

AN ANALYSIS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY'S
PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM IN
THE UNITED STATES



The American University

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A research paper submitted to the
Department of Public Relations in
Candidacy for the degree of
Master of Science in
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by

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PREFACE

In September 1972, the author of this report was the Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) officer for the air group on board the U.S.S. Intrepid. The commander of the United States Sixth Fleet (Mediterranean Fleet) requested that the air group assign a training team to Turkey for two weeks in February 1973. The author was assigned the task of organizing the training program.

In February, the author, three other officers, and fourteen enlisted men spent ten days in the Turkish town of Bandirma. As a result of this training trip and the subsequent de-commissioning of the Intrepid and her air group, the author received transfer orders to serve as an exchange officer with the Turkish Navy for more than two years. He was assigned to the 301st Maritime Air Squadron in Bandirma as an instructor in operations and ASW.

From September 1972 until September 1973, the author heard remarks such as these from his American friends and acquaintances:

"Will you and your family be safe living in Turkey? Aren't the Turks mean people?"

"Why do you want to go to Turkey? It's such a backward country."

"Those Arab countries are all so dirty. . . ."

"Where is Turkey? Is it in Africa?"

These comments and questions were all lightly regarded by the author as having been made out of ignorance. No other significance was given to the matter at the time.

While living in Bandirma, as the only Americans among the 40 thousand residents, the author and his family adapted to the Turkish way of life. They associated with Turks from all walks of life and social strata. They toured extensively

throughout the western half of the country. They learned about Turkey and the Turks through direct observation, as well as from written accounts.

In July 1974, Archbishop Makarios was overthrown as the head of the Cypriot government, by members of the Greek Cypriot National Guard. Following diplomatic efforts to solve the problem, the Turkish government dispatched Turkish troops to the island. The result is well known; Cyprus is a divided state, Turkish troops are still on the island, and the problem remains unsettled.

From July 1974, until December 1975, the author remained in his assignment with the Turkish Navy, although he took no part in any operations connected with the Cyprus conflict. Throughout this period, he followed the events through Turkish news, Voice of America (VOA), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio, news and letters from the United States, and conversations with Turkish residents.

Of course, the most significant events were the initial Turkish military action, the second military action in August, the Congress-imposed arms embargo, and the cessation of operations at the U.S.-Turkish bases.

As U.S.-Turkish relations deteriorated, the author informally attempted to assess the situation. No attempt was made to collect information formally or from randomly-distributed sources. The opinions formulated were all subjected to the same factor--direct involvement in the military training program of the Turkish Armed Forces made objective study of the subject nearly impossible.

In June 1975, the author received notification that he would be assigned to American University to earn a Master's degree in Public Relations. That notification precipitated a desire to study U.S.-Turkish relations from the standpoint of public relations.

The initial comments and questions about Turkey, direct observations of the country and people, active participation in the problems associated with the deterioration of

U.S.-Turkish relations, and comments heard since returning to the United States--all of these factors form the basis for this report.

The author has attempted to eliminate bias resulting from first-hand experience; however, an understanding of the author's background on this particular subject is essential in evaluating the validity of the author's findings.

A sincere thank-you is in order for those officials of the Government of Turkey who helped the author examine the GOT program, and for Professor Ken Rabin of American University who kept the research pointed in the right direction. A very special note of thanks must also go to Professor Sander Calışal of the U.S. Naval Academy for his help in translating Turkish sources and his help in understanding some of the nuances of Turkish thought.

An Analysis of the Republic of Turkey's
Public Relations Program in
the United States

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PART I. PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER 1

DESIGN OF RESEARCH

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to assess the American public's awareness and opinions of Turkey and the Turks; to determine the public relations needs of the Turkish Republic in accordance with the theories of public relations and propaganda; and to examine the existing public relations program of the Government of Turkey (GOT) in the United States.

Areas of Study

To correctly assess the GOT public relations program in the United States, it is necessary to study the problem with the following questions in mind:

1. What are the design and mechanics of the GOT public relations program?
2. Of the many public relations and propaganda theories, which ones apply to the GOT needs in the United States?
3. What are the existing opinions and awareness of Turkey and the Turks among the American general public and its opinion leaders?
4. What facts and information about Turkey and the Turks are available, but are presently not being utilized or are used ineffectively?
5. To what types of information dissemination approach might the American public and opinion leaders respond?
6. What types of response can reasonably be expected, both from the American public, and from special interest groups such as Greek- and Armenian-Americans?

Hypotheses

1. The American public's awareness of Turkey and the Turks is sufficiently low to prevent the development of strong pro-Turkish opinions on issues vital to the Government of Turkey.

2. Although there is an awareness of public relations and public relations experience within the Government of Turkey, such awareness and experience is uneven, and lacking priority in government planning.

Delimitations

The research was conducted within the following parameters:

1. Survey data were collected only from within geographical areas readily accessible to the author of the report.

2. The design of the survey and the number of persons surveyed were limited by the author's financial restraints.

3. All literature utilized as reference material was readily available to the public; no restricted-access literature was consulted.

4. The details of the existing GOT public relations program were limited to those freely divulged by GOT officials and American representatives, as well as those filed in accordance with the Foreign Agent Registration Act of 1938. No deliberate attempt was made to uncover information about the GOT program outside of those sources.

5. No attempt was made to alter the survey due to unusual environmental factors, such as earthquakes or other spectacular news.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Explanation

The subject of public relations is one in which semantics plays an important role. This is especially true when one attempts to assess a public relations program of an international nature. In one country, "propaganda" may mean nothing more than information; however, in another it may be considered as an immoral method of persuasion. In the United States, the word "propagandist" is an epithet. "Almost any other name sounds sweeter to most people (in Anglo-Saxon society). If a man is not called an educator, he seems to prefer to be known as a publicity agent, a public relations counsel or officer, an advertising agent or account executive, a salesman, a promoter, a barker, a preacher, a lecturer, or even a politician."¹

But the study of public relations involves the study of propaganda. This research paper deals directly with propaganda; its theory, its construction, its methods, its effectiveness. The word "propaganda" is not used by the author only because the subject of the research is a foreign government; it's used because "propaganda" is the proper generic term for public relations and its associated practices.

Many of the terms used in this report are subject to misinterpretation. Many of them can be used interchangeably. There are, however, specific meanings that must be accepted if one is to understand the theories of propaganda, without bias caused by the common usage of the terms.

¹Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1966), p. 231.

For that reason, some of the terms are listed with two definitions--the dictionary definition² and the definition used by analysts of propoganda.³ For this report, when a propoganda analysis definition is presented, it will apply.

Definitions

ATTITUDE: a disposition that is primarily grounded in affect and emotion and is expressive of opinions rather than belief.

* a dispositional relationship within certain aspects of an individual's experience, either mediated to him firsthand, or by an instrument of communication: influenced by emotional experiences, education and indoctrination, and novelties in one's perception of society.⁴

ADVERTISING: the action of calling something (as a commodity for sale, a service offered or desired) to the attention of the public esp. by means of printed or broadcast paid announcements.

BELIEF: a statement or state of affairs on the basis of which one is willing to act; specif: a deliberate, habitual readiness to act in a certain manner under appropriate conditions.

* a stable emotional and cognitive disposition, usually directed at abstract ideas: changed only over a long time or through a shocking or traumatic experience.⁵

²The definition presented is the one that is most applicable to public relations and propoganda; source: Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1971 ed.

³The definitions following the asterisks are taken from various sources; the sources are identified in separate footnotes for each definition.

⁴George N. Gordon, Persuasion, (New York: Hastings House, 1971), p. 246.

⁵Ibid., pp. 245-6.

COMMUNICATION: interchange of thoughts or opinions: a process by which meanings are exchanged between individuals through a common system of symbols (as language, signs, or gestures).

EDUCATION: the act or process of providing with knowledge, skill, competence, or usually desirable qualities of behavior or character or of being so provided by a formal course of study, instruction, or training.

* the prime device for uniting the material and intellectual progress of the past with the present (and therefore passing it on to the future).⁶

INFORMATION: knowledge communicated by others or obtained from investigation, study, or instruction.

NEWS: a report of a recent event: new information: fresh tidings or what is reported in a newspaper, news periodical, or news broadcast.

OPINION: a view, judgement, or appraisal formed in the mind about a particular matter or particular matters.

* a direct, usually malleable disposition towards an object, institution, person, or artifact in the individual's world of perception, mediated to him in any manner: it relates to the action the individual believes he will take when faced with a choice of alternates.⁷

PERSUASION: an act of influencing the mind by arguments or reasons offered or by anything that moves the mind or passions or inclines the will to a determination.

* the manipulation of symbols designed to produce action in others;⁸ usually directed to crowds or masses

⁶Ibid., p. 153.

⁷Ibid., p. 246.

⁸Otto Lerbinger, Designs for Persuasive Communication, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 3.

in order to stimulate their attitudes, beliefs, opinions, or actions that results in action in a specific context for a specific reason.⁹

PROMOTION: the presentation for public acceptance through advertising and publicity.

PROPAGANDA: doctrines, ideas, arguments, facts, or allegations spread by deliberate effort through any medium of communication in order to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause.

* a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization.¹⁰

PUBLICITY: an act or device designed to attract public interest: specif: information with news value issued as a means of gaining public attention or support.

PUBLIC OPINION: a summation of public expression regarding a specific issue or event.

* refers to people's attitudes on an issue when they are members of the same social group.¹¹

PUBLIC RELATIONS: the promotion of rapport and goodwill between a firm, person, or institution and other persons, special publics, or the community at large through the distribution of interpretative material, the development of neighborly interchange, and the assessment of public reaction.

⁹George N. Gordon, Persuasion, p. 361.

¹⁰Jacques Ellul, Propaganda, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965; reprint ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 61.

¹¹Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 35.

* the planned effort to influence opinion through socially responsible and acceptable performance, based on mutually satisfactory two-way communication.¹²

RESPONSE: the reaction to a force or stimulus.

STEREOTYPE: a standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgement (as of a person, a race, an issue, or an event).

STIMULUS: something that rouses the mind or spirits, or incites activity.

SYMBOL: an act, sound, or material object having cultural significance and the capacity to excite or objectify a response.

¹²Allen H. Center and Scott M. Cutlip, Effective Public Relations, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 4-5.

PART II. THE SETTING

CHAPTER 3

PUBLIC RELATIONS:

PROFESSIONAL PERCEPTIONS AND TURKISH PERSPECTIVES

Public Relations?

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, semantics plays an important role in the study of public relations. This becomes readily apparent when searching for public relations literature. The literature can be found scattered throughout the library, from social studies to the business and technical sections. It includes works on such diverse subjects as public opinion, corporate identity, marketing, and human relations.

There are numerous handbooks and guides to public relations. They cover the gamut of p.r. from political campaigns to international public relations. Some are very basic step-by-step "how to" guides for the amateur confronted with a public relations task. Others are detailed, in-depth handbooks for the p.r. professional. Whatever the case, they all have one thing in common--their footnotes and bibliographies all refer the reader back to the same sources.

And the sources invariably are works on persuasive communication or propaganda. (The difference between the two is moot; however, various authors have chosen one term or the other.) An examination of the literature of public relations, therefore, necessarily begins with the study of propaganda.

Propaganda!

Gladys and Marcella Thum say propaganda has existed since caveman days--we've always tried various methods of persuading one another.

Many of these devices have not changed through the years because human emotions and reactions have not changed. . . . For propaganda is based on use of human motivations, and human motivations may be illogical or logical, destructive or constructive, shortsighted or long-visioned, hating or loving.¹

Although propaganda has existed since the advent of mankind, it lately has acquired a new importance. Methods of mass communication have expanded the reach of the propagandist. He can now present his message to more people, in less time, via more media than ever before. The propaganda devices may not have changed, and human emotions and reactions may be the same, but the propagandist has a much wider area of influence today.

Technological progress has brought trouble to the propagandist as well as success. While his reach has expanded, so has that of all competing propagandists. Audiences in democratic countries are constantly confronted with diverse, competing propaganda. This situation forces the propagandist to be active just to maintain a status quo.

The subject of propaganda in modern times is addressed by numerous authors with varied backgrounds. Propaganda is utilized within many professions.

There is no reason, therefore, to concentrate upon one approach and to exclude or underplay the rest. . . . the glib rationalization of the politician is as relevant as the pedantic generalization of the political scientist; the quick observation of the shrewd journalist is as penetrating as are the vapid

¹Gladys and Marcella Thum, The Persuaders--Propaganda in War and Peace. (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 3-4.

statistics of the public opinion pollster; and the glittering phrases of the public relations counsel are as interesting as the dull principles of the social scientist.²

For this study, however, the basic theories of propaganda primarily will be those of two men--the French sociologist Jacques Ellul and the American social scientist Leonard Doob. The ideas of the two authors are very similar. Doob draws his references mostly from his experiences in America. Ellul, on the other hand, illustrates his theories with examples from international events, and often cites Doob and other American propaganda analysts. Doob's work preceded that of Ellul; however, Ellul's theories are presented first in this study.

Propaganda á la Ellul

The main tenet of Jacques Ellul's propaganda theories is that propaganda must be an ever-present, all-encompassing, organized program directed at the individual as part of the mass. "When propaganda is addressed to a crowd, it must touch each individual in that crowd, in that whole group. To be effective, it must give the impression of being personal, for we must never forget that the mass is composed of individuals, and is in fact nothing but assembled individuals. . . . Each one must feel individualized, each must have the impression that he is being looked at, that he is being addressed personally."³

Ellul stresses the importance of propaganda in today's society. It may not be good; it may not fit into the ideals of the democratic peoples; it is necessary. Propaganda is, moreover, something that must be done properly to be effective.

²Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1966), p. 4.

³Jacques Ellul, Propaganda, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965; reprint ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 7-8.

Propaganda must be total. The propagandist must utilize all of the technical means at his disposal--the press, radio, TV, movies, posters, meetings, door-to-door canvassing. Modern propaganda must use all of these media. There is no propaganda as long as one makes use, in sporadic fashion and at random, of a newspaper article here, a poster or a radio program there, organizes a few meetings and lectures, writes a few slogans on the walls; that is not propaganda. . . . The very fact that the effectiveness of each medium is limited to one particular area clearly shows the necessity of complementing it with other media. . . .

The movies and human contacts are the best media for sociological propaganda in terms of social climate, slow infiltration, progressive inroads, and over-all integration. Public meetings and posters are more suitable tools for providing shock propaganda, intense but temporary, leading to immediate action. The press tends more to shape general views; radio is likely to be an instrument of international action and psychological warfare, whereas the press is used domestically.⁴

In addition to using the mass media, the propagandist must delve into other areas--censorship, legal texts, proposed legislation, international conferences, etc. Although these areas may seem to be outside the realm of propaganda, they are important aspects of a total program.

Ellul addresses another area of propaganda which is extremely important to this research study.

Propaganda will take over literature (present and past) and history, which must be rewritten according to the propagandist's needs. We must not say: this is done by tyrannical, autocratic, totalitarian governments. In fact, it is the result of propaganda itself. Propaganda carries within itself, of intrinsic necessity, the power to take over everything that can serve it. Let us remember the innocent example--democratic, liberal, republican propaganda, which without hesitation took

⁴Ibid., pp. 9-10.

over many things in the nineteenth century. . . . Let us remember the Athenian democracy, the Roman Republic, the movement of the medieval Communes, the Renaissance, and the Reformation. History was hardly less modified then than Russian history was by the Bolsheviki. We know, on the other hand, how propaganda takes over the literature of the past, furnishing it with contexts and explanations designed to re-integrate it into the present.⁵

Literature and history are most important in creating the environment in which propaganda is the most effective. Ellul calls creation of a receptive environment pre-propaganda. Through literature and history, man (propagandists) creates two of the most important elements of propaganda--conditioned reflexes and myths.

Propaganda tries first of all to create conditioned reflexes in the individual by training him so that certain words, signs, or symbols, even certain persons or facts, provoke unfailing reactions. . . . Of course in order for such a procedure to succeed, a certain amount of time must elapse, a period of training and repetition.

On the other hand, the propagandist tries to create myths by which man will live, which respond to his sense of the sacred. By 'myth' we mean an all-encompassing activating image; a sort of vision of desirable objectives that have lost their material, practical character and have become strongly colored, overwhelming, all-encompassing, and which displace from the conscious all that is not related to it. Such an image pushes man to action precisely because it includes all that he feels is good, just, and true.⁶

The importance of pre-propaganda cannot be emphasized too strongly. It's the foundation of every successful propaganda effort.

⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁶Ibid., p. 31.

Direct propaganda, aimed at modifying opinions and attitudes, must be preceded by propaganda that is sociological in character, slow, general, seeking to create a climate, an atmosphere of favorable preliminary attitudes. No direct propaganda can be effective without pre-propaganda, which, without direct or noticeable aggression, is limited to creating ambiguities, reducing prejudices, and spreading images, apparently without purpose. . . . The ground must be sociologically prepared before one can proceed to direct prompting.⁷

Propaganda cannot create something out of nothing. It must attach itself to a feeling, an idea; it must build on a foundation already present in the individual. . . . Action cannot be attained unless it responds to a group of already established tendencies or attitudes stemming from the schools, the environment, the regime, the churches, and so on.⁸

In assessing the atmosphere, or environment, the propagandist must be thorough. He must determine the stereotypes, the opinions, the sentiments, and the tendencies. Upon completion of the assessment, the propagandist can plan the method of approach for the direct propaganda. Ellul presents a fundamental rule in planning the approach:

Never make a direct attack on an established, reasoned, durable opinion or an accepted cliché, a fixed pattern. The propagandist wears himself out to no avail in such a contest. The propagandist must utilize existing opinions by diverting them through the use of other opinions that are less deep-seated.⁹

Once the environment has been prepared for direct propaganda, there are four elements on which to base that propaganda:

1. The psychological mechanisms that cause response to the propaganda;

⁷Ibid., p. 15.

⁸Ibid., p. 36.

⁹Ibid., pp. 33-34.

2. The existing opinions and stereotypes in individuals;
3. The ideologies which are shared, accepted, and disseminated by the masses;
4. The needs of the audience.¹⁰

Basically, Ellulian propaganda theory is easy to comprehend and follow. The propaganda message must be simple; addressed to the audience in everyday, familiar, individualized terms. It must be continuous, and lasting over a long period of time. It must be ever-present, using all media available. For maximum effectiveness, it must be perceived as something other than propaganda.

With that in mind, particular attention should be given by the propagandist to the pacing of the campaign.

The individual can clearly discern any propaganda when it suddenly appears in a social environment normally not subject to this type of influence; if one isolated item of propaganda or one campaign appears without a massive effort, the contrast is so strong that the individual can recognize it clearly as propaganda and begin to be wary. . . . This is why it is fatal to the effectiveness of propaganda to proceed in spurts, with big noisy campaigns separated by long gaps.¹¹

Ellul doesn't address the subject of international public relations, per se. He does, however, discuss aspects of governmental and national image-making which have an important bearing on this study. He considers propaganda in a democracy as almost always being ineffective because there is competing, diverse propaganda. (The antithesis, of course, is that unopposed propaganda is effective.) Another factor contributing to the ineffectiveness is that propaganda in a democracy invariably consists of the truth. Ellul does not espouse the use of lies; he suggests,

Where the problem is to overcome national antipathies (which exist even between friendly nations), allegiance to a different government,

¹⁰Ibid., p. 36.

¹¹Ibid., p. 19.

to a different psychological and historical world, and finally to an opposite propaganda, it is fruitless to expect anything from straight information: the bare fact (the truth) can accomplish nothing against such barriers. Facts are not believed. . . . (The propaganda) must create an image to act as the motive force. This image must have an emotional character that leads to the allegiance of the entire being, without thought. That is, it must be a myth. . . . We must ask ourselves what myth the democracies should use. . . the myths of Peace, of Freedom, of Justice, and so on.¹²

But it's not sufficient that the democratic propaganda only create the myth. The myth must be believed by the countrymen in order to be effective abroad.

