THE EFFECT OF MARSHALL AID ON SOCIAL-CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF TURKEY (1948-1960)

MARSHALL YARDIMININ TÜRKIYE'NIN SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL YAPISINA ETKISI (1948-1960)

Hilal KARAVAR*

Abstract

President Truman spoke about the first time that the world was divided into two ideologies at the American Congress on March 2, 1947. According to America, Europe had to be strengthened economically and spiritually against Soviet expansion. Marshall who was foreign affairs minister of America predicted the recovery of Europe as a whole with Marshall Plan in his speech at Harvard University On June 5, 1947. The Marshall Program approved in Congress in 1948, raised economic aid from the national level to the regional (all European continent) level by emphasizing economic repair. Actually, although Turkey sat out of World War II, they benefited from the Marshall Aid. Marshall Aid which affected in Turkey while the devolepment of social cultere of life. Thus resulting in the recognation of the broad masses of the American way of life in Turkey. In addition it is observed in that priod under review replaces the American culture of Western culture in Turkey. So there was a great interest especially in luxury consuptions. This article prepared with the help of Turkish archival documents which are first-hand sources and period newspapers provides crucial information about the role of Cold War on cultural transfer by way of analysing the effect of Marshall Plan on the case of Turkey in terms of cultural transfer. Additionally, this article emphasizes that while there was a striking relationship between economic programs from 1923 till the period of benefiting from Marshall Aid in Turkey, there is an aspect which must have been neglected in some studies conducted on Marshall Plan.

Key Words: Democratic Party, culture, Marshall Aid, rock's roll, social life **Özet**

2 Mart 1947'deki Amerikan Kongresinde Başkan Truman, ilk kez dünyanın iki ideoloji arasında bölündüğünden bahsetti. Amerika'ya göre, Avrupa'nın Sovyet yayılmacılığına karşı ekonomik ve manevi olarak güçlendirilmesi gerekiyordu. 5 Haziran 1947'de Amerika Dışişleri Bakanı Marshall, Harvard Üniversitesindeki konuşması ki Marshall Planı olarak adlandırılan bu nutuk, Avrupa'nın bir bütün

Dr. Öğretim Görevlisi, Akdeniz Üniversitesi – Antalya / TÜRKIYE hilalkaravar@hotmail.com Orcid: 0000-0002-3976-2649

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

olarak iyileşmesini öngörmekteydi. 1948'de Kongre'de onaylanan Marshall Programı ekonomik tamire vurgu yaparak ekonomik yardımları ulusal düzeyden bölgesel (tüm Avrupa kıtası) düzeye çıkarır. Aslında II. Dünya Savaşına girmemiş olmasına rağmen Türkiye de Marshall Yardımından yararlanır. Marshall Yardımı, Avrupa'nın tekrar kalkınmasını sağlarken Türkiye'de asıl etkilenen toplumsal kültürdür. Böylece Amerikan hayat tarzının Türkiye'de geniş halk kitleleri tarafından tanınmasıyla sonuçlanır. Yine incelenen dönem içinde Türkiye'de Amerikan kültürünün Batı kültürünün yerini aldığı gözlemlenir. Özellikle lüks tüketime karşı büyük bir ilgi oluşur. Birinci el kaynak olan Türk arşiv belgeleri ve dönemin gazetelerinden faydalanılarak hazırlanan bu çalışma Marshall Planının Türkiye örneği üzerinden kültür transferi açından incelenmesiyle Soğuk Savaşın kültür transferindeki rolü hakkında önemli bilgiler vermektedir. Ayrıca bu çalışma Türkiye'nin 1923'ten Marshall yardımını alana kadar uyguladığı ekonomik programlarla, milli kültür/bağımsızlık arasında çarpıcı bir ilişki olduğunu keşfederken Marshall Planı hakkında yapılan araştırmalarında genellikle ihmal edilmiş olan bir yönünü vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Demokrat Parti, kültür, Marshall Yardımı, rock's roll, sosyal hayat

Introduction

The system in which there is no party other than a single party in the country regime and the country administration being under the monopoly of this single party is called the "single-party system". The single-party system is divided into sub-categories as totalitarian, authoritarian and pragmatic in itself (Mutlu, 2013, s.55). The single party is often used in backward or underdeveloped countries to achieve national integration or achieve economic and social modernization. The single-party system remains in practice until this process is completed in societies that have not completed the nationalization process as the multi-party system threatens tribal divisions and ethnic or religious divisions to emerge through parties. The preference here is determined by the conditions of the country rather than the personal tendencies of the rulers (Kışlalı, 2010, s.311). Implementation of the singleparty system in Turkey between the years 1923-1946 is based on more pragmatic application of sub-categories. Because this period is actually considered as a transition period for the development of the bourgeoisie and at the same time creating the necessary conditions of pluralist politics (Mutlu, 2013, s.55).

It is possible to define culture as a general relationship and interaction that combines the nature and self-change activity of man in the production and reproduction process of material life. In this case, it is necessary to have a good time, resting and doing non-work activities to reproduce labor other than eating, sleeping and drinking. These activities, on the other hand, are based on

