



Ceyhun Öğreten

Dr., İstanbul/Türkiye

Dr., İstanbul/Turkiye



eposta: ogretenceyhun@gmail.com



<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3118-9304>



RorID: [https://ror.org/..](https://ror.org/)

Atıf/Citation: Öğreten, C., 2024. Turkish-American Relations: 10th Anniversary Celebrations of American Aid and Propaganda. *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 12/41, 244-260.

<https://doi.org/10.33692/avrasyad.1492329>

Makale Bilgisi / Article Information

Yayın Türü / Publication Type:	Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article
Geliş Tarihi /Received:	30.05.2024
Kabul Tarihi/Accepted:	05.07.2024
Yayın Tarihi/Published:	15.12.2024

TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS: 10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF AMERICAN AID AND PROPAGANDA

Abstract

The economy of Turkey, which did not actively participate in the Second World War, was negatively affected by the defence measures taken. After the war, the Soviets' demand for Turkish territory and their desire to change the Montreux Convention in their favour prevented Turkey from relaxing politically and economically. America felt that Europe, whose economies had been devastated by the war, should be supported against possible Soviet expansion and reconstruction, and wanted Turkey to be considered along with Greece, which needed military aid. In this regard, Turkey was included in the military aid programme announced by President Truman and benefited from military aid within the framework of the Truman Doctrine. This development, which raised Turkish-American relations to the level of an alliance, marked a turning point in relations between the two countries. After this doctrine, which was an anti-communist propaganda, America continued to provide military and economic aid for the reconstruction of Europe, and Turkey was included in this aid. Propaganda, which was seen as an important weapon in the Second World War, became one of the most important actors in the struggle between the two superpowers with the Cold War. In line with the Truman Doctrine and subsequent aid programmes, America continued its propaganda activities in the countries receiving aid, emphasising that communism was a security threat to these countries. The two superpowers used propaganda to put pressure on their enemies, and it was also used effectively in their own domestic political decisions. The aim of this study is to examine the celebrations that America is planning to hold in Turkey on the 10th anniversary of the Truman Doctrine and to evaluate them in terms of American propaganda.

Keywords: Turkish-American relations, Truman Doctrine, propaganda, American aid, development exhibition





TÜRK-AMERİKAN İLİŞKİLERİ: AMERİKAN YARDIMLARININ 10'UNCU YIL KUTLAMALARI VE PROPAGANDA

Öz

İkinci Dünya Savaşı'na aktif olarak katılmayan Türkiye'nin ekonomisi alınan savunma tedbirleri nedeniyle olumsuz etkilenmiştir. Savaşın ardından Sovyetlerin Türkiye'den toprak talebinde bulunması, Montreux Boğazlar Sözleşmesi'ni lehine değiştirme isteği Türkiye'nin siyasi ve ekonomik olarak rahatlamasını engellemiştir. Amerika, savaştan ekonomileri yıkılmış olarak çıkan Avrupa'nın yeniden imarı ve olası bir Sovyet yayılcılığına karşı desteklenmesi gerektiğini düşünmüş, askeri açıdan yardım yapılması gereken Yunanistan'la birlikte Türkiye'nin de değerlendirmeye alınmasını istemiştir. Bu doğrultuda Başkan Truman tarafından açıklanan askeri yardım programına dahil edilen Türkiye, Truman Doktrini kapsamında askeri yardımdan faydalandırılmıştır. Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerini müttefiklik boyutuna taşıyan bu gelişme iki ülke ilişkileri açısından bir dönüm noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Anti-komünist propagandanın somutlaştığı bu doktrin sonrası Avrupa'nın yeniden imarı için Amerika, askeri ve ekonomik yardımlara devam etmiş, Türkiye de bu yardımlar kapsamına alınmıştır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'yla önemli bir silah olduğu anlaşılan propaganda, Soğuk Savaş'la birlikte iki süper güç arasındaki mücadelenin de en önemli aktörlerinden biri olmuştur. İki süper güç, propagandayı kullanarak düşmanı üzerinde baskı kurmayı amaçlamış ayrıca kendi peyklerinin iç siyasi kararlarında da etkili şekilde kullanılmıştır. Amerika Truman Doktrini ve sonrası başlattığı yardım programları doğrultusunda yardımlardan yararlanan ülkeler üzerinde propaganda faaliyetlerini sürdürmüş, komünizmin bu ülkeler için güvenlik tehdidi olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Amerika tarafından Truman Doktrininin 10'uncu Yılı dönümünde Türkiye'de yapılmasını istediği kutlamaları incelenmek ve Amerikan propagandası açısından değerlendirmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk-Amerikan ilişkileri, Truman Doktrini, propaganda, Amerikan yardımı, kalkınma sergisi

Introduction

Propaganda began with the existence of man and developed with man. It was used by the missionary communities in Rome in the 17th century for a religious purpose to spread Christianity (Çankaya 2008: 22), but it was actually used in the political field during the period of revolutions in the last quarter of the 18th century (Bektaş 2002: 80-85). The phenomenon, which increased in the 19th century, reached its peak in the 20th century with the development of mass media. Propaganda, which became a weapon used effectively by states in every field between the two wars, was used effectively to win the war, to spread a political, economic or military ideology (Akarcalı 2003: 217 and 236).

However, the development of radio and cinema during and before the Second World War brought the phenomenon to a different dimension with the methods used by the Ministry





of Propaganda of Hitler's Germany (Kinder and Helgemann 1995: 194). During the Second World War, the parties used radio effectively to persuade the local population in the occupied territories, to spread ideologies such as Nazism, Fascism and Communism, and to psychologically destroy enemies.

