

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE US: AMERICAN INDIRECT
INFLUENCES ON TURKEY'S POLITICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE DURING THE
1950s

İBRAHİM YORGUN

SEPTEMBER 2017

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE US: AMERICAN INDIRECT
INFLUENCES ON TURKEY'S POLITICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE DURING THE
1950s

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

İBRAHİM YORGUN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 2017

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Seçil Akgün
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur	(METU,HIST)	_____
Prof. Dr. Seçil Akgün	(METU,HIST)	_____
Prof. Dr. Elif Ekin Akşit Vural	(ANKARA UNI, SBKY)	_____
Prof. Dr.Mehmet Seyitdanlıođlu	(HACETTEPE UNI, HIST)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuba Ünlü Bilgiç	(METU, IR)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : İbrahim Yorgun

Signature :

ABSTRACT

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE US: AMERICAN INDIRECT INFLUENCES ON TURKEY'S POLITICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE DURING THE 1950S

Yorgun, İbrahim

Ph.D., Department of History

Supervisor : Prof. Dr. Seçil Akgün

September 2017, 337 pages

This thesis analyzes indirect American influences on Turkey's political and socio-cultural life during a period when major political changes as well as cultural wars were ignited by the two major world powers: the US and the USSR. This was also the time when the world order was shaped by the Cold War in which Turkey played a major role. The study, without mentioning too much political details related to the major events, also attempts to analyze in a historical context how Turkey was drifted away from her neighbor Russia to the protector umbrella of the United States. The events do not constitute the core of the thesis, however, without their historical account it cannot be very possible to make a connection to the American socio-cultural influence on Turkey in the 50s. Therefore, this study aims to acquaint the reader with many of the important events of the time with a specific focal point about how they were portrayed and presented to the Turkish public. The thesis will

also analyze the American socio-cultural influence upon the daily life of the Turks from various and selected walks of daily life ranging from education to food and from literary works to the Hollywood stars. These analyses are carried out to find answers to questions concerning Turkey's dependence to a major power, adherence to foreign cultural values and the future expectations of young generations. The study claims that with all the means, the major power is not always successful to win the hearts of the people it targets to influence.

Keywords: Cultural Influence, Imperialism, Cold War, US Foreign Public Policy

ÖZ

1950'LERDE TÜRKİYE-ABD YAKINLAŞMASI VE TÜRKİYE'NİN SİYASİ VE SOSYOKÜLTÜREL YAŞAMINA ETKİSİ

Yorgun, İbrahim

Doktora, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi : Prof. Dr. Seçil Akgün

Eylül 2017, 337 sayfa

Bu tez, 1950'li yıllarda Türkiye'nin siyasi ve sosyokültürel yaşamına dolaylı Amerikan etkisini incelemektedir. İrdelenen dönem iki büyük süpergücün, ABD ve SSCB'nin iki kutuplu dünya düzeni oluşturulmaya başladığı ve bu düzen içerisinde ilan edilmemiş bir kültürel savaşın kıvılcımlarının da atıldığı Soğuk Savaş yıllarına denk gelmektedir. Bu güçler arasında kalmış Türkiye de sözkonusu savaşın hem siyasi hem kültürel yönleriyle önemli aktörleri arasında yer almıştır. Bu çalışma, siyasi olayların ayrıntılı incelemelerine girmeden Türkiye'nin bu büyük güçlerin arasında zamanla gelişen çalkantılı olayların da etkisiyle hiçbir zaman sıcak ilişkileri olmadığı komşusu Rusya'dan iyice uzaklaşıp Amerikan koruma kalkını altına girişini irdelemektedir. Bu tezinin amacı olayların bizzahati kendilerini incelemek değil, fakat ayrıntılı irdelemeyle Türk toplumuna sözkonusu olayların nasıl sunuldukları konusunda okuyucuya alışagelmış anlatımından farklı bir pencere açmaktır. Bunu yaparken de

eđitimden mutfađa, edebiyattan sinema dđnyasına kadar seęilmiř alanlar üzerinde durarak sosyokđltürel etkinin kendi başına deđil, ancak siyasi etkinin de desteđiyle toplumlari etkileyip yönlendirdiđini göstermektedir. Siyasi ve sosyokđltürel incelemelerle de Türkiye'nin büyük bir ÷lkeye bađımlı olmasının vatandaşların kđltürel deđerlerine ve gençlerin geleceklerinin řekillenmesine yönelik kimi sorular yanıtlanmaya çalıřılmıřtır. Bu çalıřmada öne sür÷len sav, büyük ÷lkelerin elindeki tüm güçlere karřın her zaman hedeflerindeki ÷lkenin insanların gönlünü kazanmayı başaramadıklarıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kđltürel Etki, Emperyalizm, Sođuk Savař, Amerikan Kamu Diplomasisi

To My Beloved Daughter whom I Devoted Her Time to This Thesis
My Wife and My Parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Prof. Dr. Seçil Akgün for the continuous support of my Ph.D. study and related research, for her patience, motivation, encouragements and immense knowledge. Her guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my Ph.D. study.

Besides my advisor, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis committee: Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuba Ünlü Bilgiç for their insightful comments and criticisms, but also for the hard question that incited me to widen my research from various perspectives.

My sincere thanks also go to Emeritus Prof. Dr. Shirley Epir who provided me an opportunity to discuss the topic from an American viewpoint with her insights on how I would approach the matters from multiple angles.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to my PhD jury members, Prof. Dr. Elif Ekin Akşit Vural from Ankara University and Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu from Hacettepe University for their valuable support and constructive criticism as well as insights for future researches.

The technical assistance of Dr. Suzan Ceylan and Mr. Murat Turan are gratefully acknowledged.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	x
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE GROUND SURVEY: A BRIEF TRAJECTORY OF TURCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS FROM THE EARLY CONTACTS TO THE FOOTSTEPS OF APPROACHING 2 nd WORLD WAR.....	7
3. TURKEY’S QUEST FOR (IN) DEPENDENCE: RUSSIAN OR AMERICAN UMBRELLA? .	24
3.1. Turbulence Abroad and Turmoil at Home: War in Five Continents and Seven Seas.....	24
3.1.1. Search for Fireproof Tactics	27
3.1.2. İnönü’s Unforgotten and Unforgiven Story	33
3.2. En-route to Democracy: San Francisco Conference, UN Membership.....	36
3.2.1. Crawling Democracy: Birth of Democrat Party (DP)	37
3.2.2. Incidents Compelling İnönü towards Initiating a Multi-Party Regime.....	38
3.2.3. How Democratic Turkish Democracy Was.....	41
3.2.4. Needs for Administrative Adjustments: Augmentation of Political Parties under the Surveillance of İnönü.....	42
4. MUTUAL EXPECTATIONS.....	45
4.1. Placing the Bricks of the Wall: Russia Loses Turkey.....	45
4.1.1. Anchoring Battleship on the Bosphorus: USS Missouri Visit to Turkey	45
4.1.2. Turkey’s Betrothal with US	48
4.1.2.1. Ankara’s Engagement Contract: The Truman Doctrine	48

4.1.2.2. Washington’s (2 nd Hand) Gifts to Turkey: The Marshall Plan	54
5. TURCO-AMERICAN HEYDAY: MAY 14, 1950 TO MAY 27, 1960	59
5.1. Surprising Outcomes for Ankara	59
5.1.1. Democrat Party (DP) Rule: Flux and Reflux from Progression to Regression ..	59
5.1.2. Turkish Troops to South Korea: Battle for No Avail	65
5.2. Lift-up the Shields: Turkey’s Lengthy and Obscure Homework List	74
5.2.1. Ankara’s (Hi) Story of NATO	75
5.2.2. Concealed Agreements and Flashing Military Facilities	85
5.2.3. Fulfillment of Instructions	95
5.2.3.1. Ankara’s Futile Efforts: The Balkan (Alliance) Pact	95
5.2.3.2. Revival and Failure of the Old Companionship: The Baghdad Pact (CENTO)	101
5.3. Reciprocal Curtesy Visits	108
5.3.1. Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes to the US.....	108
5.3.2. President Eisenhower (Ike) to Turkey	115
5.4. A New Marriage Ring to Ankara: The Eisenhower Doctrine	118
5.5. Suspicion around US Involvement with the Junta in May 27 th Military Intervention.....	122
6. SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY: THE “LITTLE AMERICA” DREAM	133
6.1. American Investments and Expectations in Turkey.....	133
6.2. Training the Turks: American Footsteps in Turkish Education	134
6.2.1. From America’s Good Will Representatives in the late Ottoman Times to Educational Experts in Turkey of Early Republican Period	134
6.2.2. Washington’s Export to Ankara in the 50s: Educating a Developing Country with Experts’ ‘Know-How’	143
6.2.3. American Philanthropy in Turkey of the 50s	147

6.2.4. The University, the Academic Program and the Exchange: The American State & Non-Governmental Organizations and Their Implications over Turkish Higher Education	158
6.3. Emergence of Washington D.C's Unaccustomed Imperialism on the Turkish Food and Nutrition: Appetite to Possess What and How Consumed in <i>Little America</i>	170
7. ET CÆTERA: AMERICA'S MULTIFARIOUS INFLUENCES ON DIVERSE WALKS OF LIFE IN TURKEY OF THE 1950S.....	185
7.1. Pieces of Personal Memories: Bits of American Touch	185
7.2. Let the Rhythm Play: Blending American Music and Turkish Rhyme	189
7.3. Inflow of American Readings to Turkish Market and to the Minds.....	193
7.4. Turks Spellbound by the Glamour of American Stars	200
CONCLUSION	205
REFERENCES	218
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: Textual Bibliography	250
APPENDIX B: Sample Historic Cartoons	273
APPENDIX C: Newspaper Headlines And Columns	276
APPENDIX D: Popular Magazines And Comic Books	292
APPENDIX E: Sample Advertisements, Propaganda Images And Item Photocopies.....	294
APPENDIX F: Archival Photo Images	303
APPENDIX G: Curriculum Vitae	317
APPENDIX H-Turkish Summary / Türkçe Özet.....	319
APPENDIX I: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu	337

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Imperialism is the policy that overtakes countries and/or societies as well as their resources geographically, strategically, militarily and socially under its hegemony. American imperialism in its historical course aimed reaching its goal through pacifically penetrating into societies without enforcement. It targeted societies with crawling democracy with low rate of literacy and education and cooperative administrators. Turkey a longtime ally of the United States well fitted this definition at the end of the 2nd WW.

Turkish-American relations, for long has been a popular topic for academic researchers and frequently been covered, was made the subject of academic or nonacademic popular or certified publications in the past as well as today. However, not much attention has been paid to the American method of imperialism that was quite different from the accustomed methods of other imperial powers such as England and other Europeans. Geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries stemming mainly from European economic aspirations but also from human curiosity for knowledge, if told in a nutshell, triggered industrial revolution thanks to abundance of raw materials found in the territories which were readily colonized by the Europeans. From then onward, colonization of the territories in the regions outside the European continent became a handy tool for the imperialist. Interestingly, today's America, which was a hotspot between the British and French imperialism, was liberated from European hegemony towards the end of 18th century. Therefore, as a former colony, the US repudiated the European imperialistic track of enslaving the peoples in colonies. American rejection of the old imperialistic method was not a guarantee that the US would make use of the new methods and discourse for the old aims. By mid-20th century, American method was not regarded imperialist when under disguised as *assistance, support, aid,*

exchange, cultural interaction and so on. Old powers' unmaterialistic tool 'God' turned into 'Goods' as materialistic items. Washington's listed so-called non-imperialistic efforts were intensified once the empires of Europe started to disintegrate and new nation states emerged. This was the period when the US gradually climbed to dominance. She resorted to the mentioned and many more methods to convince the world of her imperialistic disinterest. Interestingly, it was after the 2nd WW, for that Washington intensified exporting American culture to other countries in order to beat Russia¹. The same was applicable to Turkey, as well.

America observing its imperialistic method very patiently worked on the Turkish society in a time span that can be traced back to the beginning of the 19th century. However, Washington D.C. started her contemporary imperialism at the end of the 2nd World War. Her aim was to block the USSR² from the resources of the Near East and the Middle East. Washington made great efforts to embrace as much of the Turkish high-bureaucrats, the intelligentsia and the youth as it could for this cause. This of course was not different than the other targeted countries. Nevertheless, the US took advantage of the instability in Turkey due to the quick transfer into a multi-party system. At this point, it should be indicated that nature of the society was not democratic nor comprehended this concept. The rapid multiplication of political parties in order to attend the San Francisco Conference was regarded as democracy by the Turkish society. Yet it must be borne in mind that America used this opportunity to implant her imperialism in Turkey and gallop its way through the admiration Turks nourished on America as a democratic state. Both the state and the society idealized American democracy and admired American way of life assumed as its by-product during the 50s and not many studies

¹Gienow, Jessica, C.E, *Shame on US? Academic, Cultural Transfer and the Cold War, A Critical Review in Diplomatic History*, V.24, Nr. 3, 2000, pp. 465-494

²U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954, The Near and the Middle East*, Vol IX, Part I, Document 219, July 23, 1954; Also see: S/S–NSCfiles, lot 63 D 351, “NSC 155 Memoranda”, NSC.5428

have been made to reveal American influence over the society and way of life. In other words, albeit the abundance of critical literature, very few academic studies focused on the indirect American influence on Turkey's socio-cultural life in the post 2nd World War period. This lack of attention is also visible in studies that analyze political and diplomatic affairs known as 'hard politics'. Many of the publications in these fields barely mention the historical background pertaining to socio-cultural aspect of American influence. The realization of such a vacuum fostered this study.

The objective of this study is to bring forth the influence of America's socio-cultural imperialism on the Turkish society during the 1950s that has not been adequately analyzed yet. However, drawing the boundaries of social-cultural influence is, in fact, harder than the political. This is because *socio-cultural* term is relative. Some can argue to include all walks of life in it and others can apply geographic limits as well as some for time, topic, pattern, etc. Such hardship is the major reason why I choose to concentrate only on chosen subjects in this thesis. Therefore, I included the *humane* topics of social life. I tried to select the indispensable parts of socio-cultural life. Education as the heart and soul of socio-cultural life naturally occupied an especially lengthy place within the study since it was inevitable to overlook the available academic studies. Additionally, I added a last section titled *et-cetera*. I made up this title with the purpose of including some of the overlooked but equally important topics even in very short sections in order to make the reader become more acquainted with the diversification of socio-cultural influence. However, *et-cetera* section also had to be limited to include only few extra topics such as extracts from personal memoires, music, literature, movies and cartoon.

The subject matter of this study deals with the above-mentioned new form of imperialism America designed which was indirect with an anti-imperialist discourse³ that did not have territorial claim⁴ as did the others. This thesis strives to

³Bostanođlu, Burcu, *Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin Politikası*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2008, p.275

⁴Ibid

prove that the political environment, an indispensable component of social-cultural life as its conjoined twin, was quite conducive for this type of imperialism. However, the aim of this study is not to repeat what was written and told in many previous studies by chronologically accounting the major events. Such accounts can be found in countless historic works, some of which were referred in this study, as well. In parallel to socio-cultural influence, this study will suffice with conveying some political reflections in the 50s. Therefore; the referred events will not be analyzed and discussed in detail as the historical political events. However, perceptions of the major political figures and/or Turkish public in general as well as how the events were presented will be at the focal of the first few chapters of the thesis. Nevertheless, there are two major reasons why this study pinpointed only some of the selected major political events: as first, to be able to exercise a cultural hegemony, a big power requires a sound, positive and intertwined expression of political relations with the small power, and as second, relations between countries cannot be fully understood and analyzed if compartmentalized as political and cultural. In other words, this thesis asserts that political and cultural are inseparable. When trying to prove that both work together, the study will refrain from presenting economic or military analysis for both deserve separate researches. These areas will only be briefly mentioned or referenced to reinforce political as well as cultural influence. The sections devoted to the Marshall Plan, Turkey's entrance to NATO and the Military Intervention of May 27, 1960 respectively constitute some examples of such an understanding.

The further elaboration of this suitable ground could be explained under the following clauses that will be analyzed in length in the coming chapters. We can label the first clause as the hostility against and the rejection of republican reforms that became apparent during İnönü's Presidency. That was the period when the Great Depression of 1929 devastated Turkey's unindustrialized economy, coupled with the ordeal of the 2nd World War bringing financial burdens on people though Ankara was not a party of this war. In contrast to İnönü's polity, DP, the newly

established opposition party promised prosperity, liberty and full democracy, interpreted as the mellowing of some religious practices discontinued during Atatürk's time; i.e. religious courses in schools. These were added by the new party to the American ideals Washington was ready to export and the DP administrators were eager to import to Turkey. Coming chapters will argue if that completely was the case.

Second clause is the domestic inefficiency, incompetence and lack of expertise in economic and democratic developments. Turkey, in a quest for a dependable companion, was aware that the old allies England and France demonstrated that their Turkish polity focused on territorial interest was imperialistic and unreliable. However, Ankara had strong confidence in America that had a seemingly non-imperialistic agenda since initial contacts stretching back to the Ottoman days. Therefore, the US was the correct, dependable companion to support Turkey economically as guide her to modernity.

Thirdly, this study will analyze the characteristic differences of the US vis-à-vis European powers; calculate and try to explain the cause and means of how such indirect influences on Turkey in the 1950s became possible and were able to leave long-lasting pro and con marks when American trait was considered.

Lastly comes America's pacific penetration to the countries in the Near East including Turkey and Greece in the form of mental invasion. This invasion over Turkey had several influential devices such as schools, books, music, food, eating habits, in other words culture, displayed under the umbrella of advanced American lifestyle. Turks' idealization of this lifestyle provided the rapid inclination to all of the devices and its social reflections entailed Americanism as well as anti-Americanism in the 1950s. Emergence, reflections and evaluation of these sentiments within this decade constitutes the core of this thesis. The examples of Turco-American relations the text presents aims to prove that the wealth and opportunity a big power extends to a minor one in order to establish socio-cultural dominance is not always as productive as she politically assumes. Even though there

are many historical examples to America's power exercised over developing countries after 1960 this constantly confronted resistance wherever present.

On the other hand, pinpointing direct and/or indirect influences does require preliminary historical acknowledgement as well as at least a brief chronological account of the Turco-American relations, which date back to early 19th century. Therefore, avoiding pre-requisites to many other works and analysis, the study will initially give the historical roots and trajectory of this relation from the start. This basic panorama of the contact will be presented with particular emphasis on the shape it took after the 2nd World War, which is the era this thesis covers.

The study, attempting to answer the complexity of imposing one culture over another, will conclude with an overall evaluation of non-political contacts between the two countries while putting forth the difficulty of trying to exercise such hegemony even over a newly developing independent state. In order to orient the readers to the text, the following chapter will provide acquaintance through historical accords.

CHAPTER 2

THE GROUND SURVEY: A BRIEF TRAJECTORY OF TURCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS FROM THE EARLY CONTACTS TO THE FOOTSTEPS OF APPROACHING 2nd WORLD WAR

Discussing about political influence requires a substantial background as well as common past. This is valid for the shaping of present conviction about America. It is a general sense that first impression is right. For the Ottomans first American image was innocuous and friendly. Unofficial relations between the two countries fortified by these qualifications seemed to be the decisive factors for the Ottoman administrators' almost inactive and unreactive stance towards American penetration and activities in the territories belonging to the Empire. However, were the Sultans correct in their favorable intentions? Was Mustafa Kemal as well as other generals of the nationalist front who were trying to save their country from the occupations aware of concealed American aspirations displayed in the forms of aid, charity, etc.? These will be the topics to be discussed in this chapter.

Initial contacts between the USA and the Ottoman Empire started in the last quarter of the 18th century whereas official relations were established in 1830. American trade and navigation interests around the 1780s, just like in the 21st century, had utmost importance for Washington D.C., the capital of the new federal state that declared its independence on July 4, 1776. This new state was eager to grow economically in order to sustain her independence through floating trade especially in the Mediterranean basin that then was among the very few hubs of commerce and trade of the world. However, the US trade interests were shaken in the region once the American commercial vessels⁵, were attacked by the pirates

⁵Since France and England had strong military vessels in the region to protect their commerce, it was not easy for the pirates to attack commercial ships of these two states.

of Maghreb⁶ administratively attached to the Sublime Porte (*Ottoman Government*). At this point, Washington directly negotiated⁷ with the rulers (*bey*) of this vicinity appointed by İstanbul. However, the Ottoman Sultan was not very much attentive in what was going on these very loose grounds.

Nevertheless, this undesirable event for US trade in the Mediterranean did not prevent American commercial vessels to visit Ottoman ports that provided opportunities for trade in various major coastal cities such as İzmir, Thessaloniki and Beirut.⁸ However, these commercial visits were made possible only under British Levant Company licenses that Britain obtained as concessions Ottoman Porte granted in return for support against French threat in Egypt⁹. In other words, American commercial vessels were under the surveillance of British companies.¹⁰

The mentioned time span corresponded to the rapid industrialization of major European states such as Britain, France and Russia because of geographical discoveries, enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. Hence the last quarter of the 18th century found these powers in a desperate quest for raw material sources to produce commercial goods, and later, for markets to sell them. Colonizing the source and market zones seemed to be the most inexpensive solution once areas ending their search were located. The beginning of this search and the rivalry involved had originated the Eastern Question for the big powers. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire, aloof to developments in the west and remained

⁶Howard, Harry N, *Turkey, the Straits and the US Policy*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974, pp: 1-3; Also see: Erhan, Çağrı, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Kökenleri*, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, pp. 33-42

⁷Wilson, Gary E., *The First American Hostages in Muslim Nations*, *American Neptune*, 41, 1981, issue 3, p.211

⁸Turgay, A. Üner, *Ottoman-American Trade During the Nineteenth Century*, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, issue 3, 1982, p. 194

⁹Karal, Enver Ziya, *Fransa-Mısır Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: 1797-1807*, Milli Mecmua Basımevi, İstanbul 1938, pp. 93 and 98-100

¹⁰Morrison, S.E, *Forcing Dardanelles in 1810 with Some Account of the Early Trade of Massachusetts*, *New England Quarterly*, I, pp.208-225, April 1928, p.221

unindustrialized, was situated in a tempting location with plenty of underground sources was also the gateway to the prospected or already colonized areas. Furthermore, overlooking the Industrial Revolution it soon became a source country and a lucrative market for the European powers. The realization of gradual decline by Ottoman rulers eventually convinced them that modernization was essential in order to stop falling behind the west and that elevating economy to restore state power was necessary to preserve its integrity.

Therefore, the coinciding climb of American expansionist intentions with the struggles of the declining Ottoman Empire made the mentioned period challenging for the two states. The Ottoman governments attempted to westernize while fortifying central administration that called for adherence to some traditional values. Therefore, it could be claimed that the US, on the eve of establishing official relations, found a reserved, hesitant and discreet Ottoman Empire searching for a territorially disinterested ally that could also help her modernize .

The Empire had reasons to consider the US at this point since its relations with the European states were heavily manipulated by the big powers ambitiously observing the newly discovered oil fields in the Middle East¹¹ while Mediterranean superiority continued being a vital issue for their economic growth and expansion whipped by Industrial Revolution. In fact, it was for this economic cause that American governments initially approached the Ottoman Empire situated right on the top of prosperous territories whereas the Porte's consideration of American alliance rested in regarding the States a disinterested power.

Hence, while the US-Ottoman relations were only crawling, Washington was already seeking for expansionist policies that would not be associated with imperialistic tracks of the European powers. This idea came from one of the first

¹¹This term is often confused or used interchangeably with Near East which was denoted to cover today's Middle East as well as the Balkan Peninsula. However, after the World War I and disappearance of the Ottoman Empire, the term Middle East was used with today's understanding. . This thesis was written while there was an ongoing discussion and a trend to call the region as West Asia rather than Middle East.

president of the US, James Monroe.¹² The Monroe Doctrine, pronounced in 1823¹³ in order to safeguard ostensibly the Americas, but actually to protect the US from imperialistic track was based on “hands off” policy from Europe and to Americas. Through its application the new republic in appearance was repudiated from walking on the same path with the other European states and from sharing ‘the Eastern Question’. Nevertheless, the US economically did resort to the Mediterranean basin as multiple proposals were made to the Ottoman State to legalize the existing commercial contacts. They were repeatedly rejected until 1830, when the Porte with the awareness of the imperialistic aims of big European powers finally consented to concluding Turco-American commercial treaty with the US, believed not to hold such intentions.

Actually the decades until 1830 were of significance for both countries because they corresponded to the period when gradually growing imperialism was paving its way into the geographically important Middle East with its newly discovered rich oil reservoirs while the United States eagerly striving to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the states competing for Mediterranean superiority and the Ottoman Empire. It was under these conditions that the Porte trying to escape European threat finally agreed to sign the commercial treaty the United States had made several previous attempts to finalize¹⁴.

Unofficial relations between the two states starting with the encounters of Barbary attacks of the 1780s continued until 1830, taking that long especially due to

¹²Bemis, Samuel Flagg, , *Diplomatic History of the U.S.*, Henry Holt & Co, New York, 1936, p.80

¹³http://www.americaslibrary.gov/aa/monroe/aa_monroe_doctrine_1_e.html and See Appendix A.1 to read the text of President Monroe’s Congress speech; Several passages of President James Monroe’s annual message to the Congress delivered on December 2, 1823 hitherto was recognized by the US as the principal outlines of American policy in world affairs and was referred to as the Monroe Doctrine: “..that the American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers....Our policy in regard to Europe...is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers (but) but to cultivate friendly relations with it, submitting to injuries from none”; Also see: Faulkner, Harold, *American Social and Political History*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1952, pp. 191-192

¹⁴Gordon, Leland James, *American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930*, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 9-22

Porte's rejection of granting accreditation (*berat*) to US merchants or diplomats. In other words, as mentioned above, unofficial commercial activities of American who became frequenters of Ottoman ports were confined to escape legality due to Sublime Porte's meticulous attitude concerning the US. On the other hand, in order to legalize unofficial commercial relations the US had to authorize those conducting trade to reach personal compromises with the Porte.

It was apparent that the Sublime Porte did not at all perceive the US as a power with a concealed agenda. It was therefore that US was granted 'the most favored state' status following the conclusion of trade and navigation agreement¹⁵.

But should the agreement be resembled to an iceberg, on its surface, the US waged a friendly banner to the Ottoman Sultan who was much pre-occupied with the European affairs, internal uprisings and social unrests. However, beneath the surface of the iceberg laid American imperialistic intentions not at all visible as those of England, France and Russia. In other words, the Sublime Porte failed to notice that the US was emerging as a power susceptible to be as demanding and influential to the Ottoman communities and territories as the other European powers were. The effects of this influence and demand was to be observed in the Ottoman Empire in the decades to come with the moves of American missionaries scattered in the Empire motivating the non-Muslim communities, especially Ottoman Armenians towards independence.

The emergence of American Protestant missionaries was a matter related to the religious current referred to as the Great Awakening in America that arose to establish a common sensation among the heterogeneous peoples of America by promoting Protestantism. In the long run, this current greeted with much enthusiasm served to influence missionary activities to spread with the aim of

¹⁵Treaty of Commerce and Navigation Between the United States and the Ottoman Empire; February 25, 1862 which was concluded at İstanbul, February 25, 1862 with ratifications exchanged at İstanbul, June 5, 1862. It was proclaimed by the President of the United States July 22, 1862; Also see: Yale University Avalon Project-Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy (http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/ot1862.asp); Armaoğlu, Fahir, *Belgelerle Türk-Amerikan Münasebetleri*, Ankara, 1991, pp.1-5

proselyting. Consequently, the first missionaries came to the Empire around 1820s, believed to disseminate Protestantism¹⁶ among non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan.

It must be asserted at this point that Protestantism did become a focal point and unified¹⁷Americans comprised of people coming from a variety of ethnical, religious and national backgrounds. With this motivation, once US gained independence, all Protestant missionary activities were centralized¹⁸ under an organization named American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) that kept close contact with and observed Washington's foreign policy. ABCFM paid more attention to conveying Americanism rather than Protestantism in the regions where missionaries recruited amongst high profiled, well-educated volunteers were sent¹⁹. Men and women missionaries who were devoted to America and pursuing American way of life, disseminated values and principles of democracy, independence, human rights, etc. to the colonies of the European powers as well as to the underdeveloped states such as the Ottoman Empire of the 19th century.

Starting from its foundation, the Ottoman Empire was comprised of different ethno-religious communities (*millet*) and the state did not interfere with the practice of any of the religions. Therefore, missionary activities were not resented and the Ottoman sultans welcomed American missionaries with goodwill, did not prevent their presence or the institutions they erected. Thus, American missionaries and merchants became the means Ottomans learned this state through. On the other hand, America too, learned about the Ottoman Empire through the same sources. However, Washington, seeking to establish official relations with the Empire for commercial purposes, was interested in what was conveyed through the merchants whereas the American public, full of Christian

¹⁶Rosten, Leo (Ed), *Religions in America*, New York, 1963.

¹⁷Akgün, Seçil Karal, '*Amerikalı Misyonelelerin Ermeni Meselesindeki Rolü*' in Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Vol. 1, Nr. 1, 1988, p. 2

¹⁸Ibid

¹⁹Grabill, Joseph L., *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, Minneapolis, 1971, p.5

spirit, was more inclined to follow the missionaries' accordingly, under the guidance of mutual understandings. American Protestant missionaries who had their eyes set on the Middle East liberally ventured in Ottoman territories to proselyte the heathen. In the course of time, discovering that state was intolerant to the conversion of Muslims, they diverted their full attention to gaining the hearts of non-Muslim subjects on behalf of America as they institutionalized through education and healthcare. They scattered throughout the Empire in order to reach their aim. Wherever they went, they displayed benevolence, enhanced Muslims and non-Muslims with their friendly personalities. Displaying advanced American life style, they certainly created envy while they silently taught about ideas such as liberty and freedom in their schools attended by the youth of non-Muslim communities of the Empire.

The non-Muslim communities were actually held equal to Muslims, and had no complaints against the administrators for centuries, but since the French Revolution, they started to discover their identities and gradually aimed for their nation-states.

Actually, towards the last quarter of the 19th century, ideas of French revolution were incepted heavily in the Ottoman lands and with the provocative moves of England, France and Russia as well as of the missionaries; thus, non-Muslim communities of the Empire started to seek their independence. Especially after the Greek Revolution that concluded with the dissemination of the Greek community and foundation of an independent state, they had revolted against the Porte. The Sultan took precautionary measures to stop further disintegration by reformative edicts of 1839 and 1856 recognizing equality for all subjects. However, both were insufficient to convince communities and the European powers that Porte was doing her homework to please them. Nevertheless, the peoples of different backgrounds continued their search for identity and liberty. The Armenians were the largest of the communities in quest and became the most responsive to missionary influences.

The Armenians who were oppressed by the Gregorian church²⁰ were the firsts who among different communities to establish relations with the missionaries. The offspring of many Armenian families were trained in schools erected and operated by the American missionaries and many parents were given paid jobs at these schools and hospitals. Some Armenian youngsters with or without the intention of the American governments were even sent to the States for further education, graduated and became citizens than returned to their homes equipped with the exceptional rights recognized to American citizens. Standing financially and intellectually superior to their Turkish neighbors they acquired jobs making them effective in general or local admiration and possessive and in the region.

Actually, the Armenian issue was politicized as Washington opened diplomatic offices²¹ in the provinces (*vilayet*) where there were missionary installations. These were established also to collect strategic data about the areas while ostensibly guarding US citizens and investments. Yet, Porte's view of America and its missionaries was positive and welcoming to the opening of missionary installations²² but authorities failed to notice²³ that in missionary schools Armenian children became admirers of American values and were inseminated with ideas such as liberty and independence. These developments, in the decades to come, contributed to the emergence of what turned out to be the "Armenian Question (*Ermeni Meselesi*)". The beginning of this question was related to other developments involving big powers of Europe, each trying to interpret the issue according to its own advantage.

²⁰Harbord, Maj. Gen. James G., *Conditions in the Near East-Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1920, p.20

²¹Şimşir, Bilal, *Ermeni Propagandasının Amerika Boyutu Üzerine* at the Symposium: Tarih Boyunca Türklerin Ermeni Toplumuna İlişkileri, 8-12 October 1984 Erzurum, Ankara 1985, p.100

²²Hamlin, Cyrus, *America's Duty to Americans In Turkey*, North American Review 163, No. 478 (Sept. 1996), pp.276-281

²³Şimşir, Bilal, *Ermeni Propagandasının Amerika Boyutu Üzerine*

This was proven when Russia declared war to the Ottoman Empire in 1877. The war was devastating for the Ottomans and San Stefano Treaty (*Ayastefanos*) of March 1878 was concluded after the Russian victory. This treaty equipped Russia with the right to supervise the granting and application of judicial, administrative and social reforms for non-Muslims, namely the Armenians. However, this authorization was not looked upon favorably by England, concerned that the gate to her Indian colony could be blocked by Russia. Neither did it please Austrian-Hungarian Empire that could not annex Bosnia. Consequently, Ottoman request for revisions in some of the articles was taken up and the treaty was modified with the Berlin Treaty of July 17, which actually extended the same authorization to the big powers of the west including America. It soon became apparent that Berlin Agreement would breed the Armenian Question.

Although American policies and tools differed from the European when the Ottomans and Armenian community were concerned, the US became involved in the 'Eastern Question' even if indirectly. However, the D.C. openly supported revolutionary movements in the Ottoman territories. Time to time, these indirect involvements created tension between the Sublime Porte and the US government, which led to conflicts and controversies especially during the Armenian uprisings of the 1890s. As mentioned above American public learned what was going on in the Ottoman lands through the sentimental anti-Turkish books of the missionaries as well as from the reports about Ottoman oppression over 'Christian' Armenians of the American diplomats working in the Ottoman Empire. More so, the US President Cleveland included Armenian persecution²⁴ by the Ottomans in his New Year address to the American public. US even sent her two warships that anchored²⁵ at the Bosphorus after the conflict with the Armenians known as Ottoman Bank (*Osmanlı Bankası*) incidence of 1896. Interestingly, Karekin Pastirmacıyan, member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation who organized the attack to the Ottoman

²⁴Ibid, p.113-114.

²⁵Gordon, Leland James, *American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930*, pp.239-242.

Bank was appointed the Ambassador to Washington once the Armenian State was established in 1918. This all by itself was a clear display of prejudice sentiments entailing many partial developments.

American missionaries with their correspondences and articles reflecting asserting oppressions and hostilities over the Armenian community paved the way to creating a negative image of the Turks in the eyes of the American public. Anti-Turkish diplomats of the western powers also contributed to the growth of negative sentiments²⁶ in such a way that almost all the entire press in the western hemisphere propagated that Turks were *beasts* and *barbarians*.

In the meanwhile, plays of imperialistic track once more came to the stage in Europe and tensions among rivaling two blocks triggered the 1st World War, which the US did not enter until 1917. The Great War, resulting from the clashing interests of two European blocks, the Entente²⁷ and the Axis²⁸ was carefully avoided²⁹ by the US ostensibly sticking to the Monroe doctrine²⁹. However, Washington knew very well how to turn the situation in Europe and the rest of the world in favor of American economy in slumber. More so, when Woodrow Wilson became the president in 1913, the US economy was in depression³⁰. America positioned herself in such an impartial role that this helped her produce and sell products and goods Allies and Axis Powers desperately needed but could not produce due to war conditions . Thus, US became surprisingly war-wealthy in couple of years' time.³¹

²⁶The American Ambassador in İstanbul prior to 1915 deportation Henry Morgenthau is a well-known example in Akgün, Seçil, Karal, *Ottoman Armenian Intricate Relations with Western Powers Before and During the Peace Settlements of the 1st World War*, Review of Armenian Studies, No. 18, Ankara, 2009, pp.39-80

²⁷Composed of England, France, Russia and later, Italy

²⁸Composed of Austria-Hungary Germany, Bulgaria as well as the Ottoman Empire

²⁹Faulkner, Harold, *American Social and Political History*, p.151

³⁰Tumulty, Joseph P., *Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him*, New York, 1921, p.140.

³¹Faulkner, Harold, *American Social and Political History*, p.665

However, this short dream appeared close to an end once the economic interests of the US were shaken. On May 7, 1915, British ocean liner RMS Lusitania navigating in the Atlantic Ocean was torpedoed by a German U-boat and sunk. The loss of many American citizens on board was considered a clear violation of American territorial integrity and the Monroe Doctrine was put forth to justify US military reaction against Germany and consequent entry to the 1st World War. Siding with Britain and France did not include American declaration war against the Ottoman Empire. In order to safeguard American investments, the US managed to pass the rest of the war years without diverting to this state open belligerency.

However although diplomatic relations of the two countries were discontinued during the 1st World War, American involvement in the Ottoman lands continued since the US had vast economic interests and investments which she could not dare to abandon. Therefore, the missionaries did not leave the Ottoman territories after the war broke out. Meanwhile, when America declared war against Germany on 6th of April 1917, the US Government, concerned about endangering America's philanthropic and commercial interests carefully excluded the Ottoman Empire from this declaration. However, the close involvement of the D.C. with the Armenians continued since American installations mostly served them. On the other hand, the Armenians depended on America for the realization of their dreams of independence rather than on the Europeans' who failed the Armenians by neglecting their desires.

During the advancing war years, England, France, Russia as well as Italy, wishing to pre-determine zones of influence each anticipated to dominate after the war, shared the Ottoman territories on paper by a set of secretly concluded treaties. These treaties were made public by the Bolsheviks disclaiming heritages of the Tsarist regime on the eve of Russian Revolution³². It was then noticed that Russian took up the territories the Armenians anticipated as their state in eastern

³²Kurat, Yuluğ, Tekin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Paylaşılması*, Ankara, 1976, pp.10-14

Anatolia, and Cilicia, was noted as French zones of influence. Territories in the Middle East close to petroleum reservoirs were to be seceded to England. The US, the allies owed their victory to, was much humiliated by learning that no land was reserved for her. In order to overcome this humiliation, the US had to find a remedy and the plan came from the President Woodrow Wilson:

In 1918, he invited the fighting parties to cease fire through the set of principles he declared, known as the Fourteen Points³³. These principles aimed to establish self-determination of each nation holding majority of the populace where they resided, which meant recognizing right for national sovereignty for all entities, to attain a long lasting world peace through founding a world organization named as 'the League of Nations'. Moreover, they aimed to achieve these objectives through open diplomacy, regarding all secret treaties null and void. Among the Wilsonian principles the 12th point directly involved the Ottoman Empire:

The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.³⁴

The Fourteen Points of Wilson was another friendly banner to the Ottoman Sublime Porte but not a guarantee for Ottoman territorial integrity or sovereignty; for soon after Wilson's declaration, various chains of events including the conclusion of the Armistice of Mudros, were prepared in accordance with the 14 points. These events included the violation of the Mudros by the Allies, English, French and Italian landings on areas of interest for each triggering Turkish nationalists' rejection and subsequent meeting of the Paris Peace conference to determine peace terms, which was the Serves Treaty for Turkey, the Porte's

³³Congressional Records 65, 1st and 2nd Sessions, p.207, 1741-43

³⁴See Appendix A.2 (Woodrow Wilson's speech given to the US Congress on January 8, 1918); Also see: Fischer, Fritz, *Germany's Aims In 1st World War*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1967, p. 298

recognition of this Treaty whereas the nationalists displaying a strong rejection, entailing the Independence War which concluded with the nationalists' victory, and eventually, the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

Although France and England signed the Armistice also, they sought for and used uncertainties and gaps of the text. To violate the agreement, these countries did not hesitate to send troops to the provinces with Turkish majority seceded to the Ottoman Empire, invasion of the areas within Wilsonian frontiers confirmed by the Armistice of Mudros was a clear violation of the armistice; this incited Turkish inhabitants of the occupied regions and justified their armed reaction. In the meanwhile, the Allies, especially England in order to preserve areas of interest to her suggested Wilson to consider an American mandate³⁵ over Turkey and Armenia that, according to Mudros, could be established in the eastern provinces of the Empire providing there was a majority.

Not realizing the British plot, many of the Ottoman intellectuals including the prominent woman author Halide Edip Hanım (*Adivar*) who was a graduate of American women's college in İstanbul formed a society on December 4, 1918 named after the Fourteen Points as Wilson Prensipleri Cemiyeti (WPC)³⁶ in order to foster the realization of Wilsonian principles as well as injecting the adoption of American mandate into the Ottoman Empire. The members of WPC firmly believed that Turks could not be capable to establish a regime that would be orderly and equitable; therefore, in order to overcome its underdeveloped condition, foreign capital as well as experts ought to be invited to the country³⁷ for consultation and application.

Wilson Prensipleri Cemiyeti as well as supporters of American mandate failed to realize that President Wilson was not as influential as assumed over the

³⁵House, Edward Mandel, *What Really Happened At Paris*, New York, 1921, p.178

³⁶WPC members sent a letter to the US President on December 5, 1918 seeking American help and guidance for Turkey.

³⁷Erol, Mine, *Türkiye'de Amerikan Mandası Meselesi*, Giresun, 1977, p.42

Peace Conference that was held in Paris in January 1919 and manipulated the Greek landing in İzmir in mid-May. This was when the significant and determined steps came from the nationalists. Among the firsts was the organization of the local uprisings into an independence war under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha (*Atatürk*) through conferences held to establish a national front.

The intention of independent Armenia and American mandate brought up in Paris were seriously protested and rejected by Turkish nationalists at the local Erzurum Congress held in July 1919, and the national congress that met in Sivas in September. Mustafa Kemal used both congresses as platforms to convince the delegates coming from all over the Empire to abandon local salvation methods and start independence movement against the invaders as well as the Porte, ready to accept the mandate of a big power.

In fact, the US came into direct contact with and learnt about the nationalists during the Sivas Conference through an American journalist Louise Edgar Browne³⁸ who was sent to hear the congress by the King Crane Commission, one of the two investigation committees missioned to explore the possibility of an independent Armenia under US mandate. Hence, it was through Browne as well as general Harbord who met Mustafa Kemal in Sivas³⁹ that the US was first updated on current developments in Turkey. Nevertheless, as Atatürk pointed out in his guiding recitation, *Nutuk*⁴⁰, mandate be it American or British were regarded as one of the most serious impediments against full independence and was firmly repudiated by the nationalists who fought for over three years to liberate Turkish territories from invasions. Once these were guaranteed, the Ottoman Empire was brought to an end on November 1, 1922 shortly before post-independence war talks with the European powers.

³⁸Akgün, Seçil Karal, *Browne and the Leaders of the 1919 Sivas Congress* in *Studies in Atatürk's Turkey: The American Dimensions*, (Eds) Goerge Harris and Nur Bilge Criss, Brill Publishing, Leiden, 2009, pp.15-55.

³⁹Kutay, Cemal, *Türk Milli Mücadelesinde Amerika*, Boğaziçi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1979, p. 13

⁴⁰Atatürk, *Nutuk*, İstanbul, 1967 Cilt 1 s.2-3

The Turkish Independence War ended with the reassessment of Turkish territorial integrity and sovereignty at the Lausanne Peace Treaty concluded with the Allied Powers. Needless to say, the US which in order to safeguard its investments in the collapsing Ottoman territories remained impartial during the Turkish nationalists' Independence War as well, was not officially represented at the Lausanne Conference in 1923, although unofficially an American delegation participated in the Conference. In fact, unofficial participation in the Lausanne Conference of 1923 provided the US a head start in negotiating with the Turks on the independence movement side and provided the conclusion of an economic agreement in August after Lausanne Treaty was signed⁴¹. The ultimate attention the US government paid to Turkish relations in the meanwhile well reflected upon the relations established with the new republic of October 29, 1923 allowing and providing the most appropriate grounds for the cooperation of the two states.

USA was not an official participant of the Lausanne Conference nor was among the signatories of the Treaty. The US Senate declined ratifying following treaties starting from August 6, 1923 with arguments centering on the so-called Armenian issue. Nevertheless, there was a gradual readjustment of the relations within the decade following the Lausanne Treaty: 1927 Modus Vivendi was followed by the senatorial⁴² consent on May 3, 1932 to the treaty of establishment and sojourn finally eliminating the apprehension displayed to the new republic.

The dilemma between *terrible Turk*⁴³ in the eyes of American public and the new sympathetic ally, not to mention future commitments and expansionary US policies in the Middle East, seemed to blockade the American foreign policy

⁴¹Lippe, John M. Vander, *The "Other" Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations*, in (Ed) İlhan Uzgöl, Ankara University Press Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, Vol. XXIII, Ankara, 1993, p. 3

⁴²Howard, Harry N, *Turkey, the Straits and the US Policy*, pp.128-129

⁴³Lippe, John M. Vander, *The "Other" Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations*, pp. 32-35

concerning Turkey. Americans' minds were in a flux and reflux and America did not know what to do with Turkey.

Nevertheless, the relations between America and Turkey were normalized as the US heavily concentrated on sustaining and preserving world peace through multilateral organizations.

On the footsteps to attain these aims, the US eagerly suggested the Briand-Kellogg Pact⁴⁴ that was an international agreement in which signatory states promised not to use war to resolve disputes or conflicts that may arise among them and should they fail to abide by this promise, they would be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty⁴⁵. Turkey was invited by America to join the Pact in 1928⁴⁶ as well as the League of Nations, in 1932. When the US invited Turkey to become a member and signatory to both, Mustafa Kemal's 'peace at home peace in the world' policy echoed and found a counterpart on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

These last two developments can be interpreted as Turkey's stepping-stones to be part of the Western Camp in the following years, and the US seemed to be content with what Turkey was doing. In fact, the seeds of grouping for the countries in camps were well in advance before the start of the 2nd World War.

One of the early fortification attempts of the Western Camp was General Douglas Mac Arthur's official visits to countries in Eastern Europe including Turkey in September 1932. Chief of Staff of the United States Army, MacArthur visited Ankara and İstanbul and returned to the States full of admiration for Turkish Army's discipline and capabilities albeit the prevailing insufficiency in tools, instruments arms and of the ammunitions. On the last day of MacArthur's visit to Turkey,

⁴⁴Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, pp. 477-478

⁴⁵*Düstur*, Order III, Volume 10, pp.200-203

⁴⁶Bulut, Semih, *Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-ABD İlişkileri (1923-1938)*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 2010, pp.99-100.

Mustafa Kemal welcomed him in Dolmabahçe Palace and both exchanged ideas on current political situation in Europe with wise comments uttered by Atatürk, foreseeing the approaching big war⁴⁷. MacArthur's visit all by itself was obviously a clear message to Turkey that the US will not let Turkey walk on the path of the other camp.

Keeping peace in the world was as hard as keeping economies steady and stable. However, the whole world was shaken on a 'Black Tuesday' when the economic depression started to hamper the lives of millions. It was inevitable for Turkey not to be effected by the Great Depression of 1929 that originally sparked in the USA. Although Turkey was still far from a capitalist economy at that time, the indirect consequences of the Great Depression were to affect the country deeply in the coming years.

One of the major effects of the 1929 crisis in Turkey was the growing hostility against the radical reforms that followed the declaration of republic. The purpose for mentioning this is to remind that the climbing anti reformist atmosphere formed a stumbling block in front of İsmet İnönü during the 2nd World War years while the conservatives took refuge under the protective wings of America, which slowly penetrated into Turkey appearing as a shield against communism and the Soviet Block, whereas her true intention was to use Turkey as a buffer to safeguard liberal economy in Europe.

⁴⁷T.C. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 030.10.267.802.23 p.2; Also see: Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 8 Ekim 1951; Arıburnu, Kemal, *Atatürk Anektodlar Anılar*, Ankara, 1960, s.226 ; Bulut, Semih, *Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-ABD İlişkileri (1923-1938)*, p. 104; Yorgun, İbrahim, *Zaman Sınırlarını Aşan Bir Kavrayış & Gelecekte Fısıltılar: Atatürk- ABD Genelkurmay Başkanı General Douglas Mac Arthur Görüşmesi ve Türkiye Ziyareti* (Anıtkabir Dergisi published in Turkish), issue April 2013, pp. 18-19.

CHAPTER 3

TURKEY'S QUEST FOR (IN) DEPENDENCE: RUSSIAN OR AMERICAN UMBRELLA?

3.1. Turbulence Abroad and Turmoil at Home: War in Five Continents and Seven Seas

An era full of destitute, fear, anger, poverty, threat...an era some Turks wished not to remember, to re-live; however, in the same country others desired not to forget, on the contrary to remind over and over again with contrasting angles of the same story. This story was not heroic accounts of Turkish soldiers but the story of ration cards, long queues for food, of people deported to Aşkale, of the Turks confronting the deprivation of the 2nd World War as well as political pressures of İnönü. Were these entirely true, or were there other factors and stories behind? This chapter will try to answer and convey the accounts of both angles starting from the great loss of beloved leader, Atatürk.

Soon after Atatürk's death, all events that he envisaged in 1932 and expressed to General Douglas MacArthur⁴⁸ during their September meeting in İstanbul⁴⁹ materialized one by one. The "whole world, except for the poles, was in flames" and there was almost not a spot left in the world map immune to the effects of the 2nd World War. In other words the new world war had affected five

⁴⁸Chief of the Staff of the United States Army from November 21, 1930 until October 1, 1935. General Douglas McArthur played a key role during the 2nd World War.

⁴⁹T.C. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 030.10.267.802.23 p.2. They exchanged ideas on current political situation in Europe and Atatürk, commented on possible threatening consequences of the arms race of the world powers. Atatürk's warning prophecy for the 2nd World War was published in daily Turkish paper Cumhuriyet on November 8, 1951. The available minutes of the meeting documentarily reveal it is a fact that Atatürk did not literally mention a 2nd World War; however, his sentences on the ongoing armament are not exempt from clear interpretation of this threat. Details of this meeting are also available on T.C Başbakanlık Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi official internet site: <http://atam.gov.tr/dunyanin-siyasi-durumu/>. The cover page of Cumhuriyet newspaper published on November 8, 1951 and the mentioned minutes are given in Appendix A.4.; Also see: Yorgun, İbrahim, *Zaman Sınırlarını Aşan Bir Kavrayış & Gelecekte Fısıltılar: Atatürk - ABD Genelkurmay Başkanı General Douglas Mac Arthur Görüşmesi ve Türkiye Ziyareti*, pp. 18-19.

continents and seven seas⁵⁰. The US was not an exception. However, before American involvement in the war, unlike the Axis or the Allies, the US economy in slumber since the 1929 crisis boomed thanks to stimulating war productions. Spare economic sources were brought into operation and unemployment was turned into labor storage while as Winston Churchill stated, the American heavy war industry fed the “the hungry table” filling the plates of the Allies⁵¹. Interestingly, Washington was in a similar position in terms of economic gains of impartiality before she entered the 1st World War; in other words, economic appetite was one of the key factors compelling US to enter the 2nd World War.

Nevertheless America was not immune to foreign threat as it was proven by the Japanese attack on Hawaiian Islands on December 7, 1941 (December 8 in Japan). The Pearl Harbor attack was a major turning point in the course of the 2nd World War by bringing the US into a war she could not retreat from. The US not yet at its universal peak, was enforced to exploit the Monroe doctrine once again when the D.C. realized the disastrous linkages and domination of the Axis over one-third of the world population and mineral resources. The US had also violated this doctrine to ostensibly legitimize entering the 1st World War in 1917 on the side of the Allies.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), the US President during the 2nd World War was, like Woodrow Wilson, a firm believer in the superiority of American values and institutions. He was also certain that postwar peace and economic stability depended heavily upon expanding them throughout the world. Accordingly, during the war years he took the initiative to provide this through propaganda. The method he chose was to establish agencies he could order around to serve this purpose.

American agencies President Roosevelt personally ordered were referred to as the “alphabet soup”, a special term given to newly emerging agencies such as the

⁵⁰Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, pp. 538-541

⁵¹Ibid

Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the War Production Board (WPB) and the Office of War Information (OWI)⁵². In fact, he made excellent use of these agencies to hold the Allies together.

Among these agencies the Office of War Information conducted propaganda at home and abroad: it censored the US press as it was authorized to do while it published and circulated posters, magazines, comical books, produced films and caricatures for governmental propaganda domestically or abroad. The objective of this process was to undermine the morale of the enemy and impose US war aims and plans upon the Allies and neutrals such as Turkey, while legitimizing US entrance to war to American citizens at home.

Parallel to the activities of OWI, the office of Lend-Lease Administration (OLLA) popped up as another official agency to run the essential wartime foreign aid programs. OLLA funds were very appealing to Turkey which was the only non-western state receiving it. This was desperately needed once the support given by Great Britain (GB) was discontinued due to the world wide German advances, leaving her in the lurch economically. Interestingly, normal diplomatic relations between Turkey and the US during the war years revolved mostly around the Lend-Lease assistance although a direct agreement on the OLLA aid did not exist. It was through England that Turkey between 1941 and 1944 received American aid reaching 95 million US dollars.⁵³ This aid was cancelled in early 1944 when the scheme to include Turkey in the war with the Allies failed. However, it was restarted after Turkey declared war against the Axis on February 23, 1945. That was the date Turkey and the US signed the "Military Assistance Agreement"⁵⁴.

⁵²Safire, William, *Saphire's Political Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p.15; Also see: Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/list/7-alphabet-soup-agencies-that-stuck-around>

⁵³Güler, Yavuz, *II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950)*, Gazi Üniversitesi Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt 5, Sayı 2 (2004) 209-224, p. 211

⁵⁴Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, T.T.K. yay. Cilt I, Ankara, 2000, p. 648

Unfortunately, warm and close relations between the two countries did not develop quickly; it took several more years for the US to consider Turkey geopolitically non negligible. Parallel to this understanding, Turkey's realization that the US was becoming a world power which could offer her military and economic opportunities during and after the war also contributed to fortifying this alliance.

3.1.1. Search for Fireproof Tactics

Turkey, during the war years, struggled to stay neutral while both the Allies and the Axis pressured and tried to convince İnönü administration to partiality. Accordingly, during the early years of the war she pursued relations with Nazi Germany including military cooperation plans as well as commercial⁵⁵, for chromium and other valuable metal trades⁵⁶. What should not be overlooked at this point was that the rich oil resources of the Middle East were more important than the traded metals at that time. Therefore, a new war front against Germany would have made the Allies more than happy, particularly if this was to be the Republic of Turkey right on the edge of the oil rich territories of the Middle East. As for the materialization of this assumption, England, among the Allies, was the most eager to manipulate and convince Turkey to enter the war.

In order to reach this aim, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, after obtaining FDR's support during the Casablanca conference, visited Turkey on January 30, 1943⁵⁷ with his Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Eden to meet İnönü at Yenice train station near Adana. The guests kindly offered İnönü to seat Turkey at the same table with England, USSR and the US so that she could enjoy war spoils with them. Churchill returned to England believing that İnönü was convinced to side

⁵⁵Çaylak, Adem., Dikkaya, Mehmet., Göktepe Cihat., Kapu, Hüsnü., *Osmanlı'dan İkininli Yıllara Türkiye'nin Politik Tarihi: İç ve Dış Politika, Savaş Yayınevi*, 2010, p. 259

⁵⁶Between 1939 and 1945, 50% of Turkey's import as well as export were with Germany, which made Turkey heavily dependent economically upon Nazi Germany during war years.

⁵⁷See Appendix F.1. for the photo taken during the meeting in Adana.

with the Allies; however, the very long and exaggerated list of military needs İnönü administration requested⁵⁸ in return was a clear signal for impartiality. İnönü's tactics were not only due to neutrality policy but also to Turkish army's severe destitute of modern arms and ammunitions⁵⁹.

Nevertheless, neither the Adana meeting nor the preceding conferences at Moscow (the first Moscow one since there were other minor get together meetings during the course of the followings) Casablanca, Cairo, and Tehran were successful in convincing Turkey to participate in the 2nd World War⁶⁰. It was therefore that the Allies had to work on plans to acquire access to Mediterranean navigation by knocking Italy out of war while Turkish and Spanish neutrality were preserved. Like controlling vast oil resources of the Middle East, Mediterranean plans were equally important to secure Indian Ocean and central Asian link. Consequently, it was the Allies' scheme that inspired the US into active participation in the Middle East before termination of the War⁶¹.

Actually the US presence in the Ottoman territories especially in the lands composing today's Middle East where England for long had been striving to control the vast petroleum reservoirs, as aforementioned, dated back to 1820s when American missionaries were sent to the Middle East. In other words, the Ottoman territories of the Middle East were not *terra incognita* to Americans.⁶² Thus Washington had wide knowledge of the territory and the cultures in the region.

⁵⁸The U. S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, The Near East, South Asia and Africa, The Far East, Vol. V, 1944, pp. 814-917; Also see: Öztoprak, İzzet, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Döneminde Adana Görüşmelerinin Siyasî Yönü*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, Sayı: 46, s. 153-192, Ankara 2000; Ccirculated on <http://atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-46/>

⁵⁹Akşin, Sina, *Kısa Türkiye Tarihi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, p. 235

⁶⁰For these meetings during the 1st World War consult: Yazıcı, Fahri, *Tahrân, Yalta ve Potsdam Konferansları*, Sinan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1972.

⁶¹Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p.553

⁶²Gaddis, Smith, *American Diplomacy During the 2nd World War*, 2nd ed., New York, 1985, p. 96

Americans slowly but firmly took over dominance in these priceless territories of the Ottoman Empire especially from England which had semi-colonized the area. It was a fact that England had re-drawn the map of the entire Middle East after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire by formulating pseudo-nation states with boundaries resembling ruler-drawn lines⁶³. Nevertheless, these fancy lines did not create fancy communities in the Middle East. On the contrary, the consequences of discreet partitioning of the Empire invited domestic and foreign unrest for the newly created states.

It was (un)fortunate for Turkey to be geographically situated right next door to these new states which had strong Ottoman socio-cultural and political heritage. Moreover, these new states held vast oil resources making them the most problematic territories of the Middle East. Therefore, American interests and involvement in this area had economic and political reasons and roots.

Yet, US entrance to the 2nd World War definitely affected the general scope of the war as it triggered a series of political events for Turkey which drifted her away from her neighboring country Russia and intensified relations with America. Moreover, the US conceived Turkey's geographic significance after entering the War. However, unlike the Allies, Washington was not a supporter of a Balkan front Turkey could open. On the contrary, FDR regarded that a new front in the British Channel would stumble Nazi Germany. To back his plan, in the following years he pressured Turkey to halt her trade with Germany. Nevertheless, Allies' clashing interest on Turkey in the Middle East were not enough to uncover the deep lack of confidence between the USSR, the US and England until Turkey's reluctant entrance to the 2nd World War at the last minute.

Confrontation between England and France as common enemies seemed to pigeonhole the lack of confidence Turkey and the USSR had towards each other in the early years of Turkish Republic. In fact, soon after the declaration of the

⁶³Fromkin, David, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, H. Holt and Co., New York, 2009

Republic, the two countries had concluded Turco-Russian Amity and Impartiality Protocol in 1925, and even extended it for two more years in 1929. The US disliked such cooperation in general, therefore although not quite grasping the ideas and underlying reasons of this protocol, approached it cautiously. However, warm relations between Turkey and Soviet Russia started to deteriorate once the USSR revealed her expansionist policy through her territorial requests during and after the 2nd World War including annexation of Turkish straits⁶⁴.

In fact, Turkey was challenged by Stalin after a relatively long and peaceful period. Ankara became aware of the Soviet threat through a draft letter submitted to the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs on October 1, 1939 requesting fundamental revisions⁶⁵ in the Montreux agreement of July 20, 1936. Annexation of Turkish provinces bordering the west of USSR before the official end of the 2nd World War was added to this request.

Soviet revision and annexation wishes undoubtedly held signs of eagerness to construct a buffer zone for self-protection from the Western camp, but this went unnoticed at first by the Allied powers which naturally gave priority to their own security and integrity. However, in the course of time, they realized the concealed challenges of the request for their welfare and sought negotiation grounds. In the meanwhile, the US, not yet at the peak of her universal strength, was equally disturbed by the Soviet intentions⁶⁶.

Gradually comprehending that the world was under the threat of Soviet expansionism, America displayed readiness to review the conditions⁶⁷ with England and the USSR. It had become noticeable through the emerging communist parties

⁶⁴See Vakit Newspaper Headline, August 23, 1946, also shown in Appendix C.4., C.6. and C.7.

⁶⁵Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Cilt 1: 1919-1980, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, p. 421

⁶⁶NARA, Identifier Nr: 16618805, Container Identifier: 51, Series: Diplomatic Correspondence, 1933-1945 with Turkey, Collection: President's Secretary's File (Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration)

⁶⁷The U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Near East and Africa, Vol VII, 1946, pp.801-807

and guerillas in the Middle East countries as well as in Eastern Europe, Italy, Greece and France that Soviet perception already started to materialize. Consequently the trio held consecutive conferences to design the post-war world order, the lasts held at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945.

As for Turkey struggling to stick to her impartiality policy, Stalin's approach made it apparent that Soviet companionship would not be infinite and that she was about to get a hard slap from her neighbor who disregarded the amity and peace settlements of 1920s. Accordingly, Turkish government, apprehending Turkey's vulnerability and the isolation the country was thrown into because of neutrality decided to revise Turkey's stance in the war. This realization carried İnönü government to Adana and Cairo parleys with the Allies, all anxious to see Turkey on their side.

Eventually, with no card at hand, Turkey had to accept the revision idea but played the game cunningly, believing that a wider participation to the Montreux discussions than the USSR and Black Sea countries could be obtained by sending diplomatic notes calling the attendance of other countries, particularly the US, would serve as a good support against USSR⁶⁸. Hence, non-signatories to the Montreux Convention such as Japan and the USA, in order to voice political views pertaining to the Montreux Convention, were asked to attend Potsdam Conference in 1945.

Although a final decision was not made concerning the revision of the Convention in Potsdam, the Allies agreed to convey their opinions to Turkey. However, the USSR, without consulting her Allies, dispatched a diplomatic note to Turkey on August 8, 1945 containing a specified list of changes in the articles of Montreux Convention with the conviction that this *fait accompli*⁶⁹ would be approved by Ankara as well as by Washington and London. The most striking

⁶⁸Harris, George S, *Troubled Alliance: Turkish-American Problems in Historical Perspective, 1945-1971*, Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1972, pp.17-18.

⁶⁹Ahmad, Feroz, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye*, Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p. 128

revision USSR requested was the annexation of the Bosphorus. This request, incompatible with the decisions taken at Potsdam, was repudiated by both England and the US while it expanded the existing tension against the USSR. Therefore from this time onwards, England and the US supported Turkish views concerning the revision of the Convention⁷⁰.

These events diverted Turkey's political orientation towards America and were persuasive for yielding to American support to Turkey. The US, manifesting anti-communism and prepared to take every action against it from the very initial steps, was determined to support both Greece and Turkey as they were located at the very strategic position vis-à-vis Soviet hegemony and communist threat and it was within US Mediterranean aid policy. This policy, with its meticulously drawn borderline, openly displayed and divided Europeans well as it planted the first seeds of new defense mechanisms which would turn into institutions such as NATO in the years to come.

Similar attempts observed among the buffer states under Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe which was to lead to the establishment of Warsaw Pack. In other words, the world turned into a showdown where states under the US protectorship were categorized as democratic and capitalist whereas those under the Soviet hegemony were perceived as antidemocratic and communist although ironically, few of them carried "democratic" in their official titles.

These unprecedented events summarized above brought the end of Turkey's impartiality and thus affected its military, political and socio-cultural life deeply. Similarly the vital decision of entering the war entailed the inevitable and unavoidable end of İnönü's era.

⁷⁰Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p.475

3.1.2. İnönü's Unforgotten and Unforgiven Story

After Atatürk's death and during war years, İsmet İnönü gave priority to preserving the status quo in Turkey in all walks by blocking all types of opposition. Interestingly he took a step further and issued new bills and postal stamps with his pictures. What's more, increasing his authority and power within the RPP (*Republican People's Party*)⁷¹, he had himself declared as the National Leader and Permanent President of RPP (*Milli Şef ve Değişmez Genel Başkan*). This was a clear indicative of his strong desire of predominance over the state policy and politics in the country.

In other words, İnönü, known as 'the second man' in the history of Turkey, ironically demonstrated that he would not allow a secondary man so that soon⁷², "he had no one around but himself"⁷³. Heper claims that this authoritative behavior was the result of İnönü's less charismatic personality than Atatürk as well his firm grip to the gains of republican period to guard them against the strong resistance over changes⁷⁴.

On the other hand, economic situation in the country as mentioned above was in a steady decline due to inevitable impacts of the 2nd World War. In order to find solution to economic problems Turkey confronted after the war broke out, İnönü administration passed the National Protection Act (*Milli Korunma Kanunu*) in 1940. This act equipped the government with the right to exercise mercenary measures such as increasing taxes on regularly used food items and on transportation; to increase the labor hours by enforcing work unlike the pre-set and

⁷¹RPP is also known as CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) in Turkish

⁷²There are several studies about İsmet İnönü. However, please consult this most comprehensive work: Aydemir, Şevket Süreyya, *İkinci Adam*, 3 Cilt, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1966.

⁷³"İnonu'nun İnonu'den başka kimsesi yoktu" Çaylak, Adem., Dikkaya, Mehmet., Göktepe Cihat., Kapu Hüsnü., *Osmanlı'dan İkininli Yıllara Türkiye'nin Politik Tarihi: İç ve Dış Politika*, p. 259

⁷⁴Heper, Metin, *İsmet İnönü: Yeni Bir Yorum Denemesi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p.163

contracted working hours in both government and private sector; to confiscate private firms; and to take any action in order to meet military requirements⁷⁵.

A further measure which was decreasing imports from western countries almost halted all purchase from them; this was especially disturbing for the domestic production and consumption balance. Agricultural sector lacked contemporary mechanisms and equipment; this made Turkey dependent on foreign aid and imports for even vital requirements. As a matter of fact Turkey, when on its own, was not even able to produce enough wheat to feed the nation.

Consequently, a serious shortage of basic food items such as bread, sugar, olives compelled the government desperately waiting and seeking foreign aid to issue a decree in early 1942⁷⁶ for ration cards⁷⁷ (*ekmek karnesi*) restricting purchasing of consumption items to state determined amounts⁷⁸ specified on cards.

The effects of military mobilization were added to the burdens of food shortage as another tribulation Turks had to bear in daily life. Enforced conscription increased the number of soldiers in the army from 150 thousands at the beginning of the war to approximately 1.5 million in 1941⁷⁹ whereas the population of the country was less than 18 million.

Considering the ratio of overall population to the mobilized troops in Turkey, the subversive impact of mobilization on economy in general as well as its reflection upon the daily life of Turks was catastrophic. The government had to pay for and

⁷⁵T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, Volume 8, T.B.M.B Matbaası, Devre VI, 1940. See Also: Bulut, Menderes, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Ders Notları*, Kocaeli University Umuttepe Yayınları, İzmit, 2009, p. 244

⁷⁶Dokuyan, Sabit, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Yaşanan Gıda Sıkıntısı ve Ekmek Karnesi Uygulaması* in Turkish Studies International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic, Volume 8/5, Ankara, Spring 2013, pp. 193-210

⁷⁷These cards known as Ekmek Karnesi in Turkish. However, they were used not only for bread but also for other basic food such as sugar, olives and textile material. Please see Appendix C.1. and E.1. for an example of such a card as well as a news related to Ekmek Karnesi on Ulus newspaper published in 1941.

⁷⁸Düster, Tertip 3, C.XXIII, s.150, Resmi Gazete 19 Kanunsani 1942.

⁷⁹Çaylak, Adem., Dikkaya, Mehmet., Göktepe Cihat., Kapu, Hüsnü., *Osmanlı'dan İkininli Yıllara Türkiye'nin Politik Tarihi: İç ve Dış Politika*, p. 260

meet social security needs and requirements of the conscribed. Additionally, the martial law due to war threat, requiring alertness of all mechanical war supplies, arms and ammunitions was an equally enormous burden to economy. With the conscription of the productive and young population, agriculture and other economic sectors suffered from workers shortage. Accordingly, the majority of the producers became consumers as especially agricultural production sharply decreased, which was not the case for demand of consumer and daily goods.

Consequently, on the one side, it became almost impossible to import the accustomed items when the war obliged the fighting countries to stop production. But on the other side, very few goods still imported were sold with strikingly high prices so the government had to obstruct the import of even some daily used products while placing some under pension. This stimulated black-marketing, which was a horror to the government but was welcomed by the people otherwise in vain⁸⁰.

As a side effect of black-marketing, the wealthy and greedy dealers were able to pile and stock excessive amounts of products and sold the surplus of the essential products they accumulated to even people of low incomes with extremely overcharged prices⁸¹. Such practice was unheard of before and ordinary people were not used⁸² to such hyperinflation in the country.

Shortage of food, high prices, and ration cards rapidly induced social unrest and triggered contempt for İnönü administration and the republican reforms. İnönü administration, not concentrating on social disturbances, once again sought ways to legitimize the current condition by sticking to the status quo. The administrators must have thought that Turks who had to endure the burdens of the Ottoman Empire for more than 600 years probably could bear a few years of deprivation.

⁸⁰Akşin, Sina, *Kısa Türkiye Tarihi*, p. 236

⁸¹Ibid, p. 260

⁸²Ibid, p. 236

More so, believing that Turkish society was always willing to unconditionally oblige to the governing, İnönü administration enacted more taxes including the well known the Capital Levy (*Varlık Vergisi*) on November 11, 1942⁸³. The government planned to levy this revenue from the newly developing bourgeoisie composed mostly of non-Muslims in Turkey, as well as those who prospered through black-marketing. However it failed to notice that this tax did not exempt or protect the low income groups from suffering its consequences⁸⁴. Hence, its application was met with very negative stances against the RPP and İnönü in person. Adding to the dismay was that in application, the amount to be collected through the capital levy was determined according to the taxpayers' religion rather than their income or wealth. These became main reasons of social unrest as those who failed to pay the capital levy were sent to working camps as penalty. The camps in Aşkale resembled the Nazi concentration camps very fresh in the minds of the people⁸⁵ and multiplied contempt for the government.

3.2. En-route to Democracy: San Francisco Conference, UN Membership

Since 1215, Magna Carta, England's "Great Charter" has been conceived by the great majority of political scientists as the first document challenging administrative authority. It was also regarded as the pioneering step towards modern democratic regime, notwithstanding the type of systems in ancient Mesopotamia. These arguments are known to have stretched through classical Greece and Rome as well as through the rise and maturation of Islamic civilizations. Nevertheless, democracy sparkling first in England with the Great Charter marched more than 700 years disseminating its essence throughout the western hemisphere

⁸³Ahmad, Feroz, *Politics and Political Parties in Republican Turkey* in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Volume IV, *Turkey in the Modern World*, (Ed) Kasaba, Reşat, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, p.231.