what is given to him in the social structure rather than what he / she has determined (Yaylagül, 2004, s.23). The cultural policy of a country is formed in line with the preferences, beliefs and values of the institutions and is directly affected by the cultural structure of that country. It is possible to divide these policies into two as social development and economic development. The reason why both economy and social life are included in cultural policy is that all kinds of values in life are formed by the interaction of these two concepts (Özdemir, 2018, s.3). There are activities for globalization and protection of culture at national and local level within the cultural policies which aim at developing social life. Economically, it includes studies such as urban transformation and new branches of industry (Oğuz, 2011, s.5-6). However, the production style of non-industrial societies is determined by the imperialist production style in the world system on which they depend, rather than their own power (Yaylagül, 2004, s.22). Imperialism has been consisted of five dimensions as economic, political, military, communicative and cultural. There is a imposition of its own culture on other states around the imperial state for the purpose of controlling and placing capitalist values in the cultural dimension of imperialism (Girgin, 2002, s.46-47). This brings a new concept: "Cultural imperialism". It is called cultural imperialism that imperialist countries instill their own culture and life into the country they exploit (Yaylagül, 2004, s.24). This leads us to another concept which is "Popular culture". Then, it is necessary to open up this concept a bit in terms of the content of the study. There are two assumptions for popular culture. According to the first acceptance, popular culture can be defined as the opposite of theater, opera, classical literature or classical music. Today it is mostly used to mean "the people loves". The second acceptance is a phenomenon formed to create a market in the globalizing world that is trying to be accepted by the public rather than popular culture. Herbert Gans mentioned on the negative effects of popular culture on society. According to Gans, he creates a passive audience that is prone to dictatorship and is interested in the ways of persuasion that the demagogues use and actually makes the way clear for totalitarian regimes (Sakallı, 2014, s.307-310). On the other hand, while popular culture encourages consumption; It creates wannabe in areas where consumption is not realized. Thus, the individual begins to look at life through someone else's eyes and becomes alien to his own identity (Coşgun, 2012, s.833).

This study is twofold based on the given definitions. The first is the difference / similarities between the Single Party Period and the economic and cultural policies implemented in the multi-party period. The second is to evaluate the impact of economic life on culture within the framework of the

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

concept of "cultural imperialism". Also in this study, the specific dynamics, changes and political positions of the periods are revealed.

1. Cultural Policies in the Single Party Period of 1923-1946

Nations resisting imperialism brought the concept of "national identity" to the fore. National identity, which is a part of nationalism, includes economic, political, cultural and social fields. Thus, they aim to have an independent politics, economy and culture (Yaylagül, 2004, s.29). "National identity" discourse came to the fore during the period of Atatürk in Turkey. Because, although the Ottoman Empire was an independent state, the Ottoman economy was a semi-colonial economy. With the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923) together with the removal of capitulation would be transition effort from Turkey's semi-colonial economy to a new and independent national economy. Banking, foreign trade, railways and municipal services were always in the hands of foreign capital as there was no accumulated capital in the country (Aydemir, 2017, s.322). In addition, the National Struggle was a fight against imperialism.

The most important feature of the Atatürk Period is the realization of structural reforms that would ensure independence and nationalism. The structure of the new Turkish state was determined by these reforms in the fields of political life, education, law, economy, industry, culture, art and sports. It will be appropriate to give examples of these structural reforms in order to better understand the differentiation after Ataturk.

When the first pressed coins got into circulation by the Republic of Turkey in 1924, there were also structural reforms in economic field such as removing the Cabotage Law, purchasing Anatolia Haydarpaşa Port and railway companies from foreign companies. Structural reforms in the field of industry include laying the foundations of the iron and steel industry and opening the Kayseri Aircraft and Engine Factory (Eğilmez, 2018, s.135). The foundations of the Şakir Zümre Bomb Factory were laid in 1925. The factory, which produces three hundred, five hundred and a thousand pounds of bombs. exported to countries such as Greece, Poland, Egypt and Bulgaria. The factory was transformed into a stove factory as a result of America's producing bombs in the Second World War. Another investment was the establishment of Nuri Demirağ's aircraft factory. However, it crashed to the ground on the trial flight with the engineer who designed the aircraft and all orders were canceled given by the Turkish Aeronautical Association and Demirag's factory was closed. Another factory in the field of arms industry is the gun factory of Nuri Killigil. This factory, which exported arms to the Middle East, had an explosion in 1949, and Nuri Killigil and 27 employees died (Sanayi, 2017, s.72-73).

However, Turkey has continued to work to establish arms industry in the period of Atatürk.

The establishment of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra, the establishment of the first theater called "National Theater" in Ankara, opening of Community Centres (closed during Menderes period) and State Conservatory were among structural reforms in the fields of culture, arts and sports (Eğilmez, 2018, s.136). Public Reading Rooms were opened in 1930 so that adults can not forget what they have learned and gain a habit of reading. Public Houses and Public Rooms were opened in 1932 to spread Turkish culture and teach literacy activities to a wide audience and raise adults in many fields including sports and fine arts. In 1936, Village Trainer Courses were opened and deficiencies of teachers were tried to be eliminated (Türkdoğan, 2011,s.54). Thus, the cultural level of the public was tried to be increased. The reason was that Turkey had lost the educated population in the the Balkan Wars and First World War period.

Atatürk mentioned in one of his speech about culture that (İnan, 2019, s.373-374):

"It is a movement that shows the whole historical course of a nation. Today folks are living proof of the existence and maintenance work for, but mainly they are based on: unless they find the roots of the culture itself, their foundation will not be solid foundation ... The Republic of Turkey has been keeping culture flourish in the current circumstances. Although this is definitely a place, Turkish culturalists give importance to the past and investigate the depths of the past and history."

The most distinctive feature of his period is the idea of creating a nation that can be understood from Atatürk's thought on culture. Cultural unity is necessary to create a nation. It is possible to evaluate the establishment of the Turkish History and Turkish Language Institutions, the opening of the Community Centres and the enactment of the Law on Unity of Education as innovations to ensure cultural unity. In this case, it can be said that nationality was at the forefront for the Atatürk Period. When we look at the developments in the economic field, the railroads owned by foreign companies since 1924 were bought and made new, and the contribution to the formation of the national market for the purpose of becoming a nation. Because they did not employ Turkish workers on the German, British and French concession railroads, except for a few conductors, firemen and civil servants in remote areas. It was among the goals of the Atatürk Period to liquidate foreign companies through statism and operate them with all Turkish personnel (Atay, 2012, s.523). Another reason for the application of the statism principle is the

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

words of Lord Curzon's against İsmet Pasha in Lausanne (Aydemir, 2019, s.336): "When you need development tomorrow, you will come to us again and open a hand for us. Now we will take the papers that we put into our pocket one by one, then.".

