

Reflections of the Marshall Aid and the USA: Fakir Baykurt's Amerikan Sargısı (American Bandage)*

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to analyze how Fakir Baykurt depicts his own ideas and feelings through the peasants' reactions in a village in Ankara, Turkey towards the aids provided by the Marshall Plan and American culture in his novel *Amerikan Sargısı* (1967). He draws the picture of Turkey in the 1960s which faces the Democratic Party ruling Turkey and the acceptance of the Marshall Plan, officially named the European Recovery Program within the scope of which Turkey was provided with assistance. Baykurt focuses on nationalism from his ideological perspective, and the importance of keeping national sources safe because he is worried about Turkey to become Americanized. He emphasizes the importance of maintaining Turkish national identity from the risk of dissolution in the American culture. Baykurt considers the Marshall Aid as a threat to the national values and independence of the country. The novel will be explored under the light of some major ideas of developmentalism and dependency theories and these concepts will be discussed. These theories, the Plan and the Party era will be briefly introduced to have a background for the discussion the novel.

Keywords: *Amerikan Sargısı, Fakir Baykurt, Developmentalism Theory, Dependency Theory, The Marshall Plan*

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Fakir Baykurt'un *Amerikan Sargısı* (1967) adlı romanında yer alan Amerika'nın Marshall Yardımı ile Türkiye'ye müdahale etmesi ve Amerikan

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kültürüne karşı duygu ve düşüncelerini, köylülerin bunlara verdiği tepkileri ile nasıl ele aldığını işlemiştir. Roman, iktidarda Demokrat Parti'nin olduğu ve resmi adı Avrupa Kurtarma Planı olan ve Türkiye'nin de yardım aldığı Marshall Plan'ının kabul edildiği önemli bir dönemde geçmektedir. Baykurt, roman boyunca ulusalcılık, kültür ve değerler gibi milli kaynakların önemine kendi ideolojik bakışı açısından dikkat çekmiştir. Bu sebeple, romanda Türk milli kimliğinin Amerikan kültürü içerisinde kaybolma riskinden alıkoymanın önemini vurgulamaktadır. Marshall Yardımı'nın, ülkenin milli değerlerine ve bağımsızlığına bir tehdit olarak görmüştür. Romanda yansıtılan bu noktalar, kalkınmacılık ve bağımlılık kuramlarının temel düşünceleri açısından incelenmiştir. Marshall Plan'ı ve Demokrat Parti dönemi de bu kuramlar ışığında romanın incelenmesi kapsamında kısaca ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Amerikan Sargısı, Fakir Baykurt, Kalkınmacılık Kuramı, Bağımlılık Kuramı, Marshall Planı*

INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to explore Fakir Baykurt's (1929-1999) novel *Amerikan Sargısı* (1967) (American Bandage/bondage) through the ideas of developmentalism and dependency theories. Baykurt, born in a village 'Akçaköy' in Burdur, is a leftist author. Due to most of his novels with leftist ideas, he made the government restless and was even arrested in 1972. Then, he was the head of the Turkish Teachers Union. He was familiar with village life and culture. He worked as a teacher for a while before working as an inspector for the government. Baykurt emphasizes the importance of being independent for his country; therefore, he reflects his ideas within this perspective in the novel, published after the 1960 revolution in Turkey. That period was still carrying the traces of the former Democratic Party. The main purpose of this study is to reveal how America and the Marshall Plan are considered by Baykurt. It is assumed that the exploration of the novel reveals Baykurt's perception of how the real inhabitants of a village near Ankara have reacted to being made the guinea pigs for an American 'pilot project' conducted in their midst. It might also have the potential to understand the perspectives of Turkish people towards the issue since there has not been much scholarly criticism on this matter in literature. There is no document on any project like the one stated in the novel in Turkey but the fiction gives an idea of how the author feels about the aids and reading it under the light of these two theories presents a different perspective.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ERA AND THE MARSHALL PLAN

We need to have a look at the rise of the Democratic Party in 1950 in Turkey to see the background of the novel. The Democratic Party won the election due to the problems caused by the Second World War and the one-party government that lasted decades. As mentioned before, the mobilization kept all men away from the fields and thus production decreased. The public put all blame upon the one-party government, the Republican People's Party. The economic, agricultural, and political problems in this post-war period help the Democratic party be seen as a savior. From 1950 up to 1960, the Party ruled Turkey when the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine were on the headlines in the country. Mechanization in the agricultural sector with the help of the aid funds and the increased number of tractors meant a kind of revolution with vital changes in the economy. All these changes began to happen in the 1940s.