When a government builds up the democratic image in this fashion, it cannot isolate the external and internal domains from each other. Therefore the people of the country making such propaganda must also become convinced of the excellence of this image. They must not merely know it, but also follow it. . . . A democratic government cannot present to the outside world a radically inexact and mendacious picture of its policies. . . .

In order for the myth to be effective abroad, it must not be contradicted at home. No other voice must arise at home that would reach the foreign propaganda target and destroy the myth.¹³

Unfortunately, there is a corollary to the myth theory that has particular applicability to a study of Turkish public relations. It concerns the governmental program to promote the myth of nationalism. Ellul states, "a nationalism propaganda results in building a barrier against other nations;"¹⁴ (hence, it runs counter to the development of an international image).

¹²Ibid., pp. 242-43.

¹³Ibid., pp. 245-46.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 214.

Ellul presents two specific types of propaganda-- agitation and integration. Of these two, propaganda of agitation is the one that Americans commonly identify as propaganda. It is the short-range, hard-hitting type appealing to simple and violent sentiments.

It is always translated into reality by physical involvement in a tense and over-excited activity. . . . (It) tries to stretch energies to the utmost, obtain substantial sacrifice, and induce the individual to bear heavy ordeals. . . . Hate is generally its most profitable resource. . . . (It) succeeds each time it designates someone as the source of all misery, provided he is not too powerful. . . . Hatred once provoked continues to reproduce itself. . . . It is not necessary to have the mass media of communication at one's disposal, for such propaganda feeds on itself, and each person seized by it becomes in turn a propagandist.¹⁵

Propaganda of integration, on the other hand, is the long-term program to adapt the individual's behavior to the social setting. It's the type of propaganda referred to as public relations, and other like terms. If agitation propaganda is used, propaganda of integration must follow to produce lasting, stable results.¹⁶

One of the most fertile areas for semantic gamesmanship is a comparison of education with propaganda. For Ellul, what passes for education is, in many cases, disguised propaganda:

The most obvious result of primary education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was to make the individual susceptible to super-propaganda. . . . In fact, what happens and what we see all around us is the claim that propaganda itself is our culture and what the masses ought to learn. Only in and through propaganda have the masses access to political economy, politics, art, or literature. Primary education makes it possible to enter into the realm of

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 72-74.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 74-77.

propaganda, in which people then receive their intellectual and cultural environment.¹⁷

Only one other of Ellul's theories is presented here-- that concerning public opinion. The characteristics he assigns it sound very much like those applied by Walter Lippmann:

(Public) opinion is formed by 'a large number of people' who cannot possibly experience the same fact in the same fashion, who judge it by different standards, speak a different language, and share neither the same culture nor the same social positions. . . . Therefore, public opinion always rests on problems that do not correspond to reality.¹⁸

Doob's Views

No matter how public opinion is defined. . . , it is clear that many people and their beliefs are involved. No matter how propaganda is defined, it is equally clear that here is a man-made and man-directed force that is affecting large groups of people.¹⁹

That statement does more than put our semantic difficulties to rest. It hints at the magnitude of the inter-relationship between propaganda and public opinion. Both Doob and Ellul acknowledge the direct relationship, although the two authors differ somewhat in their opinions. Doob strongly believes that marketing surveys and opinion polls are invaluable in measuring the effectiveness of propaganda. Ellul, however, feels that any method except general observation induces artificial results. It is sufficient for this study that the reader be aware of a direct interrelationship of public opinion and propaganda.

Many of the propaganda theories mentioned in the previous section of this study are supported by the works of

¹⁷Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 100-101.

¹⁹Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 3.

Leonard Doob. There is no need to repeat those theories, except to re-emphasize those that contribute significantly to the evaluation of the Government of Turkey's public relations program in the United States.

Doob stresses the need for pre-propaganda; however, he addresses it in such terms as auxiliary responses and sub-propaganda. (We shall continue to call it pre-propaganda.) Doob states that pre-propaganda is vital not only for achieving the desired response, but also for insuring that the propagandist's message is perceived by the audience.

Most propagandees do not seek or are unwilling to be propagandized. The propagandist's message, consequently, is not automatically perceived when it is intense, when it is repeated, or when it stands out among other stimuli. People must, as it were, be seduced into perceiving propaganda. They must be offered bait before they will even notice the hook. That bait evokes habits within them which then determine what they will see or hear.²⁰

Perception of the message is the most important consideration of a propaganda campaign. Without it there can be no response. The key to perceptual success is repetition of the message. Repetition increases both the probability of perception by each individual in the audience as well as the percentage of the audience reached. Repetition does not, however, insure a response if the desired response runs counter to logic or belief. In that case, the propagandist must alter the message to change either the desired response or the belief itself; there is no other solution to a logic problem except making the response appear logical.

Repetition is not the sole determinant of message perception. Variation of the method can also be required.

Variation of stimuli can promote the perception of propaganda. A brightly illuminated sign may be perceived at first because it constitutes an intense stimulus. Presently people become 'adapted' to it,

²⁰Ibid., pp. 320-330.

which means that looking at it is no longer rewarding since they see nothing new. . . .

The stimulus in propaganda is varied not only to reduce the tension of the auxiliary responses among the same people over a period of time, but also to arouse similar responses in people who have not been affected by a previous presentation.²¹

Once the propagandist's message has been perceived, pre-propaganda again plays an important role. "The relevant or irrelevant responses evoked by the propaganda stimulus after it has been perceived are completely dependent upon the past experiences of the propagandee. They are learned responses or habits which the propaganda is capable of evoking. They are part of the propagandees' personalities. And for this reason all propaganda is so intimately connected with personality."²²

The propagandist's need to nurture the environment is obvious. Pre-propaganda is a must! As an abstract term, pre-propaganda is easy to understand. But concrete examples are sometimes difficult to grasp. What appears to be direct propaganda sometimes is, in reality, nothing more than pre-propaganda designed to insure the success of a future campaign. For that matter, every successful direct propaganda effort contributes to the pre-propaganda environment of all future efforts.

"Even the advertiser. . . must often 'educate' the public before his copy can increase sales."²³

Giving free samples is effective because "propagandees will act more readily when the proposed action has already proven satisfactory to them."²⁴

"A satisfied customer is our best advertisement."²⁵

²¹Ibid., pp. 330-32.

²²Ibid., p. 337.

²³Ibid., p. 346.

²⁴Ibid., p. 405.

²⁵Ibid., p. 418.

Three very common ideas. All fit into the category of pre-propaganda. Of course there are many other examples of pre-propaganda. Some are open and well-known; others are innocuous and over-looked; but they all contribute to the success of direct propaganda.

The properly prepared environment not only enhances the effectiveness of each direct propaganda effort, it produces long-lasting results.

It is difficult and sometimes impossible to shake off past experience, especially when that experience has been intense or prolonged, and when it has brought satisfaction. . . . The mature adult may be unable to eliminate the prejudices he has acquired in his youth, even though he is intellectually convinced that those prejudices are unsound or unworthy.²⁶

Like Ellul, Edward L. Bernays, and other authors of propaganda and public relations works, Doob discusses the relationship between education and propaganda. Like the other authors, he presents the two as inseparable.

The rules and principles involved in arithmetical calculations are part of the educational process, but the illustrations employed for practicing those calculations have an educational or propaganda effect. . . . Social sciences as usually taught are mixtures of education and propaganda. . . . (If) they teach verifiable facts or a scientific approach to a problem, they are education. . . . (If) they rely on dogmatism and obscurantism, they are propaganda from a scientific viewpoint, but nevertheless, also education in terms of values possessed by special groups in a society.²⁷

Adding to the effectiveness of propaganda in the guise of education is the effect that books have in society.

As propaganda vehicles they can reflect or they can shape public opinion--and more usually they do both simultaneously. The textbooks of a school are pervaded with the

²⁶Ibid., p. 419.

²⁷Ibid., p. 241.

prevailing beliefs and practices of the community, especially when an ambiguous subject like history is involved. . . .

Books possess a prestige of their own which tends to make readers submissive toward their contents. Usually they are more dignified in their appearance. Their higher price by itself may suggest greater wisdom and truth, since what costs more is thought to be worth more. Then books are so universally recognized as important cultural products: mere contact with a book constitutes for many people a direct approach to one of the eternal verities. Children especially respect textbooks which they consider a part of the classroom where presumably only 'truth' is disseminated. . . . The fact that readers must spend so much energy and time in reading a book may lead to the arousal of central rather than segmental responses, and hence their pre-action responses are more likely to be strong.²⁸

The previous paragraphs about education and books illustrate one of the most important theories of both Ellul and Doob: Propaganda that is perceived as something other than propaganda is the most effective.

This leads to a valuable area for the propagandist--news. Americans read, hear, and see news daily about foreign people and countries. For many, the news is the only source of information about other countries. Yet, unless the news is labeled as propaganda by someone, a significantly large percentage of the audience does not perceive it as anything but factual information. But Doob writes,

The facts about an event abroad, for example, must filter through a whole series of lenses before they are perceived by the reader of the news paper: the biases and abilities of the individual reporters as well as his source of information. . . ; the journalistic style into which the facts are fitted; whatever censorship existed at the source;

²⁸Ibid., p. 455.

condensations to reduce cable tolls; the revisions of the re-write man; the headline and position allocated the story by the editor. . . . What emerges. . . is propaganda for something.²⁹

Doob doesn't favor only the use of concealed propaganda devices. He mentions that sometimes propaganda revealed as propaganda serves useful purposes. He classifies pamphlets, leaflets, and handbills designed to reach a limited number of people inexpensively in this category. These items are recognized as propaganda, but they succeed in getting a message disseminated.

Doob is not a lofty propaganda theorist, one step removed from reality. He specifically mentions possibly the most serious problem for many propagandists--money.

The propagandist in a democracy. . . .
[is limited by] a factor which is almost exclusively economic. Propaganda costs time and money. The advertiser, for example, never has an unrestricted budget at his disposal and therefore, although it is perfectly obvious to him that he could be more successful if he were able to have more people perceive his appeals, he must allocate his funds judiciously.³⁰

Judicious allocation of funds! But how much is enough?

Selling Yourself Abroad

Up to this point, the propaganda theories cited have had like applicability to governments, corporations, groups, and individuals, both domestic and international.

This section examines only propaganda conducted by governments, or nations, outside their borders: "Governments . . . employ countless [p.r.] practitioners [propagandists] to win world support for political objectives, to promote tourism, and to establish a nation's identity in the world community."³¹

²⁹Ibid., p. 430.

³⁰Ibid., p. 460.

³¹Ibid., p. 315.

The nations of the world have found it necessary to develop propaganda programs to compete for the world's resources, for a share of the international monetary flow, and in many cases just for sovereignty and survival. The competition is fierce, but unequal. Many nations have well-oiled, smooth-working propaganda machines, while others have just entered the game. For many of the countries, developing a truly competitive propaganda is difficult.

People who for generations had in effect stifled imagination and innovative thinking now were faced with imaginative concepts largely alien to them. As a result, there have been few cases in which progress in these areas [marketing, design, advertising, public relations] has been anywhere near as rapid as technological progress.³²

A major share of the load in promoting a nation internationally is carried by its embassies.

Embassies are approaching the public mind through the press, embassy publications, libraries, movies, lectures, trade fairs, eye-to-eye contact, and even a few casual martini lunches with newsmen. . . .

Regardless of the tools they choose for implementation, the underlying goals of the information programs now being undertaken by the governments of the world is to persuade. . . . We may not always agree on the congruity of national ambitions, but we must agree that the attempt to persuade is an indispensable force in the world today. . . . These diplomatic public relations practitioners. . . are selling national images, understanding, and, in some cases, possible world survival. . . . This type of open diplomacy calls for the guidance of a professional--a career press or information counsellor.³³

In the embassies of many nations, though, there is no real experience in public relations or propaganda. Press and

³²Philip Lesley, Public Relations Handbook, 3rd. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 236.

³³John Lee, ed., The Diplomatic Persuaders, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1968), p. x.

information counselling is secondary to other diplomatic necessities. Yet international propaganda is a serious business. Success or failure, in many cases, means more than financial gain or loss. The priority of propaganda should be high in order to compete with other nations.

One of the major problems for some nations is that their competitors have more experienced propaganda organizations and are more successful. In such a case, it is useless to attempt only a dollar-for-dollar propaganda competition. The less successful nation should examine its objectives and methods to insure that its propaganda program is designed properly for the environment in which it operates.

Each nation has its own culture, its particular pride and prejudices, its special way of doing things. To communicate effectively with audiences abroad, the communicator must know the culture, the language, and the value systems of the people who comprise the audiences.³⁴

Most important, the propagandist must be aware of the culture gap between nations-- he must realize that customs, morals, words, even colors, have different meanings in different countries. . . . Thus, international propaganda must be less concerned with truth than with selecting facts or information that a foreign audience will believe out of its own experience.³⁵

Because knowing the audience is so important, many embassies hire public relations firms from the host nation to handle portions of the propaganda program. The obvious advantages to this arrangement are that the firms know the language, problems, history, and audience of the host nation. There can be, however, a serious drawback:

A Department of Justice official says some public relations firms and individuals

³⁴Allen H. Center and Scott M. Cutlip, Effective Public Relations, 4th ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 638.

³⁵Gladys and Marcella Thum, The Persuaders--Propaganda in War and Peace, p. 176.

are little more than purveyors of information. They find out that news favorable to their client is going to be printed or broadcast, then act as if they created it. Others run scrapbook operations.³⁶

Whether the nation is handling its own propaganda program or it's being run by a public relations firm, two requirements must be met:

The first requirement is that an organization must decide which of its many interests are of most concern to the public and itself--to talk about important issues that have some meaning, and about the function of its interest as a whole.

The second is that the audiences to be reached must be carefully selected. No mass appeal, however broad, will ever be completely effective in persuading the entire public.³⁷

The actual propaganda message and method of approach vary from nation to nation, depending on the needs and the audiences. Nations that assess the environment and determine a need to change their image from one of "a backward or barbaric country" might choose to employ soft, artistically-oriented pre-propaganda prior to launching a direct propaganda attack. For example,

When we see a Russian ballet troupe, hear a fine pianist, listen to the works of an eminent composer, we do not believe such cultivated, gifted people could be the product of a system that is based on the non-dignity of the human individual. We are inclined to believe that they are the product of a highly civilized society. The Russians know that their ballerinas

³⁶Howard Stephenson, ed., Handbook of Public Relations, (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill, Book Co., 1960), p. 821.

³⁷Richard W. Darrow, Dan J. Forrestal, Aubrey O. Cookman, Public Relations Handbook, (Chicago: The Dartnell Corp., 1967), p. 97.

and musicians produce a pleasant feeling in American spectators and divert attention from political issues.³⁸

Finally, there is the budgetary problem. A developing country with a low per capita income most likely would not be able to justify a large expenditure of national funds for propaganda. But even the United States, with its "rich country" image, can be criticized for failing to allocate sufficient funds for propaganda.

We put billions of dollars into military assistance, economic aid, and cultural programs in foreign countries; but our government still has no organized and coordinated program for presenting our image to other peoples; and every attempt to apply our advertising skills to propaganda has met with official antagonism and public apathy.³⁹

Is international public relations really important?

The Thum sisters seem to think so:

One fact remains clear. Whenever our country stops trying to communicate, to influence others by the spread of favorable information; whenever we consider money spent on military hardware more important than money spent on winning men's understanding and friendship--then we have lost our standing as a nation more certainly and more finally than if we had been defeated in bloody battle.⁴⁰

Consent of the Governed

The Constitutional principle of the American system is that the government acts with "the consent of the governed." If that be the true case, then public opinion must play a large part in determining the actions of the government.

³⁸Arthur E. Meyerhoff, The Strategy of Persuasion, (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1965), p. 61.

³⁹Ibid., p. 15.

⁴⁰Gladys and Marcella Thum, The Persuaders--Propaganda in War and Peace, p. 194.

Public opinion is directly interrelated to propaganda; therefore, it would seem that governmental decisions could be influenced by propaganda that affects public opinion.

Realistically speaking, however, the effect of public opinion on governmental actions is much less straightforward.

The rule of public opinion is regarded as a simple and natural fact. The government is regarded as the product of this opinion, from which it draws its strength. It expresses public opinion. . . ; (however) public opinion is so variable and fluctuating that government could never base a course of action on it; no sooner would government begin to pursue certain aims favored in an opinion poll, than opinion would turn against it.⁴¹

But public opinion must not be discounted by the propagandist; it does have some influence. On some issues, the influence is significantly high. Public opinion is measured in three ways; opinion survey results, letters to Members of Congress, and letters to the editors of newspapers. In a study cited by Erickson and Luttborg, only 15 percent of the public admitted writing to their Congressmen and two-thirds of all constituent letters originated with only 3 percent of the public.⁴² If those letters were evenly distributed among the Members of Congress, the influence of the letters would have been minimal. But if the letters were not distributed evenly, they most likely would have influenced the Members receiving significantly large numbers of the letters.

The greatest influence on governmental decisions comes from other sources. The Members of Congress vote on legislation after considering official information, personal and constituent opinion, outside opinion, political party opinion, staff studies, information from interested parties, and various other information.

⁴¹Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 123.

⁴²Robert S. Erickson and Norman R. Luttborg, American Public Opinion: Its Origin, Context, and Impact, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1973), p. 273.

Whatever the differences in and motivations of the representative, the opinion he holds as well as those surrounding him may be uncharacteristic of public opinion. . . . Substantial biases exist in the opinions of those who choose to express their opinions to the representatives and among those to whom the legislators turn for advice.⁴³

This naturally brings up the subject of lobbying. There is no question that lobbying is an essential part of a foreign nation's propaganda program in the United States. Lobbying is the direct method of getting the propagandist's message to those responsible for the government's action.

One item that often gets overlooked is that the Capitol Hill audience also is a product of the American culture. Congressmen and their staffs share the same general prejudices and biases as the rest of the American people--biases resulting from education, religion, association, and so on. If the foreign nation's propaganda needs result from the lack of pre-propaganda environmental conditioning, the deficient environment also exists on Capitol Hill. No amount of lobbying will correct the real problem.

And even worse, the lobbying may mask the real propaganda need. For example, should legislation favorable to the foreign nation be passed by the Congress, credit will most likely be given to the lobbying effort. This, in fact, may be the true case. But, the legislation may have passed because such passage fulfilled America's needs. If that were the case, then the propaganda funds were wasted on lobbying. The environment would still require pre-propaganda to insure long-term success for the foreign nation's propaganda program.

Just what is long-term success for a foreign nation's propaganda? It's the creation of an environment in the United States in which American public opinion and governmental action coincide with the needs and desires of the propagandizing nation. That may sound like an ideal situation, but it can be achieved. It just takes a long time to get there!

⁴³Ibid., p. 284-5.

A Turkish View

Propaganda is as old as civilization, but it has acquired a new importance. Modern mass communication systems have extended the reach of propagandists. Propaganda is a necessity in a technological society. All of those statements were found in sources printed in English. How many of them can be found printed in Turkish? Is it reasonable to expect an emerging republic like Turkey to have developed an effective public relations program along the lines developed in English-language textbooks? Obviously, the second question is rhetorical. There are Turks who read and understand English well enough to consult the works cited in this report.

The point of the question is that a nation could fail to develop any type of program that is found only in books written by foreign sources, in the foreign language. Translation difficulties and cultural differences could conceivably cause the program to be unadaptable.

Public relations does not fit into that category. There are books written by Turks about Turkey's need for public relations. Copies of at least two of these sources can be found in the Library of Congress in Washington. One of these will be cited here to demonstrate that Turkey's propaganda needs have been identified to some degree.