We can give the Keçiborlu factory as an example of the effect of the economy on the culture. People who saw the factory managers from other cities started to live and dress better with the opening of the factory. Habits changed in Keçiborlu and the bazaar started to be functional (*Cumhuriyet*, 1936, s.3). The Ergani factory, another factory that was opened during the Atatürk period, also changed its environment. Bakırspor Youth Club was established based on the factory. While the sports branches such as water sports and basketball were taught to the workers working in the factory, literacy and vocational courses were also given (Ergene,1995:85). Another example of economic cultural change occurred with the construction of the Karabük factory (Karavar, 2019, s.179):

"The headman, who took Cemal Kutay around Karabük, said," We will have big city houses built instead of these old houses. These mudbrick houses are no longer in our village. We are ashamed of those who came..." In addition, another villager said, "We wish you had come after our village was rebuilt." They give clues about how the transformation in Karabük actually is. In his copy of the newspaper dated April 7, 1937, Cemal Kutay continued to write his impressions. He noted that the village children of Karabük used to listen to the radio of the British engineers and listened to the engineers in certain parts of the day."

Atatürk carried out his reforms especially with education. Because he knew that reforms would not last long without establishing an education system that would spread and teach reforms (Tonybee, 2000, s.110). He gave priority to the formation of national art. Thus, artists were used to introduce the principles of the new Turkish state to the remotest villages. It was aimed to complete the process of nationalization through art. For this reason, the principles of the newly established state, the difficult conditions of the National Struggle, the victories gained in this process and the role of the Turkish people in the National Struggle were studied (Şengül, 2009, s.1955). Atatürk had always repeated this idea in his speeches: "The honor of what is done belongs to the nation, not to me! (Sevük, 2017, s.43)" The topics of the plays are discussed in parallel with the history, the conquest of Anatolia, the Ottoman civilization, the role of mystics in the Turkish-Islamic culture in Anatolia. Thus, it was ensured that national identity, historical consciousness and village policies of the new state were intertwined with entertainment, especially through theater. The theater groups established in the community

centers have managed to build nation awareness and spread the basic values and principles of the Republic to the public (Şengül, 2009, s.1956). For example, in an instruction sent to the Community Houses in 1937, it was asked that theater groups increase the knowledge and manners of the people and that the suggestions of the theaters to be played will be given to each other in the form of mutual speech (BCA. 490-1-0-0/3-15-25, s.1). National opera legends and cultural elements were adapted to this branch of art, as in the theater (Gök, 2011, s.168).

After the death of Mustafa Kemal on November 10, 1938, İsmet İnönü was elected as the second president of the Republic of Turkey on November 11, 1938. The presidency of İsmet İnönü, which lasted twelve years, has two important political events: They are II. World War and the realization of multi-party life in 1946. It is the period of "One Party Power" between 1938-1946. For this reason, the period until 1946 will be examined in this section.

"İnsan" and "Yucel" magazines began to argue that there should have been be a Turkish Renaissance in Turkey since 1938 before the Second World War. Adopting this view, Hasan Âli Yücel wanted to go beyond raising the nationalist citizen of the nation-state when he became the Minister of National Education. He decided to open high schools in accordance with the spirit of national culture and humanism. As a matter of fact, a "Classic Branch" was opened to teach Latin as well as science and literature branches in some high schools in 1940 (Tekeli, 2018, s.63-64). Especially, Latin-Greek cultural elements were researched in the field of education. Translation works were taught to the public through community centers and village institutes. It was tried to implement a Western standards education system by taking Latin in the curriculum as a compulsory subject in high schools. We can evaluate the difference of these activities carried out in the İnönü Period from the Atatürk Period as transitioning to the universal culture and achieving Humanism (Gök, 2011, s.148). The foundations of the humanist approach to theater were laid with the "State Conservatories Law" enacted in 1940. Translation activities intensified and these works translated into Turkish were shown in representations. Western subjects took their place in the performing arts thanks to the professionalization of the opera branch (Gök, 2011, s.167-168).

The most important decision in the field of education during the Second World War was the opening of Village Institutes with the law numbered 3803 in 1940. The purpose of this law was to educate village teachers and other professionals who were required for the village from gifted and healthy peasant children who had completed their full-circuit village schools where there were favorable agricultural lands (Geray, 1969, s.199).

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

Although we see that Turkey remains outside of the war, we see continued cultural relationships of Turkey with allied countries. For example, the British Council gave the party instructions to the public to watch some of the films that it gifted to the Republican People's Party. Some of these films, which were screened in the Halls of Folk Houses as of May 12, 1943; British Gardens, World Gardens, Learning to Live, Coal Fortune, Liberation from the Dark, Sea Scouts, Farmer's Daily Distance, Seed Time, Shepherds' Oversight of Sheep, How the Phone Works (BCA. 490-1-0-0/1212-25-2, s.30-32). As the names suggest, the content of the films includes agriculture and mining. A movie about cotton picking methods with an American-made machine was also shown in Adana and Seyhan Community Houses in 1943 (BCA. 490-1-0-0/1210-15-2, s. 13).

2. The Impact of Marshall Aid on Socio-Cultural Life of Turkey in the period of 1946-1960.

2.1 The period of Ismet Inonu

After the end of the Second World War there was a change in domestic and foreign policy of Turkey. In the elections, the first of which was held on July 21, 1946, the DP (Democratic Party) entered the parliament with 66 deputies. The second was that the Turkish lira was devalued to enter IMF (International Monetary Fund) on September 7 in 1946. The DP, which was in opposition at the time, protested this situation. This decision brought along some liberal measures that would integrate the Turkish economy with the world economy. In the same year, although a new five-year development plan was made, it was abandoned in 1947. A new "Turkish Development Plan" was prepared, reflecting the wishes of DP and Istanbul businessmen. Emphasis was placed on free enterprise, the development of the industry based on agriculture, and road construction instead of rail with this plan (Zürcher, 2014, s.316-317). However, another important change occurred in the international arena. Marshall Aid came into force in 1948 with the approval of the American Congress. The significant aspect of Marshall Aid to be crucial for Turkey was the re-entry of Turkey into the Western financial supervision with the abolishment of capitulations by the Treaty of Lausanne and this was accepted by many commentators. Turkey was engaged in some activities as opening Imam Hatip Schools by leaving the initiative in many areas, giving up the production of certain goods and closing Village Institutes with this aid. These developments meant giving up many breakthroughs that the Republic has made since its foundation (Eğilmez, 2018, s.142). Again, the Istanbul Economic Congress of 1948 is a turning point in terms of Republic values. Because Turkey developing its economy with largely on their own resources began to put aside statist economic model by opening to the outside with the