Propaganda was the main argument in the Cold War that began between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, after the Second World War. Throughout the Cold War, the two superpowers strove to eliminate propaganda against them and to make their own propaganda effective.

The propaganda of the United States of America against the Soviets developed on the axis of anti-communism, and anti-communism was effectively used in the domestic politics of all its allies. The US used anti-communist propaganda to win over countries opposed to the Soviets and to revive the shattered economies of Europe. To increase its influence in non-communist countries and to prevent the spread of communism through propaganda activities in this direction, it installed pro-American governments, supported military coups and thus institutionalised its economic, military and political influence (Chomsky 2003: 192-195). It has also carried out activities in countries under its influence to promote and disseminate American culture and liberal economic policies (Ataöv 1969: 275-277).

This article analyses the "Celebrations for the 10th Anniversary of American Aid/Cooperation" and the American propaganda dictated by the United States in 1957 on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Truman Aid provided by the United States to Turkey, which joined the Western bloc against the Soviet threat and expansionism after the Second World War. Literature, official publications and archival documents were used in the research.

1. Turkish-American relations and Truman Aid

Turkish-American relations began in the late eighteenth century in the Maghreb region, which included Tunisia, Tripoli and Algeria, within the framework of trade and missionary activities (Erhan 2015: 37-45), and relations took on an official dimension with the Seyr-i Sefâin Trade Treaty of 1830, which provided for the construction of the Ottoman navy, the granting of trade rights to America at the level of the rights granted to the most privileged nation, and the right to enter the Black Sea (Mordoğan, 2010, pp. 13-18).

After the signing of the treaty, David Porter was appointed as the American chargé d'affaires in Istanbul and consulates were opened in many cities of the Ottoman Empire. The first Ottoman official in America was Zapçioğlu Abraham, who was appointed as a prince in 1845 to carry out commercial activities. When it was realised that the missions would not be limited to commercial activities, Bulak Bey was appointed as the intermediate ambassador to Washington in 1867 (Bulut 2008: 14-15).





Turkish-American Relations: 10th Anniversary Celebrations of American Aid and Propaganda

In addition to trade, educational, political, legal, economic and military relations were established. American schools were opened within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, the purchase of arms from the US began after 1869, and the extradition and nationality treaties were signed between the two countries in 1874 (Arslan, 2018: 4). Relations, which had developed in good faith for almost half a century, began to deteriorate with the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78. After the war, the US intervened in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire, citing the Armenian question, and was instrumental in the Armenian rebellions between 1889 and 1896 (Yuvalı 1991: 204).

Relations between the two countries came to a halt during the First World War, when the Ottoman Empire broke off relations with America on 20 April 1917 at the request of the Germans. The two countries, which had no relations during the War of Independence, resumed their relations on 6 August 1923 with the signing of the trade and extradition agreements agreed at the Lausanne Conference. These agreements entered into force on 17 February 1927, about four years after they were signed, with mutual notes (Şimşir 1997: 277-325). On 1 October 1929, the first official agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United States was signed with the "Trade and Seyrisefain" agreement, in which both sides would treat each other as the "most favoured nation" (Armaoğlu 1991: 113-115). In the articles of the treaty that provided for the re-establishment of Turkish-American relations, it was decided that the agreement on the return of criminals signed in Lausanne would be submitted to the approval of the parties and that Americans in Turkey and Turks in America would be treated according to these principles until new agreements came into force (Şimşir 1997: 325).

From 1930, Turkey's weight in international politics increased and it was accepted as a member of the League of Nations (Ekinci 2002: 512). Despite these activities, Turkey did not actively participate in the Second World War in terms of international relations but tried to keep its army ready (Eroğul 1998: 20). Throughout the war, Turkey maintained a policy of neutrality, but did not neglect to seek bilateral and multilateral agreements to secure itself. In this vein, the Mutual Assistance Treaty signed between Turkey and the United Kingdom on 12 May 1939 provided Turkey with the necessary military assistance and security against attack during the war. Although the policy of neutrality adopted during the war led to mistrust towards Turkey towards the end of the war, Britain did not want to give up on Turkey. It tried to include Turkey in the Lend and Lease Act, which was passed by the US on 11 March 1941 to support the Allies. Immediately after President Roosevelt's declaration that neutral countries could also benefit from the aid, President Roosevelt instructed the Secretary of War to include Turkey in the aid programme, as Turkey was important to America's security and interests. This decision brought a new dimension to the relations between the two countries (Gürbüz 2010: 143-144). On 30 November 1941, the US began to provide aid to Turkey and by 1944, \$95 million worth of war material had been provided (Mordoğan 2010: 71). However, the continuation of Turkish-German trade and military relations throughout





the Second World War, and in particular the Non-Aggression Pact signed between Turkey and Germany on 18 June 1941, was not well received by the United States and the Allies and led to the suspension of aid to Turkey under the Lend-Lease Treaty in March 1944 (Barkay 2001: 55).