The book was published in Ankara in 1968. It's author, Emin Hekimgil, was an official of the Ministry of Tourism and Information when he wrote the book.

In the introduction, Hekimgil repeated a thought similarly expressed by Altemur Kiliç in the foreward of his 1959 book, Turkey and the World. Hekimgil wrote, "We always complain that foreigners know very little about Turkey, but we never think that it is our job to introduce, teach, and inform; and those who do not know us can't probably accomplish it."⁴⁴

⁴⁴M. Emin Hekimgil, Public Relations--Turkiye'nin Tanitilmasi (Turkey's Need for Public Relations), (Ankara: Ajans-Turk, 1968), Introduction.

Hekimgil acknowledged that Turkey was going through a period of organizational and economic development, but he expressed concern that public relations and information were not given adequate priority in the development effort. He advocated that information specialists be given responsibility in augmenting the international relations organization. At one point, he echoed Ellul: "In democratic governments 'public relations' is an unavoidable necessity."⁴⁵

In addition to organizing a real information department comprised of specialists, Hekimgil suggested that public relations tasks could be performed by foreign students, visiting delegations, businessmen, sportsmen, and tourists. He outlined the propaganda messages to be used for different areas of the world--the West, the East, and the Third World.

Hekimgil advocated the use of historical information in developing Turkey's image. He especially stressed developing the tourism industry and promoting it widely to spread the awareness of Turkey as a nation.⁴⁶

Of particular interest to this author were Hekimgil's comments about the lack of public relations acumen in Turkish embassies. He described these shortcomings of the foreign missions:⁴⁷

1. Disinterest in learning the local language and culture.
2. Underestimating the importance of people outside of the diplomatic circle.
3. Maintaining insufficient relations with industrial, commercial, and cultural elements.
4. Not having a long-range plan.
5. Over-centralized organization.
6. Belittling local sentiments and traditions.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 83-90.

7. Being indifferent to the government's plans and programs.

8. Maintaining insufficient relations with clubs, organizations, and individuals in close contact with Turkey.

9. Failing to have contact with organizations that influence public opinion.

10. Lack of job distribution (internally).

11. Failing to have contact with opposition and pressure groups.

12. Failure to promote visits to Turkey of influential persons.

Because the embassies have such a large responsibility in conducting a country's propaganda program, the shortcomings mentioned by Hekimgil in 1969 would seem to indicate that the Turkish public relations (propaganda) program was in serious trouble in the 1960's. From the viewpoint of propaganda theory, many of those shortcomings would have caused serious damage to any propaganda program.

In general, Emin Hekimgil's book is a collection of ideas. He tried to explain what Turkey needed to do in public relations. The examples were specific, but they probably were not well received by the diplomatic community. What he wrote, for the most part, could be supported by theory. His ideas and suggestions were sound. The question is, "Who's using Public Relations--Turkiye'nin Tanitilmasi?"

CHAPTER 4

PERCEPTION OF A NATION

The Cradle of Civilization

Most Americans learned about ancient civilizations in a public school course called "World History" or something similar to that. A major portion of the course consisted of the history of Asia Minor. We were taught that this area contained "The Cradle of Civilization," the crucial geographic link between the West and the East. We were taught that many famous persons crossed Asia Minor for one reason or another. We learned that Asia Minor continued to play an important role in history until modern times. At that point Asia Minor seemed to fade from importance.

In other words, the American educational system made Asia Minor a familiar name in American minds. Mostly because of this, the recurrent use of Asia Minor in history, art, and archeological literature reinforces the image of Asia Minor's being important in the development of civilization, at least until modern times.

Naturally, the readers of this report know that Asia Minor today is the Republic of Turkey. They probably also know that the largest portion of Turkey is Anadolu, or Anatolia.

But, does the majority of the American public know that Turkey, Asia Minor, and Anatolia all refer to the same land area? Many persons most likely do know this, if they really think about it. But, what are the thoughts of a casual reader browsing through the library, or the high school student who is doing a project on ancient civilizations? Do they think Turkey when they read Asia Minor or Anatolia?

The library browser or the student may choose The Dawn of Civilization because it is an impressive looking reference book, filled with colorful pictures. It is a well done, authoritative source of information. It is devoted to explaining the development of civilization, particularly in the area of Persia, Asia Minor, and the Aegean Sea.

The editor, Professor Stuart Piggott, does mention that Turkey occupies what he refers to as Anatolia; however, this fact is easily overlooked. The book assaults the reader with innumerable references to Anatolia and Asia Minor. But the worst effect is felt when the text combines references to Anatolia with the modern national names of other areas. For example--"In the Highland zone, one culture after another, mostly with painted pottery, is found in Iran, Cyprus, Anatolia, and Greece"¹; or ". . . no doubt, be discovered in Southern Anatolia, Syria, and Iran."²

Of course, in one way, Piggott is correct in referring to the areas in that fashion. The American, or English, reader can identify the area readily. But in the cases of Corinth, Thessaly, and Macedonia, Piggott chooses to write Greece. Again, he uses the name that is most familiar to the readers.

The point of this matter is that it will continue to be difficult for Americans to identify Turkey as the site of wonderful, artistic archeological discoveries so long as reference books refer to the area as Asia Minor or Anatolia. No one can envision Turkey as an area in which ancient civilization developed unless the authoritative sources provide that information.

Piggott is not alone in referring to Turkey as Asia Minor or Anatolia. That is generally the case. Usually,

¹Prof. Stewart Piggott, ed., The Dawn of Civilization, (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961), p. 64.

²Ibid., p. 59.

cursory mention is made of Turkey's existence in the Foreward or Introduction of the book and then omitted thereafter.

Omission of reference to Turkey is apparent in other semi-authoritative sources as well. In the catalogues of both the Boston Museum and the New York Metropolitan Museum, Graeco-Roman statues are listed as having been found in Asia Minor, while at the same time listing other sites as being in Greece. Whether such reference is proper or not, it is widespread. Even the curator of the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery, Islamic Art Department, expressed the opinion that Asia Minor is the proper term to be used for Graeco-Roman archeological sites. She is Dr. Esin Atil, a Turkish-American, born and educated in Istanbul. (This situation will be discussed more fully in a later section.)

Americans first become aware of Turkey in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, bias appears in the American perception of the Ottoman Turks. We generally remember the negative aspects--the fierce warriors, slavery, massacres, and so forth.

When one examines the sources, however, this is not surprising. Books such as Perowne's The Archaeology of Greece and the Aegean illustrate paintings like that of Delacroix which vividly depicts a massacre scene of Chios residents by the Turks. Even a biographical sketch of Sinan, the architect, written by Arthur Stratton, is sprinkled liberally throughout with mention of throat-slashings, decapitations, rapes, kidnappings, and pillage.

Historically, English-language books present Turks as an enemy, or at best, as a sinister force. The Ottoman Empire was the scourge of the Middle East and Europe; the unfortunate Armenians were murderously eliminated by the "Terrible Turks"; the "Glorious Greeks" regained their land from the Ottomans, and later were routed from Asia Minor along with the other Allies.

Beginning with the formation of the First Turkish Republic, the history of Turkey tends to be treated less

negatively than previously, but for the most part, it is ignored by the American public. Both a cursory and an objective, in-depth study of Turkish history and art indicate that there is little reason for Americans to identify with and be sympathetic to the Republic of Turkey or her people.

Having a negative image is bad enough, but when you are pitted against a traditional foe (this, in itself, is a myth--but it exists), the contrasting and generally positive image of the foe becomes important.

The Greek Heritage

We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts, have their roots in Greece.

Those are the words of Percy Bysshe Shelley, an Englishman. When you combine them with the works of Lord Byron, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and other English-speaking authors, you become aware of how Americans might have acquired a Greek heritage. Our literature is saturated with Greek influence. The ancient Greek writings are considered to be our "classics." Nearly every American knows the names Homer, Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle. American school children learn the adventures of both Hercules and Jason.

Greece remains constantly in and around us, though we may not always be conscious of it. We are in the presence of Greece, though at some remove, when we look at innumerable court houses, banks, and porticoed mansions built in America in the Greek Revival style. Some men hold that when Roman Catholics revere the Virgin Mary, they are unconsciously the inheritors of Greek and pre-Greek worship of a mother goddess.³

The same reference books that omit adequate mention of Turkey continually reinforce the Greek heritage. One gets the idea that everything good or beautiful in the eastern

³William Harlan Hale, ed., The Horizon Book of Ancient Greece, (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 9.

Mediterranean area originated with the Greeks. And then the Greek influence spread to the rest of the Western World; hence, our Greek heritage. (The infrequent mention of Greek-inflicted slavery, throat-slashings, massacres, etc. are overlooked.)

The Byzantine Empire contributes significantly to the Greek heritage in America. We relate to Classical Greece because of the beauty, the philosophy, the democracy; we relate to the Byzantine Empire mainly because of Christianity.

According to the editor of The Dawn of European Civilization, David Talbot Rice, Christianity is the dominant theme of recorded history. Thus, Constantinople was the center of civilization during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. History of the events contributing to Western civilization emanated directly from Constantinople (Christian, Greek). Continuing in this vein, according to Western history, the enemies of Constantinople were the Arabs and the Turks. There can be no wonder, then, that a less-than-favorable attitude might exist toward these peoples.

It would prove no useful purpose to explore the Greek heritage in America in more depth. Americans, in general, have been educated to believe that some type of bond exists between the Americans of today and the Greeks of classical times. There exists also, but to a much lesser degree, a religious commonality to the Greeks of the Byzantine era.

Turks in the News

As Doob described in his theories, the attitudes that exist (the environment) determine perception of the message. These attitudes also determine what becomes news. Because of this, it is important to examine what the American public receives in the line of news that might effect the Turkish image.⁴ But first, we should consider what the Turkish image might be. One journalist describes it like this:

⁴A detailed analysis of Turkish news in the Washington Post for the period 1972-1976 is presented in Chapter 10.

Just as the French have difficulty seeing London as the sex capital of Europe, and just as the average Briton thinks the boulevards of Paris are awash with half-dressed prostitutes, so Turkey remains bathed, for ignorant foreigners, in its pre-1918 image of brutality. Even Turkey's repression of the Armenian bid to secede during World War I and to join the enemy, Czarist Russia, remains unforgiven.⁵

Turkish events that become news in the United States are no different from those in most other foreign countries. There has been the usual coverage of natural disasters, situations involving the United States or its citizens, major internal political problems or changes, student unrest and revolts, and assorted other topics. There have been stories about economics, tourism, highway and industrial development, and so forth. In other words, nothing really out of the ordinary!

Nevertheless, the news tends to perpetuate Turkey's negative image. "Nothing really out of the ordinary" news, inevitably, involves a negative or controversial action. A complaint often heard in America is, "The news is always bad; why don't the media report good news for a change?"

If the image of Turks perceived in America is really one of brutality, then stories about student riots would definitely have a tendency to reinforce the image. This same image would also facilitate acceptance of stories about Turkish Army atrocities in Cyprus. Additionally, as noted earlier, if that image does exist, then negative stories would have a higher probability of being perceived than positive news about Turkey.

A good indicator of images, or stereotypes, that exist is found in the political cartoons of the newspapers. The Turkish cartoon character invariably is a burly man dressed in Ottoman-style clothing either brandishing a sabre, or with the sabre tucked into his waistband.

⁵Russell Warren Howe, "The Lingering Taste of Bitter Lemons in Turkey", The Baltimore Sun, Dec. 26, 1976, p. K12.

Marshal McLuhan, the Canadian communication theorist, has expounded a theory that "the medium is the message." In the event that McLuhan is correct, then the Turkish image in America is receiving negative reinforcement from another source--ARAMCO World magazine. Frequently, this magazine, published by the Arabian American Oil Company, carries articles about Turkey and about Turkish participation in activities of the Islamic Nations. This certainly contributes to the American public's misplacement of Turkey into the Arab World.

In an associated example, consider the John Hoge article, "Lamb and its Many Possibilities",⁶ distributed by the Associated Press. Hoge described some of the ways in which lamb is prepared by two groups--Arabs and Greeks. When queried about this, Hoge responded that he knew Turks were not Arabs, but chose not to differentiate between them in his article. Although his reasoning was indeed logical and sound, his article contributed to the lack of positive news about Turks that is perceived in the United States.

When all of the preceding information is added to the anti-Turkish advertising paid for by pro-Greek forces, as well as articles describing alleged desecration of Armenian religious artifacts, the negative news about Turkey becomes significant.

The Turkish Connection

There is a danger in the fact that the Turkish government and the Turkish people continue to base their history and heritage on the Seljuk Turks; in other words, on the Turkic peoples.

If the history of Asia Minor mentioned earlier in this chapter were included in Turkey's history, and the artifacts from ancient times included in the cultural heritage of Turkey,

⁶John Hoge, "Lamb and its Many Possibilities", Washington Star, Feb. , 1977, p.

then certainly the image of Turkey could not be one of brutality. Why does Turkey's history and heritage begin only with the Seljuk Turks?

In the final years of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks experienced difficulties on many fronts. The Greeks drove the Ottoman forces from Macedonia and Thessaly; the Armenians and the Kurds attempted to create their own countries out of eastern Turkey; the Sultan took sides with Germany in World War I. Naturally, when the war ended, the Ottoman Turks were on the losing side. What remained of the Ottoman Empire was to be partitioned.

At the same time, Mustafa Kemal, the famous Turkish General, gathered forces in a move to create a Turkish nation. Without going into detail, it is sufficient to say that Mustafa Kemal's forces drove the Greeks out of western Anatolia, and Italian and French forces departed from southern Anatolia. The First Turkish Republic was created in 1923 with Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) as the first president.

During his drive for political power, Atatürk created and stressed a program of Turkish nationalism.

Loyalty to the new political community was in the long run contingent upon the development of fealty to the Turkish nation on the part of the Anatolian people. The Ministry of Education, the Turkish Historical Society, the Republican People's Party as well as members of the intelligentsia engaged in a massive campaign to re-educate and indoctrinate the Turks in a sense of pride for their past accomplishments. The new language which revived old Turkish words, the flag, patriotic stories, poems and music, political slogans, pictures and statues of the national hero, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, were devices effectively used in building a genuine and homogeneous Turkish nation.

This fostering of a sense of nationhood was probably the most successful and enduring of the reforms of the republican regime, encouraging the common man to regard himself as a Turk first and than a Moslem. If the Turkish leaders, the

intelligentsia, even the man in the street, subscribed to a new set of values, the idea of a 'Turkish Nationalism' merits being called an ideology.⁷

Atatürk's methods were successful. The nationalistic movement worked and resulted in the state of Turkey as we know it today. There was one unfortunate aspect; the bonds of nationalism were forged on the common heritage of the Turkic people. (By unfortunate, the author means in light of today's needs. It is well understood that an attempt to promote a nationalistic movement based on today's geographical boundaries was out of the question during Atatürk's time. To do so then would most certainly have resulted in the partitioning of Turkey by the Allies, the Armenians, and the Kurds.)

Because of the strong success of their nationalist movement, the Turks themselves have contributed to the perpetuation of a history of Asia Minor that excludes mention of Turkey. So long as Turks believe that the history of the Turks begins with the Seljuk Turks, there will be no serious attempt to include the pre-Seljuk peoples into the cultural heritage of Turkey.

Did the pre-Seljuk peoples contribute significantly to Anatolian culture? In attempting to describe the ancestry of Sinan, the architect, Stratton writes:

It was the dust of Joseph's [Sinan's] ancestors, first the nomads, then the men and women who settled down in the earliest of cities, ten thousand years ago, and then the many invaders from the east and the west. They looked like their descendants, the rest of us, these first civilized human beings now known as Mediterranean people. Then came people known in history as the Hittites, Sumerians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Scythians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, Galatians. And then all the others: the Greeks, the Romans, the legionaries, the Byzantines, the mercenaries, the Praetorians, the Varangians, the Persians,

⁷Metim Tamkoc, The Warrior Diplomats, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1976), p. 99.

the Slavs, the Arabs, the Crusaders, the Armenians, the Mongols, the Tartars, the Circassians, the Seljuks, and the many clans and tribes of the Gazi Turks. There is no way to hit upon Joseph's ancestry.⁸

⁸Arthur Stratton, Sinan, (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1972), p. 13.

CHAPTER 5

CREATION OF A MYTH

If, as Howe suggested, Americans now have a perception of Turkey emphasizing brutality--one that prevents a sympathetic attitude toward the Turks, an effort must be made by the Government of Turkey to alter the Turkish image. This chapter reviews literature and opinion in four inter-related areas, upon which Turkey could develop an image both acceptable to Turks and credible in the United States. These areas can be used to develop what Ellul referred to as a myth. The myth, in this case, would emphasize that Turks and Americans are bound together by the ties of history, culture, democracy, and the American need for Turkish goods.

The Loom of History

Various descriptive phrases have been used at times to denote different areas of the world. Two terms familiar to Americans are "The Birthplace of Civilization" and "The Cradle of Democracy"--the first denoting the Tigris-Euphrates Valley; the latter referring to Athens or Greece.

There is another term, however, which is used by various authors--"The Loom of History." This term refers to either the Aegean coastal area of Asia Minor or to Anatolia. In either case, the region is Turkish territory. No matter which peoples inhabited the area; no matter what the area was called at various times in history; only one thing remained constant--the land itself. Greeks, Romans, Persians, Turks, and others have lived there, but it has always been the same land--the country now called Turkey. It would, therefore, be logical to promote Turkey as "The Loom of History."

To do so most likely would not run counter to the existing belief that Turkish history begins with the Seljuk

Turks. Just as a loom provides the frame on which a rug is woven or tied, so too could Turkey's present boundaries be the frame on which the Turkish historical carpet is knotted. The pre-Seljuk peoples provide the warp and weave upon which the Turkic peoples knot the design. On the surface, the carpet's design is still distinctively Turkish, but the foundation is provided by the ancient civilizations which are the source of today's archeological treasures. In other words, Turkish history now resembles a kilim, but it really should be a much more valuable hali.¹

Can Turkey expand its history today? How does that affect America's Greek Heritage? This author feels that there is no conflict between Greek and Turkish history.

Today we can no longer measure man's early cultural achievements only in terms of classical Greece or of the Bronze Age civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, or Crete; new archaeological discoveries show that these eras had forerunners of no less importance. Among them is the highly sophisticated culture that flourished nine thousand years ago in Catal Huyuk, a recently uncovered city on Turkey's Anatolian plateau. . . . The Catal Huyuk site has brought to light jewelry, hunting equipment, household utensils, statuettes, and other religious objects, and--most significantly--the earliest murals ever found on man-made walls.²

The Catal Huyuk artifacts have been carbon-dated to 7500 BC, thousands of years before the first pre-Greek people appeared. (For that matter, the Catal Huyuk people may have been among those who eventually became known as Greeks. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that the bull cult of the Minoans³ originated in Catal Huyuk.)

¹A kilim is a thin, woven rug with no nap; a hali is a rug with nap tied onto the backing.

²James Mellaart in The Light of the Past, (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1967), p. 33.

³The Minoans lived on the island of Crete in about 6000 BC; they have been identified as one of the forerunners of the Greeks.

But there is no need to compete with Greek history. Greek history, as we know it, complements the Turkish history suggested here. Much of it, in fact, contributes to Turkey's "Loom of History." It is, however, only one segment of the history, along with that of the Hattites, the Hittites, the Urartians, the Phrygians, and the others.⁴

The historical contributions of classical Greece, to a large degree, were made by the Ionians. These people formerly were Athenians who fled during the Dorian invasion and crossed the Aegean Sea to the coastal area of southwestern Asia Minor (Turkey). They became famous in history for philosophy, and for their graceful art and architecture. Presently, Ionic contributions to history and art are considered to be exclusively Greek (Athenian). But Herodotus, the Ionian historian, was among those who think otherwise:

The Athenian claim is of importance, if only as shewing (sic) how outstanding the Ionians had become. What are the reasons for their eminence? We cannot define them: the spirit bloweth where it listeth. One element in the Ionian character must have been racial intermixture. Herodotus says that the Greek settlers intermarried with the Carians, the indigenous inhabitants.⁵

It appears, then, that the philosophical and creative nature of the Ionians could have stemmed from sources originating in both Greece and Asia Minor. Is it not then logical that the Ionians contributed to both Greek history and to the history of Asia Minor?