Marshall Plan until then (Toprak, 2013, s.424-425). Truman prepared a speech for Ankara Radio on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic. The head of Truman's speech begins with the celebration of US for the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on the occasion of the 25th anniversary. The importance of Turkey's political independence and territorial integrity for the United States was claimed and the proposal for increasing the aid amount for Turkey and Greece on March, 1947 was announced to Turkish people in this speech (BCA. 30-1-0-0/101-624-13, s.1-4). Thus America was economically allied country for Turkey. The members of the American military aid team and their families, a community of approximately three thousand, settled in Ankara with Marshall Aids coming into force in 1949. Naturally, the fact that the settled families did not speak Turkish caused their relations with the Turks to be limited with Turkish cooks and servants. Ankara's indigenous families held a culture meeting at the Ankara Community Center to communicate with the Americans. The wife of Mr. Russel Dorr who was Turkish Representative of Marshall Administration and Mrs. Adnan Esenis who was the head of Girl's High School made a speech at this meeting. After that "Turkish-American Women's Culture Association" was established on 6 January 1950. This association had been involved in many activities. For example, 82 boxes of clothes were collected in two days and they distributed food with 300 blankets during the flood disaster in Eskisehir. The association, which cooperated with the Red Crescent, opened "Volunteer Hospitalists Courses". The association, which had more cultural characteristics during the first establishment period, also acted in the social life and entertainment section due to the popularity it gradually saw (Akis 1954a, s.22-23). The process of Turkey's opening up to the world with IMf and World Bank also began to show itself in the cultural sense. For example, the American Library and News Bureau, headquartered in Ankara, sent some cultural films to various Public Houses for public viewing. Public houses evaluated one of the content of the films as propaganda about the cultivation and preservation of forests and the other as warfare propaganda film about the role played by modern weapons in the wars of that day. The films that were sent attracted the attention of the public, and people who flocked from the villages watched these propaganda films with great interest. In addition, the British Delegation opened exhibitions for agriculture in Isparta Community Center in February 1948 and made films about agriculture (BCA. 490-1-0-0/1212-25-2, s. 5-14). Again, American or British cultural ambassadors began to give lectures in various cities of Turkey. For example, British Council Representative Dr. Phillips went to Zonguldak and Samsun in February 1949; After making public speeches, he showed some cultural films. He emphasized that the USA and Canada were affected by British education after comparing the Turkish

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

Education System with the British Education System. He annunced that films about innovations would be watched in all villages of Turkey up to several months in his speech. The culture films that the people watch were related to the lesson with radio, national social insurance and entrance to ballet. Seminars and art exhibitions continued to be held in various cities of Turkey in the same year by the British Council (BCA. 490-1-0-0/1017-921-2, s.1-50).

2.2 Socio-cultural changes in the period of Democratic Party

Turkey showing an effort to be part of a Western alliance after the Second World War period met with American culture and accelerated the integration process (Öztan, 2017, s.13). Of course, the economy was one of the leading events that accelerated and influenced the socialization process. Democratic Party who won the election and came to power alone in 1950 made Turkey return to liberal policies. In this context, the Petroleum Law and Foreign Capital Incentive Law was enacted. On the basis of the economic policy implemented by the DP there were: Providing incentives for the development of agriculture; Increasing credit opportunities; Infrastructure investments; their being used for development purposes by providing with external aid/such as Marshall Aid (Eğilmez, 2018, s.143). Agricultural-led growth rather than industry in which underestimating industrial enterprises of Atatürk's period as "Ataturk's minarets, a living example of the incorrect way"model was proposed with Marshall aid. Aid started in 1946 was spent in the field of road, bridge, dam, agricultural machinery in accordance with the agricultural growth model. All of a sudden, Turkey turned into a construction site. As a matter of fact, the economic growth was supported by American aid to a large extent in the first years of the Democratic Party's power (Zürcher, 2014, s.27). However, the news about the lack of American aid given to Turkey began to emerge in the Turkish press in 1951. The fact that America's rushing to European aid and their help on both repair of markets of Europe and floor of bakers; but Turkey's having less aid than Greece was criticised (Simavi, 1951, s.1). However, the role of Marshall Aid had an important role in promoting the formation of a temporary prosperity and luxury consumption in Turkey despite criticism. Thus, "America" started to take its place as an ideal culture in daily life (Güngör, 2007, s.101). During the Atatürk period, Public Houses which were established to ensure "Turkish nationalization" were considered the financial source of the CHP by Democratic Party. Therefore, while instruments such as radio and cinema, which were imported for Public Houses, were exempt from customs duties, firstly, a law proposal was made for the removal of this exception on 2 April 1951 (Millivet, 1951a, s.4). During the DP Provincial Congress held in Ankara on June 5th, the subjects such as stationery, abundance of officers and village development

were criticized, the Public Houses were mentioned to put into a shape that everyone could benefit from (*Milliyet*,1951b, s.1). Menderes stated in July 1951 that "... The property of the nation must belong to the nation." (*Milliyet*, 1951c, s. 1). Menderes showed that he accepted the Public Houses as the property of the CHP with this statement. The Democratic Party closed the Public Houses with the law numbered 5830 on August 8, 1951 (*Milliyet*, 1951d, s.3). Now, "cultural imperialism" could quickly begin to influence the Turkish society. In the first ruling years of the DP (1950-1954), the peasants adopted the idea of getting rich and moving forward. When people's purchasing power increased, products such as refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners that they could not buy before began to enter the houses (Özkurt, 2012, s.58). Of course, these products were coming from abroad because of not being produced in Turkey. For example, the advertisement of the Philips-Leonard refrigerator brand made in America is as follows:

