only provide the causes of anti-base movement but also analyzes consequences of the protests. As other scholars such as David Vine (2015), Katharine Moon (1997), and Cynthia Enloe (2000) who are concerned about U.S. military expansion abroad, Holmes also argues that the presence of U.S. forces in foreign territories has negative impacts on U.S. interests.

Holmes (2014)'s analysis of base politics is noteworthy in two ways. First, she interweaves host nations' circumstances with legitimacy of U.S. forces. To describe the change of U.S. military bases' role, Holmes introduces two variables: external threat and internal harm. When there are high external threat and low internal harm, the environment makes the U.S. military legitimate. On the contrary, if the U.S. military in the host nation not only provides protection to the host nation but brings harm to it, the U.S. military loses its legitimacy which Holmes calls it "pernicious protection." Second, she defines the structure of base politics and recognizes multiple players in base politics. Holmes includes the U.S., host nation, and adversary states to the horizontal structure of base politics. As a player of base politics, she identifies not only the host nation and U.S. personnel in the bases, but also the host nation's citizens. She highlights types of social movement and strategies of social groups. She offers various types of social unrest emerging against U.S. military in the host nation - parliamentary opposition, armed struggle, civil disobedience, labor unrest. Holmes demonstrates that different actors engage in base politics of host nation.

In her book (2014), "Social Unrest and American Military Bases in Turkey and Germany," she emphasizes the role of local agents in changing foreign policy by laying out some examples. She chooses Germany and Turkey to demonstrate similar patterns of anti-base movements and how they lead into specific consequences. Yet, as she acknowledges, Germany and Turkey shares a few commonalities. Although they are both NATO members and played pivotal roles in preventing spread of communism during the Cold War, there are more differences between the two countries such as economic size, political system, culture, and regime type. In addition, despite her narrative explanation and a long-term observation of base politics, her analysis of cases is focused on individual events of anti-base movements.

For instance, Holmes illustrates how social movements led the Turkish parliament to deny the U.S. access to airbases in Turkey during the Iraq war in 2003. Yet, she fails to explain how alliance relationship between the United States and Turkey made Turkish leaders change their anti-American stance.

Documents that Holmes (2014) gathered from political parties, American officials, and social activists allow us to better understand dynamics of social movements in Turkey. Notwithstanding her contribution in promoting the role of social movements and its impact, she does not fully explain how domestic politics of host nation, long-term alliance, and institutional secularism of Turkey impact on basing agreements. Holmes mainly focuses on the role of U.S. military as a protector from external and internal harm. My purpose of the research, however, is to demonstrate how severity of threats and anti-Americanism have changed base politics in accordance with alliance relationship between the host nation and the United States. In addition, Turkey and South Korea have more commonalities than Turkey and Germany have. They established U.S. military bases for the same goals. American military bases were founded in South Korea and Turkey to defer aggression from the Soviet Union and to provide protection and support to bulwarks against communism. Moreover, South Korea and Turkey are long term allies to the United States and have strategic importance to U.S. defense and security. By adopting two similar cases of base politics, I endeavor to analyze how severity of threats and anti-Americanism affect base politics.

1.3 Theoretical framework

Throughout history, nations have attempted to secure military or strategic advantage through alliances. Economic alliances are common in the international trade. In the context of realism in IR, Waltz (1979) argues that states compete with each other and seek power because they pursue achieving security. In the perspective of his 'defensive realism', states make alliance together against those who seek power to attain relative advantage over them. As he argues, alliance is a by-product of balance of power.

A variety of alliance formations exists in international politics. Alliance is "an agreement between two or more states to work together on mutual security issues (Griffiths, O'Callaghan, & Roach, 2008)". States join together into alliance for

security from a mutual threat. Stephan Walt (1987) argues that alliance is formal or informal agreement for security cooperation of sovereign states. Glenn Snyder (1990) explains that states enhance their security and power against certain states through alliance. While alliance improves security of partner states, a weaker state in alliance sacrifices autonomy of its policy to varying degrees (Morrow, 1991). Snyder (1997) contends that entrapment and abandonment occur in the alliance security dilemma. Entrapment means a state's engagement of unintended strife or disputes which occur because of the alliance agreement. To prevent or respond to entrapment, states keep away from the alliance state, weaken or diminish alliance policy, or withdraw support from the alliance (Snyder, 1997). Abandonment also takes a variety of forms. The ally may abrogate the alliance agreement, neglect its obligation of alliance contract, realign with the opponent state, or fail to provide support (Snyder, 1984). Weaker states often take measures to prevent abandonment of the ally by increasing their commitment in alliance or supporting the ally's policy either domestically or internationally.

Base politics should be understood within the context of an alliance relationship. Although alliance agreement does not necessarily lead into establishment of military bases in an ally's territory, base agreements are generally derived from alliance relationships. The host nation and the United States mostly sign different forms of defense agreement and military cooperation agreement before they agree to establish U.S. bases in the host nation.

Base politics tends to be discussed in two ways. The first approach – often done by anthropologists and legal scholars - is to focus on issues surrounding the base in host nations (Enloe, 2000; Kim, 2014; Moon, 1997; Vine, 2009; 2015). Topics covered in anthropological and legal researches vary from environmental issues to sex crimes. The second approach is to look at interactions between host nations and the United States (Calder, 2007; Cooley, 2008; Lutz, 2009; Sandars, 2000). In terms of interaction between the host nation and the United States, research areas are included such as American global leadership, imperialism, democratic maturity of countries, anti-Americanism, etc. Base politics is rarely studied in perspective of host nations and their leader's ideologies, domestic politics, constituency, or public media. It is easily understood that change of status of overseas American military is an outcome of defense policy of the U.S.

administration. It is true that U.S. military bases are under direct influence of U.S. defense policy. Yet, it is pivotal to understand that U.S. military bases are in foreign territory and they interact with local governments and community. There are various players engaged in base politics. First, actors in the United States can be its policy makers, institutions such as U.S. Department of Defense and U.S. Congress who approves military budget, and its constituency. In the host nation, on the other hand, there is a variety of actors who can affect base politics such as host nation's government, policy makers, politicians, public media, voters, and local community of military bases.

In my thesis, I investigate how base politics operates in host nations. To examine determinants of base policy, I look into two independent variables: severity of threats and level of anti-Americanism. Since military bases are established to enhance security and protect from threats for both countries, when host nation's security is threatened or endangered, presence of U.S. military is easily justified. Especially when both the host nation and the United States share the same enemy, U.S. military is welcomed in the host nation. A classic example of stable base politics can be observed during the Cold War. Turkey as a bulwark of the Soviet Union hosted approximately 10,000 American troops during the Cold War. South Korea as a stalwart ally of the United States also borders with North Korea which has been threatening both countries' security. According to the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) records, South Korea hosted up to 326,863 American troops during the Cold War. Hence, the status of U.S. military in host nation and base politics is stable and rarely politicized when threats to host nation are imminent and severe.

To analyze base politics, I presume that severity of threats contains level of external threats and internal threats to host nations. Regional conflicts, unreliable neighboring countries, regional terrorism, or a nuclear state on the border are considered as external threats. Anything that threatens national territorial integrity is regarded internal threats within the border. Severity level of threats is divided into four categories: very high, high, medium, and low. When severity of threats is low, withdrawal of foreign military is considered. If severity of threats is very high or high, base politics is stable and military agreement between the host nation and the United States is not easily challenged.

Anti-Americanism is analyzed in two levels in this study. First, I explore

tendency of foreign policy of governments. Personal ideologies or disposition of the host nation's leaders toward American leadership are considered as well. For example, I examine disposition of South Korean presidents and Turkish prime ministers and president – during the Gulf War, President Turgut Ozal was in charge of Turkey's participation – toward the United States. Second, I investigate anti-Americanism at societal level. I count anti-American sentiment of the general public, media, and activists into independent variable. Anti-American sentiment is also categorized in four levels: very high, high, medium, and low. If anti-Americanism is very high or high, base politics is likely to be unstable and presence of U.S. military tends to be questioned. On the contrary, if anti-Americanism is medium or low, base politics is stable and military cooperation is rarely challenged in the host nation.

Base politics is confronted with challenges over time. Yet, U.S. military bases in foreign nations are bound in different laws and various agreements such as the DECA (Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement), the SOFA (Status of forces agreement), or defense cooperation agreements. Hence, to change the status of U.S. military bases which were already established is procedurally difficult. Nonetheless, one cannot say that U.S. military bases are safe from challenges. There have been withdrawals of U.S. troops in host nations such as the Philippines, the Czech Republic, and Thailand. In my thesis, I look into base politics in Turkey and South Korea where U.S. troops have stayed more than a half century, to study which factors challenge or stabilize base politics.

From my research, I claim that while high severity of threats stabilizes base politics, high anti-Americanism compromises the extent of basing rights of U.S. military. When severity of threats is high or very high, the host nation's government secures military cooperation with U.S. military in the country. Notwithstanding high threats to the host nation, if anti-Americanism is very high or high enough to affect policy making of host nation, it allows compromise of the extent of U.S. military operations using bases in the host nation. Likewise, I expect high challenges to the presence of U.S. military in host nation when severity of threats is medium or low and anti-Americanism is high or very high. I also posit that if severity level of threats is low and anti-Americanism is very high, withdrawal of U.S. troops is seriously considered as seen in Figure 1.
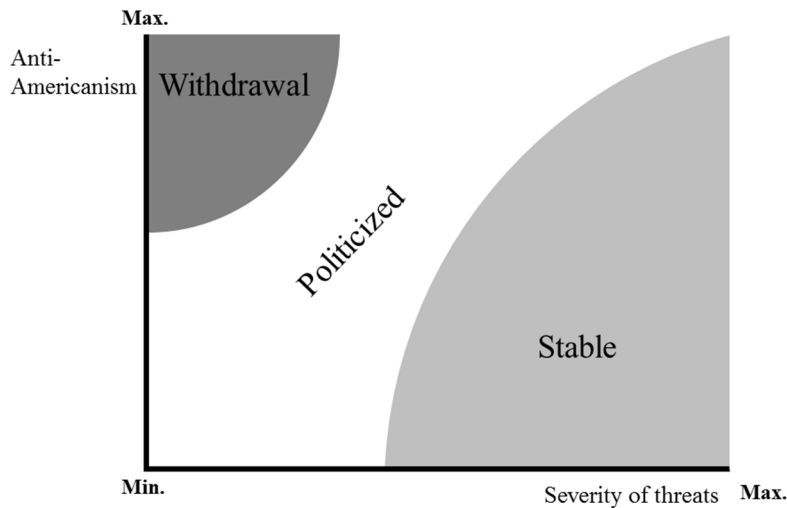
Figure 1 Base politics in accordance with severity of threats and anti-Americanism

Alliance theory can be applied in base politics. When host nation worries about engagement of unintended strife or disputes because of its alliance with the United States, the host nation attempts to limit U.S. military operations from the bases in the country. On the contrary, when the host nation is concerned about abandonment from the United States, who provides security umbrella and is the long-term ally to both Turkey and South Korea, the host nation attempts to ease the tension with the United State by extending American rights of using bases in the nation, compromising its anti-American policy, or dismissing anti-Americanism of the public.

The study shows that base politics are more responsive to threat perceptions of host nations and alliance relationships with the United States. Although anti-American sentiment, different ideologies and motivations for foreign policy have influence in base politics, they do not necessarily transform into policies against military bases of the United States. In South Korea, ideologies of the South Korean political parties do not automatically result in foreign policy against the United States (Kim, 2007). When severity of threats was high, the South Korean government postponed the transition time of wartime operational control from U.S. military to South Korean military. In Turkey, anti-Western or anti-American disposition of prime ministers was often changed and compromised in accordance with existential threats to national security and national territorial integrity. In addition, Bilgin (2008) argues that pro-Islamist tendencies of certain Turkish political parties, such as the Welfare Party (RP) and the Justice and Development Party (AKP) are not

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distinctively applied in Turkish foreign policy. The Turkish government even granted permission to the United States to use military bases in Turkey for Afghanistan and Iraq operations by showing Turkey's commitment into the U.S.-Turkey alliance to avoid abandonment.

The existence of international anarchy creates insecurity and alliance. Alliance is displayed in different aspects in combination with security dilemma. While a state improves security through military cooperation with an ally, the state sacrifices autonomy of its policy making to some extent. Host countries' policy making of American bases is affected by alliance relationships and domestic environment. Host nation sometimes compromises its sovereignty to maintain U.S. troops on its territory to keep the nation secure from threats. American military in foreign country has a major impact on host nation since American soldiers and their family members reside together with local community, occupying a vast land of the host nation. Hence, base politics needs to be considered from various perspectives. To discuss this thesis further, I look at how base politics changed in terms of threats and anti-Americanism in South Korea and Turkey during the post-Cold War era.

1.4 Methodology

I adopted a comparative approach to examine base politics of South Korea and Turkey during the post-Cold War era. The comparative method has key strengths to study different political phenomena. It provides a proper tool for understanding particular political phenomena. The universe of observations in base politics is approximately forty countries over the world. Yet, since the universe of observations in this case is too large to examine, I have chosen South Korea and Turkey. I provided a rationale for the case selection in the first section of this chapter. In my thesis, particularly, I took advantage of case studies of South Korea and Turkey to develop my hypotheses on the interactions between host nations' domestic political circumstances and base politics. I tested my hypotheses in different contexts of South Korea and Turkey after the end of the Soviet Union. By providing descriptive comparison of base politics in South Korea and Turkey, I attempted to make inferences which can be applied to other countries. I believe the implications of my argument are relevant for helping to explain base politics in other host nations.

1.5 Alternative explanations

There could be various alternative explanations for different variations of base politics. Among them, I want to discuss the impact of economic approach, anti-Americanism, military relations, and regime shift on base politics.

First, one could focus on economic dimension. As the level of economy in the host nation advances, the host nation can increase its budget for defense. The reinforcement of military due to the budget increase could decrease the host nation's military dependency on the U.S. military. In fact, when Turkey's military modernization program was heavily reliant on U.S. military aid until the early 1990s, the U.S. military presence in Turkey was protected by the Turkish government. However, this argument does not explain why the Turkish government shut down U.S. military bases in the 1970s. In addition, it does not give an account on the stability of military bases in developed countries like Germany or the U.K. where the size of economy is one of top in the world. Moreover, even though defense power is enhanced because of increased military budget, some of security matters such as counter-terrorism or nuclear deterrence require collective security through military alliance.

A second alternative explanation for unstable base politics is anti-Americanism. One could claim that anti-Americanism is more significant than severity of external threats. Yet, this argument does not provide proper explanation why the United States reduced the size of its overseas bases after the Cold War. The reduction of the U.S. overseas military presence is better interpreted with the transition of U.S. defense policy after the end of Cold War. In addition, when U.S. military presence is challenged by anti-American sentiments among the host nation's public, the United States tends to relocate its bases to less populated area not by reducing or withdrawing its military. For example, the U.S. military relocated its air base to the desert in Saudi Arabia when it concerned anti-Americanism (Pettyjohn & Kavanagh, 2016). Hence, anti-Americanism as the only independent variable is not enough to explain varying patterns of base politics.

When it comes to base politics, military authorities are also one of key actors. Upon signing the basing agreements, the militaries of the host nation and the United States cooperate in bases. In some countries, host nation's military command system exists under the U.S. military command chain. For instance, during authoritarian

regimes in South Korea, South Korean military was heavily dependent on the USFK because its military did not have peacetime operational control. South Korean military was not able to exercise military control as the CFC held military control of South Korea. In addition, Turkish military as a guardian of secularism, has maintained stable relations with the U.S. military. Turkish military is known for keeping Turkish politics in check when it distances from secularism. Oftentimes, the long-term, trust-based relations between military authorities of the host nation and the U.S. play an inescapable role in base politics. The fact that militaries of the host nation and the United States conduct joint military exercise on a regular basis also demonstrates stable base politics. Yet, relations between the host nation's military and the U.S. military are not sufficient to explain complex system of base politics. Although the military is one of crucial actors in base politics, base politics is often considered to be a foreign policy matter. Furthermore, as democracy has developed after the Cold War, the influence of the military in politics has diminished in host nations.

Lastly, the regime shift approach provides noteworthy explanation for stable base politics of authoritarian regime. Cooley (2008) posits that basing agreement of an authoritarian regime which favors U.S. support to the country is more likely to be stable than the one of a country in democratization process. He contends that a stable democratic country does not easily politicize base agreements because of the political credibility. However, even when a country has a mature democratic system, the country experiences unstable base politics. Thus, base politics is not always stable even under an advanced democratic regime. This makes it difficult to analyze base politics during the post-Cold War if we put various forms of base politics under a democratic system into one frame. Although the regime shift approach offers variation in how base politics is affected in different regimes – authoritarian regime, democratization, and democracy, the approach does not fully explicate different patterns of base politics under a developed democracy system.

To sum up, while alternative explanations provide different perspectives to understand base politics, it is necessary to approach base politics with the understanding of host nation's political environment and social phenomena. Since the main purpose of U.S. military bases is to deter aggression and to provide protection to the host nation and the U.S. from threats, it is pivotal to examine

severity of threats. In addition, since U.S. military bases are established in a foreign country, base politics are responsive to host nation's domestic politics and its local community. Anti-Americanism which is noticeable in the 2000s has also increased its influence on base politics. Therefore, despite the advantages of alternative explanations such as economic dimension, anti-Americanism, the military, and the regime shift approach, severity of threats and anti-Americanism adequately explain different dynamics of base politics in host nations.

1.6 Limitations

The comparative method is frequently used in political research because of its various advantages. Among the comparative approaches, the case study is probably the most common method in comparative politics. The thesis employs this method in an effort to analyze the influence of severity of threats and anti-Americanism on base politics in South Korea and Turkey during the post-Cold War era. Although these two case studies provided my research with obvious strength in comparing the pattern of base politics, the method also has structural limitations. Therefore, it is important to recognize the limitations of the method to interpret accurately the findings from this research. The appropriate universe of cases should be all countries which host the U.S. military on their soil. Since the entire universe of cases in base politics is too large to study, I selected South Korea and Turkey by limiting the domain to two cases where my independent variables take different values. Nevertheless, I admit that this thesis might have the possibility of selection bias. Moreover, when it comes to data collection, the sources I used for this thesis are newspapers, government documents, government reports, speeches, poll results, and secondary data. Yet, if I had a chance to add primary data, it would have enhanced the validity of the results. For instance, although I used the certified research data such as survey results of the Pew Research Center, BBC, and the German Marshall Fund to identify anti-Americanism, primary data would provide more value to this thesis.

In addition to structural limitations, my thesis would have benefited from systematic measurement. Although I used four levels of categorization for independent variables, quantitative techniques for measuring threat perception and the level of anti-Americanism would have added more value to the research. Despite

the fact that my independent variables are difficult to be measured directly, I would like to recommend future researchers to utilize more accurate and reliable measures. Unlike physical science, some concepts are not clear and tangible measures in social science. Nonetheless, if future researchers improve the measurement of threats and anti-Americanism to analyze their influence on base politics, their efforts will provide more reliability to understand base politics.

Although I try to encompass a wide range of data to examine base politics in host nations, I am aware of limitations and shortcomings of my thesis. My thesis only covers the post-Cold War era with two cases. Moreover, this study does not display implications of regime change for base politics because South Korea and Turkey both have not experienced drastic regime change and maintained fairly stable democratic system during the post-Cold War era. Hence, base politics will benefit from a more extensive research including the entire universe of cases with improved measurement.

CHAPTER II

BASE POLITICS IN SOUTH KOREA

The purpose of this chapter is to examine base politics in South Korea during the post-Cold War era. U.S. military presence in South Korea has its foundation in 1953 when South Korea and the United States made U.S.-ROK Mutual Security Treaty (MST) which gives a legal standing of U.S. bases in Korea under the Article 4 of MST. Since South Korea and the U.S. signed the MST, the U.S.-South Korea alliance has experienced variations for over six decades. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the presence of United States Forces Korea (USFK) was questioned. At the same time, South Korea showed exceptional growth in economy and democracy after the end of the Cold War. Hence, U.S. officials have asked for South Korea's larger contribution in mutual military alliance due to South Korea's enhanced economic and defense capabilities. Nonetheless, South Korea is heavily dependent on the United States to cope with North Korea's increasing belligerence. The USFK has been playing a pivotal role in deterring aggression from North Korea.

The first section will briefly illustrate the history and changes in South Korea's base politics during the Cold War era. The U.S.-South Korea military alliance included the basing of 43,000 to 1,789,000 American troops from the Korean War to the early 1990s. At the end of the Cold War, there were approximately 43,000 American troops stationed on the Korean Peninsula. During the authoritarian regimes, South Korean presidents often found legitimacy of their leadership from the USFK. They thought that the presence of the USFK reflected U.S. support to their regimes.

I will then discuss how base politics has changed under each president during the post-Cold War era as provided in Table 1. Given North Korea's hitherto provocative rhetoric and aspirations for nuclear program, South Korea's national security has been under severe threats from North Korea. Against this backdrop, the

USFK has been providing South Korea with the security umbrella under the U.S.-South Korea alliance (Kwon, 2014). Under Roh Tae Woo's presidency from 1988 to 1993, tension was mounting on the Korean Peninsula because of uncertainty and unrest after the collapse of communism. Although the two Koreas increased diplomatic relations in an effort to defuse tension, they were technically at war, sustaining a truce. Hence, base politics was substantially stable due to high severity of threats from North Korea during the Roh administration. Kim Young Sam (1993 – 1998) was faced with the first nuclear crisis not long after he took office in February 1993. Additionally, several incursions of North Korea stabilized U.S. military presence in South Korea during the Kim administration. During the administrations of Roh and Kim, anti-Americanism was low and there was no major anti-base movement.

Table 1 Base politics in South Korea by president

	Roh Tae Woo (1988-1993)	Kim Young Sam (1993-1998)	Kim Dae Jung (1998-2003)	Roh Moo Hyun (2003-2008)	Lee Myung Bak (2008-2013)
Severity of threats	High	Very High	High	High	Very High
Anti-Americanism	Low	Low	Medium	Very High	Medium
Base politics	Stable	Stable	Stable	Politicized	Stable

Kim Dae Jung was elected in December 1997 as the first president from an opposition party, "the National Congress for New Politics" which later became "the Millennium Democratic Party." With his "sunshine policy," it seemed first that the North-South relations improved. Yet, severity of threats remained high because of North Korea's nuclear program and missile launch, thereby resulting in stable base politics. Toward the end of Kim's term, anti-Americanism emerged because of two schoolgirls' death by the USFK vehicle. Owing to increased anti-American sentiment, Roh Moo Hyun became the 16th president of South Korea in 2003 (Shin, 2004). With increased voice of the public and rights of civic groups during democratization, South Koreans demanded for change in the basing agreement with the U.S. As a result, South Korea and the United States agreed to reduce U.S. troops in Korea and return wartime operational control during the Roh Moo Hyun administration. Yet, since severity of threats was still high because of North Korea's continuous

provocations, the USFK proved again its strategic importance in South Korea's national security. During the Lee Myung Bak administration from 2008 to 2013, the role of the USFK was emphasized due to North Korea's belligerent behavior. North Korea conducted the second nuclear test and attacked South Korean Navy ship and island. Consequently, the Lee administration revoked the plan to retrieve wartime operational control.