The objective observer can find sufficient reason to question whether America's Greek Heritage is real or is a myth. For our study, however, there is no significant

⁴This author does not claim to be either an historian or an archeologist. There are, however, scholars in both fields, both Turkish and foreign, who could develop the pre-Seljuk history of Turkey.

⁵Stewart Perowne, The Archeology of Greece and the Aegean, p. 114.

difference. The Greek Heritage exists; therefore, it cannot be attacked directly. To do so could result in counter-propaganda as well as disbelief in the Turkish message.

But Turkey should be able to expand and promote its historical image of "The Loom of History" without directly challenging the Greek Heritage of America. This image accepts existing Greek and Roman contributions to the total history of Turkey, just as it accepts the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks.

A Refined Culture

Just as the Russians export artists, composers, and ballet troupes to divert one's attention from politics, so too can Turkey export "something" to change its reported image of brutality. "Something" that is associated with a refined culture--art, music, historical artifacts, creative works.

The Smithsonian Institute's current display of "The Treasures of Tutankhamen" gives an indication of how Americans respond to properly-promoted historical art displays. Properly-promoted denotes that the pre-propaganda has succeeded in creating a receptive environment. Americans have been assaulted for years with tales of King Tut's Tomb. Standing in line for hours to see the treasures from the tomb has been a normal response.

The King Tut exhibit illustrates another important factor. It has caused a secondary reaction throughout the United States. Other displays of Egyptian art have become popular; fashion has imitated Egyptian styles; sales of Egyptian-style jewelry have increased; all of the media repeatedly have carried stories about Egyptian art, both nationally and locally. The popularity of the King Tut exhibit has had a widespread "bandwagon" effect. And, because of the current awareness of Egyptian things, Egypt benefits politically.

Properly-promoted Turkish historical artifacts might be expected to achieve similar effects as the King Tut exhibit, but the key to success is "The Loom of History." If

the "Loom" image were perceived by Americans, an exhibit of artifacts from the "Loom" could be expected to have the effect of presenting a significant piece of history to the American people.

And, as educated Turks are aware, many of Turkey's historical artifacts now are located outside of Turkey's borders. The opportunity for a secondary reaction is high. The successful exhibit of Turkey's historical treasures might act as the catalyst for exhibits that are currently identified as Asia Minor artifacts, Greek and Roman coins, Islamic art, and so forth to become known as "Loom of History" exhibits; thereby, reinforcing a favorable Turkish image.

The idea of exhibiting historical artifacts found in Turkey is not new to the Turkish government. There was such a display that toured various cities in the United States in the late-1960's. It was well received, but there was insufficient pre-propaganda. The American public did not perceive that Turkey was the source of many of the world's ancient art treasures.

That Turks currently participate in cultural activities might not be readily perceived by Americans. Many Americans probably suspect this to be true, but just aren't really sure about it. There have been performances by Turkish musical virtuosos, artists, dancers, and so on--but has the American public been aware of it? The performances have been few and far between, and poorly publicized.

For example, Miss Gulsin Onay, one of Turkey's classical pianists, performed at the National Gallery of Art in Washington on March 13, 1977. She played works composed by Schubert, Debussy, and Mendlessohn. She also played works by Ersin Onay and Adnan Saygun, two Turkish composers.

Who was aware of this performance? Possibly only the regular attendees of the National Gallery's piano series and those who listen to the series on radio. But, they probably already knew that there are Turkish concert pianists and composers. The crucial questions are--1) Does the public know?

2) Did Miss Onay's performance contribute anything to the American public's perception of Turkey?

This author located a notification of Miss Onay's concert in Turkey Today, a limited-distribution official newsletter of the Turkish Embassy. Further search produced notification in the Sunday edition of only the Washington Star newspaper--in the schedule of concert-type events. (The notification appeared on the day of the performance.) There is a good possibility that this notification had little influence on the general American perception of Turkey's contributions to the performing arts. Persons who read the daily concert schedule most likely constitute only a minor audience.

Art that is considered by Turks to be Turkish art also has received little exposure in the United States. This includes miniature paintings, shadow theater, poetry and literature, ceramics, and so forth. Granted, the reader can point to the New York City showing of a contemporary Turkish artist's work, or to a Washington exhibit of a Turkish-American's ceramics and sculpture. These are isolated examples. Overall, Americans have been able to view few examples of Turkish art on a continuing or frequently recurring basis.

Additionally, few exhibits of Turkish art have been reported in the American media, although these media could be used effectively to transmit the Turkish message. Newspapers and magazines continually run articles on all types of art. Television offers near-limitless opportunities. Every Saturday morning, "Children's Television Theater" presents foreign movies exclusively.⁶ There are TV shows on which Karagöz (shadow theater) might possibly be welcome. There are openings for documentaries, travelogues, and others.

At the present, Americans are receptive to things identified as ethnic. Just note the current Pan Am

⁶In fourteen months of watching this show, neither the author nor his children have seen a Turkish movie.

advertisement on television: "Every American has two heritages." We have become interested in not only our own individual heritage, but in each other's as well. The appearance of items relating to a Turkish heritage most likely would not appear to be out of place. And items pertaining to the arts and culture could reasonably be expected to be well received, because Americans like to identify with creativity and beauty.

A Democratic State

To this day, Americans consider Greece as "The Cradle of Democracy" dating back to the original Athenian democracy. Yet, democratic government has just recently returned to Greece. In spite of the numerous political changes in Greece through the years (some of which were definitely not democratic), Americans still retain the continuing perception of Greece as a democracy (once a democracy, always a democracy).

In the meantime, it has been reported that the Turkish image has been one of pre-1918 brutality. That also infers that an image of the Ottoman political system possibly also exists. If so, the image is erroneous.

So enormous was the revolution conducted against the Sultan by General Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk)--who, earlier, drove the Allies from the Dardanelles in World War I, and the Greek invaders from Thrace and western Anatolia shortly after--that Turkey today resembles no other Moslem nation.

El Al flies into Istanbul to disgorge passengers into a secular state with multiple parties, proportioned representation, the Latin alphabet, and the Christian calendar. Turkey today is as democratic as Japan, its press limitations no greater than those of France.⁷

⁷Russell Warren Howe, "The Lingering Taste of Bitter Lemons in Turkey", The Baltimore Sun, Dec. 26, 1977, p. K12.

This, then, is an area in which the Government of Turkey might consider action. The United States considers itself to be the "Protector of the Free World" (meaning the democratic nations). If Turkey's image should place her outside of "The Free World", it is possible that she might automatically lose a significant amount of empathy from the American people--and empathy is just another term for an environment receptive to propaganda.

The Need for Turkish Things

Americans today probably have a desire to buy Turkish things, but they might not know it! Why not? Because Turkish things, the limited number available, are usually hidden within the categories of Oriental, Persian, Middle Eastern, Arab, Islamic, and Greek.

For example, Turkish carpets often are considered to be overpriced, but inferior-grade, Persian or Oriental rugs. American shoppers tend to prefer the tightly-knotted Persian carpets to the Turkish ones with their double knots. And Persian carpets are cheaper, due mainly to the lower cost of labor in the producing country. The obvious result is that Americans buy relatively fewer Turkish rugs.

The apparent lack of a Turkish rug market in the United States, however, probably does not result from inferior quality and high prices. It results most likely from Turkish rugs being a little known commodity. Possibly a market for Turkish rugs can be created, because the need for a commodity can be created by the proper application of propaganda. (In this case, primarily through advertising and marketing techniques.) An American public that believes Turkish rugs to be worth the price, and different from Persian rugs, might be expected to create the demand for the product.

Other Turkish products might find an already receptive market in the United States, so long as the quality is not diminished. The products are easy to identify; American tourists and temporary residents of Turkey have been buying

them for years. Brass and copper, meerschaum pipes and jewelry, Kutahya pottery, Ottoman-style jewelry, etc.⁸

There is a point to all of this. The Turkish products could be expected to contribute to the pre-propaganda in making Americans aware of Turkey. It is reasonable to assume that Americans who are aware of having Turkish products in their homes might be aware of Turkey as a nation. They, therefore, could be considered as being receptive to Turkey's direct propaganda message.

Are Americans currently aware of Turkish products? Are there any Turkish products in common use in America of which Americans are aware? Answers to those questions might give an indication of how wide-reaching a Turkish-product-awareness effort might be. No statistically valid answers can be provided here; however, two items are offered as examples of the current level of awareness:

Meerschaum is a product of Turkey. Almost every educated adult American is familiar with meerschaum pipes. Most of these Americans, however, have no idea where the meerschaum comes from.

The second example is perhaps more drastic. A Turkish friend of the author's family returned to Bandirma, Turkey, after living in Texas for a year. She purchased quite a few American goods during her stay in the United States. Many of these purchases were made in excess to provide a little "take-home stock." Among this stock were four bottles of a spice--bay leaves. A distinctively American product? The source of bay leaves for the world market is Turkey!

⁸Recently a Turkish-owned shop selling these items failed in the Washington area. This should not be cited as an example that Turkish products do not sell in the United States. In addition to the lack of proper sales promotion, the shop was located in an area designed as a Metro terminal; however, the Metro station will not open until summer, 1977.

CHAPTER 6

LEGAL CONSTRAINTS ON TURKISH IMAGE PROMOTION

In applying the theories of propaganda to the formulation of an actual program, it is very easy to develop an ever-present, all-encompassing assault on American public opinion. Obviously, though, there are limits to the extent of the program--the budget, for instance.

But other limitations are just as important, especially for a foreign government disseminating propaganda in the United States. A crucial limiting factor is that the foreign government must abide by the laws of both countries. This chapter discusses the three major legal constraints that confront the Government of Turkey in conducting a propaganda program in the United States.

The Foreign Agent Registration Act

The most important legal constraint is the Foreign Agent Registration Act of 1938, as amended. The basic policy statement of the Act indicates the extent to which a foreign nation must reveal its propaganda:

It is hereby declared to be the policy and purpose of this Act to protect the national defense, internal security, and foreign relations of the United States by requiring public disclosure by persons engaging in propaganda activities and other activities for or on behalf of foreign governments, foreign political parties, and other foreign principals so that the Government and the people of the United States may be informed of the identity of such persons and may appraise their statements and actions in the light of their associations and activities.

In fact, this Act compels any person (agent) who receives direction, control, or finances from any foreign source (principal) for the purpose of propaganda (public relations, lobbying, fund-raising or distributing, political activities, etc.) to fully divulge his activities to the American public. Every agent must: (1) register with the Department of Justice; (2) disclose all financial transactions with the foreign principal; (3) list and file copies of all propaganda distributed on behalf of the foreign principal; and (4) note all political contributions made solely on behalf of the agent.¹ The American public then has access to the information at the Department of Justice. The public can inspect the files in the Public Reading Room and obtain copies of all pages from the file at ten cents per page.

As in the case of most laws, rules, and regulations, there are exceptions to the filing requirements of this Act. Diplomats who are performing their duties in accordance with State Department regulations are not required to register.² There are also two other categories of filing exemptions that have an important bearing on this study:

Section 3 (d). Any person engaging or agreeing to engage only (1) in private and nonpolitical activities in furtherance of the bona fide trade or commerce of such foreign principal; or (2) in other activities not serving predominantly a foreign interest; or (3) in the soliciting or collecting of funds and contributions within the United States to be used only for medical aid and assistance, or for food and clothing to relieve human suffering, if such solicitation or collection of funds and contributions is

¹Political contributions made by, or on behalf of the foreign principal are illegal.

²Although the exemptions listed in the Act seem to state that press, publicity, and information counsellors (diplomats) must register, a Justice Department lawyer informed this author that persons in these categories must register only if they perform their functions separate from the embassy staff.

in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the Act of November 4, 1939, as amended (54 Stat. 4), and such rules and regulations as may be prescribed thereunder;

Section 3 (e). Any person engaging or agreeing to engage only in activities in furtherance of bona fide religious, scholastic, academic, or scientific pursuits or of the fine arts.

These exemptions are significant. Direct propaganda of the purely political variety must be revealed. But the exemptions allow a nation to conduct its pre-propaganda in a concealed manner, so long as this pre-propaganda does not have political overtones.

For example, there are numerous Turkish organizations who can promote whatever they choose within the areas previously listed without revealing the promotion as propaganda. Even if the Government of Turkey supports the organizations' promotions, there is no legal requirement to reveal the non-political propaganda. Contributions from the fine arts, athletics, scholastics, and so forth all play a role in the total propaganda program, but they remain unidentified as such.

The IRS Code of 1954

The second major legal constraint on Turkish propaganda is found in the Internal Revenue Service Code of 1954--in the sections pertaining to tax-exempt organizations. This particular constraint is mentioned because a total propaganda program for Turkey might involve coordination with, or the use of, various tax-exempt organizations such as some of the American-Turkish organizations.

The IRS Code does not forbid foreign governments from supporting the programs of tax-exempt organizations. It does, however, provide general guidance for the organizations with respect to participation in propaganda dissemination. The guidance varies somewhat depending on the type of organization; however, it usually reads something like: the organization

can retain its tax-exempt status so long as it does not substantially engage in the carrying on of propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation and does not participate in a political campaign on behalf of any candidate.

The key to the guidance is substantially. An organization can occasionally publish propaganda items and present lectures of a propaganda nature; however, this can prove risky. There has been at least one occasion on which an organization lost its tax-exempt status for taking out a newspaper advertisement urging the public to write their Congressmen to vote against a particular bill.

The Antiquities Law

The final legal constraint considered in this study is a Turkish law. Following the loss of innumerable historical treasures to foreign collectors, the Government of Turkey passed the Antiquities Law. This law makes it illegal to remove historical artifacts from Turkey.³

It forbids individuals from taking Turkish artifacts abroad. Unfortunately, it also prohibits the Government of Turkey from sending historical exhibits abroad. Before an official "Loom of History" exhibit could become a part of the Turkish propaganda, it would appear that the Antiquities Law must be amended.

³Antiquity Laws have become common in many emerging nations who are just recently aware of the value of their historical treasures.

PART III. THE EXISTING PROGRAM

CHAPTER 7

TURKISH PUBLIC RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

The propaganda program of the Government of Turkey consists mainly of two segments--public relations and tourism promotion. Of these, public relations appears to receive the greater emphasis in the United States at the present.

The PR Professional¹

The Government of Turkey has hired American public relations firms at various times in the past: Barco, Cook, & Patton (1964); Malcolm M. Kilduff (1969); Manning, Selvage, & Lee (1975); and Edelman International (1975). Generally, the term of employment has been one year, and has coincided with a Turkish need to influence pending legislation in the Congress during a period of crisis.

For this study the existing public relations program of the GOT is comprised of those transactions occurring between the start of the Cyprus conflict in July 1974, and the present.

In September 1975, the Government of Turkey hired two American firms to handle public relations functions--McNutt, Dudley, Easterwood, & Losch for legal services and legislative representation; and Manning, Selvage, & Lee for public relations. To date, McNutt et al continues to serve in its

¹The information in this section came almost exclusively from Department of Justice files. This author attempted to gain direct access to the information from the Turkish account executive at Edelman International, David Banks, and from the Turkish Ambassador to the United States. The response from both Edelman and the Turkish Embassy was that Edelman's activities on behalf of the Turkish Government were confidential and of no concern to the author's research. Thus: reasons for PR decisions by either the diplomats or the counsel can only be deduced from the public record.

original capacity; however, Manning, Selvage, & Lee (later referred to as Manning) was terminated as a Turkish representative by the GOT in March 1976.²

During the time Manning handled the Turkish account, they distributed the normal type of propaganda on behalf of GOT--news releases, fact sheets, etc. The main issues discussed in the propaganda were: the Congressionally-imposed arms embargo, the Cyprus question, and the cultivation of poppies in Turkey. The propaganda was distributed to legislators, newspapers, and news services. Manning also provided coordination and news coverage for Turkish Ambassador Melih Esenbel's speech to a foreign relations study group in Austin, Texas.

The initial letter of proposal from Manning to the Turkish Ambassador is of particular interest to this study. In this letter, Morris Lee described the background and qualifications of his public relations firm, and the proposed objectives and budget for the Turkish PR program. Mr. Lee stated that, over the long term, Turkey did not need a propaganda³ program; the need was to improve the Turkish image in the United States through the use of existing media. He suggested the use of TV news and talk shows, radio, newspapers, magazines, columnists, editorial writers, and so forth.⁴ Lee also identified relief of the arms embargo and getting Turkey's message to the American public and Congress as the short-term objectives.

²The Turkish Embassy originally contracted Manning, Selvage, & Lee for a 12-month period; however, the contract was terminated in only six months.

³Propaganda, in this case, is not the generic term. Lee obviously was using the word to denote direct political propaganda. He proposed "the dissemination of facts, frankly and freely given. . . no half-truths or out-right misstatements."

⁴Ellul and Doob: Propaganda that is not perceived as propaganda is the most effective type.

Improving the Turkish image without direct propaganda as the long-term objective. . . yet, Manning, Selvage, & Lee was terminated as the Turkish representative after only six months.

According to Mrs. Jean Rainey, Manning executive in charge of the Turkish account, there were two main problems: (1) it was difficult for Manning to release information concerning Turkey in a timely fashion⁵; and (2) Manning was unable to achieve the results thought possible in Ankara.⁶

Upon termination of the contract with Manning, the Turkish Embassy contacted Hill & Knowlton, an American firm well known for international public relations. A Hill & Knowlton representative examined the Turkish files at Manning and decided against handling the public relations of the Government of Turkey.⁷

The Turkish account was then picked up by Edelman International in March 1976; and Edelman continues to represent the GOT. It is difficult to assess Edelman's performance. According to the Justice Department files, Edelman has been actively disseminating a Turkish message. But the message has been limited to the Cyprus issue, the

⁵This problem was twofold: Embassy permission to release information which Manning thought necessary for Turkey's PR needs was often withheld; and Embassy review of proposed releases was often slow.

⁶Whether Mrs. Rainey's opinions were correct or not could not be confirmed by this author. One Embassy spokesman indicated that the opinions sounded reasonable. Ambassador Esenbel would make no comment other than that he made the decisions as to what information would be disseminated, and that he decided to terminate the Manning contract (no reason was given).

⁷George Warden, Hill & Knowlton account executive, said that they chose not to accept the Turkish account because of a change in Hill & Knowlton policy. The firm decided not to represent foreign governments; this involved the firm in foreign policy and political squabbles. Warden also said, "Foreign governments also can be difficult for us. . . because the people often are unsophisticated. They get unhappy because they can't control the U.S. media."

Aegean, the arms embargo, and poppies. For the most part, the propaganda has been mailed, on an average of five times a month, to public officials and their staffs, to newspapers, and to news services. Edelman representatives also have contacted various Members of Congress and their staffs.⁸

One main ingredient is missing from the Edelman program--there is no long-term propaganda. Everything indicates that Edelman has been hired to promote only the short-range needs of Turkey. In other words, Edelman provides nothing more than lobbying and limited information dissemination for the Government of Turkey.⁹

The price for this lobbying service? From June 1976 through November 1976--\$42,600 for personnel costs, and \$11,413.92 for expenses. Now, \$54,000 may not seem like much by American standards, but it is when you compare it to Turkish expenditures for tourism promotion and other areas of sorely needed public relations.