During the period between 1950 and 1960, the newly accepted liberal economy is only observed in the agricultural sector because Turkey accepts one basic condition: to base the development model upon agriculture, not industry. Thus, by determining the obstacles in the sector, they focus on solving and improving them. So, the primary emphasis is given to modernizing Turkey's agrarian structure throughout 1948-1952. Last two years of this period the Democratic party participated in the program. While modern machinery, as well as modern farming methods, is introduced, foreign investment, private enterprises, credits, and loans entered the country's economy. Undoubtedly the Marshall Plan helps not only Turkey but also Europe recover in economic, political, and societal terms. However, all these changes and improvements are not always welcomed by many people in Turkey, and by some writers like Fakir Baykurt, they are seen as the USA's attempt to colonize Turkey.

Since Turkey's economy is based on agriculture, not industry, the recovery program focuses on agricultural development. Mechanization in agriculture, the USA, will foster Turkey's industrial development as well. Machinations of irrigation are given importance and a great number of heavy tractors are supplied and hectares of land are taken into a plan for irrigation to improve agriculture. Transportation is also given priority in the program because it provides transporting raw materials and productions from one part of Turkey to the other. Therefore, railways, roads, and ports are improved, which is called the rise of a new system of mobility. In 1946, there were not more than 1.000 tractors that could hardly run, while in 1955 the number increased up to 43.000 (Keyder, 2008, p. 162). The state-owned and state-built railroads are now ruled by the Western system expedited the country's invasion as Perin E. Gürel asserts (2017). She continues that "in 1948, the final foreign railroad line was nationalized. Yet, around the same time, Turkey's transportation policy took a US-directed shift, intended to integrate the country into the capitalist system in line with the

Marshall Plan...These highways and motor vehicles soon became some of the most visible symbols of US-accented modernization” (Gürel, 2017, p. 98). American-brand tractors pushed through the Marshall Plan a symbol for literary protest, as well.

The party conducts a liberal economy successfully during the first quarter of its government. While a rapid development is observed in the Turkish economy, indeed, Turkey increasingly depends on foreign sources, debts borrowed, legal and political policies like foreign investment revealed as economic dependence and a threat to Turkish freedom and nationalism. It can be asserted that Turkey goes under the control of the USA.

Agriculture, transportation, mining, and defense constituted the main parts of the aid program which led the way to the dependency relations with the USA. Gabriel Ignatow (2006) argues that “the economic dependence of developing nations on wealthier nations and international lending intuitions can substantially affect public opinion within developing nations” (p. 648). Fakir Baykurt unlike some scholars like M.J.Hogan (1987), Wexler (1983), Gimbel (1976), and Ertem (2009), who approach the Plan positively, implicitly criticizes it. He shows the other side of the coin. Most of the time, literature is a mirror that reflects the social realities of the time in which it is written. Baykurt’s novel reveals how America is seen through the eyes of the public as much as the author considers. It depicts his and his people’s awareness of their country’s dependency on foreign investment and loans. Through developmentalism and dependency theories the novel can be best evaluated and account for how the economic processes through the Plan influence public opinion.

The Marshall Plan, also known as the European Recovery Program or European Reconstruction and Development Plan, was named after Secretary of State George C. Marshall. In 1947, he made a speech at Harvard University during which he announced the plan. From 1948 through 1952, the Plan assisted 16 countries in their economic recovery and gave them over \$13 billion in aid to finance them. The immense destruction that had occurred during the Second World War caused such an urgent need for financial and military support. Although Turkey had followed a policy of neutrality during the war and succeeded in remaining outside it, the country's economy suffered as a consequence of the impacts of the war and was in great need of support from the recovery program. Hence, Turkey was included in the Plan later. The mobilization declared during the war resulted in the lack of labor on fields and therefore production had reduced considerably. Turkey faced famine, and many goods were bought or sold on the black market, which provided better prices than the government for the farmers.