Due to the Soviet threat that emerged towards the end of the war, Turkey had to continue the passive defence measures that it had implemented throughout the war, and this situation put the need for American support against the Soviet threat on the agenda (Uslu 2000: 19). A military aid agreement was signed on 23 February 1945 when Turkey declared war on Germany (Güler 2004: 211), but at the end of the war the aid was stopped, and Turkey could only receive aid from the United Kingdom (Tunçkanat 1975: 23-26). Another agreement with the USA was the Loan Agreement signed on 27 February 1946. According to this agreement, which was important in terms of making Turkey dependent on American trade, the war surplus military equipment held by America was purchased with a loan of 10 million dollars (Tunçkanat 1975: 26). Immediately after this agreement, the body of Ambassador Münir Ertegün was brought to Istanbul by the American warship Missouri on 5 April 1946, which raised the relationship between the two countries to the level of an alliance (Hülman 1961: 73-74). This development was also a clear message to the Soviets, who demanded a change in the status of the Straits (Ertem 2009: 377-397).

After the Second World War, Britain informed the United States that it would cut off its wartime aid to Turkey and Greece, starting the process that would lead to a decades-long alliance (Sönmezoğlu 2006: 37). Contrary to British thinking, America believed that Greece and Turkey should be supported militarily against the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence (Acheson, 1969, pp. 218-219). It was in this direction that the foundations were laid for the "Truman Doctrine", which marked the beginning of Turkish-American aid/cooperation. President Truman made a statement to the Senate and House of Representatives on 12 March 1947, requesting \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece (\$100 million was earmarked for Turkey) to be made available by 30 June 1948, and following approval by the Senate and House of Representatives, the Aid to Greece and Turkey Act was approved by President Truman on 22 May 1947 (Satterthwaite 1972: 78). The treaty partially averted the Soviet threat. After the declaration of the doctrine, Turkey's foreign policy was based on close relations with the West (Geçikli 2014: 11). Some provisions of the agreement were criticised in Turkish public opinion as deviating from the principle of full independence, and therefore the articles were softened, and the clause granting free broadcasting and monitoring to the American press and radio, which would propagandize the aid, was drafted in line with Turkey's commentary and in such a way as not to affect the security of either country (Ertem 2009: 389).

In accordance with the agreement, an American delegation led by General Oliver arrived in Turkey on 23 May 1947 and carried out inspections (Kirk 1952: 38). In 1948, a large amount of American weapons and equipment were transferred to Turkey. In return for the





Turkish-American Relations: 10th Anniversary Celebrations of American Aid and Propaganda

promised \$100 million in military aid, \$87.5 million was delivered. Turkey received \$95 million in aid under the Truman programme until the Mutual Defence Act was passed on 6 October 1949, and military aid continued until 1952, reaching up to \$700 million (Karakas 2008: 291-293).

The Truman Doctrine marked the beginning of the development of European economies against the Soviet threat. The Truman Doctrine's military aid only prioritised the economic recovery of Europe. It was considered necessary to keep the full capacity of Europe out of the Soviet sphere of influence and away from Communist propaganda (Hogan 1987: 26). In this vein, the foundation of the Marshall Plan was laid with the speech of US Secretary of State George Marshall on 5 June 1947, in which he foresaw that America should provide economic aid to Europe in order to develop Europe economically and keep it away from the threat of communism, and it constituted the second measure taken against the Soviets after the Truman Doctrine (McFadyen 1965: 542). Under the Marshall Plan, the US agreed to provide \$17 billion in aid by 30 June 1952 (Eyüboğlu 1948: 88-91). Under the Marshall Plan, Turkey received \$210 million in aid between 1948 and 1953 (Erhan 1996: 287).

After 1952, most American aid came in the form of grants. Together with these, it is estimated that \$600 million of American aid was sent under the Marshall Plan by 1957 (Arda 2018: 64-65). In 1957, a report submitted to the Parliament announced that American economic aid amounted to 800 million dollars, including the period 1956-1957, and military aid to 1 billion 700 million dollars (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.36).

Turkish-American relations continued throughout the 1950s as an alliance and as part of the responsibilities of NATO membership. Turkey's economic problems after 1955 challenged the Democratic Party government, and the power struggles turned Turkish-American relations into a domestic issue (Çakır 2004: 60-61). The loans requested by Turkey could not be granted without stabilisation measures and devaluation. Apart from this, the US silence in the disputes between the Soviets and Turkey after 1955 led to a loosening of bilateral relations. The "Celebration of the 10th Anniversary of American Aid", which is considered extremely important in terms of American propaganda and anti-communist propaganda, was requested at such a time.

2. Celebration of the 10th anniversary of American aid (1957)

The first initiative for the celebrations came from the American Embassy. In a letter sent to the Turkish Foreign Ministry in February 1957, it proposed a joint programme to mark the 10th anniversary of the Truman Doctrine in Turkey, as in Greece, starting on 12 March 1957. The Embassy requested a planning programme focusing on economic development projects in Turkey over the past five years. In the proposed programme; An official dinner to be given by the American Ambassador on 12 March 1957; the organisation by the General





Directorate of Press, Publications and Tourism of an exhibition entitled “10 Years of Development” showing in pictures all the phases of economic development in Turkey; the issue of a commemorative stamp and a competition among local artists to determine the model of the stamp; the organisation of a photography competition throughout Turkey; a one-hour Turkish broadcast on the Voice of America Radio programme, A series of speeches, seminars and conferences jointly organised by the national organisations, universities and chambers of commerce of both sides, and a presentation on Turkey's development by a Turkish economist (TBTDA, 502. 24174.105967.39-40).