The Diplomatic Persuaders

Just as John Lee described the embassies' attempts to persuade in Chapter 3, so too do the Turkish diplomats try to persuade. There are the cocktail parties, the receptions,

⁸The persons contacted are identified in the Justice Department files. Among those contacted by David Banks was the Legislative Assistant for the author's Congressman. To understand what "contacted by Edelman" really means, this author called Mrs. Marsha Madsen of Rep. Joseph McDade's office. She remembered being contacted by someone representing Turkey via telephone, but refused to meet with him. She also said that Turkish propaganda gets filed in the trash upon receipt in the McDade office.

Special Note--Rep. McDade's district has a heavy Greek-American constituency. The handling of Turkish propaganda by his staff is probably not indicative of the average Congressional office.

⁹Ambassador Esenbel informed this author that Edelman does only what he (Ambassador Esenbel) instructs the firm to do. His justification was, "Only a Turk knows what is best for Turkey." He further stated that the use of an American PR firm is necessary only because of its contacts.

the informal meetings with American officials, and other diplomatic endeavors necessary to spread Turkey's message.¹⁰

Ambassador Melih Esenbel has addressed various audiences such as the Women's National Democratic Club and the Council on World Affairs in St. Louis, Mo. He has visited numerous American cities to deliver Turkey's message. He has made personal contact with most of the leaders of Congress and the Administration. During the initial stages of the Cyprus conflict, he personally delivered the Turkish message to Capitol Hill.

Other Turkish Embassy counsellors have followed the Ambassador's lead in addressing various professional and political gatherings. They also have made direct contacts through the social and semi-official circuits.

But, the Turkish Embassy does not follow John Lee's example in one important area--the persuasion program is not under the direction of a professional information counsellor. It is considered to be a part of the foreign relations profession rather than the responsibility of a propagandist.

For example, in January 1977, the Embassy began publishing a monthly newsletter, Turkey Today, which is distributed through Edelman to legislators, public officials, and various special interest audiences. Turkey Today is propaganda. Yet, the publication is prepared and edited in the main Embassy building under the direct supervision of the Deputy Chief of the Mission (DCM). The DCM is not a professional propagandist; he is a career foreign service diplomat with an especially strong background in economics.

Meanwhile, there is an office of press and information with a Press Attache assigned. It is physically located in the Embassy Annex; removed from the decision-making body of the Embassy. Among the functions of the press office are:

¹⁰The full extent of Turkish diplomatic participation in propaganda is unknown to this author. It is assumed that the Turkish officials are no less adept at making diplomatic contacts than diplomats of other nations.

to respond to press inquiries, to prepare press releases, and to respond to other inquiries for information about Turkey. These functions also are obviously a part of a total propaganda program. Yet, there is no real coordinator of this program--the foreign relations specialists dabble in some areas of direct propaganda, while the information specialists have no authority to control the propaganda program.¹¹

The Political Propaganda

This section deals with the printed propaganda that is distributed within the United States on behalf of the Government of Turkey. There are basically two types of printed Turkish propaganda--locally-prepared "white papers" and publications prepared by the Directorate General of Information in Ankara.

The locally-prepared propaganda usually deal with specific subjects, and have the appearance of fact sheets. They are the type of political propaganda normally distributed within the Washington area. They are normally considered by the recipients to be sources of background information on the specific subject (propaganda, but factual).

An important consideration in the preparation of these fact sheets is that they provide the necessary information, but in a minimum number of pages.¹² Unfortunately, many of the releases distributed by Edelman on behalf of GOT fall into the "too long" category.¹³

¹¹Obviously, the Ambassador is responsible for all of the functions of the Embassy. It is impractical, however, to expect the coordination of all Embassy functions to rest solely with the Ambassador; a certain amount of delegation of authority and responsibility is necessary.

¹²The audience for fact sheets is invariably comprised of individuals with busy schedules. Short, concise fact sheets get read; long papers get put aside for "free time" or filed in the trash.

¹³Because Edelman's primary public relations function is lobbying, their audience automatically fits into the busy category--legislators and their staffs.

A much more serious problem exists with the propaganda publications prepared by the Directorate General of Information in Ankara. Almost every one of these publications has the look of "hard-core" propaganda. The English grammar is often incorrect; the paper quality is normally poor; the photos are not the type that are likely to catch an American's eye. These publications, some of which have been distributed by Edelman, might be expected to achieve just the opposite of the desired effect. Because they have such a "hard-core" propaganda look, they are likely to arouse the reader's resistance to perceiving the message.

In every aspect of propaganda, the budget is a consideration. Printed propaganda is no exception! Money spent on publications that do not enhance perception of the nation's message is not money well spent. And money spent on publications that increase the resistance to perceiving the nation's message is the same as a donation to the opposing propagandists.

CHAPTER 8

TURKISH TOURISM PROMOTION

The Market

The promotion of tourism in the United States is big business. Every foreign nation, as well as American resorts, cities, states, and parks, compete for the American tourists' plentiful dollars. We, the potential tourists, are enticed to "See America." But we are also assaulted daily with advertising that tells us to: "Cruise the Caribbean/Mediterranean"; "Visit Japan/Europe"; "Explore Africa/the Swiss Alps"; and so on. Our options are many.

Within the tourism promotion industry, there are specific markets; they vary according to audience, destination, and interests. For instance, destination-oriented markets can be identified as European, Far Eastern, African, etc.

Turkey is considered to be in the European market. This means that the American advertising for Turkish tourism is aimed at tourists who plan to visit Europe, hoping to entice them into including a side trip to Turkey in their vacation plans. At the present, Turkey cannot support its own market; there is little demand for Turkey as a primary tourist destination.¹

Insofar as tourism promotion is concerned, the European market is primarily a summertime market. The major advertising push occurs in the spring. Of course, there is additional advertising throughout the year (emphasizing lower travel fares, etc.); however, the market demands that Turkish tourism promotion accelerate during spring months.

¹According to William S. Wallace of Jacobson, Wallace, Inc., the New York advertising agency which handles the Turkish tourism account.

The Money

Because the European market demands a major advertising effort in March through May, the Turkish tourism promotion meets with a major obstacle--the Turkish Fiscal Year ends at the end of February. The Turkish Tourism and Information Office in New York, then, enters the peak advertising period with an uncertainty about the amount of money available for its springtime campaign. This uncertainty gets passed on to the American advertising firm that promotes Turkish tourism. It appears that, in the past, efforts were made to spread the advertising expenses over the entire year, instead of concentrating the advertising in a time frame designed to meet the demands of the market.²

But, a more serious money problem confronts the tourism promotion program than the timing of the budget; that is the total of the budget allotted to tourism advertising. The advertising budget of the New York tourism office has been only about \$70,000--\$70,000 to promote a nation to the lucrative American audiences for an entire year.

Turkey competes with many other nations for American tourists. Some of those countries belong to the same market, countries such as Spain and Greece and Yugoslavia. Greece and Spain are promoting their tourism opportunities with well-produced, continually running, coordinated campaigns on television and radio, as well as in the print media. Turkey, on the other hand, purchases only two or three major advertisements in leading American newspapers each year, plus

²Insufficient records were kept by the Turkish Tourism and Information Office to determine with certainty the pacing of previous campaigns.

limited advertising in selected magazines; and more significantly, no purchases on radio or television advertising.³

Obviously, budgetary limitations must be considered when promoting tourism. There is, however, another serious consideration--the environment. When competition exists, it must be given serious consideration. Competitive promotion of tourism creates a budgetary limit below which advertising expenditures might be wasted. Repetition of the message enhances the probability that it may be perceived, but the number of repetitions required is related to the environment. The message must be repeated sufficiently often to achieve perception. Until that time, the advertising is no more effective than no advertising at all.

The Method

For the most part, deficiencies in Turkish tourism promotion caused by the budget were covered in the preceding section. This section deals with the methodology used in promoting Turkey to the American tourists. Obviously, methodology and budget are related; however, the factors presented here are ones in which the methodological views seem to override budgetary constraints.

A common thought in promotion (propaganda) is that an increase in expenditures causes a proportional increase in the effectiveness of the promotion. In some cases, this statement is true. But in other cases, an increase in expenditures may only cause existing shortcomings to be escalated to a larger scale. One such example can be found in Turkish tourism promotion.

³Examination of the Sunday Travel section of The Washington Post gives a representative indication of how Turkish tourism advertising compares to its competitors. During 1976, there were, on the average, between 3 and 4 advertisements listing Greece in each issue; compared to only 1 advertisement listing Turkey in 3 out of 4 issues. Note: not all of the advertisements for Greece were sponsored by the Greek National Tourist Office.

This author was informed by three Turkish government officials that one of the most severe problems confronting tourism promotion was an insufficient number of publications for distribution. They were satisfied with the format and content of the tourism pamphlets, but disappointed with the total number available.⁴ Yet, this author feels that the main tourism pamphlet distributed in the United States has an extremely serious content deficiency.

The pamphlet Turkey is a well-done, full-color, offset glossy brochure listing everything a tourist would want to know about Turkey. . . except one thing--how to get there from the United States. Obviously, the pamphlet is designed to be the English-language version, applicable to all English-speaking peoples. It lists the ways one can get to Turkey from most of the European capitals, but that most likely indicates to an American that he must change airplanes somewhere in Europe to get to Istanbul or Ankara.⁵ That single thought might be a good reason to choose some other destination, one with a direct flight from the United States.

Would the publication of more brochures correct the problem? What about a single, quarter-page addendum inserted into the existing brochures?

The tourism brochures prepared by the Ministry of Tourism and Information are definitely competitive. They're good tourism propaganda; definitely far superior to Turkey's political propaganda. The question is: which Americans are

⁴Because there is, in fact, less than an abundant supply of each pamphlet for distribution, the tendency has been to hoard what has been provided, instead of making them available to the public.

⁵In fact, the opposite is true; Pan Am flies direct flights (with intermediate stops) to Istanbul from New York and Washington; the frequency of direct flights varies--presently, there are flights on Monday through Thursday and on Saturday.

familiar with them? This author has found them only in the Turkish Embassy and the Turkish Tourism and Information Office.⁶

A budget increase at the Ministry of Tourism level to disseminate Turkish tourism brochures sufficiently in the United States would be an increase well spent.⁷ This example is provided to indicate the extent of the tourism competition: the difference between Turkish tourism information response and Greek tourism information response when one sends in the clip-out coupon in the Washington Star.⁸ After a period of eight weeks, the Turkish Tourism and Information Office had sent only their main tourism brochure.⁹ However, the Greek National Tourism Organization had mailed a package containing nine brochures; Olympic Airways had mailed eight brochures; and Skyline Travel Service had sent four brochures (all promoting Greek tourism).¹⁰

The brochures themselves indicate a significant factor to be considered by the Government of Turkey. Among the brochures promoting Greek tourism, were those published by the Greek National Tourism Organization. But the others were published on behalf of Olympic Airways, American Express,

⁶The author visited (at random) six travel bureaus in New York City and five in the Washington, D.C. area. Inquiries about travel to Turkey produced only Greek tourism brochures with side trips to Istanbul, Greek Aegean cruise brochures with stops at Bodrum and Istanbul, and one brochure from a Turkish hotel (Stad).

⁷If all of the tourism brochures continued to be produced solely with Ministry funds.

⁸The author's wife returned the coupon to the Washington Star requesting tourism information about Greece and Turkey.

⁹"You can't get there from here!"

¹⁰Greece was selected for comparison not because of political or religious reasons; it was selected because of its proximity to Turkey and the similarity of tourist attractions in both countries.

and TWA. In other words, the Greek government shared the cost of preparation, publication, and mailing with private interests.

The Turkish Tourism and Information Office conducts other efforts at promoting tourism, such as disseminating news releases and preparing displays, but not to the extent necessary to achieve a perceptible effect on the American public.

The most blatant deficiency of the Turkish tourism program in the United States, from the standpoint of propaganda, is that it is not part of a total program. There appears to be no coordination between tourism promotion, information dissemination, and political propaganda. The Tourism people "do their own thing" while the Foreign Relations people "do their own thing."

CHAPTER 9

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN FLUX

Even though propaganda has been around since caveman days, public relations is a 20th century phenomenon. So is the Republic of Turkey. Just as public relations has been growing and changing, so too has the Turkish Republic. There is no wonder then, that an examination of the Republic of Turkey's public relations program finds a system in flux.

Because of the newness of the Government of Turkey, developing a public relations organization has necessarily played a secondary role. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, the personnel and assets which could be considered as serving a public relations function were busily promoting nationalism to insure survival as a nation. But now, Turkey is in a transitional period--her sovereignty and territorial integrity are intact; now she is interested in relating to the world community of nations.

An examination of the PR-type organizations within the Turkish government clearly indicate that a transitional period exists. There is ample evidence that the traditional way of doing things still is widespread¹; however, there are also valid indicators that changes will be made in the near future.²

¹"Since political activity as well as intra-governmental affairs and personal relations are essentially based on mutual fear and suspicion, authority is rarely delegated to subordinates nor is undue responsibility assumed by them. The results are extreme red tape, inefficiency, and waste of human and material resources." Metin Tamkoc, The Warrior Diplomats, p. 109.

²Following his return to Turkey from a recent visit to the United States, the Turkish Foreign Minister, Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil told the Council of Ministers that a serious Turkish image problem existed in America, and that a public relations effort was necessary to correct the problem. Presently, the chairman of the Turkish Senate Foreign Relation Committee, Kamurun Inan is stressing the need for a change in Turkey's public relations program.

Currently, the Government of Turkey's public relations program (propaganda) in the United States is divided between two departments: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Tourism and Information.³

The Ministry of Tourism and Information is further subdivided, from a propaganda viewpoint, into a Press and Information Department, and a Tourism Department.

Within the United States, the Tourism Director in New York and the Press Attache in Washington are funded by, and report to, the Ministry of Tourism and Information. All other propaganda efforts are funded and controlled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, primarily through the Embassy.⁴ There is no coordinator of the total propaganda effort.

Recently, Altemur Kiliç was assigned as Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations. He was assigned by, and reports to, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among his other duties, Mr. Kilic is attempting to assess Turkey's public relations needs and efforts in the United States. Presumably, his position will ultimately become that of public relations (propaganda) coordinator.⁵

Whether he will be able to successfully coordinate Turkey's propaganda program in the United States remains to be seen. At the present, there is a need for the Turkish government to worry about its image in America--important

³Each Ministry performing its own tasks with no coordination between them; each with its own budget and separate field offices.

⁴Whether the diplomatic missions physically separated from the Embassy, such as the Consulates, are funded and controlled directly from Ankara, or controlled by the Embassy is unknown to this author.

⁵Altemur Kilic has had extensive experience with information dissemination, both as a journalist and as a government official. In our interview, Mr. Kilic expressed good, sound ideas about Turkey's PR needs in the United States. He appears to be aware of many of the present shortcomings--the paucity of public opinion surveys, failure to keep track of "friends of Turkey," failure to develop a long-range program, failure to promote all of Turkey's assets, and failure to gear existing propaganda for the American audience.

legislation is pending that affects Turkish national security. Right now Kiliç can most likely get all of the personnel, material, and money that he needs for promoting Turkey. But, there will be elections in Turkey sometime between June and August; the pending legislation will most likely be passed by Congress in the spring. Turkey's image will, in all probability, remain unchanged. Will the Government of Turkey establish and maintain a long-range, coordinated public relations program in the United States, or will its public relations system continue to be an organization in flux?

PART IV. THE ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 10

THE RECENT PAST

In Chapter 7 it was noted that the Government of Turkey seemed to hire American public relations firms only during times of crisis. It was also pointed out that, since 1975, the public relations efforts of these firms have dealt with only four issues: the Cyprus question; the Aegean Rights issue; the Congressionally-imposed arms embargo; and the cultivation of poppies in Turkey. Obviously, then, these must have been perceived as the most important issues affecting Turkish-American relations since 1975.

The following section presents an analysis of news about Turkey that has been published in The Washington Post in the recent past. This analysis: (1) illustrates the propaganda value of "news" (the news must have some propaganda value if the lobbying effort involves the same issues), and (2) indicates what the American public could have perceived about Turkey from the news media during the selected time frame.

The Washington Post 72-76

This section is an analysis of Turkish "news" appearing in The Washington Post, 1972 through 1976.¹ The format is

¹This analysis is made of the entries listed in the annual issues of The Washington Post Index, 1972 through 1976. This listing should not be considered as representing Turkish news coverage by each element of the U.S. news media. The coverage most likely varied from medium to medium, area to area, and audience to audience. The Washington Post does, because of its reputation and widespread readership (especially among government officials and influential persons), have some influence on issues; therefore, a content analysis of this newspaper does have significance.

an annual listing of ten selected news categories,² in descending order according to the number of annual entries. There are also comments following each annual list indicating significant topics within specific categories, or explaining the main news issue.

Also included with each annual list is the total number of entries for the year;³ this figure contains entries from the ten categories, other miscellaneous entries, and Letters to the Editor.⁴ The final set of figures presented annually is the number of entries believed (in the opinion of this author⁵) to have contributed either positively or negatively

²These categories were selected according to two criteria. In nine cases, the categories are those that appeared in the top five at some time during the five-year period. The Armenian issue is the exception--it is listed to illustrate how propaganda of agitation can be conducted. Turkey was the villain in the Armenian agitation propaganda campaign early in the twentieth century. The issue is kept alive partly by a once-a-year demonstration that "makes the news."

³The total number of entries is included only to alert the reader to the existence of a crisis period for Turkey--hence, the GOT hires an American PR firm.

⁴Letters to the Editor reflect the important issues. To categorize them would tend to indicate a greater relative importance of the major issues to the other issues. They do, however, become an important entry when one measures the repetition of a message.

⁵According to the content analysis guidelines set forth by Bernard Berelson in Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952). In this report, the author evaluated entries according to the following criteria: Stories and editorials - only the headlines and the first two paragraphs mentioning Turkey were examined; cartoons - both the stereotype Turkish character and his actions were examined; photographs - both the visual presentation and caption were examined.

to the Turkish image⁶--assuming that The Greek Heritage and Turkey's Ottoman Empire image (brutality, un-democratic) actually exist in the United States.⁷

1972

1. Turkish Politics	40*	6. Greek-Turk Relations	3
2. Poppy Growing	11**	7. Drug Arrests	2
3. Turkish Life	5	8. Armenian Issue	1
4. Military Aid	5	9. Aegean Issue	0
5. Cyprus Issue	4	10. Earthquakes	0

* The Turkish political issues were internal political strife accompanied by terrorism, and political instability.

**American money was paid to Turkey to stop poppy cultivation in a move to reduce illicit opium traffic.

TOTAL - 72 POSITIVE - 21 NEGATIVE - 45

⁶Noting, of course, that a contribution to the image can be made only if the entry were perceived by the reader. A negative contribution was considered to be a perception that reinforced the Ottoman Turk image; one that reinforced Turkey as the enemy of Greece (Greek Heritage); or one that reinforced Turkey as acting against the best interests of the United States. A positive contribution was considered to be a perception that questioned the validity of a negative Turkish image; promoted Turkey as a good ally of the United States; or evoked American sympathy toward Turkey and the Turks. For example, Turkey's decision to stop poppy cultivation resulted in positive "news"; the decision to re-cultivate the poppies resulted in negative "news". News of earthquakes and human suffering were positive; military aid to the NATO-ally Turkey was positive for 1972, but became negative after the Cyprus conflict began. Neutral entries occurred so infrequently that they have been omitted completely from this summary.

⁷The survey of American public opinion and awareness of Turkey included in this research confirms the validity of this assumption, to a degree.

1973

1. Turkish Politics	60*	6. Armenian Issue	1
2. Turkish Life	13	7. Cyprus Issue	0
3. Drug Arrests	6**	8. Aegean Issue	0
4. Poppy Growing	1	9. Military Aid	0
5. Greek-Turk Relations	1	10. Earthquakes	0

* The main political issue was internal political instability; including attempts to form a coalition government, the end of martial law, violence associated with the political race.