In this chapter, I describe severity of threats and anti-American sentiment in South Korea from the presidency of Roh Tae Woo to Lee Myung Bak. With a comprehensive analytic approach, I argue that high severity of threats stabilizes base politics while high anti-Americanism compromises pro-American policy regarding U.S. bases.

2.1 U.S. military presence in South Korea until the Cold War era

The U.S.-South Korea relations have a long history since the end of World War II. The U.S. administrations have emphasized the importance of alliance with South Korea from the beginning of diplomatic relations. The South Korean government has also acknowledged the United States as its biggest partner. As long as their relationship, the U.S.-South Korea alliance has experienced transformation throughout history. South Korea engaged in war not long after the end of World War II.

The Korean War which lasted for three years brought economic crisis, social devastation, extreme division and antagonism within the two Koreas. As some South Korean politicians - most notably the first president of South Korea, Rhee Syng Man and his adherents - resorted to use force to unify the two Koreas, hostilities with North Korea were already heightened before the break of the Korean War. Since the Korean War broke out in June 1950, the Korean peninsula was devastated and fratricidal conflict worsened antipathy against each country. The result of the Korean War was only the tragedy. North Korea suffered destruction on a national scale for three years because of intensive bombings and gunfights. Most of North Koreans lost their homes and streets were full of beggars and orphans. On the other hand, South Korean President Rhee (1948–1960) used the Korean War as an opportunity to suppress his political opponents. Rhee tried to eliminate leftists while accusing them of colluding with the North (Hundt, 2009). Yet, Rhee's strong stance against

communism led the United States to support his presidency and consecutive terms (Cumings, 2005).

The Korean War destroyed Korean society and economy as well. Displacement of classes occurred when a majority of Koreans abandoned their homes and moved to different regions during the war. After the war, Koreans lost their families, houses, jobs and money. Widows and women went out to streets to make a living. Some of them engaged in sex industry and service jobs in military bases. American soldiers from military bases handed out sweets and chocolates to street kids who were following their trucks or military vehicles and asking for attention and some charities. American products smuggled out of U.S. bases were popular and had high value in Korean society. Moreover, American culture and lifestyle was spread out in South Korea through the U.S. military bases and by U.S. soldiers stationed after the Korean War.

After WWII, the United States downsized military bases overseas. The United States reduced its troops by 47,000 and left only 500 troops in South Korea by June 1949 (Sandars, 2000). Yet, the United States had to deploy more troops during the Korean War after the U.S. had reduced its troops in South Korea. Base politics has its foundation in 1953 when the U.S. decided to leave some of its troops after the Korean War. Base politics in Korea was stable until the Cold War era since the USFK did not only provide protection to South Korea's security but also funneled economic opportunities to South Korean society. Yet, base politics has changed for over six decades after the armistice of the Korean War and taken different aspect after the Cold War. This chapter examines base politics of South Korea during the post-Cold War era.

From the first independent government in 1948 until 1960 when the South Korea's first President Rhee Syng Man resigned, South Korea was heavily dependent on the United States in especially economy and defense areas. Rhee himself was an American resident and Princeton graduate who was influenced by American culture and well-disposed to U.S. control in Korea. He was a firm adherent of American leadership, culture, and lifestyle. The United States endorsed Rhee and supported most of his policy. The United States did not only provide security but also sent massive economic assistance to South Korea (Cumings, 2005). Rhee as a favored president by the United States was a proponent of the U.S. intervention to South

Korea. Since Rhee received political support and donations from America, the U.S.-South Korea alliance was stable under his leadership (Cumings, 1990; Hundt, 2009). In addition, Rhee wanted to secure U.S. military bases in South Korea in case of insurgency. Yet, as Rhee's authoritarian rule intensified, the United States reduced its economic aid (Hundt, 2009). Consequently, South Korea's economic instability and poverty triggered public resistance against Rhee's leadership. After twelve years in power, Rhee was overthrown by university students and professors during the April Revolution in 1960. Yun Po Sun succeeded Rhee as the second president of South Korea but served only nine months and replaced by Park Chung Hee in 1962.

After Rhee, there were three authoritarian regimes and two short term administrations which lasted less than two years. Starting from Park Chung Hee (1962-1979) and Chun Doo Hwan (1980-1988) to Roh Tae Woo (1988-1993), South Korea was administrated by authoritarian leaders. Park took over presidency after the military coup d'état in 1961. Under Park's authoritarian regime, political dissent and labor movement were suppressed and the South Korean economy was led by state-centered development program. Although the legitimacy of his regime was disputable but the United States supported Park by offering military aid, economic and political help. The United States promised equipment modernization for the South Korean military, long-term military support, and postponement of U.S. military withdrawal (Kim, 2006; Ma, 2003). While isolationists' power grew in the U.S. Congress, there were questions about keeping U.S. military in South Korea and withdrawal of U.S. military was considered. Hundt (2009) interprets that the United States sustained its military in South Korea and supported Park's administration because South Korea's strategic importance outweighed American economic interests. South Korea as an anti-communist country standing against North Korea had military strategic value to the U.S. to confront the Soviet Union during the Cold War era. However, Park's authoritarian regime ended with his assassination in 1979 and Choi Kyu Hah succeeded. Choi served presidency for less than a year and was overthrown by Chun Doo Hwan.

Chun was also from military and inaugurated president himself in 1981. Even before Chun took presidency, he suppressed public protests and political opponents. The Gwangju Rebellion in May 1980 was one of primary examples of his authoritarianism which started when Chun declared martial law after Park was

assassinated. Demanding repeal of martial law, students and citizens took the streets all over the country. Political demonstrations were especially strong in Gwangju. Chun ordered military division to crack down demonstration and the soldiers to fire at citizens. The May 18 Memorial Foundation reported that the death toll was 154 and the number of victim was 4,362. Anti-Americanism deepened after the Gwangju rebellion in South Korea (Cumings, 2005; Yeo, 2011). Although the United States and U.S. military did not directly engage in repression, U.S. military in South Korea had operational control of the South Korean military. In addition, the ROK 20th Division which was sent to Gwangju was subordinate to U.S. Forces in Korea. Hence, South Koreans criticized the U.S. of its acquiescence and silence when Korean citizens asked for its intervention to the military regime.

Under Chun's rule, over 700 politicians were purged, labor protests were suppressed, and those who were against the regime were put into "Purification Camp (Cumings, 2005)." Chun was the most unpopular president in the South Korean history. Although the United States displayed concerns about human right violations, authoritarianism, and media suppression, it did not express dissatisfaction to the South Korean government in order not to endanger stability of Korea and the U.S.-South Korea alliance.

The authoritarian leaders manipulated the U.S. military presence to justify their political pressure and internal oppression. Since authoritarian rulers found their political legitimacy by providing security acquired from U.S. military presence, Park Chung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, and Roh Tae Woo were all opposed to the reduction of U.S. troops in South Korea (Cooley, 2008). Authoritarian leaders cherished the U.S.-South Korea alliance because the United States recognized the authoritarian regimes of military leaders. The U.S. recognition of undemocratic regimes indirectly implied that those Korean regimes were legitimate. In this vein, by maintaining U.S. military presence on its territory, South Korean presidents justified their authority and leadership.

Given the silence of the U.S. to the oppression of South Korean authoritarian regimes, the United States and the United States Forces in Korea (USFK) were often condemned by domestic activists and civic groups in South Korea. Yet, anti-American movements were easily dismissed by authoritarian regime in South Korea until the early 1990s. After authoritarian regimes, as South Korea underwent

democratization in the 1990s, social influence of the public, civic groups, and media increased in policy making process in South Korea.

The U.S.-South Korea alliance should be understood with the North-South relations because North Korea as a mutual enemy has strengthened the U.S.-South Korea military alliance. The United States sent the highest number of troops to the Korean War and the large number of U.S. troops stayed in South Korea to prevent another war and the spread of communism on the Korean Peninsula during the Cold War. The collapse of the Soviet Union put North Korea in the midst of economic crisis and thereby decreased the security threat that South Korea had perceived from North Korea (K. Koo, 2008). Consequently, the United States felt the need to change its global defense posture after the Cold War era (Gresh, 2015; Kane, 2004; Sorenson & Korb, 2007). The United States needed no longer to deploy its own soldiers to foreign countries to balance against the Soviet Union so that the U.S. started to call its troops back home. Hence, necessity of the U.S. military presence in South Korea went into question within the U.S. Congress and its military. And the U.S. policymakers addressed reduction of the USFK. In this chapter, I focus on how the South Korean government has responded with external threats from North Korea while the United States has asked for Korea's bigger contribution in mutual defense cooperation. In particular, I will demonstrate how base politics has changed under each president by incorporating severity of threats from belligerent neighbor and fluctuating anti-Americanism in South Korea during the post-Cold War era.

2.2 Roh Tae Woo's presidency (1988-1993) after the end of the Soviet Union

Roh Tae Woo was not so different than his predecessor, Chun. Roh who was a close aide to Chun and also from military, shared similarities with Chun in dealing with politics and democratic movements. He proscribed political activities of his opponents and suppressed media. However, Roh did not have so strong power as Chun's. With increased demand of democracy, Roh changed the presidential election system to a direct election. The l987 presidential election marked a democratic development in South Korean politics. It was a first direct presidential election since 1972 in South Korea. At the l987 presidential election, Roh Tae Woo became president with only 37% of the vote because the other promising candidates, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung failed to agree on a single candidate. Since Roh's

conservative party, "Democratic Justice Party" which later became "Democratic Liberal Party (DLP)" in 1990, failed to gain a majority, Roh's policies were often confronted with objection in the Assembly. He was criticized from the ruling party and the opposition party. The ruling party indicated that his policy was passive and the opposition party criticized his authoritarian regime.

As the Cold War came to an end, North Korea's hostility decreased slowly. Meanwhile, South Korea started diplomatic relations with communist countries including the Soviet Union and China. Additionally, South Korean Prime Minister Kang Young Hoon met Kim Il Sung in Pyongyang on October 18 1990 (Maass, 1990). South Korea started discussing about a non-aggression declaration with North Korea. Consequently, South Korea asked the U.S. to withdraw its tactical nuclear weapons from South Korea in 1991 and signed the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula with North Korea in 1992 (Oberdorfer, 1991; Bulman, 1992). The declaration stipulated that the two Koreas "shall not test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy or use nuclear weapons" and "shall not possess nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment facilities." Yet, the pledge did not last long. North Korea blamed for destroying the pact on the U.S. in 2003 and abrogated the declaration in 2013 ("North Korea Says USA Destroyed," 2003; "North Korean Committee Vows," 2013).

As other authoritarian leaders, Roh was also against reduction and withdrawal of the USFK from South Korea. After the end of the Soviet Union, the United States attempted to reduce U.S. military in South Korea. Yet, North Korea's continuous nuclear tests threatened the national security of both South Korea and the United States. Hence, the United States sustained presence of U.S. military and kept the U.S.-South Korea alliance stable.

During the Roh's regime, there were several anti-American protests. In South Korea, anti-American protests were often staged by political dissident students who were opposed to Roh Tae Woo's authority and political oppression. They linked the U.S. with Roh's authoritarian regime. For example, thousands of students attacked the United States Information Service (USIS) Center as an anti-government protest in May 1990 (U.S. Department of State, 1991). Radical students continued staging demonstrations against the USFK during the Roh's administration. Yet, Roh's authoritarian government suppressed social movements including anti-

government protest, anti-American protest, and democratic movement. Therefore, anti-Americanism was *low* as shown in Table 2, even though there were some anti-American demonstrations, during Roh's presidency.

Table 2 Base politics of South Korea during the Roh Tae Woo administration

	Level	Events	Base Politics	Events
Severity of threats	High	1) Existent threats from North Korea after the end of the Cold War 2) Unreliable trust relations between the two Koreas 3) The Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization in 1992	Stable	43,000 active duty American troops stationed in South Korea
Anti-Americanism	Low	Anti-American protests were often disrupted by the government		

To sum up, base politics was stable because of *high* severity of threats and *low* anti-Americanism during this period. External threats from North Korea still remained high even after the Cold War. Also, South Korea's military capabilities were not enough to deter North Korean aggression. Since the USFK was providing South Korea with military support such as surveillance and information collection, the Roh government was opposed to reduction or withdrawal of the USFK.

2.3 Kim Young Sam administration (1993-1998)

The Kim administration was called "Civilian government" because Kim Young Sam was a civilian president after the long rule under the military presidents. Not so long after Kim Young Sam was inaugurated, North Korea announced its withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on March 12, 1993. North Korea charged "Team Spirit" as a reason of withdrawal. Team Spirit was a joint military exercise of the USFK and the South Korean military. North Korea claimed that its withdrawal from the NPT was to defend its supreme national interests. The exercise of Team Spirit which was the long-term large scale joint exercise of South Korean military and the USFK provoked irritable response from North Korea.

The NPT crisis in the two Koreas was the first nuclear proliferation crisis after the Cold War. Some experts in the U.S. and American high officials in Korea

expected the second Korean War at that time (Oberdorfer, 2001). The United States prepared for another war on the Korean Peninsula. Reinforcement of American forces was observed in South Korea and Patriot missiles and the antimissile weapons were deployed. The Team Spirit exercise was resumed short after the North Korea's NPT withdrawal because of heightened threat level. The U.S. Department of Defense prepared to send a thousand additional troops for Team Sprit. The United States had decreased the number of its soldiers and military personnel in overseas U.S. bases in other regions after the Cold War, but the possible war in Korea failed America's plan to reduce its troops in South Korea. From the beginning of Kim Young Sam's presidency, South Korea was confronted with *very high* security threat and increased tensions on the Korean Peninsula, thereby emphasizing the role of the USFK.

North Korean provocation including the NPT withdrawal brought a strong response from the United States. Washington even showed that it would likely launch bomb attacks on North Korea's nuclear facilities in Yongbyon. In response to Washington's warning, Seoul feared that there would be the second Korean War and requested peaceful settlement to the Clinton administration. The 1994 nuclear crisis starting from North Korea's NPT withdrawal was alleviated after Carter's visit to North Korea in June (Lee, 2011). After the nuclear crisis passed in Korea, Kim Il Sung died unexpectedly on July 8, 1994. Seoul predicted that there might be changes in North Korea's nuclear policy. Consequently, South Korea and the United States were concerned with possible changes in negotiation process for nuclear problems. The Blue House called an emergency meeting and South Korea's Ministry of National Defense put all military installations on alert (Jameson, 1994). Rumors about imminent war spread fast in the country. Thus, severity of threats increased *very high* because of sudden death of North Korean leader and the nuclear crisis resulted from North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT.

Due to a series of nuclear problems, President Kim took inconsistent policy toward the North switching between strict policy and engagement policy. He often aroused unnecessary tensions on the Korean Peninsula because of his inconsistent policy (Kang, 2000; Park, 2014). Kim showed high possibility of reconciliation when he took the presidency by saying "no ally can be more valuable than national kinship (Office of President, 1994)." However, his policy towards North Korea was capricious depending on domestic public opinion during his presidency (Oberdorfer,

2001). Additionally, Kim's traditionally conservative party, "Democratic Liberal Party (DLP)" criticized him when he attempted to take appeasement policy toward North Korea. Kim's foreign policy towards North Korea was influenced by his party and rampant public opinion especially when North Korea conducted nuclear tests. His inconsistent attitudes of the northern policies confused his counterparts of both North Korea and the United States and they sometimes resulted in diplomatic conflicts (Kang, 2000; K. Koo 2008). Since he was a first democratic president, South Korean media and public had keen attention to his policy toward North Korea. They anticipated more progressive policy from Kim Young Sam that could not be expected from former military governments. In this atmosphere, early in his presidency, he showed interests even in unification of the two Koreas. However, conservative media constantly criticized his soft attitude to North Korea and the hawkish group which was the main stream of conservative and initial supporters of Kim was strongly against North Korea (Park, 2014). Furthermore, there were several incidents such as nuclear crisis and Kim Il Sung's death in 1994, detention of South Korea's ship carrying humanitarian aid for flood damage in 1995, and infiltration of North Korea's submarine in 1996. All these incidents increased security concerns during Kim's presidency. Hence, severity of threats was *very high* as seen in Table 3.

Table 3 Base politics of South Korea during the Kim Young Sam administration

	Level	Events	Base Politics	Events
Severity of threats	Very High	1) North Korea's withdrawal from NPT in 1993 2) First medium-range missile Rodong-1 fired in May 1993 3) The 1994 nuclear crisis 4) Kim Jung Il's death 5) Infiltration of North Korea's submarine in 1996	Stable	1) Reinforcement of USFK with Patriot missiles and the antimissile weapons 2) Return of peace time control of military
Anti-Americanism	Low	Anti-base movement ignited by sex crimes in base town		

Kim Young Sam was close to moderate conservative but often took hard-line policy when the hawkish group and conservative media condemned his soft stance

on North Korea. Kim's constituency was conservative and hawkish group who were traditionally pro-American. Kim did not adopt policy that could endanger or deteriorate the U.S.-South Korea alliance. During the Kim Young Sam administration, Kim's northern policy and several unexpected incidents put South Korea in volatile situation. Consequently, the United States retracted the decision of budget cut for U.S. military force structure in South Korea because of increased tensions on the Korean Peninsula and South Korea's military dependency on the USFK. Hence, Kim Young Sam supported the U.S.-South Korea alliance and emphasized the role of the USFK.

The major change in base politics during Kim's term was South Korea's retrieval of peacetime operational control. Since the ROK-US Combined Forces Command (CFC) was established in 1978, there has been a single operational control of South Korean military. Then, the operational control became binary- wartime and peacetime- in 1992. The handover of operational control had been discussed between the two militaries but only peacetime operational control was transferred to South Korea under the Kim Young Sam administration. Even though South Korea obtained the peacetime operation control of its military, South Korea Forces were still significantly dependent on American military. First, the wartime operational control was still in the hands of the USFK. Second, the commander in chief of CFC who had the operational control of South Korea Forces in wartime, was the American commander of the U.S. Forces in Korea. Hence, South Korea's military decisions were limited if South Korea was engaged in war because it did not hold wartime operation control of its military. Discussion of recovering wartime operational control was heated when Roh Moo Hyun was president between 2003 and 2008.

President Kim did not politicize the U.S.-South Korea alliance, the USFK, and pertinent basing agreements. His primary goal as president was to stabilize domestic politics and to develop South Korean democratic regime and economy. The Kim administration started off as a civilian government with full legitimacy after three authoritarian regimes. His government and his policy were under scrutiny of media and public. Hence, his political attention was not directed to the USFK and he did not bring unnecessary debates on the U.S.-South Korea alliance. Moreover, severity of threats was the most important element to depoliticize the USFK. North Korea provoked South Korea causing tensions on the Korean Peninsula. A series of

provocations such as North Korea's NPT withdrawal, Kim Il Sung's death, and frequent invasions caused security concerns in South Korea. Therefore, U.S. military presence was paramount to South Korean security. Kim Young Sam acknowledged the importance of the U.S.-South Korea alliance for South Korea's national security. In addition, he was pro-American. The U.S.-South Korea relations were a top priority of South Korean foreign policy. As he was from the conservative party, "New Korea Party," formerly the DLP, he favored in the U.S.-South Korea alliance. Lastly, anti-American movements were *low* during the Kim administration compared to upcoming administrations in South Korea. As civic groups could engage more during the Kim's administration, they also paid attention to the USFK-related crimes especially when there was a rape murder case in the USFK. For instance, Yoon Geumi who was in working at a club around the U.S. base area in Seoul was found dead (Yeo, 2011). The police report said that she had been raped by an American soldier. This case brought public attention to U.S. military camp side town. However, South Korean's perception about women working at bar was negative and their sentiment was not enough to bring anti-Americanism among the general public during Kim Young Sam's presidency. As a result, anti-American sentiment was *low* during the term and its influence on base politics was small. To sum up, base politics was stable during the Kim Young Sam's administration because of *very high* severity of threats and *low* anti-American sentiment. The major change of base politics was transfer of peacetime operational control. However, it does not indicate unstable alliance of the United States and South Korea. Rather, I interpret that South Korean political and economic growth allowed fundamental autonomy to South Korean military.

2.4 Kim Dae Jung administration (1998-2003)

During the Kim Dae Jung administration, the North-South relations seemed to be more peaceful than during the former administrations and Kim actively attempted to improve the North-South relations. Kim Dae Jung adopted engagement policy toward the North and tried to maintain more consistent policy to North Korea compared to Kim Yong Sam's policy which was often criticized of incoherence. His engagement policy toward North Korea, called "Sunshine Policy," was to promote peaceful relations with North Korea and to increase cooperation with the North. Kim

coined this term, "Sunshine Policy" when he visited England in April 1998. The purpose of the policy was to improve relations between North and South Korea though various channels including trade, tourism, economic relations and summits. Yet, his sunshine policy was often criticized for its excessively generous support from the conservative (Shin, 2003). His engagement policy was seen as a radical change to the conservative and often resulted in ideological conflicts among South Korean politicians (Huh & Youn, 2010). Since former regimes had advocated hard-line policies against North Korea but ended without any particular results, the Kim administration realized the necessity of changing South Korea's policy towards North Korea.

Under the Kim's leadership, South Korea's stance against North Korea was considerably different from former administrations. The sunshine policy was to recognize North Korea's existence and to draw North Korea toward cooperation. Another intention of the policy was to attain a leading role on the issues of the Korean Peninsula without U.S. intervention (Kleiner, 2006). When Kim visited Pyongyang in June 2000 which was the first meeting of Korean heads since 1945, he had a historical meeting with Kim Jung Il (French, 2000). During his visit, he promised food aid to North Korea and cooperation for lifting U.S. embargo on North Korea. The United States had put trade sanctions against North Korea since the Korean War. Pyongyang claimed that if Washington lifted economic sanctions, it would consider the denuclearization of Korea. Kim Dae Jung's visit to Pyongyang brought a new tone to nuclear negotiations. More importantly, unlike his predecessors, Kim emphasized that South Korea would not advocate "unification by absorption." South Korea's first president, Rhee Syng Man, for example, had insisted "unification by force" which provoked North Korea's antipathy.