Turkish officials were concerned that the proposed projects would not be completed in time for the anniversary, but American official Wells' proposal to extend all activities except the dinner to 1957 was welcomed by Melih Esenbel, Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs. Esenbel said that all projects would be coordinated by İsmail Soysal, a representative of the Foreign Ministry, and that the Director of Press, Radio and Tourism had been instructed to approve the exhibition programme with the United States Information Service (USIS). Esenbel explained that the plan was not to focus on American aid, but to look at Turkey's overall development, pointing out that the aid programme had been launched after Turkey's own efforts (TBTDA, 502.24174-105967-38). Esenbel may have been warned by the Turkish government not to turn the celebrations into American propaganda.

In order to discuss the programme proposed by the American Embassy, a committee consisting of representatives of the relevant ministries was formed on behalf of the Turkish Council of Ministers (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.34).¹ The committee discussed the American proposal on 5 March 1957. Accordingly, the proposal for a dinner to be given by the American Ambassador as part of the activities on 12 March 1957 was accepted. It was decided to organise a competition for the issue of stamps indicating the importance of the day, to have the American News Centre make promotions on the subject in the display centres in Turkey, to make broadcasts in the Turkish press and radio, and to have the Publications Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepare a ‘Radio Newspaper’ and a ‘Today in the Past’ programme by notifying the agencies.

In the second phase, between 13 March and 15 June 1957, conferences were to be organised by universities, the Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the American News Bureau, and speeches were to be prepared in advance in such a way as to

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs: İsmail Soysal and Erdem Erner. Ministry of Defence: Major Sedat Gündođdu. Ministry of Nafia: Mithat Demirkurt. Ministry of Education: Emin Hekimgil. Ministry of Economy and Trade: Zeki Dođan. Ministry of Agriculture: Abdi Bozođlu and Mustafa Salkaya. Ministry of Health and Interior. Ministry of Health and Interior: Dr Mustafa Gørsün. Ministry of Enterprises: Ferruh Sanır. Machinery and Chemicals: Fikret Altinel. Etibank: Neciř Kırıl and Türkan Adalı. Mineral Research and Exploration Organisation: Sehavet Mersinođlu. General Directorate of Press and Tourism: Melih Bařar and Suat Tenik. Directorate General of Statistics: Turan Ayvalı.





Turkish-American Relations: 10th Anniversary Celebrations of American Aid and Propaganda

avoid unpleasant discussions, political bickering and demagoguery about American aid. It was stated that precautions would be taken to ensure that there would be no question-and-answer sessions at the conferences. It was thought that the first conference would be on American aid to Turkey and its consequences, the second on the Truman Doctrine and the importance of Turkish-American cooperation, and the last on Turkish-American economic cooperation in the private sector (joint facilities, oil companies, etc.). Prof. Dr. Fadıl Hakkı Sur was commissioned to write an article by a Turkish economist, and it was decided that the article would be published as a pamphlet. Promotion on Voice of America Radio was accepted as proposed.

In the third phase of the celebrations, between 15 June and 30 October 1957, it was decided that an exhibition entitled "Ten Years of Development" would be organised by the General Directorate of Press, Publications and Tourism. The exhibition was to be held in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, in Istanbul between 15 June and 30 July 1957 at Gülhane Park during the Flower Festival celebrations, in Izmir between 20 August and 20 September 1957 at the Izmir Fair and in Ankara between 1 and 30 October 1957 at Gençlik Park. It was stated that only pictures and films to be taken by American experts would be shown in the exhibition. They were asked to photograph military installations, dams and electrification, railways, airlines, ports, agriculture and silos, mines, industry, petroleum (state and foreign companies), meteorology, education (including universities), health and the Red Crescent, tourism and hotel management, national income, state budgets, investment in the public and private sectors and American aid (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.33).

According to the timetable set by the Turkish delegation, a stamp competition was to be held before the day of the event, and work began in the field of broadcasting on Turkish radios. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a letter to the PTT General Directorate on 12 March 1957 to organise a stamp competition for the commemorative stamp entitled "10th Anniversary of Turkish-American Cooperation" to be issued on 15 June 1957 (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.32).² It was requested that the threat of communism be brought to the fore in the programme to be broadcast on Turkish radio between 20:15 and 20:35 on 12 March 1957. The text stated that America had extended a helping hand to Greece and Turkey against communist pressure and that the importance of Truman's aid should be stressed (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.31).

After the preparations were completed, the commemoration activities began on 12 March 1957. On the first day, President Celal Bayar sent a telegram to US President Eisenhower

² On 15 June 1957, it was decided to allocate 11,000 series of 2 denominations of the stamps to be issued to the American News Centre for purchase by American officials. The Foreign Office also decided to present one hundred sets each to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Foster Dulles and former President Truman (TBTDA, 502.24174-105967-16 24).





thanking him for America's military and economic assistance, while Eisenhower sent Celal Bayar a photograph of himself in a silver frame (Cumhuriyet 19 March 1957: 1 and 5). In his message, Eisenhower drew attention to Turkey's defence and economic development.

“We applaud Turkey's achievements over the past 10 years in strengthening its position of informed leadership and the important role it has played in defending the free world. I am proud that Turkey and the United States are on the same side at this sensitive time. The cooperation between our countries is a shining example of the efforts of free nations to establish peace and security in the world” (Akşam 13 March 1957: 2).

In President Eisenhower's speech, the American press also saw the ten years of anti-communist cooperation with Greece and Turkey as “a shining example of free nations working together” and assessed it as contributing to world peace and security. It was also noted that former President Truman's invitation to Turkey had been blocked by President Eisenhower (The Evening Star 13 March 1957: 21).