⁸⁴Zürcher, Erik J., *Turkey: A Modern History*, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., London, 1993, pp.199-200

⁸⁵See Appendix C.2. and C.3. for *Son Posta* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers writing on the capital levy punishments.

and Turkey was invited to join the countries successful in this march toward full democracy after the 2nd WW albeit the years spent en-route-to it since Ottoman constitutional era. Even with this attempt, it is a fact that Turkey's democratic history does not have the long background western democracies' possess. Moreover, it failed to reach a digestive capacity even after the declaration of the republic particularly due to the handicaps of the 2nd World War and the years to follow.

An important factor disabling democratic development in Turkey at this point was İnönü's extremely precautious personality, reaching to the point of timidness. İnönü's prudence and reluctance towards fundamental changes might have at least been partially the result of his memories from the days of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP-*İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti*) which became the leading party and governed during the Great War. This party was later accused of drifting the Ottoman Empire into the 1st World War and resulting disintegration. What must have been an unpleasant remembrance for İnönü was CUP's anxiety at the end of the war. With this recollection the fear of losing the republic became a nightmare for İnönü and the people he shared states responsibly with, who had also witnessed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and feared the reforms would suffer the same fate. Therefore, similar to this fear, İnönü wanted to keep Turkey's integrity and safeguard status quo as well as he, consciously or unconsciously, hindered democratization and liberalization of the regime by his very restrictive political agendas and moves.

3.2.1. Crawling Democracy: Birth of Democrat Party (DP)

The first attempts for a relatively less restrictive administrative system in the Ottoman Empire were in the 19th century though renovation attempts in the Empire started respectively with the Tulip Era (*Lale Devri*) of 1718-1730. The announcement of the reform edict (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) of 1839 which included provisions on human

rights and equality was followed by the second reorganization edict (*Islahat Fermanı*) of 1856 which widened the mentioned rights for non-Muslims and concluded with constitutionalism. However, they all remained more as institutional reforms rather than promoting human rights.

This timeline somewhat resembles and reminds America's approach towards democracy and constitutionalism. However, it was almost a century after US that in 1876 that Constitution was announced, and the Ottoman administration became a constitutional monarchy. This indeed was a step towards democracy but Ottoman Sultanate, particularly with its dynastical form and theocratic institutions, was far from democratic regime.

It has already been explained that albeit the will and wish of the administrators, long-recovery from the independence war and the launching of the Turkish Revolution hindered full democratization in Turkey during the first two decades of the Republic. Although Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*) of 1924 and Liberal Republican Party (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*) of 1930 were established as opposition parties reflecting democratization, they did not survive or long as did the RPP which remained as Turkey's single ruling party from 1923 until 1950.

3.2.2. Incidents Compelling İnönü towards Initiating a Multi-Party Regime

It was in 1945 and the consequent years that governmental regime in Turkey was tilted towards a more liberal and less autocratic system by various events in and outside the country. A series of post war plans for world order led by the US were especially influential on Turkish government which, with the fear of yielding to other countries' desires, appeared to be favoring a fully democratic system. The question to be raised at this point could be whether the Turkish governing cadre

was trying to please and flatter Turkey's western allies⁸⁶ she anticipated to obtain security and economic benefits from.

In other words, Turkey was once more in flux and reflux concerning democracy: Would it be the democratic system which could save her from the Russian aggression and make her prosperous; or would it be membership to the capitalist American camp that might bring democracy to Turkey? İnönü administration was not sure about the answer, but soon became ascertained that the country had a better side with America.

As the end of the 2nd World War approached, Turkey's top administrators realized that the world was ideologically polarized and that the democratic block was already designing a world organization which could serve as an intermediary for preserving peace. However, it must be borne in mind that the USSR, the staunch representative of the totalitarian block, appeared at the democratic side at that time. It must also be remembered that past experiences had proved that the League of Nations of the 1st World War failed to keep peace, for England and France dominated the organization for their imperialistic aims.

It was therefore that the US, after entering the 2nd World War, considered designing a brand new organization which would not serve imperialistic tracks to replace The League of Nations proven inefficient by then. Accordingly, with the mutual consent of the Allies, a new intermediary organization which would turn into United Nations in the years to come was established to keep world peace. On the way to establishing the United Nations organization, couple of significant events became pertinent stepping stones.

Declaration of St. James's Palace in London in June 1941 with 14 signatories (Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the exiled governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia and of General de Gaulle of France) as

⁸⁶Lewis, Bernard, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1961, pp. 307-313.

well as the subsequent Atlantic Charter (named so for being concluded somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean) signed by FDR and Churchill in August 1941⁸⁷ became the preliminary steps on the way to establishing a “*united nations*” organization.

These were followed by a short document known as United Nations Charter. This document of January 1, 1942⁸⁸ written literally on a plain piece of paper was signed by the US President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Churchill, Maxim Litvinov of the USSR, and T. V. Soong of China. Interestingly all of the signatories were made permanent members of the United Nations (UN) Security Council in 1945 when it was officially established. Furthermore, Moscow and Tehran Conferences of 1943 as well as Dumbarton Oaks meeting of 1944 and Yalta Conference of 1945 became the touchstones of the UN⁸⁹.

Albeit this unrealistic start however, the San Francisco Conference of 1945 played a key role for the establishment of the UN though unexpected death of the US President Roosevelt, to whom the Conference owed so much to shocked everyone. His position was replaced by President Truman. Actually, the US and her Allies planned that only those states which had, by March 1945, declared war on Germany and Japan as well as had subscribed to the United Nations Declaration would be invited to participate⁹⁰ in the San Francisco Conference. Therefore, only forty-five states including the four sponsors were originally invited to the conference⁹¹ that convened on April 25, 1945. Fearing of missing the last train, in the very last minute in March 1945, Turkey declared war on the Axis powers. As a

⁸⁷Dallek, Robert, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the American Foreign Policy 1932-1945*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979. pp 283-285.

⁸⁸Volger, Helmut, *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, 2nd Revised Edition, MartinusNijhoff Publishers, Leiden, 2010, pp.216-223. Also see: Dallek, Robert, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the American Foreign Policy 1932-1945*, pp 318-320; United Nations official web site: <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/history/declaration.shtml>

⁸⁹Ibid

⁹⁰See Appendix A.5. for the signatories of the document and the declaration

⁹¹Volger, Helmut, *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, pp.216-223

result of the series of events the UN Charter was signed and declared on June 26, 1945. As stated in this Charter, the signatories sought:

...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.⁹²

3.2.3. How Democratic Turkish Democracy Was

The kind of freedom which was mentioned in the UN Charter meant democracy for the US and her Allies. It is debatable how democratic Turkey, with its regulations and restrictions was. Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim that democracy they internalized meant that the ruling party could be replaced by another party through votes, which was not the case for Turkey of 1945.

With this understanding Turkish delegation attending the San Francisco Conference made a statement explaining to the foreign press that Turkey was moving towards modern democracy and that democratic movements would no longer be restricted in the country⁹³. Otherwise, in an atmosphere the war-weary states and their leaders cried for ending dictators and authoritarian regimes, Turkey with a National Leader and Permanent Chairman (*Milli Şef ve Değişmez Genel Başkan*) of RPP, İsmet İnönü, would have resembled fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

Moreover, one of FDR's alphabet soup agencies, Board of Economic Warfare (BEW) later to be known as Office of Economic Warfare (OEM) tried to give Turkey a "countries that are not friendly"⁹⁴ status, which was an irony when compared with the Ottoman grant to America "the most favored state" status. Although this intention was never realized, the US House of Representatives as well as the Senate

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Karpat, Kemal H., *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*, Afa Yayınları, İstanbul, 1996, p.128

⁹⁴Yalman, Ahmet Emin, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerimiz ve Geçirdiklerimiz*, Vol. III, 1945-1970, İstanbul, 1971, p. 333

created conducive platforms for anti-Turkish criticisms in the years and decades to come.

3.2.4. Needs for Administrative Adjustments: Augmentation of Political Parties under the Surveillance of İnönü

Having very cold feet of solitary status in the new world order and fear of exclusion from the UN, *Milli Şef* İnönü realized the existing threat and, discreetly decided to reform his regime. The first step he took was the ratification and adoption of the UN Charter on August 15, 1945 which was published in official gazette (*Resmi Gazete*) issue 6902 on August 24, 1945. However, İnönü clearly understood that adoption of the UN Charter would not be regarded sufficient by the democratic block, namely America without further measures. It was very clear that with the existing single party regime, it would not be possible at all for Turkey to join the western club. Therefore, he decided not to postpone an ostensibly democratic opposition in Turkey.

Milli Şef İnönü, desiring to interpolate Turkey in the newly emerging democratic club, slowly but firmly started to open the floodgates blocking the establishment of political parties, giving the first signal with his May 19, 1945 public address⁹⁵. Soon after this encouraging speech, conservative businessman Nuri Demirağ established National Development Party (*Milli Kalkınma Partisi*) in July 1945. Shortly after, the atmosphere became conducive for other parties to flourish and on January 7, 1946 Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti-DP*) was founded.

In fact, Democrat Party which became the most influential political party on the way to democratization was born from RPP. Ironically, while Democrat Party in the US assumed the progressive role against the Republicans, in the Turkish case, DP positioned itself as the representative of the conservatives during a time when the republican renovations masses looked upon as RPP's deeds were still not

⁹⁵Karpat, Kemal, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi- Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller*, Timaş Yay., İstanbul, 2010, pp.229-230.

publicly absorbed. Hence, Democrat Party's promises involved adjustments on walks along dangerous grounds RPP dared not approach before. The sparks of faction within RPP, actually present from the first days of the TBMM; this time emerged during the parliamentary debates over the proposed act on land reform, known as *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*. Although, this act which would entail a major socio-economic change for Turkey had for long been on the agenda of Atatürk and İnönü, two cautious leaders prudently avoided premature actions. Interestingly, while the government was waiting for conditions to ripen for this reformative step, opponents of the act within the TGNA gradually started to display themselves as a separate group. These RPP members who would be establishing the DP sided with the land owners who were the actual opponents to assure them that they would not be deprived of their possessions in case DP came to power.

Thus, the factionary group composed mostly of high bureaucrats and wealthy RPP members defied severely RPP's politics and consequently, they either were expelled from the party or they resigned. Leading the opponents were four parliamentarians who became the dominant figures in the Turkish politics in the next decade to come. The founders of DP were Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Fuad Köprülü and Refik Koraltan. The four, before founding the DP issued the Memorandum of the Four (*Dörtlü Takrir*) containing a list of requests from the Government for a liberal environment without pressures limiting discussions of issues government did not exactly complied but obtained such a freedom after establishment of DP.

Years between 1946 and 1950 were a time span when DP did not have any significant displays of political intentions. Moreover, DP's founding principles were parallel to that of RPP; therefore, it was believed that DP would not last long. Furthermore 1946 elections surprisingly held earlier and did not display a preference for this new party. However, 1950 elections were devastating for RPP with only % 39 of the votes providing only 69 seats in the parliament against the % 52 of her opponents with 408 seats. Though the result was clearly not a victory for

RPP, it was for the Turkish democracy since it was proven that leading party of Turkey since 1923 could be overthrown by votes. Although İnönü noticed DP's revisionist measures, he accepted the result and did not allow the military to intervene although Chief of General Staff made such an offer whereas the ground for approaching change existed since the establishment of the TGNA.

CHAPTER 4

MUTUAL EXPECTATIONS

4.1. Placing the Bricks of the Wall: Russia Loses Turkey

The 2nd World War razed the ground, especially in the eastern and central Europe where battlegrounds witnessed dozens of military operations while Turkey, ostensibly slogging her neutrality, was sitting on the (un)lucky edge of the fighting zones, facing an ambiguous future⁹⁶. Turkey's stance tempted Stalin as well as US presidents, FDR and his successor Truman to win over this geopolitically unique country with either Russian expansionist or American containment policies while the world was moving towards a new war, new battlegrounds, namely the *Cold War*.

As extensive studies in social sciences have revealed, it is a well-known fact that two opposing blocks, liberals with America and totalitarians with Russia positioned themselves like the players of a chess game and gradually built their own spheres of influence by masoning walls both metaphorically and literally. At this point, Turkey became one of the most significant bricks of this walling game with the American government's moves to be seen too soon.

4.1.1. Anchoring Battleship on the Bosphorus: USS Missouri Visit to Turkey

A striking onset came first from the USA when Washington planned the İstanbul visit of the battleship USS (BB-63) Missouri in April 1946. BB-63 came to Turkey with a governmental decision⁹⁷ after a recommendation letter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Interestingly, it was on Missouri's deck that the

⁹⁶Özdemir, Hikmet, *The Turkish-American Relations toward 1960 Turkish Revolution* in the Turkish Yearbook, Vol XXXI, 2002/2, p. 161.

⁹⁷T.C. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, Fon No: 30.18.1.2 –Kutu No: 110-Dosya No: 18-Sıra No:8

agreement ending the 2nd World War was signed between the American and the Japanese authorities. However, this time its mission was not to end a war but quite the opposite, to start an undeclared one around Near East⁹⁸ between the Soviet and American camps.

Ironically, just as Missouri arrived in İstanbul in 1946, British Prime Minister Churchill visiting Washington DC was addressing to a group of American audience in the US Congress and uttering his famous speech stating that a *Cold War* was starting with the iron curtain dividing Europe⁹⁹.

Returning to Missouri, this time the battleship was not carrying ammunitions but, as an American diplomatic gesture, was commissioned to deliver the funeral of H.E. Münir Erteğün, Turkey's Ambassador to Washington who passed away in November 1944. However, it was dubious why a diplomat's funeral was transported to Turkey two years after he was deceased and by such a gigantic war vessel.

It must be borne in mind that Soviet Russia, reluctant to secede from northern Iran did not seem prepared to dispense Turkish straits either¹⁰⁰, therefore it could be claimed that this was an American symbolic message to the USSR¹⁰¹. Kemal Kirişçi asserts that this visit was perceived by the Turkish press, intelligentsia and government as a significant event signaling the start of bilateral strategic relationship between the US and Turkey¹⁰².

⁹⁸This term, though not used quite often any longer, meant countries around Eastern Mediterranean such as Greece and Turkey as well as countries today's Middle East. Also see: footnote number 11 in the introduction section of this thesis

⁹⁹Kirişçi, Kemal, *Turkey and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*, The Journal Middle East Review of International Affairs, Vol.2, No.4, November 4, 1998. Also online version is available on <http://www.rubincenter.org/category/1998-11-02-04/>. Also see: Churchill's speech document can be found in *Congressional Record*, XCII (1946, Appendix), A1145-A1147.

¹⁰⁰U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Near East and Africa*, Vol VII, 1946, pp. 801-807

¹⁰¹Kirişçi, Kemal, *Turkey and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*. Also see: Erhan, Çağrı, *ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler*, in (Ed) Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol I: 1919-1980, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001.

¹⁰²Ibid

However, the US aims to dispatch Missouri to the Near East must have meant more than a simple gesture for American government and targeted controlling instability in the Eastern Mediterranean and territories in today's Middle East that would soon become *Cold War* territories of the Sixth Fleet¹⁰³. This was partly true since until this time President Truman had not announced his historic doctrine of 1947 assuring US support to both Greece and Turkey to halt the Soviet expansionism¹⁰⁴.

Turkey had to wait at least one more year to enjoy American protection and two more years to be granted the Marshall Aid which she desperately needed. However, regardless of Turkey's deeper or superficial objectives to obtain foreign and especially American assistance, it was certain that she did her homework very well and put a lot of emphasis and energy to please and host USS Missouri crew. Indeed this visit was much influential on political and socio-cultural life of Turkey.

The socio-cultural American influence will be analyzed in the coming chapters; however, influence on political and media spheres of USS Missouri's Turkey visit is exceptionally interesting and worth mentioning, even if within a few paragraphs.

What made this visit exceptionally picturesque was Missouri photos Turkish press started to publish days and weeks prior to and after the visit, let alone how much flattering articles had been written about the ship and the USA as if to declare that Missouri was the Savior. In other words, Turkish press idealized America and its values. Journalist Yalman in newspaper Vatan wrote in his column that one should be thankful to God since Missouri resembles a war monster and it is the Americans who own it¹⁰⁵.

What makes it even more striking at this point was that all mainstream newspapers gave news about the visit in their headlines; Vatan with greeting the

¹⁰³<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-usn/usnsh-m/bb63-m1.htm>

¹⁰⁴Berkes, Niyazi, *Unutulan Yıllar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997, pp. 377-378.

¹⁰⁵Vatan Newspaper, April 6, 1946.

vessel in English with the “Welcome” heading as well as Cumhuriyet with “Welcome U.S.A.” in its column. These were not the only greetings in the country. Ridges of the minarets of Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan Mosque were decorated with welcoming light bulbs. İstanbul looked like a festival city on April 5, 1946.

However, unlike Turkey’s unofficial economic and cultural capital İstanbul, official capital Ankara was more or less silent. But key politicians ordered battle cruiser Goeben (*Yavuz*) to meet the USS Missouri at Çanakkale¹⁰⁶ straight and accompany it until its official visit was over in Turkey in May.

Moreover, Turkish government issued stamps with Missouri’s picture and requested Turkish state monopoly company (*TEKEL*) to produce special packs for the occasion of this visit with 50 cigarettes in them. As for the government, it was as if “light of confidence and hope for the future” was coming from the USA¹⁰⁷. At this point, the top Turkish officials, President İnönü and Prime Minister Saraçoğlu were in full agreement and shared their content for Missouri’s visit with the public. Therefore, İnönü’s statement in newspaper Vatan that *the closer the American navy to Turkey the better she would be* was not a surprise¹⁰⁸.

4.1.2. Turkey’s Betrothal with US

4.1.2.1. Ankara’s Engagement Contract: The Truman Doctrine

America’s *red scare*¹⁰⁹ obsession created similar understandings in western hemisphere. Turkey which was not immune to such foreign influences was not in a position to block the giant Russia. The good old days of the early Republican era

¹⁰⁶Vatan Newspaper, April 6, 1946 and Cumhuriyet Newspaper, April 5, 1946. This cruiser was donated to the Ottoman Empire by Germany as a political gesture and pressure so that the Empire would enter the 1st World War on Axis powers side.

¹⁰⁷T.B.M.M Tutanak Dergisi Dönem 7, V.23

¹⁰⁸Vatan Newspaper, April 7, 1946

¹⁰⁹A term invented during the Cold War to denominate the American fear from the communist spread

were long gone. Was Turkey desperate, without alternatives? Couldn't Turkey refuse American support and stand on its own against this red scare? How come Turkey, which freed herself the imperialism, accepted the protectorship of another imperial power in return of outdated goods and foods sent as American aid? These controversial issues will be the topic of this section and of some in the following parts with special emphasis to the relationship of the countries particularly after Missouri's visit to Turkey.

USS Missouri's visit to İstanbul seemed to have convinced İnönü and his administrators that Turkey's future would be on the same track with America. Crediting this conviction with high hopes, they cherished more cross-Atlantic financial and political support once those from Great Britain ceased due to the severed economic conditions of the 2nd World War. Adequate for Turkey or not, the assistance soon came from America with a political doctrine designed by the US President Henry Truman, holding provisions Turkey could not retreat from her political position.

However, President Truman, much preoccupied with diplomatic maneuvers prior to the declaration of his historic doctrine in the US Senate, did not appear to be ready to blockade Soviet Russia. Yet Russia, by not seceding from countries in Eastern Europe and northern Iran while continuing her robust support to communist guerrillas during Greek civil war and with imminent threats to Turkey, did direct Truman administration to the awareness of objectives she tried to conceal¹¹⁰.

On the other hand, Truman, extremely upset with Russia's moves which could include a subsequent attack on Turkish straits endangering US interests in the Near East, expressed his indignation towards the Soviets in a historic letter to his Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. In the letter, he indicated that Russia needed the

¹¹⁰Türkmen, Fusun, *Kırılğan İttifaktan Model Ortaklığa: Türkiye ve ABD İlişkileri*, Timaş Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, p. 60

slap of an iron fist to inform her that otherwise another war would be approaching in which the US, tired of lulling the Soviets, would not compromise any longer¹¹¹.

It was certain that Truman administration would not lull the Russians any longer, but uncover her muscles to launch American containment policy against the USSR. Truman wanting to get a head start moved a step forward at this point when he declared his historic doctrine¹¹² during the Congress session on March 12, 1947. He announced that America would no longer accept Russia's expansionist policies but on the contrary, would stand behind free people under communist treat¹¹³.

The President, striving to avoid communist spread in the Near East especially where both Greece and Turkey might be made subjects to dangerous plots, also promised political and economic aid to both countries calculating that any type of cancerous growth in one of them might have domino effect and harm the other¹¹⁴. However, in order not to irritate the Russians against his administration he especially refrained from using publicly the term *military aid* in his doctrine.

Truman Doctrine with a provision declaring that America would be a partial participant in world crisis, was a historical turning point for the US, who until then remained loyal to the Monroe doctrine by noninvolvement in regionally controversial issues or far away conflicts¹¹⁵. To enable this plan Truman asked the Congress to release \$ 400 million of foreign aid to both Greece and Turkey¹¹⁶. About

¹¹¹Truman, Harry S., *Memoirs, Vol. 1: Years of Decision (1955)*, p.551–552, given in George Lenczowski, *American Presidents and the Middle East*, Duke University Press, 1990, p.11

¹¹²*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1947* (Washington D.C., U.S Government Printing Office, 1963), pp.176-180. Also see: Appendix A.6. for the Truman Doctrine.

¹¹³Gaddis, John, Lewis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1982, p.22 and see Truman Doctrine in Appendix A.6.

¹¹⁴*Documents on International Affairs, 1947-1948*, Vol IX, (Eds) Dennet, Raymond and Turners, Robert K., Princeton University Press, 1949, pp.646-650.

¹¹⁵US Government Official internet site:<http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/truman-doctrine>

¹¹⁶*ibid*

one thirds of the fund was to be reserved for Greece since her case was more precarious than Turkey with a civil war backed by the Soviets troubled the country. However, the assistance would be handled and delivered under the supervision of American administration; therefore, military and civilian representatives as well as equipment were sent to Greece to be used under the US patronage.

Soon after the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, the first assistance agreement between Turkey and the US was signed on July 12, 1947 as "Agreement on Aid to Turkey"¹¹⁷. Quite content with the agreement, Turkish administrators stated during a press conference that for Turkey, this agreement did not mean being a part of either one of the two blocks, but siding with the only existing block which was the UN¹¹⁸; with the expectation that people would believe this tale. This was partly true as headlines and columns of the main Turkish newspapers including Cumhuriyet, Vatan, Vakit, Tasvir, Son Telegraf, Tanin, Ulus and few others were in favor of the decision, let alone to criticize it.

A quick response to opposing views which started to appear in the Turkish press¹¹⁹ came from a prominent Turkish journalist, Nadir Nadi who voiced this on July 15, 1947 in his column in Cumhuriyet¹²⁰. Mr. Nadi wrote that the US was not requesting any territories or military basis from Turkey and this assistance would be from freedom lovers (USA) to the free people (Turkey) who needed to organize against the common enemy which was the USSR¹²¹.

Returning to the main objective of the Truman Doctrine, although it was directed towards Russia's expansionist policies, it was not to defend Turkey against

¹¹⁷Official Gazette (Resmi Gazete) issue on September 5, 1947 Nr. 6699. Also see: US Embassy of Ankara Official Internet site: http://turkey.usembassy.gov/treaty_websites.html (under Economic Cooperation section)

¹¹⁸Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 1979, p. 21

¹¹⁹Güler, Yavuz, *II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950)*, p. 218.

¹²⁰Ibid, p.218

¹²¹Cumhuriyet, July 15, 1947

the Soviet aggression¹²². In fact, preparing Turkey for a full defense would require about forty or fifty times more financial support than promised¹²³. Interestingly, the assistance did not include brand new or modernized military equipment; on the contrary, it was made possible because the US had outdated weapons, equipment and ammunition in excessive amounts which she wanted to discard but did not know what to do with¹²⁴. Yet such outdated materials as well as Truman Doctrine and subsequent assistance agreement were enough to hoodwink and trick Turks who started to fancy becoming like *Little America*, a term later used by Turkish President Celal Bayar.

Regardless of what the Turkish citizens thought about the agreement, item 3 and 4 of the text openly placed annotations subjecting the utilization of any equipment or information to American approval for all steps¹²⁵. The agreement boldly stated that along with technical and military staff, civilians from the US press

¹²²Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 12

¹²³Orkunt, Sezai, *Türkiye Amerika Askeri İlişkileri*, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 1978, pp.144-145.

¹²⁴Birand, Mehmet Ali, *Emret Komutanım*, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 1984.

¹²⁵<https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d10/c007/tbmm10007079ss0286.pdf>

MADDE — 3

Türkiye Hükümeti ile Birleşik Devletler Hükümeti Türk ve Birleşik Devletler Milletlerine bu Anlaşma gereğince yapılan yardım hususunda tam bilgi temini için işbirliği yapacaklardır. Bu maksatla ve iki memleketin güvenliği ile kabili telif olduğu nispette; 1: Birleşik Devletler basın ve radyo temsilcilerine, bu yardımın kullanımını serbestçe müşahede etmelerine ve bu müşahadelerini tam olarak bildirmelerine müsaade edilecektir, ve

2:Türkiye Hükümeti bu yardımın amacı, kaynağı, mahiyeti, genişliği, miktarı ve ilerleyişi hakkında Türkiye'de tam ve devamlı yayın yapacaktır.

MADDE — 4

Bu Anlaşma gereğince Türkiye Hükümeti tarafından elde edilen her madde, hizmet veya malûmatın emniyetini sağlamak azminde bulunan ve bunda aynı derecede menfaattar olan Türkiye ve Birleşik Devletler Hükümetleri, badelmüşavere, bu uğurda diğer Hükümetin lüzumlu addedebileceği tedbirleri, karşılıklı olarak, alacaklardır. Türkiye Hükümeti, Birleşik Devletler Hükümetinin muvafakati olmadan, bu neviden hiç bir madde veya malûmatın mülkiyet veya zilyetliğini devretmeyeceği gibi, aynı muvafakat, olmadan Türkiye Hükümetinin subay, memur veya ajanı sıfatını haiz bulunmayan bir kimse tarafından bu maddelerin veya malûmatın kullanılmasına veya bu malûmatın bu sıfatı haiz olmayan bir kimseye açıklanmasına ve bu maddeler ve malumatın verildikleri gayeden başka bir gayede kullanılmasına müsaade etmeyecektir.

and radio had the right to investigate and collect any data on the American assistance and use in Turkey.

The Turkish government instead of severely protesting and rejecting these items¹²⁶ which openly violates the international rule concerning the noninterference in internal politics, made ostensible alterations in them and preferred playing the blind man's buff which would neither stop controversies and discussions among the American and Turkish officials nor prevent the grave consequences it would entail¹²⁷ especially for Turkey's internal or foreign policy. Turkish government, which by no means had broad vision, could not envisage that the US would object to the use of equipment even in 1964, 17 years after the declaration of the Truman Doctrine when Turkey sent troops to Cyprus¹²⁸.

Lacking farsightedness, İnönü administration was not fully aware of which direction Turkey's foreign policy was heading recognized Israel quite soon after its official establishment on March 24, 1949¹²⁹. This played a significant move since up until then Turkey supported the independent a free Arab Palestinian state. Hüseyin Bağcı claims this change followed the Truman Doctrine as well as the American military and economic assistance; therefore was attributed to the American influence over Turkey¹³⁰. He further explains that this distortion in Turkish foreign policy was also noticeable in African and Asian policies whilst Turkey could have developed sophisticated relations with them and gained much but chose to retract itself¹³¹.

¹²⁶See discussions in the Turkish Parliament and TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem 8, Cilt 6, Toplantı 1

¹²⁷Türkmen, Füsün, *Kırılğan İttifaktan Model Ortaklığa: Türkiye ve ABD İlişkileri*, p.67

¹²⁸Mc Ghee, George, *ABD-Türkiye, NATO-Ortadoğu*, translated by Belkis Çorakci, Bilgi Yayınları, Ankara, 1992, p. 90

¹²⁹Official Gazette (Resmi Gazete) issue on April 1, 1949 Nr. 7171

¹³⁰Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, METU Press, Ankara, 2001, p. 9

¹³¹Ibid, p. 9

One way or other, at the time, Turkey was supplied with military equipment she was not expected to pay for. Though this looked positive for national budget, the government had to allocate hundred millions of Turkish liras for the maintenance of the equipment. Desperately seeking for cutbacks in defense expenditures through American aid, Turkey ironically was faced with an increase in military expenses¹³². More so, since Turkey was not able to produce spare parts, she had to purchase them from the US with American dollars, leaving the country short of foreign currency¹³³. Turkish government lacking adequate know-how concerning capitalist economic policies, once again confronted a vicious circle and requested further financial assistance as well as credits from the American government¹³⁴. This was met by a new American plan ostensibly designed to remedy the brunt of the world war.

4.1.2.2. Washington's (2nd Hand) Gifts to Turkey: The Marshall Plan

The 2nd World War left Europe in a pathetic situation by taking lives of millions of soldiers as well as civilians, leaving behind bankrupt economies and almost zero production. It was as such that Industrial Revolution which sparked first in England seemed to be regressing due to war damages. Furthermore, industrial, commercial as well as residential centers were razed to the ground, let alone the transportation infrastructure which was totally corrupt. England, Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, Poland...not to mention all one by one but a long chain of countries were left to face the consequences of their unresolved conflicts.

The US was an exception which would not be added to the list of devastated countries of the 2nd World War. On the contrary, the US economy seemed to be booming thanks to the production of goods which were desperately needed by the

¹³²Gönübol, Mehmet, Ulman, Haluk, *Türk Dış Politikasının Yirmi Yılı: 1945-1965*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt 21, No 1, 1966, p. 155

¹³³Güler, Yavuz, *II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950)*, p. 219

¹³⁴Ibid, p.219

war weary countries of Europe and the rest of the world. In other words, the war had helped US economy develop and grow so rapidly that surplus economy paved the way to generous American monetary grants to all countries struggling for financial recovery. However, the US aids to Europe were being proven inefficient due to the lack of sound mechanism and political stability in the continent.

Soon after the introduction of the Truman Doctrine, it became apparent that the aid extended to economically-drained European countries could not serve its purpose, for the credit exceeding 15 billion dollars was used for budget deficits or imports rather than as investment for means to re-activate their markets. This provided the USSR the chance to increase communist propaganda¹³⁵ and utilize the fragile condition for her own purpose. Moreover, with this zeal, in states such as Italy and France where communist parties were powerful, strikes paralyzed economies as well as daily lives¹³⁶. Consequently, the American government comprehended that a new method of assistance had become essential¹³⁷ and started a quest for efficient alternatives to deliver financial and humanitarian aids.

The immediate lifeline came from within the US government, through George C. Marshall, Secretary of State. On June 5, 1947, addressing the graduation class during the commencement ceremony of Harvard University, Marshall introduced a comprehensive program to reconstruct Europe¹³⁸, later to be known as the Marshall Plan. His advice to the European states was that for a common prosperous future new economic cooperation ought to be designed amongst the

¹³⁵Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, Alkım Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 443

¹³⁶Güler, Yavuz, *II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950)*, p. 220

¹³⁷Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p. 443

¹³⁸*The Marshall Plan in United States Statutes at Large, 1948, Washington, D.C* (Government Printing Office, 1949), Vol. 62, p.137

See also: US Government Official Internet site: <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/marshall-plan>

countries to fill the gap(s) the other lacked. In other words, European countries would have to learn to support each other.

In order to formulize Marshall's suggestion for a possible cooperation, war-weary European states were invited to the meeting which was held in Paris. The meeting started on July 12, 1947 under the auspices of England and France since Russia rejected to take part in a system which was instructed and controlled by the American government. She even prevented the countries in Eastern Europe such as Poland, Czechoslovakia from joining the crystallization plan of the economic development and assistance program¹³⁹. However, participants from 16 different European countries¹⁴⁰ including Turkey prepared and submitted proposals to the US government which led to the creation of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), today's OECD (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development)¹⁴¹.

Turkey, attending the Paris Conference, within this context requested financial assistance of 615 million dollars¹⁴². However, the US officials, after examining whether this could be justifiable or not, repudiated Turkish proposal and asserted that the Marshall Plan was not to finance a national development program but on the contrary, to support war-damaged European states Turkey could not be included amongst¹⁴³.

At this point, Turkish government expressed its discontent over the decision by insisting that Turkey had the right to benefit from the Marshall Plan just like the

¹³⁹Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, Kaynak Yayınlar, İstanbul, 2003, p. 232

¹⁴⁰Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Greece, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Iceland, Austria, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and, Turkey

¹⁴¹Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasal Bağlıları Kesim A (Çof Tarafalı Bağlılar)*, T.T.K. yay.Cilt II (1945-1990), Ankara, 2000, pp.288-296.Also see: *T.B.M.M. Tutanak Dergisi*, Dönem: VIII, Cilt, 12, Toplantı 2, 85. Birleşim, 8 Temmuz 1948, pp.998-1004

¹⁴²Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, p. 234

¹⁴³Ibid, p. 234

other European countries since she had to bear the burden of mobilizing the army although she did not participate in the war and also suffered much from political pressures¹⁴⁴. Moreover, Turkish parliamentarians disappointed and disillusioned with the US decision, voiced their conviction that US government depriving Turkey of economic aid now could in the future leave her alone in political arena.

So the Turkish government decided to negotiate directly with the US government rather than the authorized officials to request the revision¹⁴⁵ of Turkey's exclusion from the countries benefiting from the Marshall Plan. After a series of negotiations, American government agreed that Turkey had right points and decided to include her in the Plan. The Marshall Plan which was to continue for 4 years starting from March 1948 promised and gave Ankara financial assistance for agriculture, mining and road construction equipment, all of which exceeded 300 million dollars¹⁴⁶.

Similar to Truman Doctrine, Turkey's participation in the Marshall Plan became a controversial issue within Turkey and abroad. Authors on the pro side claimed that assistances provided by the Marshall Plan following the Truman Doctrine facilitated the establishment of Turkey's defense system and relations with the newly merging world power, the United States and naturally directed Turkey towards wider democracy and to a more liberal system¹⁴⁷.

On the other hand, more neutrals claimed that Marshall Plan became a significant instrument to strengthen Turkey's pro American position whereas she already was prepared to defend the western camp against the communist world¹⁴⁸. Additionally, it was argued that the strategy was determined according to

¹⁴⁴Cumhuriyet, by Nadir Nadi: *Sadak'ın Nutku*, February 2, 1948

¹⁴⁵Güler, Yavuz, *II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950)*, p. 222

¹⁴⁶Türkmen, Füsun, *Kırılğan İttifaktan Model Ortaklığa: Türkiye ve ABD İlişkileri*, p.68

¹⁴⁷Esmer, Ahmet Şükrü, *Türkiye ve Marshall Planı*, Ulus, April 19, 1948

¹⁴⁸Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, Nova Science Publishers, Inc, New York, 2003, p. 112

Washington's grand plan not according to Turkey's vital necessities: Ankara's role was to supply agricultural products and metals to Europe¹⁴⁹.

Yet skeptic writers argued that Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan turned Turkey into a raw material depo, a lucrative market and a loyal outpost for the United States¹⁵⁰. In other words, they asserted that the Marshall Plan was another name given to capitulations¹⁵¹. Furthermore, they claimed that the aids provided were not for the sake of Turkish democracy, but for the sake of gigantic American industrial enterprises¹⁵². According to skeptics, these companies calculated that conquering Turkey's domestic market would be easier than blowing leaves.

¹⁴⁹Erhan, Çağrı, *ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler*, pp.540-541

¹⁵⁰Yetkin, Çetin, *Karşı Devrim: 1945-1950*, Yeniden Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Yayınları, Konya, 2009, pp.363-370

¹⁵¹Aybar, Mehmet A., *Kapitülasyonlar Geri mi Geliyor Dersiniz?*, Geveze Magazine, August 15, 1948.

¹⁵²Ibid

CHAPTER 5

TURCO-AMERICAN HEYDAY: MAY 14, 1950 TO MAY 27, 1960

5.1. Surprising Outcomes for Ankara

5.1.1. Democrat Party (DP) Rule: Flux and Reflux from Progression to Regression

The end of the 2nd World War came with uncertainties and tensions leaving no space in Turkey's internal policy for possible laboratory works without jeopardizing gains of the Republic from 1923 onward in case of experiments. This urged İnönü to act very cautiously, rigidly, even timidly when democracy was concerned. Such were the circumstances under which RPP decided to hold 1950 elections which proved that Turkey's ruling party could be overthrown by another, in this case, the DP.

RPP was not successful enough to preserve the hearts of the majority of the Turkish voters in 1950 elections. This was severely due to the negative image which clung on RPP in the eye of peasants, farmers and uneducated Turks convinced that 'RPP was supporting a nonreligious life without Islam'¹⁵³. This heathenish image coupled with statist economic policies America was rejecting and DP was opposing drastically which, in fact, signaled DP's key polity for Turkey of the 50s.

It was too late when İnönü and RPP administrators realized these unfavorable convictions for the ruling party to sustain. Concessions on secularism, especially in education by installing religion courses into curriculums, establishing religious schools (*Preacher and Orator Schools / Imam ve Hatip Okulları*) and a Faculty of Divinity in Ankara University, remained insufficient. This joined with the declining economy disabled RPP to obtain majority of the votes¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵³Ahmad, Feroz, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye*, p. 127

¹⁵⁴Lippe, John M. Vander, *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: Ismet Inonu and the Formation of Multi-Party System*, State University of New York Press, New York, 2005 pp.184-185

In 1950, Democrat Party came to power by promises of fortifying peasants, farmers, large landholders as well as of opportunities to the wealthy investors. At this point it is worth to note before going into the details of establishment of DP and its success in general elections of 1950 that such victory was not exclusively the success of a political party. It was the reflection of contrasting ideologies prevalent in Turkish politics since the establishment of the TGNA in 1920. Initially, different ideologies or groups had assembled in TGNA (the constituent assembly) with an utmost objective: liberate Turkish homeland from foreign invasions. Once this was realized, their betrothal was broken. In fact, there were two major groups in the Assembly :the conservatives who aimed to preserve the status quo, by allegiance to the Sultanate and to the Ottoman State and on the other side, the reformists targeting to establish a new nation state by changing the mentality of the people from obedience to theocratic administration to sovereignty of the people.

It would not be wrong to assert that these contrasting ideologies are valid even today. After DP's establishment in 1946, conservative groups propagated to attract particularly the uneducated and unaware people to the new party with the claim of preserving traditionalist attachments while RPP, failing to realize the emerging opposition, simply continued former oppressions. In fact, there was more to it: For example, industrialization, attracting masses entailed uncontrolled urbanization, bringing the once producing peasantry and consumer city dwellers face to face. And Inonu was not forgiven for suppressing the rural communities into inferiority¹⁵⁵. Yet DP propagated against such policies in campaigns with slogans highlighting Islamic as well as traditional values won the hearts of the majority of these conservative communities. Needless to say, this was added to the negative *elitist* image of RPP. Moreover, while it still failed to anticipate and analyze the underlying reasons for the rise of the opposition, DP promised the voters prosperity and vowed for its continuation in the future assuring to turn Turkey into "little

¹⁵⁵Mardin, Şerif, *Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to the Turkish Politics*, Daedalus, Winter 1973, p. 185

America"¹⁵⁶ by boosting Turkish economy, and creating a millionaire on every corner¹⁵⁷ as indicatives of such an increase in wealth.

Nevertheless, DP's victory in the elections was an ultimate shock for all voters; even those expecting this victory did not even imagine such high success. The staunch support and the votes of the ex-RPP members, predominantly the intellectuals and bureaucrats, was an unexpected surprise to all¹⁵⁸. It can also be claimed that it was rather this strong support as well as capability of these groups that overthrew the ruling party. This conclusion which was a disillusion and an ill fortune for RPP can be explained in several different logical categories:

On the top of the list was the inevitable exhaustion and decline of being in power as a single party for more than a quarter of century; next came the social unrest and insecurity the 2nd World War invited. Last of all, war years when RPP was in power brought deprivation to the Turkish people but none of the basic means to comfort them during the entire period.

To further analyze the condition, it is possible to assert that nation building process launched in Samsun in 1919 was ongoing even in years after Atatürk's death: the Turkish Independence War was multi-dimensional and could not be constricted to four years (1919-1922) because Turkish nationalists fought not only to liberate the frontiers, but also to liberate people from the oppressions of the theocratic monarchy with the ultimate objective of equipping people with national identity. Therefore, neither patriotism nor the republican ideology thus introduced were fully rooted but were still under construction. In fact, it was therefore that the Turkish Independence War was followed by the Turkish Revolution, guiding the

¹⁵⁶Ahmad, Feroz and Ahmad, Bedia, Turgay, *Türkiye'de Çok Partili Politikanın Açıklamalı Kronolojisi: 1945-1971*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 1976, p.57. This phrase first used by Nihat Erim, a parliamentarian of in RPP in 1949 during Parliamentary Session, later quoted multiple times by President Celal Bayar and many other DP politicians.

¹⁵⁷This literally was a DP promise available in Ahmad, Feroz, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye*, p. 131

¹⁵⁸Ibid, p. 127

newly emerging Turkish state with national norms, replacing the Arabic cultural imperialism prevalent over the Ottoman Empire for centuries.

Returning to the Turks in shorn, albeit RPP's futile efforts to canalize people into certain directions it planned like controlling the waterway, their leakage to one way or another were inevitable politically and ideologically. Thus the foresight to regard DP, metaphorically, as a political pond rather than an ocean where millions of Turkish voters rushed towards was a delusion for *elitist* RPP. Furthermore, DP was able to realize that the country lacked the adequate financial and human capital as well as the technical know-how. Therefore, it needed to recline upon a bigger power to fulfill and keep all of its promises and commitments.

Fortunate for DP, the American government to get established in the Middle East since Wilsonian days was ready to give Turkey an extra hand. It was with this aim that America was not unhappy to acknowledge the developments in Turkey during DP period while trying hard to establish Americanism in the Middle East. More so, the US in need of new gates and fortresses in the region thus sought ways to embrace the conflicting powers, Turkey and Greece through the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the subsequent NATO membership. This list would be extended with a few other initiatives which will be analyzed in the following parts in this thesis.

Throughout the 1950s DP on the one hand continued her alignment policies towards the West especially to the USA by various political and military engagements as well as US-ordered memberships to the western institutions or defense camps. But on the other hand she sought dramatic as well as radical domestic policies which to DP's dismay ended with the military intervention of May 27, 1960. Among the reasons why DP pursued such radical politics in the 50s was the impulse nourished for 'majoritarian democracy'¹⁵⁹. DP leaders were convinced that they had a strong support from the voters, so nothing could hamper the will of the majority. In other words, no challenge, criticism or impediment against the

¹⁵⁹Ibid, p.132

party politics was tolerated; on the contrary, was crushed by the political authorities who were sure to hold the pulse of the society in their hand.

In this respect DP's radical program included but was not limited to what the leaders of the party assumed as reforms, religious or not. These encompassed major changes, which were actually concessions from RPP's reforms the party considered unsuitable for absolutism they targeted. Returning to Arabic call for prayer (*Ezan*) very soon after the elections was the first¹⁶⁰. And the rest, for example closing People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) in 1951, changing the entire scope of Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) in 1954 with the claim that they were centers of communist propaganda, then, confiscating the entire belongings of RPP in 1953 were only some of these changes. Especially *Halkevleri* as well as *Köy Enstitüleri* were institutions established to enlighten the commoners of rural areas. It should be pointed out that the chief duty of both these institutions was not merely literacy but also mental development of the individuals. In fact, this was what the DP thought jeopardized their administrative intention.

DP was founded by educated leaders who were very well aware of the misfortunes of the Turkish reforms due to social and political conjuncture, the political atmosphere which was not conducive for common people to fully internalize the reforms. On the contrary, perception of the Turkish people was that they represented abandoning from traditionally sacred, namely religious values. Thus politicians of DP wanted to use this misinterpretation for their political advantages. During the years between 1950 and 1960 massive proof of this mentality was apparent particularly at the TBMM especially in the disclosing of DP deputies. A striking example was an assertion Adnan Menderes made at the DP group session before the 1954 elections affirming that deputies of DP 'could bring the caliphate back' if they wanted¹⁶¹. Interestingly, after DP's victory in 1954 general elections Menderes seemed to install his absolutism this time in his address

¹⁶⁰Zafer Newspaper, June 14, 1950 (See Appendix C.16.)

¹⁶¹Şerafettin, Turan, *Türk Devrim Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, İstanbul, 1999, pp.347-348.

by claiming that if he wished he could even present a stick as his nominee and have it elected deputy¹⁶². In fact, Menderes' first sentence reminds his understanding of democracy rather than a use of a religious reference and the latter stands totally autocratic.

In the meanwhile, Nation Party (*Millet Partisi-MP*), the other right wing party, which was in fact established even before DP, was closed in 1954 ironically with the accusations of adopting and pursuing anti-Atatürk reform policies. Moreover, Press Law was intensified and 'the right of furnishing evidence' for journalists' was abrogated¹⁶³, journals were censored or closed for not observing restrictions and remarking intellectuals including university professors, students and writers as well as judges and military officials were suppressed. The party could not tolerate criticisms of RPP or questionings of the people related to its unconditional commitments to the West, especially to America.

This trend escalated in the second half of the 50s. DP received higher percentage of the votes in 1954 general elections and in 1955 municipal elections though the latter was boycotted by RPP. In 1957, escalation stopped; however, due to the new election system in which distribution of seats in the parliament was not in accordance with the percentage of votes. Ironically, as the percentage of votes increased, instead of enjoying the self-confidence gained through the election, DP reverted more to an 'authoritarian' rule¹⁶⁴. This became more apparent especially after the mid-50s when the economy gradually entered stagnation as inflation increased.

America which once had pressured İnönü administration right before San Francisco Conference to allow more liberal system in Turkey, did not cease military and economic assistance to Turkey albeit DP's oppressive polity. More so, she

¹⁶²Ibid

¹⁶³This could never be imaginable in the States; yet the administrative circles in America did not care to warn their colleagues

¹⁶⁴Altunışık, Meliha Benli and Tür, Özlem, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2005, p. 31

provided in 1958 an extra aid reaching 225 million US dollars which President Bayar boasted over during his opening speech of the parliament on November 1, 1958¹⁶⁵. However, Bayar besides disregarding the effects latest Middle East crisis must have had on America's stance did not even mention the moratorium of August 4, 1958 with the drastic devaluation in Turkish lira. This undoubtedly compelled the Turks to additional foreign debts. It was obvious that when the economy was concerned, DP forgot her promises of a more democratic administration with a more individual liberty.

The President and the Government were well aware that DP could not fulfill promises of prosperity and there were multiple causes for this, including satisfying foreign powers before the public opinion that Government took for granted. A dramatic engagement of the government in this line to US we must not overlook was the Korean War.

5.1.2. Turkish Troops to South Korea: Battle for No Avail

The distance between Turkey and South Korean peninsula is approximately 8.000 km and a direct flight with jumbo jet airliners did not take less than 10 hours when this thesis study was carried out. Political relations between the two countries started when Turkey officially recognized¹⁶⁶ South Korea on August 11, 1949, about one year before the Turkish brigade took the road to this country sailing from eastern Mediterranean port of İskenderun in the last week of September, 1950 on American transport ship General W.G.Haan¹⁶⁷.

Members of the brigade were volunteers who had never been truly informed about why Turkey was sending a military force to the far and yet little

¹⁶⁵Akgün, Seçil, Karal, 27 Mayıs: *Bir İhtilal, Bir Devrim, Bir Anayasa*, ODTÜ Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2009, p. 39

¹⁶⁶Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs:<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-guney-kore-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa>

¹⁶⁷Cumhuriyet Newspaper, October 12, 1950.

known country. Up until then, Turkey pursued 'peace at home, peace in the world' policy and refrained herself from sending troops abroad. Therefore, Turkey's decision was a true surprise both home and abroad since DP's victory in the general elections was recent and such a daring step at its early days was unexpected¹⁶⁸.

However, it was a UN Security Council resolution¹⁶⁹ which Turkey rushed to respond right after the US, even before France and England did. Turkey's leaders met on July 25, 1950 and announced Turkey's reply to the UN call with a promise to dispatch a brigade to North Korea comprise of 4,500 volunteer soldiers¹⁷⁰.

Cabinet's decision was heavily criticized since RPP and other political groups asserted that only the Turkish Grand National Assembly (*TBMM-the Parliament*) was authorized to send Turkish soldiers to war¹⁷¹ whereas Bayar, elected as the President soon after DP victory on May 22, 1950, claimed that according to the Constitution the President was the head of army, so he rightfully was authorized to initiate each and every action related to the Turkish Armed Forces, including the right to expedite Turkish troops abroad¹⁷².

It was fortunate during the Korean War for US and her camp to pass a resolution within the UN Security Council since the permanent member, the USSR was absent due to a conflict related to the UN recognition of the new government in Taiwan albeit the Chinese mainland government in Beijing. Though non-

¹⁶⁸Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, pp. 19-20

¹⁶⁹Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasal Bağlıları Kesim A (Çof Tarafli Bağlılar)*, p.84

¹⁷⁰Öke, Mim, Kemal, *Unutulan Savaşın Kronolojisi, Kore 1950-1953*, Boğaziçi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, pp.67-68.

¹⁷¹The main opposition party in TBMM when Menderes government decided to send troops to South Korea was RPP and the top administrators of this party claimed that item 26 of the 1924 constitution empowered TBMM to declare war to a foreign country. However, Menderes asserted that the decision of his government was not to declare a war but to send troops to that country. Mr. Prime Minister added that 1924 constitution had neither mentioned about sending troops abroad nor clarified under which conditions Turkey would declare a war; thus it had been an appropriate decision.

¹⁷²Lippe, John M. Vander, *Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkey's Participation in the Korean War*, Middle Eastern Studies, 36:1, Taylor & Francis, 2006, p. 98

communist Taiwan was a victory for the US and her allies in the Western Camp; North Korea was already lost after the 2nd World War followed by China in 1949 with Mao's communist revolution. Far East seemed to be sliding under the Russian protective umbrella.

Thus, unexpected invasion of South Korea by her northern neighbor tolled the alarm bell for America and her camp. The US Government firmly believed that without Russian authorization¹⁷³ North Korea would not dare to attack her southern neighbor. Therefore, to keep American credibility¹⁷⁴ and halt further Soviet communist expansion, South Korea had to be saved by military force. This idea was perfectly in line with American government's NCS-68¹⁷⁵ (*National Security Council Paper*) and led to 'a big-military build-up, economic mobilization as well as a chain of global commitments'¹⁷⁶. However, unilateral American intervention would trigger another world war and bring two conflicting powers face to face.

Therefore, the Security Council's decision to call for a United Nations Joint Command to send troops to South Korea was the optimal solution with an ultimate aim to repel North Korean forces above/behind the 38th parallel. This would also be a reliability test for UN five years after its establishment. Joint Command was seemingly a UN led army; but dominated by American soldiers and commanded by an American General, Douglas MacArthur, who was Atatürk's guest in Dolmabahçe Palace in September 1932.

As for the reasons compelling Turkey to participate in Korean War, there were various factors ranging from internal to predominantly external objectives

¹⁷³Gaddis, John Lewis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*, p.109

¹⁷⁴Ibid

¹⁷⁵U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950, National Security Affairs: Foreign Economic Policy*, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977. NSC-68 was a US National Security Council decision number taken during Truman administration in order to curb communist spread all around the world and to keep peacetime rearmament.

¹⁷⁶Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p.639

enforcing the governmental decision. These stimulated Turkish politicians in power to think and believe that the US and the other Western powers would desire closer links so that Turkey could enjoy the benefits through more economic and diplomatic as well as military assistance¹⁷⁷. They must also have thought that such links could provide protective shields against communism for the country.

Furthermore, President Bayar and the Menderes government, asserted that the decision would prove Turkish power and this would appall Russia and repeal political and territorial requests from Turkey¹⁷⁸. With this decision, Turkish government wanted to display its military capabilities and give a strong message to the Soviets. Though this tension seemed to be directed to Russia, it aimed to please the US and her allies so that Turkey's rejected NATO membership in May 1950 during İnönü's Presidency would be accepted¹⁷⁹ by this defense organization.

Menderes government seemed to be over-reliant when Turkish military capabilities were concerned at the time. However, Turkey lacked the necessary means to send her brigade to South Korea, thus American navy was ready to assist transportation. Furthermore, Turkish soldiers did not have their own weapons so they had to be trained to use the US supplied arms by the US army right in the war zone¹⁸⁰. Though Menderes was overconfident about reliance, he was right in confiding in Turkish soldiers' ability and skill rather than on American weapons. In fact, in the course of time Turkish brigade proved its courage and developed a reputation as 'excellent soldiers' in South Korea¹⁸¹. High reputation gained in the

¹⁷⁷Lippe, John M. Vander, *Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkey's Participation in the Korean War*, p. 93

¹⁷⁸Ahmad, Feroz and Ahmad, Bedia, Turgay, *Türkiye'de Çok Partili Politikanın Açıklamalı Kronolojisi: 1945-1971*, p.90

¹⁷⁹Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, p.271

¹⁸⁰Lippe, John M. Vander, *Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkey's Participation in the Korean War*, p. 97

¹⁸¹Ibid.

region was used by the Turkish government and President Bayar to support arguments against RPP as well as other political platforms accusing DP's decision¹⁸².

Nevertheless, President Celal Bayar as well as members of the cabinet including Menderes seemed to cling on the idea that America and the west would reward Turkey when she fought side by side with the US army in South Korea. Yet Turkey started to rejoice the benefits of attending the war in the Far East with more than 700 casualties.

The first actual benefit in the line was the extension of American technical and capital assistance program for developing countries named as the Point Four Program¹⁸³. The program was also known as "Cooperative Program for Aid in the Development of Economically Underdeveloped Areas"¹⁸⁴. This program, along with the Truman Doctrine as well as the Marshall Plan aids, was used by the US to develop Turkey's potential under the American guidance by granting few million dollars in 1950 and in the following years¹⁸⁵. Furthermore, Turkey's full membership to NATO was recognized in September 1951 meeting of the North Atlantic Council. In Turkey, this was preached as the glory of the war and interpreted as the West's perception of Turkey's strategic value¹⁸⁶.

The satirical point was that Turkey had the deploring consequence of over 700 casualties for joining the war in the Far East. The unfortunate fact, however, is that currently very few people recall that the Korean War and the martyrs, which in fact was brought to court during the trials held at Yassıada following the military

¹⁸²Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p.22

¹⁸³The reason why this program was named so was that it came as the fourth foreign policy objective of US President Truman in his inaugural address on January 20, 1949.

¹⁸⁴Encyclopedia Britannica (<https://global.britannica.com/event/Point-Four-Program> accessed on May 21,2016)

¹⁸⁵Paterson, Thomas G., *Foreign Aids Under Wraps: The Point Four Program*, Wisconsin Magazine of History 56, 1972, pp.119-126. Also see: Mc Ghee, George, *The U.S-Turkish-NATO Middle East Connection: How the Truman Doctrine Contained the Soviets in the Middle East*, St. Martins's, New York, 1990, p.69

¹⁸⁶Newspaper Zafer, September 22, 1951.

intervention of May 27, 1960, as one of the major events entailing the downfall of DP. It has to be underlined at this point that skipping regular legislation rather than sending troops to fight in Korea was one of the main constitutional violation charges against the DP government at the hearings. The trials also publicized the unilateral agreements that DP signed with foreign countries, namely with the US under CENTO¹⁸⁷ partnership. In this case it was Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, Foreign Minister who was charged with carrying out Turkey's foreign policy without observing legislative procedures¹⁸⁸. This is very indicative of weak social memory, frequently encountered particularly in developing countries resulting in repetition of the same mistakes, inviting people to think *history repeats itself*.

Returning to the Korean War it must be indicated that the event was judged rightly in Turkey only after the downfall of DP. Lack of documented academic studies and publications on Turkey's dilemma in Korean War is also worthy of indication. The scanty number of academic studies in Turkey on sending troops to South Korea and its consequences stimulate commentarial criticism, especially on drifting to such an irrelevant war to that little known country for Turkey at the time.

It ought to be remembered that following the 23 year single party regime, Turks turned their back to RPP and credited Democrat Party with their votes. However, for DP this support was not a warranty for power; therefore, strong foreign companions were required to provide economic assistance for the sake of keeping the voters. Front-benchers of this party remembered very well the days they were RPP members, thus they knew how to stick to Turkish politics more adhesively than RPP. Moreover, DP's political ambitions in the 50s seemed to be in compliance with the objectives of US foreign policy concerning the Middle East and Turkey. This was to acquire a commercial minded society, directing the public opinion to economic means and prosperity regardless of the source. Hence Washington was ready to promote Turkey's full membership to defense

¹⁸⁷Central Treaty Organization, formerly known as Baghdad Pack (1955-1959)

¹⁸⁸Öke, Mim, Kemal, *Unutulan Savaşın Kronolojisi, Kore 1950-1953*, pp.68-78

organizations without limiting it to NATO. In the course of time, administrators of DP attributed more meaning to US-Turkey relations than it deserved while neglecting disregarding the fortification of values such as democracy, human rights and equality in the country. This attitude gradually made the relations between two countries too binding and America's stance too domineering for Turkey. In other words, relations were not between two equal powers, but on the contrary, resembled the patronage of the mightier.

Nevertheless, DP overambitious for holding onto power did not hesitate to give any concessions in order to preserve her place in the political arena. Thus, UN resolution for South Korea seemed to make Turkish government's mouth water. However, the idea of entering a war and sending hundreds of young soldiers abroad were heavily criticized by Turks who had been in many wars with hundreds of thousands casualties in the last 50 years. Rightfully, the country was not under North Korean threat. This resembled the British plot during Çanakkale Battles (Dardanelles during the 1st World War) for the ANZACs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps)¹⁸⁹.

If we pause here to reevaluate today the conditions of Turkey at the time of the Korean War, it can be re-asserted that republican reforms were still not fully rooted or understood; hence overlooked during the years following the end of the 2nd World War. It was an unfortunate decade for the reforms to almost fall into oblivion. This was mostly related with the still prevailing ignorance stemming from education in the public which moved up DP in the Turkish politics. Therefore, it has to be underlined that the massive unawareness resulting from inadequate public education was the primary cause carrying the troops to Korea without questioning the causes and thinking of the consequences of the war. After all, although Korean War was fought for the interest and initiative of America, Turks in general complied

¹⁸⁹ANZACs maneuvered to fight in an unknown, distant land which was of no threat to them and landed on Turkish shores planning that they would fight against Barbarians to seize Gallipoli as booty, which was not the case. On the contrary, the case was imperialism. Realizing this from that time onwards, ANZACs never fought for the Commonwealth.

with it; soldiers went there even as volunteers and lost their lives without comprehending the actual causes due to inefficient education that DP deemed sufficient. It must be borne in mind that the education motive DP preferred did not equip people with skill for questioning or judgement.

Unfortunately not much has been done in Turkey to overcome this so far. In fact, it is the abovementioned weak social memory which is in one respect the result of the current inadequate education that the matter is not questioned, analyzed or written today, let alone the resembling conditions with respect to US guided administration the young are living through. Resemblances continuing in the last decades of the 20th century and passed to even in the first of the 21st. This serves to explain decades and even centuries of education reforms were not successful in bringing enlightenment to Turkey both to eliminate the illiteracy of people and to create minds that question.

It should also be kept in mind that albeit criticisms of the enlightened made with the awareness of deprivations of the Korean War, DP stuck firmly to power to rule Turkey, even restricting political rights and freedom. Ironically, she stepped down from politics not by popular votes but by military intervention though this was not suitable for democracy. One of the intellectuals crying out dismay to the deeds of Democratic Party was Nazım Hikmet. His below given poem titled TALION, concerning the exact issue can be summarized as follows:

The poem portrays a young officer who passed away in Korean War and voices his imaginary outcry for revenge. He talks about how he lost his arms, legs, eyes for unexplained reasons and vows to take the revenge of his own demise from Adnan Menderes. The officer describes Menderes as a very wealthy person with a checkbook and foreign currencies in hand. More so, the Prime Minister is portrayed as an evil womanizer with jellied, shiny hair, unfaithful to his wife with his mistresses. The deploring outcries of the officer reflected in the verses portrays actually described the Prime Minister's own self as the Turks reading it could understand. The verses below depict Menderes as an egoist who is afraid of his

people and therefore, is dependent on the US President Eisenhower's support. Finally, the poem concludes with the oath that no matter what the Prime Minister does, the officer will keep on haunting him until Menderes pays for his malice with his own flesh:

DİYET (by Nazım Hikmet)
June 25, 1959

Kore'de ölen bir yedek subayın söyledikleri
Gözlerinizin ikisi de yerinde, Adnan Bey,
İki gözünüzle bakarsınız,
İki kurnaz,
İki hayın,
ve zeytinyagli iki gözünüzle
Bakarsınız kürsüden Meclis'e kibirli kibirli
ve topraklarına çiftliklerinizin
ve çek defterinize.
Ellerinizin ikisi de yerinde, Adnan Bey,
İki elinizle okşarsınız,
İki tombul,
İki ak,
Vıcık vıcık terli iki elinizle
Okşarsınız pomadlı saçlarınızı,
dövizlerinizi,
ve memelerini metreslerinizin.
İki bacağınızın ikisi de yerinde, Adnan Bey,
İki bacağınız taşır geniş kalçalarınızı,
İki bacağınızla çıkarsınız huzuruna Eisenhower'ın,
ve bütün kaygınız
İki bacağınızın arkadan birleştiği yeri
Halkın tekmesinden korumaktır.
Benim gözlerimin ikisi de yok.
Benim ellerimin ikisi de yok.
Benim bacaklarımın ikisi de yok.
Ben yokum.
Beni, Üniversiteli yedek subayı,
Kore'de harcadınız, Adnan Bey.
Ellerinizi itti beni ölüme,
Vıcık vıcık terli, tombul elleriniz.
Gözleriniz şöyle bir baktı arkamdan
ve ben al kan içinde ölürken
Çılgılığımı duymamanız için
Kaçırdı size bacaklarınız arabanıza bindirip.
Ama ben peşinizdeyim, Adnan Bey,
Ölümler otomobilden hızlı gider,
Kör gözlerim,
kopuk ellerim,
Kesik bacaklarımla peşinizdeyim.

Diyetimi istiyorum, Adnan Bey,
Göze göz,
Ele el,
Bacaga bacak,
Diyetimi istiyorum,
Alacagım da.

5.2. Lift-up the Shields: Turkey's Lengthy and Obscure Homework List

It was briefly discussed in the previous sections that the mistrust between the USA and the USSR became more apparent by the end of the 2nd World War, inviting the formation of a security perimeters as well as economical support systems, especially in European Continent. Interestingly, any measure taken up by one side echoed into the other camp. Marshall Plan of the USA was of the sort, entailing the Molotov Plan as the Soviet response just like the COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) formed to counterpart OEEC, the Warsaw Pact against North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), etc. as the list could go on.

Rivaling camps could be resembled to children playing war games as if inspired by the box-office *Star Wars* film. In their game, each block lifted up their shield dividing the warzones with economic, military and social barriers to keep the other off¹⁹⁰; in other words, one did not have to be a fortune-teller to predict that Europe was being separated into segments. On the one side of this division, US initiatives in Continental European and neighboring territories became more apparent and potent (dominant) after the 2nd World War ¹⁹¹, yet on the other side the USSR was ready to put up against all measures and institutions Washington erected.

Eventually Stalin refused any diversity¹⁹² in the Russian camp and ordered conformity to the policies he implanted among the countries under his regime¹⁹³.

¹⁹⁰“Game” here is used as a metaphor to depict the situation in Europe to better explain that the division of the Continent was inevitable.

¹⁹¹Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p. 622

¹⁹²ibid

One by one, states in Eastern Europe, since these nations were in need but not wealthy, were easily taken up by the Communists and proclaimed as *satellites*, defining in a way their attachment and dependence. As expected, the American camp reacted to the spreading of communism in Europe as well as the rest of the world and took each and every possible measure to prevent it. To formulize and design steps to be taken against the Russian camp, the US President programed a polity which came to be known as 'doctrine' referred to with the name of the fostering President. For the time period this thesis covers, there were two of the sort: Truman Doctrine proclaimed in 1947 and Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957. Both were welcomed and cherished by the Ankara government as they involved Turkey.

5.2.1. Ankara's (Hi) Story of NATO

Turkey's history of NATO membership resembles a love story in which one of the lovers was constantly rejected. Was this the marriage of love (for both sides) or the contract? Whichever true for the counterpart was not for Ankara government. For Ankara, this was neither love nor contract. NATO was one of the ultimate westernization projects for Turkey. It was therefore that multiple rejections had more meanings for most Turks. They were made to believe that NATO meant joining the western, democratic and modern club; ideals they based their country on. They thought that other members, mostly from Europe, would share these feelings with Turkey. However, what Turks overlooked was that Europe had observed a totally different historical past full of geographical discoveries, religious wars, industrial revolution, French revolution, imperialism, and enlightenment, all which Turks almost were alien to. Furthermore, Turks were not even a part of their internal conflicts leading to the 2nd WW.

Following the conclusion of the 2nd World War, Europe witnessed dramatic changes stemming from desires to disseminate different radical ideologies. Very

¹⁹³In order to construct a buffer zone and protect herself from the influence of the Western camp led by America, Russia after the 2nd World War planned to transform the countries in Eastern Europe from western type of democracies to Soviet led socialist or communist states.

important among these were the communist groups supported by the Soviet Union threatening democratically elected administrations. For example; communists taking over in Hungary in late 1947 through rigged elections¹⁹⁴ and the overthrowing of the government of Czechoslovakia in February 1948 with covert backing from the USSR were the firsts of such threats to the American camp. These events intimidated a group of states in Western Europe including England, France and Benelux¹⁹⁵ countries to the point of forming the first military alliance in Europe against the Soviets¹⁹⁶. These five states agreed to sign the Western European Union (WEU) agreement on March 4, 1948. The article five of this agreement was very significant as it referred to UN Charter Item 51 which mentions “right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs”:¹⁹⁷

If any of the High Contracting Parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other High Contracting Parties will, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, afford the Party so attacked all the military and other aid and assistance in their power.

Nevertheless, Washington did not participate in the alliance by ostensibly putting forth the Monroe Doctrine as a *camouflaged shelter* for the unstable political situation in Latin America¹⁹⁸ due to the communist threat. However, it was not quite possible for WEU to fully counterbalance the USSR without America’s backing. The lack of American membership in WEU as well as the events, *Berlin Blockade* being the most significant one, in the coming months even in weeks urged America and her allies in Western Europe to formulize a larger and a robust alliance system referred to as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

¹⁹⁴Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p. 622

¹⁹⁵Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg

¹⁹⁶Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p.445

¹⁹⁷View the establishment and the document text from the official internet site of the union: <http://www.weu.int/Treaty.htm>

¹⁹⁸Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p. 448

The most striking event on the way to the establishment of NATO interestingly occurred in the fallen capital of Nazi Germany, Berlin, when the USSR realized that war-weary Germany was gradually sliding into the hands of the American camp. Berlin was divided into four zones between USA, England and France as well as the USSR just like the rest of Germany after the 2nd World War. These powers rescued Germany and Nazi occupied territories¹⁹⁹ of Europe from the yoke of *Führer (leader) Adolf Hitler*. The allied intervention was especially effective once the US, England and France decided to unite their zones in Germany to establish a single economic unit under *Trizonia*. This decision provoked Moscow under the Stalin's rule to gamble²⁰⁰ in order to expel the western trio from Berlin and if possible from all of Germany.

The post 2nd World War consensus between the Western powers and the USSR allowed the US, England and France an easy passage by air, rail or motorway to West Berlin which was about 100 miles inland in the Soviet occupied territory. However, on January 24, 1948 the Soviet army started to place barricades in areas under the control of the trio in Berlin with the intention of preventing aid by rail or motorway assuming that the three states could not support 2.5 million Berliners living in the west part of the city by air²⁰¹. However, contrary to Russian assumptions on what would happen once the blockade was launched, people of Berlin survived with 4.000 tons of aid by air. Realizing that the USSR retaliation was futile the blockade was increased expanded, fortified after 323 days.

Berlin blockade was the climax of the unannounced war between Washington and Moscow. It was also indicative for convincing Washington that the USSR left no room for cooperation for a peaceful world order²⁰². The blockade and other political events, few of which were exemplified above, gave America an impetus to formulate

¹⁹⁹For administrative purposes four allied states agreed to control one part of the four occupied territories in Germany.

²⁰⁰Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p. 623

²⁰¹Sander, Oral, *Siyasi Tarih: 1918-1994*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 1998, p. 226

²⁰²*Ibid*, p.448

a common defense mechanism including Western Europe and Canada and accelerated negotiations for this aim. Meanwhile, US Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, with the support of the Secretary of State²⁰³, pondered on ways to legitimize US military and political commitments albeit the constitutional²⁰⁴ restriction on President's authority²⁰⁵ and the Monroe doctrine. Vandenberg resolution fostered an Atlantic alliance superseding the Brussels Treaty system²⁰⁶. This was a guaranteed push for the USA to start negotiations with Canada, members of WEU as well as some other countries in southern and northern Europe. Finally, 12 countries including America, France, England, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Italy, Norway, Portugal and Iceland signed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Washington on April 4, 1949²⁰⁷.

The most significant element of this treaty was the item 5 which was the fundamental point of NATO agreement resembling WEU counterpart. However, the main difference between the two was that unlike 1948 WEU, NATO was not an automatic defense system; but on the contrary item 11 of NATO treaty even trivialized the power of item 5 of WEU once it merged into NATO²⁰⁸.

In the meanwhile, Ankara was very eager to become a full partner of the western camp led by America and this included membership to economic, political as well as defense organizations. İnönü administration had sought a closer cooperation

²⁰³Sander, Oral, *Siyasi Tarih: 1918-1994*, p. 238. Also see: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decad040.asp (Yale University Avalon Project-Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy)

²⁰⁴Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p.10

²⁰⁵The US constitution contains articles restricting presidential power and authority in certain cases

²⁰⁶NATO Archives (OfficialTexts): *NATO The First FiveYears: 1949-1954* by Lord Ismay Secretary General of NATO. Also see: <http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/68238.htm> & <http://www.nato.int/archives/1st5years/chapters/1.htm>

²⁰⁷Lord, Ismay, *NATO, İlk Beş Sene, 1949-1954*, pp 17-21. Also see U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy, 1950-1955*, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, , 1957, pp.812-815

²⁰⁸Sander, Oral, *Siyasi Tarih: 1918-1994*, p. 240

surpassing the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. What İnönü had in mind was a strategic alliance with Washington and possibly a D.C support to Turkey's membership to NATO. İnönü declared his views on Turkish-American alliance during a *New York Times* interview and stated that such an alliance would be very suitable; however, he was concerned that US interest in Turkey was temporary²⁰⁹.