"In order to live properly, it is necessary to get regular food. Food betting is always the most important place for all ages and everyone. Foods must be fresh in order to be beneficial. The issue of keeping food for a long time today has been taken care of thanks to the refrigerators. The important point is to choose a high quality refrigerator to be trusted (Milliyet 1952a: 8)"

Another American refrigerator brand in the Turkish market is Philco. There was an emphasis that Philco won the first place in Chicago as every year in the advertisements of this brand (Millivet 1952b, s. 8). Indeed, exemption was given with indigenous groups consisted of Cahit Tezer and George Koçis to the capital imported by Philco-Amcor Co for attempting to establish cold air cabinets and produce electrical equipment and appliances by Joint Stock Company with 865 thousand Turkish Liras capital in Turkey (BCA 30-18-1-2/146-19-14, s. 1-3). Another advertised brand belonged to General Electric. It was emphasized on its advertisement that it had broken sales records in America and was the most sought-after and trusted refrigerator brand all over the world (Milliyet 1953a, s. 8). Hotpoint brand was included in the refrigerator market of Turkey on June 1953 (Milliyet 1953b, s. 8). Demand for American goods in social life was so great that housewives who did not want to miss the products that came out of the Swap Shop stores with the announcement of "American Items for Sale" had almost attacked the places where these goods were sold. These stores were also places where old things of Americans were sold out used by Americans living in Turkey for their demand on their way back to their country. These products, which include a wide range of armchairs with broken armrests, used boxes and combos found buyers. In the face of this great demand, Americans increased

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

prices and a small vase was sold with hundred and fifty pounds and nylon laundry was sold at higher prices than store prices. Despite the fact that only three-fifths of clothing were made in Turkey, these clothes which were coked and ironed as if American style were bought by the citizens and worn with pleasure (*Akis* 1954b, s.24).

The children were given milk and fish oil pills made of milk powder that came with Marshall Aid during the 10-minute break in primary schools within the framework of the Marshall Aids. Again, orange cheeses were given in tin cans with the same help (Eğilmez, 2018, s. 142). 650 tons of food were sent to poor children living in Turkey by the United States to be distributed in the school in 1957. The food products sent by America had milk powder, butter and cheese. Red Crescent cut the hot food aid because of the distribution of these products to children in schools (Millivet 1957a, s. 2). Increasing imports of milk powder caused domestic milk producers to deteriorate. Because milk producers were selling their milk to the Milk Powder factory in Pendik. However, when the milk powders from the USA decreased the demand for the products of the domestic milk powder factories, they also started not getting milk from the producer (Milliyet 1959a, s. 3). One of the areas of Marshall Aid used in Turkey was related to highway construction. New jobs were created in roads, dams, and infrastructure services and approximately 14,000 km were built until 1960. Loans given to Turkey actually meant in a sense given incentives to American industrialists. Mechanization in agriculture gained speed parallel to the construction of the roads. While there were just two thousand tractors in Turkey in 1948, it rose up to 42.137 in 1960. Thus, the share of agricultural machinery in imports increased from 1% to 8%. Therefore, America created a new market for surplus production (Başkaya 2018, s.289-291). Of course, such a big road construction works would have social consequences. George and Barbara Helling worked in the countryside of Turkey in 1954. Their field research revealed the effect of road works planned and started to be built with the help of 1948 Marshall Aid (Özkurt, 2012, s. 60-62).

"The new structures are clearly differentiated from the old structures of the village in terms of both the material used and the form. In addition to the villagers' newspapers, the number of radio stations in the village increased, and daily newspapers started to come to the village. A cinema was opened in the village, which had electricity. There were people from other villages going to the cinema in the nearby town by bus. Changes are also noticeable within the buildings. The bed was on the way to replace the bed laid on the floor. Carpet and armchair entered the houses. There are those who ate at the table, who used porcelain plates, metal spoons and forks. There

was a gas stove and an iron in the villages.... As a change in women's clothing, those who wore coats had increased. "

Changes in culture brought with a new concept: That is "to be American", it means "like an American, worthy of an American". "American style" word was also began to be used often in sectors such as entertainment and fashion in Turkey who approached to U.S.A politically with Marshall Aid. One of the places where the term American was used was election campaigns. An "American-like" election propaganda company was established in Izmir before the 1954 elections. The name of that company was established for the first time in Turkey as "Selection Caravan". This company would introduce the candidates in the Aegean by placing speakers in two jeep cars for a fee of 500 liras he received from the parliamentary candidates. Six doctors, five traders, two grocery stores and five headmen applied to the Election Caravan company and asked for their propaganda (*Milliyet* 1954b, s. 1-7).

Another area in which the word "American" was used is "robbery" events. For example, three stylish and polite young people from Istanbul's well-known families stole a vehicle belonging to the Greek Consulate with an "American-like" theft (*Milliyet* 1950a, s. 2). In a news article titled "There was an American Robbery in Adana", it was written that bandits with faces and guns entered the citizen named Ali Yıldız and received 30 thousand liras (*Milliyet* 1954c, s. 2). In another article titled "An American-like Gangsterism Event", a group of masked and armed hands received 11 thousand 850 liras and reported to their readers that they fled the threat of "don't make a sound, otherwise..." (*Milliyet* 1955a, s. 5).

The content of the ads began to change as everything in Turkey. Turkish companies, which were inspired by the famous athletes playing in advertisements in the USA, frequently started to use football and football players as the subject of advertisement. In an article criticizing the use of footballers as advertising media, it was stated that there would be only advertising in the minds of football players and accordingly his performance would decrease. It suggested that clubs could present these advertising products to institutions such as hospital and Red Crescent instead of advertising by giving a gift to the first scorer (Millivet 1952c, s. 5). By 1954, the music tracks played on the radio began to change step by step. Performing the violin and ut tapes were criticized on the radio because of the people' desire in a criticism written in the magazine of Akis. It was suggested that the task of the intellectuals was to introduce the public better, and so more Western music was included in the radio. While Adnan Saygun could not find money to suppress the "Yunus Emre Oratorio", it was stated that the dissemination of "tavern music" by radio would decrease the pleasure of the

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

public (*Akis* 1954c, s. 28). Perhaps the reason why the Turkish singer Celal İnce's song that he wrote about America gained great popularity was the reason why the music was getting poorer. Celal İnce said that his song was a arrangement and he was influenced by the music in American films. The lyrics of the song called "Song of Friendship (https://lyricstranslate.com/tr/celal-ince-dostluk-%C5%9Fark%C4%B1s%C4%B1-lyrics.html,)":

America, America, / Turks are as the world stops, / With you, / In the War of Liberty. This is a song of friendship, / It is the echo of the brotherhood, / The blood brother we were in Korea, / The fire of this friendship doesn't blow out./ Our determination is to live free, / To provide peace in the world, / Flows always in this cause, / The love of liberty is in our soul ... "

In subsequent years, President Celal Bayar said that Turkey would be "a little America" with 50 million inhabitants 30 years later in his public meeting held at October 20, 1957 (*Milliyet* 1957b: 5).