North Korea seemed to respond to "Sunshine Policy." North Korea acknowledged the necessity of U.S. military bases in South Korea. Furthermore, North Korea's strong stance against the United States moderated (Cumings, 2005). Before then, North Korea consistently had claimed that American bases in South Korea should be shut down. In addition, Kim Jung Il displayed willingness to agree to limit missiles to an upper range of 290 km in exchange of America's economic aid and food support. However, after George W. Bush became president, North Korea's stance changed. As the U.S. government categorized North Korea into "axis of evil"

states, North Korea expressed hostility toward the U.S. by showing provocations. Eventually, tensions on the Korean Peninsula increased. Soon after, North Korea declared its withdrawal from the NPT in the statement released on its state news agency, the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) on January 10, 2003. Once again, North Korea started to operate its nuclear program. In spite of Kim's efforts, North Korea was still biggest threat to South Korea and did not stop its nuclear program. Therefore, severity of threats was *high* during the Kim government although there was less infiltration from the North than during the Kim Young Sam administration.

Following those events, critics argued that the sunshine policy did not lessen threats of North Korea and North Korea still remained as the biggest security hazard to South Korea. Yet, Kim Dae Jung sustained coherent policy towards the North. At the summit in June 2000, leaders of two countries discussed Korean reunification in Pyongyang. In addition, Kim supported economic trade between the North and South. For instance, owners of South Korean companies, such as Hyundai, Daewoo, and Gohap visited North Korea and discussed investment in North Korea with South Korea's government support (Kim, 1998). Kim's economic policy toward the North was aimed at transforming North Korean regime into the market economy and democracy. Kim's efforts to reconciliation with North Korea eventually brought him the Nobel Peace Prize. Kim's policy and empathy toward the North was interpreted as Kim's stance toward the United States. He wanted to progress northern policy independent from the U.S. influence (Kleiner, 2006).

Despite Kim's Sunshine Policy, the North-Korea relations were not favorable as Kim had expected. For instance, Kim Jung Il gave instructions to its party members concerning the sunshine policy that the policy was a scheme to destruct North Korean regime so North Koreans should not get entangled (Kim, 1998). In June 1998, North Korea sent a submarine to reconnoiter South Korean territory. After 20 days, it sent armed communist guerrilla to the East Sea. In August, North Korea launched intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), "the Taepodong-1" and raised tensions between North Korea and South Korea (Wudunn, 1998). ICBM proved North Korea's improvement of technology and put South Korean military and U.S. military on alert. On December 18, 1998, North Korean semi-submarine boat was detected on South Korean military radar and South Korean navy fought with North Korean militants. Some experts analyzed that North Korean threats were a

desperate cry which was stemmed from its economic crisis and chronic poverty (Kim, 1998; Shin, 2003). Due to a series of North Korean threats, the Kim government slowed down its engagement policy but maintained its consistency.

Additionally, the Bush administration's calling North Korea as an "axis of evil" increased tensions again on the Korean Peninsula. Although the two Koreas showed improved relations after the 2000 summit, North Korea was still most threatening enemy to South Korea. The Kim government increased economic ties with the North and affected South Koreans' awareness and attitude toward North Korea and the people. Nonetheless, military relations were still hostile. There were missile launch, several invasions from North Korea and battles in the Yellow Sea in 1999 and 2002. As a result, even though tensions between the Koreas were eased compared to the former government, severity of threats from North Korea was still *high* and military relations were hostile during the Kim administration. Hence, South Korean military was dependent on the USFK and there was no question about the presence of the USFK.

Although base politics seemed stable in the early period of Kim administration, basing agreement became politicized after the middle school incident. Near the end of Kim's term, anti-American sentiments increased around 2002. Anti-American sentiments of South Koreans started when a South Korean skater lost a gold medal to an American skater, Apolo Anton Ohno because of disqualification at the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics in February 2002 (Kleiner, 2006). Most of South Koreans believed it was unfair judgment and reviled at the American skater and the United States. Among South Koreans, videos of mocking Americans and U.S. president became popular. What kindled anti-Americanism was the terrible incident of two middle school girls' death. Two teenage girls - Shim Mi-son and Shin Hyo-sun - were hit by an American armored vehicle traveling during military training in Yangju, Korea on June 13, 2002. Since punishing American soldiers of the USFK were out of South Korean authority, the South Korean government did not have any jurisdiction and was not able to take any actions on the accident (Kirk, 2002a). After the joint investigation with South Korean military, the USFK reported that the accident was unintentional and a tragic accident and acquitted the U.S. personnel driving the vehicle. The incident brought anti-American sentiment and the second SOFA revision became an issue (Kirk, 2002b; Struck, 2002). However, the national

anti-Americanism and negative public opinion did not affect basing agreement much during the Kim Dae Jung administration because the incident took place near the end of his term. In addition, Andrew Yeo (2011) contends that strong pro-U.S. security consensus precluded anti-base movements from changing basing agreement and leading successful results. Therefore, although anti-Americanism built up in 2002, it did not much affect base politics so I consider that anti-Americanism was at *medium* level during the Kim administration in Table 4. However, for 2002 election, president candidates came out with pledges requiring more balanced partnership with the United Sates. Among the candidates, Roh Moo Hyun from the progressive party, advocated balance of alliance with the U.S. and won the election.

Table 4 Base politics of South Korea during the Kim Dae Jung administration

	Level	Events	Base Politics	Events
Severity of threats	High	1) North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT 2) Renewed nuclear program 3) Infiltrations from North Korea 4) Launch of ICBM	Stable	1) SOFA revision 2) Agreement of "Strategic Flexibility" 3) South Korea's budget increase for USFK and its relocation
Anti-Americanism	Medium	School girls' death by USFK vehicle		

After the United States transferred peacetime operational control during the Kim Young Sam administration, the topic of transferring wartime operational control emerged under the Kim Dae Jung administration. Since military control was a sovereign matter, there were contentious debates among South Korean politicians. In contrast with conservatives who were against the early transfer, progressives were positive about the transfer of wartime operational control.

As the progressive take more seats at South Korean National Assembly, more politicians felt the need of a more equal alliance partnership with the U.S. Consequently, the National Assembly adopted the resolution which included revision of U.S.-South Korea Status of forces agreement (SOFA) in 2000. In August, the United States and South Korea started negotiations regarding the SOFA revisions. After three more negotiations, the U.S.-South Korea SOFA was revised on January 18, 2001. It was the second revision after the first in 1991. The U.S.-South Korea SOFA was evaluated again and transformed to be at the similar level as the SOFAs

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that the U.S. had with developed countries such as Germany and Japan. New SOFA included time of criminal extradition, provisions of environment protection, South Korean personnel's labor rights, and quarantine inspections of animals and plants. As a result, increased voice of progressives in the South Korean Assembly, South Korea could achieve revision of the SOFA. Moreover, civic groups, public, and media could influence in policy making of South Korea. Kim Dae Jung was not anti-American as much as South Korean radicals but neither was pro-American. Consequently, Kim's autonomous stance drew the SOFA revision.

On the American side, U.S. military requested an increase in alliance burden-sharing, relocation of the USFK, and further reduction in U.S. bases. The United States introduced the concept of "Strategic Flexibility" and attempted to apply it on the USFK. Strategic Flexibility grants the USFK permission to engage missions for America's strategic interests. If strategic flexibility of the USFK was recognized by the South Korean government, the United States would be able to project its power and play a regional role in Asia by deploying the USFK to any place. In other words, the USFK would have more capabilities beyond deterring North Korea provocations which were the original deployment purpose of the U.S. military in South Korea (Moon, 2005). Strategic considerations and new alignment of the USFK were assessed and projected in the DoD reports since the 1990s and they became clarified under the Bush administration.

The Kim government agreed to strategic flexibility which was suggested by the U.S. South Korea also agreed to increase its budget for the USFK and its relocation. After the second revision of the SOFA, South Korea has increased its budget for the USFK by 10.4 percent from $444 million to $490 million in November 2001. Furthermore, both countries signed the Land Partnership Plan (LPP) in March 2002 (Seo, 2008). The LPP dealt with consolidation and relocation of the USFK since most facilities in American bases were run-down and located in populated areas which were more exposed to conflicts and crimes. The United States wanted the American force to be located in safer and less populated region leaving from the center of Seoul. The USFK especially wanted to move the 2nd Infantry Division from north of Seoul where was close to North Korea to Osan/Pyeongtaek region. They agreed upon reduction of bases from 41 to 23 and South Korea's cost bearing of relocation which amounted to $1.12 billion of the $2.5 billion. In April

2002, South Korea decided to pay cost of maintenance for the USFK which included about $463 million for 2003.

As a result, the Kim government proved its contributions to the USFK by allowing strategic flexibility and providing relocation assistance, burden sharing, and cost sharing. This demonstrates that *high* severity of threats allowed stable cooperation with the USFK for South Korean defense despite of Kim's autonomous disposition toward the United States. During the Kim government, North Korea announced its withdrawal from the NPT, renewed nuclear program, and launched "the Taepodong-1." Consequently, *high* severity of threats from North Korea's consistent belligerence emphasized the important role of the USFK. Meanwhile, anti-Americanism was more observed during the Kim administration because of increased rights of civic groups and voice of public than under the former administration. Hence, *medium* level anti-Americanism affected South Korea's policy toward U.S. military bases, resulting in the second revision of the SOFA. Table 4 shows how independent variables influence on base politics during the Kim administration.

2.5 Roh Moo Hyun administration (2003-2008)

Since Roo Moo Hyun was a president candidate from Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) which was the main progressive party and later divided into Uri Party and Democratic Party (DP), his constituency was mainly progressives who were against U.S. intervention in South Korea. In this backdrop, Roh pledged stronger autonomy and sovereignty when he was a president candidate. He even showed support to anti-American protests in 2002. Yet, the United States has been the closest ally to South Korea and helped South Korea against North Korea during the Korean War. In addition, the United State is a main actor in the North-South relations. Recognizing that, Roh Moo Hyun also linked his Northern policies with the U.S.- South Korea security relations. He attempted to succeed the previous president's policy towards the North through "Peace and Prosperity Policy" and "Engagement Policy."

Roh continued engagement policy as Kim Dae Jung and sustained his conciliatory policy even when Bush called North Korea as an "axis of evil," and Kim Jung Il as a tyrant. Roh repeatedly stated that Seoul wanted peace first on the Korean

Peninsula and did not want an unprepared unification. A sudden unification would cause an astronomical amount and change of social system to South Korea. Although the Roh government displayed cooperative actions toward the North, North Korea declared that it became a nuclear weapon state on February 10, 2005 (Faiola & Pan, 2005a). North Korea also implied that it would withdraw from the Six-Party talks (Faiola & Pan, 2005b). The talks were formed to discuss nuclear issues on the Korean Peninsula and the parties to the talks were North Korea, South Korea, the United States, China, Japan, and Russia. Nevertheless, Roh emphasized that there would not be military actions on North Korea to solve nuclear problems (Faiola & Choo, 2005). To increase cooperation and seek peaceful relations between the Koreas, the South Korean government sent an envoy to North Korea on June 15, 2005. Responsively, North Korea sent an envoy to Seoul on August 14, 2005. The two governments agreed to have a second summit of the Koreas again.

Despite North Korea's continuous nuclear threats, the North-South relations seemed to be cooperative. Roh even expressed that the financial sanctions imposed by the United States on North Korean assets at Banco Delta Asia of Macau was immoderate action. The Roh government continued its engagement policy by sending 200,000 tons of fertilizer and 500,000 tons of rice in 2005 ("South Korea Completes," 2005; Demick, 2005).

Yet, cooperative relations between the Koreas started changing since 2006 when North Korea carried out its first nuclear test. Three months before the first nuclear test, North Korea launched a long-range missile, "the Taepodong-2" on July 5, 2006 (Onishi & Sanger, 2006). After the launch, Washington pressed the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to impose sanctions on North Korea. Then, North Korea conducted the first experiment of nuclear weapon on October 9, 2006. The test was carried out in Punggyeri, the country's northeast region. The first nuclear test was not successful as North Korea had expected 4 kilotons of TNT but the explosion was estimated at 0.8 kiloton (Jung, 2009). North Korea's nuclear test brought international condemnation and U.S. sanctions. Even its closest ally, China issued tough-worded condemnation. Then again, UNSC adopted resolution 1718 to apply sanctions on North Korea on October 14, 2006. With North Korea's provocations, severity of threats was *high* during the Roh administration. Nevertheless, the Roh government regarded U.S. actions on North Korea too hawkish and perceived that

North Korea's provocation was directed to the United State to protect North Korea's defense and security (Kim, 2013). Roh maintained economic aid to Kim Jung Il for improvement of North Korea's social infrastructure which had been promised at the 2007 inter-Korean summit in Pyongyang. The two leaders adopted the 2007 Joint declaration for development of North-South relations and peaceful prosperity.

Regarding Roh's policy toward the United States, he attempted to distance from U.S. power on defense and security. Roh's engagement policy and his remarks often brought discord between the U.S. and South Korea (B. Koo, 2008). His famous presidential campaign pledge was that he would not "kowtow" to the United States (Shin, 2004). After he took office, he reiterated the importance of South Korea's self-reliant defense capability. For example, he expressed that South Korea would have a self-reliant military within ten years on Korea's Independence Day, August 15, 2003 (Office of President, 2004). In the same year, President Roh emphasized South Korea's need for self-reliant defense again on Korea's Armed Forces Day October 1, 2003 (Office of President, 2004). Given his remarks before inauguration, South Korean media predicted Roh's progressive policy on the North-South relations and the U.S.-South Korea alliance. Accordingly, progressive and radical politicians requested hard-line policy toward the United States to offset unequal the U.S.-South Korea alliance.

South Korean progressives and some radical progressives generally have strong self-reliance policy and have opposition on dependency on the United States. Some radicals insisted that the United States should shut down its military in South Korea, given North Korea's weakened state. Extreme progressive politicians argued that South Korea no longer needed American help on defense and that military dependency on the U.S. support had weakened South Korea's sovereignty (Kim, 2015). This argument was well observed in the Democratic Labor Party's stance toward the United States. The leader of the party, Kwon Young Ghil, said that his party had maintained the opinion that USFK should withdraw from South Korea gradually in the interview with Pressian on April 23, 2004 (Choi, 2004). Radicals from Roh's former party, "Uri Party" also maintained that the USFK was more a liability to South Korea because the United States was likely to obstruct reconciliation of the Koreas. On the contrary, conservatives and moderate progressives believed that the United States was still the most important ally and the

USFK have played a pivotal role in protecting South Korea and deterring North Korea's military threats. However, most progressives including radicals believed that the U.S.-South Korea relations should be modified to have more equal balance.

Based on his policy and statements, Roh was considered to be anti-American. However, his anti-American disposition was his inclination for South Korean autonomy and independency from U.S. influence on South Korean foreign policy rather than he had objections against the U.S.-South Korea alliance. In addition, he understood how much the U.S.-South Korea alliance had influence on South Korean economy and thereby promoted the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. His appreciation of the U.S.-South Korea economic relations contributed to changing his original attitudes of South Korea's foreign policy (Harrison, 2006; Sohn & Kim, 2016). Toward the end of his term, Roh was more pragmatic on base policies by satisfying requests from the U.S. government on the issues of the USFK and Iraq war.

During his presidency, Roh's policy towards North Korea and the United States received criticism from the opposing party and conservative media. Notwithstanding Roh's engagement policy, North Korea's provocations were not mitigated as Table 5 displays. First, North Korea developed a long-range missile, "the Taepodong-2" which would potentially be able to carry a 700–1,000 kg warhead to reach the United States (Kwon, 2014). Second, North Korea conducted its first nuclear test. North Korea has never dropped its desire to become a nuclear weapon state. Given North Korea's missile and nuclear tests, Roh tried to ease tension with the neighbor but to no avail. Consequently, Roh started to slow down his engagement policy and he even seemed to even acquiesce to U.S. demands for the USFK. While the South Korean government provided North Korea with humanitarian aid and economic subsidies, Roh accepted U.S. requests regarding the USFK and Iraq War (Yeo, 2011). He accepted the U.S. demands by allowing the USFK relocation, deploying ROK the South Korean military to Iraq, and concurring strategic flexibility which was introduced by the United States during the Kim Dae Jung administration to provide the USFK with permission to deploy its troops in the missions outside of South Korea. The United States and South Korea reconfirmed the importance of strategic flexibility and approved advancement of mutual agreement on the concept of strategic flexibility through several meetings between the USFK and the South Korean military.

Table 5 Base politics of South Korea during the Roh Moo Hyun administration

	Level	Events	Base Politics	Events
Severity of threats	High	1) North Korea declaration of a nuclear weapon state 2) Withdrawal from the Six-Party talks 3) The first nuclear test in October 2006 4) Launch of long-range missile, "the Taepodong-2"	Politicized	1) Agreement of Strategic Flexibility 2) South Korea's increased burden sharing and relocation cost 3) Reduction of the USFK 3) Retrieval of wartime operational control
Anti-Americanism	Very High	1) Anti-American campaign pledges 2)Upsurge of anti-Americanism from the 2002 candlelight vigils to mad cow disease scandal		

In spite of efforts to change South Korea's foreign policy into more progressive, severity of threats from North Korea was too *high* for Roh to deny the importance of the USFK. In addition, South Korea could save its defense budget by hosting the USFK since the USFK was providing high military technology, surveillance devices and information to protect South Korea's national security from North Korea. Without the USFK, South Korea had to increase its defense budget exponentially (Goo & Kim, 2009). Hence, the radical idea of shutting down the USFK was turned down in the National Assembly.

The presence of U.S. military and jurisdiction of American troops in South Korea was a hot topic before the 2002 presidential election. In addition, anti-American movements were active in 2002 due to various incidents. Death of two middle schoolgirls by an American military vehicle kindled already existed anti-American sentiment in South Korea. After the tragic incident, candlelight vigils were held in major cities of South Korea. Protesters demanded equal U.S.-South Korea relations and revision of basing agreements. South Koreans were infuriated at the government's inability and went out to streets to demonstrate. Although Bush expressed apology about the accident, it did not subdue anti-American sentiment of South Koreans (Kirk, 2002c). In fact, upsurge of anti-Americanism in 2002 helped Roh to win the 2002 presidential election (Shin, 2004). Roh received overwhelming votes from the young generation who demanded South Korea's autonomy from

American defense.

During his presidency, anti-Americanism did not subside. In addition, it was reported that imported American beef contained bovine spongiform encephalopathy, known as "mad cow disease" in Korea. It is known that the disease can cause hundreds of infections to people who ate beef with mad cow disease. Because of a series of incidents, candlelight vigils and anti-American protests continued from the presidential election in 2002 until the end of his term. Hence, anti-Americanism was *very high* during the Roh administration as shown in Table 5. According to the survey conducted by CCFR (the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations) in 2004, 43% of South Koreans thought that the USFK should withdraw gradually in stages and only 13% of respondents replied that the USFK should remain in South Korea indefinitely (cited in Kim, 2007). South Korean's changed perception of the USFK questioned base politics of South Korea and resulted in changes of South Korea's base policies under the Roh administration.

Although Roh did not satisfy expectations for his radical policy against the U.S., both countries finalized the agreement for reduction of U.S. military in South Korea. Seoul and Washington announced reduction of the USFK and relocation of the 2nd Infantry Division to Pyeongtaek in 2004. During the FOTA (Future of the Alliance Policy Initiative) meetings which had started from the Kim Dae Jung administration, the United States and South Korea agreed to relocate American bases – Yongsan base, located at the center of Seoul and the 2nd Infantry Division, stationed north of Seoul – to Osan/Pyeongtaek, southwestern region in Gyeonggi Province ("US Troops Reduction," 2003). Relocation of Yongsan base was first requested by the South Korean government because the Yongsan garrison occupied approximately 2.53 Km^2 at the center of Seoul. Conversely, relocation of the 2nd Infantry Division was requested by the U.S. military because the U.S. wanted its bases in a less populated region. Relocation was decided through twelve meetings of the FOTA and relocation process was to be completed by the end of 2008 (Chae, 2008). They discussed revision of the LPP, enhancement of joint military capability, and reduction of American troops as well (Moon, 2005). They agreed to decrease the USFK by 12,500 troops until 2008 (Joo, 2005). Reduction of the USFK was planned to progress from 2004 till December 2008 in three phases under the negotiations of the FOTA. At the same time, the United States decided to modernize the USFK

through "Army Transformation" by investing 11 billion dollars in exchange of decreasing the size of USFK. In this way, President Roh tamped down some concerns that the reduction of the USFK would hinder deterring North Korea's security threats to South Korea. As a result, although Roh seemed to cave in U.S. demands from the viewpoint of the progressive by sending ROK troops to Iraq, permitting realignment of the USFK, and providing relocation cost of the USFK, he succeeded in signing agreement of reducing the USFK and retrieving wartime operational control.

The Roh government started with *very high* anti-American sentiments of its citizens. In addition, Roh and his party sought to increase autonomy and protect sovereignty from the United States. Roh was not really anti-American disposed but his policy often caused discord between the U.S. and South Korea. Those elements influenced base politics in South Korea and basing agreements with the USFK. First, the United States and South Korea agreed to transfer wartime operation control to South Korean military by April 17, 2012 (Ramstad, 2006). When South Korean minister of National Defense, Kim Jang Soo visited Washington, Kim met with the Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, and signed an agreement that stipulated the dismantlement of the US-ROK Combined Forces Command (CFC) and transfer of wartime operational control (B. Koo, 2008; Kim, 2013). Second, U.S. military and South Korean military agreed to reduce American troops in South Korea. They decided to withdraw 3,500 troops from the USFK. Third, the Roh government and the U.S. government settled relocation of Yongsan garrison. The real estate price of Yongsan base rapidly increased during the past six decades. With the relocation plan, South Korea could retrieve the land as government property.

Under the administrations of Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun, South Korea strived for increasing its military capabilities. Kim and Roh persuaded the U.S. to revise the SOFA. It was possible because there were more progressive political elites who advocated more balanced relations with the United States and upsurge of anti-Americanism among the South Korean young generation. However, Roh's progressive foreign policy was often compromised upon consideration of economic and military value of the U.S.-South Korea alliance. More importantly, given North Korea's consistent belligerence, South Korea could not lose security umbrella of the United States. With a series of missile tests and nuclear programs, severity of threats

from North Korea remained *high* during the Roh administration. As a result, although basing agreements were politicized ever more during Roh's presidency because of *very high* anti-Americanism, the USFK proved its necessity again. Moreover, as North Korea's threats heightened, most of Roh's policies on the USFK became canceled by the Lee Myung Bak administration.

2.6 Lee Myung Bak administration (2008-2013)

Lee was from the conservative party, the Grand National Party (GNP, Hannara Party in Korean) which was the main conservative party and changed its name to Saenuri Party in 2012 and became the current Liberty Korea Party. The GNP was traditional conservative right party in South Korea. It inherited ideologies and political stance from the Democratic Liberal Party where Roo Tae Woo was a leader and Kim Young Sam participated. South Korean conservatives have been predominantly pro-American and focused on strict policies against North Korea. Thus, compared to Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun administrations when the liberal parties were ruling parties, the Lee Myung Bak administration advocated pragmatic and conservative policy in economy and security. Lee was also pro-American politician. Consequently, South Korean foreign policy was pro-American during the Lee government.