In fact, President İnönü was correct in his concern since the US was not ready to start such collaboration. Internal political situation and Monroe Doctrine prevented D.C from to do so. Additionally, İnönü's successor and third President of Turkey Mr. Celal Bayar asserted in later years that İnönü admitted that attempts for NATO membership at his time was unsuccessful²¹⁰ mainly due to US unwillingness to include Ankara in this western organization. Moreover, American administration at that time concentrated mostly on the defense and reconstruction of the war weary European states²¹¹ although Greece, a war participant and co-timer applicant to NATO with Turkey was also denied membership once again.

Ankara's perception was that Turkey was drifting towards solitude so London's support was sought as an alternative to counterbalance the disinterested America. Great Britain was always interested in the Middle East. However, what İnönü ignored was the historic British imperialistic ambitions in this corner of the world that still prevailed although the never *sunset empire* lost her strength to some degree²¹². Although Turkey worked hard to attract the attention of both the US and Great Britain with multiple Mediterranean Defense Cooperation (also known as *Mediterranean Pact*) proposals,²¹³ neither paid much attention to such a narrow

²⁰⁹*The New York Times*, May 24, 1948.

²¹⁰Saray, Mehmet, *Sovyet Tehdidi Karşısında Türkiye'nin NATO'ya Girişi, III.Cumhurbaşkanı Celal Bayar'ın Hatıraları ve Belgeleri*, AKDYYK Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 2000, pp.98-101

²¹¹Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, pp.237-243.

²¹²*Ibid.*

²¹³Since Turkey was not invited to and even rejected full membership of NATO, defense cooperation in Mediterranean was regarded as an alternative for the security of the country from USSR. In order to reach her aim, Turkey signed an enmity agreement with Italy in March 1950 and eagerly invited

regional collaboration against the Soviets at that time. Furthermore, it was almost impossible for the rivaling countries to put in one single basket all of the matters requiring close attention. The basket contained imperialist Great Britain, Egypt revolting against imperialists as well as representing the conflicting Arabs; embattled Arabs with Israel.

However, the requested support did not come from London. On the contrary, a diplomatic note prepared mutually by London and D.C was dispatched in November 1948 to Ankara politely rejecting her request²¹⁴ to participate in the negotiations en-route to a western defense organization. Turkey's attempt for the inclusion even in the NATO' preparatory talks²¹⁵ remained a delusion. Ankara received their memorandum stating that the alliance involved the states of a certain geographical region²¹⁶, namely western and northern Europe. However, neither of the capitals mentioned that a south European state, Italy was about to be admitted to NATO²¹⁷.

In order to sooth Turkey's tension, she was invited on August 9, 1949 to become a member to Council of Europe,²¹⁸ established by 10 European states only couple of months prior to this date. Nevertheless the favorable response was not an indication that Ankara's irritation for being deprived of sitting at the table as the founding member was dissolved. Additionally, this was not an organization set up for defensive purposes. Yet, the Turkish ruling elite regarded the invitation as very comforting and İnönü even asserted that Turkey thus ascended from the solitude of

Arab states in the Mediterranean Basin to form a pact; however, none of the Arab states desired this collaboration. In other words, this plan was stillborn.

²¹⁴The official application to become a full member in NATO was submitted first on November 24, 1948 to the Ambassador of United Kingdom to Ankara and two days later it was handed in to the Ambassador of the United States of America. When Ankara was officially applying to NATO, Greece also unofficially voiced her plan to be part in this organization.

²¹⁵Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p.11

²¹⁶Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, p. 243.

²¹⁷Ibid

²¹⁸Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasal Bağlılıkları Kesim A (Çof Tarafılı Bağlılıkları)*, pp.309-314.

1946 to decent membership of the civilized world²¹⁹. However, he did not mention that the same civilized American camp denied Turkey's participation even for the preparatory talks for the establishment of NATO.

American rejection did not mean a total exclusion of neither Turkey nor Greece. On the contrary, Washington planned to keep them strongly attached to Western Camp, as Truman Doctrine and the following the Marshall Plan lulling them with economic and military assistance proved. This was also verified when the US included both in the Mutual Defense Assistance Act²²⁰ which was originally designed for NATO members. These rivaling neighbors were granted military assistance²²¹ until they would officially become NATO countries.

Military assistance provided by Washington to Turkey was welcomed although Ankara was still not a NATO member. However, Turkish capital kept seeking beyond mere assistance and requested political undertaking from the US. İnönü expressed this in his letter dated March 31, 1949²²² to President Truman before Foreign Affairs Minister Necmettin Sadak's official visit to D.C. in late December. The letter openly suggested a common defense and assistance plan between the General Staffs²²³ of both countries. This was not the only correspondence between the US

²¹⁹Times, August 10, 1949

²²⁰U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Western Europe, Volume III, Document 9, p. 12. Also see: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v03/d9>; 740.5 MAP/1–2750

²²¹U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Korea, Volume VII, Document 196, p.282. Also see: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v07/d196>; 795B.5 MAP/7–350; U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Volume I, National Security Affairs; Foreign Economic Policy, Document 96, pp.321-323; <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v01/d96>

²²²U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1949 Volume VI, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Document 1138, p. 1646. Also see: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v06/d1138>; 711.67/4–2649

²²³U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Volume V, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Document 688, p. 1238. Also see: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v05/d688>; 782.5/3–2050

and Turkey in the late 40s as the archival records of the US Department of State as well as related secondary literature openly display. Over and above, the theme of such communication focused on war plans, common defense and military strategic consultancy service, which indicated that Turkey received support from Washington about strategic war and mobilization plans; in other words Turkey's defense programs were designed mutually²²⁴ even before joining NATO Atlantic Treaty.

During this time span Washington was not supporting only Turkey but at the same time increasing her military presence in entire Europe and in other parts of the 'free world' in order to attain her 'containment policy' objectives as well as force the Soviets to step back wherever possible in line with NSC-68 decisions. Returning to İnönü's official application to NATO three days before the general election of May 14, 1950, this attempt was not welcomed by the members expect for Italy²²⁵. Unfortunately, it was not the first and only rejection for Ankara. There was one more to come. Turkey's second attempt on August 11, 1950 was as well rejected on September 13, at the NATO Meeting of Foreign Ministers albeit the Menderes government's July 25 decision to send troops to South Korea.

What happened in this Far East country was the first actual war between the two camps and this was only one of the battlefields; therefore, it demonstrated to the US that the total defense requires coordination of security in particular regions and territories. In other words, European defense would not be possible without securing the Middle East. Accordingly the US and England agreed to propose Turkey and Greece an 'associated membership' status although their previous applications were rejected²²⁶. Turkey, agreed to accept the offer overlooking that this was not her preference²²⁷.

²²⁴Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, p. 258

²²⁵Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, V.I, Ankara, 1982, p. 228

²²⁶Ibid, p.273

²²⁷Athanassopoulou, Ekavi, *Turkey Anglo-American Security Interests 1945-1952*, Frank Cass, London,1999,p. 180

Rejection was not the only problem Turkey faced to be able to enter the prospective pact. More was to come and interestingly from America: Omar Bradly, the General Staff of the US Army, wrote an article for Reader's Digest on 'Military Policy of the USA in the 1950s' in which he claimed that *Turkey was not a key country and had no significance for American interests*. This was rather shocking for Turkey and was criticized by the columnists of prominent newspapers like Vatan, Cumhuriyet and Milliyet²²⁸. From this time onwards, Turkish statesmen considered that Turkey would be better off when and if a full member in NATO²²⁹. This comprehension included the acceptance of regular visits of the US 6th fleet to Turkish ports of İstanbul and İzmir²³⁰.

This vision tolerating the increase of American maritime forces in the eastern Mediterranean as well as in Turkey disrupted Great Britain's plans over the Middle East. The region once more became the center of attention and power struggle between the US and the United Kingdom. The UK wanted to keep Turkish military forces under her patronage²³¹ by using associated membership status. Additionally, she was not ready to hand in her dominance in the Middle East in spite of the serious political problems she faced in countries such as Sudan, Egypt and Iraq with rich oil reservoirs as well as at strategic location on the way to her colonies. Contrary to this British plan, Washington calculated that US would lose her hand if America did not appear in the region and would not be involved in the security of Middle East²³². This region for long meant much for the D.C. which was after the petroleum as well as strategic locations to 'contain' the expansion of Soviet communism.

²²⁸Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, pp.27-28

²²⁹Athanassopoulou, Ekavi, *Turkey Anglo-American Security Interests 1945-1952*, pp.156-160.

²³⁰U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1950*, Volume V, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Document 697, p.1255. Also see: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v05/d697>

²³¹Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, p. 281

²³²United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, The Near East and Africa, Vol.V,1951*, pp.4-6

At this point, as US Ambassador McGhee reported that Turkey was a perfect match for American plan and she was about to occupy the key position just like McGhee playing the first fiddle²³³ by working hard and convincing Washington to invite Turkey and Greece to NATO although a strong resistance from Great Britain continued. Mr. Ambassador believed that Turkey's entrance to NATO was essential and announced his own views as well as his government's on February 21, 1951 during a press conference. He revealed that Ankara played a significant role in South Korea with 4,500 soldiers fighting shoulder to shoulder with US troops; Turkey joined the 'free' world and helped America to repel the communist and vowed to do the same against the Soviets in the Middle East²³⁴.

Less than three months after this conference, National Security Council statement of policy (NSC109)²³⁵ related to Ankara's full membership to NATO and '*the position of the United States with respect to Turkey*' was delivered on May 11, 1951 to the members of the NSC, Secretary of Treasury as well as the Office of Defense Mobilization (ODM) and was approved by President Truman on May 24. NSC109 statement clearly defined the roadmap for Turkey's NATO membership.

However, intensive opposition continued due to several factors: first was that Scandinavian and Benelux countries feared their share from the US aids would diminish and possible problems such as war or conflicts in eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East would have spillover effect on them²³⁶. As for the second, they asserted that both Turkey and Greece did not belong to Atlantic civilization neither culturally nor traditionally²³⁷. Such objections were superseded by British obsession to control Middle East and design NATO's military presence under her supervision.

²³³Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p.30

²³⁴Ibid, p.33

²³⁵United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, The Near East and Africa, Vol. V, 1951*, pp. 1148-1162

²³⁶Erkin, F.C., *Dışişlerinde 34 Yıl, Washington Büyükelçiliği, V.II*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1986, pp. 189-194

Nevertheless, American conviction was strong enough to dissuade oppositions; therefore, both Turkey and Greece were unanimously²³⁸ invited to become full NATO members during a special session when ministers from the member states met in Ottawa, Canada on September 16-20, 1951. On October 17, their accession protocols were signed in London²³⁹. However, discussions on who should be the supervisor of the Middle East command of NATO and where it should be located continued due to British determination to have a control on both but no sound decision was reached. Finally, Turkey's accession to NATO was ratified in TGNA on February 18, 1952 with full consensus with a single abstention vote²⁴⁰.

Turkey's membership to NATO annoyed the Soviet camp since they looked upon Turkish welcoming of American vessels, military or logistic bases and installations in their immediate vicinity with dismay. As the events in the coming decades proved, rivalry reached a point when the world lived on the brink of a nuclear war in 1962 during the tense time known as Cuban Missile Crisis. It should be remembered at this point that Ankara had no say in this crisis though the country was at the center of the struggles, which rightfully led to multiple domestic and foreign discussions concerning Turkey's (in) dependence.

5.2.2. Concealed Agreements and Flashing Military Facilities

American presence in modern Turkey is among the most controversial issues of public and private debate in Turkey since the 1950s, military premises being the core of the disputes. The reasons of such long lasting discussion can have briefly two folds: first, agreements signed between Turkey and the USA especially in the

²³⁷Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, p. 290

²³⁸Saray, Mehmet, *Sovyet Tehdidi Karşısında Türkiye'nin NATO'ya Girişi, III.Cumhurbaşkanı Celal Bayar'ın Hatıraları ve Belgeleri*, p.131

²³⁹United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, the Near East and Africa, 1951*, p. 184; Also see: Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p. 413

²⁴⁰*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Dönem 9, Cilt13, Toplantı2, p. 313

50s were severely criticized for being nonreciprocal in nature for disregarding Turkey's interests and secondly, legislation was ignored for their conclusion²⁴¹.

Soon after NATO's establishment a binding protocol was added in its terms to provide the interpretation of developing conditions with each of the NATO members. This was identified as "*the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), multilateral agreement between NATO member states and countries participating in the PfP program which deals with the status of foreign forces while present on the territory of another state*"²⁴². The outcomes of "Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA)" of June 19, 1951 signed by NATO members in London were among the issues for each of the participants in cases where foreign military personnel of the supporting country was the subject to be solved. This country in most cases was the USA and military personnel concerned were American soldiers. Signatories were supposed to ratify the NATO SOFA and sign separate agreements with Washington exclusively for US military personnel along with the others if any.

Turkey became a party to sign the NATO agreement four years after it was originated²⁴³ and this was ratified by TGNA²⁴⁴ on June 30, 1954. Interestingly the same day with the conclusion of specific SOFA (Turco-American) signed between Turkey and the US, on June 23, a week prior to the ratification of the NATO SOFA at TGNA; Washington dispatched diplomatic request notes to Ankara concerning the status of American military personnel. Although American requests were debated and discussed before the conclusion of the US-Turkey SOFA; the diplomatic notes were never brought to the TGNA before this agreement was ratified.

Moreover, again on the same day a Turco-American "Military Facilities Agreement" composed according to the 3rd article of NATO's main regulations was

²⁴¹Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 39

²⁴²NATO Official web site: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50086.htm

²⁴³Düstur, Ter. III, V.35, p.1659. Also see: Resmi Gazete, no: 8778, 1954

²⁴⁴Ratification law number is 6427 and it was published one week after TGNA ratification in official gazette on July 7, 1954

concluded between the two countries--more specifically between the two foreign ministers--and this agreement was not presented to the parliament for ratification. It was equally important that the specific diplomatic notes were also held back from the TGNA as the authorities sufficed with personalized discussions.

Fuad Köprülü, Minister of Foreign Affairs in his responding note to D.C of June 23 guaranteed that Turkey would do her best to provide a convenient environment for the American staff²⁴⁵. As mentioned neither diplomatic notes of June 23 which were claimed to provide Americans with more privileges nor the Military Facilities Agreement was brought to TGNA for ratification although American SOFA was ratified by TGNA at a later date while the diplomatic notes preserved their confidentiality. It was apparent that these notes superseded the regular NATO SOFA. Therefore, American military staff was treated in accordance with what Mr. Köprülü promised but not totally in line with TGNA ratification of June 30²⁴⁶.

Be it the diplomatic notes or the agreement, it was unclear when juridical cases concerned which of the two states, Turkey or the US, had the power to sentence the defendant²⁴⁷. It took 14 years for Turkey to comprehend the complexity and to initiate some solutions, especially after several incidents and court cases subjecting some American citizens working in Turkey under this NATO supplemental agreement. However, the settlement did not come until 1968, although with the 50s' habitual ignoring TGNA information, if not ratification: the US Embassy of Ankara and Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Çağlayangil exchanged letters concerning the nature of the incidences, discussing whether the position and the location of the staff concerned at the time of the incident would be the indicator to decide which state had the judicial right²⁴⁸.

²⁴⁵Tunçkanat, Haydar, *İkili Anlaşmaların İçyüzü*, Ekim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1970, pp.174-179

²⁴⁶Ibid, pp.180-182

²⁴⁷Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p. 413

Returning to o disregarding parliamentary procedures, a considerable number of Turkish-American agreements signed especially in the 50s were not ratified by TGNA²⁴⁹. As divulged in the early 70s with a press conference of the Turkish Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel, these agreements reached 91²⁵⁰, and interestingly an important portion belonged to the period between 1952 and 1960. This indeed was a significant indicator of the intensity of relations between the two states²⁵¹ at that time. Although NATO's main agreement was ratified under law number 5886 and the NATO SOFA under 6427 by TGNA, the codes did not fully equip the Turkish government to execute²⁵² each and every policy Turkish administrators wished; on the contrary, both were used as pretext for supplemental executive agreements along with the TGNA ratified, and they were signed either by the Minister of Foreign Affairs or by the Turkish Military authorities due to their technical contents²⁵³ and became effective immediately²⁵⁴.

The 'Military Facilities Agreement (MFA) was among the agreements which were not ratified by TGNA but were possessed by the administrators who claimed that codes 5886 and 6427 equipped the officials with further authorization to sign supplemental ones for immediate application²⁵⁵. It was signed on the same day with diplomatic note exchanges concerning country specified SOFA and interestingly with the 'Tax Exemptions Agreement (TEA)' on June 23, 1954.

²⁴⁸Ibid, pp.435-437

²⁴⁹Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, pp.235-236

²⁵⁰Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri: 1947-1964*, p. 103. Also see: Süleyman Demirel's Press Conference on Bilateral Agreements and NATO, *Dışişleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 65, Şubat 1970, p. 103

²⁵¹Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri: 1947-1964*, p. 104.

²⁵²Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, pp.235-236

²⁵³Ibid

²⁵⁴Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri: 1947-1964*, p. 104.

²⁵⁵It was claimed that this power was based on Turkish Cabinet Decree of August 27, 1953, NR. 9/1363

The mentioned agreements especially the MFA were all marked as classified, therefore were not documented²⁵⁶. However, as Süleyman Demirel explained in the early 70s, similar supporting supplemental agreements such as TEA (Tax Exemptions Agreement), the Military Facilities Agreement was the key and the most significant one signed between the two states in the 50s. It empowered the US to build strategic air bases in Turkey; use Turkish military airports; anchor American war vessels in Turkish ports as well as construct radar and logistic facilities wherever possible with ‘unilateral land allocation’²⁵⁷. Soon after concluding MFA with Turkey, the US also signed a similar agreement with Greece. The Greek MFA and its unclassified items could give hints²⁵⁸ about classified one with Turkey. Moreover, although many agreements of the 50s between Turkey and the USA were classified, some of them were disclosed²⁵⁹ by Senator Haydar Tunçkanat, once a member of National Union Committee (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*) which carried out May 1960 military intervention. His book titled “İkili Anlaşmaların İçyüzü” included the inner face of classified agreements and publicized the texts of some which were never brought to TGNA.

One of the bilateral agreements, although it was not directed strictly to political or military issues, was related with the American agricultural aid to Turkey²⁶⁰. Agreement on Agricultural Goods which foresaw American export of basic agricultural foods items such as wheat, corn, soya oil as well as canned meat to Turkey. Characteristic aspect of the agreement was very significant due to its nature which touched not only the issues at the governmental level but also would

²⁵⁶Aydemir, Şevket, *Süreyya, Menderes’in Dramı*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1969, p. 294.

²⁵⁷Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri: 1947-1964*, p. 109.

²⁵⁸Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 558

²⁵⁹Ibid. Also see: Tunçkanat, Haydar, *İkili Anlaşmaların İçyüzü*.

²⁶⁰Official Gazette (Resmi Gazete) issue on 11.06.1969, Nr. 10228. Also see: TBMM Tutanakları, Devre XI, İçtima: 2, T.C. Başvekalet Kanunlar ve Kararlar Tetkik Dairesi, Sayı: 71-542/740, March 14, 1957, p.272

affect the daily lives of Turks, be it just a commoner or a farmer. Although the agreement was signed on November 12, 1956, upon Washington's request DP government did not hesitate on an addendum to the original text on January 25, 1957²⁶¹. The agreement and its addendum had items which would certainly disturb the Turks on the street as well as the farmers who supported DP with their votes.

Voters of the 50s were more conservative than the firsts of the Republic who were full of enthusiasm of independence. However, DP government in full accord with its supporters did not bother including disturbing items to the agreements. The dismay was for the imported meat product met with suspicion²⁶² either by the Muslims pork was religiously forbidden to. This was an irony for a political party who came to power with religious promises. Or farmers' domestic production, promised increases, was hindered by the tax exemption DP did not refrain from implementing to the exported agricultural food items²⁶³ carried to the markets with fairly low prices. It was satirical that the unaware and uninformed farmers kept supporting Adnan Menderes' (in fact, himself a landlord) government who promised to protect them.

Returning to the political arena, similar to Military Facilities Agreement, TEA was signed with same authorization assessed as 'executive power' on the same day but was never submitted to TGNA for ratification. TEA resembled structuring a state within a state. The concessions of this agreement Turkey offered generously invited Washington's tax reduction on American military facilities to be constructed and import items to be brought to Turkey by the US military personnel²⁶⁴. The situation reached to a point when D.C paid no tax to her ally. Turkey was very flexible and even waived tax from electricity, town gas, oil, postal services from American

²⁶¹Tunçkanat, Haydar, *İkili Anlaşmaların İçyüzü*, p. 48

²⁶²Ibid, p. 51

²⁶³Ibid, pp.52-55

²⁶⁴Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri: 1947-1964*, p. 111; Also see: Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, pp. 558-559; Tunçkanat, Haydar, *İkili Anlaşmaların İçyüzü*, pp. 199-216

facilities and allowed exemptions for alcoholic beverages and as cigarettes of the American military personnel working at facilities²⁶⁵. Such an application was deploring when Turkey was in serious need of the income of the revenues but exempted even the services in American military facilities.

In time US facilities in Turkey exceeded 90. However, the discussion on whether they belonged to NATO or America continued. It was apparent that the mind of DP authorities was in flux and reflux to define who owned and ran them. Therefore, in the aftermath of May 1960 military intervention, DP was accused of turning NATO agreement of the 50s into a bilateral one between Ankara and Washington²⁶⁶. Moreover, the member states of this organization were not in accord on whether the facilities and bases in Turkey were NATO or American²⁶⁷, likewise neither did the Turkish press, academia and even folks²⁶⁸. Among these facilities, the prominent ones widely known by public were Adana İncirlik and İzmir Çiğli air bases, TUSLOG (which stands for The United States Logistics Group) with headquarters in Ankara. Some others were Sinop radar, Merzifon and Diyarbakır air bases, etc. and the list could be enlarged to cover 90 facilities all over Turkey.

When international law is taken into consideration, the military facilities (air bases, strategic missile bases, radar and combat facilities as well as residences for the staff) were under NATO umbrella. However, in practice it was not easy to detect a mechanism in which US army consulted²⁶⁹ Turkish authorities when using the bases in crisis involving Turkey directly or indirectly. Among such crisis in which Turkish consultation was not sought when sending the US Marine Corps coming from Germany to Jordan or to intervene in Lebanon from Adana without notifying

²⁶⁵Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 558

²⁶⁶Aydemir, Ş. Süreyya, *Menderes'in Dramı*, p. 294.

²⁶⁷Ibid.

²⁶⁸Bali, Rifat, N., *American Diplomats in Turkey, Oral History Transcripts (1928-1997)*, Vol. I, Libra Kitapçılık, İstanbul, 2011, p.238

²⁶⁹Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri: 1947-1964*, p. 120

Turkey; using the same facility for the U-2 spy aircraft that took off from İncirlik base on May 1, 1960 was shot by Russia²⁷⁰ in Soviet airspace. Turkey and the world learned this when the USSR made it public three days after the shooting. These were not the only occasions when NATO facilities in Turkey used by the US without bothering to inform Turkish authorities, more were to follow in the decades to come.

The following lines, a good historic account summarizing the mentioned case came from an American diplomat, Mr. William A. Helseth who worked as the Political Officer of the US Embassy in Ankara between the years 1957-1960:

...well, when the U-2 flights became public knowledge in Adana, with the Gary Powers incident in '59 or '60, those effectively had ceased. But many Turks in and out of government were always concerned that the Americans regarded Adana as American base, as American sovereignty. They insisted and we also went along that this was a NATO base. It was not an American base. But let's face it, the US was running the show. These were our plans there. To a great extent, we made the decisions there. But there was this deference shown to the Turkish feeling about sovereignty, which was very strong all along, but became stronger after 1960 because Menderes was gone and the new people themselves felt that this was an issue that had to be made clear that this was Turkish sovereignty there.²⁷¹

Sovereignty Mr. Helseth mentioned became very crucial after the military intervention of May 27, 1960 and in the following decades; DP leaders often were accused of allowing Turkey to slide under American influence. A harsh accusation came from Mehmet Gönlübol²⁷² as he asserted that Turkey gradually turned into a US satellite²⁷³ by following America's policies both within and outside NATO. Similar analysis existed across the Atlantic, in the USA as well. Washington-Ankara

²⁷⁰Bali, Rifat N., *American Diplomats in Turkey, Oral History Transcripts (1928-1997)*, pp. 217-238.

²⁷¹Ibid, p. 238

²⁷²M. Gönlübol was known to be in the leftist wing and appointed to Middle East Technical University as President in 1982, an institution traditionally known as leftist but established in 1956 by Menderes government. He also served as a faculty member in Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences.

²⁷³Gönlübol, Mehmet, *NATO, USA and Turkey*, in (Ed) Karkat, Kemal, *Turkey's Foreign Policy in Transition 1950-1974*, Leiden, E.J. Brill Publishing, 1975, p. 22

companionship caused Turkey to allocate one fourth of her total budget to defense expenditures while enjoying security through political as well as military mechanisms within NATO²⁷⁴ in the 50s.

It must be borne in minds that one of the causes for the backups was having longest borderline with the USSR as a “wing country”. Turkish administrators during DP rule perceived NATO as a framework designing military, economic as well as social relations of Ankara with Washington, rather than a security alliance²⁷⁵. American dominance in NATO and settlement of US military forces in Turkey which later led to multilateral relations between the two caused US and NATO to be regarded identical in the eyes of DP administrators²⁷⁶.

Rapid succession of tragic events following the military intervention in the 60s made the DP’s foreign policy especially with the US widely published once the intelligentsia, journalists and people in the political circles felt unstrained. This led to a further analysis of the Turkish-US relations of the 50s. A significant example of such an analysis and criticism was a December 24, 1965 article in Milliyet by a prominent columnist of the journal Prof. Dr. Ahmet Ş. Esmer²⁷⁷. Prof. Esmer claimed in his column that Turkey left even her domestic affairs in US hands after signing numerous agreements with Washington. Mr. Esmer further commented that Turkish military was under the command of NATO and that the country’s bases were under the hands of Americans, thus Turkey’s security was dependent on Washington. Moreover, Turkish economic development was dependent on US aid, too²⁷⁸. Ankara considered it as her responsibility to support France, America and

²⁷⁴Yılmaz, Sait, *Türkiye’deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD’nin Örtülü Operasyonları*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014, p. 140.

²⁷⁵Ibid

²⁷⁶Ibid. Also see: Vali, Ferenc Albert, *Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey*, The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1971, p.125

²⁷⁷Please see Appendix C.15. to read the original article

²⁷⁸Milliyet Newspaper, “Uyduluk Siyasetine Son”, December 24, 1965

Britain in their involvements within Algeria, Vietnam and Egypt for Suez issue²⁷⁹. His accusation concluded with an assertion that Turkey did not have any initiative in her own foreign policy.

Prof. Esmer's criticism can be further elaborated in a few commentary paragraphs: As to the US foreign policy in the 50s, President Dwight Eisenhower and his Secretary of State John F. Dulles had a deep influence in world affairs with the "New Look" policy. This policy aimed to keep conventional armed forces sturdy, while fortifying economy and providing efficiency. This required the supporting the army by arsenal of nuclear weapons ready to retaliate any violations of US safety. President Eisenhower firmly believed that military expenditures would be a hazardous burden on America, and weaken D.C. economically. The general treat of atomic bombs to the other camp would equip the US with required security to the US for a less price. Moreover, Mr. Eisenhower had been a prominent figure in US army before and during the 2nd World War, in fact he was a key figure in the western front during the invasion of Germany. He was anticommunist, quite aware of the handicaps of totalitarian regimes and would not allow USSR infiltration into anywhere in the world let alone Turkey.

It was therefore that American interests in territories around Turkey, especially in the Balkans and the Middle East, helped make Ankara the center of attraction and the country 'the hotspot' among the opponent camps during the cold war era. However, to prevent big investments for conventional army, the US signed an agreement with Turkey concerning the installation of atomic weapons²⁸⁰ after the New Look policy. This, to safeguard American economy, was before the above mentioned tax concessions of Ankara. The Balkans was ruled for centuries by the Ottoman Empire with semi-autonomous local divisions. Such divisions had considerable cultural and religious and even economic autonomy granted by the Porte therefore were not subject to assimilation. In fact, this was one of the reasons

²⁷⁹Ibid.

²⁸⁰Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, pp. 461-467

why such communities had conducive environment to start revolts for their full independency. American interests in this region had geopolitical as well as economic roots as to 'contain' communist spread and sell American goods, military or consumer, in the region.

The Ottoman Empire as mentioned earlier was not an industrialized state, and complexity of economy and capitalist ideas was neither understood by the Porte nor was paid attention to. In other words, Sultans could not imagine the economic as well political reasons of *pacifc penetration* of America into the Empire, especially the Middle East and the Balkans. Oil made the Middle East more strategic than ever with the wealth it provided and usage in military operations.

It was apparent that American aims in eras after the 2nd World War and especially in the 50s related to Turkey as well as states in its environs were not much different than those of the Ottoman Empire, but with additional aims such as security. Furthermore, it is possible to comment that American presence in Turkey created vast adherence, admiration and irritation conversely at the same time. The US adherents were politicians, their followers and the poor, desperately seeking hope their wellbeing in the future. Those who were irritated and rebuked it, such as the journalists, academicians or politicians in opposition to Menderes government concentrated on economic, cultural and educational independence of Turkey. This was a general characteristic of the decade some of which will be analyzed in the coming chapters.

5.2.3. Fulfillment of Instructions

5.2.3.1. Ankara's Futile Efforts: The Balkan (Alliance) Pact

The idea of forming a pact in the Balkans was not new in the 50s. Soon after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Ankara persistently followed "peace at home, peace in the world" policy of Atatürk. Thus, Athens and Ankara, once enemies, tried hard to become devoted companions. Both countries became more affiliated politically and culturally especially starting from 30s. Similar to recession

of the Greco-Turkish hostility before the beginning of the 2nd World War, other countries in the Balkans such as Yugoslavia and Romania also laid aside long lasted enmity and decided to form an alliance known as the *Balkan Entente* in 1934 against common treats, namely Nazism and Fascism. That was the period when Nazis acceded in Germany and Italy sought ways to seize territories in the Mediterranean basin as well as in the Balkans.

However, in 1954, twenty years after the establishment of the Balkan Entente, conditions were much different. The former 1934 agreement was a product of a multipolar international system in which parties of entente decided to form a union against the treats coming from revisionist countries (of the 1st World War). However, the Balkan Pact (Alliance) of 1954 was the outcome of a bipolar world and the Cold War dominated by the US and the USSR²⁸¹. Similar to such differences in the conditions, Turkey's political situation was also transformed from 1934 to 1954. Ankara was under DP rule and the Prime Minister Menderes desired for a "security chain from Atlantic to Pakistan"²⁸². Menderes' wish resembled the regional alliances President Eisenhower and Dulles (Secretary of State) put much emphasis on to maintain the New Look policy²⁸³.

The political and ideological chain in the Balkans was not intact once Turkey and Greece became NATO countries. Moreover, Yugoslavia was excluded from Cominform²⁸⁴ when she refused to attend the meeting of this organization in Poland in 1948. The leader of Yugoslavia, General Josip Broz Tito as a communist was very much concerned about the security of his country in case of a USSR attack. He neither wished a satellite status under the Russian rule nor sought 'anti-

²⁸¹Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 588

²⁸²Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p. 51

²⁸³Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p. 673

²⁸⁴The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It aimed to coordinate communist party actions in each member states under the Soviet rule.

communist' NATO membership²⁸⁵. That was a moment when Washington approached this country confined to loneliness with economic and later military aids. Yugoslavia and her political situation vis-a-vis the other communist countries made Belgrade a perfect match or the missing link for American containment policy against the Soviet Russia²⁸⁶ in the Balkans.

American policy and Turkish 'chain' proposal were hand in hand to curb Moscow's expansionist objectives. However, neither the American aids nor the future of the relations among Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia had a formalized structure. Therefore, it was the American push since the 1950s²⁸⁷ and Turkish hard work to start a new security alliance which later would be named as the Balkan Pact. Washington was very eager to include Yugoslavia in the European defense system²⁸⁸. Interestingly, Baskın Oran claims that the US also pressured²⁸⁹ in 1954 the Turkish and Greek governments to engage Yugoslavia in a military alliance even after the trio concluded an amity and cooperation agreement in Ankara on February 28, 1953.

This agreement was the first step towards a regional security alliance²⁹⁰ in the mid 50s in the Balkans. However, it was not more than an amity contract in nature²⁹¹. The agreement referred to United Nations charter, the item 51 concerning a possible attack and the reactionary measures. However, there was no totally binding article concerning the status²⁹² of Yugoslavia and her linkage to

²⁸⁵Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p. 471

²⁸⁶Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 588

²⁸⁷Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 124

²⁸⁸Ibid

²⁸⁹Ibid

²⁹⁰Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p. 522

²⁹¹Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 589

NATO Item 5 which was binding both for Turkey and Greece. According to the Ankara agreement, rights and responsibilities of these two countries would not affect the roles and responsibilities in NATO. Furthermore, if an armed attack was made to one party, it did not enforce the participation of the other for common defense, which was not the case in and even contradictory to NATO agreement²⁹³. The only possible item related to defense, except for the few words in the introduction, was the one on the annual meetings of the Chief of the Staffs of the three countries to discuss the common security issues and present advisory reports to their governments²⁹⁴. Ankara agreement helped parties to get to know each other well, to discuss issues in depth and provide a second stage in relations: common defense alliance.

Since the defense pillar was much needed, the parties agreed to work on a new level of relations. However, problem between Italy and Yugoslavia on the disputed Trieste issue²⁹⁵ complicated and prolonged the new stage. Thanks to Turkey's diplomatic maneuvers, both sides were submitted guarantees by Ankara. Therefore, lengthy negotiations eventually resulted in the Bled Agreement which was signed on August 9, 1954 in Yugoslavia. Thus, the Balkan Pact that turned into a Balkan Defense Alliance²⁹⁶ with this new agreement was planned to last 20 years. However, Bled Agreement did not disregard Ankara Agreement of February 28, 1953. On the contrary, it added new items on defense issues. However, neither Turkey nor Greece accepted the automatic defense aid item suggested by Yugoslavia since this proposal was contradictory to their as well as other parties'

²⁹²See the agreement on Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, pp.475-480; Also see: Düstur, Ter. III, V.34, p.1347

²⁹³Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p. 54

²⁹⁴Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 239

²⁹⁵There was a continuing dispute at that time between the countries concerning a fraction of frontierland written in detail in all sources of the 2nd World War.

²⁹⁶Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 590.

interests in NATO. Yet item 6 of Bled Agreement indirectly placed Yugoslavia in the common European defense system²⁹⁷

While all these arrangements were being prepared or finalized, Russian leader Stalin's death of March 5, 1953 shook the world and changed the plans for the future of the Balkan Pact, especially for Yugoslavia. Stalin's successors Nikita Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the Communist Party and Premier Nikolai Bulganin initiated and talked about "peaceful co-existence" policy which would allow communist countries under Russian patronage to live peacefully and co-exist with the capitalists under the American. However, implications to Turkey and Yugoslavia meant exactly the opposite.

Prime Minister Menderes underlined that this was not a change in Russian policy but a tactical manipulation²⁹⁸. He asserted that so-called softening of the world wide political tension was false but Russia wished to address the hearts and feelings, thus, it was unreal²⁹⁹. Therefore, Menderes administration worked hard to persuade Washington not to fall into this trap. These were happening soon after the USSR sent diplomatic notes to Ankara on May 30, 1953 and renounced her territorial requests of eastern provinces of Turkey³⁰⁰. Russian notes also mentioned possessing the Turkish straits and their defense. Turkish government approached this initiative cautiously and dispatched a reply indicating Turkish content of this new situation but with a commentary stating that Montreux agreement formulated the rights and responsibilities over the Turkish straits³⁰¹.

Contrary to Ankara's perceptions of the new Russian policy, General Tito accepted to enhance the frozen relations between his country and the USSR. Moreover, Tito invited Khrushchev and Bulganin to Belgrade in May 1955 to break

²⁹⁷Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 243

²⁹⁸Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p. 56

²⁹⁹Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 245

³⁰⁰Ibid

³⁰¹Ibid

the ice formed 7 years ago³⁰². Russian First Secretary even apologized for what his country did to his companion's; so a possible attack from the USSR to Yugoslavia was out of questions for Tito³⁰³ from that time onwards. Accordingly, Yugoslavia had reasons not to fortify military alliance in the Balkans and Russia's stance gave Tito administration an impetus and a desire to race with Egypt of Nasser and Nehru of India to become the champion of Non-Aligned Movement³⁰⁴ (NAM). Nevertheless, Trieste territorial issue between Italy and Yugoslavia was not totally untangled. Therefore, Belgrade emphasized the cultural and economic co-operation clauses rather than military ones of the agreement³⁰⁵ signed among the trio from this time onwards.

Yugoslavia's policy change was not the only reason for the Balkan Pact (Alliance) turning into a non-functional organization. Deterioration of the political relations between Turkey and Greece due to the Cyprus issue as well as September 6-7 instances³⁰⁶ in İstanbul against the Greek Orthodox community and other minorities were added to bring an end to the pact. Oral Sander claims that the most significant factor preparing the end of the Balkan Pact was that it excluded other countries in the region³⁰⁷. He further comments that the pact in the Balkans was

³⁰²Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, pp.56-57

³⁰³Ibid

³⁰⁴Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) which never became an official organization was started in 1953 unofficially. The member countries refused to align neither with the USSR nor the USA but they all united around the mutual respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference of domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit as well as peaceful co-existence. May 1955 Bandung Conference held in Indonesia was a significant milestone in the history of NAM in which Turkey was represented by Fatin Rüstü Zorlu. However, Turkish point of view expressed by Foreign Minister Zorlu during the conference was heavily criticized by Nehru and other leaders since Turkey was portrayed as a US satellite by these leaders.

³⁰⁵Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 591

³⁰⁶It was told during the Yassıada trials held after the May 27, 1960 military intervention that these events were provoked by the Menderes government and thus members of his government were also punished by the court doing so.

³⁰⁷Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 125

formed hastily for the interest of a big power (i.e. USA) which did not know the region well (*terra incognita*) and they did not feel need to spend much time to conceptualize and prepare³⁰⁸ for it. Though the pact was originally signed for 20 years, it continued existing inactive until April 3, 1975 and it naturally became an archival document due to its *desuetude* status³⁰⁹. It was argued that this failure kept Turkey from pursuing an effective policy in the region³¹⁰ where she had historical socio-cultural ties. Therefore, it can be claimed that Ankara lost the chance to become a dominant soft³¹¹ and a hard power (meaning, military and non-military qualifications) as well as the opportunity to reconstitute a highly respected position among the Balkan countries. This was because Ankara did what she was ordered by an external power although for several centuries Turks ruled the region where multiplicity of ethnicity, religion and languages had been abundant and was still the case, which seemed to be ignored when the Balkan Pact (Alliance) was concerned. Such a failure was not a guarantee, for Turkey would not repeat similar mistakes in other regions, especially in the Middle East where she would eagerly try to formulate another pact ordered by the same ally and even very soon.

5.2.3.2. Revival and Failure of the Old Companionship: The Baghdad Pact (CENTO)

The story behind a new pact in the Middle East known as the Baghdad Pact was much different than the one in the Balkans established in 1935 with Atatürk's guidance. However, both pacts had similar objectives and aspirations, which for the member countries was to preserve own and overall strategic and political security. Apart from this, both pacts had variations but one common concentration zone and

³⁰⁸Ibid

³⁰⁹Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p. 474

³¹⁰Ibid

³¹¹A modern term emphasizing nonuse of coercion but it revolves around cultural, economic as well political values.

a common country: Turkey. This country was once more called to duty soon after granting NATO membership. This duty started in 1953 and continued in later years but without even awaiting the dissolution of the Balkan Pact. Ankara was expected to take the lead in order to set the grounds of a new one in the Middle East on behalf of the United States³¹².

It should be mentioned that there were earlier British attempts to construct a defensive alliance in the Middle East. England's imperialistic past in the territories and attention paid by the new world powers to this region due to its geopolitical significance as well as rich oil reserves clustered the rivaling camps around similar objectives concerning the Middle East: American camp being the first runner to work on institutional initiatives to keep the other camp off the game. Britain's efforts seemed not to disturb D.C especially when Egypt and Suez Canal issue were considered since the region would be in friendly hands³¹³ and the American commercial vessels and petroleum tankers would pass the Canal without any problem.

Among the British plans were, in turn, the Middle East Command (MEC) and Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO) in 1951. The two initiatives assigned Turkey and Egypt significant responsibilities and duties. Since the proclamation of the Republic, Turkey sought to be a participant of western organizations. She was desperate for that aim in the early 50s although this kept her away³¹⁴ from countries in the Middle East. The mentioned opportunities were just what Ankara awaited to become a part of the west; therefore she would not refuse them. Nonetheless, both British attempts failed for mainly three reasons: Arab nationalism

³¹²Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p. 525

³¹³Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 113

³¹⁴Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 129

rising against and due to Britain; the Egyptians leader Nasser' ambition to lead other Arab countries in the NAM; and the deep Arab-Israeli distrust³¹⁵.

Failures in MEC and MEDO helped Washington to take the lead in the Middle East. The US replacing England would not allow the region to slide into Russia's hands. However, she approached the territory with plans unlike the old power, Britain. Otherwise, D.C would provoke the Soviets³¹⁶ and lose the Arabs. The first thing Washington did was to send a delegation³¹⁷ to the region headed by Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State. Mr. Secretary departed for a fact-finding³¹⁸ tour for 20 days in May 1953 and visited almost the entire Middle East including Pakistan, Turkey, Israel and Egypt. Oral Sander claims that with this tour D.C expected to gain advantage over the USSR by convincing the countries Dulles visited to allocate land unilaterally for American airbases³¹⁹.

Interestingly what Dulles reported and was perceived from his report was that countries in the Near East including Egypt and in South Asia were much more concerned about colonial powers than the impacts of communism in their vicinity³²⁰; on the contrary, countries near Russia on the northern part such as Turkey and Pakistan feared and displayed awareness of danger³²¹. Therefore, gradually countries in the southern part of the Middle East such as Egypt and it Suez

³¹⁵Establishment of Israel in 1948 with the help of England created fury within the Arab world against England and the west. When Turkey rushed to recognize this country to gain western approval, this fury also targeted Ankara, too. Arabs including Egyptians could not tolerate to be a member in an alliance with Israeli state. Therefore, Britain's attempts were said to be stillborn indirectly brought some of the Arab countries closer to the USSR.

³¹⁶Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p.673

³¹⁷Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p. 525

³¹⁸Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 251

³¹⁹Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 127. Also see: Turkish-American agreements section and especially the parts related to MFA

³²⁰Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 117

³²¹ibid

Canal, though kept their importance, were replaced by countries in the north such as Turkey and Pakistan became more valuable for American strategy against Russia. America's containment policy was not effective as desired in the southern Middle East countries and as Dulles' terms, this strategy required a "northern tier" concept³²². British airbases for example in Egypt were less striking when their 1.000 miles radius was concerned. However, an American airbase in Turkey would cover a region from central Europe to deeper inland territories in Russia³²³.

In other words, US strategy was not to defend countries in the Middle East; on the contrary, it was to create a new alliance in the northern tier of the region³²⁴ and in the southern borderlines of the USSR. This way, American containment policy would be more effective once Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan lined up against Russia and allocate unilaterally lands for US airbases to strike³²⁵ the communist camp. This was true if one would examine the grouping of rivaling camps of the time. It was also very visible that the American camp was almost successful to draw a defensive line in the south of the USSR and the only gap was between Turkey and Pakistan³²⁶. More so, the establishment of the South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was completed with Manila Pact signed in September 1954 to fortify such a line. Among the members of this pact was Pakistan which signed a separate friendship treaty with Ankara on April 2, 1954³²⁷. However, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq perceived Turkish attempts as a means to receive American aids³²⁸. In fact, large scale US

³²²Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 116. Also see: Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, pp.489-490

³²³Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 127

³²⁴Yılmaz, Sait, *Türkiye'deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD'nin Örtülü Operasyonları*, p. 141

³²⁵Ibid

³²⁶Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 116

³²⁷Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p. 490

³²⁸Yılmaz, Sait, *Türkiye'deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD'nin Örtülü Operasyonları*, p. 141

economic and military aid programs³²⁹ following the establishment of SEATO and later Baghdad Pact to these countries indicated why they were so eager to participate.

Karachi agreement of April 2 between Turkey and Pakistan became the significant milestone on way to Baghdad Pact. At about the same time, to make the plan more concrete, the US and Britain signed similar as well as economic and military aid agreements³³⁰ with Pakistan. However, such agreements, though very useful, would not close the geographical gap between two countries. Therefore, Turkey had to convince an Arab country be it Jordan, Syria or Iraq³³¹ to join the approaching alliance. The duty was on the shoulders³³² of Ankara because England's situation with Iraq and other Arab states were very sensitive and US would not approach the Arabs directly, due to the above-mentioned reasons³³³. Moreover, Dulles and his government would not want to impose an alliance and the desire should come from within³³⁴ the countries of the Middle East.

Although Turkey did not expect a strong desire of participation³³⁵ to the pact from Arab countries, the US would not abandon her plan and probably pressured³³⁶ Menderes during his June 1954 visit to D.C. The US suggestion to Turkish prime

³²⁹Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, p.680

³³⁰Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 254

³³¹Since Egypt was rejecting this alliance plan and convinced Saudi Arabia not to join, Turkey had only a few choices at hand to offer a partnership in the pact.

³³²Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 117

³³³Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 128

³³⁴Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 117

³³⁵Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 254. Also see: Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 131

³³⁶Yılmaz, Sait, *Türkiye'deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD'nin Örtülü Operasyonları*, pp.140-141

minister was apparent in the joint declaration. Interestingly, soon after his visit, Menderes openly invited³³⁷ all Arab states to join Turkey's efforts for a defense organization in the Middle East. The first and the only Arab country to respond favorably to this proposal was Iraq.

The reason for this response was that Iraq under General Nuri Said's Prime Minister had become much aware of the communist threat³³⁸. Additionally, an alliance with Turkey meant economic and military aid as well as affiliation with the west. Such an opportunity could bring Iraq the leadership of the entire Arab world³³⁹. Therefore, Nuri Said convinced the King of Iraq for cooperation with Turkey. With this impetus both countries signed the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation³⁴⁰ on February 24, 1955 in Baghdad. This agreement became the base of Baghdad Pact. Not long after it was signed, Britain in April, Pakistan in September and Iran in November became the parties of the agreement. Signatories completed the official establishment of Baghdad Pact before the end of 1955 and selected Iraqi capital as the headquarters. However, the US never become a full member, but sufficed with an observer status due to the mentioned reasons. In time, Menderes worked hard to include Jordan and Lebanon as well as Syria; however, his efforts were futile.

Establishment of Baghdad Pact did not become fully successful in bringing the outcomes Washington planned. First of all, Britain's membership provoked all Arabs including nationalist citizens of Iraq and Egypt. Within the leadership of Egypt, a new Arab security alliance was formed with Syria and Saudi Arabia in later years against the Baghdad Pact. Moreover this pact provoked Russia to infiltrate the Middle East and produce counter work and alliances against the west. Although Russia's movements were not the only causes of the following issues; Soviet

³³⁷Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 131

³³⁸Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p. 490

³³⁹Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 255

³⁴⁰Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p.501

involvements were very apparent in these crisis and would be among the major and concealed motives in each of the incidences of: Suez Canal of 1956, Syria of 1957, Iraqi revolution and Lebanon issue of 1958.

Turkey was far from allocating some of her army to this pact since she already had other engagements within NATO³⁴¹. Therefore, it was not very feasible and realistic for Ankara to be the big brother³⁴² to the Arab countries as Menderes and Köprülü suggested in early years of the DP government. On the contrary, Turkey's relations with Arabs, especially with Egypt and Syria declined. This was also partly the case when Iraq was concerned. Nationalist movements were believed to be provoked by Egypt³⁴³ but it can be commented that behind Egypt was the USSR for the Iraqi revolution. Events in this country were bloody and many were killed such as the King and his adherents including the General Nuri Said. Eventually new government in Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact on March 24, 1959³⁴⁴.

Iraqi withdrawal brought the actual end of the pact. However, instead of totally abolishing the alliance, existing parties decided to preserve it but for entirely different aims and mission³⁴⁵. The pact from then on was named as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and Ankara was declared as its headquarters. Such a transformation had an influence on US foreign policy in the late 50s and along with tragic events in the Middle East listed before helped shaping the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957. The US, then on became closer and more cooperative with the countries in the region³⁴⁶. CENTO functioned as a platform among its parties with

³⁴¹Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 270

³⁴²Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p. 42

³⁴³Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, p. 131

³⁴⁴Ibid

³⁴⁵Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p.528

³⁴⁶Ibid

economic, cultural and technical collaborations³⁴⁷ until Iran and Pakistan withdrew in March 1979³⁴⁸.

5.3. Reciprocal Courtesy Visits

5.3.1. Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes to the US

Celal Bayar's US trip which was as the first presidential visit³⁴⁹ from Turkish Republic had a symbolic value as it was documented by the Department of State. The one month visit was upon President Eisenhower's invitation³⁵⁰. Moreover, Eisenhower allocated the presidential aircraft to his visitor's comfort³⁵¹ during Bayar's lengthy US tour.

President and his delegation took the road on the deck of Mauretania cruise ship from England on a cold January day of 1954 and soon after he flew to the UK from Turkey and reached New York harbor on January 26. The program included official meetings in D.C, a speech in the Senate³⁵², visits to prominent universities such as Stanford³⁵³ and Columbia, to production facilities like tractor³⁵⁴, steel, aircraft and tobacco as well as film studios in Hollywood, and many other places of interest³⁵⁵. Bayar had a chance to visit almost the half of the 50 states.

³⁴⁷Ibid

³⁴⁸Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p.493

³⁴⁹<https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/visits/turkey>

³⁵⁰*The Stanford Daily*, Feb 9, 1954

³⁵¹Ibid, p. 70. Also see: Özdil, Yılmaz, *The Legion of Merit*, Sözcü, August 8, 2015

³⁵²See Appendix F.5. to view a related photo

³⁵³See the Appendix C.11. to view the newspaper the Stanford Daily concerning Bayar's visit to this university

³⁵⁴See Appendix F.6. to view a related photo

Documentary and visual archival films showed that Bayar in cities he visited paraded in American boulevards through Americans in a luxurious open roof car³⁵⁶ as if he was the king of Turkey. The timing of the visit corresponded to a time when Washington in order to win the hearts of the developing countries against the communistic principles of USSR propagated the prosperous, liberal American way of life to carve her imperialistic marks throughout the world, and the Turks, deprived of many imperative products let alone the luxurious, idealized this life without questioning. Therefore, all such displays facilitated the US state officials to enhance President Bayar's US admiration as he viewed America through the glasses of glamour. However, what followed was an insufficient outcome for this trip for Turkey, especially on financial matters, incomparable with the flattering welcome the Turkish President received.

In contrast to the scanty financial gains of this visit, the social, especially the interest of the various American religious and ethnical communities towards Bayar was eye catching. Among such communities lobbying in Washington were the Jewish and Greek Orthodox Americans, naturalized as US citizens upon their migration in the 19th century. Therefore, these groups had socio-cultural ties tracing back to the Ottoman times and their descendants who were currently Turkish citizens significantly supported DP, especially Bayar, who promised expanding democratic rights³⁵⁷ and abolishing the extraordinary revenues³⁵⁸ Republican Party expected to levy more from non-Muslims.

³⁵⁵Özdemir, Emin and Karakuzu, Hasan, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Celal Bayar'ın 1954 Yılı ABD Ziyaretindeki Konuşmaları Ve Kamuoyundaki Yansımaları*, Cappadocia Journal of History and Social Sciences, 2015, Vol. 4, p. 65

³⁵⁶See Appendix F.5. to view a related photo

³⁵⁷Bali, Rifat N., *Azınlıkların Demokrat Parti Sevdası: Celal Bayar'ın Amerika Ziyareti*, Toplumsal Tarih, February 2004, pp.14-21

³⁵⁸Varlık Vergisi was the extraordinary tax mentioned in chapter II section 1.2 levied by the RPP in 1942 from the very wealthy whom were mostly non Muslims.

The groups who had invited Bayar to deliver talks were not the only ones displaying interest. The President was also asked to speak at a meeting of the American Armenian community³⁵⁹. He was welcomed by all these three groups and his speeches were as promising as DP propaganda of May 1950 elections. They trusted and believed in DP and the president's prospects concerning future of the religious communities in Turkey³⁶⁰. Turkish scholar and publisher Bali claims that these groups supported and kept their faith³⁶¹ in DP even after September 6-7 events of 1955 when the government remained indifferent³⁶² as the Orthodox community and their belongings were attacked and mobbed. However, the outraged non-Muslim communities of the mentioned event kept their belief even in the following decades when Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*) claimed the political heritage of DP after May 27, 1960 military intervention³⁶³.

Bayar returned to Turkey full of admirations of the breathtaking visit. He paraded in İstanbul and Ankara boulevards, but this time in front of the applauding Turkish citizens, as if he brought America's wealth to Turkey. However, the trip had not guaranteed Ankara more than a fraction of the desperately sought financial support³⁶⁴ albeit the warm reception displayed to Bayar in the US.

Moreover, the positive outlook on economy which started with missioning Turkish troops to South Korea and followed by admittance to NATO gradually demolished. Additionally, the Turkey turning into little America image thanks to American technical, economic and military aids to Ankara created in the first half of

³⁵⁹Özdemir, Emin and Karakuzu, Hasan, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Celal Bayar'ın 1954 Yılı ABD Ziyaretindeki Konuşmaları ve Kamuoyundaki Yansımaları*, pp. 65-66

³⁶⁰Bali, Rifat N., *Azınlıkların Demokrat Parti Sevdası: Celal Bayar'ın Amerika Ziyareti*, pp.14-21

³⁶¹Ibid

³⁶² See Appendix C.17 to see the news on Zafer Newspaper

³⁶³Bali, Rifat N., *Azınlıkların Demokrat Parti Sevdası: Celal Bayar'ın Amerika Ziyareti*, pp.14-21

³⁶⁴Hür, Ayşe, *Çok Partili Dönem'in Ötek Tarihi –I: İnönü ve Bayarlı Yıllar (1938-1960)*, Profil Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2015, p. 128

the decade was proven to be an illusion during the second half. Turkey was not yet industrialized. Volatile booming in economy thanks to Washington led to creation of tendency of consumption in which Turks started to look for new goods³⁶⁵ not purchased or used before. A good example of such a mood was the decision to open a supermarket chain, GIMA³⁶⁶, similar to American supermarkets with the claim that it would bring goods for sale. This in a year was followed by MIGROS³⁶⁷ demonstrating that Ankara was replicating the consumption traits more than production of becoming a *little America*. Furthermore, instead of increasing production, Menderes government focused more on meeting the consumption needs of the people. This led Turkey to seek for more financial assistance.

It was for this purpose that Adnan Menderes rushed to visit D.C only six months after Bayar returned from America³⁶⁸. The US department of State openly declared the purpose of June 1954 Menderes visit as discussions on “economic and financial matters”³⁶⁹. Prime Minister’s requests from Washington were partly fulfilled with the condition that Turkey should continue her endeavors³⁷⁰ en-route to Baghdad Pact. However, what actually promised and granted to Ankara was far from meeting Turkey’s financial needs³⁷¹ and end the budget deficit. More so, American economic supports to Turkey in these years were regulated according to

³⁶⁵Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 100

³⁶⁶This was the first state-owned supermarket chain in the country according to the Privatization Administration of Turkey: <http://www.oib.gov.tr/program/uygulamalar/gima1.htm>

³⁶⁷MIGROS institutional history: <http://www.migroskurumsal.com>

³⁶⁸See Appendix F.9. to view a related photo

³⁶⁹US Department of State Official internet site: <https://history.state.gov/departments/history/visits/turkey>

³⁷⁰Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 99

³⁷¹Ibid

'Food for Peace Program'. This was a US Public Law (PL 480) which was also known as Agricultural Trade Development Act³⁷².

During the congressional debates pertaining to this law Dulles pointed out that this program was intended for the protection and preservation of the value of US dollar in foreign markets³⁷³. The act also aimed at selling surplus goods of US domestic markets to other countries³⁷⁴ including Turkey. America protected her currency with the dollars paid in return for the purchases of the materials sold to her allies through common security accords. Security mentioned here also included the establishment of US bases and support given to the military and civilian staff, expenses of the American civilian personnel abroad. In order to facilitate these objectives, Washington persuaded her allies, especially Turkey and Greece, to create the legal basis for the application of this system, the details of which were explained in section 3.2.2

When doing so, the US loaned dollars to these countries with relatively lower interest rates. However, redeeming them was very difficult for the economically insufficient countries as it was in the case of Turkey. The country was in a vicious circle: economy was managed through loans, credits were spent mostly on consumption goods; furthermore, industrial production³⁷⁵ was overlooked. Economic growth until 1954 was financed mostly by loans as well as supported by excessive agricultural production³⁷⁶. War-weary European states needed such production coming from Turkey, especially after the 2nd WW when they lacked American dollars. Moreover, import of many agricultural machinery and equipment as well as satisfactory harvest made Ankara the exporter of wheat, cotton, dried

³⁷²The US Food Aid and Security: <http://foodaid.org/resources/the-history-of-food-aid/>

³⁷³Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 101

³⁷⁴Ibid

³⁷⁵Ibid, p.141

³⁷⁶Howard, Douglas A., *The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations: The History of Turkey*, 2nd edition, Greenwood (California), ABC-CLIO, LLC Company, 2016, pp.122-123

fruit and tobacco, which helped her survive against the US and Canada³⁷⁷. However, there was no guarantee that good harvest of those years would continue; therefore, problems started to pop up. Financial burden started to grow like a snowball rolling down a cliff and was coupled with the foreign trade and balance of payments deficits due to loosened import restrictions on machinery and consumer goods³⁷⁸ since Ankara was paying through US currency. It was soon that the long forgotten ration cards of RRP would be revived for sugar and coffee.

Yet, Menderes government managed to pass several more years without a significant public opposition thanks to lenders. However, an outsider could easily notice that problems in Turkish economy were swept under the carpet and it was impossible to regain its control. Lenders suggested devaluating Turkish lira, abolishing the precautionary measures against import and export as well as exercising price limits and subsidies³⁷⁹. Turkish government had to increase the prices of sugar, tea, cigarettes and alcoholic beverages³⁸⁰ towards the end of 1958. The vicious circle for Turkey in 1958 was on stage once more and Menderes had to ask for further loans during his second US visit of October 1959 through this one was disguised as CENTO Ministerial Meeting³⁸¹. Menderes was requested to make economic plans and turn the wheels of the economy according to America's prospects. Turkey rescheduled the payment of her debts and requested further loans from Washington³⁸². However, the granted credits were never enough for a financially struggling country.

³⁷⁷Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*, Tarihçi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1962 (2nd edition 2010), pp. 493-494

³⁷⁸Ibid

³⁷⁹Howard, Douglas A., *The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations: The History of Turkey*, p.128

³⁸⁰These goods were monopoly then in Turkey

³⁸¹The US Department of State, Visits from the Foreign Countries: <https://history.state.gov/departments/history/visits/turkey>

³⁸²Howard, Douglas A., *The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations: The History of Turkey*, p.128

In brief, the US visit did not have satisfactory results for Menderes except for Eisenhower's promise plan to drop by Ankara during his eleven-nation goodwill tour before the end of the year. Additionally, Menderes had to sign the agreement on the deployment of nuclear Jupiter missiles³⁸³ to Turkey. These missiles become a part of the US-USSR negotiation deal during Cuban missile crisis of October 1962; but similar to using Incirlik base for Jordan and Lebanon issues of 1958 without an official acknowledgement to Ankara, the US did not inform Turkey appropriately about the withdrawal plan³⁸⁴ of the nuclear weapons until it was put in action albeit the existing agreement.

Returning to Menderes' economic struggle, his disillusioned visit to US in October 1959 and the long request list of the US creditors made the Prime Minister weary and ready to ask for new aids but this time shockingly from the USSR. He even publicly announced his Moscow visit planned for July 1960. But May 27, 1960 military intervention prevented the Prime Minister from realizing this trip.

If we pause here for a general overview of economic influences and financial polices during DP period on the peoples, we should first point to similarities to economic attempts of the RPP. However, people still remembered the "bad old days (in economic sense)" of the 40s but erased from minds what they had gone through of the 1950s and in the following decades. In other words, ration card and high inflation terms are often referred to in connotation with RPP policies. However, problems including but not limited to these two were in fact common in both parties.

A significant example of this commonality was the National Protection Act (*Milli Korunma Kanunu*) of 1940 during RPP rule. Although war years passed and DP came to power with promises of liberal economy, Menderes government did not

³⁸³Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p. 466

³⁸⁴Uslu, Nasuh, *The Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, pp. 141-146

hesitate to re-enact an identical law in the mid-50s and kept it until 1960³⁸⁵. In fact DP forgot its economic promises and resorted to limitations similar to those of single party regime³⁸⁶ because of Turkey's alarmingly deploring economic situation. The country suffered from the shortage of even the most basic goods such as tea, coffee and sugar between 1955 and 1960, similar to that of the 1939-1945 when RPP had to bear the consequences of the 2nd World War. However, to eliminate criticisms and to win the hearts of voters, DP allowed launching of the rarely available imported goods from the customs to the market; ignoring the black-marketing that emerged in the second half of the 50s as a natural consequence of such an illiberal policy³⁸⁷.

5.3.2. President Eisenhower (Ike) to Turkey

Similar to Adnan Menderes' two visits to the US, Eisenhower officially visited Turkey twice. The first was soon after Ankara was granted NATO membership in March 1952³⁸⁸. Then, Eisenhower was the first Supreme Commander of NATO appointed to this position for the fame he acquired after successfully leading the American landing to France (Normandy) and subsequent invasion of Germany during the 2nd World War.

His second visit was a part of a long trip from Rome to New Delhi and it was the first American presidential one to Ankara on December 6, 1959. The US sent a delegation to Ankara in November to discuss the procedural details of the visit. Among the members was interestingly major John Eisenhower, younger son of the

³⁸⁵Albayrak, Mustafa, *Demokrat Parti Döneminde Milli Korunma Kanunu Uygulamaları (1955-1960)*, Presented as Paper at 9th National Social Sciences Congress, December 7-9, 2005, Ankara. Also see: <http://www.atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-67-68-69/demokrat-parti-doneminde-milli-korunma-kanunu-uygulamalari-1955-1960>

³⁸⁶Ibid

³⁸⁷Ibid

³⁸⁸Dilek, Mehmet Sait, *ABD Başkanı Dwight David Eisenhower'ın (Ike) Aralık 1959'da Türkiye Ziyareti*, Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Atatürk Yolu Dergisi, S 46, Güz 2010, pp.295-332

US President. It was claimed that *Major John* was offered a senior position at Middle East Technical University (METU-ODTU) during early establishment years of the university, but he declined the proposal³⁸⁹.

Although President Eisenhower's Ankara visit, not resembling Bayar's, was a very short one, Turkish leaders struggled to leave an unforgettable impression on him. To reach this aim, municipal buses transported thousands of people³⁹⁰ including students and state employees to the main boulevards the US president would pass on his way to Çankaya Palace (the Turkish Presidential Palace and the Office). Street corners were decorated with triumphal arches³⁹¹ reading "We like Ike" or "Peace without Security is No Peace"³⁹².

Military music bands played prominent marches; folkloric groups from different parts of Turkey performed local dances. Additionally, Ankara University Faculty of Humanities displayed on the facade of the building Eisenhower's a 60 square meters color portrait³⁹³. In brief, Ankara required what she was expected for in return to the Bayar's dreamlike America visit.

It should be pointed out that Eisenhower's tour included 11 countries and Ankara was one of the capitals to be visited to discuss the matters of foreign policy. The official meeting between the two sides took only two hours. However, The President's one day visit targeted specifically neither the particularities between the countries nor the ways of enhancing cooperation between capitals³⁹⁴. It aimed for

³⁸⁹Çalışkan, Nurettin, *Tarihçe: 1956-1980 ODTÜ*, Arayış Yayınları, Ankara, 2002, p. 7

³⁹⁰Dilek, Mehmet Sait, *ABD Başkanı Dwight David Eisenhower'ın (Ike) Aralık 1959'da Türkiye Ziyareti*, pp.295-332

³⁹¹See Appendix F.11. to view a related photo

³⁹²See Appendix F.11. to view a related photo

³⁹³See Appendix F.11. to view a related photo

³⁹⁴U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1958-1960, Eastern Europe; Finland; Greece; Turkey*, Volume X, Part 2 , Document 351. Also see: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v10p2/d351>

broader objectives such as *the good will of the free world* which were much of US interest.

Nevertheless, even if the minutes of the meeting documented the relations between the two countries, it was obvious that the Turkish side approached the meeting as an opportunity to further fortify their relations with the USA. Turkish officials focused on how D.C could back their efforts in acquiring economic stability³⁹⁵. They also put forth security matters concerning the Middle East to support their request for financial backing. As stated, the visit aimed for broader US objectives.

Therefore, what was granted to Ankara was some military aid and very minimal economic support. Apparently, Turkey had become much accustomed to *ready money* and turned into consumption economy³⁹⁶ since the Truman Doctrine³⁹⁷. Nevertheless, Ankara did have big economic expectations from D.C.³⁹⁸. However, the results were behind the expectations. Therefore, it is possible to comment that the USA included Turkey in Eisenhower's tour to check whether everything was in order and that Ankara was still on the same path which D.C had drawn for her concerning matters such as Middle East security policies and CENTO as well as adherence to anti-communist ideology and curtailing relations with the USSR. In other words, Turkish economy had to struggle some more years but the government needed to find ways to conceal it from the public.

The flamboyant welcome to the US President with plenty of praises at ceremonies held in Ankara actually was not to avail but to impress masses about the might the USA. The Turkish government determined to stay in power, keenly avoided the people from realizing the great economic failure. This of course was not

³⁹⁵Ibid

³⁹⁶Cumhuriyet, December 23, 1959, *Amerika'dan 300.00 Ton Buğday Alıyoruz*

³⁹⁷Dilek, Mehmet Sait, *ABD Başkanı Dwight David Eisenhower'ın (Ike) Aralık 1959'da Türkiye Ziyareti*, pp.295-332

³⁹⁸Ibid

applicable to all of the people in the country. The enlightened were well aware of both the economic conditions as well as of the unbalanced US foreign policy towards Greece and Turkey. Although both were NATO countries, the former was believed to be treated by ultimate care and attention by the US for the sake of Christianity whereas Ankara only received appreciation tokens worth none. This situation was more visible within the couple of years' time after the May 27 military intervention and especially once the US sided with Greece on historic Cyprus Issue³⁹⁹.

5.4. A New Marriage Ring to Ankara: The Eisenhower Doctrine

The Truman Doctrine of 1947 included aids to Greece and Turkey designed to contain the communist Soviets. However, especially in the second half of the 50s Washington gradually realized that the doctrine was rather limited and that the USSR could not be stopped only by military precautions. Crises in the Middle East after 1955 accelerated this realization. The most significant among them was the Tripartite Aggression⁴⁰⁰ on the Suez Canal: The Canal was a very strategic passage for petroleum tankers carrying oil to European and American markets. Soon after a policy change over the Canal; Israel in October, England and France in November 1956 attacked Egypt without adequately acknowledging their ally, the D.C.

Washington's reaction was to side with the USSR in the United Nations Security Council requesting the invaders to cease fire and withdraw their troops from the spot. This was a very hard decision for the US to make while condemning the USSR for invading Hungary. But with the awareness siding with the powers attacking the Suez would bring the loss of the Arab states and leave the floor to the Soviets in the Middle East, D.C opted for the latter and humiliated her allies. This was the decision even though America very well knew that the Soviet economic

³⁹⁹See American President Johnson's letter of June 5, 1964 to Turkish Prime Minister İnönü banning Turkey to use military equipment granted by US to Ankara in Cyprus Island.

⁴⁰⁰This term is often used by the Arab countries to refer the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956

interests over the Canal were very limited⁴⁰¹. The USSR had oil; therefore, her aim would be political.

The Soviet diplomatic maneuvers on this crisis increased her prestige and influence among the countries in the Middle East⁴⁰². Washington perceived this undesirable power shift as the product of recent British and French stance⁴⁰³. Indeed the USSR was regarded by many Arab countries including Egypt and Syria as their savior from imperialist England and France. These two states would not then onwards counterbalance Moscow in the region. To eliminate Russian influence in the region, Eisenhower and Dulles worked on new plans to supersede the Truman Doctrine. The scheme later to be known as the Eisenhower Doctrine was declared by President Eisenhower on January 5, 1957 in the US Congress⁴⁰⁴. It targeted restraining international communism in the Middle East by protecting the territorial integrity and the independence of the country concerned⁴⁰⁵ without having to join western organizations⁴⁰⁶ such as NATO or alliances such as Bagdad Pact. The means for this was called for meticulous planning for future relations

The plan included economic assistance as well as military aid to any country in the Middle East requesting it in the case of a foreign threat⁴⁰⁷. The Doctrine was approved by the US Senate with majority and enacted as a law on March 9, 1957 authorizing the President to use 200 million dollars annually for the three

⁴⁰¹Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p. 502

⁴⁰²Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 564. Also see: Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, pp.150-151; Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p. 84

⁴⁰³Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, p. 503

⁴⁰⁴See Appendix A.8. (Eisenhower's speech given to the US Congress on January 5, 1957)

⁴⁰⁵Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p.152

⁴⁰⁶Ibid

⁴⁰⁷By this state, the US clearly referred to the USSR

consecutive years⁴⁰⁸. The US interferences in the Lebanon and Jordan issues of 1958 were among the major examples where the Doctrine was implemented⁴⁰⁹.

Soon after it became an act, Turkey declared her satisfaction with the Doctrine and conviction that it would bring political stability to the region. Ankara even announced that she was ready to apply it immediately⁴¹⁰. Turkey looked upon this as a solution to the disturbing circumstances of the region rather than a move against the USSR⁴¹¹.