Turkish films began to be compared with American and European films in the cinema sector. The public's complaint was that the decor and subjects of Turkish films remained more simple than American films (Milliyet 1952d, s. 3). The impact of American films also was seen on the interpretation of the professions. In an article about the secretarial profession, especially in America, beautiful-legged secretaries took poses provoking their bosses; it is stated that serious, married or elderly bosses work with less beautiful secretaries for this reason (Millivet 1955b, s.5). The film which moviegoers waiting impatiently finally entered into the display on January 14, 1957 in Turkey. It was such a movie that in the countries it was shown, for example, while playing in the UK, the seats were torn apart and the area opened to the dance floor. The only feature of the movie was the presentation of Rock Roll dance. There was a big stampede in front of the movie theater. After the Rock'n Roll movie started, it was seen that the people sitting in the front rows were throwing their jackets and dancing in intervals while whistles were playing (Millivet 1957c, s. 3). Turkish youth started to take courses to learn dances such as Sving, Mambo, Fokstrot especially with the effect of American films. When not only high school and university students but also lawmakers, prosecutors, judges and professors requested dance courses, there was an increase in dance courses in Istanbul (Millivet 1953c, s.6). A new dance fashion came from America in 1955: Cha-cha-cha. The readers were asked to learn the dance by sharing photos step-by-step in the newspapers on how to make this dance. It was also emphasized that the movements of the dance were not difficult (Milliyet 1955c, s. 5).

A major problem arose in the year of 1958 in Turkey about the American movies. The sum of debt accumulated and unpaid since 1954 to

American film companies had reached two million. Payment of this debt in installments came to the agenda. Otherwise, American movies could not be played in Turkey. The presentation of American films continued with a loan agreement meeting 70% representation of movie theaters in Turkey with the intervention of the American ambassador in 1957. The fact that American filmmakers approving this loan was interpreted by the writer as "Hollywood films spread the American love and desire to live, think, act as American all over the world (Akis 1958a, s. 30-31)."

It was a period in which Turkish and American women's views on politics were also compared. In America, Mrs. Houghton who was the President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs said "Her home must be the center of life for every woman, but should never constitute her border,". In this comparison made based on the word: was reminded to the Turkish woman that politics is in life.

What is politics? Isn't that what lowers and raises the price of oil and sugar? Isn't it again what brings the water or electricity to our village, sends our boys to Korea or recalls them, gives good or bad schools to our children, and determines the daily life of each of us, every day? If so, what does it mean to say "I am not politically involved? (Akis 1954d, s. 18)"

The fact that politics are involved in the life was reminded to Turkish woman with this statement. Another subject that changed was the sense of fashion. Mrs. Cook who was the fashion ambassador of a socks company named Seam of Group came to Istanbul in 1957. She was depicted as a typical American woman with her blond hair curled in style and black polka dot dress. She told to people who came to Pera Palas to watch fashion dress that her aim was to show American fashion by traveling all over the world as Fashion Ambassador (*Milliyet* 1957d, s. 3).

Another development that changed the countenance of Turkey was imported cars which presented an attractive life especially to the rich. When we look at the number of cars it was a total of 13,405 in the whole country in 1950, at the end of the decade it reached 45 thousand. While there were two thousand cars in Istanbul in the 1950s, this number increased rapidly and Buick, Chevrolet, Cadillac brand American cars started to appear on the streets of Istanbul. Now Istanbul residents were getting used to taxi, Fiat brand taxis were waiting for customers in Beyoğlu, and Chevrolet brand taxis were waiting for customers in Pangaltı (İstanbul Sanayi Tarihi, 2017, s. 132). During this period, "practical automobile schools" were opened as rich families started using private drivers (Öztan, 2017, s. 15).

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

Turkey's economy began to collapse while changes continued in social life. The use of both foreign loans and aids in wrong investments put the economy in a downturn. The Democratic Party, whose ways of borrowing foreign loans were blocked, devalued the Turkish currency on August 4, 1958 at the request of the IMF and the World Bank. The equivalent of 1\$ was 2.80 TL and it was raised to 9 TL, in which the devaluation made by the CHP was criticized by DP as they were in opposition. Prices increased and the people became miserable with this devaluation (Akşin, 2013, s.254). When the Menderes Government applied to drastic measures, Istanbul University students made a big demonstration on April 28, 1960. When the police were helpless in the face of the events, army troops were called. One person died and forty injured in the incidents. When the government banned the broadcasting of the events, the events spread from word to mouth. This time, the Political Science and Law students in Ankara started protests on April 29. On April 21, the Military Academy students marched on Atatürk Boulevard. The Democratic Party could not stop the events and was taken down from power by the military coup on May 27, 1960 (Akşin, 2013, s. 258-259). According to some analysis of the coup, the 1960 coup was actually an action carried out by the military-civilian intellectuals against the economic framework that entered American hegemony, which started with Marshall Aids (Eğilmez, 2018, s. 144). Cultural policies of the coup period can be considered as the subject of another article.