In a speech broadcast on the radio, Prime Minister Menderes said that the aid sent to Turkey was not wasted and contributed to development. Menderes explained that when the Soviets, who did not renew the Treaty of Friendship, demanded land, the USA took action and extended a helping hand to Turkey and Greece with the Truman Doctrine. He said that the almost 3 billion dollars of aid given to Turkey in 10 years was mostly used in Turkey (Cumhuriyet 13 March 1957: 1 and 5).

As planned, a commemorative stamp and a photo competition were launched on 12 March by the Directorate-General for Press, Publications and Tourism. (Cumhuriyet 12 March 1957: 5). Turkish radio and press made special broadcasts, the American News Centre arranged its displays in connection with the anniversary, and the American ambassador gave a reception that evening. From 13 March until the opening of the exhibition on 1 July, the events to be held were announced. For example, it was announced that there would be conferences on 'The Political Significance of the Truman Doctrine and the Subsequent Turkish-American Cooperation' at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Ankara, 'American Aid to Turkey and its Economic Consequences' at the Faculty of Economics in Istanbul, 'Turkish-American Economic Cooperation in the Private Sector' at the Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Turkey in Ankara, and a delegation of Turkish and American experts would hold an academic debate on 'Turkish-American Political and Economic Cooperation'. (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.60).

On 14 March 1957, American leaders sent messages through the radio station “America's Voice”. Clarence Randal, who had conducted economic studies in Turkey, stated that Turkey had achieved great things in a short time and that Atatürk's dreams had become reality (Vatan 14 March 1957: 1 and 3). On the same day, Ambassador to Washington Haydar





Turkish-American Relations: 10th Anniversary Celebrations of American Aid and Propaganda

Görk, speaking on Mutual Network Radio's "Mr Ambassador" programme, said that the economic development movement was continuing, and that private enterprise had become important, especially since 1950. In the same programme, Brewster Jennings, on behalf of the Socony Mobil Oil Company, praised the role of the petroleum and foreign incentive laws enacted in Turkey (Cumhuriyet 15 March 1957: 1 and 3).

American officials asked Ambassador Warren and İsmet İnönü to write an article on Turkish-American relations in the magazine 'Dostluk', which is published by the American News Centre. The American Embassy sent a letter to İnönü in this regard. They suggested that the two articles should be published in the 1 July issue of 'Dostluk' magazine and published on the radio and in newspapers the following day. They also requested that the pamphlet entitled "10 Years of Turkish-American Development and Cooperation", which was prepared by the Publications Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, be printed by the American News Centre and that the photographs of the Turkish-American presidents and the pictures and words of Truman and İsmet İnönü be placed on the cover. It was noted by the Ministry of Expenditure that the conferences to be held within the framework of the celebrations would be held by Prof. Dr. Refik Şevki Suvla of the Istanbul Faculty of Economics, Prof. Dr. Ahmet Şükrü Esiner of the Ankara Faculty of Political Sciences and the Secretary General of the Union of Chambers (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.9)

It was announced that the USS Forrestal, the world's largest aircraft carrier of the US Navy, together with two destroyers of the US Sixth Fleet, would enter Turkish waters on March 16 in order to demonstrate Turkish-American cooperation to the whole world and especially to the Soviets (Akşam 13 March 1957: 1).³ The USS Forrestal entered Turkish waters on 18 March, the day of the Çanakkale Naval Victory, and the Dolmabahçe stadium was filled with sports, music and gunners. Istanbul Governor Fahreddin Kerim Gökay and Rear Admiral M.E. Arnold, commander of the divisional aircraft carrier, landed at the stadium in a helicopter from the Forrestal aircraft carrier. During the festival, the Forrestal Orchestra played American folk songs, sporting events, classical music and popular jazz pieces (Cumhuriyet 14 March 1957: 1 and 5). Prime Minister Menderes spent the night of 21 March 1957 on board the ship, which sailed to the Aegean. Menderes was accompanied by Deputy Defence Minister Şemi Ergin, Justice Minister Hüseyin Avni Gökçürk, Ankara deputy Mümtaz Faik Fenik, Foreign Ministry Secretary Muharrem Nuri Birgi, Chief of General Staff General İsmail Hakkı Tunaboylu and Land Forces Commander General Nureddin Aknoz, He was accompanied by Admiral Sadık Altınçan, Commander of the Naval Forces, General Fevzi Uçaner, Commander of the Air Force, Lieutenant General Mithat Akçakoca, Deputy Commander of the First Army,

³ Forrestal is 1,000 metres long and 250 metres wide, with a displacement of 60,000 tonnes and a speed of 30 knots. She can launch four aircraft every 22 seconds and carries more than 100 reaction bombers. (Akşam 13 March 1957: 1).





Admiral Aziz Ulusan, Commander of the Navy, and Koramrial Fahri Korutürk, Commander of the Straits and Marmara Naval Corps (Cumhuriyet 21 March 1957: 1 and 3).