Turkey received financial aid between 1948 and 1959 and spent that amount mainly on agriculture, army, and transportation. \$62.376 million amount of it was a donation and \$72.840 million was a loan. "Main short supply items tentatively estimated for distribution to Turkey for the first 15 months of the program starting in April included agricultural, mining and electrical equipment, trucks, freight cars, finished steel, petroleum products, and timber, which amounted to \$58.9m in imports from the US and Western hemisphere" (FRUS, 1974, pp. 371-3).

Seven American specialists came to Turkey on March 28, 1950, to provide technical assistance in the Çukurova and Southeast, Marmara, Ege, and Trakya regions of the country for a better and modern agricultural program. Two months later, 800 kg hybrid zea mays seeds were imported from America to grow and chickens to breed in the Turkish fields. Raw materials, too, were supported by the USA as Avşaroğlu points out:

"Mining industry was one of the most important areas created by the Marshall Plan for the USA and European companies. The process to accumulate capitals of the USA and Europe would be supported through the machines and turnover imported and raw material required by the countries in question would be thus supplied" (Avşaroğlu, 2008).

The USA controlled the use of sources according to the Agreement for Economic Cooperation by providing financial aid of 351 million and 700 thousand dollars in the scope of the Marshall Plan between 1948 and 1952 (Yücel, p. 67). Turkey eventually became an importer and thus the budget deficit between export and import gradually widened.

Tolga Tören (2006) and Serkan Şahin (2014) summarize the effects of the Marshall Plan on the Turkish economy and these explanations make it possible to understand better Baykurt's perception of the aids as depicted in the novel:

"Turkey grew rapidly through the plan; however, this condition stimulated the increase in export. The sum spent on imports in Turkey exceeded the sum of export and the external deficit increased in the economy. Turkey that was deprived of economic policies to prevent this case couldn't pay off the debts and had to take a loan again. The devaluation practice of 1946 couldn't meet the foreign trade deficit. Any precaution was not taken even after this practice. Under these circumstances, the economic crisis started to reappear in Turkey from 1956. The USA that took the Turkish economy in hand stipulated to develop a system of economic stability and constituted an institution in the form of Public Debts to pay the debts. Turkey thus became foreign-dependent again, on the other hand, the USA started to intervene directly in internal affairs of Turkey" (Şahin, 2006, p. 164).

"Marshall Plan appeared as a factor that forms a basis of the dynamic of internationalization of the productive capital. This mission undertaken required a plan to be built to accelerate the process of capital accumulation for Western

European countries—in a way to create a demand in investment goods produced in the USA—and also create a safe zone for the direct investments of the USA capital through deepening (again) the whole of capitalist affairs in these countries. In other words, the Marshall Plan was built with a purpose to accelerate the process of capital accumulation in Western European countries as well as it created opportunities to utilize the capital of the USA... Capital issued through Marshall Plan opened the way to export of goods" (Tören, 2014, pp. 210-1).

Besides the war-related economic problems, there was another problem both for Turkey and the USA; it was the Soviet pressure and claims on Turkey. It was believed that the US was concerned about Soviet pressure on Turkey, who they feared might turn to the Soviet Union and join the socialist/communist regime. The US, therefore, did not wish to alienate Turkey. Under the Truman Doctrine, the US aimed to extend aid to Turkey for her industrial development, giving emergent priority to Greece (Akçakaya, pp. 81-2). The impacts of the plan as stated by these scholars help to see how and why Baykurt draws a restless picture of some of the peasants receiving American aids. He points out another fact that Turkey would become a dependent country and an exporter of raw material to the USA if she continues to live upon the plan. His worries about the cultural adverse effect are also reflected in the novel. During the time of receiving the American aid, the leftist section criticized that this badly affected social life in Turkey also feeling that the United States became popular in Turkish public. Using American products in Turkey became a sign of prosperity and prestige. In the primary schools, students were delivered cans of powdered milk, margarine, and orange juice for free and started to read American comics and stories of American superheroes, he is restless seeing that all these are new and American not Turkish.