Before inaugurated, President Lee announced several times in his pledges that he would restore and strengthen the U.S.-South Korea alliance. Lee called his pledges as "MB doctrine" before the inauguration. The MB doctrine was planned to be focused on South Korean national interests rather than political ideology in foreign policy. Lee's doctrine had seven components including denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula and enhancement of the U.S.-South Korea alliance. His primary foreign policy was "the Korean-American Alliance First." He regarded the North-South relations subordinate to the U.S.-South Korea relations. Lee claimed that strong and stable relations with the United States would make the North-South Korean relations better (Jung, 2008). His plan to absorb Ministry of Unification into Ministry of Foreign Affairs also indicated his perceptions of the North-Korea relations and priority of the U.S.-South Korea relations. He believed that matters of the North-South relations should be dealt under the authority of Ministry of Foreign Affairs where pro-American policies were prioritized.

When Lee Myung Bak became president in February 2008, severity of threats from North Korea was already high and it became *very high* during the Lee administration. First, South Korea had hostile relations with North Korea because of Lee's foreign policy mainly focusing on the U.S.-South Korea relations. After Lee announced to reverse Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine Policy and Roh's engagement policy, North Korea fomented hostile environment on the Korean Peninsula. Lee also criticized North Korea of its human rights issues, thereby raising North Korea's enmity towards South Korea. North Korea repeatedly condemned Lee Myung Bak because of his strong pro-American and his strict stance toward the North, often calling him a "puppet" or "national traitor."

Second, North Korea heightened tensions on the Korean Peninsula by launching a long-range missile rocket in April 2009. North Korea launched the Taepodong-2 missile despite of American opposition on April 5, 2009 (Harden, 2009). The Taepodong-2 missile was an advanced version of the former Taepodong-2 missile which failed in 2006. Washington responded with heavy condemnation and asked for UN resolution. Following the UN resolution, North Korea issued statement threatening to refuse the six-party talks, to continue to launch missiles and also warned to deactivate nuclear facilities and to bolster up its nuclear deterrent for self-defense on KCNA.

Third, North Korea conducted the second nuclear test on May 25, 2009 amid continuing tensions (Choe, 2009). It was an underground test experimented in the same region where North Korea conducted the first nuclear test. The second nuclear test had fivefold explosion power compared to the first test in 2006 (Jung, 2009). North Korea's second nuclear test brought nuclear crisis to the East Asia region and received international criticism. Nuclear crisis in 2009 engendered *very high* severity of threats in South Korea.

The second nuclear test was conducted because of national unrest and uncertainty in North Korea. There had been rumors about Kim Jung Il's health condition, rise of military, unproven and young successor, and intensified national security awareness. North Korean military had been sustaining negative stance against denuclearization and seeking to join a group of nuclear weapon states. To enhance its nuclear capability, North Korea military conducted the test and recovered from its failure of the first test. In addition, North Korea attempted to solidify its

regime and stabilize succession to a young leader by proving its nuclear power to its people and the world (Jung, 2009). Another reason for North Korea's provocation was the U.S.-South Korea joint military exercise, "Key Resolve." The United States and South Korea have been exercising military drills every year since 1976. The annual exercises have generated conflicts among the two Koreas when they had "Team Spirit" since the Roh Tae Woo administration. "Team Spirit" evolved into RSOI (Reception, Staging, Onward Movement and Integration of Forces) exercise and finally became "Key Resolve" in 2008. The annual drill was aimed at developing readiness of both countries' forces for wartime situation. The potential enemy in this drill was North Korea and the joint military exercises were prepared for possible war in Korea. North Korea was enraged when there was the joint military exercise ("North Korean Paper," 2009). However, Key Resolve drill in 2009, called "Foal Eagle," was specifically a large-scale exercise. Foal Eagle which lasted ten days in March 2008 across South Korea even brought about 13,100 American troops from outside South Korea. In addition, 12,000 troops of the USFK and over 20,000 South Korean troops participated (Kim, 2009). North Korea justified its nuclear test by condemning the large-scale drill. Consequently, both Koreas showed hostility to each other and tensions between them were very high during the Lee administration.

Unrest between the North and South continued in 2010. The increased North Korea's military threats virtually strengthened the U.S.-South Korea relations and the role of the USFK. The Blue House flaunted the close relationship between Barack Obama and Lee Myung Bak (Lee, 2012). The enhanced cooperation between the two countries due to the situation of possible nuclear crisis enabled the countries to introduce shared strategy for deterring North Korea, called "Strategic Patience". Strategic Patience stipulated possible economic sanctions on North Korea if it continued testing nuclear weapons and developing ballistic missile.

While the USFK continued joint military exercise with the new strategy, North Korea exacerbated the situation even more in 2010 by attacking South Korean Navy ship and Yeonpyeong Island. The South Korean warship, the Cheonan that carried 104 soldiers sank into the Yellow sea killing 46 sailors on March 26, 2010. The South Korean government blamed North Korea for sinking of the warship, the Cheonan, and the South Korean military reported that torpedo from North Korea was the cause of sinking (Pomfret & Harden, 2010). Additionally, North Korea bombed

Yeonpyeong Island on November 23 (McDonald, 2010). It was the first attack from North Korea that directly killed civilians since the Korean War. A few days later, the South Korean National Assembly adopted resolution which denunciated the attack and regarded it as a criminal act. A series of threating events from North Korea is provided below along with anti-American events in Table 6.

Table 6 Base politics of South Korea during the Lee Myung Bak administration

	Level	Events	Base Politics	Events
Severity of threats	Very High	1) Hard-line northern policy 2) Long-range missile rocket launch in April 2009 3) The 2nd nuclear test in May 2009 4) Sinking of the Choenan in March 2010 5) Attack on Yeonpyeong Island in November 2010	Stable	1) Delay of transferring wartime operational control 2) Discontinue of the USFK reduction 3) Joint military exercises, "Key Resolve/Foal Eagle"
Anti-Americanism	Medium	1) Pro-American policies 2) Anti-American protests concerned with mad cow disease		

Under the Lee administration, the North-South relations worsened compared to the former administrations of Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun. North Korea threatened South Korean national security by conducting missile and nuclear tests, cutting off official dialogue, limiting traffic across the border, freezing South Korean assets invested in North Korea, and attacking on South Korean warship and island. Consequently, severity of threats was *very high* under the Lee administration and stabilized cooperation with U.S. military and South Korean military.

As a former businessman, Lee Myung Bak understood the U.S.-South Korea alliance in economic dimension. He criticized Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine Policy and Roh's engagement policy. Lee advocated steadfast support for the U.S.-South Korea alliance in every dimension (Khamidov, 2009). President Lee and his team called themselves pragmatists. They regarded the U.S. alliance most important for South Korea's economy and security. In this context, Lee promoted "Joint Vision for the alliance of the Republic of Korea and the United States of America." One of his

visions for South Korea was to finalize the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. The FTA between the United States and South Korea was originally discussed under the Roh's administration. The United States and South Korea signed the deal on June 30, 2007. Lee's presidency was dependent on economic performance and the successful U.S.-South Korea relations because he pledged to boost Korean economy and called himself as the "economic president" during the presidential campaign. He believed that South Korean economy would recover through enhanced trade between the United States and South Korea. The Blue House repeatedly campaigned Lee Myung Bak's close relationship with American counterparts. For example, when Lee visited to the U.S. presidential retreat, Camp David in April, 2008, the Blue House emphasized that President Lee was the first South Korean president invited to Camp David. Lee Myung Bak's foreign policy towards the United States was to tighten its alliance relations and advance it to more comprehensive partnership including economic and military alliance.

In terms of anti-Americanism, there was continuing anti-American movements from the former administration because of bovine spongiform encephalopathy, or "Mad cow disease" detected on American beef. Yet, South Korea's anti-Americanism under the Lee administration was not as high as under the Roh administration. Hence, I count anti-Americanism during the Lee administration as *medium* for two reasons - Lee's pro-American disposition and South Koreans' frustration of former engagement policy's unsuccessful outcomes.

Lee was very pro-American president. Lee Myung Bak set a high value on the U.S.-South Korea alliance in economic and military sense and did not favor of any attempts that could weaken the U.S.-South Korea alliance. During his visit to Washington, Lee agreed to lift a ban on U.S. beef which was imposed in 2003 after mad cow disease was detected on American beef. Strong U.S.-South Korean alliance and trade was important to Lee Myung Bak. In addition, Lee continued to attempt to ensure the U.S.-South Korea relations and to finalize the KORUS FTA. President Lee and President Obama met at the Toronto G-20 summit in June 2010 to assure its alliance and economic relations. They discussed the KORUS FTA at the Seoul G-20 meeting again in November (Schott, 2011). As his policy shows, Lee Myung Bak was heavily dependent on trade and security alliance with the United States. Hence, anti-Americanism derived from mad cow disease scandal did not have significant

influence in his pro-American policy. His pro-American disposition also allowed stable U.S. military presence in South Korea.

In addition, most of South Koreans started to become pessimistic about engagement policy toward North Korea. Notwithstanding Kim Dae Jung's sunshine policy and Roh Moo Hyun's engagement policy, North Korea consistently threatened South Korea's national security. Thus, South Korea's media questioned influence of former northern policies. With increased North Korea's provocations during the Lee administration, the South Korean public and media voiced doubts in engagement policy. At the same time, his traditional conservative party, the Grand National Party, demanded hard-line policy against North Korea. As a result, base politics was stable under the Lee administration because of *medium* anti-Americanism as shown in Table 6.

Under the Lee administration, the most primary event in base politics was delay of transfer of wartime operational control to South Korea. One of Lee's pledges was reconsideration of transfer of wartime operational control. Under the Roh administration, the United States and South Korea agreed to transfer wartime operational control from the U.S. to South Korea. The United States was supposed to hand over the wartime operational control to the South Korean military on April 17 2012. However, Lee Myung Bak suggested on postponing the transfer time during the presidential campaign. When Lee attended the Toronto G-20 summit in June 2010, he met with Obama and they agreed to postpone the transfer time. As a result, the United States and South Korea signed the deal to extend transfer of wartime operational control on June 26, 2010. Hence, the transfer of wartime operation control was scheduled for December 1, 2015. Then, it was extended again without date during the Park Geun Hye administration.

Lee also requested for canceling the reduction of the USFK to the United States. The size of the USFK was planned to be gradually reduced to 25,000 by 2008 according to the agreement signed by the Roh administration with the Bush administration. However, due to concerns over increased threat and security unrest on the Korean Peninsula, Lee Myung Bak suggested to halt reduction of the USFK (B. Koo, 2008). As a result, the plan to withdraw 3,500 troops from the U.S. bases was canceled and the size of the USFK remained same as before the Roh administration with 28,500 troops. In addition, U.S. military and South Korean

military assured that American intervention would be guaranteed in case of North Korean provocations.

In sum, as the severity of threats increased, the South Korean government displayed a tendency to strengthen the U.S.-South Korea alliance and depend on U.S. military. Accordingly, it enhanced joint military exercise, "Foal Eagle" between South Korean military and the USFK. Consequently, the number of U.S. troops was more increased than it had been planned and the necessity of the USFK was once proven again by the South Korean government. Moreover, Lee decided to postpone the retrieval of wartime operational control of South Korean military. On the other hand, anti-Americanism was *medium* so that it did not destabilize base politics. Lee's pro-American policy also contributed to stabilize U.S. military presence in South Korea. Therefore, I argue that *very high* severity of threats and *medium* anti-Americanism kept base politics stable during the Lee administration.

CHAPTER III

BASE POLITICS IN TURKEY

This chapter begins with a brief historical background on the U.S.-Turkey military alliance. Base politics in Turkey started in the 1950s when Turkey became a NATO member and signed the NATO Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with the United States. Other than the NATO SOFA, different bilateral agreements were signed to regulate the U.S. military bases in Turkey. One of them was the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) which stipulated obligations of the U.S. military in Turkey. As Turkey became a NATO member in 1952, Turkey started to host the U.S. military. Since the Cold War, the U.S. military presence in Turkey has expanded and contributed in U.S. operations in various regions.

Military bases established in Turkey by the NATO and the United States played a pivotal role during the Cold War. For instance, the air station in Izmir as the oldest NATO base in Turkey provided intelligence and logistical help to U.S. operations. Pirinclik air base in Diyarbakir was also used to deter aggression from the Soviet Union. Most importantly, Incirlik air base in Adana as a NATO station and U.S. Air Force 39th Air Base Wing has been engaged in various operations (Lostumbo *et al*., 2013). Turkey is a long-term ally to the United States and at the same time strategically and geographically vital country for the U.S. military to conduct its global missions. Yet, American high officials started calling the purpose of the U.S. military presence into question after the communism collapsed in the 1990s (Cooley, 2008). In this chapter, I delve into base politics in Turkey during the post-Cold War era.

In terms of my conceptual framework, I analyze two independent variables – severity of threats and anti-Americanism – to explain base politics in Turkey during the post-Cold War era. By categorizing base politics under different leaderships of Turkish Prime Ministers and a president (Turgut Ozal), I demonstrate how base politics in Turkey has evolved during the post-Cold War era. This era witnesses the

increase of Turkey's autonomy, diversification of Turkish politics and democratization. In particular, I focus on base politics incorporating with threats and anti-Americanism.

In the first section, I examine military relations between the United States and Turkey until the Cold War. The next section briefly covers the rise of political Islam and its influence in base politics. Then, I elaborate base politics under each leadership in Turkey from President Turgut Ozal to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan after short explanation of the U.S. military bases in Turkey as seen in Table 7.

Table 7 Base politics in Turkey

	Severity of threats	Anti-Americanism	Base politics
Turgut Ozal (1989-1993)	Very High	Medium	Stable
Suleyman Demirel (1991-1993)	Very High	Medium	Stable
Tansu Ciller (1993-1996)	Very High	Medium	Stable
Necmettin Erbakan (1996-1997)	Very High	High	Stable
Mesut Yilmaz (1997-1999)	High	Medium	Stable
Bulent Ecevit (1999-2002)	High	High	Politicized
Recep Tayyip Erdogan (2003-2014)	High	Very High	Politicized

The core of my argument is that base politics in host nations operates in response to severity of threats and anti-Americanism. Since U.S. military bases interact with local governments and community, base politics is under influence of Turkish domestic political environment. Thus, when severity of threats is high, the Turkish government is not likely to risk the U.S. military presence. On the other hand, when anti-Americanism is severe, the Turkish government tends to restrict U.S. operations in military bases in Turkey. I observe that anti-Americanism of the Turkish public affected Turkish policy-making process as the level of democracy developed. For instance, when severity of threats was substantially high from Ozal's presidency to Yilmaz's premiership between 1989 to 1999, base politics was stable

as can be seen in Table 7. Yet, it is important to note that the threat level during the post-Cold War era was not as high as during the Cold War although I count severity of threats as very high until the late 1990s because of regional conflicts and the Kurdish insurgency. After this period, base politics became politicized during the administrations of Ecevit and Erdogan from 1999 to 2014 when severity of threats was high and anti-Americanism was heightened as seen above in Table 7.

3.1 Military relations after World War II until the end of the Soviet Union

After World War II, Turkey maintained its Westernization policies and showed tendency to westernize the country by trying to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and forming alliance with the United States. During the Cold War era, Turkey perceived greatest threat from the Soviet Union and sought tight relations with the United States to balance power against the Soviet Union (Larrabee, 2008; Onis, 1995; Guney, 2008). Since Turkey became a NATO member in 1952, Turkey tried to sustain close alliance with the United States. To solidify its alliance, Turkey sent over 5,000 soldiers to Korea during the Korean War. In the same vein, two countries signed the Military Facilities Agreement in 1954, formalizing the opening of U.S. military bases in Turkey which was the beginning of base politics in Turkey. In March 1959, Turkey ratified bilateral defense agreement with the United States.

However, the U.S.-Turkey alliance was questioned in the 1960s and the early 1970s because of several diplomatic conflicts and domestic protests against America in Turkey. It started with Greek Cypriot massacre of Turkish minority on the island on Christmas and Turkish attack on Cyprus in 1963. Turkey sent warplanes to Cyprus to protect Turks and warned against massacre of Turks on the island on December 25, 1963. Then, U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson sent a letter to Ismet Inonu regarding the Cyprus problem and the letter invoked anti-Americanism in Turkey (Bolukbasi, 1993; Criss, 2002; Larrabee, 2008). Johnson advised not to take military actions on Cyprus without U.S. consultation and most Turks were displeased with the threating tone of the letter. Consequently, the status of U.S. military presence in Turkey was questioned among the Turkish political circles in the late 1960s.

Doubts about reliability of the U.S.-Turkey alliance increased among Turks

and eventually anti-Americanism led into extreme protest movements. In January 1969, leftist Turkish students burned U.S. ambassador Robert Komer's car and in March 1971, a leftist group kidnapped four American noncommissioned officers. The center right Demirel government even suspended activities at U.S. military bases in Turkey and the Turkish army took over U.S. bases in 1975. Nevertheless, the U.S.-Turkey relations started to normalize in 1976 as they signed new military agreement which stipulated for U.S. privileges of defense facilities in Turkey.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, the United States and Turkey strived for stable alliance relationship. The United States lifted its embargo on aid to Turkey in 1978 and approved military aid to Turkey for the following year. In addition, the Turkish government signed on extension of status of U.S. bases in Turkey. In the following year, both countries signed the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) to preserve a strong bilateral defense relationship and to sustain U.S. privileges of military facilities in Turkey. This agreement was extended again in 1987 and 1990. Relations between Turkey and the United States were stable due to mutual defense and a common enemy which was the Soviet Union in spite of a few protests against the U.S.-Turkey alliance and U.S. bases in Turkey.

Domestically, Turkey underwent military interventions three times between the 1960s and 1980s: 1960–61, 1971–73, 1980–83. Although center right parties had dominant share of votes, most political parties were often closed down and banned between the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1970s, coalition governments administered Turkey without the leading party of a majority. Moreover, political violence was severe during that period. Unstable politics exacerbated economic division and violence and eventually led into the military intervention in the end of the 1970s (Onis, 1995). Turkey in the 1970s witnessed the process of democratization. At the same time, Turkey was confronted with increased nationalism and political liberalization, and radicalism (Adamson, 2001). The extreme leftist group was the main actor of anti-American movement in the late 1970s.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Turkey experienced significant changes politically and economically. First, the role of Islam increased in Turkish politics. An Islamic party, Welfare Party (RP; Refah Partisi) was founded in 1983 by Necmettin Erbakan and his entourage. The RP won the general election in 1995. RP's victory demonstrated the increased role of Islam both in politics and Turkish society. During

the 1980s and 1990s, the number of Islamic schools increased and Islamic movements often occurred. Rise of political Islam in Turkey, a long-term ally to the West, raised eyebrows of the Western allies (Rabasa & Larrabee, 2008). Yet, it was secularism which had been preserved on the systemic level in Turkey that maintained pro-Western Turkish foreign policy (Bilgin, 2008). Therefore, political Islam did not bring drastic change in the U.S.-Turkey alliance. Economically, Turkey made efforts to embrace Western values, free market and capitalism. State intervention in economy was decreased and privatization was increased. For instance, Turgut Ozal who was a prime minister from 1983 to 1989, attempted to reform Turkish economy by implementing liberalization program and lifting exchange controls.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the nature of alliance between the United States and Turkey changed with external and internal elements (Oguzlu & Kibaroglu, 2009). The Soviet Union had been the common enemy of Turkey and the United States. Since the biggest external threat disappeared, the purpose of alliance changed. Yet, Turkey was still a strategically important ally to the United States. Turkey shared same values of freedom and security with its allies as a NATO member and it engaged in NATO military operations not only within Turkey but also in different regions.

The U.S.-Turkey alliance needs to be understood with changed international and national environment. American military bases in Turkey have been influenced by political environment and contemporary relations of the two countries. The United States regards military installations in Turkey as significant to its global posture strategy. Base politics should be studied in an analytic and systematic manner because American bases operate in varying political environments. Base politics does not only include governments of host nation and the United States but also their local communities, public, and military.

3.2 Rise of political Islam

The rise of political Islam is not observed in South Korea. In actuality, religion does not account for political agenda or ideologies of South Korean leaders. However, the rise of political Islam was one of significant political phenomena during the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey. Hence, although political Islam did not have fundamental impact on base politics in Turkey, it is imperative to examine how it

affected base politics if any.

Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923 with the secular principles, Turks have respected and followed his principles. As this country consists of 99 percent Muslims, Turkey has attempted to blend Islam and Westernization since the late Ottoman period (Oguzlu & Kibaroglu, 2009; Rabasa & Larrabee, 2008). And there have often been disputes between secularists and Islamists in the country. Under this circumstance, political Islam took off in the 1960s and drew great attention from scholars during the 1990s and early 2000s (Gulalp, 2001; Heper, Oncu, & Kramer, 1993; Onis, 1997; Rabasa & Larrabee 2008; Yavuz 2003). A great deal of literature can be found on political Islam rising between the 1980s and 1990s (Gordon & Taspinar, 2006; Nilufer, 1997; Ayata, 1996; Tugal, 2002; Yavuz 2003).

In 1970, a representative Islamist politician Necmettin Erbakan established the first Islam-oriented political party, the National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi, MNP). Under the National Outlook (Milli Gorus, MG) movement, Erbakan attempted to Islamize Turkey by fusing Islam into Turkish politics and society. The MG movement continued with the establishment of the National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi, MSP) in 1971, the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi, RP) in 1983, and the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi, FP) in 1998 (Gumuscu, 2010). A stark example of political Islam was the success of the Welfare Party in the 1990s and the AKP in the 2000s. The rise of political Islam worried Turkey's Western allies because Turkey as an only Muslim NATO member had a strategic and symbolic importance. Especially, the United States watched intently if Islamic tendency would endanger a long time alliance of the two countries.

Onis (1997) explains that political Islam in Turkey was influenced by external factors and internal factors. External factor is globalization. The middle class and the educated who had been excluded by the secularist elite group started to benefit from globalization because of international trade and economic liberalization. Domestically, the poor and the unprivileged who were marginalized by globalization, harbored dissatisfaction with Turkish politics during the 1960s and 1970s. Gumuscu (2010) also contends that economic liberalization helped the growth of marginalized business group and increased its political engagement. Anatolia-based entrepreneurs began to prosper under the export-led economy with the reduced state intervention in

the market (Tugal, 2002).