As part of the preparations for the exhibition, which would be the main argument of American propaganda, the Foreign Ministry issued a statement calling the exhibition, which is due to open on 1 July, '10 Years of Development'. The Americans conveyed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs their requests regarding the exhibition, which would fulfil the visual propaganda function of the celebrations. They asked Adnan Menderes to invite the American ambassador, the heads of aid organisations, civilian and military officials to the opening ceremony. In addition to President Celal Bayar, the embassy requested that the deputies and all MPs, heads of foreign missions, relevant Turkish civilian and military officials, former President İsmet İnönü, some opposition leaders, consuls in Istanbul, Istanbul provincial protocol, journalists, especially Deputy Defence Minister General Tunaboğlu, Generals Altınca, Nazmi Atak, Admirals Korutürk and Ulusan attend. The Americans wanted to know who would open the exhibition and who would cut the ribbon. It was suggested by the Americans that some of Adnan Saygun's works be played as background music at the exhibition, and it was requested that these works be specially arranged at the Radio House by the Presidential Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Adnan Saygun himself (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.15).

Scheduled to open on 15 June, the exhibition was first postponed to 1 July due to technical problems, then to 14 July 1957 when the construction of the exhibition building took longer than expected (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.6), and then the İzmir exhibition was cancelled with the later decision (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.2). On 12 July, Wells and İsmail Soysal held a meeting and decided that the exhibition would be opened by the Acting Governor, Halim Alyot and American Consul General Hope would be present, and the Acting Governor would make a short speech (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.6).

The "Development in Turkey Exhibition" was opened on 14 July at 9:30 pm at the exhibition area of the Spring and Flower Festival in Gülhane Park. The opening was made by the Deputy Minister of Finance, and the ceremony was attended by the American Consul General, Robert Miner Hope, the News Director, Mr Key Adamson, the Director General of Press and Tourism, Mr Halim Alyot, and journalists (İstanbul Ekspres 16 July 1957: 1). The exhibition was opened with a short speech by Hadi Sağnak and, according to the Turkish press, around five thousand people visited the exhibition on the first day (Istanbul Haber 16 July 1957: 2). A colour film entitled "Development in Turkey", produced by the American company Dudley and Ömay Film, was shown at the exhibition (Cumhuriyet 15 July 1957: 3).





Figure1. (Dünya 15 July 1957: 2)

The exhibition attracted the attention of both the American and Turkish press, and while the focus was on Turkey's development rather than Turkish-American cooperation, the features of the exhibition tent attracted attention. An article published in the Istanbul Ekspres newspaper stated that the phrase "Kalkınan Türkiye" on the tent was no longer a phrase but a reality, and that what had been done and would be done was a great goal and a great gain for every Turk.

255

"Not a day goes by when we do not see or hear about the groundbreaking of a new factory, the opening of a new road or the construction of a new port. These are events that make us happy and rejoice. Then one day we see a vein of oil in a corner of our country. Immediately, wells are drilled, liquidators start work. Farming with modern agricultural equipment is developing with every passing day. Industry, on the other hand, is spread all over the country and is a promising source for the future. In Gülhane Park there is a tent called 'Developing Turkey'. The tent, made of plastic and with a wonderful installation, was erected in 3 days with the work of 15 people. It is like a new world inside. The atmosphere is completely different. You can also compare it to a hemisphere. Colourful lights show a bright and promising future. Screens in two rows around the tent. A curtain on one side. Opposite is a large map of Turkey. New Turkey, modern Turkey is shown here. In the middle is a projection machine. With the light given by this machine, we can see oil, tourism, health, meteorology, national education, industry, mining, transport and agriculture on the screens and canvas. The increasing number of university students in Turkey, the developing technical industry, the factories that have doubled in number compared to 1950 are all in front of our eyes with all these realities. What has been done and what will be done is a great goal and a great gain for every Turk. And it is our right to think about its continuation." (Istanbul Ekspres 16 July 1957: 3).

The article requested by İnönü on the opening day of the exhibition was not authorised by the Turkish government, and while Warren gave an interview on behalf of the US, Prime





Minister Menderes was assigned to write the article on behalf of the Turkish side (TBTDA, 502.24174.105967.8).

At the opening of the exhibition, Adnan Saygun's orchestration of Atatürk's favourite "Manastır Folk Song" was used. A large map of Turkey specially made in Germany by exhibition expert Joseph Krene was displayed (Konuk 2022: 59). Ultraviolet lights illuminated the locations of development activities on the 20-metre-long map by pressing buttons (Dünya 16 July 1957: 2). The public saw Turkey's development activities in the fields of mining, industry, education, health, tourism, ports, transport, dams, agriculture, meteorology, petroleum and national defence through a programme consisting of a 30-minute colour film, 24 colour slides and 72 colour charts (Hayat Magazine No. 49 13 September 1957: 17). More than 250,000 people visited the "Development in Turkey" exhibition, which was open between 4 July and 18 August 1957.