Moreover, Menderes government perceived that it was a continuation of the Truman Doctrine of 1947 with a major difference that the latter was to extend American economic and military aids to other countries in the Middle East⁴¹². DP anticipated that this new doctrine would restore Prime Minister's declining popularity⁴¹³ as well as pump hot money to Turkish economy and would help financial recovery thanks to economic and military aids coming from the US⁴¹⁴. All these positive developments were expected to bring DP new votes in the coming elections. Yet, that was not the case. DP lost approximately 10 % of her total votes and 79 seats in TGNA in 1957 general elections when compared to 1954⁴¹⁵ while RPP increased hers more than 6 % with 147 new seats.

⁴⁰⁸Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, p.505. Also see: Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p.152

⁴⁰⁹Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, pp. 671-683. Also see: Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, pp. 303-305

⁴¹⁰Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p.153

⁴¹¹Ibid

⁴¹²Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, p. 85

⁴¹³Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p.153

⁴¹⁴Ibid

⁴¹⁵See further details on Supreme Election Board of Turkey (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu) official internet site: <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/content/conn/YSKUCM/path/Contribution%20Folders/SecmenIslemleri/Secimler/1950-1977-MVSecimleri/Turkiye.pdf>. Also see: Turkish Statistical Institute official internet site: <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>; http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PrelstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=199

To elucidate the Doctrine, Eisenhower sent an envoy to the region led by James P. Richards, his special assistant on the Middle East. Mr. Richards visited Ankara on March 22 and met with Turkish Prime Minister. The duo announced a public declaration which resembled the Doctrine itself⁴¹⁶. This would make Turkey once more the unique and indispensable country in the region to disseminate American policies against the Soviets. Menderes conceived that it would help Turkey request further economic assistance from Washington⁴¹⁷. Turkey's promises to implement the Doctrine in the region pestered Ankara in the coming years. Among such concerns were Syrian Crisis when Turkey staged her troops in the border for about a year as well as during the Lebanon and Jordan events of 1958 when Turkish territories and Incirlik base were used by America to intervene in the crisis in those countries⁴¹⁸.

Crisis in the Middle East ended without a hot conflict. However, they urged the US to review her policies in the Middle East where the USSR was still the main competitor. Yet, instead of forming alliances with the countries in the Middle East one by one, Washington once more played her Northern Tier card⁴¹⁹ and became a part in the military pillar of the CENTO pact (Central Treaty Organization) concluded amongst Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and UK. The next step was to sign identical agreements⁴²⁰ with Turkey, Pakistan and Iran on March 5, 1959 for security and defense matters. Although Turkey was a NATO member, this new agreement did not directly involve NATO countries; on the contrary, it encompassed direct or

⁴¹⁶Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmey, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, pp. 289-290

⁴¹⁷Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p.153

⁴¹⁸Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, pp. 155-170. Also see: Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmey, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, pp. 290-305

⁴¹⁹Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 170

⁴²⁰Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmey, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 308

indirect assault and therefore created long discussions in the coming months among NATO members as well as in Turkish Grand National Assembly⁴²¹.

The problem with this agreement was that it was related to the NATO's *Out of Area* concept which indicated issues outside of NATO territories geographically and this was beyond its objectives and principles⁴²². Therefore, crisis in Syria as well as American interferences in Lebanon and Jordan when Turkish bases were used were perceived as *Out of Area* because they were not directed to Turkey. However, Turkey ratified the agreement on May 9, 1960. Menderes government defended the agreement in TGNA against the strong oppositions and asserted that indirect assault in the text meant spread of communism⁴²³. Nevertheless, none of these engagements could overshadow constitutional violations and rescue the DP Government from the military intervention at the end of May.

5.5. Suspicion around US Involvement with the Junta in May 27th Military Intervention

Military intervention of May 27, 1960 overthrowing the elected government was the first movement of its kind in the history of modern Turkey. Thus, military intervention, repeated in every ten years in the following three decades, was introduced to the Turkish democracy.

In fact, Turkish society was familiar with the concept this term represented from the days of the Sultanate through the uprisings against the throne since the 17th century. It must be kept in mind however that like May 27 the Ottoman uprisings such as the Jelalis or the Kuleli Incidence of 1859 against Abdülmecit, or the Young Turks targeted only the Sultan in power, changing the dynasty or the regime was not the aim of the movements. Even the nationalist uprisings following

⁴²¹Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 571

⁴²²Ibid, p. 567

⁴²³Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmir, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, p. 309

the Moudros Armistice which started as protests to occupations and turned into the Turkish Independence war did not target the Sultanate.

So it can be asserted that Turkish history did have displays of social discontent by uprisings but in none of them was the regime targeted. The same was very apparent in the 27 the of May event when the first phrases of the armed forces announcing the military takeover reiterated adherence to the republic and its diplomatic commitments. In fact, the announcement particularly underlined the UN and NATO in order to keep off western interferences but to assure the much anticipated western support.

1960 military intervention was organized and put in action by a group of young military officers and low ranking generals who had 'nationalist' aspirations. The causes and consequences of May 27 event do not constitute the main theme of this thesis, however, it is worth mentioning the underlying reasons preparing this intervention in a few paragraphs before discussing its (in)direct linkage to the US:

Ranking first among the reasons of the intervention was the violation of the constitution⁴²⁴ that became the most significant accusation against the top administrators during the trials held afterwards. DP after securing its government ignored commitments made to the public for freedom and liberty, the indispensable elements of democracy. However, what the Turkish people understood from these values vis-à-vis DP's promises, principle of secularism, with a conviction that it limited religious life was overlooked by the leaders of the ruling party. In this line, historian Kemal Karpat asserted that DP in the advancing years of its administration gave some concessions from the key values of the Turkish Republic⁴²⁵ while disregarding public opinion became the intentional trait for DP politicians in the second half of the 50s.

⁴²⁴Sunguri, Hasan Halis, *Anayasayı İhlal Suçları ve T.C.K. 146. Maddesi Hükümler*, İstanbul Matbaası, 1961, pp.3-5

⁴²⁵Karpat, Kemal, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi, Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller*, pp. 337-338

The Government's oppressions included the restrictive press law which banned criticisms of the administration and limited freedom of thought and speech. This suppressed not only journalists and intelligentsia but also hindered the common people who had not yet internalized democracy to comprehend what these values meant. Increased unrest in Turkey towards the end of the 50s was not only due to government's anti-democratic applications. Economic downturn, though concealed by the Menderes government from the public but apparently existed in daily life, was added to the social unrest. To further the halt to criticisms and marches against DP government, martial law was declared in Ankara and İstanbul in late April, 1960. Yet, this did not stop masses from protesting the government in the streets⁴²⁶.

This was when the new attempt to decrease the number of unhappy people marching in the streets came from the Prime Minister as he planned a visit to the USSR with the anticipation of acquiring Soviet support for economic rescue. Disregarding the social unrest completely, Menderes' attempt to relieve the people from financial burdens with Moscow's aid disturbed not only the young army officers but also Washington. But the visit which remained only on paper was naturally not a key reason of May 27.

The young officers as well as RPP politicians were restless when the DP government to keep the US in line, signed unknown number of agreements⁴²⁷ with America under CENTO umbrella⁴²⁸ however damaging they were to the independence⁴²⁹ and reputation of the country. On the other hand, the intended Moscow visit was ironical when DP policies to crush the left-wing were pursued. Under US led anti-communist propaganda State precautions on this matter even reached to the point of metaphorical witch-hunting when people from intelligentsia

⁴²⁶Ibid, p.89

⁴²⁷See section 5.2 for the details of these agreement

⁴²⁸Aydemir, Ş. Süreyya, *Menderes'in Dramı*, p. 251

⁴²⁹Akgün, Secil Karal, *27 Mayıs: Bir İhtilal, Bir Devrim, Bir Anayasa*, pp. 41-44

were arrested⁴³⁰. Finally, ostensibly Turkish Armed Forces but actually young officers and generals announced undertaking the government on May 27, 1960.

The military intervention was broadcasted over the radio at dawn of May 27 by the National Union Committee (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*) with the declaration openly addressing NATO and CENTO⁴³¹. The declaration first explained the reasons why the Committee intervened and concluded as:

We are addressing our allies, neighbors and the whole world. Our purpose is to entirely comply with the United Nations Constitution and the principles of human rights. Great Atatürk's 'peace at home, peace in the world' doctrine is our guideline. We are devoted to all our allies and commitments. We trust NATO and CENTO and remain attached to these organizations.

With this declaration, the Committee guaranteed the US as well as other allies that there would not be a change in Turkey's foreign policy⁴³². This declaration was tossed under the American Embassy main entrance gate⁴³³ very early in the morning. The Ambassador Fletcher Warren met Cemal Gürsel one day after the event and President Gürsel explained that the intervention was not directed towards Turkey's allies⁴³⁴. It was many years later that Daniel Oliver Newberry, one of Warren's officers then, asserted that the American Ambassador probably thought that the US interest in Turkey would be best served by preserving Adnan Menderes in power as prime minister⁴³⁵.

⁴³⁰Yetkin, Çetin, *Türkiye'de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980, Yeniden Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Yayınları*, Antalya, 2010, pp.11-16

⁴³¹Please see Appendix A.9. for this part of the text of the declaration (available only in Turkish).

⁴³²Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmir, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, pp.323-324

⁴³³Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 200

⁴³⁴U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Telegram from the Embassy in Turkey to the Department of State, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe, Finland, Greece, Turkey*, Vol. X, Part 2, p.845

⁴³⁵Bali, Rifat N., *American Diplomats in Turkey, Oral History Transcripts (1928-1997)*, p. 128

Apparently, Mr. Ambassador simply refrained from forwarding any adverse or disparaging reports to Washington concerning the Adnan Menderes government⁴³⁶. Even if these reports were one way or another sent to the Department of State, Warren's approach to Washington was to safeguard Menderes' reputation and the Ambassador did his best to save Turkish Prime Minister until the last minute. These included pre-intervention friendly warnings such as reminding Menderes what would happen if he kept crashing RPP and his opponents. As a matter of fact, İsmet İnönü, the esteemed former general, was one of DP's biggest targets to be discarded. The army officers were much distressed to observe the repression over the society and intolerance of the government to any critical view vis-à-vis the Menderes administration.

Fletcher Warren's efforts to save Adnan Menderes did not seem to echo in America. Washington foresaw that a prospective new administration in Turkey would not be anti-American⁴³⁷. Although concerned for developments in domestic policies in Turkey, Washington was not totally against a governmental change in Ankara⁴³⁸. Moreover, America's attitude towards Ankara was similar to reaction she displayed towards the change in South Korea on April 27, 1960⁴³⁹ when the government was overthrown by the military power.

The commitments of the new administration in Ankara on May 27 were satisfactory to Turkey's allies, especially to Washington. This was proved when the Department of State, four days after the intervention, made a declaration recognizing the new Turkish administration⁴⁴⁰ headed by the four-star general Cemal Gürsel. Furthermore, on a separate letter dated June 11, 1960⁴⁴¹ President

⁴³⁶Ibid

⁴³⁷Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 198

⁴³⁸Ibid, p.199

⁴³⁹Ibid

⁴⁴⁰The New York Times, May 31, 1960

Eisenhower wrote and addressed his counterpart expressing his content concerning the ties established between the new administration and Washington and alliance linkage between the two countries⁴⁴².

Albeit the related procedures, archival documents uncovered up-to-date in Turkey display no documents of a direct American involvement in the military intervention, and this might change once all classified records are open. However, diplomatic correspondences as well as secondary records well equip us to comment that Washington was not too much in the dark over what happened in Turkey. Apparently, the Eisenhower administration was neither shocked nor taken by surprise⁴⁴³. Moreover, D. C must have thought that US interference in the military takeover was unnecessary since the adherence of the new regime to the existing foreign policy and anti-communist stance was clarified. Therefore, it would serve US interests well⁴⁴⁴.

In fact, great majority of the National Union Committee that served as the government for some time after the intervention were officers who had some touches US education in their background⁴⁴⁵: Many had attended military courses, seminars, at least participated in some informative programs across the ocean⁴⁴⁶ or were trained in Turkey under US army techniques. Even their uniforms were similar to American officers; most admired America and admitted her military as well as

⁴⁴¹The US Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1958-1960, Vol X, p.850 doc. 367. Also see: The text of the letter in Appendix A.10.

⁴⁴²Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 202

⁴⁴³Gunn, Christopher, *The 1960 Coup in Turkey: A US Intelligence Failure or a Successful Intervention?*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Spring 2015, p.105

⁴⁴⁴Ibid, p. 105

⁴⁴⁵Yetkin, Çetin, *Türkiye’de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980*, pp.27-40

⁴⁴⁶Koloğlu, Orhan, *1954*, in (Ed) Cem Mumcu, *Türkiye’nin Çıplak Tarihi 1946-2014: 69 Yazardan 69 Yıl*, Okyanus Us Yayın, İstanbul, 2004, pp. 56-61

economic superiority with the awareness that Turkey desperately needed US fiscal support⁴⁴⁷.

Soon after top DP administrators were under arrest, Turkey's allies started literally pouring money to Ankara; however, once more with minimal grants but more with credits. Major newspaper headlines wrote that Turkey would receive a significant amount of credit from foreign countries⁴⁴⁸ and following Ankara-Washington negotiation a prospective new American credit of 400 million dollars⁴⁴⁹ made America the champion. This was rather satirical when Menderes and his Foreign Minister Zorlu's financially unsatisfactory Washington visits were considered. Turkey was not able to receive the loan sought from Washington when the two were in office.

Foreign financial assistance helped relieve Turkey's fiscal burden inherited from the Menderes administration with over 1.5 billion US dollars of foreign debts⁴⁵⁰. However, credits also meant foreign dependence; US taking the lead. Interestingly, American unrevealed agenda at that time was disclosed several years later by an American academician: A senior political scientist of Princeton University, Prof Dr. David A. Baldwin in his controversial study about the US foreign monetary support claimed that granting aid was the foremost technique of the American administration trying to orient a country in the direction she preferred⁴⁵¹.

Prof. Baldwin's mind provoking assertions seemed to give an impetus to skeptical authors writing on the relations between Turkey and the US during the 50s and led some to publish studies claiming Washington's influence over the military intervention of May 27. For example, Prof. Çetin Yetkin and Metin Aydoğın were

⁴⁴⁷Ibid

⁴⁴⁸Ibid

⁴⁴⁹Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, p. 205

⁴⁵⁰Ibid

⁴⁵¹Baldwin, David A., *Foreign Aid and American Foreign Policy: A Documentary Analysis*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1966, p. 3

two of the authors who wrote about military interventions in Turkey but Yetkin's included their linkages to America. These two authors and more stated that American presence in Turkey from the second half of the 40s and especially in the 50s was hidden under the guise of peace and democracy⁴⁵². However, what was concealed under the iceberg was a new form of imperialism⁴⁵³ appearing as new world order but actually meaning American economic hegemony over underdeveloped countries such as Turkey⁴⁵⁴. This was quite unlike the French and English imperialism before 20th century and America was determined to play different cards than the old imperialistic powers which worked hard to seize territory⁴⁵⁵. However the new game did not require territorial occupation: Washington had its own ways such as promising economic advantages, democracy and American way of life to keep countries such as Turkey under its control.

In fact, it was therefore that Washington looked for ways to discourage Ankara from establishing a heavy industry in the 50s⁴⁵⁶. Since Turkey lacked the know-how and experience on industrialization and capitalist system, she sought expertise in the late 40s and especially in the 50s to keep the wheels of the economy running. Her links to England and France had diminished considerably once they uncovered their imperialistic agenda 30 years ago. Therefore, the US a new shining power with glamorous life style and promises to bring democracy, freedom, liberty⁴⁵⁷ was a perfect alternative for such expertise.

⁴⁵²Aydođan, Metin, *Türkiye Üzerine Notlar: 1919-2015*, Pozitif Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, p. 150. Also see: Yetkin, Çetin, *Türkiye'de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980*, pp.52-94

⁴⁵³Aydođan, Metin, *Türkiye Üzerine Notlar: 1919-2015*, p. 151

⁴⁵⁴Yetkin, Çetin, *Türkiye'de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980*, pp.52-65

⁴⁵⁵Bostanođlu, Burcu, *Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin Politikası*, p. 275

⁴⁵⁶Yetkin, Çetin, *Türkiye'de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980*, p.54

⁴⁵⁷Aydođan, Metin, *Türkiye Üzerine Notlar: 1919-2015*, p. 150

American experts were invited to Turkey and were requested to prepare economic development reports⁴⁵⁸. Apparently, all reports suggested Ankara to keep agricultural track and not struggle much for industrial production; suffice with producing some of the consumer goods which did not require high technology such as ceramics, tin stoves much used for heating or sugar⁴⁵⁹. This way Washington would make use of Turkish raw materials such as heavy metals, even precious olive-oil and sell its high-tech productions back to this sustainable and lucrative market⁴⁶⁰. This would bring a double benefit to D.C by returning dollars credited to Turkey to its Federal Reserve and preventing Turkey's industrialization which would cost USA handsome economic share in this country without having to compete with Ankara in other lucrative markets such as those in Europe.

It was with this motive that once Menderes started to establish heavy industry US started lowering down the amount of credits granted to Turkey⁴⁶¹. Moreover, the US opposed to the construction of the dam Menderes, inspired by the Aswan dam Nasser was constructing in Egypt, wished to construct in Turkey⁴⁶². However, when Washington had refrained from granting credit for the construction of Aswan dam Egypt without hesitations turned to Moscow for financial assistance.

Nevertheless it was not that easy for Turkey to do the same with all the institutions and commitments carried out with Washington. Similar to today's discussion on Turkey's political orientation, it would be too dubious for Menderes to work closely with the other camp. Although there is no archival record directly linking Prime Minister's plan to visit Moscow for financial assistance to establish

⁴⁵⁸Güven, Sami, *1950'li Yıllarda Türk Ekonomisi Üzerine Amerikan Kalkınma Reçeteleri: Hilts Raporu, Thornburg Raporu, Barker Raporu*, Ezgi Kitabevi Yayınları, Bursa, 1991, pp. 1-8

⁴⁵⁹Ibid, pp.52-53

⁴⁶⁰Yetkin, Çetin, *Türkiye'de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980*, p.56

⁴⁶¹Ibid.,p.61

⁴⁶²Ibid. p. 55

heavy industry in Turkey to US intervention upon May 27; Menderes' ministers, diplomats as well as bureaucrats firmly believed that Washington was much disturbed by Turkey's quest for alternative plans⁴⁶³. Moreover, such a change would spillover other matters such as security and defense.

Yet, lack of concrete evidence on direct involvement of Washington in the May 27 movement in Turkey (most probably all classified) does not obstruct comments that the event served American interests. Contrary to this conviction, some scholars in the West writing about the Cold War suggested that there were abundant documented evidences. Among them were the New York Times reports on the situation in Turkey and the mention of a possible coup on its May 8, 1960 issue⁴⁶⁴. Also, one of the scholars writing about the Cold War, Christopher Gunn claimed that as the evidence demonstrated, overtly or covertly, United States did intervene in countries where American interests were jeopardized⁴⁶⁵. It was partly true that the protests and the circumstances Turkey was experiencing in mid-1950 could invite Moscow's involvement. Washington's rapid recognition of the new administration of Turkey and the smooth relationship between the two capitals during National Union Committee's governance demonstrated that America sought for administrations who would serve US interests be it in Turkey or elsewhere.

Moreover, discharging about 7000 officers from the Turkish army right after the intervention arose suspicion about Washington's involvement. This was supported by the confessions which were published in the later years: former Minister of Justice of the Junta, Amil Artus as well as one of the army officers who was involved in the intervention Orhan Erkanlı wrote that purging the officers from the army were required both by NATO and the US⁴⁶⁶.

⁴⁶³Ibid. pp. 64-69

⁴⁶⁴Gunn, Christopher, *The 1960 Coup in Turkey: A US Intelligence Failure or a Successful Intervention?*, p.116

⁴⁶⁵Ibid, pp.104-106

Apparently, the US had other requests from the Junta. Since the communist threat was widespread and the US was unsuccessful in discarding it, Washington planned to pacify the leftists in Turkey because they were regarded part of the threat⁴⁶⁷. This was partly true since in the bipolar system of the Cold War, neither Washington nor Moscow preferred controversies nor non-complying governments. Both sought for harmony and obedience.

⁴⁶⁶Yetkin, Çetin, *Türkiye’de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980*, pp. 27-40

⁴⁶⁷Boztaş, Asena, *Türk Demokrasisine Müdahaleler*, Mustafa Kemal University, Journal of Social Sciences Institute, 2012, Vol. 9, Issue: 19, p. 69

CHAPTER 6

SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY: THE “LITTLE AMERICA” DREAM

6.1. American Investments and Expectations in Turkey

America's tangible and intangible investments in Turkey dating back to the Ottoman times were erected over her national interests. The US was repeatedly committed to İstanbul, later Ankara in many forms of interactions for their realization. However, *national interest* is a vague concept; in diplomacy it cannot be defined only with terms such as security, defense, dominance, balance of power, self-determination, and hegemony or similar countless fancy terms. It has economic and socio cultural meanings as well. This chapter, entirely devoted to American socio-cultural influence in Turkey, will pinpoint, criticize, evaluate, and rate different segments during the modernizing attempts of the 50s. *Modernization*, similar to national interest, is also a broad term in scope. It can be used to define historical or social developments. It can also demonstrate renovations in way of life or in means of life.

American presence in Turkey as an imperial power is equal in a way with the Turks' conception of America in the sense that Turks regarded America as a democratic super power. They chose to become better acquainted and adopt her developed automation, advanced life style particularly in household utensils although American experience in enlightenment, democracy and freedom remained more trifle. It must be borne in mind that Europe was trying to overcome the brunt of the 2nd World War reconstructing the bombed cities, reinstalling the shattered bureaucracy, comforting devastated families. On the other hand America, with military forces fighting outside of her own continent, was free of this destruction, had a long democratic history behind and possessed the strongest economy by this time. For Turkey which was in the crawling days the republic, Turkish revolution and democracy, America was much brighter and appealing than European countries.

Therefore, it was a more attractive example and an easy to approach especially when the shell not the core, meaning the glamour not the concepts forming America were considered. However, covering all of America's qualifications and post 2nd World War developments is more than a thesis can afford.

Accordingly, some areas will be selected for analysis while some are omitted. The forthcoming section, American Footsteps in Turkish Education, which holds the largest share of the current chapter, is a significant part of US socio-cultural influence. It also stands in the center of non-political American investments and expectations of the above mentioned era.

The 50s would be characterized with the growing socio-cultural as well intellectual exchange as another important dimension of the Turkish-American relations. After the San Francisco Conference, some contacts were established with America to intensify socio cultural relations. For example, as the initial touristic interactions started, Pan American Airlines launched regular flight services to İstanbul on its west-to-east route which would facilitate unofficial Turco-American commercial and cultural ties⁴⁶⁸.

Moreover, through the Fulbright exchange program funds became available in 1949 for mobility of Turks along with Americans. Similar financial assistance provided by the American Council of Learned Societies and government agencies created a conducive environment for American scholars and students to live and study in Turkey⁴⁶⁹.

6.2. Training the Turks: American Footsteps in Turkish Education

6.2.1. From America's Good Will Representatives in the late Ottoman Times to Educational Experts in Turkey of Early Republican Period

⁴⁶⁸See Cumhuriyet Newspaper, PANAM advertisement, October 31, 1948, p. 5. Also see: Howard, Douglas A., *The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations: The History of Turkey*, p. 133

⁴⁶⁹ibid

Education is a much permeable field of socio-cultural activity to convey values and ideas of one to another. Such a trait, hand in hand with other means worked for America's effortless access to Turkish life since the Ottoman alliance. Details of this access through missionaries were presented in the first chapter. However, analyses of their progress are worth mentioning and calls for a closer view of the educational details including those not mentioned above.

Missionary contacts and installations were the initial focal points where American values and education system were inserted into the Ottoman life. Multiplying missionary schools called attention particularly during Sultan Abdülaziz's reign⁴⁷⁰. September 16, 1863 marked the opening of the Robert College, one of the oldest American colleges to establish outside the US⁴⁷¹. This school founded in İstanbul by *missionary* Dr. Cyrus Hamlin and American philanthropist and wealthy New York merchant, Mr. Christopher Rheinlander Robert⁴⁷², was first opened as a liberal arts college according to education regulations of the state of New York⁴⁷³. But it was also recognized as an American Protestant school⁴⁷⁴.

Robert College, which preserved its prominence in all times, was followed by many other American schools and colleges. By the first decade of the 20th century, the number of American missionary schools reached over 400 serving about 20,000 students⁴⁷⁵. Among other well-known examples which served for higher education

⁴⁷⁰Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989, pp. 51-87

⁴⁷¹Although Robert College operates on its original place, parts of it later were transferred to a Turkish state higher education institution known as Boğaziçi University in 1971.

⁴⁷²Archive from the History of Boğaziçi University related internet site: http://www.boun.edu.tr/en_US/Content/About_BU/History

⁴⁷³Şimşek, Hasan, *The Turkish Higher Education System in the 1990s*, Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies, Vol 4, Number 2, 1999, p. 137

⁴⁷⁴Akyüz, Yahya, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p.132

⁴⁷⁵Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, p.122. Also see: Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, The Turkish

were Euphrates College of Harput, Tarsus American College, and Üsküdar American Academy of İstanbul and Anatolia College of Merzifon⁴⁷⁶. These schools had the liberty to apply their own curricula; therefore, they followed what was in America and determined their own working procedures.

These schools erected in villages or in city centers were scattered even to the remotest parts of the Ottoman Empire. The Porte, unable to control this schooling due to various causes, tolerated American and other missionary schools. Wherever established, missionary schools superseded the Ottoman schools in quantity, quality, and in physical appearance, so even the Muslim Turks preferred sending their offspring to American institutions, which overshadowed any governmental or private schools⁴⁷⁷. Even the Education Code Statute of 1869 (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) setting principles concerning the establishment and inspection of foreign schools was unsuccessful in controlling American missionary schools as well⁴⁷⁸.

These schools also became centers for the dissemination of American social values, ideas of democracy and individual rights. Their activities were formulated to

Yearbook of International Relations, Vol. XXXI, Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Ankara, 2000, p.133

⁴⁷⁶The first college established by American missionaries in 1859. However, the first American missionary school opened in Beyoglu for Armenian community of İstanbul in 1934. Also see: Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, pp.138-164

⁴⁷⁷Gürbüz, Mehmet, Vedat, *An Overview of Turkish-American Relations and Impact on Turkish Military, Economy and Democracy: 1945-1952*, PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, UMI Number: 3049426, 2002, p. 244

⁴⁷⁸Ergin, Osman, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Eser Matbaası, Vol I-II, İstanbul, 1977, p.106, pp.553-556. Also see: Ergin, Osman, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Vol III-IV, pp.895-898, p. 923, pp.1091-1092 and p.1433; Somel, Selçuk, Akşin, "Tanzimat Döneminde Eğitim Reformunun Dönüm Noktası: 1869 Tarihli Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizâmnamesi, Esbab-ı Mucibelayihası ve İdeolojiktemelleri" in (Eds) Kahraman, Kemal and Baytar, İlon, *Sultan Abdülmecid ve Dönemi (1823-1861)*. Kültür-Medeniyet Serisi (12). İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, pp. 136-167; Ünal, Uğur, *III. Selim'den Meşrutiyet'e Osmanlı Eğitimi (1789-1876) in Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Otorite Yayınları, Ankara, 2012, p.202

spread Christianity as well as “American progress and advancement”⁴⁷⁹. American state policies towards the Porte and later to Ankara, to a certain degree, were influenced⁴⁸⁰ by missionaries and their installations such as these colleges. Prominent education historian Osman Ergin asserted that these schools were highly politicized and accommodated American ideas in the Ottoman Empire, thus, secession of Syria was partly due to the missionaries and influence of their schools⁴⁸¹.

Osman Ergin in his lengthy work on the history of Turkish education mentioned his analysis on the commentary of the newspaper *Hak*'s 93rd and 107th supplements of 1912 written by Ahmet Ağaoğlu. Agreeing with Mr. Ağaoğlu, Osman Ergin asserted that more than % 60 of the students attending those schools were Muslims. Young minds were educated in such a way that they were barely taught Turkish language or practices of their religion, quite the contrary were encouraged to attend Protestant rituals. He continued by indicating that these students were inseminated with anti-Turkish views and were alienated against their own country and community⁴⁸² values. However, the schools, at peace then, were discomforted with the following circumstances.

The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 1st World War was followed by the Turkish Independence War. While these major events were happening, majority of the missionary schools either became inactive or were closed down. Moreover, due to climbing nationalism they became quite unpopular during Atatürk's time. Those which remained after the Independence War were

⁴⁷⁹Lippe, John M. Vander, *The "Other" Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations*, p.33

⁴⁸⁰During the Turkish War of Independence, the power to influence the American government got lost which coincided with US “open door” policy promoting free trade and democracy.

⁴⁸¹Ergin, Osman, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Vol I-II, p.808

⁴⁸²Ibid, pp.809-810

regulated⁴⁸³ according to the item 40 and 41⁴⁸⁴ of the Lausanne Treaty⁴⁸⁵. These two items provided the continuity of foreign religious communities to establish their own primary schools and to educate in their own language, teach own religion as well as positive sciences⁴⁸⁶. In other words, the Lausanne kept autonomy of these schools⁴⁸⁷ to a certain extent. On the other hand, such practice would undermine the sovereignty of a newly established country.

This was one of the major reasons why Turkish government under President Atatürk's leadership designed a significant reform in education. The major change installed Unification of Education Act (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) of March 3, 1924, when religious schools or those of different communities or countries established through extraterritorial right (capitulations), were attached to the Turkish Ministry of National Education. The law put restrictions on minority high schools, banning religious education and using religious symbols in school building or library. Additionally, Muslim students attending these schools were exempt from the religious rituals. More regulations would to come one year later, from September 26, 1925 onwards⁴⁸⁸ listing supplementary articles such as those given below to be included in their curriculum:

⁴⁸³To see the details of the treaty, visit Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs internet site: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty.en.mfa> and/or Brigham Young University Library World War I Documents Archive: https://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne

⁴⁸⁴Item 40 and 41 are also available in Appendix A.3.

⁴⁸⁵Once the Turkish War of Independence ended with the victory of Turkish nationalist front against the imperialist powers (like England, France, and Italy) and their supporter Greece, new government in Ankara abolished the Ottoman Sultanate. Therefore, Ankara as the new interlocutor was called for a meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland to settle the conflicts inherited from and among the Ottoman Empire and European powers. The treaty signed after the meeting was not only a peace settlement document but also evidence that European powers recognized Turkey and her government. Along with Turkey, the signatories to the agreement were: British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece and Romania

⁴⁸⁶Ergin, Osman, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Vol V, pp.2028-2091

⁴⁸⁷These schools were also named as foreign or minority schools.

⁴⁸⁸Demirtaş, Bahattin, *1923-1950 Döneminde Türk Eğitimi* in *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Otorite Yayınları, Ankara, 2012, p. 237

- the schools had to teach Turkish language and geography five hours a week by the teachers appointed by the Ministry of National Education,
- no statement would be allowed during the class or outside against the Turkish state or nation,
- books containing anti-Turkish sentiments would not be tolerated,

Further regulations listed below were added to strict controls⁴⁸⁹ on these schools in 1926:

- all records had to be kept in Turkish,
- Atatürk's portrait had to be displayed in school buildings,
- no activity outside the recognized authorization area would be allowed

These and similar regulations were quite successful in discontinuing the corruption inherited from Ottoman educational system. Yet the new system had to be constructed on solid foundations so that it would help the country build and sustain the new nation-state. In order to check whether that was the case and advise the government, foreign experts were invited to observe, analyze and submit advisory reports on Turkish education system. The world-renown educator and philosopher John Dewey from the US pioneered such American experts. Interestingly Osman Ergin critical of foreign influences on Turkish education welcomed John Dewey, even in his own classroom⁴⁹⁰. Dewey was not the first and only expert who was and would be invited for advisory service⁴⁹¹. However, he installed a work which left a long lasting influence and discussions on the Turkish education. Nevertheless, at that time the state was still inspired by European particularly French understanding of democracy and administration.

Returning to Dewey's visit to Turkey, he was invited by the Minister of National Education Mr. İsmail Safa Özler in 1923⁴⁹² and motivated by Charles

⁴⁸⁹Ibid, p. 238

⁴⁹⁰Ergin, Osman, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Vol III-IV, p.1254

⁴⁹¹Consulting foreign experts from different fields was a trend the Ottoman Sultans also resorted to during renovation movements.

⁴⁹²Mr. Crane was sent to the Ottoman Empire by the President Wilson as a member of King-Crane Commission in 1919 to study the situation of people in territories of the Empire where today's Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine and to prepare a report including the educational situation of the

Crane⁴⁹³, President Wilson's special envoy, accepted the invitation one year later. Atatürk and other state officials read Dewey's books prior to his arrival and were familiar to his philosophy. They expected Dewey to view thoroughly the existing Turkish education system and to advise Ankara on how to make use of schools as agencies of the social reforms that would enhance the identity of the state as a democratic republic⁴⁹⁴. Mr. Dewey stayed in Turkey for two months, visiting educational institutions, interviewing people, delivering lectures⁴⁹⁵. After completing his research program, he prepared two reports. The first, he submitted right before his departure, was short and precise. The second, submitted after his return to America⁴⁹⁶, was detailed with conceptual philosophical recommendations to Ankara.

Dewey's recommendations⁴⁹⁷ ranged from the re-organization of the Ministry of Education to the training and treatment of teachers; from health and hygiene to school systems, and included many other advices. However, Dewey had different ideas on reaching a democratic republic than Atatürk and his ministers. He argued that education would contribute to democratizing society as a social ideal

region. Dewey's acquaintance with Mr. Crane dated back to 1920 when Crane was the American Ambassador to China and Dewey was invited for a mission similar to one in Turkey.

⁴⁹³Ata, Bahri, *The Influence of an American Educator (John Dewey) on the Turkish Educational System*, The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, Vol. XXXI, 2000, p. 122

⁴⁹⁴Santoro, Daris A., Dorn Charles, *A Vital, Free, Independent, and Lay Republic: John Dewey and the Role of Education* in (Eds) Garlitz, Richard and Jarvinen, Lisa, *Establishing the Turkish State in Teaching America to the World and the World to America: Education and Foreign Relations Since 1970*, Palgrave-Macmillan, New York, 2012, p. 93

⁴⁹⁵Ata, Bahri, *The Influence of an American Educator (John Dewey) on the Turkish Educational System*, pp. 123-125.

⁴⁹⁶Demirtaş, Bahattin, *1923-1950 Döneminde Türk Eğitimi*, p. 239

⁴⁹⁷Dewey, John, *Türkiye Maarifi Hakkında Rapor*, Devlet Basımevi, İstanbul, 1939. This document can also be obtained from the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) digital library: [https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/DIGER%20YAYINLAR/197000571%20TURKIYE%20MAARIFI%20HAKKINDA%20RAPOR%20\(JOHN%20DEWEY\)/0000_0000%20TURKIYE%20MAARIFI%20HAKKINDA%20RAPOR%20\(JOHN%20DEWEY\).pdf](https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/DIGER%20YAYINLAR/197000571%20TURKIYE%20MAARIFI%20HAKKINDA%20RAPOR%20(JOHN%20DEWEY)/0000_0000%20TURKIYE%20MAARIFI%20HAKKINDA%20RAPOR%20(JOHN%20DEWEY).pdf)

towards its ongoing growth. Parallel to his ideas about a democratizing society, he also overemphasized diversity, pluralism, local authority as well as democratic localism in his report⁴⁹⁸. As to Atatürk and his colleagues, education was a political goal⁴⁹⁹ and they targeted education to be a means to elevate the society rather than democratizing it. Turkish government thought Dewey suggestions concerning democracy would be hard to implement under the existing conditions of the new republic. The disagreement was the product of the historical and communal differences in the two countries' backgrounds. Both came from an adverse historical trajectory albeit some similarities. Turkey inherited the burdens of a theocratic multi religious and ethnical empire of 600 years and endeavored to form a secular nation-state after the western model while at war with the Allies, eager to colonize her. On the other hand, the US was freed from European colonization, was established by people who escaped the anathema and yoke of the European Church. Unlike most European unitary states, it ended up as a staunch federal state. In other words, advice from a US intelligent specialist as Dewey had American elements in it.

Nevertheless, many of Dewey's recommendations were realized in the coming years: listed among his advices were the increase of the quantity and the quality of teacher's schools⁵⁰⁰ as well as teacher salaries⁵⁰¹; the establishment of Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*); sending students abroad. Turkey benefited much from these advices. Village Institutes combining work and education in rural areas where students learnt by doing and graduates at later times became both school

⁴⁹⁸Ibid, pp. 94-102

⁴⁹⁹Santoro, Daris A., Dorn Charles, *A Vital, Free, Independent, and Lay Republic: John Dewey and the Role of Education*, p. 93 and p. 106

⁵⁰⁰Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*, pp. 54-65. Also see: Keskin, Yusuf, *US Influence on the Education System in Turkey: An Analysis of Reports By American Education Specialists*, Journal of International Education Research, Vol 10, Number 3, The Clute Institute, 2014, p. 233

⁵⁰¹Ibid. Also see: Santoro, Daris A., Dorn Charles, *A Vital, Free, Independent, and Lay Republic: John Dewey and the Role of Education*, p. 96

teacher and community leaders⁵⁰² contributed immensely to the elevation of Turkish society. Education abroad⁵⁰³, one of Dewey's suggestions, was most welcomed by Atatürk and approximately 300 students including those sent to prominent US institutions where they enjoyed such programs.

The students sent to US institutions must have observed their relative superiority over the European and their experience may have become the sound reason why Atatürk invited more American experts, parallel to the other European ones, about ten years after Dewey's delivery of his educational report to Turkish authorities. The second significant group of US experts was commissioned to Turkey in 1933-1934. This was a group chaired by E. Walter Kemmerer with the objective of researching on Turkish economy. However, this group not wanting to separate education and economy added a section to their economy report related to Turkish educational system⁵⁰⁴. This particular section of the general report emphasized the impact of education over economic development and growth⁵⁰⁵. However, the general report had many references to Dewey's; meaning they knew how things went from their predecessor's time.

⁵⁰²Ata, Bahri, *The Influence of an American Educator (John Dewey) on the Turkish Educational System*, p. 127. Also see: Keskin, Yusuf, *US Influence on the Education System in Turkey: An Analysis of Reports By American Education Specialists*, p. 233

⁵⁰³Keskin, Yusuf, *US Influence on the Education System in Turkey: An Analysis of Reports By American Education Specialists*, p. 233

⁵⁰⁴Keskin, Yusuf and Söylemez, Hatice and Keskin, Sevgi, Coşkun, *An Analysis About the Main Problems of Turkish Educational System in the Light of American Council's Report (1934)*, *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 197, 2015, pp. 1060-1063

⁵⁰⁵Tangülü, Zafer and Karadeniz, Oğuzhan and Ateş, Sinan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Sistemimizde Yabancı Uzman Raporları*, *Turkish Studies*, Vol 9/5, Ankara, Spring 2014, p. 1902

6.2.2. Washington's Export to Ankara in the 50s: Educating a Developing Country with Experts' 'Know-How'

Although Dewey and subsequent US experts who were invited during Atatürk's period had limited impact on Turkish education system due to the ongoing European influences, Washington's effects domineered after the 2nd WW. Especially in the 50s American educational experts became frequenters of Turkey and carved long lasting marks on Turkish educational institutions. According to a statistical data, out of 44 experts invited in the 1950s, 41 were American educators⁵⁰⁶. This was mainly due to the fortification of political and military relations between the two countries. Educators from the US were generally official guests although there were many visiting Turkey through research programs and/or to deliver a talk in a conference⁵⁰⁷.

A mere look to the experts' country of origin without even analyzing them, one would easily conclude that Atatürk avoided dependency to a specific country in education by inviting various experts from different countries in order to prevent monopolizing. However, DP took the US as the only model in the 50s⁵⁰⁸. American experts and their reports strengthened DP government's hand to mold education in a way they wished. Fay Kirby, an American educator who worked and lived in Turkey in the late 40s and the mid-50s, asserted that although there were many foreign experts during early republican years, Turkey still found sound solutions to educational problems through her own local experts even if consulting foreigners as well. But American experts and assistance determined educational policies in the

⁵⁰⁶Ibid, p. 1897

⁵⁰⁷It is unnecessary to mention the experts and the groups in chronological order since a comprehensive list of these educational experts from the US is available in various studies including but not limited to Dr. Demirtaş's article in *Türk Eğitim Tarihi* and Yahya Akyüz *Türk Eğitim Tarihi: Başlangıçtan 1999'a*, Demirtaş, Bahattin, *1923-1950 Döneminde Türk Eğitimi*, p. 220

⁵⁰⁸Demirtaş, Bahattin, *1923-1950 Döneminde Türk Eğitimi*, p. 313. Also see: Karakök, Tunay, *Menderes Dönemi'nde (1950-1960) Türkiye'de Eğitim*, *Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Dergisi*, Vol. 1, Number 2, August 2011, p. 93

50s⁵⁰⁹. This approach invited the tough that American educational experts were superior to Turks and Ankara needed to be taught how to administer and regulate national education in order to reach the advanced western system. Washington appeared to be the only assistance to Turkey for her target. Furthermore, Ankara was so eager to catch American standards that many Turkish experts as well as school teachers were sent to the US⁵¹⁰ for training on the spot, benefiting from the expertise of their colleagues. Through this experience, Ankara was introduced many new methods such as “science high school”, “program and curriculum development”, “nutrition education”, “peace corps grants”, and more⁵¹¹.

It is hard to deny that these new concepts and the related changes improved Turkish education to a certain degree; however, this did not mean eradication as was the case of Village Institutes in the early 50s. Dr. Kate V. Wofford from University of Florida, as Kirby ironically indicated ‘carefully selected and believed to be the most competent’⁵¹², was commissioned to find the appropriate reconstruction methods(s) to replace the current ones, especially for the Village Institutes and other issues of the Turkish National Education. She studied Turkish education system for four months in Turkey and presented her recommendations⁵¹³ to the Ministry of Education. Her report created discussions in academic circles; however, the ministry was ready to realize what was proposed and approved the report during the 5th National Education Council meeting (*V. Maarif Şurası*). The most controversial among her proposals was the suggestion to merge suburban teacher colleges with the rural village institutes and transform them into vocational

⁵⁰⁹Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye’de Köy Enstitüleri*, p. 495

⁵¹⁰Koç, Şükrü, M., *Emperyalizm ve Eğitimde Yabancılaşma*, Güven Matbaası, Ankara, 1970, pp. 110-112.

⁵¹¹Sakaoğlu, Necdet, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Tarihi*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992, p.262

⁵¹²Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye’de Köy Enstitüleri*, p. 495

⁵¹³Wofford, Kate V., *Türkiye’de Köy İlkokulları Hakkında Rapor*, Translated by Varış, Fatma, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, Ankara, 1952.

teacher schools⁵¹⁴. Eventually, with the law accepted at the TGNA a social invention of early republican time, the village institutes, once much relied upon to eliminate illiteracy as well as to create critical minds, became a history topic to be analyzed in the future⁵¹⁵. Additionally, courses related to learning by doing method, an indispensable part of the institutes, became only recreational activity.

Wofford's report had other novelties as well such as the dress codes. The students were not to wear uniforms which were believed to stand against democracy⁵¹⁶; but on the contrary they were expected to dress as they wished. Dr. Wofford must have taught that standard of living was the same in the US and in Turkey, for this proposal was protested by villagers who composed the low-income group that could afford to buy a uniform but not a variety of clothes. Yet, with the influence of American movies bombarding Turkish cinemas, students, with their attire, started to appear at schools at urban regions like Hollywood stars.

Americanization in Turkish socio-cultural life was not only through schools and Hollywood movies. The developed American model overshadowed all images in the eyes of a great percentage of the Turks and there were other devices in education arena to make the world like America⁵¹⁷. Accordingly, Dr. Wofford and other American experts alike such as the well-known psychologist William Kvaraceus and public education specialist Dr. Watson Dickerman were also financially sponsored by Ford and Rockefeller Foundations⁵¹⁸ to deliver talks, attend seminars in Turkey.

⁵¹⁴Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*, pp. 496-497

⁵¹⁵Official Gazette (Resmi Gazete) issue on 04.02.1954, Nr. 8625

⁵¹⁶Ibid, p.498

⁵¹⁷Bu, Liping, *Making the World Like US: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century*, Westport, Praeger, 2003

⁵¹⁸Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, p.144. These giant establishments had been interested and involved in educational philanthropy for the couple of decades. Also see: Demirtaş, Bahattin, *1923-1950 Döneminde Türk Eğitimi*, pp. 313-314

Regardless of sponsor, it could be asserted that American experts invited to Turkey of the 1950s did not pay much attention the socio-cultural and economic differences between Turkey and the US when preparing their reports. Yet, they had significant roles in shaping the education system of the country: Ruffin emphasized the importance of democratic education, Tompkins pointed the scarcity of students in schools, and Beals suggested guidance⁵¹⁹. In other words, the 50s observed highly American-focused developments⁵²⁰ in education although only some of the recommendations were implemented. However, the experts invited to Turkey were not limited only to education. On the contrary, the fields ranged from trade union to mining and from public administration to economy⁵²¹. Although these do not constitute the subject matter of this study, it would worth to mention a few names to give an idea about the diversity in Washington' sphere of influence in Turkey of the 1950s: Paige⁵²², Hiltz, Thornburg⁵²³ and Barker⁵²⁴ were the significant figures invited for consultation in non-educational areas. That was the period when Ankara-Washington signed the Fulbright agreement; universities inspired by the US model

⁵¹⁹Ergün, Mustafa, *Türk Eğitim Sisteminin Batılılaşmasını Belirleyen Dinamikler*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, Nr. 17, Ankara, 1990, pp. 453-457

⁵²⁰Keskin, Yusuf, *US Influence on the Education System in Turkey: An Analysis of Reports By American Education Specialists*, p. 234

⁵²¹Güven, Sami, *1950'li Yıllarda Türk Ekonomisi Üzerine Amerikan Kalkınma Reçeteleri: Hiltz Raporu, Thornburg Raporu, Barker Raporu*. Also see: Kara, Bülent, *Türkiye'de Personel Reformu Çalışmalarının Altyapısı: 1930-1960 Yılları Arasında Yabancı Uzmanların Kamu Yönetimine İlişkin Hazırladıkları Raporlar*, C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Cilt 30, No: 2, Aralık 2006, pp. 149-162; İleri, Turgut, *The Interest of the United States of America (USA) in Underground Sources of Turkey and Reports Prepared Upon the Development of Turkish Mining*, Turkish Studies, Vol. V/II, Spring 2010, pp. 1146-1158; Çelik, Aziz, *Vesayet Mektupları: 1950 ve 1960lı Yıllarda Türk ve ABD Sendikacıları Arasındaki Yazışmalar*, Çalışma ve Toplum, 2010/2; Aydos, Serpil, *1948-1955 Yılları Arasında Türkiye ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri İlişkilerinde Kamu Diplomasisi*, Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Cilt 45, Sayı 4, Aralık 2012, pp. 119-138

⁵²²Paige worked and wrote a report in 1935.

⁵²³Thornburg visited Turkey in 1949-1950 and submitted a report on Turkish Economy, Industry and Services including recommendations to keep the state out of economy.

⁵²⁴Barker wrote a report in 1951 on Turkish Economy and Underground Sources.

were established; American philanthropic institutions intensified their operations in Turkey, and the list could be extended to cover many more.

6.2.3. American Philanthropy in Turkey of the 50s

The long list of Turco-American rapprochement attempts particularly in education made the non-governmental establishments' mouth water after the 2nd WW. This was an interesting period when products reflecting American culture such as fast food, trifles, films, etc. penetrated immensely to Turkish society and started to influence the socio-cultural life⁵²⁵. This influence was carried out with either conventional methods under the state apparatus or with non-traditional methods such as the institutions which eagerly entrenched their investments in Turkey during the 50s. Significant examples concerning Turkey were the Rockefeller (RF) and Ford Foundations (FF). These established in the United States in the first half of the 20th century by the wealthy businessmen who owned these companies carrying their names. These establishments and others wished to add to their society thus were engaged in charity.

However, the scope of their philanthropic intentions and activities were not limited to the US. On the contrary, their benevolent investments scattered throughout many developing countries including Turkey. Interestingly all these countries had relations on different levels with Washington. Therefore, the US needed to know especially the non-western societies to spread American values by using these foundations⁵²⁶ which were willingly supporting Washington for this aim. It was at this point that prominent US universities opened area studies with generous endowments granted by the mentioned foundations for analysis of particular regions such as Near East, China; etc. to train the qualified experts who

⁵²⁵Örnek, Cangül, *Hegemonya Mücadelesi Bağlamında Filantropi ve Sosyal Bilimler: 1953 Yalova Konferansı Örneği*, Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Cilt 46, Sayı 3, Eylül 2013, p.142

⁵²⁶Ibid, p. 147

would learn the culture and the politics of these regions⁵²⁷ so that Washington could walk on the safe grounds when she wanted to lead them in any way she preferred.

As cited in Dr. Cangül Örnek's study, Dr. Edward Berman, prominent author of philanthropy, studied and wrote about the influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller foundations on US foreign policy⁵²⁸. Dr. Berman asserted that since 1945 both the administrators and the employers working for these foundations firmly believed that exporting American style democracy and values was important. Furthermore, the binding economies of the *periphery countries*⁵²⁹ to the USA as well as integrating the policies and finances of such states to Washington could serve the people of those countries more than anything else⁵³⁰. They also considered that interactions and connections among the elite in the periphery with the American leading institutions and their norms through education and culture programs would play a major role. This role for Turkish ruling elite, the top generals, the intelligentsia, the journalists and others in the 50s as well as in the following decades would be to lead them socially and culturally.

To reach this aim, America needed a flexible hand, seemingly non-governmental and independent. This new method not confined to but championed by the US included creating environment conducive for private investments in the periphery countries. Accordingly the foundations would do research in and investigate various fields including education, medicine, public policy, etc. suitable to their advantage. Washington aimed to shape the public opinion as well as to

⁵²⁷Erken, Ali, *The Rockefeller Foundation, John Marshall and the Development of the Humanities in Modern Turkey: 1950-1965*, Divan Disiplinerlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi, Vol. 20, Nr. 38, 2015/1, pp.120-121

⁵²⁸Berman, Edward, *The Ideology of Philanthropy: The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1983.

⁵²⁹This term refers to lesser developed countries dependent on or exploited by a bigger and/or more developed one. This also is used interchangeably with the *Third World* term.

⁵³⁰Örnek, Cangül, *Hegemonya Mücadelesi Bağlamında Filantropi ve Sosyal Bilimler: 1953 Yalova Konferansı Örneği*, p.143

design and encourage specific government policies⁵³¹ in these countries including Turkey.

At this point, it is essential to indicate that albeit its long past, academic studies on American philanthropy in Turkey, available works are still scarce although activities of the non-governmental actors had/have a significant share in the US policy making⁵³². Furthermore, it would be proper to comment that the foundations referred met DP rulers and government agencies in the 50s who readily accepted their activities which easily spread to bureaucratic mechanisms⁵³³. In other words, Ankara did not obstruct American foundations. In such an environment, these institutions found civilians who willingly co-operated with them in their projects. These Turkish supporters helped the foundations to be adapted to any political change in Turkey. Yet still these institutions which appeared to be non-governmental would not act independent from the policies initiated by Washington⁵³⁴.

At first look, this claim seems paradoxical especially when American isolationist policies were dominant in the first half of the 20th century. However, ostensible use of the Monroe Doctrine was abandoned once America penetrated into different parts of the world as was briefly mentioned in the first few chapter. Such a turn in US policy was also supported by works of Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations.

⁵³¹Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, pp.134-135

⁵³²Parmar, Inderjeet, *Foundations Network and American Hegemony*, *European Journal of American Studies*, Vol. VII, Nr. 1, 2012, p. 4

⁵³³Erken, Ali, *Negotiating Politics, Informal Networks and the Ford Foundation Projects in Turkey During the Cold War*, *International Journal of Turcologia*, Vol. XI, No. 21, 2016, p.10

⁵³⁴Parmar, Inderjeet, *Conceptualizing the State-Private Network in American Foreign Policy in US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network*, (Eds) Wilford, Hugh and Laville, Helen, Routledge, London, 2006, pp.13-14

Especially Rockefeller, as the leading one among the foundations, supported refugees from the Armenian and Greek⁵³⁵ communities soon before disintegration of the Ottoman Empire⁵³⁶. However, this was rather small in scale when compared to its activities in Turkish Republic. Interestingly, Standard Oil, one of Rockefeller family companies, started its investments⁵³⁷ soon before the outbreak of the 1st World War and in the petroleum areas in the Middle East which corresponded to a timeline when its charity activities were initiated at the same time with its petroleum investments. This may provoke the thought that economic interests of the Rockefeller Family could be disguised under Rockefeller Foundation. However, the 1st World War years passed without a significant activity. This was about to change when Atatürk and nationalists won the Independence War and ready to form a new country.

Rockefeller Foundation saw this as an opportunity to intensify its activities and two years after her establishment started to work in Turkey. Nationalist Turks, with fresh recollections of the Ottoman period, were unconfident towards European states. Therefore, American advancement and engagement modernizing Turkey with a secular approach was welcomed by administration in Ankara⁵³⁸. As a matter of fact, the American official and high commissioner of the post WWI of the time the statement of Admiral Bristol⁵³⁹, underlining that Americans, free of Turkish

⁵³⁵Daniel, Robert L., *American Philanthropy in the Near East: 1820-1960*, Ohio University Press, Athens-Ohio, 1970, pp.1-16

⁵³⁶Ibid, pp. 41-70. Also see: Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, pp.137

⁵³⁷Denova, John A, *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East-1900-1939*,The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1963, p.39

⁵³⁸Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, Yeditepe University "The First Turks in America" Symposium Paper, İstanbul, 2003, p.6

⁵³⁹Mark Lambert Bristol served as the United States High Commissioner in Turkey between the years 1919-1927. He was asked to investigate and prepare a report on Turkish-Armenian relations, events and the situation of Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire. His report was not in favor of formation of an American mandate in Armenia.

suspicious targeting European countries, probably had the best position⁵⁴⁰ of all foreigners in Turkey facilitated Rockefeller's establishment in this country.

Returning to Rockefeller Foundation activities, this time it had a specific and concentrated agenda: the public health, archeology, education and social research. On the one side, the medical activities, the development of Central Institute of Hygiene in Ankara (*Refik Saydam Hıfzısıhha Merkezi or Enstitüsü*⁵⁴¹), construction of a related service school as well as the nursing education to young Turkish women with fellowship opportunities to study in the US were among the Rockefeller activities⁵⁴². But on the other side, a very interesting and curious comment came from Prof. E. Richard Brown of UCLA (*University of California at Los Angeles*), a well-known academician of public health and the former president of American Public Health Association. Prof. Brown wrote that Rockefeller Foundation public health programs aimed to assist Washington to develop and control the markets and resources of the countries it had entered⁵⁴³. Similar to Dr. Brown pinpointing peculiar Rockefeller Foundation activities, Prof. James Goode, a well-known history professor on Middle East and Turkey commented that the foundation supported archeological excavations and studies in Turkey⁵⁴⁴ with a possible expectation that archeological items uncovered in Turkey would be shared as in the Ottoman times.

Moreover, one of Rockefeller Foundation's prominent staff, Dr. Kenneth W. Rose⁵⁴⁵ asserted that the foundation invested substantial money and time to the

⁵⁴⁰Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, p.6

⁵⁴¹Goethe-Institut (Ankara): <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/ges/hyg/trindex.htm>. Also see: T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı Ankara Halk Sağlığı Laboratuvarı Tarihçe: <http://www.ahsl.gov.tr/index.php/hakkimizda.html>

⁵⁴²Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, p.8

⁵⁴³Brown, E. Richard, *Public Health in Imperialism: Early Rockefeller Programs at Home and Abroad*, American Journal of Public Health, Vol. 66, No.9, 1976, p.897

⁵⁴⁴Goode, James, *Archeology and Diplomacy in the Republic of Turkey, 1919-1939*, (Eds) Aydın, Mustafa & Erhan, Çağrı, *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Routledge, London, 2004, pp. 49-65

modernization of Turkish society. These were done to develop and support institutions and key segments of the society in areas not limited to public health, medical care, education, the humanities for the advancement of the art, and the social-sciences. The purpose was to assist Turkish policy makers comprehend the forces behind the economy and social and political relations⁵⁴⁶.

For this purpose, the Rockefeller Foundation chose prominent members of the society such as Bülent Ecevit (late former Prime Minister), Prof. Dr. İhsan Doğramacı (founder of Bilkent University, the first private university to establish in Turkey) and Prof. Dr. Halil İnalcık⁵⁴⁷ (the renown Ottoman and Turkish historian) to communicate to masses what they learned while they were in the US about freedom of speech, press, western economies and politics⁵⁴⁸. Interestingly, the 50s observed a dramatic increase in the Turkish number of Rockefeller Foundation fellowship recipients and awards, which had the highest share of all the decades since the foundation had been active⁵⁴⁹. That was also the case in the number of Turkish grants allocated to social sciences and cultural studies by Rockefeller Foundation⁵⁵⁰; interestingly, there were no grants or fellowships to Turks in these areas before the 50s.

This shift was apparently due to the communist threat of the Cold War as well as Rockefeller Foundation's non official status. This and others were at Washington's disposal to find methods and ways to control the behaviors of

⁵⁴⁵The Assistant Director for the Rockefeller Foundation Archive Center, New York

⁵⁴⁶Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, p.3

⁵⁴⁷The Rockefeller Foundation Archive, Series 805: Turkey, R.G. 10.1 (FA244) 1917-1979, Box 484, Folder 7220

⁵⁴⁸Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, p.138

⁵⁴⁹Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, p.13

⁵⁵⁰Ibid

societies by making use of social sciences and culture⁵⁵¹. Cangül Örnek asserted by using Antonio Gramsci's⁵⁵² hegemony theory that the US attempted to establish a worldwide dominance on culture and ideology⁵⁵³ with the help of such foundations during the Cold War and that Turkey was an experiment for such dominance. Furthermore, the Rockefeller Foundation had observed that humanities and social sciences were the two significant tools both to create knowledge on human activities for policy making as well as for the power in order to manipulate people's opinions⁵⁵⁴. It was for this purpose and to increase intercultural awareness, that Rockefeller Foundation supported the establishment and in later years, their developments of American studies programs at İstanbul and Ankara Universities⁵⁵⁵. Visiting professors from America were also granted fellowships to work in the area studies programs in both cities⁵⁵⁶.

It was apparent that American foundations had more varieties and opportunities in the 50s than Atatürk's time to eradicate the influence of French and German on Turkish education and health systems⁵⁵⁷. To reach this aim,

⁵⁵¹Erken, Ali, *The Rockefeller Foundation, John Marshall and the Development of the Humanities in Modern Turkey: 1950-1965*, p. 115

⁵⁵²A prominent Italian neo-Marxist theorist and politician who wrote on political theory, sociology and linguistics. Gramsci lived between the years 1891-1937. Hegemony, a term previously used by Lenin to explain the political leadership of the working-class greatly expanded by Gramsci by developing an analysis of how the ruling capitalist class – the bourgeoisie – establishes and maintains its control. He suggested that the ruling class maintained control not just through violence and political and economic coercion, but also through ideology. The bourgeoisie developed a hegemonic culture, which propagated its own values. Gramsci stated that bourgeois' cultural values were tied to folklore, popular culture and religion, and therefore much of his analysis of hegemonic culture revolves around these.

⁵⁵³Örnek, Cangül, *Hegemonya Mücadelesi Bağlamında Filantropi ve Sosyal Bilimler: 1953 Yalova Konferansı Örneği*, p.142

⁵⁵⁴Ibid, p.144

⁵⁵⁵Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, p.13

⁵⁵⁶Örnek, Cangül, *Hegemonya Mücadelesi Bağlamında Filantropi ve Sosyal Bilimler: 1953 Yalova Konferansı Örneği*, p.150

⁵⁵⁷Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, p.5

especially, Rockefeller Foundation generously invested to two prominent institutions: Robert College in İstanbul and Ankara University Hacettepe Faculty of Medicine.

Robert College as discussed earlier stood out as the symbol of a typical American college. This included a social life replicating the American model as well as its academic strata and procedures. However, the college required very serious updating to attract both western trained (*preferably the US*) faculty who had education abroad and bright Turkish students who in the future would come to leading positions in the country or would work as the inbreeding faculty members of the college after their degree from a US college. For these purposes, RF granted over 450,000 US dollars in total in the 50s for the training of faculty members as well as improvements of its courses particularly in humanities⁵⁵⁸. These courses aimed to synthesize values of eastern and western civilizations. Thus it was believed that they would eliminate biases on Western culture in Turkey and in the Middle East⁵⁵⁹. It was expected that junior faculty members teaching at Robert College would also later work for other Turkish universities, thus would create a community of professors of US education and admirers of American values and life style, let alone the students graduated from this and similar colleges.

Related to the investments in medicine, İhsan Dođramacı portrayed by Rockefeller Foundation staff as the person with charismatic leadership, energy, enthusiasm and professional competence, was selected by this organization to plant American impact on medical education, child care as well as family planning in Turkey. Therefore, his projects were granted over a million US dollars from 1955 until 1967 for pediatrics service, Hacettepe Faculty of Medicine of Ankara University as well as for nursery education and the family planning equipment of the related

⁵⁵⁸Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, pp 139-140

⁵⁵⁹Örnek, Cangül, *Hegemonya Mücadelesi Bağlamında Filantropi ve Sosyal Bilimler: 1953 Yalova Konferansı Örneđi*, p.163

clinics. The grants also included the salaries of doctors and nurses who worked in these clinics⁵⁶⁰.

These were not Rockefeller Foundation' sole involvements. Apparently, one of its staffs from the division of humanities who worked as the assistant director, John Marshall had a capacity to pick up the promising writers and artists; as this can easily be observed from Rockefeller Foundation archival documents and Marshall's own personnel reports⁵⁶¹. Mr. Marshall worked in Turkey from 1948 onwards and in the 50s with intervals and convinced many talented Turks including (Ayşe) Yıldız Kenter, Muhsin Ertugrul and alike to spend some time in the US as the Rockefeller grantee. It must be borne in mind that the American protestant missionaries had taken the lead of establishing Turco-American philanthropic relations back in the 1820s and the current was their metamorphosis and the new benevolent work could be resembled to their actives.

While Rockefeller Foundation infiltrated in many areas of socio-cultural life and set the operations as well as the rules of philanthropy in Turkey, the late comer Ford was quick to adopt and was very cautious not to duplicate what was accomplished by its competitor & cooperator. Ford Foundation started its activities in 1952 and chose a slightly different path than the Rockefeller's. This foundation limited its business scope with scientific education, social sciences and industrial build-up. This was partly due to the Ford understanding that improvement in living standards and people's welfare would be accomplished whether a country was following a democratic course⁵⁶². Such a vacuum directed Ford activities towards underdeveloped and not sufficiently democratic countries like Turkey of the 50s.

⁵⁶⁰Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, pp.141-143. With the awareness that a budget from RF for a family planning program would create tension in the parliament, Dođramacı asked the foundation to invest it indirectly in the form of equipments, salaries of the project staff, etc.

⁵⁶¹Rockefeller Foundation Archive: John Marshall, *The Near East, Officer's Diaries*, RG 12, M-R (FA393), March 18-June 13, 1951

⁵⁶²Erken, Ali, *Negotiating Politics, Informal Networks and the Ford Foundation Projects in Turkey During the Cold War*, p.8

Nonetheless, it was the Rockefeller Foundation which enjoyed the most of the Turco-American companionship of the decade. Therefore, most of the charity investment of the Ford Foundation was in the 60s when the golden age of the relations started to deteriorate. However, 1957 marked the coming of new American education experts sponsored by the Ford Foundation⁵⁶³. Invited by the Ministry of Education, the experts suggested that the problems of education should be examined by a commission somewhat designed by the experts. Interestingly, the commission members, consisted of the carefully selected Turkish, American⁵⁶⁴ and one French⁵⁶⁵ professor were sent a lengthy expedition including some cities in Turkey⁵⁶⁶ and spent weeks abroad in the States, Europe as well as in Japan with generous Ford grants⁵⁶⁷. This tour may have aimed to provide an on-site training for the members concerning the education system and policies of the countries visited. It may also have provided a conducive environment to express own views in the final report listing recommendations to the Turkish Ministry of Education⁵⁶⁸.

The mentioned report complained that Turkey lacked the proper scientific education. To reach this aim, newly appointed director of the foundation to Turkey⁵⁶⁹, Emeritus Prof. Eugene Northrop decided to put her hands under the stone and suggested to the Turkish government that Ford Foundation would assist establishment of Turkish Science Foundation (today's *Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu-TÜBİTAK*), a science high school of gifted Turkish students in

⁵⁶³Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*, pp. 507-508

⁵⁶⁴Howard Wilson from University of California, Champion Ward and Harvey Hall from the Ford Foundation

⁵⁶⁵Pierre Guillon, Aix-en-Provence

⁵⁶⁶Erken, Ali, *Negotiating Politics, Informal Networks and the Ford Foundation Projects in Turkey During the Cold War*, p.12

⁵⁶⁷Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*, p.508

⁵⁶⁸Ibid

⁵⁶⁹Eugene Northrop was appointed to Turkey two months before the military intervention of May 27, 1960.

Ankara (*Ankara Fen Lisesi*) and development of science faculty at Middle East Technical University⁵⁷⁰. Timing of Northrop's recommendations and realization of her projects coincided with the military intervention and the following estrangement of Turco-American relations in the 60s.

Nevertheless, Ford Foundation invested over 6 million US dollars to the establishment of the mentioned high school and to the Institute of Business Administration at the University of İstanbul as well as Robert College⁵⁷¹ and American College for Girls. Additionally, the foundation supported not only these institutions but also encouraged economic and social research programs to enhance the foreign expertise in Turkey⁵⁷². In a nutshell, Ford initiated grants for the Turks for training abroad, US experts working in Turkey and finances to the import of equipment be it scientific or for daily use. An interesting comment for non-scientific use of Ford money came from a well-known US writer, social critic and philosopher Dwight MacDonal.

From an American viewpoint, MacDonal asserted that Fords' money changed Turkey by enabling the Turkish government to set up institutions of western style⁵⁷³. This somewhat contemptuous perspective reached to a point where Business School of İstanbul University, supported by Harvard Business School and some Turkish firms, was established with the expectation that it would put an end to the insufficiency encountered when Hilton Hotel was opened in İstanbul. Hilton had to import its western style furnishings (but not its rugs since they were in

⁵⁷⁰Kurdaş, Kemal, *ODTÜ Yıllarım: Bir Hizmetin Hikayesi*, ODTÜ Yayıncılık (METU Press), Ankara, 1988, pp.109-114. Also see: <http://fef.metu.edu.tr/en/duyuru/fef-tarihce> (for the history of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, METU)

⁵⁷¹Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, p.144

⁵⁷²Ibid

⁵⁷³MacDonal, Dwight, *The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions-An Unauthorized Biography*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1956, p. 65

abundance), because there was no local manufacturer which would produce the quantity let alone the desired quality.

This sentimental commentary shows how American charity foundations perceived Turkey of the 50s. Such a perception may also lead us to think critically towards charity of a foreign institution. Furthermore, in the eye of the foundations, the country looked like an easy prey neither questioning their utility nor placing legal barriers in front of their settlement. Ankara seemed to provide everything at their service; therefore, they did extensive research and data collection to unlock the social DNA of Turkish society enabling the US to keep it under control or to inseminate American views and ideas. Moreover, as stated by a former program officer, all serious foundation programs attempts to change the course of history⁵⁷⁴. Rockefeller and Ford, particularly in case of Turkey, tried to influence the course of history through their activities and economic deeds in the 1950s even if such a financial devotion to Turkey constituted only a small part of their overall funding throughout the world. The impositions in higher education and exchange programs with state support, which will be analyzed in the coming section, stood one of the significant topics to be discussed in education under American influences throughout the 1950s.

6.2.4. The University, the Academic Program and the Exchange: The American State & Non-Governmental Organizations and Their Implications over Turkish Higher Education

The 1950s, the golden decade of the Turco-American relations, was the era when the DP administers attempted to replicate typical US higher education institutions as their best practice model and would expect to educate and graduate

⁵⁷⁴Erdem, Murat and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, p.146

Turco-Yankees⁵⁷⁵ as part of their Little America dream. Such a dream would be consolidated once new universities were opened in cities outside İstanbul and Ankara.

Years between 1955 and 1957 were significant for higher education with the establishment four major state universities: in 1955, Karadeniz Technical University (*Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, also known as KTÜ*) in Trabzon and Ege University (*Ege Üniversitesi*) in İzmir; in 1956, Middle East Technical University (METU) (also *Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi in Turkish -ODTÜ*) in Ankara and finally in 1957, Atatürk University (*Atatürk Üniversitesi*) in Erzurum⁵⁷⁶. İlhan Tekeli asserted that these new universities came with novelties. The most remarkable of these was that they adopted the American university tradition⁵⁷⁷ unlike the previous Turkish universities which were under the influence of the European⁵⁷⁸.

This shift of influence on the Turkish universities reached to such a point that one of the parliamentarians dedicating his time and energy to the draft bill arranging the establishment of Middle East Technical University (METU) even asserted that the curriculum would be identical to existed in an American university, with the condition that : language of instruction be English⁵⁷⁹.

Establishment of METU marked a radical change in Turkish higher education. This university was the first one which taught all courses in English and adopted the American grading, faculty promotion and department system. As a matter of fact,

⁵⁷⁵This is a deliberately made-up word by the author to mean young students who were born and raised in Turkey but were trained like an American and adopted its culture.

⁵⁷⁶Tekeli, İlhan, *Tarihsel Bağlamı İçinde Türkiye’de Yükseköğretimin ve YÖK’ün Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p. 171

⁵⁷⁷Üsdiken, Behlül, *Transferring American Models For Education in Business and Public Administration to Turkey, 1950-1970*, in (Eds) Criss, Nur, Bilge and Esenbel, Selçuk and Greenwood, Tony and Mazaari, Louis, *American Turkish Encounters, 1830-1989*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011, p. 322

⁵⁷⁸Ibid

⁵⁷⁹Şenses, Fikret, *İlhan Tekeli ve Selim İlkin’in Türkiye’de Yükseköğretimile İlgili Çalışmaları*, ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi, Sayı: 40, Ankara, 2013, p. 358

the first METU Acting President as well as some of the deans and directors were Americans⁵⁸⁰ such as Thomas Godfrey and W.L. Woolrich. However, this created suspicions towards METU in the 50s and in the following decades. The rumors among the sceptics ranged from its educating divergent students to catering for the imperialistic aims of America⁵⁸¹. However, contrasting ideas asserting that the US never wanted Turkey to become an independent country which would educate bright technical staff at METU and thus its contribution to Turkey' development were also prevalent⁵⁸².