DEVELOPMENTALISM AND DEPENDENCY THEORIES

Developmentalism is an economic theory emerged in the United States in the early 1940s which refers to shaping the future of the newly independent states. It is associated with American foreign policy issues. It focuses on the economic growth of the Third World countries. The idea of this theory is generally referred to as a post-World War II phenomenon (Erik S. Reinert 1). The ideology of developmentalism takes several different forms. The Soviet Union calls it instituting "socialism", later calls "communism". The USA calls it "economic development" according to Immanuel Wallerstein (1974). The US global expansionism and domination of the world find a place in developmentalist idea. The aid is a practical result of this concept by the developed country. Burcu Birinci states that "developmentalism is invented to transform traditional societies into modern societies. This perspective accepts the other as 'tradition' and has a superiority claim on it as a hegemonic system" (2007, p. 18). Then,

ethnocentrism makes up the core of this perspective. Kelley Johnson points out that “the biases and limitations of developmentalism and the Washington Consensus can be summed up with one word: ethnocentrism” (2010, p. 37). The assumption is that if the West’s sequence of development work for them, then it should work for other societies, too.

Dependency theory is an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural--on national development policies” (Sunkel, 1969, p. 23, in Ferraro, 1996, p. 1). The theorists argue that there is an important relationship between dependency and developmentalism. Don Santos clarifies such a situation of the aid recipient countries within the dependency theory: "a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected” (p. 231). These concepts are argued through periphery-center terms, introduced by Prebisch in the 50s and later used by Myrdal, Cardoso, Frank, Don Santos, Amin, and many others. The center or core as Immanuel Wallerstein asserts (1974) is referred to the developed nations like the USA, while the periphery is Turkey as described throughout the novel.

DISCUSSION

As noted at the outset, there is not any document for such a project in Turkey as stated in the novel; however, the novel gives an idea of how the author feels about the Marshall Plan and the independency of Turkey. Reading it under the light of these two theories presents a different perspective for a better understanding his worries about the country. Fakir Baykurt wrote *Amerikan Sargısı* in 1966 in Ankara while he was working as an inspector for the government. The novel ironically depicts the USA’s efforts to help the underdeveloped countries through the Marshall Plan aid. It generally criticizes the implementations of the American aid project, which he thinks not appropriate for the Turkish society. It emphasizes that any attempt aimed to help Turkey develop should be done so under Turkish culture and conditions, not American.

Fakir Baykurt, through the novel *Amerikan Sargısı*, displays his ideas on how the USA is regarded by the Turkish public, as opposed to the claims in which the Marshall Plan and the USA are promoted as a savior for the aid recipient countries. Undoubtedly the success of the Marshall Plan cannot be denied, since the USA contributed to the recovery of post-war Europe, which rose to its pre-war level in a short period. However, the new world order established after the Second World War brought with it the concepts of the developmental economy and the dependency relationships. Using foreign aid, the construction of a new world order and decolonization were fostered by controlling the newly aided regions, including Turkey. It was these efforts at development on which Baykurt

clearly expressed his opposing ideas. He saw it as a threat to Turkish cultural and economic independence seeing that the American economic assistance was welcomed by some in Turkey at that time. He foresaw the possible results of the plan and thus he continued to emphasize nationalism and the value of national sources, including the culture and values. There was not any success reached in agriculture except that industrialization, and Turkey was turned into an agricultural importer after 1954 (Tören, p. 218). For this reason, he used the local dialect to emphasize the importance of maintaining national identity by protecting all aspects of Turkishness from dissolution in American culture.

Baykurt begins his novel by expressing his ideas and feelings about the USA. Introducing the States to the readers, he remarks that American society lives with the constant anxiety of a possible attack on their country at any moment. He talks about the industrialists, including Henry Ford, who are against the revolutionist ideas and movements. They did not hesitate to murder the workers who complained and protested horrible and unfair working conditions. These people also had a role in the exile and killing of the Native Americans. He asserts that President Kennedy was murdered because he wanted peace, and that this was against the interest of a certain group of people.

One of the main characters is Melih Dalyan, a businessman in Ankara. He becomes rich by shipping Turkish mines to the States. He cooperates with the States as a part of the Marshall Plan. He negotiates with Mr. Borger, who is a high-ranking bureaucrat and a representative of the Plan. The issue of the meeting is reconstructing and developing the villages in Turkey. They think that delivering powdered milk to kids is not enough. Some suggest to fly American flags in the coffee shops in the villages or to give them turkeys as a gift. Finally, Mr. Canata, who is Turkish, tells them to conduct a more lasting and effective project. According to this project, they start to work on a pilot village nearby Ankara named *Kızılöz*.