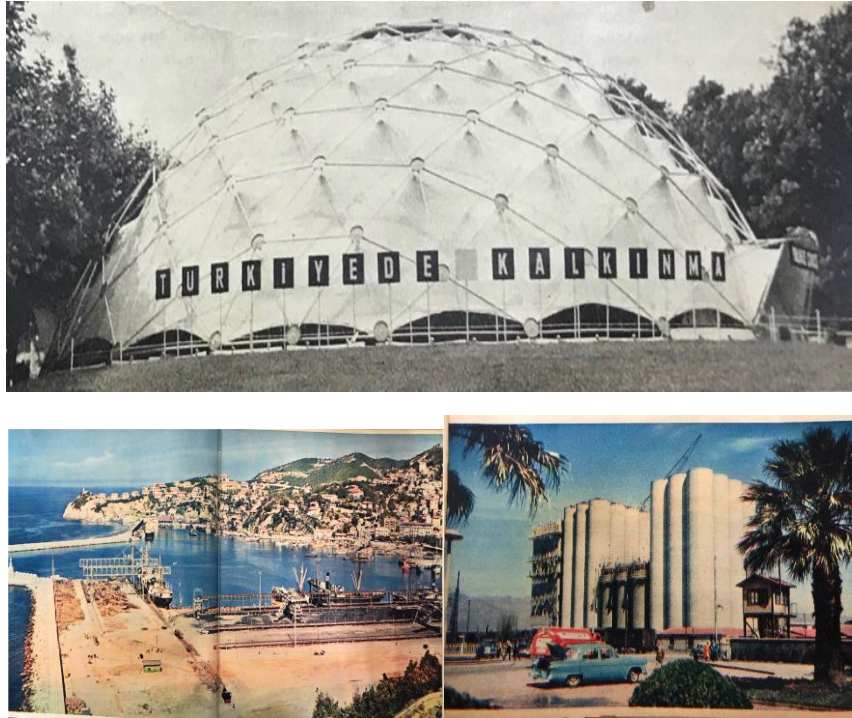


Figure 2. Photographs of the exhibition 'Development in Turkey'. Photos of the exhibition tent, Mersin port and Izmir silos (Hayat Magazine No. 49 13 September 1957: 17).

The planned commemorative stamps were issued on 1 July 1957 in an edition of 500,000, and a special first-day stamp was prepared. The main section of the winning design was a large cogwheel and an olive branch. The design symbolised industrialisation, development, peace and cooperation and was considered to represent Turkish development. (<https://koleksiyonodasi.com/01-temmuz-1957-turk-amerikan-isbirliginin-x-yili/>). 96 artists participated in the competition and Mesut Nabioğlu's composition won first prize. As the jury could not choose a runner-up, the same image was placed on both stamps. The stamps were





Turkish-American Relations: 10th Anniversary Celebrations of American Aid and Propaganda offered for sale at 25 and 40 Kuruş, for a total of 65 Kuruş. On the day of the exhibition, 50,728 first-day envelopes were stamped with a special first-day stamp. Due to the importance of the day, first day envelopes reflecting Turkish-American cooperation were also prepared and images reflecting Turkish-American cooperation were used in eight envelopes (<https://www.pulhane.com/KatalogSayfalari/k195706.html>).

In the events planned for the 10th anniversary celebrations, the perception of America as the saviour of the free world came to the fore alongside anti-communist propaganda. Turkish officials' efforts to portray American aid as a result of the Democratic Party's development policies were emphasised throughout the events. Despite these events, the deterioration in Turkish-American relations deepened after 1957.



Figure 3. Special envelopes for Turkish-American cooperation and first day stamp (<https://www.pulhane.com/KatalogSayfalari/k195706.html> and <https://koleksiyonodasi.com/01-temmuz-1957-turk-amerikan-isbirliginin-x-yili/>).

Conclusion

In the planning and the first phase of the celebrations, it was emphasised that the Turkish-American cooperation started because of the threat of communism, that Greece and Turkey were supported by the USA in this direction and American help was praised.





In the programme and planning of the celebrations, America paid attention to anti-communist propaganda. Turkey, on the other hand, tried to limit the American propaganda by emphasising that even if American aid had an impact on the development in Turkey, domestic political decisions had led to this success. It can be said that the Turkish-American relationship, which began to deteriorate after 1955, was the reason for the Turkish government to adopt such an approach.

The Turkish press showed little interest in the celebrations. The Istanbul press reported on the exhibition but was careful not to turn the celebrations into American propaganda, and attributed developments to domestic political decisions and, in particular, to DP cadres.

Although former President Truman was invited to Turkey, this request was vetoed by President Eisenhower and İsmet İnönü, who was asked to attend the celebrations, did not take part in any stage of the celebrations. In particular, İsmet İnönü's request to write an article explaining the significance of the day was not approved by the Turkish government and Adnan Menderes wrote the article for Dostluk magazine instead of İnönü. It could be argued that Menderes's decision was in order not to have a negative impact on the perception that American aid was a success for the DPs.

Although the celebrations were supposed to be discussed in the academic field, it was decided by the American propagandists that the question-and-answer sessions, which were thought to have a negative impact on American propaganda, would not be held and that the topics and speakers would be determined in advance. The aim was to prevent any possible communist propaganda during the conferences.

The celebrations are important because they show the dimensions of Turkish-American cooperation in ten years. The Turkish press, which ten years ago saw the Truman aid as a concession to full independence, praised the aid, the celebrations and, indirectly, the American propaganda.

References

- Acheson, Dean. 1969. *Present At The Creation, My Years in the State Department*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Akarcalı, Sezer. 2003. *II. Dünya Savaşında İletişim ve Propaganda*. Ankara: İmaj Yayıncılık.
- Akşam 13 March 1957.
- Arda, Furkan. 2018. "1950-1960 Döneminde Türkiye – ABD İlişkilerinin İncelenmesi". Master's Thesis, Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı, Edirne.
- Armaoğlu, Fahir. 1991. *Belgelerle Türk Amerikan Münasebetleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurum Yayınları.
- Arslan, Gürbüz. 2018. "Diplomatik İlişkilerin Kesilmesinden Stratejik Ortaklığa Giden Süreçte Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1917-1945)". *Vaküvois-Uluslararası Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3(2): 1-50.
- Ataöv, Türkkaya. 1969. *Amerika, Nato ve Türkiye*. Ankara: Aydınlık Yayınevi.