Yet, Islamists were not always successful in Turkish politics. Constitution of the Republic of Turkey clearly states that "sacred religious feelings shall absolutely not be involved in state affairs and politics as required by the principle of secularism" in its preamble. Hence, parties with an Islamic orientation were often banned from politics by the constitutional law. For instance, the first Islamic party, the MNP was closed down in 1972. The MSP succeeded by MNP in 1972, was also shut down by military junta in 1980. Erbakan was also banned from politics until 1987. Between the 1960s and 1980s, Islamist group was held in check by the secularist and military regime. Hence, the U.S.-Turkey alliance was not heavily impacted by political Islam during this period.

After the third military regime finished in 1983, the Welfare Party (RP) was established in the same year. In the early 1990s, there was significant increase of political Islam with economic development. The success of RP was observed in elections. The RP won 7.2 percent of votes in the 1987 election but it increased to 21 percent and became the leading party in 1995. Yet, Erbakan's premiership was too short-lived to see significant impact of political Islam on Turkish foreign policy and the U.S.-Turkey alliance. The rise of political Islam also did not bring much change into the U.S. military presence in Turkey since the Islamist government of Erbakan did not last long and influence of leftists was bigger than Islamists in regard to the U.S.-Turkey alliance. This will be further discussed later in Erbakan's part.

Nevertheless, pro-Islam politicians were hesitant to take military actions or to engage in negative policy against Muslim countries. For example, the RP disapproved U.S. Operation Provide Comfort which supported the fleeing Kurds from Iraq. Opposition toward American policies against Muslim countries increased especially after the 2003 invasion of Iraq and anti-Americanism attained the highest level since the AKP regime. American use of military bases in Turkey received widespread criticism in Turkish media in the 2000s. Yet, when it comes to anti-American movements in Turkey, leftists were more influential than Islamists. Furthermore, secularism was maintained on the systemic level in Turkey to preserve pro-Western Turkish foreign policy (Bilgin, 2008). Therefore, political Islam did not bring drastic change in the U.S.-Turkey alliance although it affected anti-Americanism to some extent when the U.S. attempted to strike Muslim countries

through military bases in Turkey.

3.3 U.S. military bases in Turkey

The alliance between Turkey and the United States started from the end of World War II and has been strengthened since then. With the Truman doctrine which was pledged by the U.S. President Truman to provide U.S. ally with economic and military support against the expansion of the Soviet Union, the United States started to send military aid to Turkey since 1947. Following that, Turkey and the United States officially negotiated military cooperation in 1952. After Turkey became a NATO member in 1952, the United States and Turkey have maintained strong alliance. The first major agreement regarding U.S. military bases in Turkey was signed in 1954 and several other agreements - some are open and some are confidential - were negotiated after that (Duke, 1989). In the same year, the NATO Status of Forces Agreement (NATO SOFA) was ratified by the Turkish law.

The size of the U.S. military bases in Turkey has been the largest in the Middle East and the Turkish military is the second largest in NATO. Turkey has been a strategically important ally to the United States as Turkey is the only Muslim NATO member, located at a crossroads between Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Turkey's membership of NATO also meant that the West could coexist with Muslim society (Heper *et al*., 1993; Gordon & Taspinar, 2006; Larrabee, 2008). During the Cold War, Turkey proved its geopolitical importance to the United States. The U.S. military installations which were established during the Cold War era were engaged in crucial missions and operations from collecting intelligence to communications and reconnaissance (Guney, 2008). According to the Kane's report of the Heritage Center (2004), the United States sent between 5,000 and 10,000 troops to Turkey since they made the military agreement in the early 1950s until the end of the Cold War.

Over 30 bases were installed including such as the Incirlik airbase in Adana, the logistic support command and headquarters in Ankara, the missile monitoring station in Edirne, the nuclear munitions storage in Erzurum, and the air support base and port facilities in Izmir (Lostumbo *et al*., 2013). The airbase at Incirlik played a pivotal role in NATO operations as one of U.S. European Command Mutual security threat which was the Soviet Union enhanced the stability of alliance between Turkey

and the United States. Yet, the alliance of the United States and Turkey entered a new phase after the end of Soviet Union. As the Soviet Union collapsed, Turkey and the United States lost a strong motivation for their alliance (Menon & Wimbush, 2007). On the one hand, military budget cut was discussed in Washington after the Cold War. Consequently, military aid from the U.S. to Turkey was planned to be decreased at that time (Athanassopoulou, 2014). It was not the first time for the United States to attempt to reduce military aid to Turkey. In 1974, the United States delayed to pass the bill of providing military aid to Turkey (Heper & Criss, 2009). In 1975, as the U.S. Congress placed an embargo, the Turkish government suspended any operations at the U.S. military bases in Turkey and handed over full control of bases to the Turkish army. Since the embargo continued for three years, relations between the United States and Turkey worsened both economically and politically (Guney, 2008). To ease the tension between the two countries, U.S. President Carter appealed to the Congress to lift the embargo and the U.S. officially lifted the embargo in September 1978. In addition, the U.S. Senate turned down $50 billion aid grant to Turkey in 1979 after the Cyprus crisis but they approved it later. Alliance between Turkey and the United States became normalized as they renewed their military agreement which was the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) in 1980 (Guney, 2005). With the agreement, the United States confirmed the status of the U.S. military bases in Turkey.

As tensions between the United States and the USSR lessened in the 1980s, Turkey expanded economic channels into Eastern Europe and the Central Asia. Although Turkish foreign policy was primarily oriented towards the West, Turkey increased its political and economic attention to its neighboring countries in the Middle East, the Central Asia, and even to the Soviet Union since the 1980s. For instance, Turkey and the Soviet Union negotiated the natural gas agreement in 1984. Turkey utilized its optimal location to approach global market as it was surrounded by the Black Sea and the Mediterranean with two crucial straits, the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. With its geographical benefit, Turkey developed interactions with the East towards the end of the Soviet Union. In particular, common religion and cultural heritage with the Centre Asian republics projected the possibility of Turkey to expand its political and economic orientation (Onis, 1995). For instance, Turkey could provide channels for energy from Azerbaijan to Europe. In addition, cultural,

historical and linguistic heritage among Turkic republics offered opportunities for Turkey to stabilize the power vacancy in the region after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Some scholars interpreted that Turkey changed its neutral stance in foreign policy to a more active approach (Kirisci & Balim, 1995; Makovsky & Sayari, 2000). With the expanded diplomatic spectrum, Turkey started to steer its direction towards other regions from the U.S. centered policy.

The post-Cold War era provided Turkey with possibility to develop and expand its influence in different regions such as Turkic republics and the Black Sea region. Nevertheless, Turkish foreign policy was mainly based on relations with the West and Turkish economy and defense was heavily dependent on the United States. The Turkish government acknowledged that Turkish military facilities lagged behind U.S. facilities and necessitated modernization. Hence, Turkish politicians attempted to assure military cooperation with the United States for modernization of Turkish Forces during the 1980s and 1990s (Kardas, 2011). In this context, the presence of U.S. military in Turkey was guaranteed by the Turkish government because American military not only upgraded dilapidated Turkish military facilities but also provided advanced technology, information, and intelligence for the Turkish army to protect the national security through American military bases. In this vein, despite Turkey's desire to enhance its independence and expand its influence in the world politics, Turkey needed steady and stable alliance with the United States.

At the end of the Cold War, around 1,600 American military bases existed outside of the United States. According to the DoD's (1990) report, there were 24 American bases in Turkey in 1989. The U.S. military bases which were established since the 1950s increased in number and developed Turkish military system during the Cold War as the United States introduced American defense facilities and technology into the bases and conducted joint operations with Turkish forces. The closer relations with the United States were crucial factor for Turkey's military modernization (Kardas, 2011; Athanassopoulou, 2014). In fact, Turkey received third largest aid from the United States after Israel and Egypt during the Cold War era (Duke, 1989). Even if Turkey wanted to have independent defense capabilities with its own military power and technology, Turkey was heavily dependent on the U.S. security assistance in reality. In particular, Turkish policy makers had planned military modernization program since the 1980s and the plan could not be realized

without U.S. military aid and economic package. As a result, Ankara attempted to prove its strategic importance to Washington and strived to maintain strong alliance with the United States after the Cold War.

In addition, the fact that Turkey's application to the European Community (EC) was rejected in 1989 enlightened the Turkish policymakers that the strategic importance of Turkey was weakening among the West. Although the Western countries did not neglect the alliance, Turkey proved again that Turkey was a crucial ally to the West in the Gulf War (Athanassopoulou, 2014; Onis, 1995; Rabasa & Larrabee, 2008). Specifically, Turkish airfield had a pivotal value as the United States declared a no-fly zone over northern Iraq during the Gulf War (Menon & Wimbush, 2007). Moreover, use of Incirlik bases was proved to be crucial for U.S. military to conduct operations in the regional conflicts.

Strong alliance between the United States and Turkey has been retained even after the Cold War. The U.S. military bases in Turkey were indispensable for the United States to conduct its policy in the Middle East during the post-Cold War era. For instance, Incirlik Air Base in Turkey has provided U.S. Air Force with air base squadrons to operate and support military actions in the region (Lostumbo *et al*., 2013). While military alliance between Turkey and the U.S. continued to be stable, the Turkish government allowed U.S Forces to access American bases in Turkey for various purposes including refueling and overflight rights during the 1990s and 2000s. Turkey has also been hosting NATO bases such as Land Force Command and Missile Defense facilities. Yet, as mentioned above, the Turkish government restricted several U.S. operations when there was conflict with its national interests. Nevertheless, the United States and Turkey have emphasized cooperation and alliance of the two countries to stabilize the region over and over. As long as the U.S.-Turkey alliance is stable and Turkey needs intelligence and technology from the U.S Forces, the presence of U.S. military bases has been guaranteed.

3.4 The Gulf War and Turgut Ozal (1990-1991)

Between 1990 and 1991 when Yildirim Akbulut headed the Cabinet as prime minister, it was President Turgut Ozal who was in charge of the government and took the initiative of engaging Turkey into the Gulf War. The Gulf War was significant for transition of relations between the United States and Turkey after the collapse of

the Soviet Union (Brown, 2007; Guney, 2005). After the end of Cold War, the biggest threat to Turkey disappeared and the level of threats decreased. From that point, Turkey was not at war anymore and its security concerns stemmed mainly from belligerent neighbors and Kurdish insurgents. Although severity of threats was not high as during the Cold War, it was very high until the late 1990s because of regional conflicts, nuclear desires of neighboring countries, the Kurdish insurgency, and terrorist attacks.

Since the end of communism, American policy makers questioned the role of Turkey and the amount of aid provided to Turkey. In fact, the United States was planning to slow down its military aid and reduce the number of troops deployed to Turkey. Yet, by showing geographical importance and significant support to the Western ally, Turkey once proved again its value (Brown, 2007). Owing to President Ozal's almost singlehanded decision to engage in the Gulf War, the U.S.-Turkey alliance was rekindled.

I look into two primary variables – severity of threats and Anti-Americanism – to see how they influenced Turkish base politics around the period of the Gulf War under the presidency of Turgut Ozal. First, severity level of threats was *very high* in Turkey in the early 1990s. It started when Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 02, 1990. Even before the invasion, Iraq was a threatening element to Turkey since Iraq was unreliable neighbor and the Turkish military was inferior and outdated compared to Iraqi military power. Given Turkey's geographic proximity to Iraq and Saddam Hussein's aggressive policies, Iraq had been a dangerous threat to Turkey. President Ozal perceived Saddam Hussein's policies and accumulation of military power as a dangerous threat to Turkey (Kramer, 2000). His threat perception and vision for Turkey's role in the Middle East possibly influenced his policy of the Gulf War. In addition to Iraq, Syria was one of primary threats to Turkey. Syrian Kurds have controlled northern Syria which borders Turkey and they have been a dangerous threat to Turkey's territorial integrity.

Domestically, Turkey had been struggling with the long-standing threat, the Kurdish insurgency. Kurdish separatism has imperiled Turkey's integrity which was one of principles advocated by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Especially the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) has charged biggest threats to Turkey from 1984. Although President Ozal promoted increased rights of Kurdish people and supported

more hospitable Kurdish policy, Kurdish uprisings and rebellion had been imposing major threat to Turkish national interests.

Very high severity level of threats from neighboring countries and Kurdish separatist rebellion influenced Turkish policy on American use of military bases in Turkey for the Gulf War. Before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait started, Turkey had allowed the United States to modernize U.S. bases including Pirinclik air station near Diyarbakir in May 1989. Pirinclik air base had been used as an essential listening station to monitor the USSR during the Cold War. After the initial attack from Iraq to Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the UN Security Council (UNSC) condemned Iraqi invasion and demanded its withdrawal from Kuwait by adopting Resolution 660. Then, led by the United States, the UNSC passed Resolution 661 to put economic sanctions against Iraq on August 6, 1990. As Iraq continued to refuse to comply with UN decisions, the UNSC passed Resolution 665 to provide legality to the UN embargo on August 25. Following the UNSC's resolutions and U.S. Gulf policies, President Ozal suggested for demonstrating Turkish active participation to the Gulf War.

Since Turkey had geographic advantage and was a NATO member, the United States considered opening a second front from Turkey and facilitating already existent U.S. bases in Turkey. Incirlik base especially was approximately 700 km (430 miles) away from the Iraqi border, located in Adana. Hence, using air force base in Incirlik was seriously considered for the US-led coalition against Iraq. Allowing access to Incirlik base to gather intelligence and support air operations was major argument at the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). Despite opposition from political parties and elites, Turkey's Gulf policies were directed by President Ozal who was often accused of abusing power. Consequently, the Turkish parliament allowed foreign forces to be stationed in Turkey and Turkish troops to be sent abroad only if Turkey was attacked on August 12. Although the TGNA first allowed a narrow permission, it passed permission without restrictions later on September 5. In addition, the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) became extended again for another year to guarantee U.S. privileges of military facilities in Turkey on September 18, 1990.

It was not only the severity level of threats that led Turkish involvement in the Gulf War. President Ozal's pro-American policy also contributed his proactive

decision on Turkey's activism during the Gulf War. By participating in the Gulf War, Ozal attempted to strengthen its ties with the West and capture American economic and military aid. While the media and opposition party accused him as a gambler, he argued that his Gulf policies were made of calculation. Ozal favored an active role of Turkey in the region and one of his aspirations was improvement of relations with Western allies (Kramer, 2000). Not only did he advocate stable military alliance with the United States, but also promoted liberal economy and open trade. He continued free-market and Western-oriented economic policies since he was Prime Minister. For instance, the ideology of Turgut Ozal's party, the Motherland Party (ANAP) was combined economic liberalism with nationalism and conservatism. Ozal's policy was often Western oriented (Onis, 1997). To this end, Ozal supported Turkey's involvement in the Gulf War in order for the United State to reconsider the geostrategic importance of Turkey and maintain its military and economic alliance.

Notwithstanding President Ozal's pro-American attitude, the Turkish public and political elites had negative opinion on the Gulf War and U.S. decisions. A majority of Turks worried about Turkey's direct engagement from military bases in Turkey for U.S. operations in the Gulf War. Mostly concerned about Turkey's neutrality, the Turkish parliament, military, opposition party and even the Foreign Ministry opposed Turkey's active approach to regional conflicts (Brown, 2007). Substantial opposition to Ozal's decision came from the politicians of the opposing party, the True Path Party (DYP), social democrats, communists, and anti-war liberals. They criticized that his polices were too pro-Western policies and Ozal was overreaching his constitutional power of President. Turkey's engagement in the Gulf War aggravated division between the secular and the conservative.

Anti-Americanism was not only limited to political elites. The Turkish public also displayed anti-American sentiment. Turks were worried about Turkey's stance toward Muslim countries. When the United States sent its troops to Batman after the Turkish parliament gave authorization to U.S. Forces to use American bases in Turkey on January 17, 1991, the local residents protested against the U.S. military base stationed in their village (Montalbano, 1991). Around 1,500 Turks participated in protest march after Friday prayer. Anti-American protests were demonstrated mostly by leftist groups and fundamental Muslims in Turkey. Anti-Americanism became heightened especially after the United States sent Patriot air-defense missile

system to Turkey. Nevertheless, Turkish public opinion against the United States and its policies in the Middle East did not have significant influence on Turkey's decision making process of policy during the early 1990s. Cooley (2008) claims that public opinion can be easily dismissed when the host country of American military is in the process of democratization. During the Ozal's government, Turkey was still in the process of democratization. In addition, there was no distinctive Anti-American demonstration under the Ozal's leadership. Therefore, Ozal could realize his Gulf policies while he was President despite some of anti-American sentiment of the Turkish public and political elites.

Ozal's decision of Turkey's involvement in the Gulf War was the outcome of *very high* threat and *medium* anti-Americanism which was able to be controlled by the government as can be seen in Table 8. In the decision making process, alliance theory can be also applied in this case. Turkey had been a symbolically and strategically important ally to the West during the Cold War. Turkey was the third biggest recipient of American aid after Israel and Egypt (Grimmet, 1986). Yet, Turkey was confronted with the jeopardy to lose its economic and military aid from the United States at the end of the Cold War. In addition, Turkey was striving to become a member of the EC, hence U.S. support for Turkish membership was necessary. In addition, Turkey was surrounded by hostile countries. By aligning with U.S. policy to Iraq, Ozal attempted to remind the Western allies of Turkey's geopolitical and symbolic importance again after the Cold War. Afraid of abandonment from the West both economically and militarily, President Ozal directed the Gulf policies.

Table 8 Base politics of Turkey during the Ozal government

	Level	Events	Base politics	Events
Severity of threats	Very High	1) Iraqi invasion to Kuwait 2) Relatively inferior military power in the region 3) The Kurdish insurgency	Stable	1) Turkey's involvement in the Gulf War 2) America's access to military bases in Turkey
Anti-Americanism	Medium	1) Ozal's pro-American policy 2) Mild anti-American protests by leftists		

Incirlik air base played a pivotal role in the Gulf war. Although American

bases in Turkey were used for "humanitarian and limited logistics support," American combat aircrafts such as F-16 fighter-bombers and F-15 Fighters were added to U.S. military facilities in Turkey (Larrabee, 2008). After the Gulf War, Turkey received substantial aid from the United States. The U.S. government promised $82 million as military aid and U.S. Congress approved $500 million aid. Notwithstanding anti-Americanism and opposition of Turkish politicians and elites, the United States was able to utilize military bases in Turkey. Alliance theory was also proved through Ozal's decision on his Gulf policies. Hence, I interpret that the presence of U.S. military in Turkey retained stability because of *very high* severity of threats and *medium* anti-Americanism under Ozal's leadership during the Gulf War as seen above in Table 8. Yet, it was the exception that the Ozal government allowed the United States to attack another country and fly sorties from the Turkish soil. Since the Gulf War, the Turkish government increased restrictions of American use of military bases in Turkey.

3.5 Suleyman Demirel (1991-1993)

For all Ozal's economic reforms, Turkey was suffering from high inflation of almost 70%, high bank interest rates, and high unemployment in the early 1990s. Meanwhile, Suleyman Demirel came back again as Prime Minister who had been ousted by Turkish military twice in 1971 and 1980. At general parliamentary election on October 20, 1991, Demirel's True Path Party (DYP) won 178 seats in the 450-member Parliament. Ozal's Motherland Party (ANAP) won 115 seats, Erdal Inonu's Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) won 88 seats, and the Welfare Party (RP) won 62 seats (Pope, 1991). And Bulent Ecevit's Democratic Left Party took seven seats. Since the DYP did not win more than 28% of the vote in general elections, Demirel's center-right DYP and Inonu's center-left SHP formed coalition government which was the Turkey's first coalition government since the 1970s, securing 266 seats in the Parliament ("Turkish Parties to Form," 1991).

A coalition government of center-right and center-left parties brought fears of instability. In fact, the coalition government failed in stabilizing high inflation. Furthermore, there was an initial increase of terrorist attacks in Turkey after the coalition was formed. As it was under Ozal's presidency during the Gulf War, severity level of threats in Turkey was also *very high* during the Demirel government.

The biggest threat came from northern Iraq. American operations were ongoing progress even after the Gulf War and the regional conflicts left the region chaos. Turkey was afraid of establishment of Kurdistan in northern Iraq which eventually would affect the Turkish Kurds. In fact, Iraqi Kurds established a regional Kurdish parliament and declared federalism on October 4, 1992. It seemed that the birth of Kurdish state was imminent. Since Turkey's fundamental policy was national integrity, increased power of the Kurds in northern Iraq was threatening to Turkish national interests. In addition, Kurdish insurgents in southeastern Turkey continued attacks in Turkey. Terrorist attacks such as bombings in Istanbul occurred time and time again in Turkey during the Demirel government. The PKK, the Kurdish secessionist guerrilla group was blamed for most of terrorism. To counter attack Kurdish insurgency, the Turkish government sent 20,000 Turkish troops to Kurdish safe havens in Iraq in 1992. In addition to Kurdish threats, Turkey faced precarious conflicts from neighboring countries. Armenia and Azerbaijan created hostile environment in the region and Iraq and Syria were dangerous neighbors to Turkey as well.

While existent threats in Turkey remained *very high*, anti-Americanism was also at the *medium* level. Anti-American sentiment among the nation increased after the Gulf War. Yet, anti-American protests were still demonstrated mainly by extreme leftists in Turkey. For instance, American companies were often attacked in 1992 (U.S. Department of State, 1993). The U.S. Department of State reported that the IBM building and an American bank were damaged in July and an American oil company was attacked several times in September and October. In December, the U.S. Embassy in Ankara was also bombed but no group claimed credit (U.S. Department of State, 1993). Anti-Americanism during this period appeared as a protest to American leadership by radical and terrorist groups. Anti-American sentiment among the public could be dismissed by the Turkish government in the 1990s (Grigoriadis, 2010). In addition, there was general understanding of need for American investments in Turkish economy. Consequently, anti-American sentiment during the Demirel government did not contribute to risk the U.S.-Turkey alliance as it was remained at the *medium* level.

Another reason why anti-Americanism did not significantly influence base politics was political consensus on pro-American policy in Turkey. Although

Demirel openly criticized Ozal's Gulf policies, he maintained the pro-American foreign policies. Erdal Inonu, Demirel's coalition partner and Deputy Prime Minster, also denounced Ozal as a gambler when Ozal advocated Turkey's participation in the Gulf War. Yet, since Demirel took office, the Demirel government supported pro-American policy. For example, Demirel took his first state trip to Washington on February 10, 1992 (Laber, 1992). While he attempted to continue multi-dimensional policy of Turkey, he also advocated NATO membership and the U.S.-Turkey alliance. Especially since the Turkish government sought Turkey's accession to the European Community, Demirel did not want to risk the U.S.-Turkey alliance. Nevertheless, Demirel was less disposed to American demands than Ozal regarding the U.S. use of military bases in Turkey. Demirel expressed concerns about establishment of Kurdish state in Northern Iraq and U.S. operations in the region. The Turkish government often stated that American use of military bases in Turkey should be exercised under NATO operations. For Turkey, its membership in NATO complicated base politics since military bases in Turkey often used both for NATO and U.S. operations.