Conclusion

Nationalization was targeted in the sense of art in Atatürk period by dealing with Central Asian sources, principles of the newly established state, difficult conditions of the National Struggle, victories in this process and the role of the Turkish people in the National Struggle. Because the Turkish War of Independence / National Struggle was a fight against imperialism. The concept of "national identity" was brought to the fore in the Turkish nation, which naturally resisted imperialism. A national economy, a national culture and a national education were brought to the fore with the formation of national identity in the Atatürk Period. It was thought that economic independence would also ensure nationalization in cultural and social fields.

Turkish Humanism was tried to be realized based on Greek and Latin sources in the period of İsmet İnönü until 1946. In this period, unlike the Atatürk period, light Western music, translation of Western literature works and Western works began to be staged in the field of opera instead of a national art. Because Europe was accepted as the cradle of "civilization / modernity" until the end of the Second World War. So, becoming Westernized was necessary for the modernization and Turkey counted itself amongs Western

states despite the geographical location. However, the Second World War broke this situation. Because Europe which was economically collapsing needed help. The United States came into play with the help of Marshall Aid. A mojor thing really affected in Turkey was social culture while Marshall Aid helped the reconstruction of Europe. In addition, I belive that the contents of overall agricultural films shown in Turkey until 1946 was linked with the position of "agricultural land" which was appraised to Turkey by Truman Doctrine and Marshall Aid after the war.

Especially, when President Celal Bayar said "Turkey would be a little America" during the period of Democratic Party, hundreds of people applauded and these words was the hallmark of an era. The admiration of Europe and the efforts to modernize were replaced by an intense American admiration. As a matter of fact, the entertainment, fashion and music brought by the American culture influenced the Turkish society. There was a great interest especially in luxury consumption. The demand for American goods was so great that used items left by the officials who came to implement the Marshall Relief on their way back to their countries were sold scramble. The presence of used underwear among the people's demands shows that this is a matter of gaining prestige.

In fact, American culture was an instrument of individual happiness. In addition, an "American" life decorated the dreams of the Turkish people with the change of tastes, speaking styles and clothing. American life was a free life and being American was listening to rock's roll. To be American was to cover your face with a handkerchief just like in the movies and make robbery. And being American was to drive luxury cars like Buick, Chevrolet, Cadillac and dye your hair in yellow like Marilyn Monroe. It was always a word of mouth by writing songs to America. To learn Cha-cha-cha, Sving, Mambo, Fokstrot dances before anyone else and show them. This actually means that "American way of life" was experienced in social life (Başkaya,2018, s. 291).

Foodstuffs sent by America were milk powder, butter and cheese. Red Crescent cut the hot food aid as a result of disrubition of these foodstuffs to children in schools and in fact, this was an indication of Turkey how far away from a nationalizm. Because it is America that now feeds the new generations. This increased American sympathy among the younger generations.

We encounter the following facts when we evaluate in terms of America. America opened new market areas with Truman Doctrine and Marshall Aid in Turkey and it reached military and political dimensions with these aids. Turkey wishing to become a member of NATO on military dimension sent troops to the Korean War. Additionally, Turkey came to the

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

outpost of the position of America by giving them bases in the region. I have to cut the military issues short since our topic is culture. The position of Turkey on U-2 crisis and Cuban Missile Crisis taking place afterwards can be handled separately as another article topic. Turkey who was seen already as "Little America" with the statement in the period of Democratic Party was assumed "satelite state" circling a table completely consistent with the foreign policy of America and this led Turkey be alone in the Cyprus issue by destroying the friendship with Arab neighbours. Thus, Turkey renounced the ideals of independent economy, independent policy and national culture targeted in Atatürk Period. In the following years, this situation would be considered as "American imperialism" by left-wing students, and it would turn into the 6th Fleet Protest movements in 1968-1969.

Tu sum up, Ataturk had established a national economy. The culture was national as Turkey had its own money. The first part of İsmet Pasha's period coincided with the Second World War. Trade relations were with Europe. The concept of Turkish Humanism was born. However, after Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Aid circuit entered in 1946, the United States and Britain were allowed to present cultural activities in Turkey. America exercised control over Turkey in the areas of cultural, political, economic and military when foreign loans became involved completely in the period of Democratic Party.

References

Archive

Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

Books and Articles

Akşin, S (2013). Kısa Türkiye Tarihi. İş Bankası Yayınları: İstanbul.

Atay, F. R (2012). Cankaya. Pozitif Yayınevi: İstanbul.

Aydemir, Ş. S (2017). *Tek Adam Mustafa Kemal 1922-1938* Cilt III. Remzi Kitabevi: İstanbul.

Başkaya, F. (2018). Paradigmanın İflası. Yordam Kitap: İstanbul.

Coşgun M. (2012). Popüler Kültür ve Tüketim Toplumu. *Batman University Journal of Life Sciences*. 1/1. pp 837-850.

Eğilmez, M (2018). Değişim Sürecinde Türkiye Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Sosyo-Ekonomik Bir Değerlendirme. Remzi Kitabevi: İstanbul.

Ergene, L. (1995). *Geçmişten Günümüze Bakır Maden*. Maden Yayınevi: İstanbul.

Geray, C (1969). Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri Hareketi ve Köy Kalkınması. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2/1. pp. 197-207.