Turkish-American Relations: 10th Anniversary Celebrations of American Aid and Propaganda

- Barkay, Gül İnanç. 2001. *Amerikan Diplomasisinde Türkiye*. İstanbul: Büke Yayınları.
- Bektaş, Arsev. 2002. *Siyasal Propagandanın Tarihsel Evrimi ve Demokratik Toplumdaki Uygulamaları*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık.
- Bulut, Semih. 2008. "Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-ABD İlişkileri (1923-1938)". Doktora Tezi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü, Ankara.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2003. *Amerikan Müdahaleciliği*. İstanbul: Aram Yayıncılık.
- Cumhuriyet 12 March 1957.
- Cumhuriyet 13 March 1957.
- Cumhuriyet 14 March 1957.
- Cumhuriyet 15 March 1957.
- Cumhuriyet 19 March 1957.
- Cumhuriyet 21 March 1957.
- Cumhuriyet 15 July 1957.
- Çakır, Faruk. 2004. "Amerikan Bakış Açısından Türkiye'de 1957-1960 Dönemi Arasında Siyasal Gelişmeler ve Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri". *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 59(1): 59-88.
- Çankaya, Erol. 2008. *İktidar Bu Kapağın Altındadır / Gösteri Demokrasisinde Siyasal Reklamcılık*. İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu.
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Dışişleri Bakanlığı Türk Diplomatik Arşivi (TBTDA).
- Dünya 15 July 1957.
- Dünya 16 July 1957.
- Ekinci, Necdet. 2002. "ABD Arşiv Belgeleri ve Değişen Dünya Siyasal Konjonktürünün Işığında Mac Arthur'un Türkiye Ziyareti ve İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerine Olumlu Etkisi", *Atatürk 4. Uluslararası Kongresi*. Özel Sayı II VIII/44.
- Erhan, Çağrı. 1996. "Ortaya Çıkışı ve Uygulanışıyla Marshall Planı". *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 51(1): 275-287.
- Erhan, Çağrı. 2015. *Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Kökenleri*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Eroğul, Cem. 1998. *Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Ertem, Barış. 2009. "Türkiye-ABD ilişkilerinde Truman Doktrini ve Marshall Planı". *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 12(21): 377-397.
- Eyüboğlu, Cemal. 1948. "Marshall Planı ve Türkiye". *I. Siyasi İlimler Mecmuası*, XVIII (206): 86-91.
- Geçikli, Recep Murat. 2014. "Menderes Hükümetleri Dönemi Türkiye-Amerika Birleşik Devletleri İlişkileri (1950-1960)". Doktora Tezi, Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri Ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü, Erzurum.
- Güler, Yavuz. 2004. "II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950)", *Gazi Üniversitesi Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, V/2: 209-224.
- Gürbüz, M. Vedat. 2010. "Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinde İttifak Sürecinin Başlaması". *Sosyal Ekonomik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 10(19): 139-170.





Hayat Magazine No. 49 13 September 1957.

Hogan, Michael J. 1987. *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<https://koleksiyonodasi.com/01-temmuz-1957-turk-amerikan-isbirliginin-x-yili/> (Erişim Tarihi: 25.02.2024).

<https://www.pulhane.com/KatalogSayfaları/k195706.html> (Erişim Tarihi: 25.02.2024).

İstanbul Ekspres 16 July 1957.

Karakaş, Nuri. 2008. "Türk Amerikan Siyasi İlişkileri". Doctorate Thesis, Ege Üniversitesi Siyasi Bilimler Enstitüsü, İzmir.

Kinder, Hermann and Hilgemann, Werner. 1995. *Atlas of World History volume 2 From the French Revolution the Present*. Penguin Books.

Kirk, George. 1952. *The Middle East in the War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Konuk, Ece. 2020. "Gülhane Parkı'na Biyopolitik Bir Bakış: Bahar ve Çiçek Bayramı'nda Anlatılar, Bedenler ve İktidar". Master's Thesis, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Ana Bilim Dalı, İstanbul.

McFadyen, B.D. 1965. "The Truman Doctrine: Its Origin and Evolution". Doctorate thesis, University of Colorado, Colorado.

Mordoğan, Cavidan. 2010. "Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinde Kriz Diplomasisi" Master's Thesis, Atılım Üniversitesi Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul.

Sönmezoğlu, Faruk. 2006. 2. *Dünya Savaşı'ndan Günümüze Türk Dış Politikası*. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları.

Satterthwaite, Joseph C. 1972. "The Truman Doctrine: Turkey". *American Academy of Political and Social Science Annals* 401 (1): 74-84.

Şimşir, Bilal N. 1997. "Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Yeniden Kurulması ve Ahmet Muhtar Bey'in Vaşington Büyükelçiliği (1920-1927)". *Belleten* XLI (162): 277-356.

The Evening Star 13 March 1957.

Tunçkanat, Haydar. 1975. *İkili Anlaşmaların İç Yüzü: İktisadi, Askerî, Siyasi*. Ankara: Ekim Yayınları.

Uslu, Nasuh. 2000. *Türk- Amerikan İlişkileri*. Ankara: 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları.

Ülman, Haluk. 1961. *Türk-Amerikan Diplomatik Münasebetleri: 1939-1947*, Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası.

Vatan 14 March 1957.

Yuvalı, Abdülkadir. 1991. "Ermeni İsyanlarında Misyoner Okullarının Rolü", *Yakın Tarihimizde Kars ve Doğu Anadolu Sempozyumu*, Kars Valiliği ve Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları.