Whether it was anti or pro American, METU proved to be an excellent university model with the quality of the research carried out, the staff and bright students as well as departments and graduates successfully fulfilling public services in Turkey. Moreover, this university was known to pioneer with numerous firsts and with her stance as a *dissident* institution not only to the acts and ideas of the party in power but also to the opposition, in the case of democracy violations. However, such a protest mood in later decades reached to a point that the official car of the US Ambassador to Ankara visiting METU president was set on fire on January 6, 1969⁵⁸³ by the students.

Establishment of METU stood as an original idea; however, its model was followed by many other state and private universities, to a certain degree in the following decades except for Atatürk University in Erzurum. The idea to form a center for research in eastern Turkey which would help develop the east originally came from Atatürk who had pinpointed Van. But the practice came from President Celal Bayar⁵⁸⁴. The government took Nebraska University as a model which would

⁵⁸⁰Çalışkan, Nurettin, *Tarihçe: 1956-1980 ODTÜ*, p.7

⁵⁸¹Ibid, pp.3-12

⁵⁸²Kurdaş, Kemal, *ODTÜ Yıllarım: Bir Hizmetin Hikayesi*, pp.13-20

⁵⁸³Ibid, pp. 280-285

⁵⁸⁴Bayar, Celal, *Başvekilim Adnan Menderes*, (Ed.) Bozdağ, İsmet, Tercüman Gazetesi Yayınları, 1986, p.116

allow a land-grant university⁵⁸⁵. The academic experts from Nebraska University assisted to establish a specialized university in Erzurum in agriculture and farming areas⁵⁸⁶. To reach this aim, many faculty members from both sides were exchanged⁵⁸⁷ with an emphasis that academicians from the University of Nebraska would transfer their knowledge on the mentioned areas as well as the US university system to their counterparts.

Such an expertise was repudiated by the Turkish faculty in Erzurum to some extent⁵⁸⁸. Moreover, Atatürk University, unlike METU which had its own governing body, was attached to the Ministry of Education, violation of the autonomy principle⁵⁸⁹. Therefore, Atatürk University's success and development remained limited when compared to METU.

All these new universities transformed Turkish higher education and elevated it to a higher level although they harbored traces of America and Americanism. However, this did not satisfy Washington; therefore, the US looked for formulas which would influence Turkish socio-cultural life, specifically education, in a wider and deeper perspective. The method for this aim was to utilize the state apparatus in academic disciplines as well as exchange programs.

Concerning the academic disciplines, an efficient way was to support American Language and Literature departments in Turkish universities. Establishing such disciplines along with exchange programs would help Washington to win

⁵⁸⁵This idea of granting land to a university rather than a large investment due to the financial incapabilities was to counterbalance the financial support. ODTU and Atatürk Universities were two good examples of land-grant universities in Turkey though ODTU received also lots of funds from foreign sources.

⁵⁸⁶Garlitz, Richard, *Land-Grant Education in Turkey: Atatürk University and American Technical Assistance, 1954-68*, in (Eds) Cangül, Örnek and Üngör, Çağdaş, *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2013, pp.177-192

⁵⁸⁷Korkut, Hüseyin, *Üniversiteler in Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, İstanbul, 1983, p.325

⁵⁸⁸Garlitz, Richard, *Land-Grant Education in Turkey: Atatürk University and American Technical Assistance, 1954-68*, pp.177-192

⁵⁸⁹Korkut, Hüseyin, *Üniversiteler in Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim*, p.325

Turks' hearts and minds. Moreover, this attraction was expected to stand as a backup for political and military warfare against the USSR during the Cold War, which would ease the victory of Washington to Moscow as it promoted favorable images of America⁵⁹⁰ in countries like Turkey. To reach this aim, Washington even encouraged and supported American Studies programs around the world⁵⁹¹.

These programs started first at Ankara and İstanbul Universities in the 50s; nonetheless, they were extended in other universities in the coming decades⁵⁹². Since the promotion of American culture in Turkey was the utmost objective, Washington financed the inception and the development of departments related to its culture and language not only with private foundations which were analyzed in previous sections but also through the Fulbright Program⁵⁹³. United States Information Agency (USIA or USIS) sponsored American lecturer to teach in the Turkish universities. Among the firsts, Sidney Burks was appointed to Ankara University in 1953 and in the same year did Robert Hamilton Ball who wrote *A Short View of Elizabethan Drama* for the American literature course teaching.

Another striking but similar US initiative as an example of using state apparatus to lead Turkish education was Washington's technical and financial support through its ICA (International Cooperation Administration, later turned into AID-Agency for International Development and USAID). This institution aimed to establish an industrial design department operating under the Faculty of Architecture at ODTU in the late 50s and in the 60s⁵⁹⁴. This attempt was realized in

⁵⁹⁰Parmar, Inderjeet, *Selling Americanism, Combatting Anti-Americanism: The Historical Role of American Foundations*, Center for Policy Studies Working Paper, Central European University, Budapest, 2004, pp. 18-23

⁵⁹¹Ibid

⁵⁹²Pakin, Esra, *American Studies in Turkey during the Cultural Cold War*, Turkish Studies by Routledge, Vol. 9, No.3, 2008, pp. 512-516

⁵⁹³Ibid

1969. However, it targeted the same American objective as in the case of American language and culture departments: Washington strongly believed that political chaos and economic deprivation were the major causes of the dissemination of communism. Therefore, the US worked to establish a universal system providing the emergence political and social conditions and institutions⁵⁹⁵ which resembled and followed Western but especially American style.

The American intentions mentioned here would be more reinforced by structured and institutional exchange programs so the world would become more Americanized. Among such initiatives, the Fulbright Program is (was) the most visible, well-known and recognized as the *flagship*⁵⁹⁶ program of the US government cultural diplomacy. The program has an astounding background and it is worth to mention its history even in few sentences:

Once the United States entered the 2nd WW, its troops were sent almost all continents. This forced Washington to transport millions of military and civilian equipment to the front. However, their preservation became a main issue soon after the end of the war, it was too costly to take them back home as this was too costly as well as unclear whether such used and decayed materials should be reused or disposed. Although war surplus was an issue, it was also closely connected to America's worldwide political as well as economic interests; therefore, a logistical problem soon turned into a political opportunity⁵⁹⁷ thanks to recommendations and legal framework efforts by a group of people including that of Senator J. William

⁵⁹⁴Er, H. Alpay and Korkut, Fatma and Er, Özlem, *U.S. Involvement in the Development of Design in the Periphery: The Case History of Industrial Design Education in Turkey, 1950s-1970s*, Design Issues, MIT, Volume 19, Nr. 2, 2003, pp. 17-34

⁵⁹⁵*Ibid*, p. 19

⁵⁹⁶Vogel, Ralph H, *The Making of the Fulbright Program*, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 491, Nr. 1, 1987, pp.11-21

⁵⁹⁷Lebovic, Sam, *From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945-1950* in Diplomatic History, Vol. 37, No.2, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 281

Fulbright of Arkansas⁵⁹⁸ whose name was given to the program by the State Department. Mr. Fulbright worked in 1944 and 45 for months and sponsored the *Surplus Property Act of 1944*⁵⁹⁹ which was signed into law by the President Truman on August 1, 1946⁶⁰⁰. The Act authorized the US State Department to sell the surplus material to other countries in return of intangible benefits⁶⁰¹, Fulbright exchange program was counted as such. In other words, students and scholars of other countries including Turkey inherited the Fulbright programs thanks to America's "rotten food and rusted war equipment"⁶⁰².

The Fulbright program constituted a significant step and cornerstone of American cultural imperialism especially in but not limited to the underdeveloped countries and education was a relatively easy area to infiltrate and disseminate American cultural elements. Such an activity as discussed earlier was backed by private initiatives like Rockefeller foundation and supported by state funded programs like Fulbright, Eisenhower grants and non-governmental Field Service program. In order to regulate the assistance Washington first established ICA and later invited⁶⁰³ IIE (Institute of International Education) to implement all exchange programs including the Fulbright program centrally⁶⁰⁴.

⁵⁹⁸Mr. Fulbright was representing Arkansas but he was originally from Missouri

⁵⁹⁹More details about the act and how it functioned financially can be found: Podell, David L. *Financing the Acquisition of Surplus Plants and Goods* in *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Duke University School of Law, 1945, pp.320-330. This Act was also known as Public Law Nr. 457

⁶⁰⁰The US Fulbright Program Official Internet Site: <https://us.fulbrightonline.org/about/history>

⁶⁰¹Lebovic, Sam, *From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945–1950*, p. 281

⁶⁰²Ibid

⁶⁰³History of Institute of International Education (IIE) Through Its Official Internet Site: <http://www.iie.org/en/Who-We-Are/History#.WAKGn4VOIfw>

⁶⁰⁴Ataöv, Türkkaya, *Amerika NATO ve Türkiye*, Ankara, Aydınlık Yayınları, 1969, pp.230-231

This program was presented by New York Times as a “weapon for peace”⁶⁰⁵ with 50,000 incoming and the same number outward mobility. Moreover, to obtain a public support within the States, some papers, before the ratification of Fulbright Act (same as Surplus Property Act but with some amendments) even asserted that the American taxpayers would win on these agreements⁶⁰⁶. Soon after Fulbright was ratified, President Truman established the Board of Foreign Scholarships (BFS) to oversee the daily operations of the Fulbright program. It would be hard to comment that the board members were not immune to American power politics. Although during their first meetings, the members agreed to avoid appearances of cultural imperialism and work under the general guidelines of the US foreign policy, the board had such a structure and working principles that this demonstrated Fulbright was designed to politically transmit American culture abroad⁶⁰⁷.

In the same vain, prominent author of history Akira Iriye describes the Fulbright program “as good a symbol of postwar cultural internationalism as any”⁶⁰⁸; he and alike talk about the Fulbright program was used as a publicity tool by the US Information and Educational Exchange Act (The Smith-Mundt Act) in 1948, and the emergence of the propaganda war with the Soviets⁶⁰⁹ Turkey was the center of.

Ankara and Washington governments signed the agreement establishing Fulbright program in Turkey on December 27, 1949. The agreement was later ratified in TGNA⁶¹⁰ and published in official gazette on March 13, 1950⁶¹¹. As stated in its text, the

⁶⁰⁵New York Times, *A Weapon For Peace*, December 26, 1946

⁶⁰⁶Californian, *Lend-Lease Returns*, August 1, 1946.

⁶⁰⁷Lebovic, Sam, *From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945–1950*, p. 297

⁶⁰⁸Iriye, Akira, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1997, p.155

⁶⁰⁹Lebovic, Sam, *From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945–1950*, p. 282

law envisaged formation of a commission made up of a mixed group of Turkish-American people from diplomacy, academy, bureaucracy and business circles to oversee the program. The commission had equal number of Turks and Americans as members; however, it was planned the US Ambassador to Ankara would chair and in cases of tie, the Ambassador had the final word.

Soon after its establishment, the Fulbright Commission of Turkey worked hard and became successful sending and receiving grantees. Between 1950 and 1960, the program sponsored over 50 Turkish teachers and faculty members as well as more than 130 students; and brought close to 80 American teachers, faculty and researchers to Turkey⁶¹². Up-to-date statistics indicates that this number reached almost 7,000⁶¹³ by 2016 including top administrators including ministers and rectors, entertainers, academicians, journalists and many more⁶¹⁴. Among them were world known mathematician Prof. Dr. Cahit Arf, Turkey's first woman political scientist and senator Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan Unat, former State Minister Responsible for Economy Ali Babacan, etc. These Turks of Fulbright Alumni were expected to grow sympathy to American ideals⁶¹⁵ like any other grantees from any country. Additionally, Fulbright administrators were firm believers of the utility and strength of American culture up to a level that they blindly thought the American culture would transform the world

⁶¹⁰TBMM Kanunlar Dergisi Cilt 32, Law Number 5596, March 13, 1950. Also see: Fulbright Turkey Official Internet Site: <http://fulbright.org.tr/en/about-us/the-turkish-fulbright-commission/history-of-the-turkish-fulbright/> (accessed on August 5, 2016)

⁶¹¹Official Gazette, Nr. 7460, March 13, 1950

⁶¹²Torun, Esmâ, *II. Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye'de Kültürel Değişimlere Yol Açan İç ve Dış Etkenler (1945-1960)*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2002, pp.275-276

⁶¹³Fulbright Turkey Official Internet Site: <http://fulbright.org.tr/en/about-us/the-turkish-fulbright-commission/history-of-the-turkish-fulbright/> (accessed on October 24, 2016)

⁶¹⁴Please see a few historic photos of the early Fulbright grantees in Appendix F.10.

⁶¹⁵Lebovic, Sam, *From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945–1950*, p. 308

without it was transformed; therefore, they eagerly spread and naturalized the American culture and hegemony during the Cold War period⁶¹⁶.

Interestingly, while American government established and used Fulbright program as part of its propaganda and cultural war against the USSR, Washington also allowed exchange programs such as American Field Service (also known as AFS) to countries where the US could enjoy cultural influence over youth in parallel to the existing state funded ones. AFS is (was) an international youth exchange organization unrelated to the US government in appearance spread its operations in countries and regions similar to its competitors (or cooperators in other senses), the Fulbright and the Eisenhower grant. This general trend was also the case in Turkey.

These students were sent and studied in US colleges; and spent their study abroad while staying with American families. Moreover, the AFS scholarships reaching over 100 annually assured admiration for American culture and lifestyle among Turkish youth⁶¹⁷. Young students be it from Turkey or from other countries returned home alienated to their own culture and helped to spread the US practices and institutions as well as its culture and values⁶¹⁸ intentionally or without even aware of what they had been doing. Furthermore, some Turkish AFS grantees did not come back and continued their further studies in prominent American colleges. This also facilitated the brain drain⁶¹⁹, the skilled work force Turkey desperately sought for in the 1950s. Furthermore, most of them became activist or leftist at least social democrats and this clearly indicates that America was unable to achieve what she set out for.

These were not the only exchange programs linked to the US. On the contrary, many other state programs such as the Eisenhower grants or non-state ones which

⁶¹⁶Ibid

⁶¹⁷Koç, Şükrü M., *Emperyalizm ve Eğitimde Yabancılaşma*, pp.155-156

⁶¹⁸Kramer, Paul A., *Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century*, in (Eds) Garlitz, Richard and Jarvinen, Lisa, *Teaching America to the World & The World to America: Education and Foreign Relations since 1870*, Palgrave-Macmillan, New York, 2012, p. 14

⁶¹⁹Koç, Şükrü M., *Emperyalizm ve Eğitimde Yabancılaşma*, pp.155-156

would be established with a direct linkage between an American and a Turkish university would be added to the list of exchange programs attracting talented Turks. Such programs would help us better comprehend the interconnection between American universities and Washington's imperial power in the twentieth century⁶²⁰.

However, when carefully examined without even making a detailed analysis of the statistics, it becomes possible to assert that American exchange programs had a specific focus on the humanities and social sciences. These disciplines outnumbered the natural sciences due to the actual objective of cultural hegemony. This tells us that such programs were meant to be cultural transfer, not for the purpose of scientific or technical advice⁶²¹. Therefore, one could comment that while Turkey expected to develop by sending her people to the US and receive American researchers and experts to facilitate for this purpose during the 1950s, Washington did not prioritize and even ignored her ally's immediate needs especially when Ankara was eagerly seeking them. In other words, American interests came into prominence rather than Ankara's.

This understanding was partly true and used at every turn when a sort of educational program was initiated between the US and its allies in this decade. Clifford Ketzler, an American PhD student wrote a dissertation in 1955 on the State Department's "foreign leader" program and left us a valuable insight concerning how American administration perceived about the exchange programs:

With the exception of many professors and teacher exchanges, the other programs are predominantly 'one-way streets', i.e., they primarily encourage the export of American technical knowledge and the development of better understanding and more friendly attitudes toward the United States. Only secondarily, if at all, are they concerned with the understanding of other nations or the import of technical skills and cultural values from which the United States, as a nation, might profit...⁶²²

⁶²⁰Kramer, Paul A., *Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century*, p. 12

⁶²¹Lebovic, Sam, *From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945–1950*, p.303

⁶²²Kramer, Paul A., *Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century*, pp. 12-16. Also see: Quoted in Smith, Giles, Scott, *Networks of Empire: The*

Ketzel's insight concerning American perceptions was not unique. Authors within the USA asserted that foreign students who were sent to the States were expected to play a favorable as well as key roles when aligning the public opinion of home societies towards the United States thanks to their accounts of American life in parallel to their core lessons they had taken away recommending how their own societies' politics, economics and culture should and could be arranged⁶²³. The way how the societies in the allied countries should be organized was carefully planned by Washington. Their administrations encouraged and anticipated a vertical, top-down and authoritarian model of society⁶²⁴ in peripheral countries like Turkey.

Contrary to the American anticipation and expectation, many foreign students in the US developed anti-American stance. In educational exchange literature this situation was (is) known as the Nkrumah problem⁶²⁵. The issue emerged when foreign students of America developed into radical as well as anti-colonial nationalists⁶²⁶ such as Mr. Kwame Nkrumah. Mr. Nkrumah was Ghana's first prime minister as well as the president leading the full independence of Ghana from the UK. Mr. Nkrumah studied in the States between the years of 1935-1945. His stay in America had long lasting influence on him when he participated rallies and protests. He also nourished high level of political activism. Nkrumah problem made it possible to comment that along with blind adherents of American institutions, values, culture as well as life style, a considerable number of US College educated but anti-American, nationalist Turkish community developed both in the

U.S. State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France and Britain: 1950-1970, Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Land Publishing, 2008, p.28

⁶²³Kramer, Paul A., *Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century*, pp. 14-15

⁶²⁴*Ibid.*

⁶²⁵Clarke, John, Henrik, *Kwame Nkrumah: His Years in America*, Black Scholar, vol. 6, no.2, Taylor & Francis, Ltd, October 1974, pp.9-16

⁶²⁶*Ibid*

1950s and in the following decades. It is possible to follow their traces in Turkish journalism, in academia, in politics and even in business. However, this did not stop Turkey from adapting American model of education⁶²⁷, from kindergarten to universities and from military training to nursing⁶²⁸.

6.3. Emergence of Washington D.C's Unaccustomed Imperialism on the Turkish Food and Nutrition: Appetite to Possess What and How Consumed in *Little America*

Love at first sight cannot be restricted to films and literature. It can be applicable to gastronomy or culinary sciences to define captivation by food in our case. This is the understanding in a country like Turkey, where the food and eating habits are significant part of life. In Turkey table culture climbs up to a point where dining becomes a festivity. In fact, three cuisines are worldwide regarded as superb and Turkish cuisine is one of them (the others are the Chinese and the French cuisines). Yet it has not climbed to the sophistication of training the experts in gastronomy or culinary sciences of other countries such as the US which does not have an especially highly reputed or recommended cuisine.

Ironically when training such experts is concerned, students of such sciences in many Turkish universities including the private ones in İstanbul, like Bilgi University⁶²⁹, spend some time in the US whereas their American counterparts are not frequenters of gastronomy branches in Turkey. This does not ring a bell in minds that lack of reciprocity here is an indicative of American food imperialism in Turkey.

As a matter of fact, American food imperialism in the 50s, was a major instrument used to install Americanism into Turkish society. The method

⁶²⁷Koç, Şükrü M., *Emperyalizm ve Eđitimde Yabancılaşma*, pp. 108-112. Also see: Torun, Esmâ, *II. Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye'de Kültürel Deđişimlere Yol Açan İç ve Dış Etkenler (1945-1960)*, p.280

⁶²⁸Ergöl, Şule, *Nursing Education in Higher Education in Turkey*, Journal of Higher Education and Science, Vol 1, Nr. 3, December 2011, p.152

⁶²⁹İstanbul Bilgi University Department of Gastronomy and Culinary Sciences official internet site: <http://www.bilgi.edu.tr/tr/ogrenim/fakulte-ve-yuksekokullar/yuksekokul/turizm-ve-otelcilik-yuksekokulu/gastronomi-ve-mutfak-sanatları/>

Washington utilized was to exploit through unequal exchange of trade with Turkey, especially in food items and agricultural products; erode domestic eating habits and Turkish cuisine. Such type of imperialism was valid during the 1st World War when Britain used food sanctions against Germany though Hitler sought to retaliate during the 2nd WW. Interestingly, during the Cold War, England, aiming to avoid dependency, discreetly worked to increase her food self-sufficiency to a point where 95 per cent of indigenous-type food was locally grown⁶³⁰.

This type of self-sufficiency, as demonstrated figuratively, was valuable for Turkey as well during the first two decades following its establishment of the republic. Ankara became an exporter of wheat with a gradually increasing trend⁶³¹. However, this was interrupted by the 2nd WW, partly due to Turkey's own internal dynamics and partly to the consequences of the Great War. Turkish dynamics hand in hand with American initiatives concerning establishment of a democratic league resulted in the political change in Turkey.

As discussed in previous chapters, majority of the DP voters in the 50s gifting the government were the reacting sentimental villagers, feeling ignored and left out by the *elitist* RPP and its economic understanding during and after the 2nd WW. This sentiment was used by DP promising prosperity through plantation on the never provided farmlands. Another promise which more or less materialized was agricultural devices and machinery. However, the destitute villagers could only possess them through high interest, credits and loans, a system they were much alien to. On the other hand, the burden, the installments and the unrealized dreams the villagers were thrust into were not even regarded by politicians who joined hands with large landowners in order to turn Turkey into *a little America*⁶³².

⁶³⁰Ness, Immanuel and Cope, Zak, *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2016, p. 1216

⁶³¹Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, *İstatistik Yıllığı 1942-1945*, Vol. 15, Hüsnü Tabiat Basımevi, İstanbul, 1946, p. 375

⁶³²Ahmad, Feroz, *The Quest for Identity*, Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2003, p. 107

Supporters of DP, the farmers and villagers believed in this dream and yielded to DP policies to their daily lives.

The initial change was to produce agricultural goods for the industry such as cotton, tobacco, and soya and corn oil⁶³³ rather than essential products to feed the people. With this change, DP promised wealth. This was an irony and unreasonable for olive oil was one of Turkey's major products and the new comers including domestically produced margarine decreased its growth. As a matter of fact, for the newly emerging margarine industry Turkey started importing soya oil (that was one of its main ingredients) from the US with very low prices. Under these circumstances Ankara could not sell the precious olive oil to western markets at the desired price. It was argued that Washington manipulated the prices of soya and olive oil⁶³⁴ for her advantage. Once Ankara realized that she did not have a pivotal role in olive oil markets⁶³⁵, in fact those of any of the industrial products such as cotton and tobacco, she eventually lowered the price of olive oil and started to export it but much more to the States⁶³⁶ than other countries. In other words, farmers did not get what they were expecting in monetary terms both from soya or the olive oil let alone tobacco and cotton.

Interestingly olive oil trade between Washington and Ankara in the 1950s turned to a highly debated issue in Turkey and created suspicions and cultural myths. A very striking example is the folkloric song given below from Bursa region⁶³⁷ which was compiled and inserted into the repertory of the state radio⁶³⁸ in 1954.

⁶³³Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, Tolun Yayınları, Ankara, 1966, p.32

⁶³⁴Ibid

⁶³⁵Ibid, p.30

⁶³⁶Cumhuriyet Newspaper, "*Soya Yağı Hikayesi*", April 2, 1965,

⁶³⁷A provincial city famous for many kinds of food including olives from Gemlik

⁶³⁸Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu, a Turkish state owned broadcasting institution which was a monopolistic one in the 50s.

American sceptics argued that it was ordered by and made public thanks to the US⁶³⁹. Be it America ordered or not, the song called the attention of many Turks who associated modernity with anything but America. In this song a lady voice confesses to her lover that she cannot eat meals cooked with olive oil and that she cannot wear a cotton dress (one piece outfit which has printed designs of nature and flowers). She continues to by telling to her lover that she cannot accept to be a spouse to an ignorant like him; yet she again confesses that she cannot do without him by repeating every verse that she is seeking him everywhere. This was a very typical example of many cases where modernity which is reflected by the olive oil dishes the Anatolian peasant did not grow the taste for and traditionalism (defined by the cotton dress) those existed in individuals who surrendered to both trends with the American influence:

Zeytinyađlı Yiyemem - Bursa⁶⁴⁰

Zeytinyađlı yiyemem aman
Basma da fistan giyemem aman
Senin gibi cahile
Ben efendim diyemem aman
Kaldım duman içi dađlarda
Sevgili yarım nerelerde
Kara üzüm asması
Yeşil olur yazması
Ben yarimden ayrılmam
Kara yazı yazması
Asmadan üzüm aldım
Sapını uzun aldım
Verin benim yârimi
Annemden izin aldım

Controversial work on olive oil continues in our day as well: The renowned journalist Can Dünder who produced a documentary about the famous minstrel and

⁶³⁹Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, p.10. Also see: Koç, Mustafa, *Küresel Gıda Düzeni: Kriz Derinleşirken*, Nota Bene Yayınları, Ankara, 2014, p. 189; Appearance of Prof. Dr. Kenan Demirkol, Sky Turk Channel “*Aykırı Sorular*”, April 26, 2008; Bordum Yarımada Güncel Siyasi Gazete, Tüfekçi, Nevzat Çađlar, *Zeytin ve Gıda Emperyalizmi*, February 3, 2016

⁶⁴⁰TRT Müzik Dairesi Yayınları THM Repertuar Sıra No: 1133, Kimden Alındığı: İhsan KAPLAYAN, Derleyen: Muzaffer SARISÖZEN, Notaya Alan: Muzaffer SARISÖZEN, Complication Date: November 2, 1954. Also see: Ministry of Culture and Tourism official internet site: <http://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/bursa/kulturatlasi/zeytinyagli-yiyemem>

singer Neşet Ertaş and the ordeals in his life⁶⁴¹ in the 40s and the 50s. Mr. Ertaş was portrayed in Can Dündar's program as a person who composed songs in his early career in 1950 subjecting olive oil, how it turned into a scarce and delicate food item the poor could not easily purchase albeit its abundance in the near past. In other words, olive oil was made a symbol of prosperity like gold or diamond in Turkey of the 50s. Nevertheless, poverty did not stop the destitute's dream of becoming *little America*. Such dreams included possessing farmlands and American machinery. On the top of the machinery list came the tractor.

The arrival of the first tractors from the US to Turkey was in 1949 and this was celebrated ironically with parading American tractors in front of the Dolmabahçe Palace in İstanbul with the town bred⁶⁴² observing it and probably in the most urban area of Turkey. However, it was not until 1954 that Turkey received technical know-how from the US for tractors when the first factory opened in collaboration with Minneapolis-Moline Co. in Ankara⁶⁴³. The importing tractors was a part of an economic prescription recommended by mostly the American experts Ankara was expected comply⁶⁴⁴. The reports of US experts suggested Turkey to abandon heavy industry⁶⁴⁵ and embark upon a development plan based on agriculture since farming was the pre-determined role for her⁶⁴⁶. Such an understanding was one of the major reasons Washington introduced to Turkey the

⁶⁴¹Can Dündar, *Garip: Neşet Ertaş Documentary*, 3 Episodes, Star TV, 2005

⁶⁴²Uran, Hilmi, *Meşrutiyet, Tek Parti, Çok Parti Hatıralarım*, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p.399

⁶⁴³Official Gazette, Nr. 8767, July 29,1954

⁶⁴⁴Güven, Sami, *1950'li Yıllarda Türk Ekonomisi Üzerine Amerikan Kalkınma Reçeteleri: Hilts Raporu, Thornburg Raporu, Barker Raporu*, pp. 1-8

⁶⁴⁵Oktar, Suat and Varlı, Arzu, *Türkiye'de 1950-1954 Döneminde Demokrat Parti'nin Tarım Politikası*, Marmara Üniversitesi, İİBF Dergisi, Vol. XXVIII, Nr. 1, 2010, p.9

⁶⁴⁶Güven, Sami, *1950'li Yıllarda Türk Ekonomisi Üzerine Amerikan Kalkınma Reçeteleri: Hilts Raporu, Thornburg Raporu, Barker Raporu*, pp. 109-116

Marshall Plan applicable to industrial agricultural and financial developments⁶⁴⁷ to a great extent.

Moreover, it was apparent that the US aimed to keep Turkey, neighboring industrializing Europe, as the supplier and granary. America's plan was openly declared in 1951 by Mr. Russell Dorr, the Chief of the Special Turkey Mission of the Marshall Plan⁶⁴⁸. One way or another, Mr. Dorr was stating that Ankara would feed "the hungry table"⁶⁴⁹ with her agricultural products during the Cold War like once the US fed "the hungry table" during the 2nd WW with her heavy war industry.

However, the scenery of the two eras was much different and the development levels of the two countries were incomparable. Turkey of the 50s lacked the economic power, the food and the agricultural sources as well as their variety to feed its whole nation. In other words, nutrition of Turks, food in Turkey, their production and distribution were all linked to each other tightly. Such were the conditions, according to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Osman Nuri Koçtürk⁶⁵⁰, well-known nutrition specialist; the US used its mighty power as well as its charm to keep Ankara's food resources under control so that it would manage Turks⁶⁵¹. Osman Nuri and the like were among the leftist group who criticized American aids to Turkey especially in the 50s and in the following decades. They asserted, if told in a nutshell, that Washington influenced Turkey's decision on the kind, quality and

⁶⁴⁷TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem 8, Cilt: 12, Toplantı:2, July 8, 1948, p.965. Also see: TGNA Law Number: 5253, July 10, 1948; Official Gazette Nr. 6956, July 13, 1948; https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc030/kanuntbmmc030/kanuntbmmc03005253.pdf; Çavdar, Tevfik, *Türkiye Ekonomisinin Tarihi:1900-1960*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2003, p. 337

⁶⁴⁸Basın Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, *Ayın Tarihi Dergisi*, Nr. 217, 1951, p. 56

⁶⁴⁹Mr. Dorr did not say "hungary table" as did Churchill (indicated above) but said "feeding the armies of the free world" meaning Europe and America. However, the term here used to compare the USA of the 2nd WW and Turkey of the Cold War.

⁶⁵⁰Mr. Koçtürk received his first degree as veterinary, later worked for Turkish Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Agriculture as food and nutrition expert. He also worked as the general director of Meat and Fish Institution. He wrote and published many academic and popular articles about food, nutrition, eating habits as well as food imperialism.

⁶⁵¹Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, p.5

quantity of agricultural products to be grown in the country. Osman Nuri and the like asserted that this led Turkey to dependency and hindered its industrial development.

These sentimental ideas were clear indications of anti-Americanism and were against US interests in Turkey. Therefore, such experts were possibly among the people who should be liquidated and pacified according to a secret CIA document. The existence of such a report was mentioned and publicized by the Senator Haydar Tunçkanat at later years a TGNA session⁶⁵².

Rational or not, Osman Nuri's study was among the significant works outlining American *benevolent* penetration into Turkey particularly through food items. An important reason why this work should not be ignored is that there are abundant sources displaying different spectrums of political ideology although reflecting it with a similar understanding with Osman Nuri. Therefore, his suggestions inspired many researchers and writers to expand working on food imperialism. In brief, Osman Nuri possibly was *the spokesperson* of such people in Turkey.

It was claimed that American imperialism had a sort of adaptive strategy, unlike the UK and France which worked hard to seize territories. America's new strategy helped Washington approach developing countries and their people with a seemingly friendly hand and in a peaceful mood. In its relations with Turkey, this approach empowered Washington to utilize daily consumer goods and particularly food items instead of firearms⁶⁵³.

The United States further developed its imperialistic methods through special assistance missions and experts scattered in a target country. These tools were supported by American capital and assistance on food items to penetrate protected markets such as Turkey. Its objective was to check agricultural forms and

⁶⁵²TBMM Tutanakları, Dönem 1, Toplantı 5, 85. Birleşim, July 7, 1966, p.202. Also see: Ulus, Özgür Mutlu, *The Army and the Radical Left in Turkey: Military Coups, Socialist Revolution and Kemalism*, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2011, p. 42 and 207

⁶⁵³Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, p.15

structures and finally to lead the targeted countries in the way the US preferred⁶⁵⁴ . With this method, the country to which the food assistance supplied was expected not to revive and activate its internal strengths; but the supplier would return what was provided before more in multitude and with their material value to its own reserves⁶⁵⁵.

When this was applied to Turkey, from the 50s onwards, American food imperialism did not require guns to eliminate the whole nation, but had the ability to seize the new generations and literally paralyze them. Such a bold analysis was made possible through confession in Time magazine by Don Paarlberg. According to PL 480⁶⁵⁶, the US supported developing countries with food assistance in the mid-50s and the first American coordinator of this assistance, Prof. Don Paarlberg wrote to Time magazine that food given to foreign countries as assistance destroyed agricultural production, farmers and markets in the practiced countries. People of these countries became the victims of “Food Imperialism”. Additionally, Paarlberg claimed that this assistance produced destructive results both for the donor and for the recipient⁶⁵⁷ .

On the top of the destructive results came unused American milk powder left from the 2nd WW. It became almost an iconic consumer good in the eyes of Turks in the 50s since it was very rare, even unknown in the Turkish markets. The US sent tons of these products to Turkey and expected praise for this assistance⁶⁵⁸. However, America ignored black-marketing, food poisoning, and some other negative results of the outdated milk powder. Apparently, Ankara did not have the technology to analyze the content to avoid poisoning. Furthermore, lack of know-

⁶⁵⁴Ibid, p. 16

⁶⁵⁵Ibid, pp.25-26

⁶⁵⁶See section related to Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes’s US Visits

⁶⁵⁷Time Magazine, *The Struggle to End Hunger*, Essay by Don Paarlberg, Vol.88, No.7, August 12, 1966

⁶⁵⁸Koç, Mustafa, *Küresel Gıda Düzeni: Kriz Derinleşirken*, p. 193

how disturbed the linkage between cardiovascular diseases and oil products. The negative effects displayed in human health were called to attention by Koçtürk while a favorable attribution was made to olive oil. He also pinpointed the increasing mortality due to cardiovascular diseases year by year in the 1950s⁶⁵⁹.

These negative circumstances in Turkey coupled with advertising campaigns⁶⁶⁰ psychologically inseminating favorable images of American food, asserted to be healthy and inexpensive into the minds of Turks. These campaigns created public envy for the consumption of American goods and food. Therefore, it became easy for Washington to bombard Turkish homes with other unknown food items though some were not originated from the US: margarine⁶⁶¹ and vegetable shortenings. These two were associated with America though especially margarine was born in Europe. Interestingly, Turks, frequently using olive oil, butter, linseed, sesame, poppy or hazelnut oils and their derivatives (like *hakiki/sadeyağ*) in their domestic cuisine⁶⁶², gradually became addicted to vegetable shortenings in the 1950s due to a remarkable American presence in Turkey and the admiration towards her life style.

The processed food items required soya bean, sunflower and corn oil, the US was the major producer and exporter to Turkey after the 2nd WW, all spread during the 50s by advertisements all over the country claiming that healthy meals required vegetable shortening⁶⁶³, thus farmers expected to maximize their profits by growing

⁶⁵⁹Ibid, p.58

⁶⁶⁰See Appendix E.4. and E.5. for some newspaper, magazine and some billboard advertisements promoting margarine in daily life of Turks

⁶⁶¹Although margarine was invented first by French chemists and became a widespread due to British-Dutch joint company Unilever, it became one of the most produced food item in the U.S and people perceived that it was originated from America. This image was the result of food shortage during and after the 2nd World War, a time period when the American food items like margarine was much needed. The U.S. produced and sold the majority of margarine in those years although her consumption stayed low. In other words, it was the US presenting it to the world as one of the inexpensive and significant food items.

⁶⁶²Koç, Mustafa, *Küresel Gıda Düzeni: Kriz Derinleşirken*, p. 192

the mentioned products but made them upset. In time, this created converse effect on producing basic grains and Turkey, a net producer and exporter of wheat until the mid-40s, with a population of 30 million imported about 16.9 million bushels of wheat from the States in the mid-50s while India with a population of 400 million did only 53.6 million⁶⁶⁴.

While wheat production was decreasing, margarine and vegetable shortenings superseded any local and traditional oil or butter used in Turkish cuisine due to not only commercials but also their low prices⁶⁶⁵, became a hope for domestic customers in destitute⁶⁶⁶. Aware of the price advantage and increasing demand from the poor customers, Unilever Company⁶⁶⁷, with İş Bank partnership, established a margarine factory in Bakırköy/İstanbul on January 5, 1953⁶⁶⁸ backed by the US since this factory would import American inexpensive soya rather than the domestic. Koç family⁶⁶⁹, initially approached but rejected Unilever for the establishment of the margarine factory⁶⁷⁰, must have regretted once it became public that when compared with any Unilever subsidiary, Turkish operations during

⁶⁶³Ibid

⁶⁶⁴The United States Department of Agriculture Agricultural Marketing Service, *The Wheat Situation WS-154*, Agriculture report released on June 28, 1957, p. 9. Also see: Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, p.30

⁶⁶⁵Turkey's import from the USA

⁶⁶⁶ Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, p.30

⁶⁶⁷British-Dutch Joint Company

⁶⁶⁸Dokur, Billur, *1950'lerde Mutfak ve Hızlı Yemek*, Gastro Magazine, Nr. 62, 2011, p. 60. Also see: İbar, Gazenfer, *Unilever Türkiye Tarihi*, Ünite İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014, p.164; Unilever Türkiye Internet Site: <https://www.unilever.com.tr/about/>

⁶⁶⁹It is one of the wealthiest families in modern Turkey. Koç group initially was based in Ankara with some family business; but later moved to İstanbul when the company transformed into a giant holding.

⁶⁷⁰Jones, Geoffrey, *Managing Government: Unilever in India and Turkey: 1950-1970*, Unpublished Working Paper, Harvard University Business School WP Nr. 06-061, Harvard University, Boston, 2006, p.31

the 1950s and in the first half of the 1960s capital returns were among the highest⁶⁷¹ worldwide.

The factory in İstanbul produced 5 tons of Vita and 30 tons of Sana⁶⁷² margarines for the first few weeks. Initially Turks, accustomed to domestic oils, reacted. However, it was too soon that margarine and vegetable shortening ads in the media and their prices attracted household's attention; Unilever noticed the formidable increase in sales⁶⁷³. In a short while, both became the basic food items in the months following the establishment of the margarine factory. Moreover, low demand in early months of 1953 was not a big issue since this was overcome and substituted due to Turkish army's order for 300 tons of Vita and 20 tons of Sana⁶⁷⁴.

Margarine and vegetable shortenings similar to milk powder, shortly became iconic as well as the pioneering food items transforming the culture of Turkish cuisine and daily life. Among the striking examples in which Vita vegetable shortening was in ads and on billboards inviting people to celebrate Ramadan with baklava dessert made with Vita or on the Ramadan Holiday, to start breakfast with Sana spread toasted bread, presumed as healthy and light meals⁶⁷⁵. In other words, past and tradition were restructured and standardized over margarine⁶⁷⁶ and presented to the current time. This was the time that coincided with a developing Turkey which needed food and physical energy for production. Therefore, Sana margarine was there to provide it to Turks for breakfast⁶⁷⁷. In short, American and

⁶⁷¹Ibid, p.32

⁶⁷²These were the shortening brands for breakfast, meals and snacks; and were made of sunflower oil and soya beans. Please see illustration section for ads in magazines and newspapers as well as billboards

⁶⁷³Fieldhouse, Sheila, *Unilever in Turkey*, in *Unilever Overseas: The Anatomy of a Multinational*, (Ed) Fieldhouse, David, Kenneth, The Hoover Institute Press, Stanford-California, 1978, pp. 428-435

⁶⁷⁴Ibid, p. 429

⁶⁷⁵Dokur, Billur, *1950'lerde Mutfak ve Hızlı Yemek*, p. 62

⁶⁷⁶Ibid

European interests were hand in hand to transform Turkish consumer market a lucrative one both could easily manipulate.

Sana and Vita were not the only food items transforming Turks' eating habits in the 1950s. It became a sign of modernity to consume some of the food items from the daily lives of the so-called civilized and developed countries⁶⁷⁸, the US taking the lead. Toasted sandwiches, hamburger, popcorn, sausage and even soda pop flocked to Turks' daily lives⁶⁷⁹. Particularly hamburger and sausage, widespread in America, initially sold at food kiosks or street vendors in the early 1950s in İstanbul, gradually turned into daily food items of Turkish kitchens⁶⁸⁰.

Such fast food also transformed traditional cuisine. Instant pack soups and canned meals were presented to the Turkish public ironically as traditional, ready-to-eat but at the same time prepared untouched⁶⁸¹. Additionally, sought with envy, American scanty foods, alcoholic beverages as well as soda pops were smuggled into the Turkish markets through PX shops⁶⁸² in the US military bases⁶⁸³. The booming increase of illegal sale of PXs sold products to Turkish consumers invited a decline in tax returns since military sales were untaxable. It also indirectly influenced national production of some items and partly led to abandoning of Turkish food at domestic or national level⁶⁸⁴. Turkey was becoming a little America, as DP promised, but less with industrial, technological and human development

⁶⁷⁷See Appendix E.5. for Sana ads depicting working Turks

⁶⁷⁸Dokur, Billur, *1950'lerde Mutfak ve Hızlı Yemek*, p. 60

⁶⁷⁹Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, p.61

⁶⁸⁰Dokur, Billur, *1950'lerde Mutfak ve Hızlı Yemek*, p. 62

⁶⁸¹Ibid

⁶⁸²Post Exchange, a shop selling food and other supplies in a US military base wherever they exist.

⁶⁸³Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, p.97

⁶⁸⁴Ibid

indices let alone democracy, liberty and freedom; but more with trifles, fast food, eating habits, etc. all which stood for ad-hoc temporary and personal satisfaction.

Americanization in almost all the world seemed to be persistent, more intensively in Turkey. This phenomenon, from the 1950s onwards, influenced all walks of life not limited to education, food and nutrition, entertainment, music and even literature. All of these became subjects of social researches in the coming decades⁶⁸⁵ as Turkey's axis shifted from Europe to the United States and this change was observed in various categories of culture, eating habits being one of them⁶⁸⁶.

It should be asserted that students enjoyed at schools in the 50s when milk powder, cheese and butter coming from America as food assistance were distributed as snacks⁶⁸⁷. America became a model for Turks in their daily life; and the youth of those days grew to be adults eating the Yankee⁶⁸⁸ food. This can be noticed in literature: the urbanization and the changes particularly in food culture were reflected in some novels pinpointing to the drastic change in Turkish society due to American influence which we can even call *Americanism*. Orhan Kemal, a prominent Turkish novelist set fine example for observing the ordeals of the society as it outlines some characteristics in his *Murtaza or Ekmek Kavgası*. These particular novels reflected the unplanned social events that also triggered changes in eating habits. Villagers accustomed to consuming pure domestic food they produced, became city dwellers. While these were happening, domestic was forgotten and consuming food items coming from the western countries; mostly the US was perceived as modern and thought to be indicating status⁶⁸⁹.

⁶⁸⁵Tüzün, Gürel, *1950-60 Döneminde Sanayileşme*, in 75. Yılda Çarklardan Chip'lere, (Ed) Baydar, Oya, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, Beşiktaş-İstanbul, 1999, p.147

⁶⁸⁶Kaynak, İlkay, *Küçük Amerika'da Büyük Amerika Gibi Yemek*, Gastro Magazine, Nr. 62, 2011, pp.50-52

⁶⁸⁷Ibid, p.50

⁶⁸⁸Used methaphorically to refer to American food

⁶⁸⁹Keyder, Çağlar, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, pp.188-189

However, the “status” here would not conserve the non-durable consumption goods. Therefore, many storage facilities including fridges including famous American brands like *Kelvinator* were imported to Turkey in the 50s. American fridges once again and just like the American food inside it turned into a symbol of modernity⁶⁹⁰, whereas food storage devices had already entered Turkey from 1930s onwards. Nevertheless, it required two more decades for their spread in the country. It should be pointed out at this point that only few families could afford to buy a fridge in the 50s⁶⁹¹.

This proved that Turkey did not have accumulated wealth and was not developed enough to please the public in the 50s. Therefore, such was the atmosphere in which a big power, the US used its capability and charm to create massive adherence in Turkey. One of the effective methods America utilized was to distribute trifles, chemically preserved food items etc. These along with others were pumped in the society with ads which helped to create envy towards eating habits, American food; in short, American life style, which partly eroded domestic growth on industrial products.

At this point, we can conclude the discussion on American food imperialism with a contemporary criticism concerning nostalgia of the village breakfast. Almost in all provinces in Turkey, one can see billboards inviting travelers to “village-breakfast”. This is an irony when particularly the 1950s are considered in the sense that the poverty then did not allow varieties to be beyond a fantasy as of today. Even the heroes of Orhan Kemal’s novels did not have more than a bowl of tarhana⁶⁹² soup. Returning to the current village breakfasts in today’s restaurants, they do not at all resemble the breakfasts in villages of the 50s, even in cities. It was not likely that the Agas⁶⁹³ in villages did have the variety of food items served on

⁶⁹⁰Kaynak, İlkay, *Küçük Amerika’da Büyük Amerika Gibi Yemek*, pp.52-55

⁶⁹¹Emiroğlu, Kudret, *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi*, Dost Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, p.129

⁶⁹²A soup made of dried vegetables, yoghurt and flour

today's table, namely the multiple sorts of bread, types of fruit jams, kinds of cheese, olives from İzmir and Bursa Gemlik and tea imported from the Far East.

To add to the conclusion, it must be asserted that the reason for this extensive mention of food is due to its necessity; the fact that more or less, better or worse food is a necessity for all whereas advanced household products or industrialized items interest, perhaps even are familiarized only by certain strata or segments of the people. What was so in the 50s continued to be soup to our day. One of the quests of this work is to find an answer to how much America was part of this social, economic and cultural transformation in Turkey with the awareness that she is not the only country subjected to Americanism and that this ought to be made the topic of different researches.

⁶⁹³Big landowners

CHAPTER 7

ET CAETERA: AMERICA'S MULTIFARIOUS INFLUENCES ON DIVERSE WALKS OF LIFE IN TURKEY OF THE 1950S

7.1. Pieces of Personal Memories: Bits of American Touch

The American indirect influences upon the Turks' socio cultural life could not be restricted to education, schools, academic studies, food and eating habits. It also had its long lasting traces in many other realms of daily life in Turkey of the 50s that would range from, but no limited to literature, media⁶⁹⁴ music and clothing. All these, deserve a part in this study. However, the aim of the work is not to act as an omnipotent; therefore this thesis will suffice with the given.

Returning to American indirect influences, not only the politicians, newspapers, official reports of the 50's but also a big portion of the Turks had memories of an American touch to convey to listeners or readers. Renowned activist and author Mina Urgan, in her masterpiece memoir *Bir Dinazorun Anıları* (Memoires of a Dinosaur), called her readers' attention to the hitherto continuing American admiration. Urgan asserted that U.S.S Missouri's visit in April 1946 had deep impacts which would even change some Turkish traditions and habits⁶⁹⁵ :

The uncouth Americans added icy or mineral water to whisky. Once Missouri anchored to İstanbul harbor, we imitated them and added water to our raki⁶⁹⁶. Our lifestyle had two halves: before and after Missouri.

Mina Urgan's audacious and precise criticism came more than 50 years after the U.S.S. Missouri's İstanbul visit. This long time span between the event and conveyance can be attributed to changes of relations between the two countries

⁶⁹⁴This means newspapers, magazines, comic books, cartoon and at most radio. TV broadcasting for Turkish public did not start until 1968.

⁶⁹⁵Urgan, Mina, *Bir Dinazorun Anıları*, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, pp.15-16

⁶⁹⁶A Turkish domestic aniseed drink which traditionally consumed as dry

registered in the course of time. However, Urgan's work displayed as well that the US did not meet all Turks' expectations and was not successful enough to create only adherents.

While Mina Urgan was criticizing admiration to America; journalist and politician Altan Öymen in detail depicted the change in sociocultural life in the mentioned period in his *Bir Dönem Bir Çocuk* (One Period One Child). Mr. Öymen asserted that the most memorable side of Missouri's visit was the renovations, not by the state, in the brothels street in İstanbul to please the US sailors. According to Öymen, they were looked upon as 'tourists'⁶⁹⁷ quite a new concept in fact, who were expected to leave some money to brothels as well as to shops in Beyoğlu (Pera). More important was the US political support to Ankara against the Russian bullying. Therefore, as the representatives of America, these *tourists* were enthusiastically welcomed, given hospitality and taken good care⁶⁹⁸.

In continuity of the above, Öymen continued conveying his reflections of the intensifying US influences:

Arrival of Missouri could be the beginning of a new era not only for Turkey's foreign policy but for tourism, as well. In fact, civilian groups following by this military visit, gradually resulted in changes in İstanbul hotels while they brought diversity to shoppers in İstiklal Street⁶⁹⁹. Consequently, relations with America gained utmost importance for the foreign policy of the government.⁷⁰⁰

The importance given to Turco-American relations had other social reflections in Turkey. A concrete evidence was the opening of an Ankara restaurant named "Missouri" one of the best in the city as Öymen asserted⁷⁰¹. Later this

⁶⁹⁷Altan Öymen claimed in his *Bir Dönem Bir Çocuk* that this was a brand new word Turks were learning recently since only few people came to Turkey in those years as tourist.

⁶⁹⁸Öymen, Altan, *Bir Dönem Bir Çocuk*, Doğan Kitapçılık A.Ş., İstanbul, 2002, pp. 513-515

⁶⁹⁹A crowded shopping district and a street which became a center of attraction from 1800 onwards and kept its importance up until today.

⁷⁰⁰Öymen, Altan, *Bir Dönem Bir Çocuk*, pp. 515-516

⁷⁰¹Ibid, p. 516

restaurant became the well-known “Washington Restaurant”, as an ironical indication of fruitful relations between the two countries. Furthermore, Turks were so eager to keep their engagements with America that the traditional *Russian salad* well established in Turkish cuisine started to be called *American salad* with the same recipe⁷⁰² although it was called either Russian or Olivier salad⁷⁰³ in the US even during the Cold War years.

Similar to Altan Öymen, peace activist Şefik Asan had his remembrances about how the US created a green belt in surrounding regions to the USSR and used its financial power to form a zone of periphery countries including Turkey. Asan’s memories date back to the 50s when he was a child:

I remember from my childhood when Turkey began to import American wheat. Silos of the Turkish Grain Board (TMO) were full of third quality wheat; the government (Turkish) sold it to the peasants with low prices. As the people of Black Sea, we were raised with corn bread; however, we thus became acquainted with American bread made of buckwheat. American assistance was exaggerated and the US was portrayed as the *protector* and the *benevolent* and these were used to pump an unprecedented American admiration into the Turkish society.⁷⁰⁴

Ironically, propaganda to compose adherents of America also stimulated the emergence of anti-Americanism⁷⁰⁵ in the Turkish society. Especially the US soldiers shopping and hanging around at midtown while off-duty became the foci of negative sentiments. Turkish young women looking down upon their young male compatriots flirted with the American GIs⁷⁰⁶ angering Turkish men just like Mr. Asan.

⁷⁰²Ibid. There is no other historical example where Russian salad was named as American salad than Turkey of the 50s onward.

⁷⁰³It is historically known that Russian salad was invented by Lucien Olivier, a chef from Belgium who worked at the Hermitage Restaurant in Moscow in mid 19th century.

⁷⁰⁴Asan, Şefik, *Barış Kültürü*, Heyamola Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p.43

⁷⁰⁵For a detailed analysis of anti-Americanism in Turkey in the mentioned period, please see: Bilgiç, Tuba, Ünlü, *The Roots of Anti-Americanism in Turkey: 1945-1960*, Bilig, Nr. 72, Winter 2015, pp.251-280

Furthermore, GIs' attitude led to the questioning of other the US groups in Turkey such as the Peace Corps⁷⁰⁷. We read in Şefik Asan's book:

What peace? Volunteer of what? What would they do in the country (Turkey) as the peace volunteers? Who would they reconcile? These young people, with khaki outfits, mostly handsome men who would speak a little Turkish in fact were American agents who were expected to tramp village by village with their safari back-packs. Collecting various sociological data Turks were unaware of then.⁷⁰⁸

Mr. Asan's sentimental analysis and questioning were shared by many other conscientious Turks who would observe what was going around their immediate vicinity and throughout the country in general. This even included the envy aroused in intellectual family's offspring in Turkey of the 50s. As a young daughter of an Ankara University professor⁷⁰⁹, Seçil Karal had remembrances of Americans in her neighborhood in the 50s. The first American goods she became acquainted with in fact were trifles such as coke, bubble gum and lollipop; however, in the eyes of Turks they were mesmerizing items people craved to own⁷¹⁰. Such trivia totally unknown in Turkey triggered questions in her mind as to why Turkey did not have the similar products⁷¹¹. Half jealous half sorry, she probably was not the only one to think as so after becoming acquainted with petty items that signaled prosperity for

⁷⁰⁶Asan, Şefik, *Barış Kültürü*, p.43

⁷⁰⁷The Peace Corps is the program made up of volunteers. The program is run by the U.S. government. Its mission includes providing technical assistance, assisting societies outside the States to understand American culture, and helping Americans to understand the cultures of other countries.

⁷⁰⁸Ibid, pp.43-44

⁷⁰⁹Enver Ziya Karal was the Rector of Ankara University in 1948-1949. He chaired the commission who prepared the 1961 Constitution later became the head of the Turkish Historical Society (TTK) from 1973 to 1982. For detailed information, please see: Akgün, Seçil Karal, *Ord. Prof. Enver Ziya Karal'ın Yapıtları ve Yaşam Öyküsü*, Ankara University Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Dergisi (OTAM), Ankara, 1994, pp.535-555. Also see: Turkish Historical Society official internet site: <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/kurumsal/oncekibaskanlarimiz/ord-prof-dr-enver-ziya-karal-21-4-1973-18-1-1982/>

⁷¹⁰Akgün, Seçil, Karal, *27 Mayıs: Bir İhtilal, Bir Devrim, Bir Anayasa*, pp. 82-87

⁷¹¹Ibid

Turks. There were certainly many others like her while the responsible thought that there were so many essentials to invest for instead.

Same young minds enchanted with prosperous, unmatched images of the US could not reason what could have attracted Americans to want appointments in Turkey. It was probably the prosperity they imagined Americans had as well as different food they enjoyed and particularly the assistance of trivia that won the hearts of young generations⁷¹² in Turkey of the 50s and in the decades to follow. There were more American methods sublimed during Democrat Party period and welcomed almost with gratitude. Great public receptiveness⁷¹³ of the newly introduced American way of life included reflections from American literature especially fiction, consumer goods (like soft drinks, cigarettes and toys)⁷¹⁴ as well as music, US jazz and blues. These all had different adherence and required separate attention.

7.2. Let the Rhythm Play: Blending American Music and Turkish Rhyme

To begin with, the 50s when the Cold War rapidly accelerated was the period for the US attempts to culturally counterbalance the USSR as well as many European countries in orchestral music and ballet. For this purpose, the State Department sponsored tours of African American jazz music bands⁷¹⁵ in Europe, in the Middle East and in Asia with the expectation that jazz would serve as an agent to penetrate American way of life⁷¹⁶.

⁷¹²Ibid, p.84

⁷¹³Pakin, Esra, *American Studies in Turkey during the Cultural Cold War*, p.512

⁷¹⁴Ibid

⁷¹⁵Prominent author of cultural Cold War, Prof. Penny Von Eschen named the groups as “jam-bassadors”

⁷¹⁶Von Eschen, Penny M., *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 6-13

Although Turks met jazz music first in 1920s when American record companies started to sell their products overseas⁷¹⁷, it peaked in the 1950s when American jazz dominated nightclubs in major cities, Turkish state radio and home entertainment. Renown Turkish singers such as Ayten Alpman, Cüneyt Sermet, Arif Mardin, İlham Gencer, Selçuk Sun, Durul Gence and many others either were raised listening to American jazz or became popular playing music under its inspiration⁷¹⁸. These musicians and young Turks had many chances of listening to American jazz bands live when they visited Turkey in the 50s and in the following decades thanks to the State Department's efforts.

Competing with the Soviets and domineering over them was another cultural counterbalancing America resorted to during İzmir International Fair of 1954. The propaganda tool⁷¹⁹ the US made use of was the free distribution of records of Celal İnce, a famous Turkish tango and pop music singer in the American pavilion. The album was named *Dostluk Şarkısı (Song of Friendship)*. It was recorded in the USA for the Voice of America radio⁷²⁰ and had an interesting front and back cover⁷²¹. One of the covers had panoramic city pictures of İstanbul and New York reversely attached to each other and the other listed four freedom quotations from Atatürk, Ziya Gökalp⁷²², the US Presidents George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. This album of flexi record had a symbolic value in Turkey for

⁷¹⁷Gözen, Mine, Pınar, *The Cold War, Jazz and Turkey*, in (Eds) Criss, Nur, Bilge and Esenbel, Selçuk and Greenwood, Tony and Mazaari, Louis, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture 1830-1989*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011, p. 336

⁷¹⁸Ibid, pp. 335-339

⁷¹⁹Durgun, Sezgi, *Cultural Cold War at the İzmir International Fair*, in (eds) Cangül, Örnek and Üngör, Çağdaş, *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2013, p.73

⁷²⁰The American state funded broadcasting institution, often used for propaganda against the Soviets and the communism during the Cold War.

⁷²¹See Appendix E.7. for picture copies of both covers

⁷²²A renown political activist, writer, poet and sociologist who lived during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire

demonstrating how America could turn popular Turkish culture into a propaganda tool⁷²³:

Dostluk Şarkısı (Song of Friendship)⁷²⁴

Amerika, Amerika	America America
Türkler dünya durdukça	As long as the world stands
Beraberdür seninle	Turks are with you
Hürriyet savaşında	In the war for freedom
Bu bir dostluk şarkısıdır	This is a song of friendship
Kardeşliğin yankısıdır	Reflection of brotherhood
Kore'de olduk kan kardeşi	We became blood brothers
Sönmez bu dostluğun ateşi	In Korea; the light of friendship
	Will not turn off
Azmimizdir hür yaşamak	Our determination is to live free
Dünyada sulhu sağlamak	To ensure the peace in the world
Kavgalar hep bu uğurda	Battles are for this aim
İstiklal aşkı ruhumuzda	Love of freedom in our hearts
Senin New York'un	Your New York
Yükselir göklere	Rises to the sky
Benim İstanbul'um	My İstanbul
Destandır dillere	Is an eternal legend
Ankara ile Washington	Ankara and Washington
İzmir'im San Francisco'n	My İzmir and your San Francisco
Benzer derler birbirine	They resemble each other
Doyulmaz güzelliklerine	Their beauties are forever
O muhteşem beldelerin	The marvelous lands
Pınarların nehirlerin	Springs and rivers
Ünlü şelalen Niagara	Your famous waterfall Niagara
Türkler dünya durdukça	As long as the world stands
Beraberdür seninle	Turks are with you
Hürriyet savaşında	In the war for freedom

This song resembled an anthemic march in which the singer praised the friendship among Turkey and the United States with lots of pathos and propaganda words. In fact, it was one of examples of US propaganda tools used during the Cold War period.

Returning to the African American music groups that became frequenters of Turkish clubs and entertainment, they were not regarded as the US export items to

⁷²³Durgun, Sezgi, *Cultural Cold War at the İzmir International Fair*, p. 493

⁷²⁴Milliyet Newspaper, Aşık, Melih "I love America", November 18, 1999, p. 17; Also see: Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 493; Durgun, Sezgi, *Cultural Cold War at the İzmir International Fair*, p.73

Turkey. On the contrary, the musicians were perceived as *ambassadors of the USA*⁷²⁵ by the general public in the country. Among these groups were acclaimed Dizzy Gillespie and his band that paid a one day visit to Ankara on April 23, 1956 and from April 27 to May 5, 1956 to İstanbul⁷²⁶. This was part of group's tour including Iran, Yugoslavia, Greece, Syria, Pakistan and Lebanon; along the President Eisenhower's "Northern Tier" defense system⁷²⁷.

Gillespie's tour was not much different than other bands' for its geographical coverage in the 50s. They also incorporated local groups wherever they played in the countries listed. Such experience elevated musicians like Arif Mardin and others to popularity and respectability. Gradually, Arif Mardin became well-known in the United States⁷²⁸. Mr. Mardin met and performed with celebrities such as Quincy Jones. In the later years, Arif Mardin became a worldly known musician as well as a producer who worked with top American and British singers, won many Grammy awards and was claimed to be one of the few who transformed American popular music from the 60s onwards. Moreover, Cem Karaca and Erkin Koray appeared as the musicians who made a synthesis of American music with the Turkish words, which was named as *Anatolian Rock*⁷²⁹ then onwards. Their repertory often included songs such as *Hound Dog* or *Don't Be Cruel* from American music celebrities such as Elvis Presley. Duo became quite popular in Turkey, but Mardin saw his future overseas.

While Arif Mardin elevated popular music in the States, American culture became popular in Turkey and even entered children's games in rhymes⁷³⁰. Among

⁷²⁵Gözen, Mine Pınar, *The Cold War, Jazz and Turkey*, p. 339

⁷²⁶Milliyet Newspaper, "Dizzy Caz Orkestrası geliyor", April 18, 1956

⁷²⁷Von Eschen, Penny M., *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, pp. 31-32

⁷²⁸Milliyet Newspaper, "Türk Caz San'Atkarları Amerika'da Başarı Kazanıyor", May 15, 1957

⁷²⁹Raw, Laurence, *Evolving Attitudes to the American Dream: Death of a Salesman in the Turkish Context*, *European Journal of American Studies*, Nr. 1, 2008, p. 3

such games was a short rhyme touching Turks' stereotype outlook on some of the countries involved in the 2nd World War. A particular one below praised Turkey and the US, she was being the primary. Another version of the one below was worded that America was Turkey's companion (*kardeş*). However, countries such as Poland, Germany or the USSR were depicted as hostile, evil or bad in all versions:

Bir-iki-üçler, yaşasın Türkler ⁷³¹	One-two-three, Live long Turks
Dört-beş-altı, Polonya battı	Four-five-six, Poland sank
Yedi-sekiz-dokuz Ruslar (veya Alman) domuz	Seven-eight-nine, the Russians (or Germans) are hogs
On-onbir-oniki, Amerika birinci,	Ten, eleven, twelve, America is the winner,
Onüç, ondört, onbeş Ruslar kalles	Thirteen, fourteen and fifteen The Russians are treacherous

7.3. Inflow of American Readings to Turkish Market and to the Minds

The reason for referring to the multiple American texts occupying Turkish bilinguals for long time as they (readings) extended from popular comic books to literary works such as theater plays. Such a wide range of texts remind that the success of the American cultural war against the Soviets during the Cold War could be more successful through overall concentrations rather than pinpoints.

This understanding required a systemic, organized and continual approach. Parallel to the US President Truman's *alphabet soup agencies*⁷³², United States Information Agency (USIA) was formed as a propaganda mechanism in August 1953 by President Eisenhower to serve the mentioned purpose. Having fulfilled its mission its operations were handed over to the State Department in 1999⁷³³ when

⁷³⁰Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 493

⁷³¹Radikal Newspaper, Özdemir, Cüneyt, "Bir İki Üçler Yaşasın Türkler", November 25, 2012; Also see: Cumhuriyet Newspaper, Sögüt, Mine, "Bir İki Üçler Yaşasın Türkler", March 11, 2016; Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, p. 493

⁷³²See Chapter 3, section 3.1

⁷³³Cull, Nicholas J., *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2008, p. 96

the Cold War was left too far behind and the bipolar world system turned into a multipolar one.

Information and culture were the two *sharp blades*⁷³⁴ the Russian camp used to present a negative portrait of the United States. It was therefore that USIA was formed to provide the world a positive view of America with a stunning motto: *telling America's story to the world*⁷³⁵ while acknowledging the Americans on US foreign policy⁷³⁶. One of USIA's most effective devices was the Voice of America (VOA) radio which broadcasted in more than 40 countries including Turkey⁷³⁷ to over 100 million people weekly. USIA additionally distributed multi million copies of US magazines, books, leaflets, brochures, news bulletins all colored, attractive, appealing material which did not exist anywhere in the world at that time. This established a network of global American libraries in over 150 countries⁷³⁸.

Such libraries in Turkey sponsored by the US foundations⁷³⁹ were founded either as independent or as attached to the American studies academic programs in İstanbul and Ankara universities. These efforts backed by USIA's book translation program led to accumulation and flow of American texts in Turkish market. There was no clear suggestion from the US Embassy to Ankara concerning the genre, quality, classification for those translated into Turkish⁷⁴⁰. Anything and everything

⁷³⁴It is metaphorically used to mean powerful tools to influence a policy

⁷³⁵Cull, Nicholas J., *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, p. 1

⁷³⁶Elder, Robert E., *The Policy Machine: The Department of State and American Foreign Policy*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1960, pp. 137-150. Also see: Elder, Robert E. *The Information Machine: The USIA and American Foreign Policy*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1968.

⁷³⁷*Ayin Tarihi*, March 19, 1949, Nr. 193. Also see: <http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/UKjdZ/date/1949-12-03> and Voice of America Turkey homepage: <http://www.amerikaninseesi.com/p/3781.html>. Broadcasting in Turkey started on February 12, 1942; however, ceased in 1945. However, it re-started in 1949.

⁷³⁸Dizard, Wilson P., *Inventing Public Diplomacy, The Story of the US Information Agency*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado, 2004, pp.1-5

⁷³⁹See Education section for details of such sponsorships in Turkey by Rockefeller and Ford foundations.

American was welcomed, from Steinbeck to pulp fiction and from theater plays to cartoon books depicting American West (ern). Furthermore, Turkish Ministry of National Education was more than happy to contribute to the US efforts to translate and distribute any American books to the remotest parts in the country.

However, Turkey had a deep-rooted French influence which dated back to the 16th century and continued clear through the 19th when the Ottomans struggled with the Francophone Young Turks (Jön Türkler) who were inspired by the ideas of French Revolution as well as of the prominent philosophers and authors nourished by these ideas. This influence continued throughout the 2nd WW although there were few Germanophile Ottoman pashas and intellectuals. Apparently, America was disdained by a Turkey under the influence of French culture after the 2nd WW and worked to eliminate not only Russian but also the hegemony of a club-member, the French⁷⁴¹. It is bizarre that up until the 1950s, out of hundreds of world literary classics, only a negligible number of American works had been translated into Turkish⁷⁴², which reminds that in the first few decades of the Turkish Republic, French cultural influence still prevailed over the Anglo-Saxon, particularly American. It must be born in mind that English as a foreign language was still crawling in comparison to the French or German. However, with the dramatic results of the 2nd WW, this understanding changed considerably in the 50s and Washington gradually became successful in realization of her aims.

Windows of bookshops in the 50s started to display not only works such as “I Chose Freedom (titled as *Özgürlük Peşinde in Turkish*) by Victor A. Kravchenko” or similar anti-communist books but also American literature and culture. Encircled

⁷⁴⁰Örnek, Cangül, *‘The Populist Effect’: Promotion and Reception of American Literature in Turkey in the 1950s*, in (Eds) Cangül, Örnek and Üngör, Çağdaş, Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2013, pp. 130-136

⁷⁴¹Aydos, Serpil, *1948-1955 Yılları Arasında Türkiye ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri İlişkilerinde Kamu Diplomasisi*, pp.119-138. Also see: Örnek, Cangül, *‘The Populist Effect’: Promotion and Reception of American Literature in Turkey in the 1950s*, pp. 132-138

⁷⁴²Örnek, Cangül, *‘The Populist Effect’: Promotion and Reception of American Literature in Turkey in the 1950s*, pp. 138-139

with the fiction, poetry, plays as well as comic books such as Tom Miks and Texas⁷⁴³, Turks became more acquainted with American history, American Civil War, Presidents' stories, how Rockefeller and Henry Ford were elevated to the wealthy class and the private lives of Hollywood stars⁷⁴⁴; moreover, Turkish newspapers were full of tabloid stories of young Turks (unlike the Young Turks of the 19th century) captured inside the holds of the cargo ships trying to flee to the Mecca of the free world, the US.

These youngsters became adherents of America, next to other countries in the West, thanks to the US propaganda as well as promises of the DP politicians who told them that Turkey would turn into *little America* very soon. According to Murat Belge, a well-known intellectual as well as one of the initial AFS grantees and was brought up in a family well conversant with the 50s, interpreted the time (the 50s) as similar to the American jazz age, an era of lavishness, luxury and swank⁷⁴⁵ but less of development or production. Belge's harsh criticism was partly true especially when such general trends and influences of Hollywood films, culture and art rather than statistical analysis on research and educational programs in Turkey were considered⁷⁴⁶. This period was when the US superseded other western countries in cultural domination in Turkey.

This American domination was also observed in fiction published in Turkey, in the short stories depicting political atmosphere between the US and Turkey even

⁷⁴³Originally, these two comic books were designed by Italian Esse Gesse studio and became quite popular among young generations. Although Italian origin, the stories were about American Western. Two separate characters and books; Tommiks (Capitan Miki) Teksas (Il Grande Blek) were recognised as Texas-Tommiks in Turkey as if they were one. Young Turks learnt about American Western through these Italian books.

⁷⁴⁴Ceyhan, Demirtaş, *Biz 1950 Kuşağı Öykücüleri*, Adam Öykü Dergisi, Nr. 53, 2004, p.21

⁷⁴⁵Belge, Murat, *Kültür*, in (Ed)Belge, Murat, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, İletişim Yayınları*, Vol.5, İstanbul, 1983, p.1302

⁷⁴⁶Yaman, Zeynep, Yasa, *1950li Yılların Sanatsal Ortamı ve Temsil Sorunu*, *Toplum ve Bilim* 79, Winter 1998, pp. 111-126

among those reflecting leftist point-of-view⁷⁴⁷. Apparently, mentioned Turkish short fiction had strong representation of America and American. *Captives* and *Man in Blindfold* by Adnan Özyalçiner; *Uncle Sam* by Samim Kocagöz and *Dung Beetle* by Ümit Kaftancıoğlu were among the examples of such genres which mentioned the state of the relations as well as focused on subliminal message of rising opposition to the US⁷⁴⁸.