**American women were arrested and convicted of smuggling hashish into Turkey--underriding sentiment in the news was deplorable conditions in Turkish jails.

TOTAL - 82 POSITIVE - 13 NEGATIVE - 69

1974

1. Military Aid	38*	6. Greek-Turk Relations	4
2. Poppy Growing	14**	7. Aegean Issue	3
3. Turkish Politics	11	8. Turkish Life	2
4. Cyprus Issue	10	9. Earthquakes	1
5. Drug Arrests	4	10. Armenian Issue	0

* The issue was the Congressional decision to impose an arms embargo on Turkey; the key phrase used throughout was "Military Aid"; Aid implying giving U.S. military supplies, not selling.

**The issue was Turkey's decision to resume growing poppies.

TOTAL - 91 POSITIVE - 3 NEGATIVE - 84

1975

1. Military Aid	48*	6. Earthquakes	4
2. Cyprus Issue	24	7. Turkish Life	2
3. Turkish Politics	14	8. Aegean Issue	1
4. Poppy Growing	9	9. Armenian Issue	1
5. Greek-Turk Relations	6	10. Drug Arrests	0

* This figure does not contain 13 entries on "American Base Closures in Turkey." This issue was tied to the arms embargo, but was carried as a separate issue by U.S. media; this issue also used the term "Blackmail" freely.

TOTAL - 165 POSITIVE - 11 NEGATIVE - 136

1976

1. Aegean Issue	12*	6. Military Aid	4
2. Turkish Politics	9**	7. Turkish Life	2
3. Greek-Turk Relations	9	8. Poppy Growing	2***
4. Cyprus Issue	6	9. Drug Arrests	0
5. Earthquakes	5	10. Armenian Issue	0

* The Aegean Rights Issue now becomes one of oil exploration rights, and Greek threats to stop the Turkish exploration ship, Sismik.

** Articles on internal Turkish politics report the incidents of student and rival-faction violence.

***Jack Anderson keeps the poppy issue alive.

TOTAL - 70 POSITIVE - 8 NEGATIVE - 57

As we have seen in the total number of annual Washington Post entries, Turkey clearly entered a period of heightened "international interest" for American public during 1974-1975. This corresponds to the Cyprus conflict, beginning in July 1974, and the resultant Congressionally-imposed arms embargo; internal political upheaval in Turkey; and suspension of American operation at military bases located in Turkey. Turkey also provoked entries in American news media by announcing its decision to recultivate poppies earlier in 1974. It is understandable, then, that a public relations firm representing the Government of Turkey might select--or be forced to deal with--those issues for its propaganda.⁸

⁸This type of propaganda is strictly reactive; it is always short-range. It is referred to as counter-propaganda.

The issue of American perception of the Turkish image, and the contributions made by media inputs, is one that is examined indirectly in the survey. As was mentioned in an earlier chapter, this author feels Turkey to be treated no differently than most foreign nations by the U.S. media. However, should The Washington Post entries from 1972 through 1976 have been perceived by the American public in the same manner as perceived by the author, then the Post may be said to be perpetuating the existence of a negative Turkish image.

Meet The Turk

To demonstrate what might be expected in public reaction to a Turkish promotional (propaganda) campaign, the following example is presented:

In 1974 R. J. Reynolds Co., manufacturer of Camel cigarettes launched an advertising campaign called "Meet The Turk." According to a spokesman for the company,⁹ the campaign was designed to take advantage of Camel's unique blend of Turkish and domestic tobaccos. They chose a male model who presented the appearance of a modern, progressive, macho young man, and told the American public to "Meet The Turk."

The image intended by the marketing personnel at R. J. Reynolds Co. was that of the commonly known "Young Turk"--hard-charger, "doing his own thing"; it was not intended to directly project the image of a Turkish man, although such a projection was not avoided.¹⁰

⁹An associate of Mr. Dennis Durden, Public Relations Director of R. J. Reynolds Co. The information presented in this section was told to the author during a telephone conversation on November 15, 1976.

¹⁰It was only after the campaign passed the planning stage R. J. Reynolds marketing personnel perceived that the figure projected could be interpreted as a Turkish National as well as a "Young Turk."

The new Camel campaign was test marketed in California where it proved successful. R. J. Reynolds Co. then used "Meet The Turk" nationally, beginning in the summer of 1974.

During the test marketing of the campaign, there was no significant negative response from the general public. There were, however, a significant number of complaints from Greek-Americans and Armenian-Americans, both from individuals and from the ethnic organizations.¹¹ The complaint, generally, was that the R. J. Reynolds Co. was glorifying an ethnic group which was responsible for the massacre of thousands of innocent people.

Because the complaints emanated from two groups known to possess anti-Turkish sentiments, and the sales of Camel cigarettes increased during the "Meet The Turk" campaign, R. J. Reynolds Co. incorporated the new campaign into the national advertising.

Shortly after the new campaign entered national advertising, the Cyprus conflict occurred. There still was no significant negative public reaction; however, the anti-Turkish groups stepped up their previous efforts. R. J. Reynolds Co. decided to remove "Meet The Turk" from the advertising to avoid association with a sensitive political issue (with its associated loss of sales).¹²

¹¹This type of reaction was recently experienced by the author. Following publication of his Letter to the Editor of the Washington Star concerning the Star's propagandizing various issues (in this case, Armenian nationalism), Armenian-Americans began a phone campaign to the author. In two days there were six calls: four were by persons desiring to "educate" the author about Armenia; two were direct threats to the author's safety. The author then had his telephone number changed and unlisted. It is reasonable to expect Armenian-Americans to react similarly to Turkish image promotion.

¹²Even the best planned campaigns sometimes "bite the dust" because of the unexpected.

It is important to note that the R. J. Reynolds Co. did not perceive a negative response to the "Meet The Turk" campaign from the general American public, even after the Cyprus conflict began. It is also important to note that in conceiving the "Meet The Turk" campaign, the marketing people consciously thought only of the "Young Turk" image, and not that of a Turkish National.

CHAPTER 11

DESIGN FOR A SURVEY

In assessing the climate for, and acceptance of, a public relations program in the United States, it becomes necessary to determine American public opinion on various issues important to the propagandist. The usual method of measuring the effectiveness of propaganda is a comparison survey of public opinion on the issues before and after the propaganda campaign. In assessing the Government of Turkey's public relations program, however, the author has been unable to locate any evidence that this method has ever been used, either to determine existing opinion or awareness level of Turkish issues.¹ Therefore, the present survey has been designed as a pilot survey on awareness of the Government of Turkey's public relations program in the United States.

Methodology and Subjects²

The informal survey was designed to measure things--an awareness of Turkey and existing opinion on assorted Turkish issues. To measure awareness, the survey attempted to ascertain the level of familiarity with Turkish lifestyle, Turkish history, Turkish culture, and the country itself. To

¹A survey of opinions concerning the Cyprus conflict and the arms embargo was conducted in 1974 by an independent New York-based organization; however, there is no evidence to indicate that the persons responsible for Turkey's public relations program were aware of its significance in planning public relations. Mr. Kiliç, who now is in a position of assessing GOT public relations, was responsible for directing the author's attention to the survey.

²Guidelines for the survey design were provided by A. N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement, (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1966).

measure opinion, the survey sought to discover the existence of stereotypes and their strengths, or depths.

Three groups were sampled: the general public, opinion leaders, and a comparison group.³ The general public consisted of persons selected at random, mostly on the basis of "targets of opportunity." Opinion leaders were media personnel, educators, religious leaders, and leaders of various organizations. The comparison group consisted of Turkish-Americans and Turkish Nationals.⁴ Within each group, the desired sample size was 30; however, 31 members of the General Public group were actually interviewed.

The author interviewed each respondent personally. During the interview, the author read each question up to three times to insure clarity. The response choices were pre-printed on individual index cards which the respondent held during the interview.

All interviews were conducted between November 1976, and March 18, 1977. During this period, the author took

³Members of the general public were selected at random by the author. The only controlling factors were that the respondent be available to the author while he carried the questionnaire; that the respondent have twenty minutes to devote to the interview; and that the respondent be willing to answer the interview questions. Because the survey was designed only as a pilot survey, a deliberate attempt was made to include respondents from a cross-section of socio-economic backgrounds. This was accomplished by interviewing persons in selected neighborhoods, businesses, and government agencies, as well as interviewing door-to-door salespersons at the author's house. Opinion leaders, for the most part, were randomly selected from local schools, newspapers, and news bureaus; however, the author knew ten respondents personally prior to the interview. And all members of the comparison group, except two, were known by the author prior to the interview.

⁴Americans who had lived in Turkey for at least two years were originally included in the comparison group; however, their responses were consistent with neither Turkish responses nor those of the general American public. They are included in Chapter 12 only for the interest of the reader; the sample size of this group (15) is insufficient for statistical validity.

note of several significant events printed in the American news media which could have affected survey responses, but continued the interview in its original form.

Description of the Survey InstrumentPart 1

This section consisted of eleven questions. Each question is listed here (Q), followed by the specific issue addressed by the question (I).⁵

1. (Q) When you think of Turkey or the Turks, what words or image come to mind?
 (I) The existence of a Turkish stereotype and consensus opinions.
2. (Q) Indicate which of these words best describe your opinion of the Turks:

brave	ignorant
conceited	impatient
creative	innovative
crude	intelligent
cruel	patriotic
dirty	practical
fierce	religious
friendly	trustworthy
hard working	warlike

 (I) Is there a Turkish stereotype, and how does it compare to the stereotype of an Arab or a Greek stereotype?
3. (Q) Politically, Turkey can best be described as?

a. Kingdom
b. Dictatorship
c. Republic
d. Communist
e. None of the above

 (I) An awareness of Turkey.
4. (Q) Indicate which of these words best describe your opinion of the Arabs:

warlike	hard working
trustworthy	friendly
religious	fierce
practical	dirty
patriotic	cruel
intelligent	crude
innovative	creative
impatient	conceited
ignorant	brave

⁵The issue is addressed only to the reader of this report. The respondents were not aware of the purpose of the questioning.

- (I) Is there a stereotype of the Arabs, and how does it compare to a Turkish stereotype?
5. (Q) In which of the following categories would you place the country of Turkey?
- The African Nations
 - The Western World
 - The Arab World
 - The Decaying Powers
 - None of the above
6. (Q) Which of these words best describe your opinion of the Greeks?

warlike	trustworthy
patriotic	intelligent
religious	practical
innovative	impatient
ignorant	hard working
friendly	fierce
dirty	cruel
crude	creative
conceited	brave

- (I) Is there a stereotype of the Greeks, and how does it compare to a Turkish stereotype? Also designed to indicate a possible Greek-Turkish bias.
7. (Q) Should the United States take sides in a Greek-Turkish dispute? If so, with whom should the U.S. side? Why?
- (I) To indicate public opinion on this issue, for possible use in future public relations approaches.
8. (Q) Which of these words best describe your opinion of Americans?

brave	conceited
warlike	trustworthy
creative	crude
religious	practical
cruel	dirty
patriotic	intelligent
fierce	friendly
innovative	impatient
hard working	ignorant

- (I) Used only as an indicator of anti-foreigner bias for each respondent.

9. (Q) What do you think is the most pressing problem in United States-Turkish relations? Are there any other major problems?
 (I) To indicate the awareness of issues that have been transmitted by American media.
10. (Q) Have you ever been to Greece? Turkey?
 (I) To indicate an effect on awareness and opinion from first-hand experience.
11. (Q) Except for earthquake stories, can you recall any news about life in Turkey?
 (I) To indicate perception of Turkish issues.

Part 2

This section of the survey consisted of eleven statements. The respondent was asked to comment with one of five responses STRONGLY AGREE; AGREE; NO OPINION (Don't Know); DISAGREE; STRONGLY DISAGREE.⁶ Each statement is listed here (S), followed by the specific issue addressed (I).

1. (S) Much of Christian history, as related in the Bible, took place in Turkey.
 (I) To indicate the geographical location awareness of familiar facts and stories.
2. (S) The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World became famous in Greek and Byzantine history. Do you know about them? Two of them were located in what is now Turkey--these two should be considered a legitimate part of Turkish history and heritage.
 (I) To indicate the expected receptiveness to a future Turkish PR issue.
3. (S) Throughout history there have been vast kingdoms and empires that covered land which is now

⁶The Likert Intensity Scale of attitude measurement. A. N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement, pp. 133-142.

divided into separate countries. The cultural heritage of these modern day countries should include the culture of the peoples who inhabited that particular land, regardless of the name given to it through the course of history.

- (I) To indicate the expected receptiveness to a future Turkish PR issue.
- 4. (S) Graeco-Roman art and architecture can be found in many European and Middle Eastern countries. These historical artifacts belong only to the Greek and Roman cultures, not to the cultural heritage of the country in which they are located.
 - (I) To indicate the expected receptiveness to a future Turkish PR issue.
- 5. (S) Turkey has a lot to offer tourists, and at a bargain price.
 - (I) To indicate the perception of a major Turkish Tourism and Information Office advertisement, as well as a general awareness of Turkey for tourism.
- 6. (S) From a cultural and artistic viewpoint, Turkey has little to offer to the world.
 - (I) To determine the awareness of Turkish culture and art.
- 7. (S) The American news media usually present an objective view of Turkish events.
 - (I) To indicate the perception and believability factors of Turkish news.
- 8. (S) The predominant religion in Turkey is Islam (Moslem).
 - (I) To indicate awareness of Turkey, and the level to which religion might play a part in the American perception of Greek-Turkish disputes.⁷

⁷A commonly heard remark from Turks is that the United States could be expected to side with Greece against Turkey because of the Christian versus Moslem issue. This question is included to determine if the American public knows that most Turks are Moslems.

9. (S) Non-Moslems, particularly Christians, are considered by the Turks to be natural enemies, and are not treated well in Turkey.
- (I) To determine if this stereotype exists and to what degree.
10. (S) Alexander the Great, King Midas, St. Paul, St. Nicholas, and Helen of Troy all contributed to the history of Turkey.
- (I) To measure the awareness of historical events that took place in what is now Turkey.
11. (S) The American public has a good idea what Turks are really like.
- (I) To indicate the depth of a Turkish stereotype.

Part 3

This section consisted of four pages of photo identification. The respondent was asked if the photos on each page depicted either Turkish scenes or Turks. Each page was designed to indicate if a Turkish stereotype exists, and to what depth.

Part 4

This section consisted only of biographical-type data of the respondents; to be used to categorize the responses, should a significant variance and categorization of responses exist.

Analysis of Interview Findings

The data was analyzed in three ways: Part 1 and Part 3 responses are categorized as percentages of the total response; Part 2 responses were measured by intensity, presented with the mean response, the mode, and the standard deviation; and throughout the survey, unobtrusive observation was also used to determine significant attitude or behavior of the respondents.⁸

⁸Unobtrusive observation was possible because the author personally conducted each interview.

PART V. THE FINDINGS

CHAPTER 12

THE SURVEY RESULTS

A Breakdown By Question

Part 1

Because this section consisted of questions requiring different types of answers, the responses are presented here in differing formats. Each question was analyzed separately; however, the responses for Questions 2, 4, 6, and 8 are combined for presentation because of their comparative nature. The General Public (GP) is a sample of 31 respondents; Opinion Leaders (OL) is sample size 30; Comparison Group (CG) consists of two segments--Turkish (T), sample size 30, and American (A), sample size 15.¹

Responses

1. When you think of Turkey or the Turks, what words or image come to mind?

¹The Comparison Group (American) is included only for the interest of the reader. Because of sample size (15), the responses of this group offer insufficient statistical validity. The reader should note, however, the significant variance of response in this group from both the General Public and the Comparison Group (Turkish). Two factors cause this variance: (1) a greater awareness of Turkey through first-hand experience; and (2) an unequal tendency to accept or reject perceptions that reinforce stereotypes the respondents had before arriving in Turkey. To include the responses of this group, therefore, would inject variables that bias the evaluation of Turkey's efforts to influence American public opinion.

General Public

Men in Ottoman garb with sabres	5
Mosques and minarets	5
Hot, arid land	4
Great fighters (Korean War)	3
Copper and brass	3
Women with veils	3
Warlike people	2
Belly dancers	2
Oil crisis	2
NATO southeast anchor	2
Middle Eastern country	2
Poor and backward people	2
Talented artisans	2

Opinion Leaders

Ancient history	13
Ottoman-garbed men	7
Poor, hungry, old people	4
Massacres and atrocities	4
Belly dancers	3

Comparison Group, Turkish

Istanbul	9
Like Europeans	7
Mediterranean country	5
Ancient history	5
Brave people	4

Comparison Group, American

Ancient history	5
Changed opinion from bad to good after meeting Turks	4
Turkish hospitality	3
Dirty, old people	2
Fierce, crude people	2

*NOTE - only phrases selected more than once appear here.

Indicate which of these words best describe your opinion

of:

2. Turks; 4. Arabs; 6. Greeks; 8. Americans.

General Public

	<u>Turks</u>	<u>Arabs</u>	<u>Greeks</u>	<u>Americans</u>
brave	11	5	5	7
conceited	2	8	9	13
creative	2	2	13	16
crude	11	12	2	1
cruel	7	11	4	2
dirty	19	13	3	1
fierce	17	10	3	3
friendly	6	2	10	14
hard working	10	1	16	13
ignorant	9	7	3	2
impatient	3	11	2	14
innovative	3	2	4	13
intelligent	3	4	7	16
patriotic	10	7	14	17
practical	1	5	7	12
religious	11	19	20	6
trustworthy	4	0	3	5
warlike	16	17	4	3

*using double-digit responses:

Turks are: dirty, fierce, warlike, brave, crude, religious, hard working.

Arabs are: religious, warlike, dirty, crude, cruel, impatient, fierce.

Greeks are: religious, hard working, patriotic, creative, friendly.

Americans are: patriotic, creative, intelligent, impatient, friendly, conceited, hard working, innovative, practical.

**using responses with fewer than five repetitions:

Turks are not: practical, creative, conceited, impatient, innovative, intelligent, trustworthy.

Arabs are not: trustworthy, hard working, creative, innovative, friendly, intelligent.

Greeks are not: impatient, crude, ignorant, fierce, dirty, trustworthy, warlike, innovative, cruel.

Americans are not: dirty, crude, cruel, ignorant, fierce, warlike.

Opinion Leaders

	<u>Turks</u>	<u>Arabs</u>	<u>Greeks</u>	<u>Americans</u>
brave	10	4	7	8
conceited	2	6	6	5
creative	3	0	14	14
crude	12	13	3	0
cruel	9	4	1	3
dirty	6	13	2	1
fierce	6	8	4	9
friendly	5	0	7	13
hard working	5	6	12	16
ignorant	2	7	1	2
impatient	14	1	7	14
innovative	5	0	4	7
intelligent	0	3	16	14
patriotic	6	4	6	8
practical	7	3	3	4
religious	14	15	16	6
trustworthy	0	1	6	2
warlike	15	15	2	1

*using double-digit responses:

Turks are: warlike, impatient, religious, crude, brave.

Arabs are: warlike, religious, dirty, crude.

Greeks are: religious, intelligent, creative, hard working.

Americans are: hard working, intelligent, creative, impatient, friendly.

**using responses with fewer than five repetitions:

Turks are not: intelligent, trustworthy, conceited, ignorant, creative.

Arabs are not: creative, friendly, innovative, trustworthy, impatient, practical, intelligent, cruel.

Greeks are not: cruel, ignorant, warlike, dirty, crude, practical, fierce, innovative.

Americans are not: crude, dirty, warlike, trustworthy, ignorant, cruel, practical.