The peasants in *Kızılöz* not aware of their plans are suffering from poverty but still happy to earn their living honestly. The protagonist Temeloş is the watchman of the village. He is a strong character and not compliant. He welcomes the American guests thinking they will only visit their village not knowing they have a project in their minds. The fate of the village changes with a group of 70 people coming there. In the beginning, they are surprised, but immediately show hospitality to their guests. The local administrators accompany the American bureaucrats, who ask the peasants if they need anything. They reply that they require nothing. They say that the Turkish government is going to give them whatever they need, and they do not need help from any other country. However, Temeloş asks them to flatten the hill in the village. The Americans turn this area into a garden and construct a large gate on which they write "Turkish-American Friendship Garden". They even change the name of the village from *Kızılöz* to

Güzelöz, because the Americans are uncomfortable with the connotation of the word *Kızıl* (red) and its associations with the Soviet and communism.

As part of the project, chickens, cows, animal feed, seeds, agricultural machinery, and methods are brought from the States. In this way, they plan to reconstruct all the villages in Turkey and thus Americanize them. Some of the peasants are happy about this at the beginning, but with time they realize that these new implementations are not suitable with Turkish geography and agricultural traditions, and thus Turkish culture. Temeloş is a leading figure complaining about these new changes. The mukhtar İzzet, the head of the village, and the teacher Cemal share the same unsatisfactory feelings with Temeloş. They think that the best way of helping the peasants is to raise awareness and give them a proper education in all fields. Cemal, for instance, warns them that they might lose all underground treasures since America processes Turkish mines, sell them abroad even back to Turkey and make a great amount of money. The project conducted under the terms of the Plan proves the notion of the dependency theory; the resources flow from Turkey, which is a poor "periphery" country to the USA, a wealthy "core" country, enriching her more at the expense of the former. Americans and some local authorities who become Americanized try to squelch objectors like Cemal. Another teacher Ertan Bey is not like Cemal. He serves the Americans and earns a fortune by searching for mine beds in the country instead of teaching at school. Since Cemal is an opponent, he is relegated. The whole village becomes so much upset by his leaving the village for this unfair reason.

The project proves to be unsuccessful; all the animals die and the pineapples do not flourish. During a fight that breaks out between Temeloş and Danacı Arif, a watchman appointed by Americans, Temeloş is seriously wounded and taken to hospital. Temeloş feels alienated not belonging to the village because he is not let in the garden by his fellow. The doctors try to apply an American bandage, but Temeloş insists on having a Turkish dressing. Meanwhile back in the village, the peasants begin an uprising and destroy everything that has come from America. They change the name back to *Kızılöz*.

Developmentalist theorists “ignored the ‘culture’ variable, which proved to be a damning error. Probably, developmentalism’s early thinkers did not believe they were making that mistake. Economists in general tend to be uninterested in cultural differences, assuming that the “laws of economics” will hold anywhere. The Marshall Plan poured money and resources into European countries that had been devastated by World War II... yet Rostow and his contemporaries did not distinguish between the regions” (Kelly, 2010, p. 37). The same mistake is observed in the results of the aids to *Kızılöz* people. The peasants demolished everything Americans built and made and even the bandage Temeloş is dressed with. He wanted to heal his wounds with something Turkish, not American. This is a symbolic irony used to show the aid's damage to Turkey. Temeloş’s knee is

injured by a guard's American sneakers. Bobby drives him to the American hospital in Ankara. They use dressing and American bandage on which there is the same image of the Turkish-American handshake. This image is on everything including the powdered milk cans and pineapple trees garden gate. However, Temeloş feels alienated and does not feel that he is at home. He wants something his own culture not American. So, the title of the novel suggests that even a bandage used to bind up a wound or to protect an injured part of the body is American and the author, through Temeloş's reactions, indicates his own worries about dependency of his country. Baykurt, as Janset Günaydın (2019) states "emphasizes that Turkish peasants can do everything with their own strength" (p. 52).