The Demirel government pursued more independent stance towards the United States than Turkey's heavily dependent policy during the Cold War (Guney, 2005). Demirel was concerned that the U.S. policy in northern Iraq would stimulate the independence of Iraqi Kurds. He regarded the loss of Iraq's territorial integrity as a threat to Turkey's national interests. Hence, Turkish leaders and political elites casted questions over conflicts between U.S. operations using military bases in Turkey, mainly Incirlik air base, and Turkey's national security.

After the Gulf War, Turkey was put in grave situation dealing with balance of power in the region. While supporting the Western allies to attack Iraq, Turkey was to prove solidarity with other Muslim countries. The Demirel government needed to show that Turkey did not only acquiesce in the United States but also was eager to improve its ties with neighboring countries. Thus, Demirel attempted to solidify its relations with the Islamic countries by visiting Syria and Persian Gulf States. Demirel's attempt to distance from the U.S. actions in northern Iraq appeared as his decision considering entrapment of alliance theory. On the other hand, the Turkish government supported Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) through Incirlik base as can be seen in Table 9. Incirlik base provided OPC with logistics and intelligence

support. This decision could be interpreted as an outcome to avoid abandonment from its long-term ally, the United States. The Turkish government sent combat aircrafts, military helicopters, and around 20,000 troops to northern Iraq to support the U.S.-led operations in 1992. Strong alliance between Turkey and the United States enabled maximum 10,000 U.S. troops to stay in Turkey from the Cold War to the early 1990s (Kane & Heritage Center for Data Analysis, 2004). The number of American troops started to decrease from 1992.

Table 9 Base politics of Turkey during the Demirel government

	Level	Events	Base politics	Events
Severity of threats	Very High	1) Regional conflicts in northern Iraq 2) The Kurdish insurgency 3) Hostile environment	Stable	1) Incirlik base was used for supporting OPC 2) No-fly zone in northern Iraq
Anti-Americanism	Medium	1) Anti-Americanism since the Gulf War 2) American companies attacked by radical groups		

Throughout the Demirel regime, the United States could access to military bases in Turkey although there were doubts of OPC. Turkish political elites were worried that OPC was often conducted against Turkish national interests and the United States was protecting the Kurdish in northern Iraq. Yet, the Turkish parliament decided to extend the mandate of the operation during the Demirel government. In conclusion, severity of threat was *very high* and anti-Americanism was *medium* under the leadership of Demirel as seen above in Table 9. Very high severity of threats to Turkey enabled stable base politics and neutralized anti-American sentiment of the Turkish public which was often ignored by political elites under Demirel's premiership.

3.6 Tansu Ciller (1993-1996)

Tansu Ciller is the first female Prime Minister in Turkey. She was an American-educated economist who represented a modern image of Turkey to the world. Only three years after Ciller joined the DYP, she won the elections and became Prime Minster. Although the DYP was traditionally supported by farmers and traders, Ciller brought a bigger constituency with her modern and pro-Western

image. By the time Ciller took office, Turkey was facing economic crisis. Inflation was high, running at 65% and Turkey's international credit rating was low (Delibas, 2014). As a former minister of economy and Prime Minister, Ciller was in charge of not only boosting Turkey's economy but also controlling the national security from external and internal threats.

The Kurdish insurgency continued during Ciller's premiership which was one of the major threats to Turkey's national security. Before Ciller took office, a ceasefire with the PKK broke down in May, 1993. Then, less than a month later, the rebellious PKK attacked a small village, "Başbağlar köyü," in the province of Erzincan killing over 30 people on July 5 (O'Toole, 1993). Militant Kurds were among the urgent threats that Ciller had to tackle, but the Turkish military had not achieved a distinct success in handling the problem. Although Ciller promised to ease the tension by promising broader rights of the Kurds especially in education and broadcasting, the Kurdish insurrection continued to jeopardize Turkey's national unity. On March 20, 1995, the Turkish government sent 35,000 troops into northern Iraq to defeat the Turkish guerrillas which eventually raised Western allies' eyebrows. In addition to the Kurdish insurgency, Turkey suffered from internal conflicts during Ciller's premiership. For instance, on July 2, 1993, a group of militant Islam attacked on a group of leftist intellectual in Sivas. The mob burned a hotel where there was a conference and among the victims, there was a famous writer and translator, Aziz Nesin. Domestically, the Ciller government was challenged by threats not only from the radical Kurds and extreme groups as well. With internal and external threats, political and economic turmoil were main agenda for Ciller's premiership. Hence, the U.S. military presence in Turkey did not relatively receive a major attention.

On the international level, Russian influence in the Caucasus was increasing worries in the region. Russia resumed its leverage on the ex-Soviet republics especially Azerbaijan. Syria and Iraq also imposed dangerous threats to Turkey. Conflicts in the Middle East were not easily controlled and Turkey was walking on a tightrope between the Western allies and the Muslim countries.

During the Ciller government, severity level of threats was *very high* as seen below in Table 10. The U.S. Force in Turkey provided the Turkish military with intelligence and surveillance to tackle threats. The United States also upgraded

facilities and technology of military bases in Turkey. Although there were conflicts of how to solve the Kurdish question between the United States and Turkey, Turkey needed American aid in defense and economy. Since military modernization was one of Turkey's priorities to improve its defense power, the U.S. bases in Turkey were stable during Ciller's premiership.

Table 10 Base politics of Turkey during the Ciller government

	Level	Events	Base politics	Events
Severity of threats	Very High	1) Regional conflicts in northern Iraq 2) Increase of the Kurdish insurgency since ceasefire broke down 3) Basbaglar Koyu	Stable	1) OPC term extended 2) Incirlik base used for supporting OPC and no-fly zone
Anti-Americanism	Medium	Anti-American protests by DHKP-C		

Meanwhile, mild anti-American protests were observed while Ciller was Prime Minister in Turkey. The major demonstration was on April 10, 1994 in Ankara (U.S. Department of State, 1995). According to the U.S. government report (1995), about 1,500 Turks demonstrated before the American Embassy in Ankara. Demonstrators were enraged by that chemical weapons were used to attack Muslim Bosnians by Serbian military and the U.S. military which turned out false later. The demonstrators climbed the fence of the American Embassy and damaged the property. Moreover, bomb attacks on American food restaurants occurred occasionally. Anti-American sentiment was mainly from Turkey's extreme-left group, Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C, formerly Dev-Sol). The DHKP-C which was founded in 1978 based on a Marxist-Leninist ideology was against the U.S. leadership which the radical group called U.S. imperialism. Some militants of the DHKP-C conducted terrorist attacks on American-owned companies such as Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola in 1995 (U.S. Department of State, 1996). There were anti-American protests against U.S. military in Turkey as well. The U.S. Department of State (1996) reported that American military personnel of Incirlik base were attacked while traveling on a bus on October 20, 1995. In general, Turks felt the compensation for Turkey's involvement in the war was not adequate. Furthermore, as Turks became frustrated by continued rejection to the European

Union, they felt let down by the West (Acikmese & Triantaphyllou, 2012; Oguzlu & Kibaroglu, 2009). Nevertheless, anti-Americanism in Turkey during the Ciller administration was *medium* because of Turkey's need for the U.S. support for Turkey's EU membership, American investment in Turkish economy, and military aid. Moreover, anti-base movements or anti-American protests were mainly staged by extreme leftists in Turkey.

Yet, anti-Americanism steadily increased in Turkey since the 1990s. In fact, Turkey witnesses salient anti-Americanism since 2002. Meanwhile, the pro-Islamist and anti-Western Welfare Party (RP) succeeded in local elections in March 1994. The RP achieved around 20% of the votes and won the mayoral races in Istanbul and Ankara. Although the pro-Islamist party displayed a tendency of anti-Americanism during the Erbakan administration, anti-Americanism was manageable until the early 2000s.

To sum up, base politics seemed stable during the Ciller's government as can be seen above in Table 10. First, severity level of threats was *very high* because of the Kurdish insurgency, volatile situations in Iraq after the Gulf War, extreme groups, and instability of the region. In addition, the Turkish military was dependent on the U.S. support and the U.S. bases in Turkey since the U.S. military provided adequate tools to Turkey to protect its national security. Second, anti-Americanism was not severe enough to affect Turkey's American policy and neither to endanger its military agreement with the long-term ally. Therefore, anti-Americanism was considered to be at the *medium* level. In fact, the Ciller government supported U.S. Operation Provide Comfort through Incirlik base. The Turkish parliament passed the bill to extend the term of OPC in December 1994 (Dorsey, 1994). American aircrafts were sent from Incirlik base into the no-fly zone in northern Iraq. The Turkish government also approved U.S. surveillance planes and reconnaissance flights to set off from military bases in Turkey because the Turkish army had been receiving intelligence for defeating the Kurdish guerillas from the American military. Hence, the findings from Ciller's premiership allude to the influence of severity of threats and anti-Americanism on base politics. When severity of threats is *very high* and anti-Americanism is *medium*, base politics is likely to be stable.

3.7 Necmettin Erbakan (1996-1997)

Although the success of Necemettin Erbakan's party, the Welfare Party (RP) has a significant meaning in Turkish politics, his premiership was short-lived. As the poor and Anatolian entrepreneurs who were excluded from politics by the traditional secular elite group became a major constituency of the RP, the RP succeeded in elections. The RP won 7.2 percent of votes in the 1987 election but it increased to approximately 20 percent and won the mayorships of Istanbul and Ankara in 1994. Eventually, the RP became the leading party in 1995.

As Erbakan took office, he inherited Turkey's bad economy from Tansu Ciller. Under the leadership of Ciller, inflation rose up to 124% and government interest rates exceeded 100%. The Turkish lira collapsed and the economy shrank by 6 % ("Ciller's Chance," 1997). Yet, Erbakan's campaign pledges were adamant. Erbakan, Turkey's first Islamist prime minister, suggested Turkey's withdrawal from NATO during the campaign. He even proposed to establish "an Islamic United Nations, an Islamic NATO, and an Islamic version of the EU (Kinzer, 1996)." He also said, "We[Turkey] will create an Islamic currency (Kinzer, 1996)." He even surprised economy experts by announcing that the Turkish government would increase the monthly payments of civil servants and pensioners.

By his statements and pledges, Erbakan was categorically anti-American. He was against the Gulf War and Turkey's participation in the war and even pledged to expel American troops from Turkey. Yet, he often showed compromising policy toward the United States and its operations in northern Iraq. The main reason of his changed stance towards the U.S. was that Turkey's high dependency on the U.S. support both for defense and economy. If the United States abandoned Turkey no matter who intended first, Turkey would be isolated not only from its Western allies but also from Arab countries because Turkey did not have solid and strong ties with neighboring countries. Another factor was his coalition partner, Ciller who kept the balance of foreign policy. Ciller as a secular leader required compromise on Erbakan's earlier promises. While Erbakan attempted to improve relations with Syria and Iran, the Turkish government did not lose its alliance with the United States. In fact, during the Erbakan's term, OPC was extended again at the Turkish parliament. In addition, Turkey conducted joint military exercises with the United States and Israel in May, 1997.

Yet, the Erbakan administration was confronted with strained relations with

the United States because of the Kardak crisis which happened when Tansu Ciller was acting Prime Minister before Erbakan took office. The U.S.-Turkey alliance worsened in early 1996 when Turkey and Greece disputed over the Cyprus issue. The so-called Kardak-Imia crisis occurred in January 1996. Kardak (Imia in Greek) is two islets in the Aegean Sea between Greece and Turkey. Greece and Turkey disputed over territorial rights of the islets. The confrontation over the island nearly went to war after Turkish journalists replaced a Greek flag with the Turkish one on a pair of two islets (Pope, 1996). Greece brought this case to the European Union and the European Parliament who condemned Turkey. The Kardak crisis strained the U.S.-Turkey relations as well. The Turkish government rejected economic aid package from the U.S. asking for America's favorable stance on Turkey regarding Cyprus crisis and Turkey's human right issues. Although the crisis was eventually mediated by the United States, it left tensions on the border between Turkish Cyprus and Greek Cyprus ("U.S. efforts Help Calm," 1996). Turkey agreed to receive economic aid from the U.S. later in 1997.

Erbakan's political success also demonstrated the rise of political Islam in Turkey. His anti-American disposition did not much change the status of U.S. military presence in Turkey but it had influence on the U.S.-Turkey alliance. For example, his gas deal with Iran worried the United States. In addition, by calling Libya as a victim of terrorism, Erbakan irritated its Western allies (Kinzer, 1997). Turkey was also reluctant to allow U.S. bases to be used for several American operations in the Middle East (Pettyjohn & Kavanagh, 2016). During the Erbakan administration, the Turkish media often criticized OPC (Bilgin, 2008). Yet, the United States continued to use military bases in Turkey to support its operations in northern Iraq in spite of *high* anti-Americanism during the Erbakan's regime. In fact, his coalition party was weak and Turkey's secular military favored security alliance with U.S. military to counteract national threats.

His term as Prime Minister was ended by military interruption. As Erbakan was forced out by the military, he resigned on June 18, 1997. Turkish generals, who regarded themselves as guardians of secularism, opposed to Erbakan's leadership and forced him to resign from his office. Erbakan's term was too short to make influential impact on base politics. Hence, despite the concerns about Erbakan's Islamist tendency, base politics was stable during his premiership. Table 11 provides

base politics during Erbakan premiership. Severity of threats was *very high* because of security concerns regarding relations with Greece, hostile region, and Kurdish insurgency. Erbakan's *high* anti-American disposition did not reflect Turkish foreign policy because Turkey's secular institution kept his pro-Islam stance in check and Turkey required strong military alliance with the United States to cope with external threats. Yet, opposition toward U.S. policy against Muslim countries gradually increased and reached a peak especially after Iraq War. Eventually, anti-Americanism has attained the highest level since the AKP regime. In addition, as civic rights have increased, anti-Americanism increasingly demonstrated to be affecting base politics in the 2000s.

Table 11 Base politics of Turkey during the Erbakan government

	Level	Events	Base politics	Events
Severity of threats	Very High	1) Regional conflicts in northern Iraq 2) The Kurdish insurgency	Stable	1) OPC term extended 2) Joint military exercises with Israel and the U.S. in Turkey
Anti-Americanism	High	Erbakan's Anti-American disposition		

3.8 Mesut Yilmaz (1997-1999)

After Necmettin Erbakan handed in his resignation to President Suleyman Demirel, Demirel chose Mesut Yilmaz as Prime Minister who was an opposition leader. Yilmaz was a leader of the center right Motherland Party (ANAP) and publicly criticized the leader of the conservative True Path Party (DYP), Tansu Ciller. Toward the end of Ciller's term, her reputation was tainted by her corruption. Demirel's decision to pick Mesut Yilmaz to form government was rather surprising. Yet, Yilmaz's coalition government did not also last long.

On June 30, 1997, Mesut Yilmaz as Prime Minister formed coalition government with the Democratic Left Party (DSP) of Bulent Ecevit, and the Democratic Turkey Party of Husamettin Cindoruk. Consequently, a pro-Secular government replaced the pro-Islamist government. The Yilmaz government promised secular reform particularly in the Turkish education system. For economic policy, Yilmaz pledged to revive stalled economy by restarting privatization program and changing tax system. Turkey's inflation rate was still high, running at 85%. He was

also determined to lead Turkey to access to the European Union. With his background education in Germany, he had good connections with the Europeans. He obtained support from German chancellor Helmut Kohl for the EU candidacy. Yet, Yilmaz felt betrayed when the EU rejected Turkey in December 1997. He even announced that Turkey would withdraw its application for the EU membership (Heper & Criss, 2009). Most Turks were outraged and thought they deserved better treatment after supporting the West as a stalwart backstop in the region during the Cold War. Turks' disappointment in the EU deepened and it was often mixed with anti-American sentiment (Larrabee, 2008). Nonetheless, Turkey still needed Washington's support for its bid to join the EU. When Yilmaz visited the United States after the rejection from the EU, he asked America's support for Turkey's EU membership. At the time, U.S. President Clinton expressed concerns about Turkey's disconnection with the Western allies (Couturier, 1997; Weymouth, 1997).

Yet, in contrast with Erbakan's anti-American stance, Yilmaz maintained pro-American policy and required U.S. support for Turkey's EU membership. Consequently, anti-Americanism slightly eased during the Yilmaz administration compared to high anti-American sentiment under the Erbakan government. In general, Yilmaz advocated pro-American policy by supporting Turkey's accession to the EU and seeking U.S. support for Turkey's EU membership, defense, and economy.

Nonetheless, anti-American sentiment of Turkish extremists continued during the Yilmaz government. On October 5, 1997, a device contained gasoline was discovered near the U.S. Consulate in Istanbul (U.S. Department of State, 1998). The police presumed that a Turkish communist group was responsible for the attack. In December 1998, a small group of Turks gathered in front of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara and performed a peaceful protest (U.S. Department of State, 1999). Three days later, a crowd of approximately 300 people protested against U.S. bombings in Iraq in front of the U.S. Consulate. Ever since the Gulf War broke out, anti-Americanism has never been low among the public and the media in Turkey. Yet, anti-American sentiment among public could be dismissed because democracy was not mature in Turkey until the 1990s. Besides, Yilmaz maintained strong alliance with the United States and promoted a "strategic partnership" with America. In sum, anti-Americanism was *medium* during Yilmaz's premiership.

On the other hand, severity of threats was *high* during this period. The Kurdish rebel groups including the PKK consistently threatened the national security of Turkey. As the Kurdish insurrection intensified, the Turkish government sent ultimatum to Syria due to its support to the PKK. In addition, Iraq situation was not settled yet and the U.S. operations continued in northern Iraq, using military bases in Turkey. Also, the Turkey's long competitor, Russia was expanding its influence in the Caucasus. Although economic relations improved with Russia, Turkey's increased interest and involvement in the Caucasus clashed with interests of Russia in the region. In addition, as Turkey strengthened relations with Israel by allowing Israel to train its military in Turkey, Arab-Israeli tensions put Turkey into a difficult situation in the region (Larrabee, Lesser, & Rand, 2003). Overall, severity of threats was *high* during the Yilmaz government as seen in Table 12.

Table 12 Base politics of Turkey during the Yilmaz government

	Level	Events	Base politics	Events
Severity of threats	High	1) Iraq situation unsettled 2) The PKK insurgence	Stable	Incirlik base upgraded to the 10th Tanker Base Command
Anti-Americanism	Medium	Anti-American demonstrations by extreme leftists in front of U.S. Consulate in Istanbul and U.S. Embassy in Ankara		

Under the leadership of Yilmaz, the presence of U.S. military in Turkey was stable. The Unites States could easily access to military bases in Turkey including Incirlik base. Incirlik base, particularly, was upgraded to the 10th Tanker Base Command due to its geographic and strategic importance for the U.S. operations in the region in 1998. Both the Turkish military and the U.S. military carried out military exercises at Incirlik base during Yilmaz's premiership. As a result, *high* severity of threats and *medium* level of anti-Americanism kept base politics stable. The status of U.S. bases in Turkey was rarely politicized under Yilmaz's leadership.

3.9 Bulent Ecevit (1999-2002)

Bulent Ecevit maintained clean reputation for his integrity and frugality among Turkish politicians. Contrary to former Prime Ministers, Mesut Yilmaz and Tansu Ciller, corruption did not tarnish his political life. In December 1998,

President Demirel asked him to lead the government. Ecevit started to serve as a caretaker Prime Minister from January 1999 to May 1999. He was a resilient leader who served five terms as Prime Minister. Among his stints as Turkish Prime Minister, Ecevit was mostly famous for his Cyprus policy in 1974. He ordered Turkey's military invasion of Cyprus after Greeks attempted a coup to merge the island. Turkey's military intervention provoked tensions with the United States. The Turkish government suspended activities at the U.S. military bases in Turkey and the Turkish army took over U.S. bases in 1975. His political stance had been leftist, nationalist, and anti-American until his last premiership (Kiniklioglu, 2000). Yet, he compromised his anti-American policy during the last term.

After Mesut Yilmaz resigned because of his alleged association with gangs and corruption scandal, Ecevit was chosen as Prime Minister by Demirel. While he was in office as a caretaker Prime Minister, Abdullah Ocalan, who was the most wanted man in Turkey and the Kurdish rebel leader, was captured on February 15, 1999. Turkish Special Forces arrested Ocalan with the help of the Kenyan government and the American government. With this event and Ecevit's financial honesty, his party, Democratic Left Party (DSP) won general election on April 18, 1999. Ecevit formed a coalition government with the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the Motherland Party (ANAP). As he took office, he inherited national instability and economic difficulties.

In terms of the national security, severity of threats was *high*. Even though the Kurdish rebel leader was captured, terrorist attacks by the Kurdish rebellious groups continued. In addition, northern Iraq was not stabilized yet. Furthermore, the Iraqi government threatened to attack Turkey if the Turkish government continued to support the U.S. operations in Iraq and allow the American military to use military bases in Turkey (Pope, 1999). During the Ecevit administration, severity of threats was *high* because of the Kurdish insurgency and dangerous neighborhood although threats from the Kurdish rebellion temporarily decreased after the capture of Ocalan.

Meanwhile, anti-Americanism from extreme groups continued during the Ecevit's term. According to the U.S Department of State report (2000), two men from DHKP-C were killed while they tried to attack the U.S. Consulate in Istanbul in June, 1999. The DHKP-C claimed that it attacked the American Consulate to protest U.S. operations in Yugoslavia (U.S. Department of State, 2000). In 2000, a large

crowd gathered in front of the U.S. Consulate to protest Armenian genocide bill in the U.S. The U.S. House discussed the Armenian Genocide Resolution which was to describe the killings of Armenians as an act of genocide. This incident provoked anti-Americanism among the Turkish public and endangered relations between the United States and Turkey.

Anti-American sentiment started to significantly increase in Turkey after the 9/11 attacks. The biggest fear of Turks was opening a second conflict with Iraq in Turkey. They were afraid of Turkey's involvement in another war with a Muslim country. After the Bush administration decided to attack Iraq, the U.S. military asked for Turkey's permission to reinforce Incirlik air base. While Ecevit visited Washington in January 2002, Turkey's support for the Iraq War was one of issues discussed between Ecevit and Bush including other topics such as EU membership and America's economic aid ("USA Would Consult," 2002). To follow up the meeting, U.S. Vice President Cheney visited Turkey in March. During the meeting, it was reported that they discussed the American military campaign against Iraq and Turkey's support for U.S. military's using air bases in Turkey (Gordon, 2002). While Cheney was staying in Turkey, anti-American demonstration occurred in Ankara to protest the U.S. policy against Iraq. According to the Pew Research Center's survey, the respondents who had favorable opinion of America were merely 6 per cent in 2002. And most of respondents replied that the United States does not take into account Turkey's interests when making policy decisions.