Comparison Group (Turkish)²

	<u>Turks</u>	<u>Arabs</u>	<u>Greeks</u>	<u>Americans</u>
brave	19	6	2	0
conceited	2	6	15	0
creative	6	3	3	9
crude	1	7	1	2
cruel	1	7	6	0
dirty	2	18	1	0
fierce	5	4	4	0
friendly	17	2	7	18
hard working	6	2	3	20
ignorant	2	16	1	8
impatient	9	9	9	5
innovative	4	1	1	12
intelligent	12	7	17	6
patriotic	15	3	9	6
practical	3	1	10	15
religious	16	19	8	12
trustworthy	8	0	1	8
warlike	4	5	12	5

*using double-digit responses:

Turks are: brave, friendly, religious, patriotic, intelligent.

Arabs are: religious, dirty, ignorant.

Greeks are: intelligent, conceited, warlike, practical.

Americans are: hard working, friendly, practical, religious, innovative.

**using responses with fewer than five repetitions:

Turks are not: crude, cruel, conceited, dirty, ignorant, practical, warlike, innovative.

Arabs are not: trustworthy, practical, innovative, hard working, friendly, creative, patriotic, fierce.

Greeks are not: crude, dirty, ignorant, innovative, trustworthy, brave, creative, hard working, fierce.

Americans are not: brave, conceited, cruel, dirty, fierce, crude.

²The possibility exists that some of the words were avoided by individual respondents due to translation difficulties. The author provided translation assistance when requested, but not for each word with every respondent. The reader should also realize that these respondents are Turks who, for the most part, live in the United States. Their opinions are not indicative of all Turkish Nationals.

The responses for Questions 2, 4, 6, and 8 were also compared in another manner--content comparison for each respondent individually.³ The results are:

a. Arabs and Turks are similar to each other.

General Public	14 respondents
Opinion Leaders	6 respondents
Comparison Group (T)	2 respondents

b. Greeks and Turks are similar to each other.

General Public	2 respondents
Opinion Leaders	6 respondents
Comparison Group (T)	8 respondents

c. Negative Turkish opinion and positive Greek opinion.

General Public	12 respondents
Opinion Leaders	11 respondents
Comparison Group (T)	0 respondents

d. Positive Turkish opinion and negative Greek opinion.

General Public	3 respondents
Opinion Leaders	3 respondents
Comparison Group (T)	6 respondents

e. Greek opinion based on Classical Greece.

General Public	7 respondents
Opinion Leaders	5 respondents
Comparison Group (T)	0 respondents

3. Politically, Turkey can best be described as:

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison Group (T)		Comparison Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Kingdom	4	12.9	6	20.0	0	-	0	-
Dictatorship	17	54.8	13	43.3	0	-	0	-
Republic	6	19.4	8	26.7	30	100	14	93.3
Communist	1	3.2	2	6.7	0	-	0	-
None of the above	2	6.5	1	3.3	0	-	1	6.7
No answer	1	3.2	0	-	0	-	0	-

³These criteria were used for comparison: similar--at least half the selected words were the same for both nationalities; positive--more than half the selected words were positive words (brave, creative, friendly, hard working, innovative, intelligent, patriotic, practical, religious, trustworthy); negative--more than half the selected words were negative words (conceited, crude, cruel, dirty, fierce, ignorant, impatient, warlike); Classical Greece--the respondent was asked to describe his image, after he had responded with a clearly positive Greek opinion.

5. In which one of the following categories would you place the country of Turkey?

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison (T)		Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
African Nations	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Western World	5	16.1	3	10.0	16	53.3	4	26.7
Arab World	21	67.7	21	70.0	0	-	7	46.7
Decaying Powers	1	3.2	2	6.7	0	-	2	13.3
None of the above	4	12.9	4	13.3	14	46.7	2	13.3

7. Should the United States take sides in a Greek-Turkish dispute?

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison (T)		Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No	28	90.3	28	93.3	28	93.3	14	93.3
Yes	3	9.7	2	6.7	2	6.7	1	6.7

With whom should the United States side?

	General Public	Opinion Leaders	Comparison (T)	Group (A)
Greece	0	0	0	0
Turkey	2	1	2	1
Other	1*	1**		

Why?

GP - (1) Turkey's good strategic position, and they have been a good military ally.

(2) "I don't like Greeks!"

* Whichever side is to the advantage of the United States.

OL - It is in the best interest of the United States security.

** Whichever side is right, but remember that "The Greeks are Christians."

CG - (T) "It's to the U.S. benefit"; "It's in the U.S. best interests."

(A) "Turkey is a better NATO ally than Greece."

9. What do you think is the most pressing problem in United States-Turkish relations?

General Public

	#	%		#	%
Don't know of any	11	35.5	Greek influence in U.S.	1	3.2
Arms embargo	7	22.6	U.S. supports Greece	1	3.2
Awareness of Turkey	3	9.7	Open the U.S. bases	1	3.2
Cyprus occupation	2	6.5	Greek-Turkish relations	1	3.2
Opium poppies	2	6.5	American ideals imposed on Turkey	1	3.2
			"They did something to us"	1	3.2

Opinion Leaders

	#	%		#	%
Cyprus occupation	9	30.0	Greek-Turk balance of power	3	10.0
Greek influence (US)	6	20.0	Awareness of Turks	3	10.0
Arms embargo	3	10.0	Opium poppies	2	6.7
NATO integrity	3	10.0	Don't know of any	1	3.3

Comparison Group (Turkish)

	#	%		#	%
Arms embargo	11	36.7	Opium poppies	3	10.0
Awareness of Turkey	8	26.7	Behavior of U.S. Congress	2	6.7
Greek influence (US)	6	20.0			

Comparison Group (American)

	#	%		#	%
Greek influence (US)	6	40.0	U.S.-Turk Security Agreement	3	20.0
Arms embargo	3	20.0	Armenian massacre image	3	20.0

Are there any other major problem?

General Public

Military base closures (2); awareness of Turkey; NATO integrity; Greek influence in the United States; the U.S. Congress; the U.S. must provide whatever aid is necessary (military, economic, etc.) to keep Turkey's friendship.

Opinion Leaders

Opium poppies; return Cyprus to Greece; Greek influence in the U.S.; NATO integrity.

Comparison Group (Turkish)

Greek influence in the U.S. (6); the arms embargo (3); opium poppies.

Comparison Group (American)

Turkey's strategic position (6); Greek-Turkish relations (2).

10. Have you ever been to Greece? Have you ever been to Turkey?

		General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison Group (T)		Comparison Group (A)	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Greece	Yes	4	12.9	12	40.0	17	56.7	13	86.7
	No	27	87.1	18	60.0	13	43.3	2	13.3
Turkey	Yes	4	12.9	9	30.0	30	100	15	100
	No	27	87.1	21	70.0	-	-	-	-

11. Except for earthquake stories, can you recall any news about life in Turkey?

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison Group (T)		Comparison Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No	19	61.3	12	40.0	15	50.0	11	73.3
Yes*	12	38.7	18	60.0	15	50.0	4	26.7

*Stories that were perceived as being about Turkish life were:
General Public -opium pipeline (6); American prisoners in Turkish jails (2); student riots (2); water shortages; poverty; Noah's ark location; military forces on alert.

Opinion Leaders -Istanbul life (7); Noah's ark (4); Cyprus refugees (3); poverty (2); Turkish destruction of Christian artifacts (2).

Comparison Group (T) -National Geographic stories (7); editorials (6); others (4).

(A) -political stories (5).

Part 2

This section consisted of eleven statements to which the responses were graded on the Likert Scale of attitude measurement. The responses were recorded as one of five choices: Strongly Agree; Agree; No Opinion (Don't Know); Disagree; or Strongly Disagree. The responses are presented here with a numerical value; the higher the number, the more positive is the response. In other words, both an awareness of Turkey and a positive attitude about Turkey produce a number above 3. To do this, Strongly Agree has been assigned a value of 5 and Strongly Disagree a value of 1 in Statements 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, and 10. The value order is reversed in Statements 4, 6, 7, 9, and 11.

Each statement is listed here, followed by the arithmetic mean response, the mode response, and the standard deviation.

1. Much of Christian history, as related in the Bible, took place in Turkey.

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	2.935	3.700	4.000	3.533
mode	3	4	4	4
standard deviation	.783	.777	0	.910

2. The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World became famous in Greek and Byzantine history. Do you know about them? (Explain). Two of them were located in what is now Turkey-- these two should be considered a legitimate part of Turkish history and heritage.

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	3.968	3.433	3.533	3.600
mode	4	4	4	4
standard deviation	.482	.971	.860	.828

3. Throughout history there have been vast kingdoms and empires that covered land which is now divided into separate countries. The cultural heritage of these modern day countries should include the culture of the peoples who inhabited that particular land, regardless of the name given to it through the course of history.

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	4.032	3.700	3.600	4.067
mode	4	4	4	4
standard deviation	.482	.788	1.133	.961

4. Graeco-Roman art and architecture can be found in many European and Middle Eastern countries. These artifacts belong only to the Greek and Roman cultures, not to the cultural heritage of the country in which they are located.

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	3.516	3.400	3.533	3.600
mode	4	4	4	4
standard deviation	.889	1.126	.860	1.056

5. Turkey has a lot to offer tourists, and at a bargain price. (How many respondents saw TT&I advertisement?)

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	3.387	3.167	4.767	4.333
mode	3	4	5	4
standard deviation	.716	1.044	.430	.488
<u>saw ad</u>	1	1	12	2

6. From a cultural and artistic viewpoint, Turkey has little to offer to the world.

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	3.839	3.567	4.233	2.933
mode	4	4	4	2
standard deviation	.779	1.006	.430	1.033

7. The American news media usually present an objective view of Turkish events.

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	3.290	2.900	4.567	3.733
mode	4	4	5	4
standard deviation	.923	1.062	.504	.961

*A vast divergence of opinion about the media's objectivity occurred between educators and media personnel.

8. The predominant religion in Turkey is Islam (Moslem).

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Opinion Leaders</u>	<u>Comparison (T)</u>	<u>Group (A)</u>
mean	3.774	3.800	5.00	4.867
mode	4	4	5	5
standard deviation	.669	.610	0	.746

9. Non-Moslems, particularly Christians, are considered by the Turks to be natural enemies, and are not treated well in Turkey.

	General <u>Public</u>	Opinion <u>Leaders</u>	Comparison <u>(T)</u>	Group <u>(A)</u>
mean	2.871	3.267	4.367	3.667
mode	3	4	5	2, 4, 5
standard deviation	.764	.828	.929	1.291

10. Alexander the Great, King Midas, St. Paul, St. Nicholas, and Helen of Troy all contributed to the history of Turkey.

	General <u>Public</u>	Opinion <u>Leaders</u>	Comparison <u>(T)</u>	Group <u>(A)</u>
mean	2.774	2.535	3.067	4.067
mode	3	2	4	4
standard deviation	.674	.973	.980	.593

11. The American public has a good idea what Turks are really like.

	General <u>Public</u>	Opinion <u>Leaders</u>	Comparison <u>(T)</u>	Group <u>(A)</u>
mean	4.613	4.500	4.867	4.733
mode	5	5	5	5
standard deviation	.495	.777	.346	.442

Part 3

This section consisted of four pages of photograph identification. The photographs were from brochures published by the Government of Turkey; twelve photos were from tourism brochures, one was from political propaganda. There were three response choices for each page: (1) all photos depicted Turks or scenes in Turkey (Yes); (2) at least one of the photos did not depict Turks or scenes from Turkey (No); or (3) maybe the subject were/were not Turks or Turkey (Maybe).

The results are listed here:

1. One photo of a Turkish soldier in Cyprus⁴ and three tourism photos of men in Marmaris.

⁴The Episcopalian priest in the photo was identified to each respondent before he was asked to make his selection.

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison Group (T)		Comparison Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	14	45.2	10	33.3	28	93.3	12	80.0
No	8	25.8	15	50.0	1	3.3	3	20.0
Maybe	9	29.0	5	16.7	1	3.3	-	-

2. One photo of Ataturk's tomb; three views of the house of the Virgin Mary; one photo of Byzantine altar.

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison Group (T)		Comparison Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	7	22.6	9	30.0	24	80.0	15	100
No	20	64.5	18	60.0	4	13.3	-	-
Maybe	4	12.9	3	10.0	2	6.7	-	-

3. One photo of the Bosphorus Houses.

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison Group (T)		Comparison Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	1	3.2	3	10.0	29	96.7	11	73.3
No	26	83.8	26	86.7	1*	3.3	4	26.7
Maybe	4	12.9	1	3.3	-	-	-	-

4. Three photos of Turkish ballet, opera, and a philharmonic orchestra.

	General Public		Opinion Leaders		Comparison Group (T)		Comparison Group (A)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	5	16.1	8	26.7	30	100	10	66.7
No	17	54.8	9	30.0	-	-	5	33.3
Maybe	9	29.0	13	43.3	-	-	-	-

Unobtrusive Observations

a. The time to respond to the first question (image of Turks or Turkey) was measured in an attempt to determine the strength of the image. In the following listing of the results, there are three categories: over-all response (O); responses that clearly fit the Ottoman image or misrepresentation of Turks as Arabs (S); and those that clearly do not fit in the previous category (N).

		<u>Number of Respondents</u>	<u>Mean Response (seconds)</u>	<u>Response Range (seconds)</u>
General Public	O	31	9.3	26
	S	11	11.8	26
	N	20	7.9	18
Opinion Leaders	O	30	4.7	8
	S	14	3.2	3
	N	16	6.0	8
Comparison Group (T)	O	30	8.3	24
	S	0	0	0
	N	0	0	0
Comparison Group (A)	O	15	2.8	2
	S	3	2.0	0
	N	12	3.0	2

b. Almost every respondent in the General Public and the Opinion Leaders groups expressed a feeling, or showed highly visible signs, of discomfort at knowing so little about Turkey sometime during the interview. This point normally was between Questions 9 and 11.

c. Seven of the Comparison Group (Turkish) respondents attempted to respond in a manner they thought indicative of an American's opinion. In those cases, the interview was re-commenced with a plea to answer the questions with a personal opinion as a Turk.

d. Every respondent in the General Public and Opinion Leaders groups, except five, expressed an interest in knowing "the real answers" at some point during the interview. There was real concern expressed by many respondents that they knew so little about Turkey.

e. In the General Public and Opinion Leaders groups⁵, only two environmental factors noticeably appeared in the

⁵The Comparison Group could be expected to perceive many more Turkish-issue items in the environment; however, because their baseline awareness of Turkey and pro-Turkish opinions were so strong, the effect of environmental factors on their responses could not be determined.

responses--(1) a series of TV advertisements for "The Search for Noah's Ark," playing in local movie theaters, was perceived by three respondents as being news about Turkish life; and (2) two respondents mentioned having perceived a recent hostage-taking episode in Washington (Hanafi Muslims) as being connected with "Turks and those other Arabs."

Results vs. Hypotheses

1. Sufficient data have resulted from the survey interviews to support the hypothesis that American public awareness of Turkey is sufficiently low to prohibit formation of a strong stereotype favorable to the Turks.

2. The survey interviews produced no data directly in support or refutation of the hypothesis that PR awareness and experience exist in Turkey, but is uneven and lacking in priority. This hypothesis is supported, however, with the information collected in interviews with Turkish government officials.

CHAPTER 13

THE CONCLUSIONS

Because the interviews analyzed in the previous chapter are a pilot survey, only suggestive conclusions can be drawn. There is some indication that these results suggest some value in survey application on a national level, however. Certainly, the results are sufficient to indicate both an American level of awareness of Turkey and a measure of public opinion on selected issues.

Based on Findings

It is concluded that:

1. One relatively strong stereotype of Turkey and the Turks exists among the American public--Turkey is misplaced as a member of the Arab World (Q2, 4, 5)

2. The stereotype of Turks derived from the Ottoman Empire times does exist; however, it is not overwhelmingly strong. (Q1, 2, 3; S9; P1, 2, 3)

3. Compared to the American opinion of Greeks, the opinion of Turks is very negative. (Q1, 2, 6)

4. The American public does not want the United States to side with Greece in any Greece-Turkey dispute. (Q7)

5. There is little American public awareness of Turkish history, culture, arts, etc. (Q3; S1, 5, 6, 10; P2, 3, 4)

6. There is little American public awareness of contemporary Turkish events. (Q1, 11; S7, 9; P1, 4)

7. The American public would not be averse to Turkey's promoting its history as "The Loom of History." (S2, 3, 4)

8. American opinion leaders have stronger negative opinions and higher levels of awareness of Turkey than does the American public. (entire survey)

9. Educators, media personnel, and other opinion leaders presently cannot influence the public positively concerning Turkey. (entire survey)

10. The American educational system does not represent Turkey positively in the studies of social sciences. (Chapters 4 & 5)

11. Current Turkish tourism promotion has not been sufficiently perceived in the United States (S1, 5, 10; P1, 2, 3, 4)

12. The Government of Turkey is currently not conducting a well-coordinated, total public relations (propaganda) program. (Chapters 7, 8, 9)

13. To conduct a public relations campaign suited to the United States requires an internal public relations campaign along the same lines, targeted at the Turkish people. (Chapter 3)

Opinions

This section is included only to pique the interest of those who might conduct future research on this subject, or in related areas.¹ It consists of personal opinions of the author which could not be validated by facts collected during the research.

1. The Government of Turkey does not take full advantage of its opportunity to use various pro-Turkish elements in the United States to promote the Turkish image; i.e., Americans sympathetic to Turkey because of former residence in Turkey, social and cultural organizations, Turkish-Americans attached to educational institutions, and the like.²

¹Such as Dr. Önder Ari, Professor of Political Science, Iowa University and the University of Istanbul. Professor Ari is currently conducting related research in Washington, to be published in mid-1977.

²There exists an audience that would be receptive in assisting Turkey in making Americans aware of the country and its people. For example, New York University is sponsoring a tour to Turkey this summer with an educational intent; however, this promotion is not in conjunction with a GOT program.

2. The Government of Turkey does not intend to launch a total public relations program in the United States because its emphasis in international relations is shifting away from the United States to Europe and the Islamic World.

CHAPTER 14

THE RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusion that the pilot survey provided sufficient results for replication on a national level, it is recommended that the Government of Turkey hire an established polling organization to conduct a nationwide survey along the lines of the interview presented here in preparation of conducting a coordinated public relations program to improve the Turkish image in the United States.

Based on the conclusions reported for this research project, it is recommended that the Government of Turkey:

1. Attempt to correct the image that Turkey is a member of the Arab World;
2. Attempt to update the image of Turkey based on the Ottoman Empire through the American educational and library systems;
3. Develop an image in America that would place Turks on the same recognition level as Greeks;
4. Include American public opinion of United States interference in Greece-Turkey disputes in the GOT lobbying effort;
5. Increase the number and promotion of Turkish cultural and artistic events in the United States;
6. Increase the amount of long-range, non-political propaganda and distribute it widely through media, educational, and library sources;
7. Institute a program of promoting Turkey as "The Loom of History" both to the Turkish people and to international audiences;
8. Direct a major portion of the GOT effort at American opinion leaders, with particular emphasis on the educators;

9. The GOT effort on opinion leaders must be entirely non-political, designed for long-range goals;

10. Assign staff personnel to conduct a comprehensive review of existing social studies sources to determine the avenues on which to correct the information to suit the needs of Turkey;

11. Allot sufficient funds to both develop the Turkish tourism industry and to promote it successfully;¹

12. Assign the coordination responsibility for Turkey's public relations (propaganda) in the United States to a single department and devise a long-range program of total propaganda;

13. Develop a total propaganda program that can be accepted by the publics of both the United States and Turkey.

¹The development of the Turkish tourism industry is beyond the scope of this research paper; however, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that successful tourism enhances a nation's image immeasurably. Once someone has invested the time and money in visiting a nation and getting to know its citizens, that person will tend to become an ally.