Unlike these intentional works, there were some others presenting more personal experience which concentrated on the travel or visits to the US. One of the striking examples was from Enis Batur, a well-known publisher, author and traveler. In his book, *Amerika Büyük Bir Şaka, Sevgili Frank ama Ona Ne Kadar Gülebiliriz? (America a Great Joke, Dear Frank but How Much We can Laugh at Him?)* talked about a personal internal self-clash. It also gave a bright depiction of American image of Turks in the 50s. Batur was confused why Turks came to New York to live; he believed NY was the city to die. Even if he had some inconveniences after his immigration to the States, he still seemed to have influences of many elements of American culture, similar to influences on Turkey, such as readings and art when he confessed:

America came into my life in 1956, with its 1956 black Chevrolet...Next, my elder sister, who was a student at Üsküdar American College for Girls, brought home the music. I was a scrubby child, my mother used to buy cod liver oil and peanut butter from the PXs for me. When I was eleven or twelve, I became addicted to my father's Pall Malls. I am still smoking the same brand. I do not remember when I first met Coca-Cola. I do not eat hamburgers or cheeseburgers. I think it's because the meat and bread tasted like rubber. Other than tobacco, the things that entered into my life are the books and works of art. Loyalties, which started with Poe and Melville, continued with Pound and Cummings, reaching out to Ashbery and Berryman. I sympathized with Baldwin and John Barth.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁷Gümüşbaşı, Barış, *Chapter Three-American Machine in the Turkish Garden: Representations of America in Turkish Short Fiction*, in (Eds) Tunç, Tanfer, Emin Tunç and Gürsel, Bahar, *The Transnational Turn in American Studies: Turkey and the United States*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, Switzerland, 2012, pp. 59-82

⁷⁴⁸Ibid, p. 60

⁷⁴⁹Batur, Enis, *Amerika Büyük Bir Şaka, Sevgili Frank ama Ona Ne Kadar Gülebiliriz? (America a Great Joke, Dear Frank but How much We can Laugh at It?)*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2014, p. 69. Also see: Denizarslanı, Yonca, *Chapter Four-Mirroring America: Impressions of America in the Writings of Buket*

Similar to Batur's American confession, Leyla Erbil, a prominent leftist author, activist as well as member of PEN union of writers, wrote about her experience of her visit to New York City of 1959. She was not very much impressed by the charm of the city. However, she was astonished by the museums, musicals like *My Fair Lady* (also known as *Pygmalion* though it originated in England) as well as theater plays such as *the Crucible* by Arthur Miller⁷⁵⁰.

Miller's works became quite popular in Turkey of the 50s. His *Death of a Salesman* was translated into Turkish in 1952 by prominent translator Orhan Burian. He wrote in the preface of the translation that the reason why this play was translated and published so rapidly, in fact three years after its premier in the US, was that Turks should be aware of developments in the States so that these would guide Turkish authors and artists for their future works⁷⁵¹.

Turkish audience perceived this play as an example of what was best in the American theater⁷⁵² although it had much of a cynical exposition of the *American Dream*. This did not stop Turks idealizing America until the 70s and the 80s when Turks' image of this country started to deteriorate due to the social and economic transformations in the US. America was no longer a country in their dream; but it was a reality with its contradictions and controversies while Turkey has also been transformed into a more complex system and a more restless society.

The same society, while pressurized by state apparatuses in the 50s, found practical as well humorous way out to relieve from the tensions. This was through political cartoons depicting Turco-American relations or aids from the US published

Uzuner, Enis Batur and Mustafa Ziyalan, in (Eds) Tun, Tanfer, Emin and Gürsel, Bahar, *The Transnational Turn in American Studies: Turkey and the United States*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, Switzerland, 2012, p.91

⁷⁵⁰Erbil, Leyla, *1959*, in (Ed) Mumcu, Cem, *Türkiye'nin Çıplak Tarihi 1946-2014: 69 Yazardan 69 Yıl*, Okyanus Us Yayın, İstanbul, 2004, pp.97-98

⁷⁵¹Burian, Orhan, *Preface*, *Satıcının Ölümü*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1952, pp.1-3

⁷⁵²Raw, Laurence, *Evolving Attitudes to the American Dream: Death of a Salesman in the Turkish Context*, p. 2

in daily newspapers or in Turkish humor magazines. Such cartoons became a voice for not only dissent groups⁷⁵³ but also for the unheard.

A considerable number of people, mainly well-known journalists, scholars, artists, intellectuals frequently resorted to expressing themselves with cartoons. Satire authors such Aziz Nesin, politicians such as Behice Boran and many others used or supported political cartoons to express the discontent over American dominancy in Turkey throughout the 50s⁷⁵⁴. Many demonstrated their protest moods against the US in such manner. These were concrete evidences that Washington was not always successful in creating adherent masses within a society under its hegemony.

It was pre-mentioned that pro-American attitude was displayed multiple times in forms of censorship, closing newspapers or popular periodicals or magazines⁷⁵⁵. The government took a very firm stance against the display of criticism and anti-Americanism in humor as it did to itself. For example the cartoons in popular magazines mocking the prime minister or ministers hand in hand with America were subjected to merciless treatment as were the cartoonists. Advancing years in the 50s witnessed multiplications of this harsh attitude towards press and humor as it stirred up the public opinion against DP, entailing its disfavoring among the Turkish intellectuals. Simple criticism in the form of a cartoon ended up with trials and arrests, which formed serious friction in the society against the DP administration.

No matter what happened between the press, the government and the opposition concerning America or Turco-American relations; it must be kept in mind that American admiration among a big portion of the Turkish society prevailed until

⁷⁵³Erdem Murat, *Perceptions of American Aid as Reflected In Political Cartoons Published in Turkish Humor Magazines, 1945-1960*, in (Eds) Criss, Nur, Bilge and Esenbel, Selçuk and Greenwood, Tony and Mazaari, Louis, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture 1830-1989*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011, pp. 354-365

⁷⁵⁴Ibid

⁷⁵⁵Eşel, Gökhan, *Demokrat Parti Dönemi Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinde Basın Sansürü ve Pulliam Davası*, TÜBAR-XXIX, Spring 2011, pp.145-162

the end of the 50s and the early 70s. However, the relationship underwent serious changes at both sides of the ocean while the US herself has transformed drastically as did the USSR did. Heroic America of the 2nd WW gradually turned into the ugly American image in the mid-60s and in the 70s throughout the world. Washington interfered in so many political conflicts and issues in many countries of the world. This was because the USSR's communist dissemination disturbed the US so much that she was too much obsessed with containing Russia on every part of the world in any possible way. Therefore, it could be claimed that America shot her own foot when the political and economic problems became too complicated and hard to manage in the mid 60s and in the following decades.

7.4. Turks Spellbound by the Glamour of American Stars

Prominent film director Alan Parker's movie *Midnight Express* of 1978 was a turning point in the social history between the two countries. Parker depicted a young American who was caught while smuggling drugs out of Turkey and put in a terrifying Turkish prison, lived under inhumane conditions in Turkey of the 70s. The film had very positive criticism at the time from American audience; it helped creation of negative image of Turks in the States and elsewhere. This was one of the signals events which shook and awoke many Turks sharing the little America dream since the 50s. It was not frequent that Turks considered American's viewpoint over Turkey. Many sufficed by appreciating, envying and applauding America and failed to notice the American understanding that not all Turks were friendly, warm and trustworthy.

It was therefore that the exaggerated content of the film disturbed the Turks immensely. The popularity it gained throughout the world particularly after the government strictly forbid the showing of this film shocked the Turks by conveying that there was a worldwide public opinion prepared to condemn the Turks. The reason why it turned to a negative propaganda against Turkey was the attitude or

the reaction of America and European countries. The film could have been unnoticed or easily forgotten otherwise.

To repeat, this illusion of Turkish people had its roots in the 50s when they were made to believe in the little America dream nourished by devices such as popular magazines, music, edibles and/or movies. As a matter of fact, even the American movies of the 40s and the 50s which had Turkey or the Turks in their subjects did have similar depiction mentioned above. Apparently, American view of the newly developing Middle Eastern societies was the driving force behind the scene and Hollywood or the producers were not much attentive of politics. They did not pay attention to how important Turkey was for America strategically⁷⁵⁶ or how much Turks conceded to preserve this companionship. Films such as “Flame of Stamboul” of 1951 by Columbia company, “Veils of Bagdad” of 1953 by Universal International company as well as “Istanbul” of 1956 by Universal International pictured İstanbul or Ankara as threatening cities where an American could be manipulated, cheated and eventually would end up with violent consequences⁷⁵⁷.

However, these did not create a serious level of inconvenience in Turkey. On the contrary Turks even praised and were proud that the acclaimed Errol Flynn starred in the film Istanbul in 1956. This was mostly due to the short song he sang in Turkish⁷⁵⁸ in this film. Undoubtedly the praise more than the song was directed to his name very similar to the Turkish Erol⁷⁵⁹. This was the power of propaganda ready to grasp even different forms of arts for own advantages.

America became quite aware of this power and clutched it as a gold mine useable against the USSR during the Cold War years. Therefore the arms and ammunitions of the 2nd WW were turned into Hollywood movies, radio programs,

⁷⁵⁶Raw, Laurence, *Chapter Ten-Hollywood's Turkish Films, 1930-1960: A Nation Looks at Itself*, in (Eds) Tunç, Tanfer, Emin and Gürsel, Bahar, *The Transnational Turn in American Studies: Turkey and the United States*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, Switzerland, 2012, pp. 191-207

⁷⁵⁷Ibid, pp.192-193

⁷⁵⁸Milliyet, January 6, 1956

⁷⁵⁹A man's name in Turkey.

and female magazines. Turks gradually became addicted to popular cultural elements of America. Many daily newspapers such as Cumhuriyet, Milliyet and others⁷⁶⁰ allocated sections referring to the American stars. Some celebrities who could not even point Turkey on the map were sent to Turkey and their visits publicized months earlier as if Jesus Christ was coming.

One of such visitors in 1952 was an American radio celebrity Jean Colbert. It was an irony that *Ayın Tarihi*, a semi-official monthly periodical, to deliver details of one of radio stars' Turkey adventure as it was a defect for the state apparatus. The reader was informed about how fortunate Turkey was to host such a high caliber after visits to Portugal, Spain, Sweden and France⁷⁶¹. Ms. Colbert was much welcomed by Turks.

However, she was not honored as much as the renowned American movie star and film director Douglas Fairbanks Jr. Mr. Fairbanks visited Turkey to prior to the shooting of the Hollywood film on Kemal Atatürk to get the feeling of the country and learn about Atatürk. During his visit to Ankara on August 18, 1954, He was met by many high-ranked state officials including Deputy Prime Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu⁷⁶². He was briefed about Atatürk's life and paid a visit to his Mausoleum. However, this project was never realized and as supported by oral history, Fairbanks told Prof. Dr. Enver Ziya Karal, the head of the Turkish Revolutionary History Institute he conversed with, that Atatürk had such high image among the Turks and that he did not feel himself capable of representing such a heroic person even if in a movie⁷⁶³.

⁷⁶⁰There are thousands of references available concerning these sections, therefore one single reference particular to a date was not presented. However, a striking unavoidable example is American movie star Rita Hayworth on the front page headline in *Aksam* newspaper on February 26, 1952.

⁷⁶¹*Ayın Tarihi*, September 5, 1952

⁷⁶²*Milliyet*, August 19, 1954

⁷⁶³Interview with Seçil, Karal, Akgün, daughter of Prof. Dr. Enver Ziya Karal, July 15, 2017

Mr. Fairbanks returned to the States with an unrealized project. But the American admiration continued in form of unawareness concerning different strata among Americans: for example, the appearance of 2nd class Hollywood stars at the opening of Hilton Hotel in 1956 in İstanbul⁷⁶⁴ was not differentiated with Douglas Fairbanks as an A class Hollywood star. Starlets attended the opening⁷⁶⁵ were greeted as if they were the Academy Award winners Turks were made to believe so. They watched them live or read about the visiting star on newspapers and popular magazines with adoration.

As a matter of fact, it can be claimed that Turkish vision of Americans reached a climax during the 50s as the relations outshined with American celebrity visits to Turkey while Hollywood was observing its golden age. It may be paradoxical for an outsider to analyze and comment on how the US had been sending its stars to a little known and less trustworthy country according to the image of Hollywood movies of the decade. Especially, 1956 was the peak year with such stars and for their media coverage in Turkey. Among celebrities was the comedian Danny Keye. His visit to Turkey⁷⁶⁶ created great excitement. In fact, after this visit, he became a role model for the Turkish comedians of the late 50s and in the following decades.

Turkish youth regarded American stars as their model; they wished to live like them, eat like them, talk like them and dreamed of dressing up like them. These aspirations were exacerbated by popular magazines such as *Resimli Hayat (Life Illustrated)*⁷⁶⁷, *Hafta (Week)* and *Bütün Dünya (almost the Turkish version of Reader's Digest)* which became the catalyzers of social transformation from the 50s onward inviting the intensification of Americanization in Turkish culture⁷⁶⁸.

⁷⁶⁴*Milliyet*, June 11, 1955

⁷⁶⁵*Ibid*

⁷⁶⁶*Milliyet*, April 5, 1956

⁷⁶⁷This magazine changed its name as *Hayat (Life)* in 1956

⁷⁶⁸Oktay, Ahmet, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür*, Yapı Kredi Bankası Yayınları, 1993, pp. 81-98

Especially, Hayat (LIFE)⁷⁶⁹, when renamed as such from 1956 and apparently inspired by its US version, largely displayed covered issues such as daily lives of Hollywood stars, their houses, lovers, wealth as well as glamorous receptions and parties. Furthermore, in time, it customized people to viewing erotic images of mostly women celebrities and even of Turkish stars⁷⁷⁰ on cover pages. This was an irony while a conservative Turkish government conducting religious propaganda was in power. While DP was pressurizing many segments of the Turkish society for their views or criticism, it opened a door for gender displays on the most popular magazine with over a million circulations. In other words, it can be argued that DP ignored penetration of American culture into Turks' daily life while it enjoyed the absolute power of popular votes.

⁷⁶⁹Some examples of its issues have been given in Appendix D.1.

⁷⁷⁰Hayat, Front cover (Ms. Necla İz, Turkish singer), V. 72, February 21, 1958, p.1

CONCLUSION

The United States, with its pros and cons, has been the leading and the dominant power in Turkey's social and political life since the end of the 2nd WW. Moreover, it almost became a tradition to attribute striking events and developments to America be it crystal clear or not, related or irrelevant. A very recent example is the July 15th movement, on which Turks up to date do not yet have a common understanding. Similar to May 27, 1960 military intervention, this incidence is attributed to Washington by masses.

Both events do require a special attention, study and detailed analysis. However, at this point the question *for whom the bells toll* should be remembered. What has been discussed concerning impact of Hollywood stars and similar influences in the 50s are valid for a small percentage of the Turkish society, mostly in major cities, though American admiration for those who reached American goods and services were widespread throughout the country. A great majority of the public enjoying them was not even aware of US existence, let alone the American influence, especially in rural parts where information sources and devices were almost null.

A striking example of how rural Turks were uninformed and unaware of politics and Turco-American relations was the news regarding the IRBM⁷⁷¹ nuclear missiles which were stationed in Çiğli (a small town near İzmir)⁷⁷² in the late 50s. Since the missiles were in open air, they were easily visible to anyone in the region. Therefore, villagers became quite curious about what they were and answer they

⁷⁷¹As the English abbreviation reminded a Turkish man name, officers called it and told the villagers that they were İbrahim

⁷⁷²Milliyet, "Efsane Gerçek Çıktı: İşte İbrahim", December 26, 2010. Also see: Habertürk, "İşte İlk Nükleer Türk Füzesi: İbrahim", December 26, 2010; Yeni Asır, "Egedeki 15 Deli İbrahim Füzesinin Gizemini Çözdük", January 3, 2011 Interview with Dr. Nur Bilge Criss from Bilkent University; Appendix F.13. has some photos of these missiles in Turkey.

received from the military officers was that these were *minarets*⁷⁷³. More to come, once the US army officers visited Çiğli to train Turkish army officers who would use the missiles in case of an attack to Turkey found that the engines of some of the nuclear missiles were hit by bullets not the Turkish army but by those frequently used by the villagers⁷⁷⁴.

It is necessary to remind once more that Turkey of the 50s was neither industrialized nor educated thus, was not a developed country. Only a small portion of the society in the urban areas was well educated while an overwhelming other part lived under deprived conditions in the rural. Moreover, republican reforms were not fully rooted nor understood among masses. However, it should also be pointed out that the educated very small in percentage were immensely influential over the public albeit their low number. Therefore, American impact over the influential people in Turkey had substantial effects.

From this point onward, via through American influence, technology and its daily appliances touched Turks' life faster than before. This rapid familiarizing of technology and improvements introduced led a perverse interaction while inviting awareness for certain things at the same time. It was asserted that *realpolitik* gave way to flamboyant ideals and many of the young educated Turks shared the American dream without regarding the lack of infrastructure.

Stances controversial to this general conviction entailed fragmentations within the Turkish society in the 50s, bringing up the question *for whom the bells toll?* Would they toll for the US who would dominate Turks and their lives or for the politicized new generation well informed and aware of the interests of the dispersed hegemonic powers targeting Turkey? Would the power be in the hands of the manipulating, obliging the conservatives to yield to American desires of

⁷⁷³Dictionary.com: a lofty, often slender, tower or turret attached to a mosque, surrounded by or furnished with one or more balconies, from which the muezzin calls the people to prayer.

⁷⁷⁴Ibid

harnessing Turkey? Or would the modernists striving to put into effect full independence in Turkey be the victors? All these are the topics of future researches.

The aim of this study is to debate the American influence in socio-cultural life in Turkey and discuss the credibility of American image entailing adherents and admirers or none. History does not organize the flow of life, but records it. However, familiarity with history directs socio-political factors which manipulate administrators. In other words, the decades following the 50s cannot be understood without understanding and analyzing their roots in the past. Therefore, events and transformation of the 60s, the 70s and even the 80s requires a thorough analysis of their roots in the 50s. The transformation referred to in this study cannot be classified as a total transformation since it involved only a certain portion of the society. Yet, “the clash of civilizations” created in Turkey through America, in a way, was the product of the struggle for dominance: Would it be imperialism or the full independence Kemal Atatürk longed for?

However, researching means and subjects of power and dominance have always been a challenging task for states and nations. Researching the very recent past is not unfamiliar to Turkey be it for an ally or a belligerent, and Russia has often been a subject of one. As a collapsed power, the USSR has also been discussed less than it deserved. Nevertheless, judging such events is not history’s duty, but we can comment with the help of the available as well as reliable historical sources.

Historical sources teach us that starting from the 19th century onward European powers made extensive use of their culture as a handy device to implant in countries with crawling democracies and/or economic, political and social problems. Ottoman Empire was one of them. Its relations with the prominent countries in Europe mostly revolved around the balance of power politics and the Sultans’ aspirations to preserve the territorial integrity of the Empire albeit western colonial intentions.

This understanding kept Sultans busy mainly with what was going on in Europe and in Russia as they welcomed America with goodwill, overlooking her

pacifist penetration to the Ottoman lands. The Sultans were much obsessed with territorial concerns rather than subjects' mentalities even during the enlightenment and 19th century radical reforms. Yet especially young minds were inseminated with the ideas of the French Revolution which triggered nationalism and different peoples of the Empire sought for independence. Then gradually in the next century the banner to directing the minds was taken over by the United States, which the Porte failed to grasp. But once this was comprehended towards the end of the 1st World War, it was too late for the recovery.

However, it was not until the 2nd WW that America realized that she was en-route to becoming a superpower so she turned to discovering new techniques to dominate the world politics and culture. The over-ambitious stance of big powers of Europe and their conflict of interests facilitated the rise of the US as a superpower. There was more to it: Washington had strategic cards in hand. Once the old powers of Europe and the world order were shaken with the consequences of the 2nd WW, the US emerged as the champion of the democratic and free world.

It was at this point that Washington comprehended that in order to be the true victor of the war; she ought to disseminate American culture in every single spot on earth including Turkey. Thus the new war was not fought with fire arms and ammunitions but with influential techniques and approaches in education, food, music, literature, clothing, entertainment, etc., which all combined shows the elements of American dream.

This dream requires a special attention to comprehend why and how people become admirers of America. Except for the internal conflict concerning southern and northern states in the 1860s, the US was never subjected to foreign attacks on its homeland even the Japanese attack to Hawaiian Islands on December 7, 1941, the Pearl Harbor incident, could not be compared with the Europeans' warfare. Almost immune to battles and wars, the US public did not experience the deprivation and handicaps of two world wars. Therefore, Washington used this situation as an advantage to turn in the favor of herself thanks to production and

export of consumer goods as well as outdated fire arms and ammunitions to the countries in war. In other words, welfare and accumulation of wealth were inevitable for the Americans.

Accumulated wealth empowered Washington to act as a hegemonic power and equipped her with means and devices as well as techniques to control and dominate. However, the US herself was a colony of the imperialist powers of Europe. Therefore, Washington repudiated the imperialistic track of these powers and created her own methods by making use of anti-imperialistic discourse. In American hands, territorial struggles of the old powers turned into business, economy, and distribution of goods and acquiring accumulation of wealth among the dominants.

This wealth, political stability, peaceful and democratic environment entailed flow of migrations. From the end of the 2nd WW until the end of the Cold War, America attracted commoners and intellectuals as well as artists. Although historically the US was made up of migrants, especially Cold War years became significant in terms of intensification of migrants from problematic territories and of the nature of the migration. Particularly, people fled to freedom from iron curtain i.e. Hungary of 1956 under Russian occupation and from Iraq of 1958 when military coup d'état was realized backed by the USSR. While US readily accepted and naturalized these immigrants who actually became a human force as well, they not only found the mentioned but also civilized conditions in the US. Similar migrations continued in the later decades from Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Iran and many other places. The waves of migrants from the mentioned places in the 50s constructed helped the build-up of positive American image.

The migrants told stories to their families and relatives back home about America and the opportunities she provided. Gradually, an American admiration, with the support and propaganda of Washington enriched with devices such as USIS, was emerged not only in Europe but also anywhere else including Turkey where wealth was in the hands of a handful of people. Countries in need of financial

support, experiencing instability and open to Russian threat were especially prone to such an admiration.

As an unindustrialized country with a minor group of educated people, Turkey was one of them. Once the Independence War ended with the victory of the nationalist front in early 20s, westernization was assumed as a model to modernize. However, mental change disputable even for Atatürk era did not aim to alter mentality after Atatürk. Turkish governments under the surveillance of İnönü from 1938 until 1950 and especially during Prime Minister Menderes time in the 50s concentrated on not the thought but the appearance. Modernizing mentality was abandoned. Rather than conceptual, flamboyant gains became more important. Therefore, people's minds were attracted to the superficial created by this vacuum. Turkish society was made to believe that America is the true west; all values from the other side of the ocean were divine and had to be naturalized.

Moreover, serving the American purpose, the depriving effects of the 2nd WW reflected upon Europe, caused the decline of European image and helped a rise of American image in Turkish view. Turks were in paradox and it was a multi facets. This multiplicity was based on the practice of 600 years. Therefore, Washington's political and cultural affairs and plans in Turkey of the 50s created an environment where the vacuum would easily be filled by a big power, i.e., America. Apparently, Washington worked hard so her Turkish adherents, too, would dream of the American dream but without sources and the capacity at their own home. However romantic it may seem to be at this time and age, the course of contemporary history proves that wealth cannot always win. As a wealthy country, America has always been described as the land of opportunity where creative efforts of its individuals would be rewarded. Insignificant portion of the Turkish society mainly from educated and intellectuals class was well aware and informed of such notions; considered that should these notions could be inserted into Turkish culture, then there would be a high possibility of creating a secular republic based on western models-as envisaged by Atatürk during the early Republican period, could be

expedited⁷⁷⁵. However, what was overlooked was firstly that America was not always the favorite country, and secondly, that Turkey lacked the capacity America had.

American capacity was financial, political, cultural, and historical as well as distinctive. To emphasize what's mentioned earlier, a country that pursued hands off policy from the European affairs with his Monroe Doctrine ostensibly turned the war conditions into a lucrative business and became the wealthiest of all after the 2nd WW if not done in the 1st World War. Therefore, she used her wealth to penetrate, dominate and lead wherever she went including the Ottoman Empire and Turkey of the 50s.

American plans were most welcomed by the DP administration. Additionally, this understanding was not met with resistance from the conservatives and those who firmly stick to status quo. This reminded us those political divisions making the first Turkish parliament-the modernists and the conservatives-were still ongoing even in the 50s. As a matter of fact, this struggled still continues today.

Returning to the subject this study covers, American influence to the Turkish political life after the 2nd WW was inevitable for two major reasons: first was the Soviet territorial requests from Turkey. USSR openly made known that annexation of the eastern provinces of Turkey was among its plans. The Russians also did not hesitate to request radical revisions in Montreux Agreement related to the Turkish straits. Both topics in agenda of the Soviet administrations coupling with aspirations to spread communism and create satellite countries to buffer the USSR tolled the alarm bells both for İnönü and subsequent DP governments.

Turkish administrations, be it in the modernist or conservative wing, were quite shaken up once a companion, the USSR, turned its amity policies to enmity towards Turkey. In other words, nightmare of the Ottomans (*Moskof Gavuru*)⁷⁷⁶ was

⁷⁷⁵Raw, Laurance, *Evolving Attitudes to the Turkish Dream: Death of a Salesman in the Turkish Context*, p.2

revived in the late 40 and in the 50s. Turkish anxiety reached a climax in this era and governments were much obsessed with the idea that newly gained independence for Turkey was at risk when they considered that their country was at stake with USSR turning southern and eastern European countries into satellites.

Although Turkish administrations tried hard to keep Moscow in friendly countries list, American plans and domination in the Near and Middle East prevented such naïve wishes let alone Russian political attacks. American plan to contain Russia was realized one by one and among the major events concerning Turkey were put in action: 1945 San Francisco Conference, the Missouri's visit, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, Korean War, establishment of NATO as well as pacts in the Balkans and in the Middle East and finally, the Eisenhower Doctrine. All of such efforts were to establish and fortify American influence.

There were more in the list; however, it requires several volumes of encyclopedias to cover them, so a selection had to be made. Our aim is to not to bring forth every single topic or event but to create awareness to the subject. Therefore, the conclusion will suffice with the matters included. Other topics will not be written and discussed but left to the future studies.

Returning to the first major reason of American political influence, it can be asserted that Turkey one way or another swerved from Russian companionship to the protective umbrella of the US. In other words, Ankara refused to become a Russian satellite; however, readily obliged to perform the duties sent from Washington. D.C.'s recipe included political and socio-cultural American inducements list over Ankara that DP government never resisted. The American list was to contain the USSR on all spots on earth and among this containment policy was to construct a green belt in the southern territories surrounding this communist country which aimed to curb the Russian expansion. Turkey was expected to be the front runner in the game under American leadership within the framework of

⁷⁷⁶It is a slang used during the Ottoman Empire to denominate Russian, in a negative connotation. It is still rarely used in modern Turkey.

Washington's instructions. Ankara for Washington could be the best guardian of the green belt.

This inactive stance⁷⁷⁷ of DP, even to point where Turkey could not move without Washington's permission, against the American aspirations and plans over Turkey takes us the second major reason of the inevitable American influence. Had it not been for a government firmly sticking to power albeit the social unrests, injustices, deteriorating economy, conflicts and contradictions in the advancing years of the 50s, it would not have been so smooth for Washington. If one analyzed DP promises in economy, democracy, social justice, liberty and freedom, it would be observed that only a few were kept. A cadre who refused RPP's oppressive policies and revolt against it ended up with repeating RPP's and even more oppressing the society. DP, when taking the US as its model while giving promises, forgot to import America's democratic, social and humanitarian values to their beloved country.

It was an irony that while the US promised to spread democracy, liberty, freedom to the rest of the world, she overlooked application of suppressive politics in non-communist countries including Turkey of the 50s. This provoked an idea that behind the fancy American dream and lifestyle which became a fashion in the mentioned decade, was a new world order in which the poor and the weak had limited chance to live humanely. It was also an understanding which rejected determination of self-future, possessing national interests or protecting national independence. Therefore, it was claimed that almost all of the international agreement signed by DP governments during the 50s increased dependency to the West, especially to the USA and thus undermined Turkey's sovereignty rights⁷⁷⁸. In this case, America did not need to occupy Turkey territorially, but bypassed such a hard operation thanks to bilateral agreements⁷⁷⁹.

⁷⁷⁷Yılmaz, Sait, *Türkiye'deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD'nin Örtülü Operasyonları*, p. 152. Also see: Topuz, Hıfzı, *1950*, in (Ed) Mumcu, Cem, *Türkiye'nin Çıplak Tarihi 1946-2014: 69 Yazardan 69 Yıl*, Okyanus Us Yayın, İstanbul, 2004, p. 40

⁷⁷⁸Aydoğan, Metin, *Türkiye Üzerine Notlar: 1919-2015*, p. 151

These political developments and conducive environment helped flourishing other American initiatives in socio-cultural life of Turkey. In other words, political arena with its spillover effect prepared the suitable grounds for influence over Turks' socio-cultural life. This feasible ecosystem opened up opportunities for American foundations such as Rockefeller and Ford to intensify their local operations, which had already been settled from the Ottoman days, thanks to enthusiastic partners and legal incentives generously provided by DP government.

Turks were not quite aware about the possibility that their social DNA encryption could have been unlocked by the American charity research. This brings us the assumption that education and research would be the two key sectors vulnerable to Washington's interference and maneuvers. Turkey of the 50s would be regarded as such and the country observed deepening and widening of Turco-American educational relations.

The relations included, but were not limited to establishing major universities which were modeled the American and were expected to educate young minds as US always did. Similar to their peers in America; founding the Fulbright Commission; importing (exporting for Washington) educational experts for the systemic and know-how support required in the country's education as well as grant or visiting programs allowing exchange (in Turkish case brain drain in the most of the time) of students and faculty. These initiatives intensified interactions of the intellectuals and the educated on both sides. However, once Turkish young minds were incepted with the mentioned dream, it also accelerated Turkey's loss of the much needed educated generation in the 50s to a great extent, let alone the increase of American admiration.

There were more to come. Washington would not let Turks only get an education similar to American and make the educated (very precious for their country) desperately seek for a way to go to the States, but have them consume American junk food, eat like Yankees and sell the most valuable olive oil to other

⁷⁷⁹Ibid

side of the ocean as an indication of their appreciation for gaining US consumer habits under advancement. Of course, exporting figs, raisins and trifles as such besides agriculture products like olive oil was never enough to meet purchasing costs of industrial products which unindustrialized Turkey needed. This suited America well as it suited Turkey, happy to find a buyer for her above mentioned products.

Two factors were very influential on the visibly successful, but by some, staunchly rejected penetration of Americanism into Turkish society. One was the official stance of the government; the other was the understanding and response of the society and families' behavior. Ironically, albeit the Turkish government's unconditional support to the access of Americanism into Turkey whether it be in the form of translations of colorful and exciting reading material reflecting American history to Turkish youth not well taught their own history, or of elegant American goods to Turks in destitute, rejection of Americanism by the independent minded Turks could not be prevented. While the heroic American cowboys-Indians combats in western films or colored magazines led many Turkish youngsters to create pro-American rhymes and games, imitating cowboys and Indians they found very exciting albeit the cultural differences; there were the rejecters as well.

The other factor was families accustomed to keeping at a distance to their children. Most of them nourished guilty feelings not only for overlooking but ignoring their children in a traditionally accepted way. In fact, this behavior was even inserted in Turkish proverbs suggesting children should be silent in front of the elders; should not pose question to their teachers. While this understanding was common countrywide, benevolent American spouses established play-centers or junior libraries the ignored youngsters heartily welcomed. At the fairly common junior libraries, many colorful American books decorated the bookshelves while short films, many Turks were unfamiliar with, were shown. Of course all were praising the US. American visitors, mostly officers' wives also gifted Turkish children petty and charming presents in schools.

These reminded of the long-gone missionary influenced American penetration of the Ottoman days when a different, attractive and a new life, facilitating envy among young Turks. This time it was once more with no repression or oppression. The neo-missionaries⁷⁸⁰ worked to sell on American life-style and endear it among the youth with non-religious activities and discourse, which easily were strengthened in post-war Turkey of destitute and scarceness. Such were the conditions children, and the young Turks, both as ignored and neglected groups, were made the targets of US propaganda. American novelties Turks were unfamiliar with were welcomed by the negligent families not offended that they were reminded what they had lacked in their parenthood. Nevertheless, despite all the favorable approaches, Washington did not win the hearts of the rejecters.

In fact, this did not change after the collapse of the USSR or in the first decade of the new millennium. Should we question why was it that the US was not fully successful in winning the hearts and hypnotizing Turkish public despite the countless handy tools? Independent public surveys in early 2000 and the recent ones have indicated that Turkey was among the countries where anti-Americanism was the highest⁷⁸¹. The recent anti-Americanism in the Middle East was particularly the result of American foreign policy towards Islamic countries during the 1991 Gulf War, 9/11 attack and the following US invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Turks had both deep cultural ties and religious affinity with these countries; thus they developed sentimental reactions against Washington. Similar feelings were widespread and commonly observed in other countries where majority of their citizens belonged to Islamic origin. However, America firmly believed that her policies in the periphery countries including Turkey would turn the public opinion to

⁷⁸⁰This is a deliberately invented term history literature does not have. One of the major differences between the old and new missionary understanding is the religion. The new generations, as the author sees, are the American people or entities disguised under anything but non-missionary title and agenda.

⁷⁸¹<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-anatomy-of-anti-americanism-in-turkey/> See also: Wallechinsky, David, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-wallechinsky/why-do-they-hate-us_2_b_957277.html

the favor of Washington thus although in vain, kept up her propaganda especially targeting young generations.

Nevertheless, the short children films or rhymes mentioned in the previous chapters would not be enough to suffice the American cultural war against the Soviets. Therefore, US propaganda interfered, as did in most the world, in Turkey and USIA (USIS) loosened the purse-strings and ordered music albums such the *Song of Friendship* performed by Turkish singer Celal İnce. If propaganda would be made through music, it should also works for the film. Washington realized that Hollywood and its films would be quite influential for influencing people, capturing their heart and having an impact on directing their thoughts in the way Washington preferred. Therefore, Hollywood lived its heyday in the 50s as did Turco-American relations. Intensification of the relations as well as the escalation of the cultural Cold War led an increase of visits of Hollywood stars to Turkey, even to the opening of a hotel. Their glamorous and splendiferous life were enough to spellbound Turks, especially the young. From then on, the young aspired to become like them and the Turkish film players wished to act like them.

In short, Turkey seeking for protection found herself moving towards becoming like a little America. However, she lacked the sources the protector had. Therefore, the US indirectly and without much difficulty found ways to influence politically and socio-culturally this country of territorially large but small of capacity and sources for economic, financial, defensive, educational and cultural enhancements means and devices during the 50s.

America's influence continued even in the 60s and the 70s to a great extent and even with contrasting incidences and stories to the 50s when anti-Americanism gradually rose. However, the 50s constituted the era of the most complicated, intensified relations, some called heyday, and some even said golden age. However it was called, this decade left long-lasting marks, influences as well as not yet fully revealed, discovered and analyzed events and phenomenon touching the Turks' lives which will the topic of the future studies.

REFERENCES

Newspapers & Magazines

- Akşam
- Californian
- Cumhuriyet
- Geveze Magazine
- Habertürk
- Hayat (V. 61, 72, 74, 76)
- Huffington Post (internet)
- Milliyet
- Radikal
- Son Posta
- Sözcü
- The Stanford Daily
- The New York Times
- Times
- Ulus
- Vatan
- Vakit
- Yeni Asır
- Zafer

A-First Hand Sources

Agreements signed between the US and Turkey (US Embassy Ankara Official Internet site, Treaties in Force section); also see: Ismail Soysal, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasal Bağlıları*, T.T.K. yay. Cilt I & II, Ankara, 2000.

Aybar, Mehmet A., *Kapitülasyonlar Geri mi Geliyor Dersiniz?*, Geveze Magazine, August 15, 1948.

Basın Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, *Ayın Tarihi Dergisi*, Nr. 193, 1949.

Basın Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, *Ayın Tarihi Dergisi*, Nr. 217, 1951.

Basın Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, *Ayın Tarihi Dergisi*, September 5, 1952. (<http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/date/1952-9-15>)

Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, *İstatistik Yıllığı 1942-1945*, Vol. 15, Hüsnü Tabiat Basımevi, İstanbul, 1946.

Bayar, Celal, *Başvekilim Adnan Menderes*, (Ed.) Bozdağ, İsmet, Tercüman Gazetesi Yayınları, 1986.

Burian, Orhan, *Preface (Önsöz)*, Satıcının Ölümü, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1952.

Californian, *Lend-Lease Returns*, August 1, 1946.

Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

Congressional Records 65, 1st and 2nd Sessions, p.207, 1741-43.

Dewey, John, *Türkiye Maarifi Hakkında Rapor*, Devlet Basımevi, İstanbul, 1939.

Düstur, Ter. III, V.34, p.1347.

Düstur, Ter. III, V.35, p.1659.

Düstur, Tertip 3, C.XXIII, s.150, Resmi Gazete 19 Kanunsani 1942.

Harbord, Maj. Gen. James G., *Conditions in the Near East-Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1920.

Interview with Seçik Karal Akgün, daughter of Prof. Dr. Enver Ziya Karal, July 15, 2017.

Lord Ismay, *NATO, İlk Beş Sene, 1949-1954*, Türkçesi S. Bilge, Ankara, 1956.

Monroe Doctrine (US Senate Speech on December 2nd, 1823).

NARA, Identifier Nr: 16618805, Container Identifier: 51, Series: Diplomatic Correspondence, 1933-1945 with Turkey, Collection: President's Secretary's File (Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration).

NATO Archives (Official Texts): *NATO The First Five Years: 1949-1954* by Lord Ismay Secretary General of NATO.

NSC-68-U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950, National Security Affairs: Foreign Economic Policy, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977.

NSC5428, S/S–NSCfiles, lot 63 D 351, “NSC 155 Memoranda”.

Nutuk by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Resmi Gazete (Official Gazette), Issue numbers: 6902, 6956, 6699, 6902, 7171, 7460, 8625, 8767, 8778, 10228

Sunguri, Hasan Halis, *Anayasayı İhlal Suçları ve T.C.K. 146. Maddesi Hükümleri*, İstanbul Matbaası, 1961.

Süleyman Demirel's Press Conference on Bilateral Agreements and NATO, *Dışişleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 65, Şubat 1970.

TBMM Kanunlar Dergisi Cilt 32, Law Number 5596, March 13, 1950.

TBMM Tutanakları, Dönem 1, Toplantı 5, 85. Birleşim, July 7 1966.

TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem 8, Cilt 6, Toplantı 1.

TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem 8, Cilt 10, Birleşim 37, 1. Oturum.

TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem 8, Cilt: 12, Toplantı: 2, July 8, 1948.

TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem 9, Cilt 13, Toplantı 2.

TBMM Tutanakları, Devre XI, İçtima: 2, T.C. Başvekalet Kanunlar ve Kararlar Tetkik Dairesi, Sayı: 71-542/740, March 14, 1957.

T.C. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, Fon No: 30.18.1.2 –Kutu No: 110-Dosya No: 18-Sıra No: 8.

T.C. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 030.10.267.802.23.

The United States Department of Agriculture Agricultural Marketing Service, The Wheat Situation WS-154, Agriculture report released on June 28, 1957.

Time Magazine, *The Struggle to End Hunger*, Essay by Don Paarlberg, Vol.88, No.7, August 12, 1966.

The Marshall Plan in United States Statutes at Large, 1948, Washington, D.C (Government Printing Office), Vol. 62, 1949.

The Rockefeller Foundation Archive, Series 805: Turkey, R.G. 10.1 (FA244) 1917-1979, Box 484, Folder 7220.

The Rockefeller Foundation Archive, John Marshall, *The Near East, Officer's Diaries*, RG 12, M-R (FA393), March 18-June 13, 1951.

Truman Doctrine, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1947 (Washington, D.C., US Government Printing Office) 1963.

Truman, Harry S., *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman*, 2 vols: Years of Decision, Year of Trial and Hope, Garden City: Doubleday, 1955-1956.

TRT Müzik Dairesi Yayınları THM Repertuar, *Zeytinyağlı Yiyemem* Song, Sıra No: 1133, Kimden Alındığı: İhsan KAPLAYAN, Derleyen: Muzaffer SARISÖZEN, Notaya Alan: Muzaffer SARISÖZEN, Complication Date: November 2, 1954.

Tumulty, Joseph P., *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him*, New York, 1921.

U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy, 1950-1955*, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Volume I, National Security Affairs; Foreign Economic Policy, Document 96.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Western Europe, Volume III, Document 9.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Volume V, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Document 87.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Volume V, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Document 688.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States* 1950, Volume V, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Document 697.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1949, Volume VI, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Document 1138.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Korea, Volume VII, Document 196.

United States Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, The Near East and Africa, Vol.V*, 1951.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954, The Near and the Middle East*, Vol IX, Part I, Document 219, July 23, 1954.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1958-1960, Eastern Europe; Finland; Greece; Turkey*, Volume X, Part 2, Document 351.

US Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960*, Vol X, p.850 doc. 367.

U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Near East and Africa*, Vol VII, 1946.

U. S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, The Near East, South Asia and Africa, The Far East*, Vol. V, 1944.

U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Telegram from the Embassy in Turkey to the Department of State, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe, Finland, Greece, Turkey, Vol. X, Part 2, 1993.

Winston S. Churchill's "Iron Curtain" Speech, *Congressional Record*, XCII (1946, Appendix), A1145-A1147.

Wofford, Kate V., *Türkiye'de Köy İlkokulları Hakkında Rapor*, Translated by Fatma Varış, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, Ankara, 1952.

Woodrow Wilson's speech given to the US Congress on January 8, 1918

B-Second Hand Sources

Books and Articles

Ahmad, Feroz, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye*, Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007.

..... and Ahmad, Bedia, Turgay, *Türkiye'de Çok Partili Politikanın Açıklamalı Kronolojisi: 1945-1971*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 1976.

..... *The Quest for Identity*, Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2003.

..... *Politics and Political Parties* in Republican Turkey in The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume IV, Turkey in the Modern World, Kasaba, Reşat (eds), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008.

Akgün, Seçil, Karal, *27 Mayıs: Bir İhtilal, Bir Devrim, Bir Anayasa*, ODTÜ Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2009.

..... 'Amerikalı Misyonelerin Ermeni Meselesindeki Rolü' in Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Atatürk Yolu Dergisi, Vol. 1, Nr. 1, 1988.

..... *Browne and the Leaders of the 1919 Sivas Congress* in *Studies in Atatürk's Turkey The American Dimensions*, in (Eds) Goerge Harris and Nur Bilge Criss, Brill Publishing, Leiden, 2009.

..... *Ottoman Armenian Intricate Relations with Western Powers Before and During the Peace Settlements of the 1st World War*, *Review of Armenian Studies*, No. 18, Ankara, 2009.

..... *Ord. Prof. Enver Ziya Karal'ın Yapıtları ve Yaşam Öyküsü*, Ankara University Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Dergisi (OTAM), Ankara, 1994.

Akalın, Cüneyt, *Soğuk Savaş ABD ve Türkiye -1: Olaylar ve Belgeler (1945-1952)*, Kaynak Yayınlar, İstanbul, 2003.

Akşin, Sina, *Kısa Türkiye Tarihi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009.

Akyüz, Yahya, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi: Başlangıçtan 1999a*, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999.

Albayrak, Mustafa, *Demokrat Parti Döneminde Milli Korunma Kanunu Uygulamaları (1955-1960)*, Presented as Paper at 9th National Social Sciences Congress, December 7-9, Ankara, 2005.

Altunışık, Meliha Benli and Tür, Özlem, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2005.

Arıburnu, Kemal, *Atatürk Anektodlar Anılar*, Ankara, 1960.

Armaoğlu, Fahir, *Belgelerle Türk-Amerikan Münasebetleri*, Ankara, 1991.

..... *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, Alkım Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005.

Asan, Şefik, *Bariş Kültürü*, Heyamola Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007.

Ata, Bahri, *the Influence of an American Educator (John Dewey) on the Turkish Educational System*, the Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, Vol. XXXI, 2000.

Ataöv, Türkkaya, *Amerika NATO ve Türkiye*, Ankara, Aydınlık Yayınları, 1969.

Athanassopoulou, Ekavi, *Turkey Anglo-American Security Interests 1945-1952*, Frank Cass, London, 1999.

Aydemir, Şevket Süreyya, *İkinci Adam*, 3 Cilt, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1966.

..... *Menderes'in Dramı*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1969.

Aydoğan, Metin, *Türkiye Üzerine Notlar: 1919-2015*, Pozitif Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015.

Aydos, Serpil, *1948-1955 Yılları Arasında Türkiye ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri İlişkilerinde Kamu Diplomasisi*, Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Cilt 45, Sayı 4, Aralık 2012.

Bağcı, Hüseyin, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950li Yıllar*, METU Press, Ankara, 2001.

Baldwin, David A., *Foreign Aid and American Foreign Policy: A Documentary Analysis*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1966.

Bali, Rifat N., *American Diplomats in Turkey, Oral History Transcripts (1928-1997)*, Vol. I, Libra Kitapçılık, İstanbul, 2011.

..... *Azınlıkların Demokrat Parti Sevdası: Celal Bayar'ın Amerika Ziyareti*, Toplumsal Tarih, February 2004.

- Batur, Enis, *Amerika Büyük Bir Şaka, Sevgili Frank ama Ona Ne Kadar Gülebiliriz? (America a Great Joke, Dear Frank but How much We can Laugh at It?)*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2014.
- Belge, Murat, *Kültür*, in (Ed) Belge, Murat, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, İletişim Yayınları, Vol.5*, İstanbul, 1983.
- Bemis, Samuel Flagg, *Diplomatic History of the U.S.*, Henry Holt & Co, New York, 1936.
- Berkes, Niyazi, *Unutulan Yıllar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997.
- Berman, Edward, *The Ideology of Philanthropy: The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1983.
- Bilgiç, Tuba Ünlü, *The Roots of Anti-Americanism in Turkey: 1945-1960*, Bilig, Nr. 72, Winter 2015.
- Birand, Mehmet Ali, *Emret Komutanım*, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 1984.
- Bostanoğlu, Burcu, *Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin Politikası*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2008.
- Boztaş, Asena, *Türk Demokrasisine Müdahaleler*, Mustafa Kemal University, Journal of Social Sciences Institute, Vol. 9, Issue: 19, 2012.
- Brown, E. Richard, *Public Health in Imperialism: Early Rockefeller Programs at Home and Abroad*, American Journal of Public Health, Vol. 66, No.9, 1976.
- Bu, Liping, *Making the World like US: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century*, Westport, Praeger, 2003.

Bulut, Menderes, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Ders Notları*, Kocaeli University Umuttepe Yayınları, İzmit, 2009.

Bulut, Semih, *Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-ABD İlişkileri (1923-1938)*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 2010.

Ceyhun, Demirtaş, *Biz 1950 Kuşağı Öykücüleri*, Adam Öykü Dergisi, Nr. 53, 2004.

Clarke, John, Henrik, *Kwame Nkrumah: His Years in America*, Black Scholar, vol. 6, no.2 , Taylor & Francis, Ltd, October 1974.

Cull, Nicholas J., *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2008.

Çalışkan, Nurettin, *Tarihçe: 1956-1980 ODTÜ*, Arayış Yayınları, Ankara, 2002.

Çavdar, Tefvik, *Türkiye Ekonomisinin Tarihi: 1900-1960*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2003.

Çaylak, Adem, Dikkaya, Mehmet, Göktepe Cihat, Kapu Hüsnü, *Osmanlı'dan İkininli Yıllara Türkiye'nin Politik Tarihi: İç ve Dış Politika*, Savaş Yayınevi, 2010.

Çelik, Aziz, *Vesayet Mektupları: 1950 ve 1960lı Yıllarda Türk ve ABD Sendikacıları Arasındaki Yazışmalar*, Çalışma ve Toplum, 2010.

Dağtaş, Banu, "Americanization of the Popular Culture in the 1950's Turkish Magazine: Hayat", Rhetoric and Communication (e-journal), V. 14, 2014.

Dallek, Robert, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the American Foreign Policy 1932-1945*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979.

Daniel, Robert L., *American Philanthropy in the Near East: 1820-1960*, Ohio University Press, Athens-Ohio, 1970.

Demirtaş, Bahattin, *1923-1950 Döneminde Türk Eğitimi* in *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Otorite Yayınları, Ankara, 2012.

Denizarslanı, Yonca, *Chapter Four-Mirroring America: Impressions of America in the Writings of Buket Uzuner, Enis Batur and Mustafa Ziyalan*, in (Eds) Tunç, Tanfer, Emin and Gürsel, Bahar, *The Transnational Turn in American Studies: Turkey and the United States*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, Switzerland, 2012.

Dennet, Raymond and Turners Robert K. (Eds), *Documents on International Affairs, 1947-1948*, Vol IX, Princeton University Press, 1949.

Denova, John A, *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East-1900-1939*, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1963.

Dilek, Mehmet Sait, *ABD Başkanı Dwight David Eisenhower'ın (Ike) Aralık 1959'da Türkiye Ziyareti*, Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Atatürk Yolu Dergisi, Güz 2010.

Dizard, Wilson P., *Inventing Public Diplomacy, The Story of the US Information Agency*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado, 2004.

Dokur, Billur, *1950'lerde Mutfak ve Hızlı Yemek*, Gastro Magazine, Nr. 62, 2011.

Dokuyan, Sabit, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Yaşanan Gıda Sıkıntısı ve Ekmek Karnesi Uygulaması* in *Turkish Studies International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Volume 8/5, Ankara, Spring 2013.

Durgun, Sezgi, *Cultural Cold War at the İzmir International Fair*, in (Eds) Cangül, Örnek and Üngör, Çağdaş, *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2013.

Elder, Robert Ellsworth, *The Policy Machine: The Department of State and American Foreign Policy*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1960.

..... *The Information Machine: The USIA and American Foreign Policy*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1968.

Emirođlu, Kudret, *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi*, Dost Yayınları, Ankara, 2001.

Er, H. Alpay and Korkut, Fatma and Er, Özlem, *U.S. Involvement in the Development of Design in the Periphery: The Case History of Industrial Design Education in Turkey, 1950s-1970s*, Design Issues, MIT, Volume 19, Nr. 2, 2003.

Erbil, Leyla, 1959, in (Ed) Mumcu, Cem, *Türkiye'nin Çıplak Tarihi 1946-2014: 69 Yazardan 69 Yıl*, Okyanus Us Yayın, İstanbul, 2004.

Erdem Murat, *Perceptions of American Aid as Reflected In Political Cartoons Published in Turkish Humor Magazines, 1945-1960*, in (Eds) Criss, Nur, Bilge and Esenbel, Selçuk and Greenwood, Tony and Mazaari, Louis, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture 1830-1989*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011.

..... and Rose, Kenneth W., *American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations*, The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, Vol. XXXI, Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Ankara, 2000.

Ergin, Osman, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Eser Matbaası, V Volumes, İstanbul, 1977.

Ergöl, Şule, *Nursing Education in Higher Education in Turkey*, Journal of Higher Education and Science, Vol 1, Nr. 3, December 2011.

Ergün, Mustafa, *Türk Eğitim Sisteminin Batılılaşmasını Belirleyen Dinamikler*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, Nr. 17, Ankara, 1990.

Erhan, Çağrı, *ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler*, in (Ed) Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Vol I: 1919-1980, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001.

..... *Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Kökenleri*, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara, 2001.

..... *Main Trends in Ottoman- American Relations in Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Future*, (Eds) Aydın, Mustafa, Erhan Çağrı, Routledge, New York, 2004.

Erken, Ali, *Negotiating Politics, Informal Networks and the Ford Foundation Projects in Turkey During the Cold War*, *International Journal of Turcologia*, Vol. XI, No. 21, 2016.

..... *The Rockefeller Foundation, John Marshall and the Development of the Humanities in Modern Turkey: 1950-1965*, *Divan Disiplinerlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, Vol. 20, Nr. 38, 2015.

Erkin, F.C., *Dışişlerinde 34 Yıl, Washington Büyükelçiliği*, V.II, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1986.

Erol, Mine, *Türkiye'de Amerikan Mandası Meselesi*, Giresun, 1977.

Eşel, Gökhan, *Demokrat Parti Dönemi Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinde Basın Sansürü ve Pulliam Davası*, TÜBAR-XXIX, Bahar 2011.

Faulkner, Harold, *American Social and Political History*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1952.

Fieldhouse, Sheila, *Unilever in Turkey*, in *Unilever Overseas: The Anatomy of a Multinational*, (Eds) Fieldhouse, David, Kenneth, The Hoover Institute Press, Stanford-California, 1978.

Fischer, Fritz, *Germany's Aims In 1st World War*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1967.

Fromkin, David, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, H. Holt and Co., New York, 2009.

Gaddis, John Lewis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1982.

Gaddis, Smith, *American Diplomacy during the 2nd World War*, 2nd ed., New York, 1985.

Garlitz, Richard and Jarvinen, Lisa, *Teaching America to the World & The World to America: Education and Foreign Relations since 1870*, Palgrave-Macmillan, New York, 2012.

..... *Land-Grant Education in Turkey: Atatürk University and American Technical Assistance, 1954-68*, in (eds) Cangül, Örnek and Üngör, Çağdaş, *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2013.

Gienow, Jessica, C.E, *Shame on US? Academic, Cultural Transfer and the Cold War, A Critical Review in Diplomatic History*, V.24, Nr. 3, 2000.

Goode, James, *Archeology and Diplomacy in the Republic of Turkey, 1919-1939*, (Eds) Aydın, Mustafa & Erhan, Çağrı, *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Routledge, London, 2004.

Gordon, Leland James, *American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930*, Philladelphia, 1932.

Gönlübol, M., Sar, C., Esmer, A.Ş., *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1973*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, V.I, Ankara, 1982.

- Ulman, Haluk, *Türk Dış Politikasının Yirmi Yılı: 1945-1965*, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt 21, No 1, 1966.
- *NATO, USA and Turkey*, in (Ed) Karkat, Kemal, *Turkey's Foreign Policy in Transition 1950-1974*, Leiden, E.J. Brill Publishing, 1975.
- Gözen, Mine Pınar, *The Cold War, Jazz and Turkey*, in (Eds) Criss, Nur, Bilge and Esenbel, Selçuk and Greenwood, Tony and Mazaari, Louis, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture 1830-1989*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011.
- Grabill, Joseph L., *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, Minneapolis, 1971.
- Güler, Yavuz, *II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950)*, Gazi Üniversitesi Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt 5, Sayı 2, 2004.
- Gümüşbaş, Barış, *Chapter Three-American Machine in the Turkish Garden: Representations of America in Turkish Short Fiction*, in (Eds) Tunç, Tanfer, Emin and Gürsel, Bahar, *The Transnational Turn in American Studies: Turkey and the United States*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, Switzerland, 2012.
- Gürbüz, Mehmet Vedat, *An Overview of Turkish-American Relations and Impact on Turkish Military, Economy and Democracy: 1945-1952*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, UMI Number: 3049426, 2002.
- Güven, Sami, *1950'li Yıllarda Türk Ekonomisi Üzerine Amerikan Kalkınma Reçeteleri: Hilts Raporu, Thornburg Raporu, Barker Raporu*, Ezgi Kitabevi Yayınları, Bursa, 1991.
- Gunn, Christopher, *The 1960 Coup in Turkey: A US Intelligence Failure or a Successful Intervention?*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Spring 2015.

Hamlin, Cyrus, *America's Duty to Americans In Turkey*, North American Review 163, No. 478, Sept. 1996.

Harris, George S, *Troubled Alliance: Turkish-American Problems in Historical Perspective, 1945-1971*, Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1972.

Heper, Metin, *İsmet İnönü: Yeni Bir Yorum Denemesi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999.

Herring, George C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008.

Howard, Harry N, *Turkey, the Straits and the US Policy*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974.

Howard, Douglas A., *The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations: The History of Turkey*, 2nd edition, ABC-CLIO LLC Company, Greenwood (California), 2016.

House, Edward Mandel, *What Really Happened At Paris*, New York, 1921.

Hür, Ayşe, *Çok Partili Dönem'in Ötek Tarihi –I: İnönü ve Bayarlı Yıllar (1938-1960)*, Profil Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2015.

Iriye, Akira, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1997.

İbar, Gazenfer, *Unilever Türkiye Tarihi*, Ünite İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014.

İleri, Turgut, *The Interest of the United States of America (USA) in Underground Sources of Turkey and Reports Prepared Upon the Development of Turkish Mining*, Turkish Studies, Vol. V/II, spring, 2010.

Jones, Geoffrey, *Managing Government: Unlilever in India and Turkey: 1950-1970*, Unpublished Working Paper, Harvard University Business School WP Nr. 06-061, Harvard University, Boston, 2006.

Kara, Bülent, *Türkiye’de Personel Reformu Çalışmalarının Altyapısı: 1930-1960 Yılları Arasında Yabancı Uzmanların Kamu Yönetimine İlişkin Hazırladıkları Raporlar*, C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Cilt 30, No: 2, Aralık 2006.

Karakök, Tunay, *Menderes Dönemi’nde (1950-1960) Türkiye’de Eğitim, Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Dergisi*, Vol. 1, Number 2, August 2011.

Karal, Enver Ziya, *Fransa-Mısır Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: 1797-1807*, Milli Mecmua Basımevi, İstanbul, 1938.

Karpat, Kemal H., *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*, Afa Yayınları, İstanbul, 1996.

..... *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi- Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010.

Kaynak, İlkay, *Küçük Amerika’da Büyük Amerika Gibi Yemek*, Gastro Magazine, Nr. 62, 2011.

Keskin, Yusuf, *US Influence on the Education System in Turkey: An Analysis of Reports By American Education Specialists*, Journal of International Education Research, Vol 10, Number 3, The Clute Institute, 2014.

.....and Söylemez, Hatice and Keskin, Sevgi, Coşkun, *An Analysis About the Main Problems of Turkish Educational System in the Light of American Council’s Report (1934)*, Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences, 197, 2015.

Ketznel, Clifford, *Exchange of Persons and American Foreign Policy: The Foreign Leader Program of the Department of State*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, 1955.

Keyder, Çağlar, *Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993.

Kırpık Güray, Ünal, Uğur, Işık, Hasan, Demirtaş, Bahattin, Akyol, Hasan, Birbudak, Togay Seçkin, Tokdemir, Muhammet Ahmet, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Otorite Yayınları, Ankara, 2012.

Kirby, Fay, *Türkiye’de Köy Enstitüleri*, Tarihçi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1962.

Kirisci, Kemal, *Turkey and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*, The Journal Middle East Review of International Affairs, Vol.2, No.4, November 4, 1998.

Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur, *Anadolu’daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989.

Koç, Mustafa, *Küresel Gıda Düzeni: Kriz Derinleşirken*, Nota Bene Yayınları, Ankara, 2014.

Koç, Şükrü M., *Emperyalizm ve Eğitimde Yabancılaşma*, Güven Matbaası, Ankara, 1970.

Koçtürk, Osman, Nuri, *Yeni Sömürgecilik Açısından Gıda Emperyalizmi*, Tolun Yayınları, Ankara, 1966.

Koloğlu, Orhan, 1954, in (Ed) Cem Mumcu, *Türkiye’nin Çıplak Tarihi 1946-2014: 69 Yazardan 69 Yıl*, Okyanus Us Yayın, İstanbul, 2004.

Korkut, Hüseyin, *Üniversiteler in Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, İstanbul, 1983.

Kramer, Paul A., *Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century*, in (Eds) Garlitz, Richard and Jarvinen,

Lisa, *Teaching America to the World & The World to America: Education and Foreign Relations since 1870*, Palgrave-Macmillan, New York, 2012.

Kurat, Yuluğ Tekin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Paylaşılması*, Ankara, 1976.

Kurdaş, Kemal, *ODTÜ Yıllarım: Bir Hizmetin Hikayesi*, ODTÜ Yayıncılık (METU Press), Ankara, 1988.

Kutay, Cemal, *Türk Milli Mücadelesinde Amerika*, Boğaziçi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1979.

Langer, Walter C., *The Mind of Adolp Hitler*, Martin Secker & Warburg Limited, 1973.

Lebovic, Sam, *From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945–1950* in *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 37, No.2, Oxford University Press, 2013.

Lenczowski, George, *American Presidents and the Middle East*, Duke University Press, 1990.

Lewis, Bernard, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1961.

Lippe, John M. Vander, *The "Other" Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations*, in (Ed.) Uzel, İlhan, Ankara University Press *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, Vol. XXIII, Ankara, 1993.

..... *Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkey's Participation in the Korean War*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36:1, Taylor & Francis, 2006.

..... *the Politics of Turkish Democracy: Ismet Inonu and the Formation of Multi-Party System*, State University of New York Press, New York, 2005.

MacDonald, Dwight, *The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions-An Unauthorized Biography*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1956.

Mardin, Şerif, *Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to the Turkish Politics*, Daedalus, winter 1973.

Mc Ghee, George, *The U.S-Turkish-NATO Middle East Connection: How the Truman Doctrine Contained the Soviets in the Middle East*, St. Martins's, New York, 1990.

..... *ABD-Türkiye, NATO-Ortadoğu*, translated by Belkıs Çorakci, Bilgi Yayınları, Ankara, 1992.

Morrison, S.E, *Forcing Dardanelles in 1810 with Some Account of the Early Trade of Massachusetts*, New England Quarterly, I, pp.208-225, April 1928.

Ness, Immanuel and Cope, Zak, *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, Pelgrave-Macmillan, London, 2016.

Oktar, Suat and Varlı, Arzu, *Türkiye'de 1950-1954 Döneminde Demokrat Parti'nin Tarım Politikası*, Marmara Üniversitesi, İİBF Dergisi, Vol. XXVIII, Nr. 1, 2010.

Oktay, Ahmet, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür*, Yapı Kredi Bankası Yayınları, 1993.

Oran, Baskın, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Cilt 1: 1919-1980, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009.

Orkunt, Sezai, *Türkiye Amerika Askeri İlişkileri*, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 1978.

Öke, Mim, Kemal, *Unutulan Savaşın Kronolojisi, Kore 1950-1953*, Boğaziçi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990.

Örnek, Cangül, *Hegemonya Mücadelesi Bağlamında Filantropi ve Sosyal Bilimler: 1953 Yalova Konferansı Örneği*, Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Cilt 46, Sayı 3, Eylül 2013.

..... *'The Populist Effect': Promotion and Reception of American Literature in Turkey in the 1950s*, in (Eds) Cangül, Örnek and Üngör, *Çağdaş, Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2013.

Öymen, Altan, *Bir Dönem Bir Çocuk*, Doğan Kitapçılık A.Ş, İstanbul, 2002.

Özdemir, Emin and Karakuzu, Hasan, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Celal Bayar'ın 1954 Yılı ABD Ziyaretindeki Konuşmaları Ve Kamuoyundaki Yansımaları*, Cappadocia Journal of History and Social Sciences, 2015.

Özdemir, Hikmet, *The Turkish-American Relations Toward 1960 Turkish Revolution in The Turkish Yearbook*, Vol XXXI, 2002.

Özdil, Yılmaz, *The Legion of Merit*, Sözcü, August 8, 2015.

Öztoprak, İzzet, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Döneminde Adana Görüşmelerinin Siyasî Yönü*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, Sayı: 46, s. 153-192, Ankara 2000.

Pakin, Esra, *American Studies in Turkey during the Cultural Cold War*, Turkish Studies by Routledge, Vol. 9, No.3, 2008.

Parmar, Inderjeet, *Conceptualizing the State-Private Network in American Foreign Policy in US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network*, (Eds) Wilford, Hugh and Laville, Helen, Routledge, London, 2006.

..... *Foundations Network and American Hegemony*, European Journal of American Studies, Vol. VII, Nr. 1, 2012.

..... *Selling Americanism, Combatting Anti-Americanism: The Historical Role of American Foundations*, Center for Policy Studies Working Paper, Central European University, Budapest, 2004.

Paterson, Thomas G., *Foreign Aids under Wraps: The Point Four Program*, Wisconsin Magazine of History 56, 1972.

Podell, David L. *Financing the Acquisition of Surplus Plants and Goods in Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Duke University School of Law, 1945.

Raw, Laurence, *Chapter Ten-Hollywood's Turkish Films, 1930-1960: A Nation Looks at Itself*, in (Eds) Tanfer Emin Tunç and Bahar Gürsel, *The Transnational Turn in American Studies: Turkey and the United States*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, Switzerland, 2012.

..... *Evolving Attitudes to the American Dream: Death of a Salesman in the Turkish Context*, European Journal of American Studies, Nr. 1, 2008.

Rose, Kenneth W., *The Rockefeller Foundation's Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1938*, Yeditepe University "The First Turks in America" Symposium Paper, İstanbul, 2003.

Rosten, Leo (Eds), *Religions in America*, New York, 1963.

Safire, William, *Saphire's Political Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, London, 1968.

Sakaoğlu, Necdet, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Tarihi*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992.

Sander, Oral, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 1979.

..... *Siyasi Tarih: 1918-1994*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 1998.

Santoro, Daris A., Dorn Charles, *A Vital, Free, Independent, and Lay Republic: John Dewey and the Role of Education* In (Eds) Garlitz, Richard and Jarvinen, Lisa, *Establishing the Turkish State in Teaching America to the World and the World to America: Education and Foreign Relations Since 1970*, Palgrave-Macmillan, New York, 2012.

Saray, Mehmet, *Sovyet Tehdidi Karşısında Türkiye'nin NATO'ya Girişi, III. Cumhurbaşkanı Celal Bayar'ın Hatıraları ve Belgeleri*, AKDTYK Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 2000.

Smith, Giles, Scott, *Networks of Empire: The U.S. State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France and Britain: 1950-1970*, Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Land Publishing, 2008.

Somel, Selçuk Akşin, "*Tanzimat Döneminde Eğitim Reformunun Dönüm Noktası: 1869 Tarihli Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizâmnamesi, Esbab-ı Mucibelayihası ve İdeolojiktemelleri*" in (Eds) Kahraman, Kemal and Baytar, İlona, *Sultan Abdülmecid ve Dönemi (1823-1861)*. Kültür-Medeniyet Serisi (12). İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015.

Soysal, İsmail, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, T.T.K. yay. Cilt I, Ankara, 2000.

..... *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasal Bağlıları Kesim A (Çof Taraflı Bağlılar)*, T.T.K. yay. Cilt II (1945-1990), Ankara, 2000.

Şenses, Fikret, *İlhan Tekeli ve Selim İlkin'in Türkiye'de Yükeköğretim ile İlgili Çalışmaları*, ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi, Sayı: 40, Ankara, 2013.

Şimşek, Hasan, *The Turkish Higher Education System in the 1990s*, Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies, Vol 4, Number 2, 1999.

Şimşir, Bilal, *Ermeni Propagandasının Amerika Boyutu Üzerine* at the Symposium of Tarih Boyunca Türklerin Ermeni Toplumu ile İlişkileri, 8-12 October 1984 Erzurum, Ankara, 1985.

Tangülü, Zafer and Karadeniz, Oğuzhan and Ateş, Sinan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Sistemimizde Yabancı Uzman Raporları*, Turkish Studies, Vol 9/5, Ankara, Spring 2014.

Tekeli, İlhan, *Tarihsel Bağlamı İçinde Türkiye’de Yükseköğretimin ve YÖK’ün Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010.

Topuz, Hıfzı, 1950, in (Ed) Mumcu, Cem, *Türkiye’nin Çıplak Tarihi 1946-2014: 69 Yazardan 69 Yıl*, Okyanus Us Yayın, İstanbul, 2004.

Torun, Esmâ, *II. Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye’de Kültürel Değişimlere Yol Açan İç ve Dış Etkenler (1945-1960)*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2002.

Tunçkanat, Haydar, *İkili Anlaşmaların İçyüzü*, Ekim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1970.

Turan, Şerafettin, *Türk Devrim Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, İstanbul, 1999.

Türkmen, Füsün, *Kırılgan İttifaktan Model Ortaklığa: Türkiye ve ABD İlişkileri*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012.

Tüzün, Gürel, *1950-60 Döneminde Sanayileşme*, in 75. Yılda Çarklardan Chip’lere, (Ed) Baydar, Oya, *Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları*, Beşiktaş-İstanbul, 1999.

Ulus, Özgür Mutlu, *The Army and the Radical Left in Turkey: Military Coups, Socialist Revolution and Kemalism*, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2011.

Uran, Hilmi, *Meşrutiyet, Tek Parti, Çok Parti Hatıralarım*, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007.

Urgan, Mina, *Bir Dinazorun Anıları*, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998.

Uslu, Nasuh, *the Turkish-American Relations Between 1947 and 2003: History of a Distinctive Alliance*, Nova Science Publishers, Inc, New York, 2003.

Ünal, Uğur, *III. Selim'den Meşrutiyet'e Osmanlı Eğitimi (1789-1876) in Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Otorite Yayınları, Ankara, 2012.

Üsdiken, Behlül, *Transferring American Models For Education in Business and Public Administration to Turkey, 1950-1970*, in (Eds) Criss, Nur, Bilge and Esenbel, Selçuk and Greenwood, Tony and Mazaar, Louis, *American Turkish Encounters, 1830-1989*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011.

Turgay, A. Üner, *Ottoman-American Trade during the Nineteenth Century*, Osmanlı Araştırmaları, Issue 3, 1982.

Vali, Ferenc Albert, *Bridge across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey*, The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1971.

Vogel, Ralph H, *The Making of the Fulbright Program*, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 491, Nr. 1, 1987.

Volger, Helmut, *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, 2nd Revised Edition, MartinusNijhoff Publishers, Leiden, 2010.

Von Eschen, Penny M., *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2004.

Wilson, Gary E., *The First American Hostages in Muslim Nations*, American Neptune, 41, issue 3, 1981.

Yalman, Ahmet Emin, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim*, 4 Volumes, İstanbul, 1997.

Yaman, Zeynep, Yasa, *1950li Yılların Sanatsal Ortamı ve Temsil Sorunu*, Toplum ve Bilim 79, Winter 1998.

Yazıcı, Fahri, *Tahran, Yalta ve Potsdam Konferansları*, Sinan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1972.

Yetkin, Çetin, *Karşı Devrim: 1945-1950*, Yeniden Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Yayınları, Antalya, 2009.

..... *Türkiye’de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika: 27 Mayıs 1960-12 Mart 1971-12 Eylül 1980*, Yeniden Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Yayınları, Antalya, 2010.