When it comes to foreign policy, Ecevit displayed pro-American policy while he was in office. Mostly, he moderated his socialist policy (Kiniklioglu, 2000). He advocated Turkey's bid to the European Union and promoted liberal economy and privatization program. With the U.S. support, Turkey managed to receive economic aid from the IMF. Following the IMF's advice, the Turkish government initiated austerity program and received at least $3 billion dollars ("Turkish Premier Welcomes IMF," 1999; "IMF Team Visits," 2001). Turkey also supported America's Afghan operations. Because of economic recession including the 2002 economic meltdown, Ecevit looked for the U.S. support in Turkey's dire economy and maintained pro-American policy. Although Ecevit confused Western allies with his expression of sympathy to Iraqis and friendship with Hussein, he compromised his early left-of-center stance and accepted pro-American policy. Taken together, anti-

American sentiment was not very high during the Ecevit administration. Anti-Americanism of the Turkish public was not severe until the Armenian genocide bill and Bush's Iraqi policy. Anti-Americanism of the Turkish public and Ecevit increased toward the end of Ecevit's term in office. Hence, I consider anti-Americanism during Ecevit's premiership was *high* but not very high as can be seen below in Table 13.

Table 13 Base politics of Turkey during the Ecevit government

	Level	Events	Base politics	Events
Severity of threats	High	1) Capture of the PKK leader, Ocalan 2) The Kurdish insurgency in northern Iraq	Politicized	1) Reinforcement of Incirlik base by the U.S. 2) Debates on using Incirlik base for the Iraq War
Anti-Americanism	High	1) Armenian Genocide Bill 2) DHKP-C's anti-American movements 3) Upsurge of anti-Americanism since 9/11		

As a result, *high* severity of threats and *high* level of anti-Americanism did not bring significant changes into base politics in Turkey under the leadership of Bulent Ecevit. In fact, when Turkey was threatened by Iraq in the early 1999, the Ecevit government requested the United States to enhance military capabilities at the Incirlik air base and asked for a battery of U.S. Patriot missiles in Turkey. In addition, joint military exercises with the U.S. military and Israeli military continued in Turkey during this period. Although the Turkish media and politicians argued that compensation of the Gulf War was inadequate, Turkey continued allowing the U.S. to use the military bases in Turkey. Since the Gulf War, the U.S. military imposed a no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel and sent sorties from Incirlik base on regular basis to monitor over Iraqi territory. However, as anti-Americanism surged since 2002, American use of military bases in Turkey often became questioned and politicized. In sum, base politics was initially stable and became politicized later during the Ecevit government. Hence, *high* severity of threats and anti-Americanism led into politicization of base politics in Turkey.

3.10 Recep Tayyip Erdogan (2003-2014)

This section is divided into three parts as Erdogan served as Prime Minister

for three terms from 2002 until 2014 when he became President. In contrast with his predecessors, he was able to sustain consistent policy because his party, the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) had a majority in parliament. The AKP was founded by Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Abdullah Gül in August 2001. Although it had political roots in the Islamist party, the RP, the AKP, as a centrist conservative party did not politicize its Islamic identity (Gumuscu, 2010). Despite tensions between secularists and Islamists, the AKP continuously succeeded in elections. In fact, the AKP advocated Turkey's entry into the EU, democratic values and its connection with the West (Gordon & Taspinar, 2006).

In regard to base politics under Erdogan's premiership, base politics showed similar patterns during the three terms. The U.S. military presence was stable but highly politicized because of divergent interests in the Kurdish problem between the United States and Turkey and very high anti-Americanism (Kibaroglu & Sazak, 2015; Guney, 2008). This period witnessed the highest anti-Americanism in Turkey. As the United States decided to attack Iraq in 2002, opposition toward American policies against Muslim countries remarkably increased in Turkey (Grigoriadis, 2010; Guney, 2008). Hence, American use of military bases in Turkey received widespread criticism on the Turkish media since 2002. In addition to negative public opinion, Turkish politicians often criticized the U.S. policy against Muslim countries in a harsh tone. Therefore, anti-Americanism was easily observed in Turkish society. For example, the Turkish parliament refused to allow 62.000 U.S. troops in military bases in Turkey in 2003. Also, mistreatment of the Turkish soldiers by the U.S. military, known as "Hood event" aggravated anti-Americanism among the Turkish public. In addition, an anti-American book and a movie became popular in Turkish society.

When it comes to Turkey's national security, severity of threats was high during the Erdogan government. It was not very high as in the 1990s when the Turkish military had been dilapidated and heavily relied on the military modernization program of the United States. In addition, external threats were rather alleviated due to improved relations with neighboring countries. Yet, severity of threats remained high during the Erdogan administration because of continuous Kurdish insurgency and increased terrorism. As a result, *high* severity of threats retained the U.S. military presence in Turkey safe although *very high* anti-

Americanism politicized base politics by limiting U.S. operations from bases in Turkey during the Erdogan administration as shown below in Table 14. The following parts in this section will explicate base politics under each term of Erdogan's premiership.

Table 14 Base politics of Turkey during the Erdogan government

	Level	Events	Base politics	Events
Severity of threats	High	1) Terrorist infiltrations from Iraq 2) The PKK insurgency 3) Volatile regional conflicts 4) The Syrian attack in Hatay 5) The Arab Spring	Politicized	1) Rejection of opening a second front in Turkey by not allowing 62,000 U.S. troops in bases 2) Airspace rights to U.S. troops for the Iraq War 3) Incirlik base as a cargo hub and rotation base 4) Deployment of Predators to Incirlik base
Anti-Americanism	Very High	1) The Iraq War 2) Hood event 3) The Armenian genocide bill 4) Anti-American culture: "Metal storm" and "Valley of the wolves – Iraq"		

The first phase of AKP era (2002-2007)

As Bulent Ecevit's health worsened, Turkish politicians requested early elections. Ecevit was reluctant to hold early elections despite of failing health, arguing that early elections would endanger Turkey's bid to EU membership and allow advantages to the Islamist party (Fraser, 2002). Yet, as his coalition government failed and important cabinet members resigned from posts, Ecevit called early elections (Turgut, 2002; Meixler, 2002). As planned, early elections were held on November 3, 2002 and the AKP won a huge victory. However, Erodogan who was a leader of the AKP could not become Prime Minister after the elections because of the 1998 court decision. After the parliament approved constitutional amendments, Erdogan, former Istanbul mayor, became Prime Minister on March 15, 2003.

During the first phase of AKP era, severity of threats was *high* but not very high. First, an attack was not imminent or highly likely as during the Cold War. Severity level of threats consistently decreased in Turkey after the collapse of Soviet

Union. Second, the Kurdish insurgency and its threat level have reduced since the capture of Abdullah Ocalan. Although terrorist attacks from extreme Kurdish groups were often observed, conflicts with the Kurds were more alleviated than in the 1990s. Third, the Turkish government developed its relations with neighboring countries. The Erdogan government enhanced its diplomatic, economic, and trade partnerships with Iran, Syria, and Russia during the first era of AKP. Even on the Cyprus issue, the Turkish government improved its relations with Greece. For instance, the Erdogan government approved a visa waiver program for Greek Cypriots in May, 2003.

As Erdogan took office in 2003, Turkish foreign policy took multi-dimensional approach. One of characteristics of AKP's foreign policy was multi-dimensional diplomacy and cooperation (Bilgin, 2008; Fidan, 2013). While the Turkish government strived to improve the Turkey-EU relations during the first AKP era, it sought for more influence in the region. First, the Erdogan government improved its relations with Russia. During the first period, Turkey increased its trade with Russia and its dependence on Russian natural gas significantly increased (Onis, 2014). Since Vladimir Putin became President, the Turkey-Russia relations improved. Relations with Syria were also strikingly better under Erdogan's premiership than during former administrations. The capture of Ocalan contributed the Turkey-Syria relations and Erdogan maintained favorable relationship with the Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad until the Arab Spring. Ahmet Davutoglu who was a key advisor to Prime Minister, promoted "a zero conflict" foreign policy to enhance relations with neighboring countries and "strategic depth" doctrine to strengthen Turkey's influence in the region (Murinson, 2006; Onis & Yilmaz, 2009). With Davutoglu's guidance in Turkish foreign policy, Turkey improved diplomatic, political, and economic relations with neighboring countries such as Iran, Syria, and Russia who were formerly threatening nations to Turkey.

Notwithstanding friendly relationships with threatening neighbors, severity level of threats in Turkey was not moderate during this era due to terrorist attacks from the Kurdish rebellious groups and extreme terrorist groups. Terrorist infiltration from Iraq continued and Turkey's national integrity was threatened by the Kurdish insurgents (Menon & Wimbush, 2007). In addition, as the Iraq War lasted, severity of threats was never on a moderate level. The Turkish government deployed its

troops to Iraq border to counter attack rebellious Kurdish groups against Iraq. Turkey worried that minority Kurds in northern Iraq would gain independency and it would stimulate the Turkish Kurds in Turkey (Menon & Wimbush, 2007). In fact, the PKK attempted to establish a Kurdish state in southeastern Turkey and called off a unilateral ceasefire in 2004. The PKK revived in 2005 with a new strategy and demanded the release of Ocalan. Turkey lost a plenty of its soldiers and policeman fighting the PKK. Moreover, Turkish military collided with Greek military over the Aegean Sea on May 23, 2006. Turkish relations with Greece were strained on the Cyprus issue. Hence, the level of threat was *high* during the first phase of AKP era.

Meanwhile, anti-Americanism reached the highest level after the Iraq War broke out in 2003. According to the Pew Research Center's survey, the respondents who had unfavorable opinion of America were 84 percent and 83 percent in respectively, March 2003 and May 2003. And more than 50 percent of respondents replied that they have unfavorable opinion of Americans. The American operations in Iraq contributed to this negative view (Grigoriadis, 2010; Guney, 2005, 2008). In addition, Turks' belief that U.S. operations from Incirlik base Americanism complicated the Kurdish issue contributed anti-American sentiment of the Turkish public because the U.S. was alleged to support directly or indirectly the Kurdish independence near the Turkish border (Grigoriadis, 2010). The German Marshall Fund of the United States reported that 82% of the Turks had hostile opinion of the U.S., exceptionally high as a NATO member (Fuller, 2005). According to BBC survey which was conducted in 2004-2005, 82 percent of the Turkish public believed that the re-election of George W Bush made the world more dangerous ("Global Poll Slams," 2005).

Anti-American sentiment was easily observed in Turkey after the Iraq War. Specifically, the detention of the Turkish soldiers by U.S. military escalated anti-American sentiment. The U.S. military arrested 11 Turkish soldiers of the Turkish Special Forces, suspecting their attempted assassination of a Kurdish governor of Kirkuk in northern Iraq on July 4, 2003. The American soldiers took the Turkish soldiers into custody with hoods over their heads. Turks found the American's conduct – this incident was called as "Hood event" in Turkey – offensive to Turks' pride and felt insulted (Howard, 2003; Finkel, 2003). Anti-American sentiment was prevalent in Turkish society. A Turkish fiction book, "Metal storm ('Metal Firtina' in

Turkish)" published in 2004 became a bestseller in Turkey ("En çok satan 10 kitap," 2006). The book which was adapted into a film portrayed a war between Turkey and the United States and stirred up anti-American sentiment among the Turkish public. A Turkish film, "Valley of the Wolves – Iraq" which was released on February 3, 2006 was about a Turkish intelligence agent who took revenge against American soldiers who abused prisoners in Iraq. As it was released, the movie hit huge success (Erdem, 2006). Anti-American sentiment was *very high* so that it worried U.S. officials in the Bush administration.

The most critical event in base politics was the March 1 decision of Turkish parliament. The Turkish parliament disapproved the Turkish government to grant permission for U.S. troops to use military bases in Turkey to launch attack against Iraq on March 1, 2003 (Pan, 2003a). The rejected resolution would have allowed 62,000 U.S. troops on Turkish soil and opened a second front into the Iraq invasion. With the deal, the U.S. warplanes were planned to fly from Incirlik airbase to attack Iraq. The Bush administration promised $15 billion including aid and loan in exchange of using military bases in Turkey (Filkins, 2003; Zaman, 2003). However, the Turkish government gained 264 votes in favor of the deal against 250 votes and 19 abstentions in the 550-parliament.

Yet, the failed deal did not necessarily mean anti-American proposition of the Turkish government and parliament. In fact, the AKP pledged liberal and pro-Western foreign policy and displayed aspiration to enter the EU during the first term (Bilgin, 2008). Critics of Turkish politics and Western allies worried the AKP's Islamist element and called AKP's foreign policy "post-Islamic" due to its aspiration for the EU membership and activism in the Middle East (Kirdis, 2015). Although Davutoglu, who was a chief foreign policy advisor to Erdogan, suggested rather anti-American policy, his anti-Americanism appeared in the academic way as a theoretical approach (Murinson, 2006). By all accounts, anti-Americanism was *very high* during the first phase of the AKP era because of intensified anti-American sentiment of the Turkish public and rather anti-American policy of the Turkish government.

In terms of base politics, this period was critical. Turkey did not allow 62.000 U.S. troops in military bases in Turkey and refused to permit American access to military bases in Turkey to attack Iraq in 2003. After the rejection of the deal, the

Bush administration continued to approach the Turkish government to achieve Turkey's support for the Iraq operation. The United States asked for overflight rights and permission for using Incirlik base as a supply and refueling base (Pan, 2003b; Bruni, 2003). Given that airspace rights were routinely allowed by the Turkish government, the fact that the issue was discussed in Turkey demonstrated strained relations between the U.S. and Turkey. Eventually, Turkey granted permission for the U.S. Forces to use airspace over Turkey and allowed for the U.S. troops to use Incirlik base as a key supply and refueling station. Additionally, the U.S. military was allowed to use Incirlik base as a transit station to send American soldiers in the rotation out of Iraq. Turkey also granted permission to use other bases in Turkey for logistical support (Helicke, 2004). During this period, Incirlik base was a key base for the Iraq War and Afghanistan War. Turkey allowed the United States to use Incirlik base for broader use including carrying non-combat material such as humanitarian aid, food, and other necessary supplies. Incirlik base was used as a cargo hub for U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan (Burnham, 2006).

As a result, the Erdogan administration offered limited support to US-led operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and allowed U.S. forces to use military bases in Turkey during the first term. Turkey's initial refusal on March 1, 2003 was marked as transition in the U.S.-Turkey alliance (Kardas, 2011; Menon & Wimbush, 2007). Critical American officials and some scholars claimed that 2003 March motion resulted from lack of discipline in the AKP or mishandled strategy of Erdogan ("Reluctant turkey," 2003; Schmitt, E. & Filkins, 2003). Yet, Erdogan refuted, stating that it was democratic decision ("Turkey's Erdogan Says," 2003; Erdogan, 2003). In addition, negative public opinion against America and its policy influenced the decision (Brown, 2007). During the Iraq War, the war itself inflamed anti-American sentiment and drew widespread criticism of general U.S. policy among the Turkish public. In this context, anti-Americanism was *very high* during the first term. During this period, the presence of U.S. military in Turkey was also most politicized and often debated in Turkish media in the history of Turkey' base politics.

On the other hand, severity of threats was *high*. What Turkish decision-makers were afraid of was an independent Kurdish state in northern Iraq. The establishment of Kurdish federal state would lead the Turkish Kurds' independence in Turkey which would undermine Turkey's national integrity. Kurdish insurgency

was one of major threats to Turkey. In addition, Turkey was situated in dangerous neighborhood. Notwithstanding developed friendship with former enemies, Iran and Syria were still unreliable countries. In sum, *high* level of threat preserved military cooperation between the United States and Turkey and enabled U.S. forces to utilize military bases in Turkey. Nevertheless, *very high* anti-Americanism put restrictions on America's using military bases in Turkey. The U.S. military could use Incirlik base and other NATO bases for limited purposes.

The second phase of AKP era (2007-2011)

The AKP won the general elections again, gaining 46 percent of the votes on July 22, 2007. Erdogan was able to form a majority government. Since the EU disappointed Turks on Turkey's EU membership, the AKP expressed continually its lost enthusiasm about its bid to the EU in this period (Bilgin, 2008). In addition, under the Davutoglu's "strategic depth" doctrine, the Turkish government steered its attention from the West to other regions including the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, and developed its engagement in the regional affairs. Yet, activism in different regions was more related with increasing trade relations and boosting economy. Increased trade deals did not directly lead to strengthen diplomatic relations (Ozkan, 2014; Kibaroglu & Sazak, 2015). The Erdogan government started to lose its interests in Turkey's accession to the EU and the goal which had been the most primary Turkish foreign policy, fell behind other foreign policy agenda during the second phase (Acikmese & Triantaphyllou, 2012; Onis, 2014). In this context, Turkish foreign policy showed activism and multi-dimensional approach. A representative case of Turkey's activism was its role as a mediator in the swap agreement with Brazil on the Iranian nuclear issue in 2010 (Dal, 2016). During this period, the Turkish government diversified its foreign policy.

To some extent, Turkey expressed divergent opinions on the regional issues with the United States (Kardas, 2011). For example, Erdogan questioned the Western accusations about the Iranian nuclear program. The Erdogan administration developed its relations with Iran on economy and even on the issue of the Kurdish insurgency (Murinson, 2006). Numerous economic agreements were signed between the two countries including the gas pipeline deal which had been suggested earlier by the Erbakan administration. Turkey and Iran also agreed on military cooperation to

defeat the PKK. Erdogan cultivated friendship with Bashar al-Assad, the Syrian leader during the second term. Turkey-Syria relations significantly improved before the Arab Spring when the close friendship started deteriorating (Ozkan, 2014). Turkey mediated the Israeli-Syrian talks in regard to Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights in south-western Syria in 2008 (Boudreaux, 2008; Kershner, 2008). In sum, threats from Iran and Syria alleviated during the second period. Yet, they were not eliminated because there were concerns about possibility of a nuclear Iran and the unreliable Syrian regime. After all, there was the latent or virtual possibility of threats to Turkey in the region. In addition, hundreds of Turks were killed or injured in an escalation of the PKK's insurgency. The Erdogan government failed to tackle Kurdish problems despite a strategy, called "the Democratic Opening" which improves treatment to Turkish Kurds. Clashes between the PKK and Turkish military continued in southeastern Turkey during this period. Hence, severity of threats was still *high* during the second term.

Generally, anti-Americanism was *very high* during the second era. The Armenian genocide resolution was introduced again in the House of the U.S. in October, 2007. The Turkish media harshly criticized the US Congress and implied that if the bill would pass, it would deteriorate anti-American feelings in Turkey ("Turkey Advised," 2007). Eventually, Erdogan recalled Turkey's ambassador to Washington to protest the decision of the U.S. House committee on October 11, 2007 (Arsu & Stout, 2007). According to the Pew Research Center poll conducted in spring 2008, 12 percent of Turks viewed the United States favorably, compared with 77 percent who had an unfavorable opinion. The percent of Turks who viewed the U.S. favorably decreased to 10 percent in early 2011. Terrorist attacks on Americans by the extremist group continued during the second phase. In July 2008, the U.S. Consulate in Istanbul was attacked and three Turkish policemen were killed (U.S. Department of State, 2009). The U.S. Consulate in Adana was also attacked on January 30, 2010 (U.S. Department of State, 2011).

Among Turkish political pundits, anti-American sentiment was easily observed during this period. Turkish politicians questioned whether the U.S. interrupted the Turkish army's operations against the PKK in Iraq. The military cooperation between U.S. forces and the Turkish military was criticized by the Turkish media, called "Operation Poised Hammer (Dagi, 2008)." Turkish officials

often condemned Western policies in public statement. Meanwhile, Davutoglu attempted to foster close relations with Arab countries and rejected Western leadership in the region (Ozkan, 2013). Turkish foreign policy regarding Israel and Iran often brought tensions between the United States and Turkey (Altunisik & Martin, 2011). In addition, the Turkish military who claimed themselves as a guardian of secularism and was traditionally pro-American, displayed anti-American stance on certain issues (Uslu, 2011). Hence, during the second tenure of AKP, anti-Americanism was still *very high*.

During this period, base politics did not change much from the first phase. Severity of threats was still *high* in Turkey and military cooperation between the United States and Turkey was stable despite harsh rhetoric of Turkish politicians. Turkish parliament extended the term of American use of military bases in Turkey during this period (Talu, 2009). In fact, U.S. operations were heavily dependent on military bases in Turkey since nearly 70 percent of air cargo was transported into Incirlik base as a cargo hub of U.S. military. Yet, as observed in the first phase, the Turkish government compromised some pro-American decisions in response of *high* anti-Americanism. The American military could use Incirlik bases only for limited purposes because its operations in northern Iraq received increased attention from the Turkish media. Hence, I interpreted that *high* severity of threats stabilized U.S. military presence although *very high* anti-Americanism politicized base politics by limiting military operations from the bases in Turkey.

The third phase of AKP era (2011-2014)

The AKP won three consecutive landslide elections with 49.9 percent in March, 2011 and became a ruling party again. Erdogan could maintain his office as Prime Minister. During the third period, Turkey's multi-dimensional and activism approach changed. The Arab Spring provided a turning point for Turkish foreign policy (Ozkan, 2014). During the third term, the Turkish government attempted to change its leadership role in the region into "a source of aspiration (Dal, 2016)." After the Arab Spring broke out in early 2011, the region became more unstable. Turkey participated in the NATO-led intervention in Libya, risking its economic interests. During the NATO coalition in Libya, the Turkish government allowed the NATO coalition to use the air base in Izmir. Moreover, military airplanes were

allowed to fly through Incirlik base to Libya (Pettyjohn & Kavanagh, 2016). Notwithstanding the negative public opinion and economic ties with Libya, Turkey cooperated with the Western allies.

During the post-Arab spring era, major threats to Turkey were from Syria and militant Kurdish groups. First, Turkish relations with Syria worsened and Turkish foreign policy towards Syria experienced drastic change during this period (Onis, 2014). Erdogan who was once a close friend to Bashar al-Assad, started to support democracy in Syria and put pressure on al-Assad (Kirdis, 2015). As Syrian conflicts heightened, Turkey also faced national security threats. Two car bombs devastated a town, Reyhanli in Hatay province where is located on the border of Turkey and Syria on May 11, 2013 ("Bombs Near Turkish-Syrian Border," 2013). The bomb explosion killed more than 40 people and resulted in approximately 150 wounded people. Erdogan, who supported for opposition groups against the Bashar Assad, accused the Syrian regime and its intelligence agency of the blast (Parkinson & Albayrak, 2013). The Turkish government reinforced its military on the border of Syria. Second, the Kurdish insurgency, the traditional threat to Turkey's national security was still a major threatening element. Since the Iraqi government and the U.S. government failed to extend the SOFA (Status of forces agreement) with Iraq in 2011, the number of U.S. troops significantly decreased in Iraq (Pettyjohn & Kavanagh, 2016). The reduction of U.S. forces led into power vacuum in northern Iraq and provided the Kurdish insurgents with extra influence in the region. As a result, severity of threats was still *high* during the third term because of unstable regional affairs and national security threats in Turkey.