The Marshall Plan gave a big amount of money and resources to European countries. "Germany, for instance, can recover economically and grow stronger socially and politically. However, the theorists failed to recognize that redeveloping was easy for these countries that had already developed before World War II" (Johnson, 2010, p. 37). Turkey, unlike Germany, as Baykurt depicts, is not able to develop as the nation is unhappy with the changes provided by the Plan. Samuel P. Huntington argues that quick economic and social change creates instability rather than stability and democratization (p. 38). The peasants are eventually unhappy with the quick and nonnative changes. Even the title of the novel is noteworthy to show this unhappiness: "American Bandage" is a material for dressing or splint not made in Turkey. Temeloş is restless to wear such foreign material: a different cultural one, he believes, cannot properly heal the wounds.

As a result of the Marshall Plan, Baykurt believes that Turkey becomes dependent on the US economically and politically. His feelings might be better explained by the dependent theory developed in the late 1950s by Raul Prebisch (1901-1986), an Argentine economist and the director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. According to the theory, the underdeveloped countries are exploited due to capitalism and this makes them dependent on the developed countries that cause exploitative rules for trade production. "Poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries that then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The 'Value Added' by manufacturing a usable product always costs more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports" (Zulkufli, p. 4).

Samir Amin (1974) states that with foreign investment, it causes a big problem: "foreign capital is invested not in local production designed for the local market but in producing for the external market" (p. 160). His view is elaborately illustrated in the conversation among the peasants when they see the Americans

extract mines in the area and send them to the USA to produce related goods. The narrator satirically states:

“Since Turkey and America are best friends ever in the world, they do a favor and obtain our mines. They want the poor in the town to get rich. They ship all mines they find and obtain to the States and come back the same ship full of goods cheap there but expensive here... This ambition for the mine is American's not ours. They will keep us away from cultivating and leave us unemployed. When you fall to the ground, embrace the earth because lords do not give you what land of one-acre gives” (p. 103).

Fakir Baykurt's feelings of the social problems that might be caused by American aids might be another example for the notions of the dependency theory. The idea criticizes the relations between the center and the periphery countries. It is a form of unequal international relationship between two countries, one of which is center America, and the other is a satellite or periphery. Turkey is seemed to be a satellite country from a perspective of this idea. The novel tells us that Turkey, as a less developed country, is “conditioned by the external force which is the central capitalism” (Ghosh, 2019, p. 8).

The following conversation among Mr. Borger, the muhktar, and Temeloş is another example from the novel that reveals the basic notion of the dependency theory; receiving financial aids will make the poor country dependent and poorer. Günaydın points out that “the novel reflects that Turkey will pay the price for the Marshall Aids The peasants are worried about that price, afraid of being in great debt in return ” (2019, p. 81): “-I mean agricultural production! Tractor, selector.../-These are expensive things, Sir!/-But you will not be indebted!/-If we will not, then our government will! We manage to live with these plows. We do not need your machines...” (Baykurt, pp. 76-77).

Baykurt states that it is grounded on imperialism, and he asserts that the covert purpose of the foreign aids including the Marshall Plan is to enslave them within their economic grip, dominate and exploit them. The novel is a critique of these relations within the theories mentioned. Baykurt shows that the plan does not work as expected and turns out to be unsuccessful. He uses the village as a metaphor for this idea of cultural and economic imperialism as being a leftist author. The novel depicts how American aid cannot meet its promises and turned Turkey into an unsuccessful attempt because America neglects the local conditions and culture. What's worse, the peasants strongly react to American acculturation attempts. Dependency theorists argue that these elites maintain a dependent relationship because their own private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant states. This concept is observed in a conversation among the American and Turkish officers during a meeting. Melih Dalyan explains his ideas about the aids and the politics and strategy under them to Mr. Borger. It seems that he draws a picture of notions of the dependency theory:

“Generally speaking, there is a basic mistake in dividing people into two groups: the helping ones and the helped ones. There unavoidably establishes superiority in the helping ones and inferiority in the helped ones. Because of this mistake, it is hard to make the helped ones happy. Human relations certainly depend on mutual benefits. A country who sacrifices millions of dollars to support aids to others should get some benefits so that she can find strength to keep helping...In this case, aid should be a happy beginning to use underground and ground source potentials of the underdeveloped countries” (p. 19).