APPENDIX A

THE SURVEY INTERVIEW

Part I

Directions: Answer each question in the format requested by the interviewer. The type of response varies with each question. Please answer the question without trying to second-guess a desired response.

1. When you think of Turkey or the Turks, what words or image come to mind?

2. Indicate which of these words best describe your opinion of the Turks:

brave	ignorant
conceited	impatient
creative	innovative
crude	intelligent
cruel	patriotic
dirty	practical
fierce	religious
friendly	trustworthy
hard working	warlike

3. Politically, Turkey can best be described as?

- a. Kingdom
- b. Dictatorship
- c. Republic
- d. Communist
- e. None of the above

4. Indicate which of these words best describe your opinion of the Arabs?

warlike	hard working
trustworthy	friendly
religious	fierce
practical	dirty
patriotic	cruel
intelligent	crude
innovative	creative
impatient	conceited
ignorant	brave

5. In which of the following categories would you place the country of Turkey?

- a. The African Nations
- b. The Western World
- c. The Arab World
- d. The Decaying Powers
- e. None of the above

6. Which of these words best describe your opinion of the Greeks?

warlike	trustworthy
patriotic	intelligent
religious	practical
innovative	impatient
ignorant	hard working
friendly	fierce
dirty	cruel
crude	creative
conceited	brave

7. Should the United States take sides in a Greek-Turkish dispute? If so, with whom should the U.S. side? Why?

8. Which of these words best describe your opinion of Americans?

brave	conceited
warlike	trustworthy
creative	crude
religious	practical
cruel	dirty
patriotic	intelligent
fierce	friendly
innovative	impatient
hard working	ignorant

9. What do you think is the most pressing problem in United States-Turkish relations? Are there any other major problems?

10. Have you ever been to Greece? Turkey?

11. Except for earthquake stories, can you recall any news about life in Turkey?

Part II

Directions: This section consists of ten statements. For each statement please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, or have no opinion. There is no desired response to any of the statements, so just state your opinion.

1. Much of Christian history, as related in the Bible, took place in Turkey.

2. The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World became famous in Greek and Byzantine history. Do you know about them? Two of them were located in what is now Turkey--these two should be considered a legitimate part of Turkish history and heritage.

3. Throughout history there have been vast kingdoms and empires that covered land which is now divided into separate countries. The cultural heritage of these modern day countries should include the culture of the peoples who inhabited that particular land, regardless of the name given to it through the course of history.

4. Graeco-Roman art and architecture can be found in many European and Middle Eastern countries. These historical artifacts belong only to the Greek and Roman cultures, not to the cultural heritage of the country in which they are located.

5. Turkey has a lot to offer tourists, and at a bargain price.

6. From a cultural and artistic viewpoint, Turkey has little to offer to the world.

7. The American news media usually present an objective view of Turkish events.

8. The predominant religion in Turkey is Islam (Moslem).

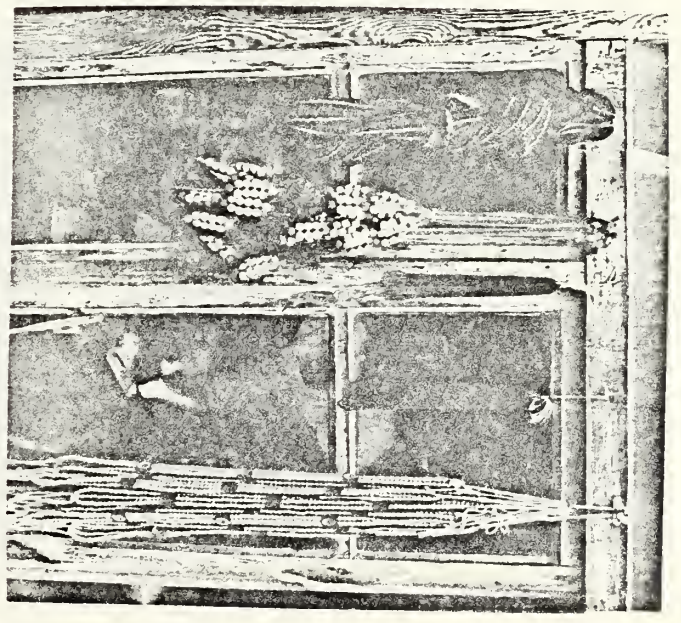
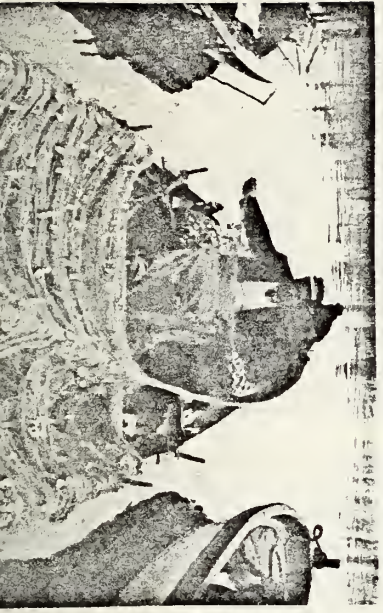
9. Non-Moslems, particularly Christians, are considered by the Turks to be natural enemies, and are not treated well in Turkey.

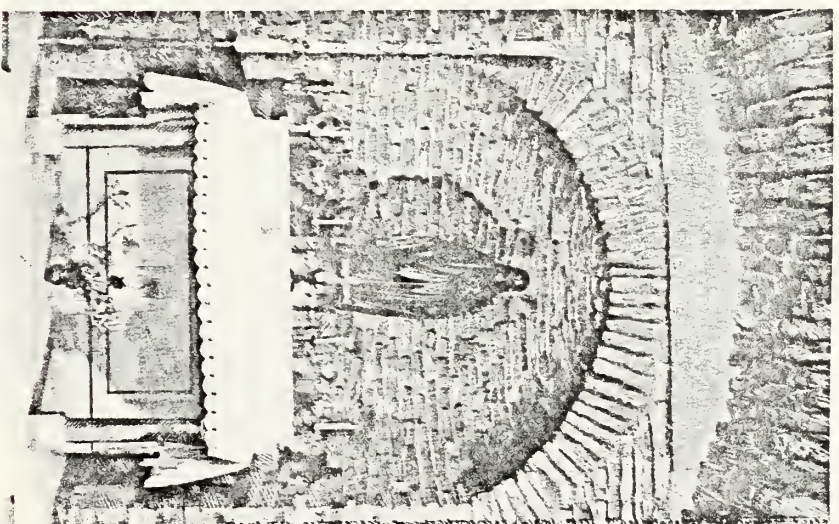
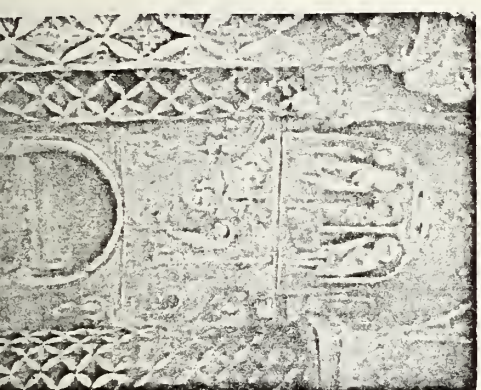
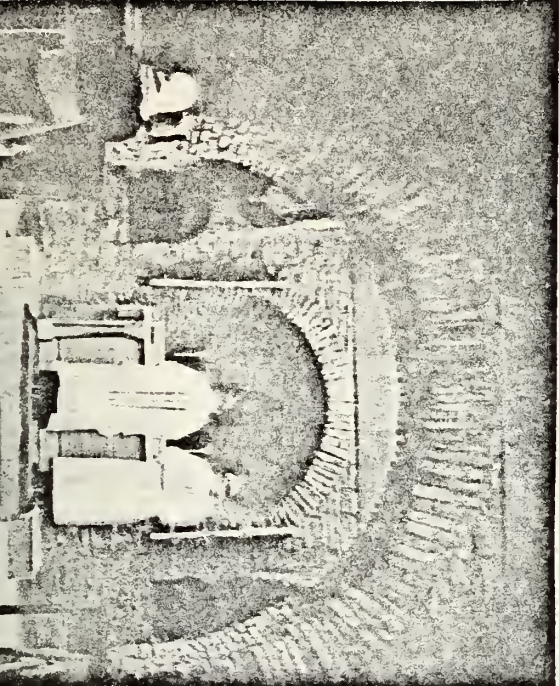
10. Alexander the Great, King Midas, St. Paul, St. Nicholas, and Helen of Troy all contributed to the history of Turkey.

11. The American public has a good idea what Turks are really like.

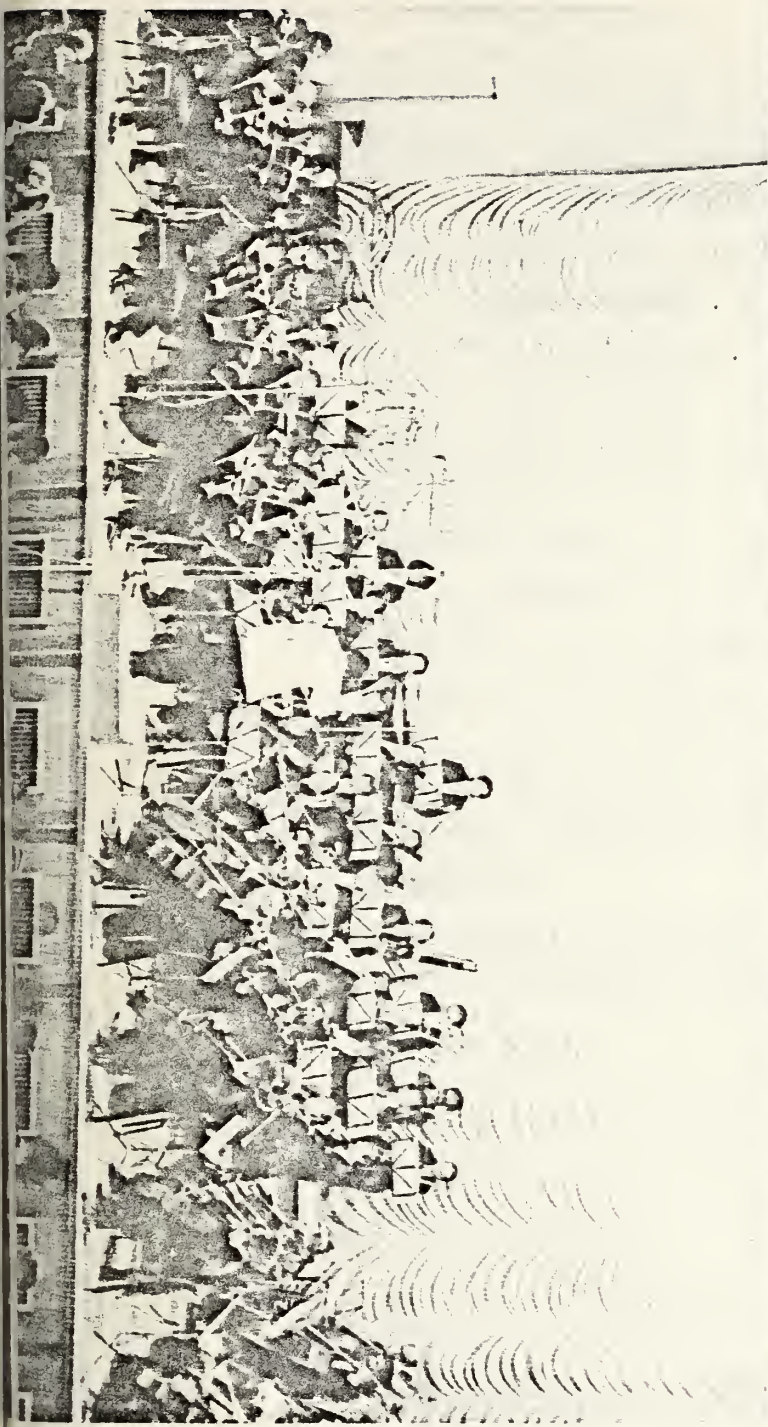
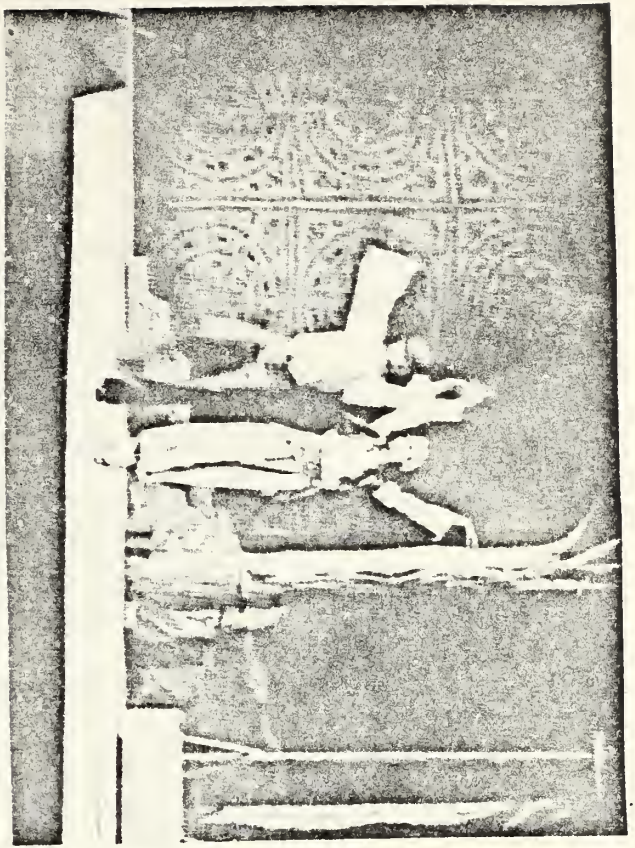
Part III

Directions: There are four pages of photo identification. For each page you will have three responses to choose from: (1) all photos depict Turks or Turkish scenes; (2) not all of the photos depict Turks or Turkish scenes; or (3) maybe all of the photos do/do not depict Turks or Turkish scenes.









Part IV

This part is designed to allow the interviewer to classify the respondents.

1. Male or female?
2. Age group: 18-25; 26-35; 36-45; 46-60; over 60.
3. Profession: Domestic Engineer; Labor; Management; Professional; Other.
4. Housing: Apartment; Townhouse; Small single dwelling; Large single dwelling (wealthy).
5. Are you, or are you married to, a member of one of the following groups? Turk; Greek; Armenian; Arab.
6. Are you in any way associated with one of those groups? If so, how?
7. Geographic location of respondent?
8. For media personnel only:
 - a. Have you ever personally written a story about Turkey or the Turks?
 - b. If so, was it pro-Turkish or anti-Turkish?
 - c. On what did you base your pro or anti opinion?
 - d. Have you expressly identified your bias to your audience?
 - e. What type of feedback did you receive?
 - f. Did the feedback affect your opinion?

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT SOURCES

Ihsan Atakent

Mr. Atakent was born in Izmir, Turkey, in 1914. He attended both the American International College and the Izmir Lycee. In 1941 he was graduated from the School of Political Science in Ankara. His first assignment was with the Directorate General of Press and Broadcasting. Following military service during World War II, Mr. Atakent was assigned as Assistant Press Attache at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, and in 1947 was transferred to New York as the Assistant Director of the Turkish Information Office. In 1955 he returned to Turkey as the Chief of the News Department in the Ministry of Tourism and Information. In 1960 he returned to New York as the Director of the Turkish Information Office for one year. He then was assigned as Press Attache in Washington. In 1963 he was re-assigned to Ankara as the Director General of Tourism. In 1966 he became Counselor to the Ministry of Tourism and Information. In 1974 he returned to New York and assumed the duties of his present assignment--Director of the Turkish Tourism and Information Office.

Melih Esenbel

His Excellency, Mr. Esenbel, was born in Istanbul in 1915. He is a graduate of Galatasaray Lycee, Faculty of Law in Istanbul. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1936 and became Third Secretary in the private cabinet of the Secretary General. Following that assignment, he became Second Secretary in the Turkish Embassy, Paris and First

Secretary in the Protocal Department. From 1945 until 1952 he was assigned to the Turkish Embassy in Washington. After returning to Ankara, he held various positions in the economic affairs area of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, followed by assignment as the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1957. In 1960 he was assigned the position of Turkish Ambassador to the United States. In December 1960, he assumed the duties of Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara until accepting the assignment of Turkish Ambassador to Japan in 1963.

He was again assigned as Turkish Ambassador in Washington in 1967. In 1974 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Ankara for five months, when he once again was assigned to his present position, Turkish Ambassador to the United States.

M. Emin Hekimgil

Mr. Hekimgil was born in Harput, Turkey in 1915. He was educated in Elazig and Ankara, and received college degrees from various schools--Gazi Teacher's College, Ankara; Bristol University, England; Columbia University (M.A.) New York. His career began as a high school history teacher, and he entered government service in 1948 representing Turkey in UNESCO. He continued serving Turkey in various educational-related positions until 1952, when he became Education Attache to the Turkish Embassies, United States and Canada, with his office in New York City. He returned to Ankara in 1956 as Cultural Relations Director of the Ministry of Education. In 1960 he returned to academia as Professor of English, Ankara Teacher's College for three years. He also became guest lecturer in English at Ankara University, a position he still holds. From 1963 until 1975, he held various positions with the Ministry of Tourism and Information from General Director of Information to Head of the Department of International Relations. He was assigned to his present position as Press Counselor of the Turkish Embassy in Washington in 1975.

Among other works, Mr. Hekimgil is the author of a book on public relations, Public Relations--Turkiye'nin Tanitilmasi, Ankara, 1968.

Altemur Kilic

Mr. Kilic was born in Ankara, Turkey, in 1924. He is a graduate of the English High School, Istanbul, Robert College (B.A.), and the New School for Social Research (M.A.). His career began as a reporter for a Turkish newspaper and Ankara stringer for Associated Press, and has alternated between government service and the working press. In 1949 he became Press Officer for Turkey's Department of Public Information at the United Nations, followed by military service with the Turkish forces in Korea. After the Korean War, he was Managing Editor of a Turkish newspaper and editor of a weekly news magazine in Istanbul. In 1954 he was assigned as Press Attache to the Turkish Embassy in Washington for five years. In 1959 he became the head of broadcasting for the Ministry of Information, Ankara, for one year. In 1961 he again returned to the press world as Managing Editor of another Turkish daily newspaper. In 1962 he became Special Advisor to the Ministry of Information for one year; he then was assigned as Press Counselor to the Turkish Embassy in Bonn, West Germany, for one year. In 1964 he again was assigned to Washington as Information Counselor. In 1966 he became Director of Public Information for UNICEF in Paris for two years, followed by a two-year assignment as Chief of UNICEF Audio/Visual Service in New York. In 1970 he returned to Ankara as Director of Information, Prime Minister's Office until 1972, when he again returned to the civilian press; this time as editor and publisher of a magazine for two years, then General Director of Milliyet Publishing Co. In 1976 he assumed his present duties as Deputy, Turkish Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Mr. Kilic is the author of Turkey and the World, published in 1959.

Nürver Nüres

Mr. Nüres was born in Salihli, Turkey, in 1932. He is a graduate of Robert College in Istanbul, and has received two Masters degrees from Columbia University, New York--one in Public Law and Government and one in Economics. He entered service with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1959 with a position in the economic relations area. In 1961 he began a five-year assignment in the Hague, as Vice Consul, then Consul. He returned to Ankara in 1966 as Section Chief of Economic Relations for the Iran-Pakistan-Turkey region. He was transferred to the Turkish Embassy in Jordan in 1967 and was promoted to Counselor of the Embassy in 1969. He was transferred to the Permanent Turkish Mission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Paris, in 1970. In 1974 he returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ankara, as Assistant Director of the Bilateral Economic Relations Department. He was assigned to his present post as Deputy Chief of the Mission (DCM), Turkish Embassy in Washington in October, 1975.

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