Yılmaz, Sait, *Türkiye’deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD’nin Örtülü Operasyonları*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014.

Yorgun, İbrahim, *Zaman Sınırlarını Aşan Bir Kavrayış & Gelecekte Fısıltılar: Atatürk - ABD Genelkurmay Başkanı General Douglas Mac Arthur Görüşmesi ve Türkiye Ziyareti* (Anıtkabir Dergisi published in Turkish), issue April 2013.

Zürcher, Erik J., *Turkey: A Modern History*, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., London, 1993.

Internet Sources

Atatürk Research Center: <http://atam.gov.tr/nutuk/> (accessed on May 8, 2015)

Atatürk Research Center: <http://www.atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-67-68-69/demokrat-parti-doneminde-milli-korunma-kanunu-uygulamalari-1955-1960> (accessed on May 5, 2016)

Boğaziçi University: http://www.boun.edu.tr/en_US/Content/About_BU/History
(accessed on April 8, 2016)

Brigham Young University Library World War I Documents Archive:
https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne (accessed on June 23, 2015)

Brookings Institute: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-anatomy-of-anti-americanism-in-turkey/> (accessed on October 3, 2016)

Care Foundation: <http://www.care.org/> (accessed on October 23, 2016)

Dictionary. Com: <http://www.dictionary.com> (last accessed on February 8, 2017)

Directorate of Ankara Public Health Office:
<http://www.ahsl.gov.tr/index.php/hakkimizda.html> (accessed on October 3, 2016)

Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/list/7-alphabet-soup-agencies-that-stuck-around> (accessed on February 14, 2016)

Encyclopedia Britannica (<https://global.britannica.com/event/Point-Four-Program>
(accessed on May 21, 2016)

Fulbright Turkey Official Internet Site: <http://fulbright.org.tr/en/about-us/the-turkish-fulbright-commission/history-of-the-turkish-fulbright/> (accessed on August 5, 2016)

Goethe Institute Ankara:
<http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/ges/hyg/trindex.htm>
(accessed on March 5, 2016)

Gordon State University:
http://www.gordonstate.edu/pt_faculty/jmallory/index_files/page0508.htm
(accessed on March 7, 2016)

Historical Society Official Internet Site:
<http://www.ttk.gov.tr/kurumsal/oncekibaskanlarimiz/ord-prof-dr-enver-ziya-karal-21-4-1973-18-1-1982/> (accessed on January 18, 2017)

History of Institute of International Education (IIE) through Its Official Internet Site:
<http://www.iie.org/en/Who-We-Are/History#.WAKGn4VOIfw> (accessed on August 5, 2016)

Huffington Post Online Newspaper and Blog:
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-wallechinsky/why-do-they-hate-us_2_b_957277.html (accessed on May 15, 2017)

Humanities Texas Social Sciences Research Blog:
<http://www.humanitiestexas.org/news/articles/david-m-kennedy-world-war-ii> (accessed on January 8, 2017)

İstanbul Bilgi University Department of Gastronomy and Culinary Sciences Official Internet:
<http://www.bilgi.edu.tr/tr/ogrenim/fakulte-ve-yuksekokullar/yuksekokul/turizm-ve-otelcilik-yuksekokulu/gastronomi-ve-mutfak-sanatlari/> (accessed on September 30, 2016)

Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences:
<http://fef.metu.edu.tr/en/duyuru/fef-tarihce> (accessed on September 30, 2016)

Migros Chain Market: <http://www.migroskurumsal.com> (accessed on November 23, 2016)

NATO: <http://www.nato.int/archives/1st5years/chapters/1.htm> (accessed on August 27, 2015)

NATO: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohg/topics_50086.htm (accessed on August 27, 2015)

NATO: <http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/68238.htm> (accessed on August 27, 2015)

Rubin Center for Research in International Affairs: <http://www.rubincenter.org/category/1998-11-02-04/> (accessed on June 6, 2016)

Sound Recording of President Eisenhower's Speech to US Congress on January 5, 1957: https://archive.org/details/dde_1957_0105 (accessed on September 23, 2016)

The US Fulbright Program Official Internet Site: <https://us.fulbrightonline.org/about/history> (accessed on August 24, 2016)

Turkish Grand National Assembly, Tutanaklar: <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d10/c007/tbmm10007079ss0286.pdf> (accessed on May 7, 2016)

Turkish Higher Institute of Elections: <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/content/conn/YSKUCM/path/Contribution%20Foliders/SecmenIslemleri/Secimler/1950-1977-MVSecimleri/Turkiye.pdf> (accessed on May 25, 2016)

Turkish Institute of Statistics: http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PrelististikTablo.do?istab_id=199 (accessed on June 23, 2016)

Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism official internet site: <http://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/bursa/kulturatlasi/zeytinyagli-yiyemem> (accessed on January 8, 2017)

Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty.en.mfa> (accessed on May 23, 2015)

Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture: <http://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/bursa/kulturatlasi/zeytinyagli-yiyemem> (accessed on October 23, 2016)

Turkish Prime Ministry Directorate of Press and Information Ayın Tarihi Magazine: <http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/UKjdZ/date/1949-12-03> (accessed on March 9, 2017)

Turkish Prime Ministry Directorate of Privatization: <http://www.oib.gov.tr/program/uygulamalar/gima1.htm> (accessed on March 20, 2015)

Unilever Turkey Internet Site: <https://www.unilever.com.tr/about/> (accessed on November 8, 2016)

United Nations: <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/history/index.shtml> (accessed on August 26, 2015)

United Nations: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf> (accessed on August 26, 2015)

University of California Santa Barbara, The American Presidency Project, Eisenhower's Doctrine: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11007> (accessed on September 23, 2016)

US Department of State Office of the Historian: <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/marshall-plan> (accessed on April 5, 2015)

US Department of State Office of the Historian: <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/truman-doctrine> (accessed on September 28, 2015)

US Department of State Office of the Historian: <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/visits/turkey> (accessed on April 5, 2015)

US Department of State Office of the Historian: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments> (accessed on April 5, 2015)

US Department of State Office of the Historian: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v10p2/d351> (accessed on April 5, 2015)

US Embassy Ankara: http://turkey.usembassy.gov/treaty_websites.html (accessed on September 30, 2015)

US Library of Congress: http://www.americaslibrary.gov/aa/monroe/aa_monroe_doctrine_1_e.html (accessed on December 16, 2014)

Voice of America: <http://www.amerikaninseesi.com/p/3781.html> (accessed on February 27, 2017)

Yale University Avalon Project: <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/default.asp> (accessed on February 5, 2015)

Television Sources

Appearance of Prof. Dr. Kenan Demirkol, Sky Turk Channel “*Aykırı Sorular*”, April 26, 2008

Can Dündar, *Garip: Neşet Ertaş Documentary*, 3 Episodes, Star TV, 2005

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Textual Bibliography

A.1. Monroe Doctrine⁷⁸², December 2nd, 1823

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Many important subjects will claim your attention during the present session, of which I shall endeavor to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication. I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal from a thorough conviction that there never was a period since the establishment of our Revolution when, regarding the condition of the civilized world and its bearing upon us, there was greater necessity for devotion in public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union in our constituents. At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have inevitably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the

⁷⁸²http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp (Yale University Avalon Project-Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy)

Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security. The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in; which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if [left] to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It equally impossible, therefore,

that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

A.2. Woodrow Wilson's speech given to the US Congress on January 8, 1918⁷⁸³

Gentlemen of the Congress...

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view. We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

⁷⁸³http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp (Yale University Avalon Project-Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy)

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of an autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end. For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does not remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world, the new world in which we now live, - instead of a place of mastery. Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination. We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honour, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

A.3. Treaty Of Lausanne (Items Related To Minority Schools)⁷⁸⁴

Article 40

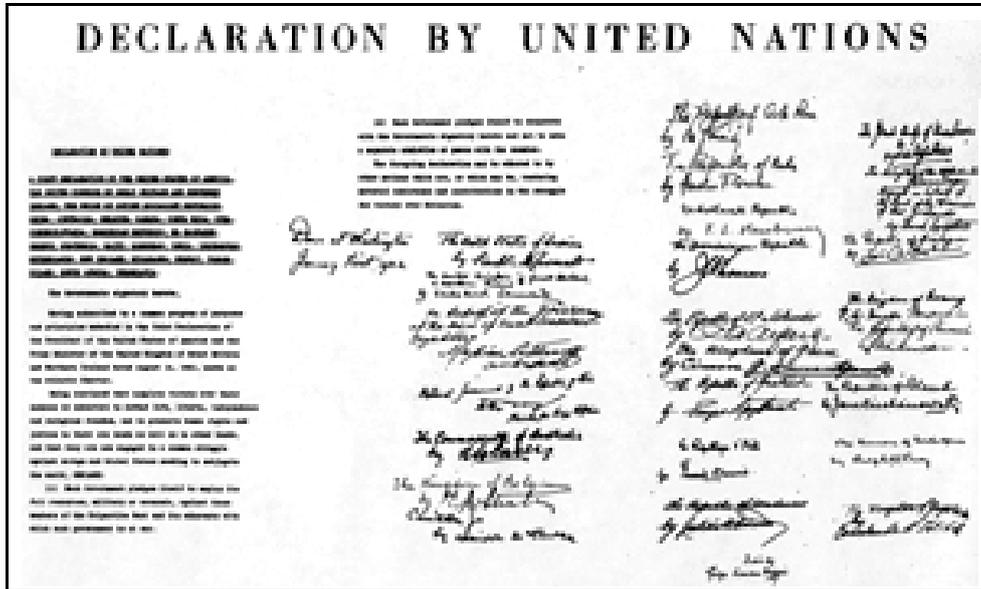
Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

Article 41

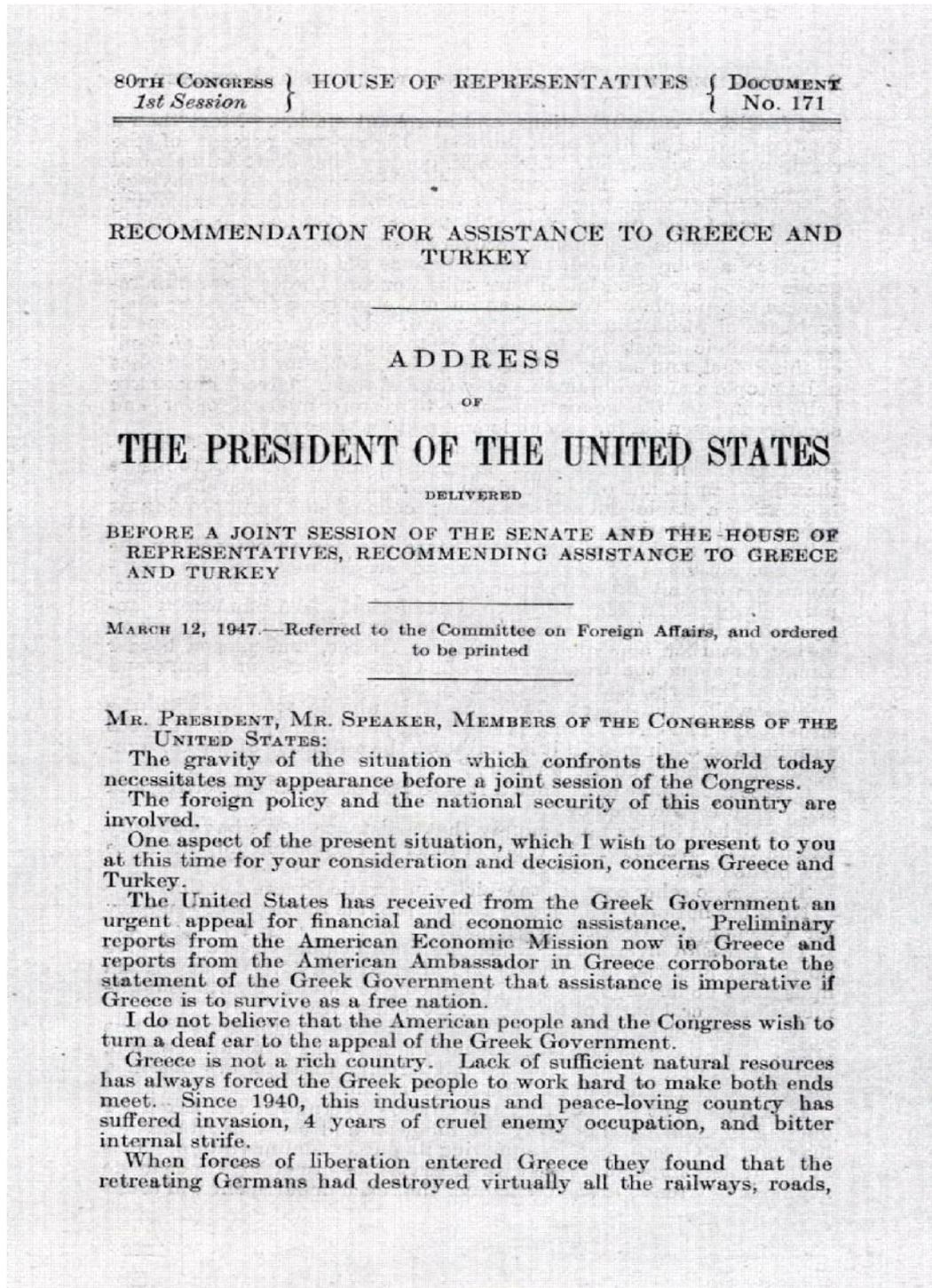
As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes. The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned.

⁷⁸⁴<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty.en.mfa>

A.5. Declaration by United Nations (January 1, 1942)



A.6. Truman Doctrine⁷⁸⁵: President Harry S. Truman's Address Before A Joint Session Of Congress, March 12, 1947



⁷⁸⁵http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp (Yale University Avalon Project-Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy)

Continued as: ...port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings. As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible. Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery. The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration. The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other. Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government. The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece. We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required. It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count

toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish. No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents eighty-five per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people. The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now. Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention. The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid. Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support. Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East. The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey. As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help. I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time. One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations. To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States. The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States

has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments. At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East. Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war. It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence. Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East. We must take immediate and resolute action. I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war. In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist

in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel. Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized. If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together. This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace. The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain. The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation. Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

A.7. Vandenberg Resolution⁷⁸⁶, S. Res. 239, 90th Cong., 2d sess., June 11, 1948

Whereas peace with justice and the defense of human rights and fundamental freedoms require international cooperation through more effective use of the United Nations: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate reaffirm the policy of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations so that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest, and that the President be advised of the sense of the Senate that this Government, by constitutional process, should particularly pursue the following objectives within the United Nations Charter:

(1) Voluntary agreement to remove the veto from all questions involving pacific settlements of international disputes and situations, and from the admission of new members.

(2) Progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the purposes, principles, and provisions of the Charter.

(3) Association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.

(4) Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defense under article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security.

(5) Maximum efforts to obtain agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces as provided by the Charter, and to obtain agreement among member nations upon universal regulation and reduction of armaments under adequate and dependable guaranty against violation.

(6) If necessary, after adequate effort toward strengthening the United Nations, review of the Charter at an appropriate time by a General Conference called under article 109 or by the General Assembly.

⁷⁸⁶http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decad040.asp
Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy)

A.8. U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Special Message to the Congress on the Situation in the Middle East⁷⁸⁷, January 5, 1957 (Eisenhower Doctrine)

To the Congress of the United States:

First may I express to you my deep appreciation of your courtesy in giving me, at some inconvenience to yourselves, this early opportunity of addressing you on a matter I deem to be of grave importance to our country. In my forthcoming State of the Union Message, I shall review the international situation generally. There are worldwide hopes which we can reasonably entertain, and there are worldwide responsibilities which we must carry to make certain that freedom--including our own--may be secure. There is, however, a special situation in the Middle East which I feel I should, even now, lay before you. Before doing so it is well to remind ourselves that our basic national objective in international affairs remains peace--a world peace based on justice. Such a peace must include all areas, all peoples of the world if it is to be enduring. There is no nation, great or small, with which we would refuse to negotiate, in mutual good faith, with patience and in the determination to secure a better understanding between us. Out of such understandings must, and eventually will, grow confidence and trust, indispensable ingredients to a program of peace and to plans for lifting from us all the burdens of expensive armaments. To promote these objectives, our government works tirelessly, day by day, month by month, year by year. But until a degree of success crowns our efforts that will assure to all nations peaceful existence, we must, in the interests of peace itself, remain vigilant, alert and strong.

I.

The Middle East has abruptly reached a new and critical stage in its long and important history. In past decades many of the countries in that area were not fully self-governing. Other nations exercised considerable authority in the area and the security of the region was largely built around their power. But since the 1st World War there has been a steady evolution toward self-government and independence. This development the United States has welcomed and has encouraged. Our country supports without reservation the full sovereignty and independence of each and every nation of the Middle East. The evolution to independence has in the main been a peaceful process. But the area has been often troubled. Persistent crosscurrents of distrust and fear with raids back and forth across national boundaries have brought about a high degree of instability in much of the Mid East. Just recently there have been hostilities involving Western European nations that once exercised much influence in the area. Also the relatively large attack by Israel in October has intensified the basic differences between that nation and its Arab neighbors. All this instability has been heightened and, at times, manipulated by International Communism.

⁷⁸⁷<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11007> (University of California Santa Barbara, The American Presidency Project)

II.

Russia's rulers have long sought to dominate the Middle East. That was true of the Czars and it is true of the Bolsheviks. The reasons are not hard to find. They do not affect Russia's security, for no one plans to use the Middle East as a base for aggression against Russia. Never for a moment has the United States entertained such a thought. The Soviet Union has nothing whatsoever to fear from the United States in the Middle East, or anywhere else in the world, so long as its rulers do not themselves first resort to aggression. That statement I make solemnly and emphatically. Neither does Russia's desire to dominate the Middle East spring from its own economic interest in the area. Russia does not appreciably use or depend upon the Suez Canal. In 1955 Soviet traffic through the Canal represented only about three fourths of 1% of the total. The Soviets have no need for, and could provide no market for, the petroleum resources which constitute the principal natural wealth of the area. Indeed, the Soviet Union is a substantial exporter of petroleum products. The reason for Russia's interest in the Middle East is solely that of power politics. Considering her announced purpose of Communizing the world, it is easy to understand her hope of dominating the Middle East. This region has always been the crossroads of the continents of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Suez Canal enables the nations of Asia and Europe to carry on the commerce that is essential if these countries are to maintain well-rounded and prosperous economies. The Middle East provides a gateway between Eurasia and Africa. It contains about two thirds of the presently known oil deposits of the world and it normally supplies the petroleum needs of many nations of Europe, Asia and Africa. The nations of Europe are peculiarly dependent upon this supply, and this dependency relates to transportation as well as to production! This has been vividly demonstrated since the closing of the Suez Canal and some of the pipelines. Alternate ways of transportation and, indeed, alternate sources of power can, if necessary, be developed. But these cannot be considered as early prospects. These things stress the immense importance of the Middle East. If the nations of that area should lose their independence, if they were dominated by alien forces hostile to freedom, that would be both a tragedy for the area and for many other free nations whose economic life would be subject to near strangulation. Western Europe would be endangered just as though there had been no Marshall Plan, no North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The free nations of Asia and Africa, too, would be placed in serious jeopardy. And the countries of the Middle East would lose the markets upon which their economies depend. All this would have the most adverse, if not disastrous, effect upon our own nation's economic life and political prospects. Then there are other factors which transcend the material. The Middle East is the birthplace of three great religions-Moslem, Christian and Hebrew. Mecca and Jerusalem are more than places on the map. They symbolize religions which teach that the spirit has supremacy over matter and that the individual has a dignity and rights of which no despotic government can rightfully deprive him. It would be

intolerable if the holy places of the Middle East should be subjected to a rule that glorifies atheistic materialism. International Communism, of course, seeks to mask its purposes of domination by expressions of good will and by superficially attractive offers of political, economic and military aid. But any free nation, which is the subject of Soviet enticement, ought, in elementary wisdom, to look behind the mask. Remember Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania! In 1939 the Soviet Union entered into mutual assistance pacts with these then dependent countries; and the Soviet Foreign Minister, addressing the Extraordinary Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet in October 1939, solemnly and publicly declared that "we stand for the scrupulous and punctilious observance of the pacts on the basis of complete reciprocity, and we declare that all the nonsensical talk about the Sovietization of the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs." Yet in 1940, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. Soviet control of the satellite nations of Eastern Europe has been forcibly maintained in spite of solemn promises of a contrary intent, made during World War II. Stalin's death brought hope that this pattern would change. And we read the pledge of the Warsaw Treaty of 1955 that the Soviet Union would follow in satellite countries "the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty and noninterference in domestic affairs." But we have just seen the subjugation of Hungary by naked armed force. In the aftermath of this Hungarian tragedy, world respect for and belief in Soviet promises have sunk to a new low. International Communism needs and seeks a recognizable success. Thus, we have these simple and indisputable facts:

1. The Middle East, which has always been coveted by Russia, would today be prized more than ever by International Communism.
2. The Soviet rulers continue to show that they do not scruple to use any means to gain their ends.
3. The free nations of the Mid East need, and for the most part want, added strength to assure their continued independence.

III.

Our thoughts naturally turn to the United Nations as a protector of small nations. Its charter gives it primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Our country has given the United Nations its full support in relation to the hostilities in Hungary and in Egypt. The United Nations was able to bring about a cease-fire and withdrawal of hostile forces from Egypt because it was dealing with governments and peoples who had a decent respect for the opinions of mankind as reflected in the United Nations General Assembly. But in the case of Hungary, the situation was different. The Soviet Union vetoed action by the Security Council to require the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Hungary. And it has shown callous indifference to the recommendations, even the censure, of the General Assembly. The United Nations can always be helpful, but it cannot be a wholly dependable protector of freedom when the ambitions of the Soviet Union are involved.

IV.

Under all the circumstances I have laid before you, a greater responsibility now devolves upon the United States. We have shown, so that none can doubt, our dedication to the principle that force shall not be used internationally for any aggressive purpose and that the integrity and independence of the nations of the Middle East should be inviolate. Seldom in history has a nation's dedication to principle been tested as severely as ours during recent weeks. There is general recognition in the Middle East, as elsewhere, that the United States does not seek either political or economic domination over any other people. Our desire is a world environment of freedom, not servitude. On the other hand many, if not all, of the nations of the Middle East are aware of the danger that stems from International Communism and welcome closer cooperation with the United States to realize for themselves the United Nations goals of independence, economic well-being and spiritual growth. If the Middle East is to continue its geographic role of uniting rather than separating East and West; if its vast economic resources are to serve the well-being of the peoples there, as well as that of others; and if its cultures and religions and their shrines are to be preserved for the uplifting of the spirits of the peoples, then the United States must make more evident its willingness to support the independence of the freedom-loving nations of the area.

V.

Under these circumstances I deem it necessary to seek the cooperation of the Congress. Only with that cooperation can we give the reassurance needed to deter aggression, to give courage and confidence to those who are dedicated to freedom and thus prevent a chain of events which would gravely endanger all of the free world. There have been several Executive declarations made by the United States in relation to the Middle East. There is the Tripartite Declaration of May 25, 1950, followed by the Presidential assurance of October 31, 1950, to the King of Saudi Arabia. There is the Presidential declaration of April 9, 1956, that the United States will within constitutional means oppose any aggression in the area. There is our Declaration of November 29, 1956, that a threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, or Turkey would be viewed by the United States with the utmost gravity. Nevertheless, weaknesses in the present situation and the increased danger from International Communism, convince me that basic United States policy should now find expression in joint action by the Congress and the Executive. Furthermore, our joint resolve should be so couched as to make it apparent that if need be our words will be backed by action.

VI.

It is nothing new for the President and the Congress to join to recognize that the national integrity of other free nations is directly related to our own security. We have joined to create and support the security system of the United Nations. We have reinforced the collective security system of the United Nations by a series of collective defense arrangements. Today we have security treaties with 42 other nations which recognize that our peace and security are intertwined. We have

joined to take decisive action in relation to Greece and Turkey and in relation to Taiwan. Thus, the United States through the joint action of the President and the Congress, or, in the case of treaties, the Senate, has manifested in many endangered areas its purpose to support free and independent governments--and peace--against external menace, notably the menace of International Communism. Thereby we have helped to maintain peace and security during a period of great danger. It is now essential that the United States should manifest through joint action of the President and the Congress our determination to assist those nations of the Mid East area, which desire that assistance. The action which I propose would have the following features. It would, first of all, authorize the United States to cooperate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence. It would, in the second place, authorize the Executive to undertake in the same region programs of military assistance and cooperation with any nation or group of nations which desires such aid. It would, in the third place, authorize such assistance and cooperation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations, requesting such aid, against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism. These measures would have to be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States, including the Charter of the United Nations and with any action or recommendations of the United Nations. They would also, if armed attack occurs, be subject to the overriding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the Charter. The present proposal would, in the fourth place, authorize the President to employ, for economic and defensive military purposes, sums available under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, without regard to existing limitations. The legislation now requested should not include the authorization or appropriation of funds because I believe that, under the conditions I suggest, presently appropriated funds will be adequate for the balance of the present fiscal year ending June 30. I shall, however, seek in subsequent legislation the authorization of \$200,000,000 to be available during each of the fiscal years 1958 and 1959 for discretionary use in the area, in addition to the other mutual security programs for the area hereafter provided for by the Congress.

VII.

This program will not solve all the problems of the Middle East. Neither does it represent the totality of our policies for the area. There are the problems of Palestine and relations between Israel and the Arab States, and the future of the Arab refugees. There is the problem of the future status of the Suez Canal. These difficulties are aggravated by International Communism, but they would exist quite apart from that threat. It is not the purpose of the legislation I propose to deal directly with these problems. The United Nations is actively concerning itself with all these matters, and we are supporting the United Nations. The United States has

made clear, notably by Secretary Dulles' address of August 26, 1955, that we are willing to do much to assist the United Nations in solving the basic problems of Palestine. The proposed legislation is primarily designed to deal with the possibility of Communist aggression, direct and indirect. There is imperative need that any lack of power in the area should be made good, not by external or alien force, but by the increased vigor and security of the independent nations of the area. Experience shows that indirect aggression rarely if ever succeeds where there is reasonable security against direct aggression; where the government disposes of loyal security forces, and where economic conditions are such as not to make Communism seem an attractive alternative. The program I suggest deals with all three aspects of this matter and thus with the problem of indirect aggression. It is my hope and belief that if our purpose be proclaimed, as proposed by the requested legislation, that very fact will serve to halt any contemplated aggression. We shall have heartened the patriots who are dedicated to the independence of their nations. They will not feel that they stand alone, under the menace of great power. And I should add that patriotism is, throughout this area, a powerful sentiment. It is true that fear sometimes perverts true patriotism into fanaticism and to the acceptance of dangerous enticements from without. But if that fear can be allayed, then the climate will be more favorable to the attainment of worthy national ambitions. And as I have indicated, it will also be necessary for us to contribute economically to strengthen those countries, or groups of countries, which have governments manifestly dedicated to the preservation of independence and resistance to subversion. Such measures will provide the greatest insurance against Communist inroads. Words alone are not enough.

VII.

Let me refer again to the requested authority to employ the armed forces of the United States to assist to defend the territorial integrity and the political independence of any nation in the area against Communist armed aggression. Such authority would not be exercised except at the desire of the nation attacked. Beyond this it is my profound hope that this authority would never have to be exercised at all. Nothing is more necessary to assure this than that our policy with respect to the defense of the area be promptly and clearly determined and declared. Thus the United Nations and all friendly governments, and indeed governments which are not friendly, will know where we stand. If, contrary to my hope and expectation, a situation arose which called for the military application of the policy which I ask the Congress to join me in proclaiming, I would of course maintain hour-by-hour contact with the Congress if it were in session. And if the Congress were not in session, and if the situation had grave implications, I would, of course, at once call the Congress into special session. In the situation now existing, the greatest risk, as is often the case, is that ambitious despots may miscalculate. If power-hungry Communists should either falsely or correctly estimate that the Middle East is inadequately defended, they might be tempted to use open measures of armed attack. If so, that would start a chain of circumstances which

would almost surely involve the United States in military action. I am convinced that the best insurance against this dangerous contingency is to make clear now our readiness to cooperate fully and freely with our friends of the Middle East in ways consonant with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. I intend promptly to send a special mission to the Middle East to explain the cooperation we are prepared to give.

IX.

The policy which I outline involves certain burdens and indeed risks for the United States. Those who covet the area will not like what is proposed. Already, they are grossly distorting our purpose. However, before this Americans have seen our nation's vital interests and human freedom in jeopardy, and their fortitude and resolution have been equal to the crisis, regardless of hostile distortion of our words, motives and actions. Indeed, the sacrifices of the American people in the cause of freedom have, even since the close-of World War II, been measured in many billions of dollars and in thousands of the precious lives of our youth. These sacrifices, by which great areas of the world have been preserved to freedom, must not be thrown away. In those momentous periods of the past, the President and the Congress have united, without partisanship, to serve the vital interests of the United States and of the free world. The occasion has come for us to manifest again our national unity in support of freedom and to show our deep respect for the rights and independence of every nation--however great, however small. We seek not violence, but peace. To this purpose we must now devote our energies, our determination, ourselves.

A.9. Cunta Decleration on May 27, 1960

“Sevgili Vatandaşlar, Bugün demokrasimizin içine düştüğü buhran ve son müessif hadiseler dolayısıyla kardeş kavgasına meydan vermemek maksadıyla Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri, memleketin idaresini ele almıştır. Bu harekâta Silahlı Kuvvetlerimiz; partileri içine düştükleri uzlaşmaz durumdan kurtarmak ve partiler üstü tarafsız bir idarenin nezaret ve hakemliği altında, en kısa zamanda adil ve serbest seçimler yaptırarak idareyi, hangi tarafa mensup olursa olsun, seçimi kazananlara devir ve teslim etmek üzere girişmiş bulunmaktadır. Girişilmiş olan bu teşebbüs, hiçbir şahsa veya zümreye karşı değildir. İdaremiz, hiç kimse hakkında şahsiyata müteallik tecavüzkâr bir fiile müsaade etmeyeceği gibi, edilmesine de asla müsamaha etmeyecektir. Kim olursa olsun ve hangi partiye mensup bulunursa bulunsun, her vatandaş; kanunlar ve hukuk prensipleri esaslarına göre muamele görecektir. Bütün vatandaşların, partilerin üstünde aynı milletin, aynı soydan gelmiş evlatları olduklarını hatırlayarak ve kin gütmeden birbirlerine karşı hürmetle ve anlayışla muamele etmeleri, ıstıraplarımızın dinmesi ve milli varlığımızın selameti için zaruri görülmektedir. Kabineye mensup şahsiyetlerin, Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri'ne sığınmalarını rica ederiz. Şahsi emniyetleri kanunun teminatı altındadır. Müttefiklerimize, komşularımıza ve bütün dünyaya hitap ediyoruz. Gayemiz, Birleşmiş Milletler Anayasası'na ve insan hakları prensiplerine tamamen riayettir. Büyük Atatürk'ün 'Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh' prensibi bayrağımızdır. Bütün ittifaklarımıza ve taahhütlerimize sadığız. NATO ve CENTO'ya inanıyoruz ve bağlıyız. Düşüncemiz 'Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh'tur.’”

**A.10. Letter from President Eisenhower to President Gursel after May 27, 1960
Military Intervention**

850 Foreign Relations, 1958–1960, Volume X

367. Letter From President Eisenhower to President Gursel

Washington, June 11, 1960.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: My several visits to Turkey have given me a deep and abiding interest in the Turkish people and the problems that over the years have confronted them. When you recently became head of state, I followed with particular interest the constructive public statements which you made to your countrymen and to the world at large.

Your expressed determination to hold elections and to turn over the government administration to the newly-elected authorities has been welcomed by all of Turkey's friends. It is the deep hope of all of us that these elections and the new constitution being prepared under your authority will mark another milestone in the development of democracy in Turkey.

The intention of your government to preserve Turkey's ties with NATO and CENTO was also a source of great satisfaction to me and to all those associated with Turkey in these collective security organizations dedicated to the defense of the free world. My government looks forward to continuing cordial relations with Turkey in the tradition of friendship and cooperation that has always marked the relations of the Turkish and American people.

You have, Mr. President, my warmest wishes for success in realizing the high ideals to which you have dedicated your government, and in dealing with the problems now confronting it.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Source: Eisenhower Library, Staff Secretary Records, International Series. No classification marking. In a June 10 memorandum attached to the source text, Herter told the President that the Turkish Government had requested the United States to "urgently issue a statement indicating our solidarity with Turkey." Herter added:

"According to the Foreign Minister, such a statement would be useful in dealing with Russian overtures to the new government, in maintaining the morale of the Turkish people, and in strengthening the position of the Foreign Minister himself *via-à-vis* the provisional Cabinet and the military group. I believe that it is in our interest to express at this time our confidence in the new Turkish Government, and that this could best be accomplished through a personal letter from you to the new Head of State in Turkey, General Gursel."

Eisenhower's letter to Gursel was transmitted in telegram 3541 to Ankara, June 11. (Department of State, Central Files, 882.47411/6-1160)

APPENDIX B: Sample Historic Cartoons

B.1. The Monroe Doctrine



B.2. The 2nd World War and American Propaganda Against the Nazi Germany⁷⁸⁸



⁷⁸⁸Image is a screenshot from *Education for Death* of 1943 Disney short film

B.3. The Marshall Plan



APPENDIX C: Newspaper Headlines And Columns

C.1. Ration Cards for Basic Food Items on Ulus Newspaper (November 20, 1941)

ULUS
ADIMIZ ANDIMIZDIR

MILLİ DİYANGO
1942
YILBAŞI
100000

Ekmeğin işinde karne tatbik edilecek
Lüzum olduğu takdirde
**İhtiyaç maddelerini aramak,
bunlara elkoymak için
hükümete selâhiyet verildi**
Milli Korunma kanunundaki deęişgeler
ve eklentiler dün Mecliste kabul edildi

**GİZLİ STOKLAR
meydana çıkarılacak**
Ticaret Vekilimizin sözleri

**Japonlar
HONGKONG'A
çıkıldılar**
Tokyo "Hongkong'a
filen hâkimiz," diyor
Londra'ya göre
durum vahim
Şiddetli çarpışmalar oluyor

**İngilizler
Derne hava
meydanını
zaptettiler**
Çekilen mihverciler
gittikçe artan ölçüde

**D.N.B. ye göre
M. Çorçil
ortadan
kayboldu**
Müttefikler
Vajington veya Moskova'da

Mr. Çorçil ve Mr. Roosevelt'in Adanışık görüşmei

**Ticaret Vekilimiz
E. Münter Özmen**

Yeni Hava - Deniz Kuvvetleri
Bu yıl içinde hava kuvvetleri
deniz kuvvetleri tahsisatı artırılmaya
başlandı.

C.2. Capital Levy on Cumhuriyet Newspaper (November 22, 1943)

Varlık vergisini vermiyenler On yedi kişiden mürekkep ilk kafiye dün gece toplama kampına sevk edildi

Haciz muamelelerine de dün başlandı Varlık vergisini ödemeyenlerin ilk kafiye toplama kampına sevk edildi. On yedi kişiden mürekkep ilk kafiye toplama kampına sevk edildi. Haciz muamelelerine de dün başlandı.



Varlık vergisi vermiyenlerin sevkine ve muamelelerine haciz muameleleri yapıyor

Saracoglunun bir demeci

1- Baskınlar, baskınlar, baskınlar... Saracoglunun bir demeci. Baskınlar, baskınlar, baskınlar... Saracoglunun bir demeci.

Milli Şef İnönü Dün 16 da Mühendisler Birliğinin bir konferansında hazır bulundular

Başvekilin Dil Kurumunda tetkikleri Milli Şef İnönü, mühendisler birliğinin konferansında hazır bulundu. Başvekilin Dil Kurumunda tetkikleri.

Sovyet harp teliği

Voroşilovsk, Armavir şehirleri zeptedildi Rus ordusu diğer cephelelerde de ilerlemektedir. Bir çok kasabalar geri alınmıştır. Sovyet harp teliği.

Rus ordularının kanlı taarruzları devam ediyor

Düşman her tarafta ağır kayıplarla püskürtülmüş, bir günde 52 tank kaybetmiştir Rus ordularının kanlı taarruzları devam ediyor. Düşman her tarafta ağır kayıplarla püskürtülmüş, bir günde 52 tank kaybetmiştir.



8 inci ordu dün Homs ve Tarhunayı zaptetti

Rommel ordusu Tunus hududuna doğru çekiliyor - Tunustaki Mihver ordusu da Rommel'in ric'at yolunu açmağa çalışıyor İngilizlerin sol kanadı Tunustaki Fransız kuvvetleriyle irtibat temin etti



Akdenizde şiddetli denizaltı harbi

İngilizler iki gecede 13, Alman ve İtalyanlar da 8 gemi batırdılar Akdenizde şiddetli denizaltı harbi. İngilizler iki gecede 13, Alman ve İtalyanlar da 8 gemi batırdılar.

Şimal Afrika muamması

Amerikalılar anlaşarak Amiral Darla'nı tekfif ettiren, bir Fransız mı? Şimal Afrika muamması. Amerikalılar anlaşarak Amiral Darla'nı tekfif ettiren, bir Fransız mı?

Askeri vaziyet

6 Rus taarruzunun vardığı merhaleler Yazan: Emekli General H. Emir Erkiilet



Yeni tefrikamız TOROS COĞU

Yazan: M. Şevki Yazman Yeni tefrikamız TOROS COĞU. Yazan: M. Şevki Yazman.

C.4. San Francisco Conference and Soviet Threat on Cumhuriyet Newspaper (June 27, 1945)

San Francisco Konferansı Kapandı

Başkan Truman'ın dün verdiği tarihi söylev
Anayasa 50 milletin oy birliğile kabul edildi
Başkan Truman: "Bütün dünyada sulhu uzun zaman için kurmak ve korumak artık elimizdedir. Bu fırsatı kaçırmayalım., diyor



Amerika Başkanı Mr. Truman'ın konferans konuşurken gösterdiği bir foto. (müj)

San Francisco konferansı işini bitirirken
Dün akşam 10.30'ta geçen yıl emelleri olan, 51 eyaletin de San Francisco'da toplanan, 50 Milletler Birliği Millîyetler Birliği Konferansı, 50 Milletler Birliği Millîyetler Birliği Konferansı, 50 Milletler Birliği Millîyetler Birliği Konferansı...

İmza töreni
Truman'ın konuşmasından geçen yıl emelleri olan, 51 eyaletin de San Francisco'da toplanan, 50 Milletler Birliği Millîyetler Birliği Konferansı, 50 Milletler Birliği Millîyetler Birliği Konferansı...

Müttefikler Pasifikte yeni bir adaya çıktılar
Japon sanayi merkezlerine büyük hava hücumları devam ediyor



Bir İngiliz uçak gemisi Pasifikte yeni bir adaya çıktılar. Japonlar buharlı uçakları yeni bir adaya çıktılar.

Sovyet şartları

Dostluk muahedesi yenilemek için bizden Karsla Ardahan ve Boğazlarda imtiyaz istediler
Bu haberi veren Londra radyosu Türk - İngiliz Hükümetleri arasında sıkı temasın muhafaza edilmekte olduğunu ilâve ediyor

Londra 26 (B.B.C.) — Saat 23,45 —
Sovyetlerin, Türkiye ile aralarındaki dostluk muahedesi yenilemek için ileri sürdükleri şartlar hakkında malûmat alınmıştır. Times'ın İstanbul muhabirine göre Sovyetler Boğazları idarede imtiyazlı bir mevki istedikleri gibi 1921 de Türkiye'ye verilen Kars ve Ardahanın idadesini de talep etmektedirler.

Başkan Truman ile Dış Bakanımız arasında dünkü uzun mülâkat

San Francisco'da 26 Haziran'da Başkan Truman ile Dış Bakanımız arasında dünkü uzun mülâkat...
Dış Bakanımız Truman ile uzun mülâkat...
Truman'ın konuşmasından geçen yıl emelleri olan, 51 eyaletin de San Francisco'da toplanan, 50 Milletler Birliği Millîyetler Birliği Konferansı...

Topraklarımızı düşen iki Rus uçakı
Daha önce parçelenmiş uçakların pilotları saatlerince teslim ediltiler

Suriyede durum
Hududumuz civarında çıkan karışıklıklar artıyor

Tütün Bankası
Banka nispeten emniyetli kararlar alınmıştır

Yeni romanımız "Çiğdem"
Türkiye Tuna boylarına adanmış destanlar içindeki bir mahfaza içindeki bir nefis bir aşk hikâyesi
Yazar : Safiye Erat

Yeni romanımız "Çiğdem" Türkiye Tuna boylarına adanmış destanlar içindeki bir mahfaza içindeki bir nefis bir aşk hikâyesi. Yazar : Safiye Erat

C.5. İsmet İnönü's Declaration Concerning Establishment of New Parties in Turkey (November 2, 1945)

1940 KAVAKLIDERE ŞARAPLARI
Piyasaya çıkarıldı.
Kavaklıdere Şarapları Ltd. Sti. A.Ş. K.Ş.Ş.Ş.

Cumhuriyet

22 inci yıl Sayı: 7619
İSTANBUL — CAĞALOĞLU
Telgraf ve mektup adresi: Cumhuriyet, İstanbul — Posta kutusu: İstanbul No. 246
Telefon: Beşiktaşlı 2206, Taksim beledi: 3429, İtilaf ve Mevzuat Kurul: 3439-3429

Cuma 2 Kasım 1945

2. CİHAN HARBİ
T Ü R K İ Y E
Genel Hükümetin bu harbinde ve harb sonrası Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihinde ilk defa bu kadar büyük bir savaşta mücadele eden bir millet olarak çıkışını göstermiştir.
F.İ.İ. Kurusu
INKILAP TAPTEVİ

Millî Şefin Tarihî Nutku

Yalnız yurd içinde değil, dış dünya efkârında da derin akisler uyandıracak olan bu nutuk Cumhuriyet tarihinde her zaman için şerefli bir yer tutacaktır



Millî Şefin son emriyle Cumhuriyet tarihinde ilk defa bu kadar büyük bir savaşta mücadele eden bir millet olarak çıkışını göstermiştir.

Dış politika durumu

“Türk topraklarından ve haklarından hiç kimseye verilecek borcumuz yoktur. Şerefle yaşayacak ve şerefle öleceğiz,”

Millî Şef: “İkinci dünya harbindeki hareket hattımız Müttetik milletlerin vicdanında da zamanında zaruri görülmüş ve hakkımızdaki tenkidler, kara günler geçtikten sonra, sun’i olarak meydana çıkarılmıştır,” dediler

Millî Şefi dinlerken

21 Kasım 1945 tarihinde İstanbul’da Millî Şef İsmet İnönü’nün yaptığı tarihî nutukun dinlenişini izleyenlerin heyecanlı yüz ifadeleri, Millî Şef’in bu büyük konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir. Millî Şef’in bu konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir. Millî Şef’in bu konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir.

Mecliste ulvi tezahürat

Millî Şef’in bu büyük konuşmasını dinleyenlerin heyecanlı yüz ifadeleri, Millî Şef’in bu büyük konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir. Millî Şef’in bu konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir.

Byrnes’in nutku

Amerika Dış Bakanı Byrnes’in Türkiye’de yaptığı konuşma, Millî Şef’in bu büyük konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir. Millî Şef’in bu konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir.

Şehir Meclisi dün yeni yıl çalışmalarına başladı

Şehir Meclisi dün yeni yıl çalışmalarına başladı. Meclis üyeleri, Vali’nin başkanlığında, şehrin geleceği için yapılacak çalışmaların hayata geçirilmesi için kararlar almaya çalışacaklardır.

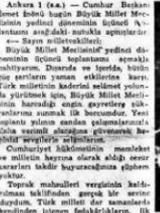
Vali bütçeyi anlattıktan sonra seçimler yapıldı

Vali bütçeyi anlattıktan sonra seçimler yapıldı. Vali’nin başkanlığında, şehrin geleceği için yapılacak çalışmaların hayata geçirilmesi için kararlar almaya çalışacaklardır.

İç Politika durumu

“Tek eksliğimiz hükümet partisinin karşısında başka parti bulunmamasıdır,”

Millî Şef: “Tek dereceli olmasını istediğimiz 1947 seçiminde milletin çoklukla vereceği oylar gelecekteki iktidarı tayin edecektir,” dediler



İç politika durumu hakkında Millî Şef’in yaptığı konuşma, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir. Millî Şef’in bu konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir.

Üniversite açıldı

Üniversite açıldı. Rektör, nutkunda yapılacak ıslahat ve yeni çalışmaları hakkında izahat verdi. Rektör, üniversitenin geleceği için yapılacak çalışmaların hayata geçirilmesi için kararlar almaya çalışacaklardır.

Orta Avrupa ve Balkanlarda son durum

Orta Avrupa ve Balkanlarda son durum. İngiltere Dış Bakanının verdiği izahat. İngiltere Dış Bakanı, Orta Avrupa ve Balkanlardaki son durumu hakkında izahat yaptı. İngiltere Dış Bakanının verdiği izahat, İngiltere’nin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir.

Şüpheli taahhüd hesabları

Şüpheli taahhüd hesabları. Millî koruma teşkilatı başkanı tarafından yapılan açıklamalar, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir. Millî Şef’in bu konuşmasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin geleceği için söylediği sözlerin önemini göstermektedir.

C.6. Establishment of Democrat Party-DP on Cumhuriyet Newspaper (January 8, 1946)

İktisadi zengin ve bolgelet
UMLARI - SAKINATI

Yeni parti, yeni parti...
KURUCULARI: YENİLER BİRLİĞİ

22 inci yıl Sayı: 7881

Cumhuriyet

22 inci yıl Sayı: 7881

Salı 8 Ocak 1946

MUHABBET
KÖPRÜSÜ

AKHMET HALUK KÖPRÜSÜ

Demokrat Partisi dün resmen teessüs etti

Yeni Partinin 85 maddelik programı neşrolundu

Demokrat Partisinin ana prensipleri nelerdir, muhtelif devlet ve memleket işlerinde nelez düşünüyor?

Profesörlere cevabımız

Ezilmiş milletimizin...
Profesörlere cevabımız...
Profesörler, milletin...
Profesörler, milletin...
Profesörler, milletin...

Celal Bayarın gazetecilerle hasbıhali

MİLAL — İktisadi zengin bolgelet...
CEYHAN — İktisadi zengin bolgelet...
İktisadi zengin bolgelet...
İktisadi zengin bolgelet...

Rus İstekleri

Amerika Dış Bakanı, Londraya Boğazlar meselesini hal için yeni bir proje getiriyor

Franstız gazeteleri, Türkiye ile Rusya arasında harbin başladığını yazdılar, Tass ajansı haberi gatanıyor

Bulgar Başbakanı dün Moskovaya gitti

İç ve Dış İşleri Bakanları da kendisine refakat ediyorlar

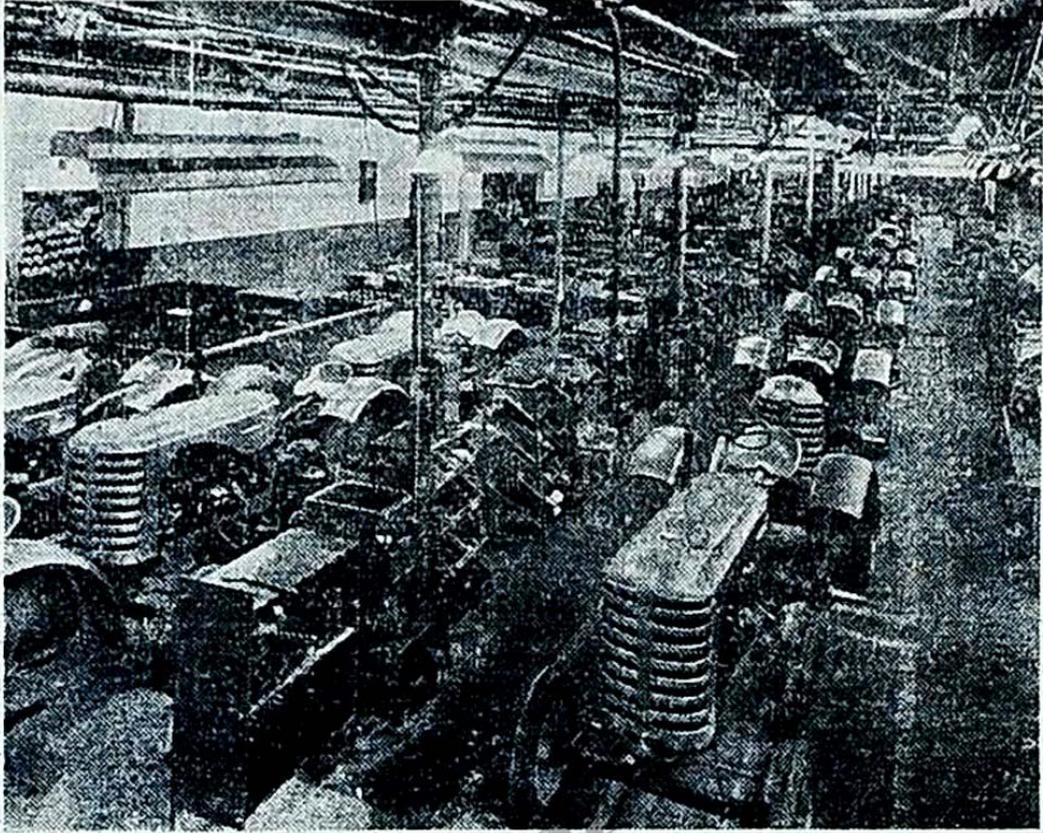
Enghaban hava meydanında Molotov tarafından karşılandı, konuşmaları arasında büyük elçimis de vardı





Kahirede Vefat eden nümavis vaktler

Amerikanın bize göndereceği traktörler



Amerika Marshall plânına istinaden Türkiyeye 700 dev Massey-Harris tekerlekli traktör gönderecektir. Bu traktörler Türkiyenin ziraat istihsalini arttıracaktır. Yukardaki klışede traktörler, seri halinde imal edildikleri Amerikan fabrikasında görülmektedir. Türkiyenin alacağı bu traktörler ve diğer ziraat teçhizatı, Birleşik Amerika hükümeti tarafından tahsis edilen 5.000.000-000 dolarla finanse edilen Avrupa iktisadi kalkında idaresi tarafından ödenecektir.

C.9. Turkish Troops in South Korea (1950)



C.10. General McArthur's Turkey Visit on Cumhuriyet Newspaper (November 8, 1951)



C.11. Turkish President Celal Bayar's US Visit on The Stanford Daily (February 9, 1954)

Feb 9, 1954

President of Turkey Pays Visit to Stanford Campus



OFFICIAL WELCOME.—Stanford officially welcomed Turkish President Celal Bayar, his wife, Madame Reshida Bayar, and an entourage of officials traveling with them yesterday afternoon. Here Stanford President Wallace Sterling, President Bayar, and Madame Bayar observe the playing of the Turkish National Anthem on the carillon atop Hoover Tower before continuing on a fast-paced tour of the campus. —Daily photo by Jack Byrne



ON THEIR WAY.—President Bayar and Dr. Sterling, followed by members of the official presidential party, begin their walk through Memorial Court. Sprinkling weather—marked by sunny skies and a slight breeze—added to the official Stanford welcome to the leader of the Republic of Turkey who is touring the U.S. at the invitation of President Eisenhower. —Daily photo by Jack Byrne



'HELLO, MR. PRESIDENT'—An unidentified youngster couldn't pass up the opportunity to greet the distinguished visitor. Here President Bayar obligingly shakes the boy's hand as President Sterling and others look on smiling while the group was preparing to enter Memorial Church. A large number of Stanford students and other well-wishers were on hand to greet the visitors from Turkey. —Daily photo by Jack Tracy



PANORAMIC VIEW.—President Sterling shows President and Madame Bayar campus and other local landmarks as viewed from atop the 283-foot Hoover Tower. Earlier, President Bayar and members of his official party looked over an exhibit of materials in the extensive collections on Turkey (see Hoover Library). They were honored at a formal reception a few minutes later on the sixteenth floor of the tower. —Daily photo by John Luescher

The STANFORD Daily

STANFORD—TODAY AND TOMORROW
Dils, Huff, Cannell Explain Special-Student Services

By JOHN McFEE
 The special student services at Stanford are auxiliary services to the main show of education, said Eugene Dils, director of the Stanford Placement Service, before members of 12 Ford and Hays news desks tonight at the "Stanford—Today and Tomorrow" discussion series which began at 8 p.m.

These main student services were represented at the discussion by Mrs. Barbara Cannell, assistant director of the Counseling and Testing Center, Robert P. Huff, assistant director for men, and Dils.

"The purpose of the special services," said Huff, "is to help with the various aspects of student problems."

Through the dozen offices, the staff, including residential advisers, Huff explained, and staff members are handled.

Very important in the Stanford staff in the areas of being provided for entertainment, and housing, which is administered by the office, Huff explained.

The Counseling and Testing Center gives three services to the student: personal counseling, vocational counseling, and the study skills program.

"The services at the center are used of the adviser giving back but are those which help the student to make decisions for himself."

Typhus and Typhoid Series Starts Today
 Five typhus and typhoid shots will be given to any students who want these between 1 and 4 p.m. today at the Health Service. The shots are given in a series. A series will also be started on Thursday afternoon between 1 and 4 p.m.

TUESDAY SERIES
Whaling to Be Topic of Talk

"The Eskimo Whaling of Point Barrow, Alaska," will be the topic of the Tuesday Evening Series lecture tonight at 7:30 in Memorial Auditorium.

Dr. Roy L. Wiggin, Stanford biologist who returned from Alaska by plane last night, will present the talk. He spent the past week at the Arctic Research Laboratory at Point Barrow where he was called in for consultation by the U.S. Office of Naval Research.

Dr. Wiggin was scientific director of the Laboratory from 1939 until this year, spending three winters there.

The talk will be supplemented with slides and motion pictures.

Dr. Wiggin, working with other biologists, has studied the Eskimos in the Arctic region as well as the fish, birds, animals, and plant life of the area.

The lecture is open to the public.

'I Feel at Home', Says Bayar on Library Tour

By HAULEY ROFF
 Looking somewhat tired when he first arrived on campus late yesterday afternoon, Celal Bayar, the stubby, balding president of Turkey, quickly revived in the book-lined interior of Hoover Library when he was shown part of the library's extensive Turkish collection.

As he strolled past reading tables laid out with books and manuscripts detailing the history of his country, his round, crinkled face broke into a wide smile.

And, almost rapidly with reaching Turkish officials accompanying him on his first guided tour of the United States, he said through interpreters, "I feel at home. I feel at home."

At one point, coming upon a yellowed, well-used newspaper, he turned to his wife, Madame Bayar, and wistfully pointed to a few pictures on the front page.

"Do you remember that picture?" he asked.

And she, with a slight smile, nodded.

The picture was of a thin, good-looking youth—Bayar back in the nineteenth century 1820's when he was fighting to destroy the old Ottoman Empire and establish a republican government in Turkey.

Bayar—the man who entered Turkish politics in 1907 and was elected as prime minister for a while



PRESENTATION.—A specially prepared and bound book containing greetings from former President Herbert Hoover, Dr. Sterling, and Dr. C. Lawton Rockwell, director of Hoover Library, was presented to President Bayar following brief talks by U.S. university officials and Bayar himself in the foyer of the tower. Members of the presidential party were dinner guests of Dr. and Mrs. Sterling following the presentation. —Daily photo by Jack Byrne

Chopin Work Rates Praise From Reviewer

By BOB BEZAK
 Performing before a full house Memorial Auditorium, Great Jazz Pianists gave a representative annual concert here Wednesday in Bayar.

One of Johnson's most successful artists was the Chopin pianist, who received thoughtful and clearly deserved performance. The review and how the piano performs can only be achieved. A lot of money playing in the last movement was the only one on Johnson's performance.

The four Chopin pieces by Great are also particularly suited to Johnson's talents, beautiful when

Basketball Tickets Will Be Sold Today

Tickets will go on sale for the basketball series in the lobby of the RMC building today from 8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., so long as they last. The games will be against California on Friday and Saturday, and UCLA next week.

Tickets will be on sale for next week. Each student may present two student body cards.

Bryan Green To Give First Talk Friday

Bryan Green, the internationally known English composer, will begin his over-coming visit to Stanford by addressing a University Convocation Friday at 11 a.m.

President J. F. Hedges Sterling will introduce Green Green at the Convocation, for which all 11 classes will be dismissed. This is the first University Convocation

RED TROOPS NEAR LAOTIAN CAPITAL
ike Plans No Additional Military Aid for Indochina

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8 (UPI)—Senate Republican leaders declared today that the Eisenhower administration has no prospect plans to send additional U.S. military forces to embattled Indochina.

Meanwhile in Laos advance guards of the Communist-led Viet

C.12. Turkish President Celal Bayar's US Visit on Chicago Tribune (January 27, 1954)

January 27, 1954 - WELCOMES PRESIDENT OF TURKEY TODAY | Chicago Tribune Archive - Internet Explorer

Chicago Tribune
Read selected article >

FIND CHILD DIED OF RABIES; STEP UP WAR ON DOGS

Boy, 23, First County Victim Since 1940

County, township, and city officials moved to speed up enforcement of the rabies quarantine following discovery yesterday that rabies killed a 23-year-old Thornton township boy who died Sunday in County hospital.

County, township, and city officials moved to speed up enforcement of the rabies quarantine following discovery yesterday that rabies killed a 23-year-old Thornton township boy who died Sunday in County hospital.

Coroner McCarron said reports from laboratory specialists, who autopsied the child's brain tissues, proved that rabies was the cause of death. He said he ordered Chief Deputy Coroner Harry Giles to begin an investigation and question officials of Thornton township, where the victim, Charles Browner Jr., of 1814 N. and Williams, was bitten by a stray dog near his home on Dec. 6.

Plan to Quilt District

The coroner said Dr. Irvin Greenman of Lansing, who said a report he treated the child for the bite but did not administer antirabies injections, also would be questioned.

The boy was the first Cook county suburbanite to die of rabies since separate records on such deaths were ordered in 1940. McCarron said the last Chicago victim of rabies died in 1943, he added.

McCarron said he had received complaints that homeless dogs and cats ran loose in Thornton township, particularly on the southern edge of Calumet city. He said local officials who fail to enforce the rabies quarantine should be reminded that they can be sued on their bonds and may be ousted.

San Areas Quarantined

State quarantine laws have been enacted in Chicago and Thornton, Leyden, Bloom, Bush, and Bremen townships. The quarantine requires that all pets be kept confined or on a leash and that owners take measures to prevent the spread of rabies. Owners who fail to

Greet Turkish President and Wife

(Story on adjacent column)

IKE WELCOMES PRESIDENT OF TURKEY TODAY

When news first came that the Turkish president, Celal Bayar, and his wife would arrive in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 27, the capital planned a festive welcome for the Turkish leader. The White House announced that Bayar and his wife would arrive in New York City to fly to the 70-year-old chief executive and his party to Washington tomorrow afternoon.

The visitors expected to be greeted in New York City, where they will be welcomed by Vice President and Mrs. Nixon. The key to the city will be handed them by the city commissioners.

Visit Chicago Next Month

Mr. and Mrs. Bayar will be driven along the capital's harbor parade route to the White House by President and Mrs. Eisenhower. They will be overnight guests in the executive mansion and will stay in Washington until Saturday.

From Washington they will embark on a cross-country tour that includes a visit to Chicago Feb. 2.

Washington officials welcomed the news of the visit of Bayar, whose country is considered to be the strongest anti-Communist ally on the Russian border. Turkey was one of the first nations to offer troops to fight the Communists in that theater.

Served in First Assembly

Under a 1945 act Turkey has taken a solid anti-Communist stand in global affairs and has refused Communism as a domestic policy. The government contends also is one of the few nations free of Communism.

Bayar, 70, is a member of the Democratic party in Turkey in whose ticket he was elected to the presidency in 1946. He began his career in a German branch bank in Turkey before

NEWS SUMMARY

AND HISTORICAL SCRAPBOOK OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

CHICAGO AREA

Charges of sabotage in Ford River technique plan are closed as federal officials order the plant closed to limit with output in armament. Page 1

Do Page county farmer produce bumper crop and produce other crops, gets title from mother's farm. Page 1

Hospital is charged with neglect in refusal to admit child who died of burns. Page 1

Don directors engage in long high powered battle trading and swapping of ideas on the size and display of automobile. Page 1

Prize fight on stray dog after test show Thornton township boy, 23, died of rabies; physician who treated child but failed to give antirabies shots faces quit. Page 2

Police hold father who admits beating three-month-old son because he cried; infant in near death. Page 2

Edward A. Taylor leaders for the Republican senatorial nomination declare their campaign but predict added through forthcoming. Page 5

WASHINGTON

Business proposal for amendment of the Constitution is debated by House experts accepted for discussion. First point is the admission of the People's Republic of China to future meeting. See Page 1

Austria is prepared to deal all and other claims and to pay Russia \$150,000,000 to give treaty ending occupation. Page 1

Senate proposal for amendment of the Constitution is debated by House experts accepted for discussion. First point is the admission of the People's Republic of China to future meeting. See Page 1

Defense Secretary Wilson, in his longest interview, says his interest in court martial of former prisoner of war is to see that the veteran's rights are protected. Page 1

Three Democratic senators urge House to pass anti-Communist legislation. See Page 1

Rep. Gooden (D., Cal.) vows congressional immunity if charged by ever was a member of the Communist party. Call charges which resulted in his being barred from atomic tests in Nevada. Page 11

APPEALS SECTION

Margaret university named against three politicians and attorney in alleged "fit" in burglary case. Page 7

Assaulted adults attempting to rape two far south side girls after detectives were told in South Vietnam again, her father of two children. Page 7

Deaths, obituaries. Page 15

ENTERTAINMENT

Mr. Eisenhower versus His Party. Anecdotes Page 14

They're All Our Allies. Dorothy Martin tonight. Page 14

Chicago Battin Urbans

Wednesday, January 27, 1954
Page 1-Page 5

HALF ROAST DUCK

With 1954

IT'S OUT OF THE WORLD!

Try a delivery you'll never forget

Cafe Bohemia

Room 18, at Chicago

Shearer Perfection!

Lincoln, Illinois
H.H. Shearer
SHIRT CLEANERS

BUSINESS SECTION

United States Steel and its common in 1953 climbs to peak since 1927; profit up 22 million. Failure predicts good steel year in 1954. Page 5

Senators-Vermont building, 26 stories high, at 20 N. Van Buren St., is said for a reported \$12,000,000. Page 5

LAST 4 DAYS

of our semi-annual
MEN'S CLOTHING
SALE
that offers you the best
values in our history

Page 3 of 42

PAGES SHARE ARTICLE

19:14 02.09.2016

C.14. News on May 27, 1960 Military Intervention (1960)



C.16. Returning to Arabic call for prayer (Ezan) on Zafer Newspaper (June 12, 1950)

14 HAZİRAN 1950
Yıl: 1 - No: 48
Telgraf Zafer Gazetesi Ankara
Başbuhanesi Tel: 1949
Yan: İşleri Binası 1502
Fiyatı her yerde 10 kuruşdur.

DEMOKRASİNİN DİR

bariz kusurları

www.belgelerlegercektarih.wordpress.com

D. P. Meclis Grubunun dünkü toplantısında

Ezan üzerindeki tahdit kaldırıldı

Başbakan'ın idarî değişikliklere ait Meclis Grupunda yaptığı konuşma

"Kanuni yollardan saparak millete hürriyet havasını teneffüs ettirmeyen valileri lâyük oldukları şekilde tecziye etmek hükümetin başlıca vazifesidir."



Demokrat Parti Meclis grubu dün akşam, Ankara'da, Adnan Menderes'in başkanlığında toplandı. Grup, meclis üyeleri İsmail Hakkı Oktay ve Mustafa Kemal Sunal'ın başkanlığında toplandı. Yapılan konuşma, Başbakan Adnan Menderes'in başkanlığında yapıldı.

Başbakan Menderes, meclis üyeleriyle bir konuşma yaptı. Konuşmasında, "Bu meclis grubunun önümüzdeki toplantılarında, idari değişiklikler hakkında konuşacağız. Vali ve müdür kadrolarını yeniden düzenleyeceğiz. Bu işin en önemli kısmı, valilerin tecziyesidir. Hükümetin başlıca vazifesidir, kanuni yollardan saparak millete hürriyet havasını teneffüs ettirmeyen valileri lâyük oldukları şekilde tecziye etmek hükümetin başlıca vazifesidir."

Valiler arasında nakiller
İkinci liste de dün akşam çıktı

Adnan Menderes'in "Zafer" e beyanati

Adnan Menderesin muhalefete cevabı

C.17. September 6-7 Instances on Zafer Newspaper (September 7, 1955)

ZAFER
DEMOKRASİNİN DİR
SİYASİ SABAH GAZETESİ

Altı Avrupa ülkesinde, valilikler iptal edildi

İstanbul ve İzmir'de örfî idare

Selânikteki tecavüz hâdisesi yüzünden

İstanbul ve İzmir'de dün çok müessif kargaşalıklar oldu

Akşam saat 19 da Taksim meydanında başlayan bir nümayiş anide büyüyen Şehrin her tarafına sirayet etti - Yer yer yangınlar çıkarıldı - Mağaza vitrinleri tahrip edildi - Yaralananlar var

Şehrimize gelmekte olan
Reisicumhur ve Başvekil
İzmit'ten geri döndüler

Başvekaletin Tebliği

İstanbul ve İzmir'de K.D.P. meclis üyeleri ve Selânik'te Atatürk'ün doğduğu evin bulunduğu bahçe

Selânikte Menfur bir tethiş hâdisesi

Atatürk'ün doğduğu evin yanındaki bahçede gece yarısı patlayan bir bomba evin pencerelelerini ve konsoloshane camlarını hasara uğrattı

İnsanca zayıf yok

İncap ederse Hükümetin tedbir almakta gecikmeyeceğinden emin olmak lazımdır



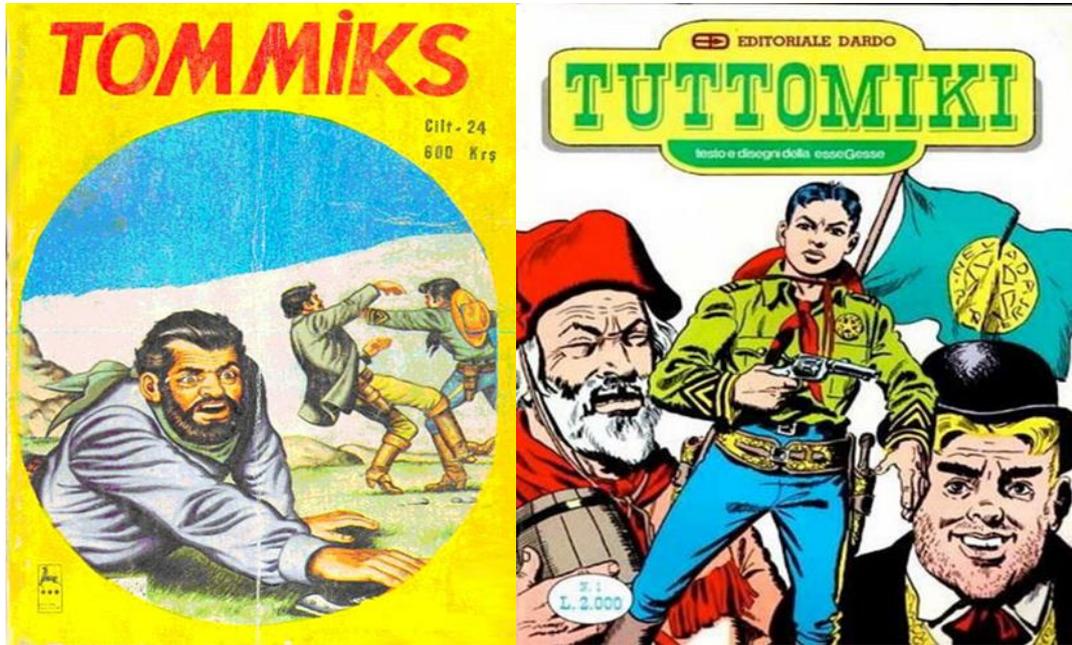

APPENDIX D: Popular Magazines And Comic Books

D.1. Hayat Magazine (Turkish Version of Life)⁷⁸⁹



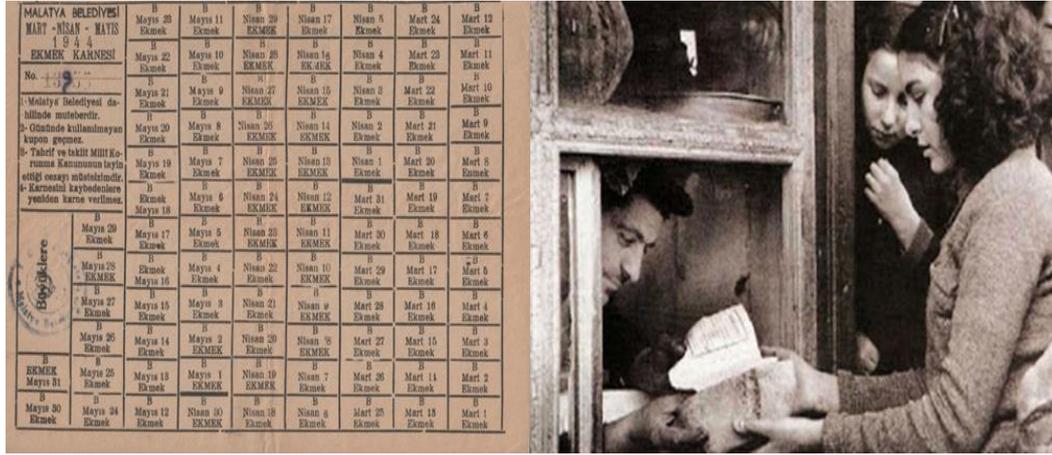
⁷⁸⁹Also available in Dağtaş, Banu, *Americanization of Popular Culture in the 1950s Turkish Magazine Hayat, Rhetoric and Communication* (e-journal), Vol. 14, 2014.