America conducts her plans to create a modernized little American model in Kızılöz. It is a typical Turkish village with its people having a traditional agricultural way of living. However, American efforts for the model village project fail, and eventually, the peasants demolish all US buildings and burn down all American crops and pineapple trees even the fields where American seeds are used to plant. The imported chickens lay only empty eggs and the pineapple trees do not bear fruits. In addition to this, the pineapple trees are tropical plants not native to Turkey. Turkey's climate is not suitable for it just like the American attempts to create a new Turkey. The bare eggs, seeds, and trees are metaphors to suggest the bareness of the foreign aid in this country. They clean up everything American in the village and rebuild the hill with the ashes and the remaining from the fire. Baykurt suggests that there is no financial and political benefit in the American aid but damages in all aspects. Some of the peasants tend to behave against their cultural values when they see the American representatives are having wives and mistresses. The tendency to degeneration worries the author saying also the feelings of some peasants who visit the USA. They are taken to a church and introduced to the American's religion and way of life but the narrator is so much restless for their intention of acculturation, saying: “They want us to forget about our traditions and values and convert to theirs and be like them. Is this possible? Who will do it? No way, nobody will do it even Hadji Kadir” (p. 125). Baykurt indirectly warns his people not to be westernized. Being westernized might eventually lead the peasants, the country indeed, to degeneration and lose their roots and origin.

Baykurt foresees the danger in the future describing the peasants' lack of access to their own lands. They are even not allowed to enter the garden where they grow the pineapple trees and build the poultry house full of chickens imported from the States. He points out his predictions by focusing on the Turkish government selling control over Turkey's lands to the Americans in the form of mining rights. Gradually Turkey would lose her independence and national strength. The peasants, in this sense, are disturbed by so-called friendship. Therefore, they ironically keep calling Americans "the Turk's American friends" worrying about being under the sway of them. Baykurt reflects cynicism toward this false friendship: “İzzet said, “We knew Our Aktepe (hill) area became The Garden of

Friendship it's not. They made it American Garden, but we should have known it in the very beginning!" (p. 184).

It can be assumed that he points out America's covert intention of imperialism with the so-called friendship and continuous cynicism that Turkey is not the only country for them. Mr. Canata, the American expert and representative, is finished with the project in the village and now will go to Jamaica. He says: "I am going to Camayka (Jamaica in the local dialect). I will work there..." That is to say, they will make it friend now! In this way, they will make the whole world friend." (p. 178).

Baykurt uses "friend" as a metaphor suggesting American invasion through the aid plan and sees it as a part of the new world order. He is worried about the country being colonized by the States as seeing the other countries suffered from a similar threat and the possible results due to the Marshall aids. Both economy and politics, he asserts, are affected by Turkey's dependent relationship with America.

CONCLUSION

The Marshall Plan is still the subject of much discussion, and its effects have also taken the attention of the scholars mentioned before in the current paper. The majority of the studies on this issue are mainly focused on Germany and Great Britain: there is less research that has been carried out in the Turkish context. The literature review has revealed that the Plan had had a great healing impact on the postwar economic, political, and agricultural reformations of the recipient countries. Regarding the implementation of the Plan in Germany and Great Britain, M. J. Hogan (1987), Wexler (1983), and Gimbel (1976) approach the issue from the economic and political aspects. In Turkey, many scholars have also dealt with the matter from the same aspect, usually underlining the positive impacts of the Plan. For example, Erhan (1996) points out that the US had made a great contribution to the economic development of European countries. More recently, Ertem (2009) discusses the reasons which pushed Turkey to ask for the aid and the positive result ending in economic development and a new agricultural and economic structure.