Anti-Americanism was also still *very high* during this period. According to the Pew Research Center's survey, the respondents who had favorable opinion of America were 15 percent and 21 percent in spring 2012 and spring 2013 respectively. Turkey was still among countries which held highest anti-American sentiment despite its membership in NATO. In 2012, militants of the DHKP-C attacked the U.S. consulate twice in Istanbul (U.S. Department of State, 2013). On February 1, 2013, the DHKP-C attacked the U.S. embassy in Ankara and a bomb killed the terrorist and a Turkish guard (U.S. Department of State, 2014). On societal level, anti-American sentiment was very high. There were conspiracy rumors that Western powers were behind the Gezi protests where Turks demonstrated against originally the urban

development plan in Istanbul and the Erdogan government later (Akyol, 2013; Taspinar, 2013). Turkish officials often denounced American inaction to defeat the PKK in northern Iraq. When the U.S. administration announced that it would withdraw its troops from Iraq, Turkish politicians condemned America's lack of responsibility in the region. Yet, the harsh anti-American tone of top Turkish officials including AKP members had been utilized to increase the popularity of the party (Cagaptay, 2008). As a result, during the third term of Erdogan government, anti-American sentiment was *very high*.

Base politics during this period displayed a similar pattern as in the second term of Erdogan government. Since the Turkish military was heavily dependent on U.S. intelligence to fight terrorism, the U.S. forces maintained its rights of military bases in Turkey. In fact, Turkey requested the deployment of high technological devices including the General Atomics MQ-9 Reaper known as Predators to Incirlik base from the United States (Demirtas, 2011). U.S. intelligence and surveillance technology helped the Turkish army to combat the Kurdish insurgency. In addition, Incirlik base supported military operation in Syria during the third term of Erdogan administration. Consequently, U.S. military presence was not endangered despite *very high* anti-American sentiment in Turkey during this period. Hence, as the second term demonstrated, *high* severity of threats and *very high* anti-Americanism kept U.S. military presence stable but politicized base politics

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4. 1 Discussion

Base politics in the host nation's domestic political environment

In the previous chapters, I demonstrated how severity of threats and anti-Americanism influenced base politics in South Korea and Turkey. I examined severity of threats and anti-Americanism under each president or prime minister of South Korea and Turkey after the Cold War. In my thesis, I tried to address important questions regarding base politics. First, how does a host nation decide base policies when there is a threat to the nation? Second, does anti-Americanism affect base politics when the host nation's government makes base policies? With a systemic and analytic approach, I tried to answer these questions. Through a comprehensive research, I demonstrated that base politics is affected by host nation's domestic political environment. I adopted two independent variables – severity of threats and anti-Americanism – to conduct a comparative research. My argument was that while high severity of threats to host nation stabilizes the U.S. military presence, high anti-Americanism restricts military operations in U.S. military bases, thereby resulting in politicizing base politics in the host nation.

Base politics is a matter of sovereignty, security, and alliance. Host nations cannot exert sovereign authority at the premises of the U.S. military even though the United States leases the land on their territory. In addition, host nations do not have jurisdiction over most of the matters within the U.S. military bases. Hence, the host nation compromises its sovereignty from the moment when they signed basing agreement with the U.S. Nonetheless, when the host nation's national security or territorial integrity is threatened, the host nation is likely to count on the protection from a more powerful military ally which is the United States. South Korea and Turkey are long-term allies of the United States and hosts of the permanent U.S.

military bases for over six decades. They both depend on the U.S. military to protect national interests and security with strong alliance relationships. As the United States provides security umbrella, the U.S. military presence is safe in both countries.

Since the Cold War ended, the U.S. military presence has evolved with variations under varying political environments of South Korea and Turkey. First, South Korea and Turkey have undergone democratization during the post-Cold War era. As democracy developed in both countries, this period witnessed more active movements of civilian organizations. Accordingly, policy makers of South Korea and Turkey could not ignore public opinion any more as they had done in undemocratic regimes. As more civil rights were protected, anti-American movements have attained more attention from the media, public, and policy-makers. Consequently, the influence of anti-Americanism on base politics has steadily increased during the post-Cold War era. Second, military power of both countries improved and thereby changed the threat perceptions of the politicians. Simultaneously, South Korean and Turkish governments endeavored to increase their autonomy. As their military capabilities increased, the threat perceptions that they received consistently decreased after the end of the Cold War. Yet, increased military capabilities do not always equal enhanced defensive power to external threats. For example, South Korea still requires U.S. military support to deter nuclear threats from North Korea even though South Korea's military and economic power is incomparably higher than North Korea's. Likewise, Turkey needs America's military equipment, information and defense technology to combat terrorism. Nevertheless, improved military power contributed to level down severity of threats in both countries compared to during the Cold War era. In addition, when severity of threats was not significantly high in South Korea and Turkey, the U.S. military presence was easily challenged. As a result, base politics of Turkey and South Korea has changed with the interactions of various actors in different levels.

Severity of threats

It is impressive how similar base politics in South Korea and Turkey has unfolded during the post-Cold War era. As the Cold War ended, the mutual enemy disappeared in both South Korea and Turkey. Although North Korea remained as the belligerent country on the Korean Peninsula, the end of the Soviet Union brought

diminished threats to South Korea. It was the same case for Turkey as well. Turkey had been a stalwart ally in the Middle East during the Cold War. The United States had established numerous military installations in Turkey to monitor the Soviet Union. Yet, external threats to Turkey became alleviated after the Soviet Union collapsed. Consequently, after the end of the Cold War, severity of threats was not severe as during the Cold War era. Although severity of threats was very high in a certain period of time in South Korea and Turkey, the level was lower than the one during the Cold War era.

When severity of threats is high, the South Korean and Turkish governments try to depoliticize base politics. For instance, when North Korea increased tensions on the Korean Peninsula with nuclear tests and missile launches, South Korea accepted U.S. demands on U.S. military bases. The South Korean government agreed to increase its budget for U.S. military bases and bear relocation costs of U.S. bases during the Roh Moo Hyun administration (2003-2008). When North Korea carried out military attacks on South Korean Navy ship and shelling Yeonpyeong Island in 2010, the Lee Myung Bak administration requested postponement of transfer of wartime operation control to the South Korean military and reduction of the USFK. The Lee administration was especially confronted with heightened threats from North Korea. During this period, base politics became even more stabilized compared to the base politics under the former administration. Lee canceled the reduction plan of USFK and the retrieval of wartime operational control. During the post-Cold War era, base politics in South Korea was very responsive to severity of threats.

On the other hand, Turkey also consented to U.S. requests of using military bases in Turkey when severity of threats was high. After Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, President Turgut Ozal allowed the U.S. to launch strikes on Iraq from military bases in Turkey. In addition, when Turkey was threatened by Iraq in the early 1999, the Ecevit government requested reinforcement of military bases from the United States. The Turkish government also asked for a battery of U.S. Patriot missiles in Turkey. Moreover, the OPC was extended several times at the Turkish Parliament. Although the Turkish Parliament rejected U.S. use of military bases in Turkey to launch attacks for the Iraq War in 2003, the Erdogan government allowed the U.S. military to use Incirlik base as a cargo hub and troop rotation station. For Turkey,

severity of threats was affected by the Kurdish insurgency and belligerent neighbors. The U.S. military in Turkey has provided military information, defense technology, and surveillance to the Turkish Army. Specifically, military modernization through U.S. support was crucial to the Turkish military until the 1990s. Hence, the U.S. military presence was secured as long as external threats existed in Turkey and the U.S. provided military support.

Anti-Americanism

As the level of democracy developed in South Korea and Turkey, anti-Americanism of the public became more influential. In terms of anti-American movements, South Korea and Turkey share some similarities. In both countries, anti-American protests were mainly staged by leftist groups. Also, the influence of anti-Americanism has grown in politics of South Korea and Turkey. In South Korea, Roh Moo Hyun was able to win the 2002 presidential election by gaining overwhelming votes from the young generation who advocated Roh's anti-American policies. In Turkey, anti-American sentiment of the public affected the TGNA's motion of the Iraq War which would allow U.S. troops on the Turkish soil to attack Iraq. Specifically, high anti-Americanism which was increasingly observed after 2002 in both countries has strained alliance relationships in regard to U.S. military bases. Anti-Americanism started to limit the range of U.S. operations in Turkey and South Korea as it increased.

In South Korea, influence of civic groups and activists has increasingly improved during the late 1990s and 2000s. They employed tactical skill and strategy to exert influence in base politics with very developed information revolution in South Korea. They used mobile network, Internet, SNS, and media to raise social awareness of unjust incidents and crimes surrounding the U.S. military bases in South Korea. Some progressive civic groups claimed that the U.S. interventions violated national sovereignty. Extreme leftists often insisted the withdrawal of American military from South Korea.

A primary example of successful anti-base movements was the 2002 candlelight vigils in South Korea. The terrible accident that killed two middle school girls by the USFK armored vehicle ignited anti-American sentiment among the South Korean public. South Korean activists mobilized different measures including mobile

network, Internet, media and SNS to increase South Koreans' awareness of the USFK. Starting from the 2002 candlelight vigils, anti-American movements affected the 2002 presidential election. With the strict stance toward the United States and the USFK, Roh Moo Hyun received overwhelming votes from the young generation (Shin, 2004). During the Roh administration, candlelight vigils continued to mad cow disease scandal in 2008. Conscious of Roh's progressive constituents, he maintained autonomous policies against the United States during the presidency. Yet, South Korea's traditional conservatives kept his progressive policy in check. They even attempted to impeach Roh and won the next presidential election. As the conservative party, the GNP became a leading party in 2008, base politics became stabilized.

In South Korea, high anti-Americanism reflected restrictions on the USFK. For instance, the SOFA was revised during the Kim Dae Jung administration. South Korea could have jurisdiction on certain crimes including breaches of environmental regulations, South Korean personnel's labor rights, and quarantine inspections. The South Korean government claimed that the level of new SOFA became balanced with the ones between NATO members and the United States. In addition, retrieval of wartime operational control and reduction of the USFK were discussed during the Roh Moo Hyun administration. As anti-Americanism escalated, it has bigger influence in base politics in South Korea. Conversely, when anti-Americanism decreased and severity of threats increased to the very high level, the Lee Myung Bak government depoliticized base politics, canceling the retrieval of wartime operational control and the reduction of the USFK.

As South Korea underwent democratization process in the 1990s, the period marked democratic development in Turkey as well. After three military interventions between the 1960s and 1980s, Turkey experienced democratization process. For over three decades, the Turkish military has not overthrown the Turkish government although it forced Necmettin Erbakan to resign in 1997. In addition, Turkish politics became diversified with the growth of the marginalized group. As globalization advanced, the Turkish middle class came into Turkish politics. With increased economic abilities, the marginalized who had been excluded by the secularist elite group started to influence Turkish politics (Onis, 1997; Gumuscu, 2010).

Simultaneously, democratic rights of civic groups were guaranteed and

developed during the democratization process. Public opinion was not easily disregarded by the political elites during the late 1990s and 2000s. In terms of base politics, Turkish politicians become more responsive to anti-Americanism. A primary outcome of influential anti-Americanism was the rejection of the Turkish Parliament on America's using Incirlik base for the Iraq War in 2003. The March 1 motion in 2003 is compared to the Turkey's involvement in the Gulf War in 1990. Turkey's participation in the Gulf War (1990-1991) was almost made on President Turgut Ozal's own decision despite Turkey's neutral policy and negative public opinion (Brown, 2007). During the Gulf War, U.S. warplanes and jet fighters launched strikes from military bases in Turkey. On the contrary, the Turkish parliament responded differently to the issue of the Iraq War in 2003. As the Bush administration decided to wage war in Iraq in 2002, anti-Americanism substantially grew in Turkey. Demonstrations against the Iraq War were prevalent in Turkey. According to the Pew Research Center's survey, Turks who had favorable opinion of America were merely 6 per cent in 2002. Conscious of deep anti-Americanism among the public, the Turkish politicians disapproved the motion suggested by the Turkish government to grant permission for U.S. troops in using military bases in Turkey to launch attack against Iraq on March 1, 2003 (Pan, 2003a). As a result, anti-Americanism influenced in base politics by restricting U.S. operations in military bases in Turkey as it did in South Korea.

A comparison of base politics in South Korea and Turkey

The major difference between base politics of South Korea and Turkey is that different issues have been questioned in the two countries. For South Korea, the topics of reducing the USFK and returning military operational control to the South Korea were often considered when severity of threats decreased. On the contrary, America's out-of-area operations and Turkey's engagement in regional conflicts through military bases in Turkey have been primary topics of Turkey's base politics. Despite the different subjects of base politics in the two countries, base politics in South Korea and Turkey displayed the similar pattern in accordance with severity of threats and anti-Americanism. In addition, both countries displayed a tendency to increase autonomy from the United States during the post-Cold War era.

In South Korea, recent governments tried to take more independent stance

against the U.S.-South Korea relations compared to the first government of Rhee and authoritarian regimes. South Korea experienced regime change starting from Kim Young Sam's civilian government (1993-1996). The first democratic regime started in 1993 under the leadership of Kim Young Sam. Kim was more sensitive to public opinion compared to his predecessors. He attempted to advance autonomous policy toward North Korea during his presidency. After Kim, there are five presidents including the impeached President Park Geun Hye (2013-2017) and the incumbent President Moon Jae In as of May 2018. Whereas authoritarian leaders enjoyed U.S. military presence as a U.S. support to their regimes, democratic presidents, particularly Kim Dae Jung (1998-2003) and Roh Moo Hyun (2003-2006) strived for equal partnership with the U.S.

As South Korean economy and democratic system developed, it strived for autonomy from the U.S. influence. During the democratization process, there were more disputes regarding basing agreements as South Korea sought complete sovereignty in security and defense. For example, South Korea retrieved peacetime operational control of its military from the United States during the Kim Young Sam administration. To control its own military was the beginning of its autonomous policy in defense. However, the South Korean military was heavily reliant on the USFK because the United States held South Korea's wartime operational control. The topic of transferring wartime operational control started to be discussed from the Kim Dae Jung government (1998-2003). Then, the Roh Moo Hyun government (2003-2008) decided to receive wartime operational control and reduce the USFK which was later canceled by the Lee Myung Bak government (2008-2013) because of very high severity of threats.

Turkey showed the similar pattern during the post-Cold War era. Turkey has steadily increased its autonomy of military and defense from the U.S. interventions (Menon & Wimbush, 2007). First, the Turkish government expressed concerns about the U.S. out-of-area missions by using military bases in Turkey. When the United States requested Turkey's permission for using military bases in Turkey for the Gulf War and the Iraq War, Turkey was reluctant to allow the U.S. to use Turkish military bases. Second, Turkey and the United States often had divergent ideas on the Kurdish problem. In general, while the Turkish government has made base policies influenced by severity of threats and anti-Americanism, it has also gradually

improved autonomy from the United States during the post-Cold War era.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Turkish military relied upon military modernization program of the United States (Duke, 1989). The Turkish army has received military support from the United States to defeat the Kurdish insurgency. The U.S. military in Turkey has been providing substantial data, defense technology, surveillance information, and military facilities to fight with the Kurdish insurgents. Yet, as South Korea often had divergent idea on its policies toward North Korea with the United States, Turkey also had divergent views on how to cope with regional conflicts with the U.S. Turkish officials worried that U.S. operations in northern Iraq often conflicted with Turkey's national interests. Specifically, in dealing with the Kurdish insurgency, Turkey was against operations which would possibly lead the establishment of the independent Kurdish state within or near the Turkish territory. Hence, Ankara often put restrictions on U.S. operations in Incirlik base which might endanger the Turkey's territorial integrity. Nonetheless, the Turkish government allowed the U.S. Forces to use military bases in Turkey for numerous operations. For example, Incirlik base which is the U.S. Air Force's 39th Air Base Wing close to the Syrian border and the Iraqi border, has been utilized for crucial American operations since it enforced a no-fly zone over northern Iraq during the Gulf War. In spite of concerns over divergent national interests with the U.S., the Turkish government considered the U.S.-Turkey military alliance strategically important to deter aggression from the belligerent region.

In addition to the Kurdish problem, Turkey is situated in a hostile neighborhood. Iraq which borders Turkey has a large population of Kurdish with aspirations of independence. Moreover, Iran has been a belligerent neighbor with the desire for the nuclear program. Syria has been also unreliable country with a rouge leader. At the same time, Turkey has been often under terrorist attacks. The Turkish Armed Forces has received important information, surveillance, reconnaissance, and high defense technology from the U.S. military to confront security threats. Hence, as long as the United States provides security alliance, the U.S. military presence in Turkey will be secured.

As the cases of South Korea and Turkey in my thesis have shown, stability of U.S military presence in host nations is affected by the levels of anti-Americanism and external threat faced by the base host. When severity of threats is high or very

high and anti-Americanism is below the medium level, the U.S. military presence is likely to be stable and depoliticized by the host nation's government. Yet, high or very high anti-Americanism challenges the U.S. military presence. If severity of threats is medium or low and anti-Americanism is high or very high, the U.S. military presence becomes unstable and even withdrawal of U.S. troops is likely to be considered. In addition, when both of the independent variables are high, host nations tend to prioritize national security.

As can be seen in cases of South Korea and Turkey, high anti-Americanism has affected negatively in base politics. As upsurge of anti-Americanism emerged, the South Korean and Turkish government restricted the authority of U.S. military in their countries. They limited U.S. operations either by rejecting U.S. access to the bases, restricting the scope of missions, reducing American troops or expanding the host nation's jurisdiction over the bases. In 2002, both countries witnessed significant influence of anti-Americanism. In South Korea, anti-Americanism affected the 2002 presidential election. Roh Moo Hyun became President with his strict stance toward the USFK. In Turkey, anti-Americanism was almost at the highest in 2002. Most Turks were opposed to open a second front in Turkey during the Iraq War. The use of military bases by the U.S. military in Turkey including Incirlik base was a sensitive topic for Turkey. Consequently, anti-Americanism resulted in the March 1 motion at the Turkish Parliament in 2003.

Nonetheless, base politics in South Korea and Turkey is more responsive to threat perceptions and alliance relationships with the United States. Notwithstanding high anti-American sentiment among the public or anti-American disposition of leaders, the South Korean and Turkish governments do not necessarily apply anti-Americanism into policies against military bases of the United States. When severity of threats was high or very high, both South Korea and Turkey secured the U.S. military presence in their countries. While high anti-Americanism compromised the extent of basing rights of U.S. military, high severity of threats stabilized the U.S. military presence in South Korea and Turkey. For instance, when severity of threats from North Korea was very high, the Lee government postponed the transition time of wartime operational control from the U.S. military to the South Korean military. Additionally, anti-Americanism in South Korea has fluctuated with certain events such as mad cow disease and middle school girls' death. In Turkey, anti-American

sentiment was not overt in the 1990s. In this period, severity of threats was very high and decreased since the late 1990s. Hence, until the mid-1990s, Turkish base politics was stable. Yet, Turkey witnessed salient anti-Americanism since 2002 when the United States declared a war against Iraq. Although high severity of threats secured the U.S. military presence, highly raised anti-Americanism politicized Turkish base politics in the 2000s.

Alliance theory in base politics

South Korea and Turkey joined together into alliance with the United States for security from a mutual threat. According to Morrow (1991), although alliance improves security of states, a weaker state in the alliance sacrifices autonomy of its policy to varying degrees. In base politics, host nations not only sacrifice their autonomy of defense policies but also lose jurisdiction over the U.S. military bases. Base politics complicates alliance relationships between the host nation and the United States especially when their policies on national security differ in the region. While host nations allow the U.S. to use bases on their territories, they need to concern entrapment and abandonment. If the U.S. operations from the bases in a host nation endanger the host nation's national security in the region far from providing protection, the host nation attempts to distance from the United States to avoid entrapment. On the contrary, afraid of abandonment, host nations sacrifice their ideology or neglect public opinion. Host nations might take measures to prevent abandonment of the United States by increasing their commitment or supporting U.S. policies.

South Korean presidents have decided northern policies in accordance with alliance theory. When America's hard-line policies provoked North Korea, the South Korean government attempted to distance their policies from the U.S. interventions and employed engagement policies. On the other hand, conscious of abandonment, the South Korean government has increased its commitment in alliance by contributing relocation costs of the USFK and agreeing to U.S. defense strategy in the East Asia region. In Turkey, the use of military bases by the U.S. military has been a sensitive topic in base politics. When the Turkish government worried that U.S. operations from their bases would engender unintended strife or disputes in the region, Turkey limited U.S. operations. On the contrary, when Turkey was concerned

about abandonment, it proved its commitment by expanding rights of U.S. military in bases.

Since basing agreements are signed in alliance relationships with host nations, alliance theory also provides interpretation of base politics. U.S. military bases are extensively established in South Korea and Turkey and bound by numerous agreements. In my thesis, I attempted to demonstrate how base politics of South Korea and Turkey was affected by severity of threats and anti-Americanism in alliance relationships with the United States.

4.2 Conclusion

The system of international politics is based on the idea of sovereignty of states. Sovereignty is one of primary principles that a modern state adheres to. And yet, some sovereign states sacrifice their autonomy by signing basing agreements with the United States. Within the premises of U.S. military bases, the host nation does not hold so much authority. Hence, the U.S. military in foreign countries has tried to avoid public attention in host nations by issuing guidelines to its military personnel or establishing the bases in a less populated area. Despite the U.S. government's efforts, the U.S. military has often received attention from the host nations' media, public and politicians. Furthermore, the U.S. military presence has become politicized in host nations under the certain circumstances.

With a comparative approach, I attempted to provide explanation of varying patterns of base politics generated by host nations' domestic political environments. Focusing on base politics during the post-Cold War era, this thesis aims to examine how host nations' domestic politics influences in base politics. The central argument was that host nations' domestic political environments – mainly severity of threats and anti-Americanism – influence base politics which is a dependent variable. By analyzing base politics by leadership during the post-Cold War era, I endeavored to address theoretical questions. I have argued that severity of threats and anti-Americanism determine base politics in alliance relations. When the national security of South Korea and Turkey is threatened, both countries are likely to count on the protection from a more powerful military ally which is the United States. Nonetheless, high anti-Americanism which was increasingly observed after 2002 in both countries has strained alliance relationships in regard to U.S. military bases.

With a comparative study, I hope to have made a contribution in understanding base politics under the varying political environments of host nations.

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