- Girgin, A (2002). *Uluslararası İletişim Haber Ajansları ve A.A.* DR Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Gök, V (2011). *Atatürk ve İnönü Dönemi Kültür Politikaları*. Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Kırşehir.
- Güngör, E (2017). 1950'ler Türkiye'sinde Modernleşme ve Gündelik Hayat Değişimlerine Sinema Üzerinden Bakmak: *İstanbul Geceleri* Filmi. *Abant Kültürel Araştırmalar Dergisi*. 2 (3)/2017. pp. 94-112.
- İnan, A. (2019). *Atatürk Hakkında Hatıralar ve Belgeler*. İş Bankası Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Sanayinin Sonsuz Işığında İstanbul Sanayi Tarihi (2017). İstanbul Sanayi Odası Yayınları.
- Karavar, H (2019). *Atatürk Döneminde Madencilik*. Libra Yayınevi: İstanbul. Mutlu, S (2013). Tek Parti Döneminde Parti- Devlet Bütünleşmesine Bir Örnek "Dilek Sistemi". *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*. 29/86. pp. 53-102.
- Özkurt, C. (2012). Demokrat Parti Dönemi Sosyal ve İktisadi Politikaların Kırsal Alanda Yarattığı Değişim (Ordu İli Özelinde). Yeditepe Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi. İstanbul.
- Öztan, G & Korucu, S (2017). *Tutku, Değişim ve Zarafet -1950'li Yıllarda İstanbul-*. Doğan Kitap: İstanbul
- Sakallı, E. (2014). Türkçe Popüler Kültür. *Uluslararası Türkçe Edebiyat Kültür Eğitim Dergisi*. 3/2. pp. 307-317.
- Sevük, İ. H (2017). Atatürk'le Beraber. İş Bankası Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Simavi, S (1951a, 14 Ocak). Amerikan Yardımı. Hürriyet.
- Özdemir, N (2018). Geleneksel Bilgi ve Kültür Ekonomisi. *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*. 18/1. pp. 1-28.
- Tekeli, İ. & İlkin, S. (2018). Savaşın İçinden Geleceğine Yönelen İkinci Dünya Savaşında Türkiye. C. III. İletişim Yayınevi: İstanbul.
- Tonybee, A. J (2000). *Türkiye II (Bir Devletin Yeniden Doğuşu*). Çağdaş Yayıncılık: İstanbul.
- Toprak, Z (2013). Türkiye'de Popülizm 1908-1923. Doğan Kitap: İstanbul.
- Türkdoğan, A.& Uça, S (2011). Türkiye'de Halk Eğitimi: Tarihsel Gelişimi, Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileri. *Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi*. 2/2. pp. 48-62.
- Yaylagül, L (2004). Yarışma Programları, Medya ve Kültür Emperyalizmi "Bir Kültür Emperyalizmi Aracı Olarak Yarışma Programları: Kim 500 Milyar İster Örneği". Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Radyo-Televizyon ve Sinema Bilim Dalı Doktora Tezi. Ankara.

The Effect Of Marshall Aid on Social-Cultural Structure Of Turkey (1948-1960) / Marshall Yardımının Türkiye'nin Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısına Etkisi (1948-1960)

Zürcher, E. J (2014). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. Çeviren Yasemin Saner. İletişim: İstanbul.

Oğuz, S (2011). Kültür Politikaları ve Kütüphaneler: Kuramsal Bir Yaklaşım. H.Ü. Sosyolojik Araştırmalar E-Dergisi. Retrieved April, 15, 2020 from

http://www.sdergi.hacettepe.edu.tr/makaleler/EsinSultanoguzmak.pdf

Şengül, A (2009). Türk Tiyatrosunda Tarih. *Turkısh Studies*. 4/1–2. pp. 617-626. Retrieved March, 12, 2020 from

http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/YENI%20TURK%20EDEBIYATI/abdullah_sengul turk tiyatrosunda tarih.pdf

Periodicals

Akis (1954a, 3 Temmuz). Türk-Amerikan Kadınları Kültür Derneği. s. 22.23.

Akis (1954b, 9 Ekim). Amerikan Malına Hücum. s. 24.

Akis (1954c, 29 Mayıs). Haşmetli Alaturka Hazretleri. s. 28.

Akis (1954d, 29 Mayıs). Kadın Kudreti. s.18.

Akis (1958a, 11 Ocak). Veresiye Filmin Ücreti. s.30-31.

Cumhuriyet (1936, 13 Mart). Keçiborlu Kükürtleri. s.3

Milliyet (1950a, 16 Temmuz). Otomobil Hırsızlığı., s. 2.

Milliyet (1951a, 2 Nisan). Bir Kanunun Yürürlükten Kaldırılıyor. s.4.

Milliyet (1951b, 5 Haziran). DP Ankara İl Kongresi Dün Mesaisini Tamamladı.s.1.

Milliyet (1951c, 22 Temmuz). Geçti Borun Pazarı. s.1.

Milliyet (1951d, 9 Ağustos) Halkevleri Kanunu 362 Oyla Kabul Edild s.3.

Milliyet (1952a, 28 Mayıs). Can Boğazdan Gelir. s.8

Milliyet (1952b, 10 Haziran). Nihayet Gelmiştir. s.8.

Milliyet (1952c, 4 Nisan). Tehlike İşareti. s. 5.

Millivet (1952d, 6 Mart). Bize Göre Türk Filmleri. s. 3.

Milliyet (1953a, 12 Haziran). Bir Buzdolabının Değeri Hakkında En Kat'i Hükmü Zaman Verir. s. 8.

Milliyet (1953b, 8 Haziran). Memleketimize İlk Defa Getirilen Şayanı Hayret Hotpoint Amerikan Buzdolapları. s. 8.

Milliyet (1953c, 28 Kasım). Kostantin'in Bir Hamamı Dans Dershanesi Olmuş. s. 6.

Milliyet (1954a, 16 Şubat). Seçim Arifesinde 500 Liraya Propoganda. s. 1-7. Milliyet (1954b, 24 Temmuz). Adana'da Amerikanvari Bir Soygun Oldu. s. 2

Milliyet (1955a, 2 Aralık). Amerikanvari Bir Gangsterlik Hadisesi. s. 5.

Milliyet (1955b, 5 Temmuz). İş Sahasında Yeni Kuvvet: Katibeler. s. 5.

Milliyet (1955c, 19 Ekim). Senenin Dersini Abe Lane'den Öğrenin. s. 5.

Milliyet (1957a, 23 Ocak). Kızılay'ın Fakir Talebeye Yaptığı Erzak Yardımı. s. 2.

ZfWT <u>Vol 12, No. 3 (2020)</u> **177-197**

Milliyet, (1957b, 20 Ekim). İstanbul Heyecanlı Mitinglere Sahne Oldu. s. 5. Milliyet (1957c, 15 Ocak). İstanbullular Rock'n Roll İle Coştular. s. 3. Milliyet (1957d, 4 Nisan). Amerika'nın Moda Elçisi Geldi. s.3. Milliyet (1959a, 5 Ocak). Süt, Süttozu ve Hayvancılık. s.3.