Amerikan Sargısı, however, uses allegory and irony to criticize the heavy dependence on American aid, with a fear that it could lead to the country's invasion. Both the Republican People's Party and the Democratic Party are found guilty for not being sensitive to Turkey's future. Feroz Ahmad states that "the rulers are criticized for lacking the determination to preserve the country's true

independence”². It is in such an atmosphere that Baykurt seems to feel obliged to raise the Turkish public's awareness of the possible consequences of foreign aid. His worries can be understood well when we look at the novel in the light of the theories of developmentalism and dependency, which have been discussed earlier in this paper. Turkish agriculture, transportation, defense system, and foreign investment had fallen into the hands of the foreign aid tools. The novel mainly reflects anti-American, in fact anti-foreign, feelings across the country. Baykurt, for this purpose, uses an allegorical tone and metaphors to criticize the penetration of foreign capital which will turn Turkey into a compliant ward of American sovereignty. Toward the end of the novel, collective hindsight is observed. He uses it as a didactic lesson for the readers: to appreciate one's own sources and strength. As part of the project supported by the Marshall Plan, chickens, cows, animal feed, seeds, agricultural machinery, and American methods are brought from the States. In this way, they think that they will reconstruct all the villages in Turkey and thus Americanize them. However, most of the peasants are happy about this at the beginning, but with time they realize that these new implementations are not suitable with Turkish geography and agricultural traditions, and thus Turkish culture.

Even the novel's title can be interpreted as a symbol of Baykurt's perspective on the independency of his country. Günaydın interprets Temeloş's response to Dorothy, the nurse: “it alludes to the situation Turkey is in because of the Marshall Aids. The bandage on Temeloş's knee and the hospital he is in seem to symbolize Turkey's situation due to America” (2019, p. 90). Temeloş says to the nurse: “I used to be a strong man like steel, iron and atom! Neither a bandage on my knee nor a drill on my head! Just because of you, I am now wrapped with a bandage and I get roped into your hospital!” (p. 264).

The emphasis on nationalism and the need to preserve national values are reflected throughout the novel. Here the term "nationalism" should be clarified to avoid any confusion. The term has two meanings in the Turkish language to define two opponents; one for the left-wing nationalists (*ulusalcılık*) and the other one for the right-wing nationalists (*milliyetçilik*). Baykurt as being a member of the left group shares nationalist opinions. “Despite philosophical differences within the group, three fundamental elements in Ulusalçı thought can be identified: uncompromising anti-Westernism; externalization of Islam from Turkish nationalism; and ethnic exclusionism” (Uslu, 2008, p. 73). Therefore, Baykurt never suggests that Turkish culture is unique or superior to others as the right-wing nationalists' state. On the contrary, Baykurt puts forward his ideas of the opposition to cultural imperialism and determination to prevent the imposition -by economic pressure- of the culture of a stronger foreign power on a weaker

² Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. (Routledge, 1993), p. 141.

country. In his novel, America has denoted the stronger power in Turkey as a weaker country. Foreign aids, like the one offered within the Marshall Plan, function as a means of economic development and globalization. *Amerikan Sargısı* shares the same idea with Amin, who suggests that “the only way for peripheral societies to develop is they must sever all ties with the (capitalist) center” (p. 210). Baykurt shares the same opinion with the Leftists and focuses on Turkish independence.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan from Baykurt’s perspective are explained quite differently from the literature on these concepts. His criticism is directed only at a small group of rich industrialists, not the whole American nation. Baykurt defines this system and the Marshall Plan in the introduction part of the novel:

“Later, in the election they (the trusts) made people put into office Harry Truman, who is cunning like a fox and meek like a domestic cat. And they began to carry out his doctrines and plans. They attempted to renew their (third world countries’) defense systems, military uniforms, combat vehicles, and armament by deluding the poor countries with experts, funds, and equipment. The poor countries are becoming armed at an extraordinary speed. They kept 25% or 35% of their budget for defense and left no budget for other services. The countries in which the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan penetrated are storing and storing battle wares produced by these trusts as if they went barking mad”.

Baykurt’s definition of the Plan summarizes the purpose of this paper. His dissatisfaction with foreign investment and aids is vividly depicted. He notably allegorizes the fact that an important outcome of the Marshall Plan is that Turkey has to pay a price for it. In order not to pay an irreversible price, his characters in the novel destroy everything the Americans build according to the covert aims of the Plan as Baykurt asserts. Baykurt uses Temeloş, the watchman and the protagonist, as an opposing voice to indicate and warn the Turkish society that Americans coming to the village are not “saviors”. Temeloş sees them as the enemy when they first visit them. Baykurt’s other characters are American-sided and do not give any importance or sensitivity to Turkish interests. In this way, the author tells the reader that there may always be people who care about their interests more than those of their own country.

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