D.2. Comic Books Depicting American Western



APPENDIX E: Sample Advertisements, Propaganda Images And Item Photocopies

E.1. Ration Card from Malatya Province and People Buying Bread with It in 1944

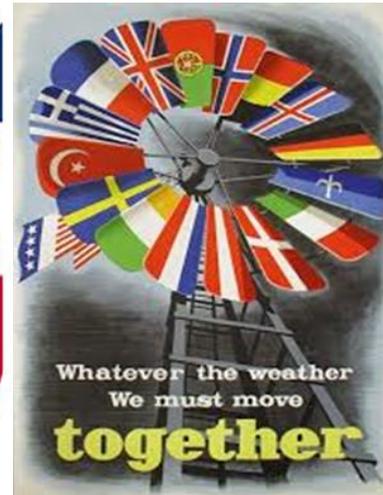


E.2. The Marshall Plan Logo and Propaganda Poster

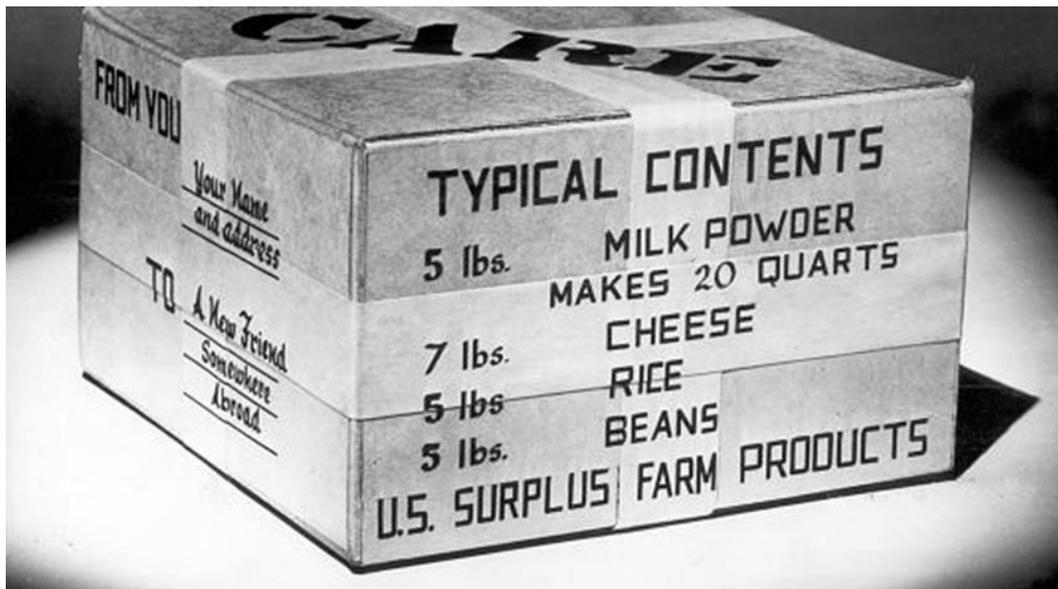
Table 1: Marshall Plan Aid, 1948-51

Country	Funds Received (in millions of dollars)
Austria	488
Belgium and Luxembourg	777
Denmark	385
France	2,296
Greece	366
Iceland	43
Ireland	133
Italy and Trieste	1,204
Netherlands	1,128
Norway	372
Portugal	70
Sweden	347
Switzerland	250
Turkey	137
United Kingdom	3,297
West Germany	1,448

SOURCE: Martin A. Schain, ed., *The Marshall Plan: Fifty Years After* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 120.



E.3. American Aid, Original Care Packages Distributed During and After the 2nd World War



E.4.American Consumer Goods Imported to Turkey in the 40s and the 50s⁷⁹⁰

SPORCULARA MÜJDE!
1936
HARLEY-DAVIDSON
Motosikletleri geldi
Sağlamlık, rahatlık, sürat ve iktisat
YALNIZ
HARLEY-DAVIDSON
Motosikletlerinde bulacaksınız.
Yeni modelleri meşherimizde görünüz.
Müsaide tediyeye şeraiti.

RAHATLIK

SAĞLAMLIK

1936 HARLEY-DAVIDSON MOTOSİKLETLERİ
OTTAS
BEYOĞLU: İSTİKLÂL CADESİ. 239

SÜRAT

Ne mükemmel radyo!

R. C. A. 1940 NEVYORK modellerini gören herkesin ağızında bu sözler vardır. Bu cihazların asri şekilleri ve güzelliği derhal göze çarpar. Fakat kulakların duyduğu ahengin cazibesi daha büyüktür. Makineyi çalıştırdıktan sonra önünüzdeki radyonun bugüne kadar sanat ve tekniğin vücude getirdiği en mükemmel olduğunu derhal anlayacaksınız. Buna bizzat kanaat getirmek için satış salonlarımıza veyahut taşradaki bayilerimize müraعاتınız kâfidir.

RCA NEVYORK RADYOLARI
BOURLA BİRADERLER İSTANBUL ANKARA İZMİR

RCA
Radyo devrinin şaheseri

RCA Nevyork 5 Modeli

⁷⁹⁰ <http://www.ezgikonucu.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/025.jpg>

E.5. Some Collage of Vegetable Shortening and Margarine Advertisements⁷⁹¹

SANA'lı bir dilim....
...sıhhat ve güç verir.

Çünkü SANA bol vitamindir.
Dikkatle seçilmiş en iyi nebatî yağlarla yapıldığından besleyici ve sıhhidir.
Gelişme çağında olan çocuklar SANA'yı seve seve yerler.
Bundan dolayı, SANA'lı nefis bir dilim, herkesin aradığı en iyi gıdadır.

Sana
Ağıza tat, vücuda sıhhat!

GRAFİKA

Sana NEBATİ MARGARİN
5657 N

DAHA SABAHTAN KENDİNİ YORGUN HİSSEDİYORSUN!

MUALLÂNIN HAKKI VARMIŞ!

EYEV, ARTIK SEN DE ZİNDELEŞTİN!

...KOCAN SANA'YI BİR DENESİN... BAK GÖRÜRSÜN FEVKALÂDE BİR ŞEY!

GUZEL BİR FIKIR MUALLÂ, HEM DE HOŞUNA GİDECEK!

Sana
ağıza tat,
vücuda
sıhhat!

GRAFİKA

Sana NEBATİ MARGARİN
5657 N

İLANCILIK - 6456 - 547

⁷⁹¹<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/408772103661632638/>

Binlerce ev kadını gibi ben de yalnız yeni mutfak margarini Vita'yı kullanıyorum.

Lezzet, nefis ve vitaminli bu olan VITA margarini de yemekleriniz herkeşin sevdiği VITA bannanın 100 ve 200 gramlı paketleri. Böylece, yemekleriniz herkeşin sevdiği gibi lezzetli olacaktır.

Tabii yağlardan sakıncasız



Vita

Hayır, VITA, yalnız VITA istiyorum!..

Yalnız Unilever'in ambalajlarında bulunan VITA ismine ve UNIT markasına dikkat ediniz! Unilever-ly bir tek mutfak margarini VITA ve bir tek kahvaltılık margarini SANA imal ediyor. Unilever-ly'in bunlara benzer başka mamulati olduunu da söyleyenlerin iddiasını kat'iyetle reddediz.

İzlerimizde haklısınız çünkü, bugün, binlerce ve binlerce ev kadını VITA'nın üstün kalitesinde emindiler.

çünkü VITA,

- itina ile seçilmiş birinci nevi ıstıdamaddelerle yapıyor.
- Türkiye'nin en modern ve en gelişmiş fabrikasında imal bir tarzda imal ediyor.
- Unilever'in, dünyanın her tarafındaki yüzlerce fabrikasında bulunan holandalı, ingiliz ve amerikali mühendislerinin yıllarca süren araştırmalarından sonra elde ettikleri tecrübeden istifade edilerek hazırlanıyor.




Yeni üstün lezzetli




Sana VİTAMİNLİ

Sana'yı şimdi daha da seveceksiniz... Çünkü Sana'da şimdi en iyi tereyağların üstün lezzetini bulacaksınız.

En iyi Sana'yı şimdi seçiyorsanız daha fazla lezzetli olacaktır. Sana'yı daha sevmek için Sana daha fazla tereyağ için lezzetli olacaktır. Sana'yı daha sevmek için Sana'yı daha fazla tereyağ için lezzetli olacaktır.

Her Sana Sana 75 900.000 kilo 1000 pastirne için kullanılmaktadır.

Apron, önlük, eldiven A ve B kullanınız da Sana, sağlık için en uygun olacaktır.

Sana ağıza tad. vücuda sıhhat!

Margarinde mühim olan lezzettir!

UFA'nın üstünlüğünü lezzeti sağlıyor

Lezzetli emsalsiz bir margarindir. Ufa'yı kullananlar bunu biliyor. Ufa'yı seçtikleri yemeklerin tadını alırlar bir daha mutfaklarına başka margarin koymuyor.

Ufa margarininin en önemli sebebi sağ tereyağlarında imal edilen bir margarin. İmalatın her safhasında, Ufa'nın kalitesi için bir kontrol vardır. Bu sayede Ufa margarinini mutfakların her köşesinde de kullanabilirsiniz.

Ufa margarinini emsalsiz lezzetli bir margarindir. Ufa'yı seçtikleri yemeklerin tadını alırlar bir daha mutfaklarına başka margarin koymuyor.

Ufa margarinini emsalsiz lezzetli bir margarindir. Ufa'yı seçtikleri yemeklerin tadını alırlar bir daha mutfaklarına başka margarin koymuyor.



Üstün lezzetli margarin



Vita
MUTFAK YEMEKLİK
SEBATE MARGARİN

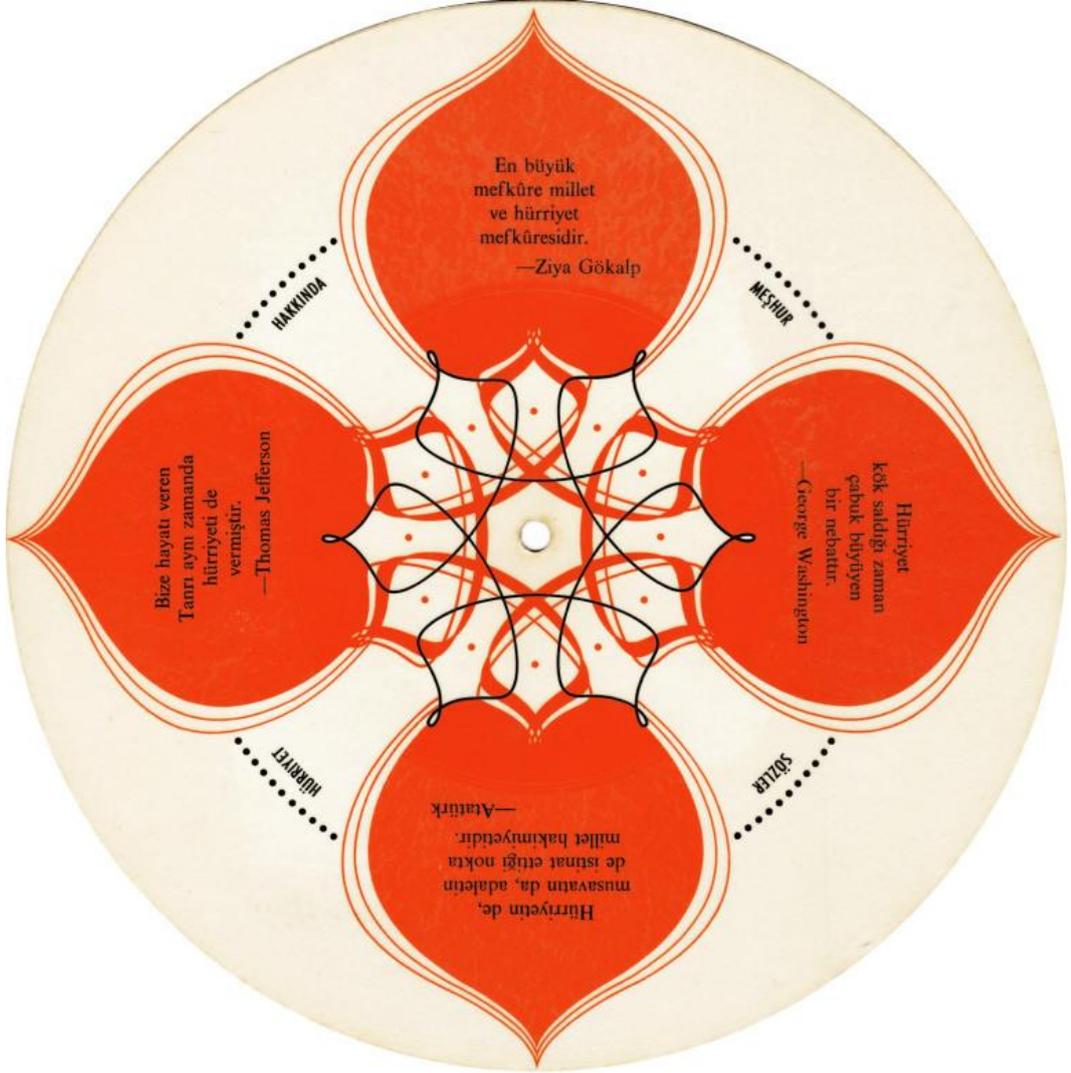
E.6. U.S.S. Missouri's Visit to Turkey (1946)



E.7. Turkish Singer Celal İnce's Album Covers (Distributed for free by Voice of America in İzmir International Fair, 1954)







APPENDIX F: Archival Photo Images

F.1. British Prime Minister Churchill Meets President İsmet İnönü in Yenice Train Station Near Adana (January 30, 1943)



F.2. U.S.S Missouri's (BB-63) Turkey Visit and Turkish Battlecruiser Yavuz Meets BB-63 (April 1946)⁷⁹²



Photo # 80-G-366179 USS Missouri off Istanbul, Turkey, April 1946

⁷⁹²U.S Navy Official Photo, National Archives

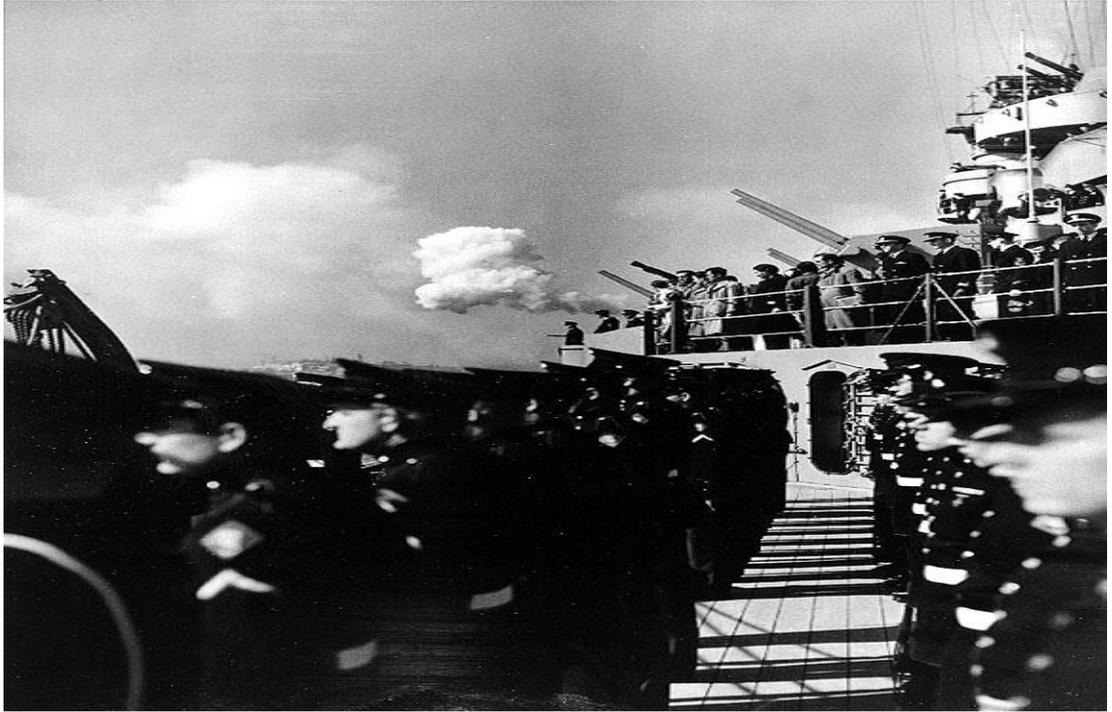


Photo # 80-G-376893 USS Missouri saluting, April 1946



Photo # 80-G-702555 Funeral procession of Turkish Ambassador to U.S., 1946

F.3. An American Expert Speaking to Turkish Audience About the Machinery Exported by Washington as a Part of Technical Assistance in Ankara School of Agriculture (1949)⁷⁹³



F.4. A Course in Çifteler Village Institute, Eskişehir (1953)⁷⁹⁴



⁷⁹³The George C. Marshall Research Library, Lexington, Virginia.

⁷⁹⁴T.C. Başbakanlık Basın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü

F.5. Turkish President Celal Bayar's America Visit (1954)

-Addressing to the US Congress⁷⁹⁵



-Bayar in Boulevards Meeting American Public



⁷⁹⁵http://photos.state.gov/libraries/ankara/17565/dostlar_arasinda_foto_sergisi_galeri2/bayar01.jpg

F.6. President Bayar during A Visit to Tractor Factory



F.7. Celal Bayar, Speaking to Workers of Willys Motor Plant, during Tour of US.



F.8. Celal Bayar Receives the Key (as a symbol of fellow citizenship)



F.9. President Eisenhower Meets Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in White House Six Months After President Celal Bayar's US Visit (1954)



F.10. Turkish Fulbright Scholars in the U.S.⁷⁹⁶



⁷⁹⁶Turkish Fulbright Commission

F.11. President Eisenhower Visiting Turkey (December 1959)⁷⁹⁷

-At Esenboğa Airport



-Parading Turks along Atatürk Boulevard



⁷⁹⁷http://photos.state.gov/libraries/ankara/17565/dostlar_arasinda_foto_serjisi_galeri2/CANKAYA2.jpg

-With Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes in Çankaya Palace



-With Zorlu, Bayar and Menderes



F.12. Colonel Alpaslan Türkçe Reading Military Intervention Declaration (May 27, 1960)



F.13. Jupiter Missiles in Çiğli, İzmir; First Deployed in Turkey in 1959⁷⁹⁸



⁷⁹⁸Milliyet and Habertürk (December 26, 2010). Also in Yeni Asır (January 3, 2011) quoted from Nur Bilge Criss of Bilkent University.

APPENDIX G: Curriculum Vitae

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Yorgun, İbrahim
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 5 April 1974 , İskenderun
Marital Status: Married
Phone: +90 533 470 3025
Fax: +90 312 210 7176
email: iyorgun@metu.edu.tr / iyorgun06@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU European Studies	2005
Certificate	University of Sussex, Hastings Campus	1998
BA	METU Foreign Language Education	1997
High School	İskenderun Lisesi, İskenderun	1991

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2000- Present	METU Office of the President	Coordinator, Global Eng & Partnership Development
2006-Present	Turkish National Agency (UA)	External Expert for Education Projects
1999-2000	Ministry of Education	Teacher of English
1997-1998	Hasting, Sussex, UK	Au pair-Turkish Language Tutor
1997 August	Başkent University	English Language Instructor
1997	TED College	Teaching Internship
February- June	METU Office of the President	Student Assistant
1995-1997		

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Intermediate French, Basic German and Ottoman

PUBLICATIONS

1. *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and General Douglas McArthur Meeting: Prophecy to the Future*, Anitkabir Dergisi (Anitkabir Journal Quarterly published in Turkish), issued in April 2013.

The List of Conference Presentations

1. Daloğlu, A. & Yorgun, I., *System and internationalization in Turkish Higher Education: Challenges and Opportunities*. "Cultivating Culture, CIEE Annual Conference", --, (2009), p.12.
2. Yorgun, I & Ceylan, S., *Adaptive Strategies for Internationalization in a Non-Stable Political Environment*, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, APAIE 2017, (March 20-23, 2017)

HOBBIES: Science Fiction Literature & Films, Gourmet, Geographic History, Cultural Anthropology

APPENDIX H-Turkish Summary / Türkçe Özet

Türkiye'nin 1950'li yıllardaki siyasi ve sosyokültürel yaşamına dolaylı Amerikan etkisi, bu ülkenin çoğu Avrupa'da yerleşik ve coğrafi keşifler, rönesans, reform hareketleri, sanayi devrimi, aydınlanma gibi dünya tarihinin akışını değiştiren bir dizi olay sonucu Avrupa dışındaki topraklar ve toplumları siyasi, coğrafi, iktisadi, askeri vb yöntemlerle hegemonyası altına alan güçlerin yayılmacılığıyla ilişkilidir. Emperyalizm olarak adlandırılan bu yöntemi Washington'un Avrupa güçleriyle benzeşmeyen eylem aracı olarak aynı söylemle kullanmaması; buna karşın yardım, destek, kültürel değişim vb birçok etkileşim metodunu İngiltere, İspanya, Hollanda, Fransa vb ülkelerin aksine güç kullanarak toprak elde etmekten ziyade yukarıda bazıları sayılmış olan yepyeni yöntemler aracılığıyla demokrasisi zayıf, yöneticileri bir takım zaafiyetler içinde olabildiği, ekonomileri henüz gelişmemiş ve kendine bir tür hami arayan ülkeleri güç göstermeden yönetmesi ve yönlendirmesi politika ve çabalarının bir sonucudur. Esasen ABD'nin uyguladığı bu yöntemler örtülü yada gizli emperyalizm şeklinde de adlandırılabilir.

Kendisi de İngiltere ve Fransa emperyalizmi arasında kalmış ve bundan 4 Temmuz 1776 yılında bağımsızlığını bir devrim sonucu ilan ederek elde etmiş ülke olan ABD'nin, Avrupa meselelerinden kendini çektiği ve onlar gibi olmayacağını tüm dünyaya ilan ettiği Monroe Doktrini'ne rağmen bunu zamanla bir gizlenme perdesi olarak kullanması, emperyal amaçlardan ve alışkanlıklardan o kadar da kolay kurtulunmadığını göstermesi bakımından önemlidir. Tüm bunlara karşın dünyada ciddi bir aktör olarak varlık göstermesi ve gücünün büyüklüğünün farkına varıp siyasi sorunlara el atmaya ve ülkeleri etkileyip yönlendirmeye başlaması ancak 2. dünya savaşı sonrası döneme denk gelmektedir. Bu dönemde artık rakibi haline gelmiş SSCB'yi dizginleme ve yenme yöntemlerinden belkide en önde geleni Amerikan kültürünü ve yaşam biçimini hegemonyası altına almak istediği tüm ülkelere ihraç etmesi olmuştur.

Esasen 19.yy başlarında Osmanlı topraklarında ticari amaçlarla boygöstermiş Amerikan varlığı; misyonerlik faaliyetleri ile okullar, hastaneler, vb diğer sosyal yaşam kurumlarında daha da gözle görülür şekilde artmaya başlamıştır. Ancak yukarıda tartışılan düzenli ve sistematik örtük Amerikan emperyalizmi Türkiye için de diğer benzer ülkelerde olduğu gibi 2. dünya savaşı sonrası döneme denk gelmektedir. Washington' u bu dönemde yaşanan çok partili hayat geçişin karmaşasından faydalandığı da söylenebilir. Daha demokratik olmayan Türk toplumunun bu konsepti tam olarak anladığı da iddia edilemez. Ancak, Amerikan iktisadi ve askeri gücü, cezbedici ve arzulanmış yaşam biçimini dönemin Türk idarecilerinin ve toplumun, bu güç ve gözükamaştırıcı yaşamı Amerikan demokrasinin bir yan ürünü olarak algılama olasılıkları da gözardı edilemez. Yine de, tüm bunlara rağmen yapılmış akademik çalışmaların çoğunluğu Amerika-Türkiye siyasi, askeri ve iktisadi ilişkilerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bunun yanında çok spesifik ve kapsayıcılığı az bazı çalışmalar dolaylı sosyokültürel etkiyi irdelmekten çok uzaktır. Bu eksiklik ve ihtiyaç tezin hazırlanmasına önayak olmuştur. Bu çalışmanın amacı 1950'li yıllarda Türk toplumuna Amerikan sosyokültürel emperyalizminin dolaylı etkisini ortaya koymaktır. Sosyokültürel kavramı oldukça göreceli olması itibarıyla de zorunlu olarak konularda seçiciliğe gidilmiştir.

Bu anlayışa benzer bir yaklaşım da anti-emperyal söylem ile toprak kazanımı peşinde olmadığını göstermeye çalışan ABD'nin Türkiye üzerinde siyasi etkisinin, sosyokültürel etkiyi destekleyici ve ona zemin hazırlayıcı bir mahiyette ilerlediğini ispatlama çabasında da yatmaktadır. Bu çalışma ile siyasi etki anlatılırken olaylar detaylı irdelenmemiştir ve amaç siyasi olayların incelenmesi değildir. Bu olayların Türk toplumuna nasıl sunuldukları, nasıl anlaşılıp algılandıkları ve hafızalarda nasıl yer aldıkları amaçlanmaktadır. Bununla varılmak istenen sosyokültürel etkinin var olabilmesi için siyasi etkinin de mevcut olduğu ve ikisinin birlikte çalıştığını göstermektir. Bu yapılırken iktisadi ve askeri analizler de yapılmamış; bu iki alan hem siyasi hem sosyokültürel alanlarda etkiyi desteklemek için kullanılmıştır.

Özellikle siyasi etkinin bu denli yoğun ve derinlemesine varolabilmesi ise ortamın oldukça müsait olmasıyla açıklanmaktadır. Bu tür bir ortama zemin hazırlayanlar arasında önde gelenler ise cumhuriyet reformlarının toplumda yeterince içselleştirilememesi ve dönemin Cumhurbaşkanı İnönü'nün yenilikler ve reformlar yapmaya ve toplumu zihni yönden dönüştürmeye çalışmak yerine statükoya sıkıca bağlanması, özgürlükleri kısıtlaması; 2.dünya savaşına katılmasa da ülkenin bu savaşın ceremesini sıkı ekonomik politikalar ve darboğaz ile geçiştirmeye çalışırken Türk toplumunda yarattığı baskılar; Türkiye'nin iktisadi yapısının ve demokrasi geleneğinin cılız olması; Osmanlı döneminden beri emperyal sebeplerle uyuşamadığı Avrupa güçlerine güvenmemesi ve yeni bir hamî ihtiyacı sayılabilir. Öne çıkan bu özelliklere ABD'nin Yakın Doğu ve Orta Doğu coğrafyasında hakim güç olmak için kültürünü yayması ve bölge halklarının kalplerini ve beyinlerini kazanmaya çalışması da eklenebilir. Böyle bir ortamda ve diğer taraftan komşu SSCB'den gelen korkutucu talepler sayesinde ABD ve batının yardımlarını alabilmek ve savunma şemsiyesine girebilmek için apar topar çok partili hayata geçen Türkiye'de oldukça çarpıcı gelişmeler olmuş ve özgürlüğü, refahı ve demokrasiyi vaadeden Demokrat Parti (DP) 27 yıldır ülkeyi tek parti sistemi ile yöneten CHP'yi 1950 seçimlerinde büyük bir hezimetle yenilgiye ugratmıştır. İlk başta Amerikan Demokrat Parti'nin Türkiye versiyonu olarak görülebilecek DP zamanla ve tezin kapsadığı dönemde Washington'un Türkiye üzerinde siyasi ve kültürel hegemonya kurmasında bilerek ya da bilmeyerek bir tür kolaylaştırıcı görev almıştır. ABD her türlü araçla Türk toplumunu büyülemek, etkilemek, yönlendirmek için devlet yada devlet dışı aygıtlarla çalışmalar yapmıştır. Bunu yaparken de zenginliğini ve fırsatları öne sürmüştür. Tez bu etkileme sürecinin nasıl işlediğini irdelemiş ve tüm aygıtlara rağmen büyük bir gücün siyasi olarak planladığı ölçüde bir verimli sonuç elde etmede başarılı olmadığı ve bu hegemonya planının istenildiği kadar fayda vermediği iddiasını öne sürmüştür.

Böyle bir iddianın daha rahat anlaşılması için ilişkilerin tarihsel kökenlerine inmek ve bir panorama sunmak faydalı olacaktır. Büyük Uyanışın (Great Awakening)

heterojen Amerikan toplumunu Protestanlık etrafında toplaması ile bağımsızlığını sürdürmek için ekonomik çıkarlar elde etmesi gereken Washington gözünü o dönemin nerdeyse dünya ticaret merkezi haline gelmiş olan Akdeniz'e dikmiştir. İngiltere'nin Osmanlı'dan Mısır'da baş göstermiş Fransa tehlikesine karşı ittifak desteği sayesinde elde ettiği ticari imtiyazları Amerikalılara da kullandırması ile Osmanlı limanları Amerikan ticaret gemileri ile de dolmaya başlamıştır. Osmanlı'nın Kuzey Afrika topraklarında bu ticaret gemileri saldırıya uğrasa da çözüm ve görüşmeler İstanbul ile resmi olarak değil, atanmış Bey'ler yoluyla gerçekleşmiştir. 1780 lerde ticaret gemileri ve tüccarlar ile başlayan gayri resmi ilişkiler 1820 lerde Amerikan misyonerlerin Osmanlı milletlerini Protestanlığa davet gayesiyle imparatorluk topraklarına yayılmaları ile devam etmiştir. Baştan beri milletlerin dini uygulamalarına ve pratiğine karışmayan Osmanlı Sarayı protestan misyoneleri de faaliyetlerini de hoşgörü ile karşılamıştır.

Osmanlı Sultanları, Amerikan tüccarları ve misyoneleri ile bu ülke hakkında bilgi sahibi olmuş ve Avrupalı güçler ile yaşadığı sorunlar, imparatorluk içindeki ayaklanmalar ve huzursuzluk nedeniyle tehdit gördüğü İngiltere, Fransa ve Rusya'ya karşın ABD'yi dost, zararsız bir ülke olarak algılamış ve 1830 yılında imzalanan bir ticaret anlaşması ile hem Washington'u artık hem resmen tanımış hem de ABD'ye en ayrıcalıklı ülke statüsü sunmuştur. Osmanlı yönetimi, bununla bir dost kazandığını ve Avrupalı güçlere karşın bir ittifak kurduğunu düşünmüştür. Ancak, bu dostane görünüşün arkasında kendisine, milletlerine Avrupalı güçler kadar etki edeceğini öngörememiştir. Oysa misyoneler faaliyetleri ile sadece gayri Müslim milletlere özgürlük, bağımsızlık duygularını aşılama ile kalmamış; aynı zamanda Türk milletine de Amerikan yaşam tarzını özendirici tesirler göstermiştir. Bunun yanında özellikle Ermeni kökenli Osmanlı vatandaşları için bir hamî konumuna gelmiş ve Ermeni sorununun beslenmesi ve büyümesine dolaylı katkılar yapmıştır. Batıdaki ilerlemeyi kaçırdığını düşünüp 1839 Tanzimat Fermanı ve 1856 Islahat Fermanı ile modernleşme hareketlerine girişen Osmanlı, bu iki reformun yeterli olmadığını anlaması çok geç olmuş ve ilk başta Yunanistan ve Balkan toplumları ile başlayan

ayaklanma ve bağımsızlık hareketleri ABD ve Batılı ülkelerin desteği ile Ermenistan ayaklanmaları ve bağımsızlığı ile zirve noktalarından birine ulaşmıştır. Özellikle Amerika'nın konuyla doğrudan ilgilenmesi sebebiyle de Ermeni Meselesi uluslararası bir konu haline gelmiş ve hatta Osmanlı-ABD ilişkilerini dahi etkiler konuma ulaşmıştır. Zamanla Osmanlı ve Türklere karşı oluşan olumsuz algılarda da Amerika'nın Ermeni Meselesi'ne müdahaleleri de etkin olmuştur.

Osmanlı nezdinde bu ayaklanmalar ve kargaşa yaşanırken Avrupalı güçlerin emperyal iştahları tekrar kabarmış ve aralarındaki anlaşmazlık I. dünya savaşının çıkmasına sebep olmuştur. Monroe Doktrini'ne sığmayan Washington olaylara müdahil olmamış ve savaşın kendisine sunduğu imkanlardan en iyi şekilde faydalanarak dış ticaretini, itibarını ve refahını arttırabilmiştir. Ne zamanki Alman saldırıları Amerikan ticaretine ve vatandaşlarına zarar verir hale gelmiş işte o zaman ABD Almanya'nın başını çektiği ittifak devletlerine savaş ilan etmiş ve bu büyük dünya savaşının gidişatını etkilemiştir. Ancak bu ilanda Osmanlı özellikle yer almamış, Washington 1917 de girdiği bu savaşta Osmanlı topraklarındaki yatırımlarına, misyoner vatandaşlarına ve ilerde kendisine gönül bağıyla bağlayacağı Ermeni tebasına zeval gelmemesi için gereken çabayı göstermiştir; sadece İstanbul ile diplomatik ilişkileri geçici kesmiştir. Amerika'nın savaşdaki desteğine rağmen eski emperyal güçlerin Osmanlı ve Ortadoğu coğrafyasında kendi aralarında yaptıkları gizli toprak paylaşımı ABD'yi hayal kırıklığına uğratmış ve bunun üzerine Washington gerek bir yandan savaş sonrası barışı tesis etmesi için Milletler Cemiyeti gibi kurumların oluşmasına öncülük etmiş gerekse diğer taraftan özellikle Osmanlı paylaşımına kendince çekidüzen veren ve oyun kartlarını yeniden dağıttığını gösteren Başkan Wilson'un 14 maddelik prensiplerini tüm dünyaya ilan etmiştir.

Wilson Prensipleri ile görünürde Osmanlı topraklarında Türklerin çoğunlukla yaşadığı bölgelerde kendi yönetimlerini kendilerin tayin etmesini vurgulanırken esasında bu prensipler Osmanlı topraklarını bölüşmenin kategorik olarak başka bir versiyonunu ifade etmiştir. I. dünya savaşına Almanya yanında yer alarak girmiş Osmanlı yönetimi, İtilaf devletleri ile önce Mondoros Mütarekesi ardından Sevr Barış

Anlaşması'nı imzalayarak kendi topraklarının paylaşılmasını cevaz vermiştir. Bu anlaşmalardaki yasal boşlukları kullanan İtilaf devletleri, ABD ye haber vermeden gizlice yaptıkları anlaşmaya göre, kendilerine ayırdıkları toprakları işgale başlamışlardır. Bu sırada vatansever Türkler kurtuluş mücadelesine girişmiş; İngilizler ise Wilson'a Osmanlı topraklarında Amerikan mandası önermişlerdir. Bu manda ile Ermenistan'a ayrılan toprakları yada Türklerin kendilerini yönetemeyecekleri bölgeleri Amerikalılar idare edeceklerdir. Hem her türlü manda teklifi kurtuluş mücadelesine girişmiş ve Mustafa Kemal'in başını çektiği ulusalcı Türkler tarafından reddedildiği gibi Amerikan yönetiminin durumu ve Ermenistan bölgesindeki nüfus yoğunluğu ile Ermenilere yapılmış mezalim iddialarını araştırma için gönderdiği komisyonlar hazırladıkları raporlarda Ermenistan için ayrılan bölgede nüfus olarak Ermenilerin yoğunlukta olmadıklarını bildirdiği gibi Mustafa Kemal ve silah arkadaşlarıyla da tanışma ve yürütülen kurtuluş mücadelesinin esasında Amerika'nın İngiliz ve Fransızlara karşı yürüttükleri emperyalizmle mücadeleden özü itibariyle pek de farklı olmadığını görme fırsatı yakalamış bu sebeple Washington yönetimi 1919-1922 yılları arasındaki mücadeleye mesafeli durmuş ve taraf olmamıştır. İtilaf devletleri ile kurtuluş mücadelesini yürüten Ankara Hükümeti arasındaki Lozan görüşmelerine ABD gayri resmi katılmış ve Lozan Anlaşmasını imzalamamıştır. Ancak Ankara Hükümeti ile gayri resmi bir iktisat anlaşması imzalamıştır. Buna karşın Washington'un Ankara'yı resmen tanınması 1927 yılını bulmuştur. Bir yıl sonra barış amaçlı oluşturdukları Briand-Kellogg paktına Türkiye'yi davet etmiş ve 1932 yılında ise Genel Kurmay Başkanları General Douglas McArthur'u Atatürk ile görüşmeye Türkiye'ye göndererek esasında Ankara'yı oluşmakta olan yeni kamplaşmada yanlarında istediklerinin işaretlerini vermişlerdir. Bu ziyaret sonrası II. dünya sabaşına kadar da ilişkiler ciddi herhangi bir iniş çıkış yaşamadan normal seyrinde devam etmiştir. Bu esnada ABD'de ortaya çıkan ve tüm dünyaya dalga dalga yayılan 1929 büyük ekonomik buhranı daha kapitalizmi bilmeyen ve sistemini oturtamamış Türkiye'yi derinden sarsmıştır. Bununla da kalmamış cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında süratle hayat geçirilen ve ülkeye sıkıştırılmış bir

rönesansı yaşatan reformlara karşı bir rahatsızlık ortaya çıkmakla kalmamış, bu rahatsızlıktan beslenen tutucu kesimler Amerika'nın koruma kanatları altına girmeyi yeğlemiş ve topluma olmayacak bir küçük Amerika rüyası vaadederek kitleleri arkasında süreklemekle kalmadıkları gibikitleleri bu rüyanın gerçekleştiğine de inandırmıştır. Oysa gerçekleşen ne alabildiğine özgürlük, demokrasi ne de Amerikan rüyasındaki refah seviyesidir. Türkiye Amerikan rüyasını gerçekleştireceğine inanırken, asıl Amerika'nın rüyası gerçekleşmiş ve Türkiye Avrupa'yı tarımı ile besleyen, askeri ile onu koruyan ve yanibaşındaki nükleer güce sahip ve ne yapacağı kestirilemeyen Rusya'nın güney sınırlarına konuşlanmış bir ülke konumundaki vazifesini memnuniyetle yerine getirir duruma sokulmuştur.

Oysa sıradan Türk'ün, sokaktaki adamın derdi hangi gücün ne yaptığı, diplomasi yada Türkiye'nin diğer devletler ve uluslararası kurumlarla ilişkisi değil evine ekmek götürüp götüremeyeceği, başını sokacak bir evinin hatta bir göz odanın sıcaklığında ailesi ile mutlu mesut yaşayıp yaşayamadığıdır. Bu sebeple Atatürk'ün vefatı ile başlayan dönemde oluşmuş toplumsal hafıza Türkiye'nin II. dünya savaşına girmemesi için İnönü'nün kıvrak oyunları yada diplomatik manevraları değil; yoksulluk, korku, baskı, ekmek karnesi, Türkçe ezan, dinsiz bir devlet yönetimi, vb'dir. Bu konularda da tamamiyle haksız değildir. Haklılık payını veren gerek İnönü yönetiminin siyasi ve iktisadi uygulamaları, gerek II. dünya savaşına katılmasa da tüm orduyu teyakkuz durumunda tutmaktan kaynaklı iktisadi buhran, üretim yoksunluğundan kaynaklı tüketim mallarındaki arz darlığı hatta hiç üretim yapılmaması, ithalat için yeterince döviz bulunmaması gibi sebepler sayılabilir. Bu dönemde İnönü başkanlığındaki hükümet sıkıyönetim ilan ettiği gibi Milli Korunma Kanunu, Varlık Vergisi gibi tüm toplumda infiale yol açmış ve derin izler bırakmış kanunlar çıkarmış ve sert uygulamalara gitmiştir. Toplum gıda kuyrukları, mallarına zorla el konulması, artan vergi ve enflasyon, darboğaz, karaborsa, vb ne tür sıkıntı varsa yaşayarak bu dönemin faturasını tamamiyle İnönü ve başında bulunduğu CHP'ye çıkarmıştır. Tüm bunları aşmak için Türkiye'nin yapabileceği ve İnönü yönetiminin uygun bulduğu en hızlı çözüm mali yardım almak olmuştur. Bu yardım

ilk başta İngiltere'den gelirken bir süre sonra bu ülkenin yardımı sürdüremeyecek duruma gelmesi sebebiyle ABD devreye girmiş ve Türkiye'nin Almanya ve müttefiklerine savaş ilan etmesi ile savaş yıllarında ödünç verme programı ile Ankara'ya yardımda bulunmuştur. Bu yardımlara ek olarak sayısının çok uzun yıllar sonra 1970lerin başında dönemin Başbakanı Süleyman Demirel tarafından 91 olarak telaffuz edileceği ABD-Türkiye arasındaki ve Türk toplumunun o yıllarda farkına varmadığı anlaşmaların ilklerinden Askeri Yardım Anlaşması Ankara'nın Almanya'ya savaş ilanı ile aynı güne gelmiştir. Detaylı bir inceleme ile de görülebileceği üzere bu yardımlar ve anlaşmalar belirli bir amaca yönelmiştir: Türkiye'yi ABD nin başını çektiği ve demokratik kulüp olarak adlandırılan grubun içine çekmek; Rusya'nın komünist ideolojisini daha fazla yaymasını engellemek ve bir savunma hattı oluşturmak. Türkiye'yi 1925 yılında Dostluk Anlaşması imzaladığı Rusya'dan uzaklaştıran sadece bu anlaşmalar değildir. Stalin yönetimindeki SSCB hem 1936 yılında imzalanmış Montreux Anlaşması'nda ciddi değişimler istemiş ve böylece Türk boğazlarının kontrolünü ele geçirmeyi düşünmüş hem de Türkiye'nin doğu sınırındaki toprakları talep etmiştir. Bunu düşmanlarından korunma ve Batılı düşmanlarına tampon oluşturma gayesiyle yaptığı anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak, bu tür adımlar kampaşmayı daha da arttırmış ve derinleştirmiştir. Tehlikenin farkına varan başta ABD ve İngiltere ise Rusya'nın taleplerine karşı çıkmaya başladıkları gibi Türk görüşüne destek olmaya başlamışlardır. Batının farkına vardığı tehlike sadece Türkiye üzerine Rus oyunları değil Balkanlar, Kafkaslar, Ortadoğu ve hatta çoğu Asya ülkelerinde SSCB'nin komünizm yayılcılığı ve kendisine bağlı uydu devletler yaratmasıdır. Bunun en iyi örnekleri Doğu Avrupa'da gözlemlenmiş ve kısa bir süre zarfında Kore, Vietnam, Mısır, Irak vb ülkelere de yayılmıştır. Türkiye'nin de bu etkiye girmesi demek tüm bölgesinin kolaylıkla Rus etkisine girmesi, petrol rezervleri yoğun Orta Doğu coğrafyasının tamamıyla Rusya hegemonyasına geçmesi demektir. Bu durum sebebiyle Türkiye bundan böyle daha fazla Amerikan siyasi etkisine ve yönlendirmesine girmiş ve II. dünya savaşı sonrası ve özellikle 1950li yıllar boyunca ABD önderliğindeki batılı birçok kuruma üye olmuş ve inisiyatif ve girişimlerde ABD

ve batı yanlısı tutum takınmıştır. Artık Ankara tarafsız bir politika yürütme gayesinden vazgeçmiş ve ABD'nin iyi bir müttefiki ama bazı araştırmacılara göre de sağdık bir uydusu haline gelmiştir.

ABD ile bu tür bir yakınlaşma ve batı kampına girmenin ön koşulu demokratik bir yönetime sahip olmak olarak batının başat güçlerince tespit edilmiştir. II. dünya savaşı sonrası şekilene yeni dünya düzeninde ABD, eski emperyal güçlerin çıkarlarına hizmet etmeyecek bir yapı oluşturma çabalarında demokratik ülkeleri 1945 yılında San Francisco'da yapılan konferansa çeğirmiştir. Gelişmeleri kaçırmak istemeyen İnönü hükümeti apar topar tek parti sistemine son vermiş ve esasında demokrasi için iyi bir girişimde bulunmuş olsa da 1946 Ocak ayında TBMM de toprak reformu yasasına karşı çıktıkları için partilerinden ihraç edilmiş yada istifaya zorlanmış 4 milletvekili tarafından kurulmuş; temel prensipleri ayrıldıkları parti ile çok uyumlu; çoğunlukla üst düzey bürokrat, toprak ağaları, köylüler ve dindar kesimlerce bir umut ışığı olarak görülen oluşum DP, 1950 yılında CHP'yi Mayıs ayında yapılmış genel seçimlerde büyük bir yenilgiye uğratarak ülke yönetiminin başına gelmesiyle İnönü adeta kendi bindiği dalı kesmiştir. 14 Mayıs 1950 seçimleri ile başa gelen DP, tam on yıl sonra 27 Mayıs 1960 tarihinde askeri bir cunta tarafından iktidardan uzaklaştırılmıştır. DP öncesinde gerek Osmanlı döneminde Tanzimat ve Islahat Fermanı ile daha çok anayasal düzenlemeler ile gerekse 1924 Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası ve 1930 Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası ile demokrasi adımları atılmış olsa da bu girişimler ciddi varlık gösterememiştir. ABD zoru ile çok partili rejime ve gerek demokrasiye geçiş adımları atılmıştır. Ancak bu fırsat bile gerek DP'nin tüm özgürlükleri yaymaması, CHP'nin birçok hatasını tekrarlaması ve bir askeri müdahale ile iktidardan uzaklaşması sebebiyle demokrasi sancıları olarak tarihe geçmiş ve 10 yıllık bir süre demokrasi adına heba edilmiş görünmüştür.

Kuvvetle muhtemeldir ki bu kayıp Soğuk Savaş döneminde ABD'nin kendi politikaları ile uyumlu bir yönetimin iktidarda kalmasını yeterli görmesi, demokrasi ve insan hakları konularında bir ilerleme sağlanmamasını gözardı etmesi ve Türkiye ile ilgili siyasi meselelere çoğunlukla komünizmi durdurmak, toplumu bir takım

özendirici araçlarla kendine bağlamak, SSCB'yi çerçevelemek pencrelerinden bakmasına yol açmasıyla yakından ilgilidir. Bu mantıkla da DP nin iktidarda olduğu 10 yıl boyunca daima Türkiye'yi Washington'un istediği siyasi yöne sevkedici adımlar atmıştır. Bu adımların ilk örneklerinden biri Missouri Zirhlisi'nin Nisan 1946 da Türkiye ziyareti olmuştur. Esasında, SSCB'ye bir gözdağı mesajı olan bu ziyaret, Türk idarecileri tarafından ABD yanımızda mesajı olarak algılanmış; ziyaret tüm ülke basınında aylarca övgülerle yer bulmuş; minarelere bile ve de İngilizce dilinde hoşgeldiniz mahyaları asılmıştır. 1944 yılında vefat etmiş Türkiye'nin Washington Büyükelçisi Münir Ertegün'ün cenazesini getirme kılıfıyla dünyanın en büyük zirhlilerinden birinin İstanbul boğazına zincir atması aslında Türkiye'ye bir Amerikan kancası atılması metaforu ile çok uyum göstermektedir. Bu tarihten itibaren artık geriye dönüş olmayacak ve Türkiye, Amerikan'ın bu tür adımlarıyla çok uzun yıllar siyasi olarak Washington'un güdümüne girecektir. İngiltere Başbakanı Churchill'in ifade ettiği ve Rusya'nın ördüğünü iddia ettiği demir perdeye ABD'nin yanıtı Missouri ile başka bir metal zincir olmuştur. Türkiye ve Türkler için ABD artık yaşam biçimi, kültürü, demokrasisi, refahı ile ulaşılması gereken bir ideal olmuştur. Osmanlı'nın modernleşme hareketleri sırasında öne çıkan Avrupalı güçlerin yerini II. dünya savaşı sonrası Türkiye için ABD almıştır.

Neredeyse bir aşk hikayesini andıran ABD-Türkiye ilişkilerinde, önemli diğer bir adım Truman yönetimi tarafından ilan edilmiş SSCB'yi dünyanın her köşesinde komünist yayılmacılığına karşı çerçevelemeyi ve bu kapsamda öncelikle tehlikenin baş gösterdiği Doğu Avrupa, Balkanlar, Orta Doğu coğrafyasının tam ortasında ve Yakın Doğu olarak nitelenen bölgenin kalbindeki Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a mali yardımı öngören Truman Doktrini'dir. SSCB'yi kızdırmamak için özellikle askeri yardım ifadelerinin kullanılmadığı doktrin, Türkiye'nin, her ne kadar hükümeti öyle olmadığını ilan etmiş olsa da, tarafsızlığını sona erdirmiştir. Ülke içinde hem büyük oranda destek gören hem de tepkiler çeken doktrin esasında öyle algılatılmaya çalışıldığı gibi Türkiye'nin kendini savunmasına özel destek niteliğinde değildir. Hatta, doktrin sonrası iki ülke arasında imzalanmış yardım anlaşmasınının 3. ve 4.

maddeleri askeri ve sivil tüm ABDli yardım heyetlerine her türlü izin, bilgi toplama yetkisi sunduğu gibi Türkiye'nin içişlerine müdahaleyi meşru hale getirmiştir. Yaratılan algının tersine, 1964 yılında Kıbrıs meseleine müdahale eden Türkiye'ye ABD tepkisi 1947 yılında doktrin sonrası imzalanmış olduğu mali yardım anlaşmasına sağdık kalması ve askeri teçhizatı Kıbrıs'ta kullanmasının Washington tarafından kabul edilemeyeceği şeklinde olmuştur. Diğer taraftan doktrin sonrası Türkiye, dış politikasını istediği şekilde yönlendirmek yerine ABD'nin siyasi etkisi sebebiyle kendisini Arap, Asya ve Afrika politikalarından geri çekmesi; örneğin yakın zamana kadar özgür bir Filistin devletine destek verirken 1949 da birçok ülkeden önce İsrail'i resmen tanınması olmuştur. Diğer taraftan, yardım edilen teçhizat için amortisman ve yedek parça için Türkiye'nin astarı yüzünden pahalı denebilecek seviyede bütçesi zorlanmış, ilgili harcamaları döviz ile yapması sebebiyle ekonomik sistemi bir kısır döngüye girmiştir. Bu döngü iktisadi olarak da ABD ve batıya bağımlılık anlamına gelmiştir.

Türkiye'nin ABD'ye bağımlılığı, II. dünya savaşı sonrası Amerikan yardımlarını bir mekanizmaya bağlayan ve Avrupalıların birbirleriyle yardımlaşarak gelişmelerini öngören Marshall Planı ile daha da artmıştır. Bu plan, ABD yardımlarının Avrupa'da II. dünya savaşı sonrası zorluk içinde ve Rusya'nın komünist tehlikesi altındaki ülkelerin bütçe açıklarını kapatmak ve ihtiyaçlarını ithalat yaparak giderme yöntemleri için kullanılmasını engellemek amacıyla ve sürdürülebilir bir mekanizma kurmak amacıyla dizayn edilmiştir. Bir tür yardımlaşma mekanizması oluşturan plana Türkiye'de talepleri ile katılmış ve 300 milyon dolara varan teçhizat, yol yapımı, madencilik vb sektörler için destek sağlamıştır. Marshall planı gerek ülke içinde gerek ülke dışında çok ciddi eleştirilere yol açmıştır. Türkiye'nin demokrasisine katkı yaptığını söyleyen yazar ve akademisyenler yanında bu planın Türkiye'yi Avrupa'nın bir tahıl ambarı ve maden ocağı; hatta ABD'nin dev kuruluşlarının bir pazarı haline getirdiğini ve yardımların aslında yeni kapütülasyonlar olduğunu iddia eden yazılar ve çalışmalar da yapılmıştır.

Kapütülasyonlara benzetilmiş ödünleri verdiği için eleştirilen DP yöneticileri, herne kadar kendileri de CHP için de gelseler dahi, cumhuriyet reformlarının konjonktürel zorluktan kaynaklı toplumda içselleştirilememesini bilmelerine rağmen, toplumun olup biteni, değişen dünyayı bilmemekten kaynaklı önyargılarını ve tepkilerini çok iyi okuyup bunları oldukça sistematik ve başarılı propaganda ile kullanarak gönülleri kazanması başarmış olsalar da gazeteci, akademisyen, hukukçu, öğrenci gibi kesimlerin eleştiri oklarına da hep hedef olmuşlardır. Çoğunluk oylarına sahip olmasına rağmen kendine güvenmek yerine bu kesimlere baskılar devam etmiştir. DP batıya ve özellikle ABD'ye karşı yükümlülüklerini yerine getirirken gösterilmiş tepkilere tehammül göstermede zorlanmıştır. Ülkedeki bilgi ve insan kaynağı ve sermaye eksikliğinin farkına varmış olan dönemin Türkiye Hükümetleri bu eksikliği gidermek için ABD gibi daha büyük bir güçten destek almak, ona yaslanmak gerektiğini düşünerek hareket etmiştir. Bunu yaparken de Türkiye'yi küçük Amerika yapacağını ve her mahallede bir milyoner yaratacağını iddia ederek halkın hayaller peşinde koşmasına yol açmıştır. DP, Amerika ile yakınlaşma politikaları çerçevesinde Washington tarafından ortaya konmuş insiyatiflerde ön sıralarda yer almak için çaba göstermiş, ABD güdümündeki birçok kuruma üye olmuş, bu sırada kendi balına yapacağı yada başka insiyatiflere katılarak elde edeceği siyasi ve iktisadi fırsatları da kaçırmıştır. Buna en iyi örnekler arasında Balkan ve Bagdat Paktlarını Washington'un isteğiyle kurmaya çalışırken bu paktlara üye olmaktan ziyade Türkiye'nin dostluğundan uzaklaşmış ülkeler ile ilişkiler, ticaret ve Osmanlı'dan kalma sosyokültürel bağların kopması gibi olumsuz olanlar sıralanabilir. Batı ve özellikle ABD'nin olurluğunu ve onayını kazanmak için girişilmiş diğer bir macera ise Türkiye'nin kendi meclisine dahi sormadan ve onay almadan 4,500 askeri Kore Savaşı'na ABD emrine göndermesidir. Türkiye'nin hiçbir şekilde tehdit altında olmadığı bu savaş, esasında ABD'nin Rusya ve komünizmi tüm dünyada çerçeveleme planının önemli bir adımıdır ve Türkiye'den ziyade Amerikan çıkarlarının korunmasına yöneliktir. Yeterince ve modern teçhizatı olmayan Türk ordusu, Amerikan gemisiyle Kore'ye gittiği gibi Amerikan silahlarıyla bölgede

savunma yapmış ve büyük başarılar elde ettiği gibi 700 kayıp vermiştir. Tüm bunlara rağmen Türk toplumun hafızasında nerdeyse yok denecek kadar az yer kaplamaktadır. Kore ile ilgili ciddi kutlamaların yapılmaması ve milli günler olarak ilan edilmemesi buna en iyi örnektir. DP Hükümeti'nin ABD desteğini almak ve Rusya'ya gözdağı vermek amaçlı bu hareketi 2 yıl sonra NATO'ya üyelik olarak ödüllendirilmiştir. Oysa o dönemin konjonktüründe Türkiye'siz bir NATO kolu kırık bir savunma örgütü anlamına gelmektedir. Kore olmadan NATO olmaz gibi bir iddia bu sebeple ciddi temellere oturmamaktadır. Kaldığı NATO üyeliği gerek CHP döneminde gerekse DP döneminde olmak üzere toplam 2 kez reddedilmiştir. ABD istemeden de bu örgüte girmesi zaten imkansızdır. 1950lerde ABD hegemonyasında katılmış tüm kurum ve inisiyatifler iki eşit gücün ilişkisinden ziyade güçlü ve kudretli büyük ülkenin zayıf güçsüz küçük ülkeye hamiliği ilişkisini çağrıştırmaktadır.

1950 de ABD desteğini kazanmak için Kore'ye asker göndermiş olan Ankara, 1952 de Washington'un desteğiyle NATO üyesi olmuş ve bu örgütü bir savunma şemsiyesi olarak görmekten ziyade Amerikan kulübü, ABD'nin iktisadi ve askeri desteğini alacağı bir mekanizma olarak düşünmüştür. Bu mekanizma için Türkiye topraklarında statüsü NATO olarak görünse de pratikte Amerika'ya ait 90 kadar hava üssü, radar, lojistik bina v.b tesislerin vergi muafiyeti anlaşmaları yoluyla ve denetimlerini nerdeyse hiç yapmadan Washington'un emrine vermiştir. Tüm bu süreçlerde de ne TBMM'ye ne de kamuoyuna detaylı hatta hiç açıklama yapma gereği duymadan bazılarının maddelerinin henüz daha bilinmediği onlarca anlaşmayı gerek Dışişleri Bakanı gerekse Genelkurmay Başkanı düzeyinde bile imzalayarak ülkenin bağımsızlığı ve milli çıkarları yönünden geri dönülmez ciddi yaralar oluşmasına sebep olmuştur.

Ancak yine bu dönemde ilkler gerçekleştirmiş ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin bir Cumhurbaşkanı Celal Bayar ilk kez ABD'ye 1954 yılında ve bir ay süren bir ziyaret gerçekleştirmiştir. ABD eyaletlerinin neredeyse yarısını Eisenhower'ın kendisine tahsis ettiği uçak ve lüks arabalarla dolaşan Bayar büyük bir Amerikan hayranlığı ile yurda dönmüş olsa da ciddi bir mali destek sağlayamamıştır. Benzer bir durum aynı

yıl yine ABD'ye giden Başbakan Adnan Menderes için de geçerli olmuş ve talep edilen mali yardım yerine Bagdat Paketi'na dört koldan sarılması ve Arapları bu pakta üye olmaları yönünde telkin etmesi önerilmiştir. Benzer bir ilk ise karaşi tarafca gerçekleşmiş ve Türkiye'ye ilk kez bir ABDli Başkan 1959 yılı sonuna doğru Eisenhower ziyareti ile teşrif göstermiştir. Resmi görüşmelerin toplam 2 saat geçtiği Eisenhower ziyareti yine ciddi sözler verilmeden sona ermiştir. Bu ziyaret 2 yıl öncesinde ilan edilmiş Eisenhower doktrini çerçevesinde işlerin yolda gidip gitmediğinin anlaşılması, bir nezaket ziyareti ve Türkiye dahil tüm ziyaret edilen ülke yönetimlerinin ABD ile paralel düşüncelerde olup olmadıklarının bir kontrolü şeklinde tezahür etmiştir. Keza Türkiye için Eisenhower Doktrini 10 yıl önce ilan edilmiş Truman Doktrini'nin devamı niteliğinde ve Rusya'ya karşı bir hamledene ziyade Orta Doğu coğrafyası sorunlarına bizatihi bir çözüm olarak algılanmıştır ve memnuniyet karşılandığı, hemen uygulanacağı ilan edilmiştir. İlişkiler bu ziyaretle tazelenmiş görünürken esasında derinde bir uyuşmazlık olduğu, Türkiye'nin mali destek için Washington kapıları yerine Moskova'yı aşındırmaya başlayacağı Adnan Menderes'in 1960'ın Temmuz ayında yapacağı ziyaret ile belli oranda su yüzüne çıkmış görünmekteydi. 27 Mayıs 1960'ta ordunun müdahalesi ile DP ve Hükümet yönetimden uzaklaştırılınca, ilan edilmiş ziyaret hiç gerçekleşmemiştir. Bu darbe New York Times'da çıkan bir habere göre geldiğini aylar öncesinden göstermiştir. ABD'nin olaya şaşırması ve akseri yönetimi birkaç gün sonra tanıması kafalarda soru işareti bırakmıştır. Ayrıca, Adnan Menderes Hükümeti'ne verilmeyen mali yardımlar darbe sonrası akmaya başlamış, ordudan milliyetçi oldukları yada ABD'nin hoşlanmadığı iddia edilen 7.000 subay atılmıştır. Bunun yanında cunta yönetimi NATO ve CENTO'ya bağlılık sözü vererek darbenin ABD'ye karşı yapılmadığını izlenimi vermiştir. Kısaca, bir ay önce Kore'de gerçekleşmiş darbe gibi 27 Mayıs ta ABD için rahatsızlık yaratmamış, Washington kendisine sadık bir yönetim olduğu sürece bu tür demokrasi dışı hareketlere müsamaha göstermiştir. Çünkü başat mesele başta kimin olduğu değil, komünist yayılmayla nasıl mücadele edildiğidir. Bu mücadele için ABD kaynaklarını sonuna kadar açmış ve hibeler ve krediler yoluyla ülkeleri kendine

bağlamış ve ABDli bir akademisyenin de açığa çıkardığı gibi istediği politikayı istediği ülkeye uygulattırmanın yolu olarak bu yöntemi kullanmıştır. Bunun yanında ilgili ülkenin sanayi ile kalkınması yerine Türkiye örneğinde olduğu gibi tarım ülkesi, çok komplike olmayan basit bir sanayi ile yetinen ve teknolojiyi dışardan almaya alışık zayıf ve kendine bağımlı bir uydu devletleri ağı yaratmaya çalışmıştır. Türkiye özelinde de Barker, Thornburg gibi uzmanlara hazırlanmış raporlar da özetle bunu işaret etmiştir. Soğuk Savaş döneminde gerek ABD'nin gerekse SSCB'nin ihtiyacı ve beklentisi sorgulayan, zorluk ve zıtlık çıkaran yönetimlerce idare edilen ülkeler değil kendileri ve izledikleri politikalar ile uyumlu çalışan ve itaatkar yönetimleri başa getirmek yada kollamak olmuştur.

Ankara'yı ilgilendiren bu siyasi gelişmeler, Türkiye'nin sosyo kültürel yaşamına diğer Amerikan girişimleri ve inisiyatiflerinin de gelişmesine ciddi katkılar yapmıştır. Diğer bir deyişle siyasi arena, Washington'un Türkiye'nin sosyokültürel yaşamına etki yapabilmesi için gerekli zemini temin etmiştir. Bu uygun ekosistem, Rockefeller ve Ford gibi şirket tabanlı vakıfların, Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerinden beri yerleşik operasyonlarında artışa gidebilmeleri ve yoğunlaşmalarını ve bu fırsatlar DP hükümetinin sağladığı zemin, teşvikler ile ülke içinde bu vakıflarla çalışmayı canı gönülden arzulayan kişilerin işbirliği halinde yapabilmelerine olanaklar tanımıştır. İster yönetici olsun ister sıradan vatandaş Türkler, sosyal DNA şifrelerinin bu vakıfların bağışları sayesinde yürütülmüş araştırmalar yoluyla çözülebileceğinin kavrayamamışlardır. Bu bize eğitim ve araştırmanın Washington'un etki ve manevralarına açık iki temel sektör oldukları varsayımını düşündürmektedir. 1950ler Türkiye'si de bunu andırmaktadır ve ülke ABD ile ilişkilerini bir yandan derinleştirmiş diğer taraftan ise ilişki türlerini çeşitlendirmiştir.

Artan bu ilişkiler ağı arasında Amerikan üniversitelerini model alan üniversitelerin kurulması önemli bir yer almaktadır. Diğer önemli bir araç ise kurulmasından çok kısa bir süre sonra Türkiye-ABD arasındaki bir anlaşmaya dayanarak faaliyetlerine başlayan Fulbright programı olmuştur. Karşılıklılık temellerine yeterince dayanmayan ve yeterince değişim olarak adlandırılmayacak

bu program ile daha çok Türk öğrenci, araştırmacı ve eğitimciler ABD’de eğitim almak üzere gönderilmişlerdir. Fulbright ve benzeri (Eisenhower bursları, AFS) programlar Türkiye’nin çok da ihtiyacı olan yetişmiş insan gücünün belli oranda beyin göçü yoluyla Amerikan kurumlarında kalarak ülkeye ve bu insanlara yaptığı yatırımlarda zarara uğramasına sebep olmuş; tam tersi olabileceken Türkiye’ya daha çok uzmanlıklarından yararlanılmak üzere 41 kadar ABD’li davet edilmiştir. Tersine olan bir etki de önemli üniversitelerde Rockefeller ve Ford gibi vakıflarında yardımıyla Amerikan Dili ve Kültürü Bölümleri’nin kurulması ve yaygınlaşması olmuştur.

Amerika’nın sosyokültürel olarak ta varlığının Türkiye’de artması ile abur cubur ve hızlı yeme alışkanlıkları artmış; bir çok endüstriyel tarım ürünü piyasa fiyatının çok altında (zeytinyağı gibi) bu ülkeye satılmış ve çiftçi para kazanacağı diye temel tarım ürünleri üretmeyi durdurmuş olduğundan ülkede ciddi tahıl eksikliği başgöstermiştir. Üretilen bir avuç incir, fındık, fıstık ve pamuk ile Ankara’nın çok ihtiyaç duyduğu ABD’den teknolojik ya da endüstriyel ürünlerin maliyetini karşılaması pek mümkün gözükmemiştir. Tüm bu olumsuzluğa rağmen Türkiye ürünlerini satabildiği için ABD ise bu kadar ucuz fiyata bu kadar değerli tarım ürününü satın aldığı için mutlu görünmüşlerdir.

Washington’un sosyokültürel yaşama etkileri eğitim, gıda ve tarımla sınır değildir. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı destekleri ile daha önce Türkiye’deki eserleri toplamda 4 yada 5i geçmeyen ABD’li yazarların çalışmaları çok yoğun bir şekilde Türkçe’ye verilmiş, Türk vatandaşlarının ABD tarihi, Başkanları, Hollywood yıldızları ve ileri yaşam hakkında bilgi sahibi olmaları, Amerikan romanları ve hikayeleri okumaları sağlanmıştır. Renkli ve parlak kağıtlara basılı western hikayeler, Tommiks ve Texas maceraları çocukları cezbetmiştir. Hayat dergisi gibi ABD’deki benzerlerini aratmayan dergiler Amerikalı yıldızların yaşamlarından alıntılar yapmıştır.

Bu tür dergilerde DP gibi muhafazakar bir yönetime rağmen cinsellik içeren bolca fotoğraf yayınlamış ve gençlerin yaşamak istedikleri gerçek dışı yaşamları ülkenin sahip olmadığı refah seviyesi, okur-yazarlık oranı, güçlü eğitim, parlak bir

gelecek noksanlığına rağmen önlerine rol model olarak sunulmuştur. Bu sebeple muhafazakarlık anlayışı büyük bir gücün kültürünü ithal etmek olunca gözardı edilmiş ancak bir eleştiri olunca gündeme getirilmiştir. Tüm bu kültür ithalatı ile çocuklar tekerleme yaparken bile sözkonusu ABD olunca hep övgülerden oluşan satırlar ile bu oyunları oynamalarıyla sonuçlanmış ve çocuklar ve gençler ABDli asker ya da sivil memurların eşlerinin hediye ettiği renkli kitaplarla zaman zaman kendi ülkelerinden çok başka bir ülkenin kültürünü öğrenir, onu yaşamayı hayal eder konuma düşmüşlerdir.

Bu bize 1820lerde Osmanlı topraklarına girip Amrikan yaşamının üstünlüğünü anlatan, gençler arasında kıskançlık uyandıran misyonelerin yaptıklarını hatırlatmıştır. Fakat, 1950lerde yaşanan yeni misyonerlik faaliyetleri bir baskı ve zorlama olmadan ve 1820lerdeki gibi sadece dini yaymayı amaçlamadan gençlerin kalplerini kolay yoldan kazanmanın yolları olarak karşımıza çıkmışlardır. Üstüne üstlük ailelerin yeterince sevgi ve özen göstermedikleri bu genç Türkler hakkında, yaşadıkları bu kültür ikilemini gösteren örneğin bir geminin ambarında ABD kaçarken yakalanma görüntüleri gazetelerde yayınlanır hale gelmiştir.

Amerika'nın elindeki tüm propaganda araçlarına, tekniklerine ve yöntemlerine, cezbediciliğe rağmen yine de Washington Türkiye'de tüm kalpleri kazanmada başarılı olamamıştır. Gazeteciler, akademisyenler, öğrenciler, askerler, bürokratlar hatta siyasiler arasında Amerikan karşıtlığı 1950lerden beri varolmuştur. Hatta bunların arasında ABD'de eğitim almış olanların daha çoğunlukta oldukları gözlemlenmiştir. Neden Washington tüm kalpleri kazanmada ve toplumu bütünüyle hipnotize etmede başarılı olamamıştır?

Bunun elbette bir tek yanıtı yoktur. Ancak, değişen ABD dış politikası, değişen Türkiye politikaları bunun önemli sebepleri arasındadır. 2000li yılların başında ve son dönemde yapılmış kamuoyu yoklamaları Türkiye'nin Amerikan karşıtlığının dünyada en yüksek olduğu ülkelerden biri olduğunu göstermiştir. Değişen politikaların bahsedilen karşıtlığa neden olduğuna dair önemli olaylara son dönemden örnek vermek gerekirse 1991 Körfez Savaşı ile 11 Eylül saldırıları sonrası

ABD'nin Irak ve Afganistan'ı işgali gösterilebilir. Dini ve sosyokültürel bağlarla bu ülke ve toplumlara empati ile bakan Türk toplumu, Washington'un bu siyasi olaylarda izlediği politikaya tepkili yaklaşmıştır. Benzer durum bu ülkelerde yaşayan toplumlar için de geçerlidir.

Yine de ABD kendi kültürel propagandasını ve ihracını yapmayı sürdürmüştür. 1950lerde Hollywood altın çağını yaşarken birçok 1.sınıf yıldız Türkiye'gelmiştir. Bunun yanında yıldızıklar olarak adlandırılacak ve kendi ülkelerinde bile doğru düzgün tanınmayan oyuncular 1. sınıf yıldızmış gibi bu propaganda araçları sayesinde Türkiye'ye gelmiş ve öyle sanılarak en üst düzeyde ağırlanmışlardır. Gençler bu oyuncular gibi olmak, yaşamak ve gezmek arzusuyla hayaller kurmuşlardır. Fakat unuttukları şey Türkiye'nin ABD'nin sahip olduğu olanakları ve refahı yakalamaktan çok uzak olduğu ve tüm bu kültür ithalatının rüya yaşatmaktan daha ileriye gidemediğidir. Bütün bu etki esasında daha detaylı incelenmeli ve her konu en az bu tez kadar çalışılmalıdır. Siyasi ilişkilerin oldukça çalışılmış olduğu kaynaklardan anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak, bunun aynını sosyokültürel etki analizi için de söylemek pek mümkün değildir. Bu tez bu tür bir eksikliği bir nebze gidermek ve ileride yapılacak çalışmalara yol gösterici olmak amacıyla yapılmıştır.

APPENDIX I: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Yorgun

Adı : İbrahim

Bölümü : Tarih

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Close Encounters Between Turkey And The US: American Indirect Influences On Turkey's Political And Socio-Cultural Life During the 1950s

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: