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# An Assessment of Türkiye's Public Diplomacy Activities after the Johnson Letter: Are Cultural Relations an Investment?

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## ABSTRACT

For Türkiye, the year 1964 witnessed a significant break in its long-standing foreign policy approach. During this period, Turkish foreign policy, which was shaped around the Cyprus Issue, sought alternatives after the Johnson Letter. This study aims to examine various cultural activities carried out by Türkiye in 1964 and evaluate them in the context of public diplomacy. In this direction, firstly, the international political atmosphere of the 1960s was evaluated from the perspective of Türkiye. Later, sections of Türkiye's important public diplomacy activities in different fields in the period from 1920s to the Johnson Letter were revealed. Finally, the report on cultural relations published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1964 was examined by documentary scanning method, and in this context, various public diplomacy initiatives were put forward in which the Cyprus Issue was at the center. As a result of the study, it has been understood that Türkiye invests in cultural and artistic activities in accordance with its political objectives within the scope of the maximum benefit strategy with minimum cost and makes positive contributions to the image of the country.

**Keywords:** Public Diplomacy, Türkiye, Cyprus Issue, Johnson Letter, Cultural Relations.

**JEL Classification Codes:** F50, F59

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## INTRODUCTION

Although the conceptualization of public diplomacy was developed in the 1960s, it is quite possible to find out similar activities in terms of public diplomacy earlier (Cull, 2020). The whole of the actions, which were mainly handled and shaped within the framework of the idea of publicity/propaganda in the previous periods, were named as public diplomacy in the most heated years of the Cold War period, of course, with a slightly changed framework. Public diplomacy is classically defined as a government's means of interacting with foreign publics to foster awareness for its national goals and present policies, institutions and culture, as well as concepts and values of its country (Tuch, 1993, p. 3). In other words, public diplomacy is the effort of international entities to influence the global landscape according to their preferences by cultivating relationships with the relevant publics (Cull, 2009, p. 12). Later on, especially in the 21st century, a new understanding of public diplomacy has emerged, which was characterised by a diversification of stakeholders and an increased focus on two-way communication (Melissen, 2005). Thus, states

have introduced a novel dimension to the methods of achieving international legitimacy by prioritising soft power components over hard power (Sancar, 2012, p. 1).

Considering the definitions aiming towards the framework of public diplomacy, since its establishment, the Republic of Türkiye has paid attention to public diplomacy activities to articulate its position to global public opinion. Even while the National Struggle was going on, one of the most important things done was to try to attract the attention of the world public opinion by establishing the Anadolu Agency (Topuz, 2016, p. 139).

Türkiye's self-expression efforts started to form as of 1920 have always been an important agenda item in the foreign policy understanding of the Republic; accordingly, many large and small public diplomacy activities have been carried out. Some of these were initiatives that attracted international attention. Which tools the new state will prefer and which country's public opinion it will target has been directly related to foreign policy. For example, in the first years of the Republic, a traveling exhibition was organized under the name of the Black Sea Ferry to show that young Türkiye was a country that adopted Western

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values. The preference of important ports of Europe as the route of the ferry is a reflection of this policy (Başarır & Zorlu, 2022). *La Turquie Kemaliste* magazine, which began to be published in 1934 for similar purposes, also wanted to reach primarily Western and urban people with its French-based content (Özdemir, 2024). As the 1930s came to an end, the most important issue in terms of Turkish foreign policy was the Hatay Issue, and the first foreign radio broadcast started on this axis (Kocabaşoğlu, 2010, p. 226). During World War II, the London People's House was opened to introduce Türkiye to the British public, which is of critical importance for Türkiye, and to explain its values. Türkiye, which made a serious change in its foreign policy in the post-war period, established news bureaus as a public diplomacy tool and launched the first of them in New York City to develop close relations with the United States (USA) (Duman, 2020).

In the 1950s, when Türkiye became a member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the strategic importance of the United States in foreign policy continued to increase. The developing relations between Türkiye and the United States led to the opening of a second news bureau in the United States in a short time. However, in the 1960s, the agenda of the Turkish foreign ministry was shaped around the Cyprus issue, and the United States did not adopt an attitude in the direction that Türkiye expected. The relations between the two countries, which started to deteriorate in this process, weakened with the famous "Johnson Letter" sent to İsmet İnönü by US President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964 (Aydın & Taşkın, 2018, pp. 123–128). While Johnson's letter necessitated alternative moves within traditional diplomacy in the foreign policy of Türkiye, which had considered itself as a part of the Western Bloc for many years, it also required a similar search for a way in terms of public diplomacy, which started to be used as a new tool in international relations.

In the study, firstly, the important developments of the period, which necessitated a change in Türkiye's foreign policy understanding for many years, were evaluated within the framework of the international political atmosphere of the 1960s. Afterwards, Türkiye's main public diplomacy activities at the international level until the 1960s were revealed. Finally, the report titled "Memorandum on the Examination of Cultural Relations as a Subject of Investment" published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1964, which includes cultural relations, was examined by documentary scanning method and various public diplomacy initiatives shaped around the Cyprus Issue were revealed.

## THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE 1960's

Türkiye's non-participation in World War II was the greatest achievement of the neutrality policy pursued since 1923. However, with the complete change in the balance of power after the war, Türkiye had to change its neutrality policy. The negative attitude of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) towards Türkiye in this period necessitated the abandonment of the "fully independent" principle of Turkish foreign policy in the bloc-based transforming world. Turkish foreign policy, which is oriented towards the West in the new order, has been based on a very close cooperation with the United States to balance Türkiye's foreign policy interests and goals with the foreign policy and interests of the West for a long time. The understanding based on opposition to the USSR and a very close cooperation with the USA continued until the mid-1960s as the basic policy of Türkiye (Bağcı, 2007, pp. 129–130).

Türkiye, which harmonized its foreign policy with the Western countries allied to NATO, thought that the biggest threat to its security came from the USSR in the 1950-1960 period and strongly avoided actions that would weaken the solidarity of NATO, which it saw as a guarantee against the USSR (Turan & Barlas, 1994, p. 431). On the other hand, after 1960, Cyprus constituted the basis of Turkish foreign policy. Other issues that Turkish foreign policy, which is shaped by Cyprus, is interested in have also developed under the influence of the Cyprus issue (Armaoğlu, 2004, p. 785). In fact, the issues that caused the most serious crises in Türkiye's foreign policy during this period are related to the Cyprus problem (Zürcher, 2013, p. 396).

The Republic of Cyprus, which was established in 1960, has become a deepening crisis in a short time due to the refusal of the Greek Cypriots, who did not give up the idea of Enosis, to respect the constitutional rights given to the Turkish Cypriots, although it provided a temporary peace. During the debates on the Constitution of Cyprus, President Makarios and other Greek Cypriot leaders demanded some amendments that would prevent the rights of the Turkish Cypriots and their statements in this direction deepened the uncertainties about the future of the current structure in Cyprus (Hale, 2003, p. 154).

After the Greek Cypriots could not get what they wanted in terms of constitutional amendments, with the start of the attacks known as "Bloody Christmas" on December 21, 1963, Türkiye wanted the USA to intervene to stop the attacks, but could not get the necessary support. Türkiye's decision to intervene militarily after the

attacks did not stop was interrupted by a letter sent by US President Lyndon B. Johnson (Erhan, 2002, pp. 685–686).

The Johnson Letter, which caused a “shock” in terms of Turkish foreign policy, made Turkish-American relations questioned and even caused a break with the effect of the détente period (Davutoğlu, 2004, p. 242). Although the letter did not completely destroy Turkish- American relations, it dealt a heavy blow to the alliance of the two countries. With the Johnson Letter, it was discussed how much Türkiye could trust the US alliance, and as a result of this discussion, the USSR began to be considered as a new element against the USA by taking advantage of the opportunities of détente. Although care has been taken not to take a direct stance against the existing alliance with the USA, there has been a dissolution in the alliance ties and a distant structure. The most concrete indicator of the coldness towards the US is the regulation of the free use of bases and facilities in Türkiye by the US in the few years following the Johnson Letter (Armaoğlu, 1999, pp. 426–427).

After the trust in the USA was shaken, action was taken to improve relations with the USSR, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Feridun Cemal Erkin paid a visit to Moscow within a few months following the Johnson Letter - between October 30, 1964 and November 6, 1964. In the statement issued after the visit, two communities in Cyprus were mentioned. The statements about Cyprus in the declaration were interpreted as the USSR's support for Türkiye's Cyprus policy. During this period, Turkish-American relations lost serious momentum, while Turkish- Soviet relations showed a rapid improvement (Armaoğlu, 2004, p. 794).

The change in Turkish foreign policy after the Johnson Letter was not limited to the USSR and other Eastern Bloc countries. At the same time, Türkiye has included in the new foreign policy process the actors that emerged with the colonial revolutions, which it neglected due to the isolation it experienced in the UN (United Nations) on the Cyprus issue. In this context, a new policy was developed for the Islamic world and Asian-African countries and country groups (Davutoğlu, 2004, p. 72). Foreign policy, which has become a prominent and widespread topic of discussion as of 1964 (Sezer, 1972, p. 17), was discussed in a way that included previously neglected regions and countries. Especially to provide the necessary political support in the international arena, it was necessary to explain the facts about Cyprus in the countries located in these geographies. In this direction, there has been a change in the procedures applied in foreign policy, and while the framework of classical diplomacy has

been expanded to go beyond the Western Bloc, modern diplomacy methods have been put into use as well as classical practices.

## **A SECTION OF TÜRKİYE'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTIVITIES UNTIL 1964**

It has consistently been a significant concern for Türkiye to articulate its position in the international arena. In fact, a kind of public diplomacy understanding has been developed since the National Struggle period. According to Ünal Erzen (2012, p. 94), after the proclamation of the Republic, the aim that formed the basis of foreign policy was to introduce the newly established Turkish state to the world. This understanding has been maintained for many years after the establishment period with various initiatives.

Founded in 1920, when the Republic had not yet been declared and the National Struggle was continuing, Anadolu Agency is the prime example of the importance Türkiye attaches to public diplomacy. During the War of Independence, the communication opportunities necessary to create public opinion at home and abroad were lacking. For this reason, it was decided to establish a news bureau (Bengi, 2012, p. 301); thus, it was aimed that the people of Anatolia would regularly reach accurate information about the ongoing War of Independence and that the Turks' war of independence would be told to the whole world (Özkaya, 1985, p. 590). In this direction, liaison offices were put into operation in Istanbul, Izmit, Zonguldak, Inebolu and Antalya in Türkiye, and in Vienna, Geneva, Paris, Berlin, London and New York abroad (Özkan, 2021, p. 214). The activities of Anadolu Agency enabled the National Struggle to gain legitimacy and sympathy. Thanks to the work of the agency, there has been a significant increase in the material and moral support of Muslims in different parts of the world to Turks (Poyraz, 2013, p. 81). Therefore, Anadolu Agency's communication activities inside and outside the country have been a milestone for Türkiye's public diplomacy efforts (Özkan, 2021, p. 214). Additionally, the Irshad Council's establishment in 1920 was a significant development in the field of Turkish public diplomacy (Koyuncu, 2022, p. 933).

One of the most important initiatives to introduce the newly established country to the world in the early Republican period was the travel of the Black Sea Ferry. The Black Sea Ferry mobile exhibition, which was prepared by attaching importance to Türkiye in the context of modernization, embarked on a three-month journey to Europe in 1926 to promote Turkish products

and find new markets (Bozkurt, 2019, p. 1100). Thus, both the products and artifacts produced in Türkiye were sold by presenting them to the visitors, and new dialogue channels were opened by organizing events representing the new state (Başarır & Zorlu, 2022, p. 952). The Black Sea Ferry traveled 9,986 miles in about three months; during this time, the ferry anchored in sixteen different ports of twelve countries and was visited by 65,000 people (Ayhan, 2020; Şencan Görtunca, 2020). After the establishment of the Republic, it was aimed to explain the commercial potential of Türkiye, to shape international relations and to show its modern identity to the international public through the ferry, which was the first exhibition/fair organized abroad to promote the country (Özkan, 2021, p. 220).

Türkiye's self-expression efforts towards the world public opinion continued in 1934 with the publication of *La Turquie Kemaliste* magazine. The journal, which was used as a public diplomacy tool in the early years of the Republic of Türkiye, is important both in terms of explaining the different dimensions of the young Turkish revolution and developing a new understanding of Western and modern citizenship (İşler, 2017). Although the publication language of the journal was French, sometimes English and German content was also included. In *La Turquie Kemaliste*, which appeals to Western and urban readers, content that shows modernizing Türkiye, criticizes the orientalist perspective towards the country and encourages tourism has come to the fore (Özdemir, 2024). The journal, which aims at public diplomacy, tried to reach Europe and the USA by emphasizing visuality and texts in its content (Belge, 2014, pp. 34–35). *La Turquie Kemaliste* is one of the important tools used for public diplomacy in the early years of the Republic (Duman, 2020, p. 43).

Türkiye's international radio broadcasts since the end of the 1930s also draw attention among public diplomacy activities. At a time when all countries of the world were making propaganda through radio broadcasting, Türkiye also started radio broadcasts abroad (Demirkıran, 2008, p. 249). Türkiye's first international radio broadcasting, more specifically than public diplomacy/publicity, was carried out due to the Hatay crisis. After the Hatay Issue was resolved, regular publications were tried to be made in English, German, Bulgarian, French and Arabic, with news bulletins predominantly (Kocabaşoğlu, 2010, p. 226). During the years of World War II, Türkiye tried to make its voice heard to Britain and the United States, believing that they had a vital role. In this context, a program called *Mailbox* has been prepared for English-

speaking countries. In this program, which also includes readers' letters, news from modern Türkiye and information about the government were given priority. In addition, it was aimed to convey the theses defended by Türkiye, the foreign policy it pursued, and the democratic and liberal ideas in the country to the West through the *Mailbox* ('*Radyo Mecmuası*', 1945, p. 20).

Another strategic step taken for public diplomacy during World War II was the opening of the London People's House. The London People's House, which is the first people's house to be opened abroad, was an important initiative in terms of its operation at a time when Türkiye's national security sensitivities were at the forefront. In particular, the people's house, which continued its activities as a center where various activities related to Turkish life, art and literature were held, carried out many public diplomacy activities between 1942 and 1950 (Duman, 2020, p. 65; Sisson, 1944, p. 290). The main objectives of the London People's House were to introduce Türkiye and its culture to British citizens through activities, to contribute to the cultural relations of the two countries, and to be a social center for Turks going to England. In this direction, between 1942 and 1945, when the activities of the people's house were extremely intense, exhibitions were opened; conferences and Turkish lessons were given; film screenings were organized, and events for special days were organized (Yaşar, 2010).

With the end of World War II, the USA was the most powerful actor of the new order that emerged in international politics. In parallel with the change in its foreign policy in this process, Türkiye accepted the United States as an important target in terms of public diplomacy. For this reason, the first of the news bureau, which was the new application area that Türkiye applied to appeal to the international public opinion in the post-war period, was opened in New York, USA. By opening a news bureau in New York, Türkiye aimed to introduce the country to the US public, for which the country was not well known, and to ensure the continuity of the support received from the USA through the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Aid (Duman, 2020, p. 218). The News Bureau first made use of printed publications to promote Türkiye; it engaged in modern broadcasting activities such as radio and television, which were very important within the available possibilities. In this context, *the Turkish Hour* program organized by the New York News Bureau was met with great interest ('*Ayın Tarihi*', 1948, p. 33). In the second half of the 1950s, due to the development in Türkiye-US relations, a news bureau was opened in San Francisco in 1956, thus increasing the

number of news bureaus in the USA to two. Likewise, in parallel with Türkiye's foreign policy approach, news bureaus in Paris, Cairo, Beirut, Athens and Cyprus, cities with strategic importance, started to operate (Duman, 2020, pp. 111–116).

In the 20th century, Türkiye began to give more weight to efforts to influence public opinion to legitimize the actions of states in the international arena. Türkiye, founded in 1923, also tried to adapt quickly to this trend. In this direction, in the period from the establishment of the Republic to the 1960s, significant public diplomacy activities were carried out in different application areas; based on available opportunities, it was observed that these were tried to be maintained in line with strategic targets. Considering at the main framework of all activities, it is seen that Türkiye made an intense effort towards the world public opinion since the period of the War of Independence.

### **TÜRKİYE'S ACTIVITIES and OBJECTIVES IN 1964**

Both domestic political developments and global developments influenced Türkiye's foreign policy in the 1960s. The Cuban Crisis between the USA and the USSR and the dismantling of the Jupiter Missiles in Türkiye in the bargain made in connection with this crisis and the detente in international relations led to a new perspective in Turkish foreign policy, in contrast to the period of 'full alliance' with the USA. In particular, Türkiye, whose opinion was not asked during the dismantling of the Jupiter Missiles, was reduced to the position of an ignored ally in its relations with the US (Erhan, 2002, pp. 684–685; Sever, 2008, p. 664; Uçarol, 2000, p. 708).

The year 1964, which marked an important breaking point for Türkiye, revealed a new phase in Turkish foreign policy, which was determined during the Cold War. Türkiye, which participated the U.S.A./NATO/Western bloc against the USSR after World War II, contradicted its ally the U.S. on the Cyprus issue after the Bloody Christmas attacks in Cyprus in December 1963. The Cyprus issue, which was the first major problem that emerged during the Cold War period in Türkiye-US relations, revealed a new parameter in Turkish foreign policy with the "Johnson Letter" in which US President Johnson prevented Türkiye's intervention in Cyprus. Until 1964, Türkiye, which followed a one-dimensional policy mostly due to its alliance with the United States, started to discuss an alternative foreign policy after the Johnson Letter.

In this period, in which changes were seen in the field of diplomacy, in addition to classical diplomacy tools, activities that were described as public diplomacy today but were called promotion/propaganda/cultural relations<sup>1</sup> were implemented to announce Türkiye's policy on Cyprus to the world and to protect the rights of the Turkish Cypriots on the Island. Especially after the Johnson Letter, public diplomacy became a very important issue due to the situation Türkiye was in. At the end of 1964, Feridun Cemal Erkin made allegations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs by in the Turkish Grand National Assembly that Türkiye's work was "incomplete" in the face of the intense propaganda efforts of the Greek Cypriots, and Greeks were quite remarkable in terms of showing how important public diplomacy became in foreign policy ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October-December', 1964, pp. 31–32). This indicates that public diplomacy has historically been an essential instrument for achieving foreign policy goals (Köksoy, 2023, p. 84).

Although the debate on whether Türkiye's public diplomacy activities were insufficient or not was an important finding, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had carried out some theoretical and practical studies long before the debate in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye. After the letter crisis, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which first dealt with public diplomacy theoretically, published an evaluation titled "Memorandum on the Study of Cultural Relations as a Subject of Investment" ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 93). The assessment was prepared by the Fourth Department of the Ministry, whose field of study was Cultural Affairs. Especially in this period, the establishment of departments within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that carried out public diplomacy activities such as information and cultural affairs or the assignment of some departments within this scope showed that modern diplomatic practices started to gain weight in foreign policy (Özcoşkun, 2018, pp. 33–36).

Evaluating the conditions under which public diplomacy developed, the Report emphasized that the changes emerging after World War II gave special importance to "cultural relations" and determined that the foreign policy carried out by many countries that followed an active policy in the international arena systematically and to a great extent developed cultural relations as an instrument of influence and prestige. Acknowledging that Türkiye's cultural, namely, public diplomacy activities started with a great delay, the Report stated that cultural relations were of vital importance for Türkiye during the Cold War ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 93).

<sup>1</sup> See, Soysal, İ. (1976). Tanıtma ve Türkiye'nin Tanıtılması. UNESCO Türkiye Millî Komisyonu.

Assessing the importance of public diplomacy for Türkiye, the Report first stated that Türkiye, which was not sufficiently recognized by its Western allies, should show the European public that it adopted its ancient civilization and European culture, especially in order to maintain its place in Europe and to base its political reputation on solid foundations. After the crisis with the USA, the understanding of Westernness was not broken, instead Europe was evaluated as a model and ally in the West. The increasing importance of Europe in Turkish foreign policy made the European public opinion an essential element for Türkiye to secure the support it wanted ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 93).

The second region considered was the Middle East, which was different from the classical understanding of Westernism. According to the Report, which considered the Middle East as a "vital region" for Türkiye, regardless of its relations with some Middle Eastern countries, Türkiye should have prestige in the region in general. Türkiye, which needed the support of more countries than Greece and the Greek Cypriots to provide the necessary support, especially the United Nations, on the Cyprus issue, wanted to reinforce its "delay" with the religious ties between it and the Middle Eastern countries. Emphasizing the common denominator of Islam between Türkiye and the region, the Report noted that Middle Eastern countries also showed favor to Türkiye ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 93).

The third region that was important for Türkiye's public diplomacy was the Asian-African countries that had recently gained and continued to gain their independence. Considering that a link would be established between the liberation of Asian-African countries from imperial domination and Atatürk's anti-colonialist struggle, the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs determined that there was a concern for Türkiye just like in the Middle East, and emphasized that the existing interest should be turned into friendship. According to them, it was not "impossible" to establish a friendly relationship between Asian-African countries and Türkiye, and moreover, Türkiye was "in need" of this friendship ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 93).

Touching on the importance of the three regions for Türkiye foreign policy, the Report considered it a necessity to consider public diplomacy provided by cultural relations as a matter of political investment first and foremost. It was also pointed out that Türkiye's public diplomacy activities were in a key position for Türkiye, which was in need of foreign aid in economic terms. Likewise, it was considered as an issue of great

importance that the activities to be carried out within the scope of cultural relations had the potential to develop tourism<sup>2</sup> (Soysal, 1976, pp. 150–151), which was thought to contribute to Türkiye's economy ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 93).

The officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs came to the conclusion that Türkiye's experience in cultural relations in recent years should be considered as an important investment issue in political and tourism issues. The Report, which expected that Türkiye would provide great benefits with a small expenditure, put forward some examples to strengthen its thesis in this context. France was given as an example of Türkiye's gain from the development of cultural relations with European countries. In 1964, the Report, which announced the number of French scholarship holders in Türkiye as approximately 123 people, determined the amount of aid provided by France only within the scope of this scholarship as 90,000 dollars. Satisfied with the scholarships, the officials of the Ministry emphasized the need to develop cultural relations between the two countries to continue France's general interest and assistance to Türkiye ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 93). Likewise, it was considered that the artists sent abroad from Türkiye for cultural and artistic activities such as concerts and events made a significant contribution to increasing the political influence of Türkiye, and in this context, the tour organized by opera singer Ferhan Onat in Poland and the concert of pianist İdil Biret in Italy were considered as important case studies ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 95).

In general, what needs to be done is to take "cheap" but very productive steps for the "good recognition" of Türkiye, such as sending art exhibitions to the relevant countries and inviting well-known names of that country to Türkiye ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 94). The economy, which the report emphasized, was a very important problem for Türkiye, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Feridun Cemal Erkin himself stated that public diplomacy is "first and foremost" a matter of money. For this reason, Türkiye aimed to achieve maximum benefit through economic breakthroughs in public diplomacy ('Dışışleri Belleteni, October- December', 1964, p. 32).

Some "cheap" but effective methods applied to promote Türkiye and increase the prestige of the country were also discussed in the Report. The first example given in this context was the Anatolian Archeology Exhibition

<sup>2</sup> From 1963 to 1968, tourism, which was officially handled together with political promotion, was evaluated by separate units only when political promotion was considered as a different issue.

opened at the Petit Palais in Paris. The exhibition, which was opened in 1964 and visited by 79,000 people, was an event that attracted great attention from the French press. The fact that French newspapers, radios and televisions declared Anatolia as the cradle of Western civilization due to the Exhibition led to the evaluation of the Exhibition as a beneficial investment for Türkiye in the long term. According to the findings of the report, while it was necessary to spend thousands of dollars to make "such useful publications" for the promotion of Türkiye, the country's political reputation and prestige were increased with a "ridiculous" figure of only 1500 dollars ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 95).

Another example is the International Handicrafts Exhibition held in Florence. Türkiye participated in the event with a small exhibition. Türkiye's exhibition was later exhibited in Rome as well. A total of 620,000 people visited the exhibition, and highly sought-after Turkish handicrafts were shown on television along with the other two pavilions that showed the most success. Likewise, Turkish handicrafts have found a lot of places in fashion magazines published in Rome. The Report, which made a cost-benefit analysis with the example of the Turkish Handicrafts exhibition, stated that Türkiye spent 23,500 liras for the exhibition. However, it was stated that Türkiye would have to pay this money to *Marie Claire*, who devoted two pages only to Turkish products for a similar promotion. The report made an important finding here and reminded that the indirect promotion method was much more effective than direct promotion, and underlined that it should not be forgotten that this method was much better for the promotion of Türkiye ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October', 1964, pp. 95–96).

The third example of Türkiye's public diplomacy was the exhibitions of the "child artist" Bedri Baykam held in Bern and Geneva. Bern Television alone devoted 40 minutes to the exhibition, while the number of articles about the exhibitions in the Swiss press was 12. The articles, which were evaluated in terms of quality as well as quantity, aroused satisfaction because they contained very positive opinions about Türkiye. The amount of money spent on Bedri Baykam's exhibitions was stated as 8,571 Liras ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 96).

The three examples that the report discussed were those in which maximum benefit was achieved with only minimum investment. Otherwise, in the same year, many brochures were printed, films were prepared, press conferences were organized and contacts were made with the world press to explain the theses of Türkiye and the Turkish Cypriots. Likewise, an agreement was reached

with a public relations firm to benefit the United States in favor of Turkish theses ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October-December', 1964, p. 32).

Finally, the Report, which dealt with the activities carried out for the promotion of Türkiye within the cost-benefit analysis, stated that the money allocated for cultural relations for a year provided "earnings and income to the extent of much larger amounts" to the treasury by giving it to the treasury in the same year. Türkiye's expanding promotional activities were expected to provide great gains in the long term, just as cultural relations provided "gains" in the short term. This gain, on the other hand, included economic areas such as tourism by contributing to the prestige of the country, which was very important. In the current period, the prestige of international relations in many cases and the fact that the countries with this prestige became much easier to solve their political and economic issues required Türkiye to place the country's prestige in an important place in its foreign policy. The Report, which made a final recommendation through public diplomacy, recommended that the sums to be allocated to cultural relations should be considered as part of the general planning regulating Türkiye's political moves in the political and economic fields ('Dışişleri Belleteni, October', 1964, p. 96).

## CONCLUSION

Although the conceptualization of public diplomacy coincides with the 1960s, it is known that many countries have engaged in similar activities in accordance with the meaning of the word. In this context, since its establishment, the Republic of Türkiye has implemented many public diplomacy activities targeting the world public opinion. In determining these activities, it should be noted that the strategic objectives of the state's foreign policy are compatible with global developments. As a matter of fact, from the establishment of the Republic to the period including the 1960s, the tools used in public diplomacy activities and the targeted public votes were shaped according to the changing foreign policy priorities of the country.

During the Cold War, the year 1964 marked the beginning of a new phase in Türkiye's foreign policy. Türkiye, which had problems with its ally the USA due to the Bloody Christmas attacks carried out by the Greek Cypriots in Cyprus shortly before the aforementioned date, started to question the alliance. In this process, the letter by President Johnson preventing Türkiye's intervention in Cyprus triggered the development of a different understanding in Turkish foreign policy. Türkiye,



which adopted a more one-sided policy in the Cold War conjuncture, needed an alternative foreign policy as a result of the developments.

Especially after the Johnson Letter, public diplomacy became a very important issue due to the situation Türkiye was in. In this direction, interest in Europe, the Middle East and the newly independent Asian and African countries increased. In addition, public diplomacy activities carried out through cultural relations had an extremely strategic importance as a political investment; thus, the idea that it would contribute to obtaining the foreign aid that was often needed began to be accepted. Likewise, it was expected that the positive image that would be formed through cultural relations would also support the development of tourism. In other words, it was accepted that the activities to be carried out within the framework of public diplomacy in this period should be seen as a serious investment in political and economic terms.

The activities aimed at improving the cultural relations carried out by Türkiye in 1964 were important in terms of revealing the understanding of public diplomacy of the foreign ministry. In this context, student mobility with France came to the fore as an extremely beneficial activity for Türkiye. In addition, opera singer Ferhan Onat's tour in Poland, pianist İdil Biret's concert in Italy, and the exhibition of child artist Bedri Baykam's works in Bern and Geneva, two important cities of Switzerland, led to the opinion that Türkiye would increase its political influence through such cultural and artistic activities.

In the same year, Türkiye organized low-cost art exhibitions as a way to be recognized in the best possible way. The Anatolian Archaeology Exhibition was opened at the Petit Palais in Paris and was visited by 79,000 people. The International Handicrafts Exhibition, held in Florence and Rome, Italy, respectively, was met with great interest, and the total number of visitors reached 620,000. Both exhibitions contributed positively to Türkiye's image in the international public opinion. Therefore, the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wished to explain Türkiye to the world without incurring great costs and tried to use cultural and artistic activities efficiently for this purpose.

Until the Cyprus issue intensified and became the main issue of Turkish foreign policy, the trust in the United States was at a high level. However, in the aftermath of the Johnson Letter, Türkiye sought alternatives and started public diplomacy activities on the axis of cultural activity to explain the Cyprus issue to the international public. Thus, Türkiye aimed to proclaim its righteousness to the

world. Because Türkiye was aware that it was behind the Greek Cypriots on this issue. Indeed, the overwhelming interest and positive response to cultural events suggests the establishment of a favourable perception.

Türkiye aimed to achieve great gains in both the short and long term without allocating huge budgets to its public diplomacy activities carried out through various cultural relations with significant influence. As a result of all these activities, the first important gain expected was Türkiye's ability to explain its arguments to the world in the face of the Cyprus Issue. In addition, it was aimed to contribute to the image of the country and to achieve some economic gains. Therefore, it has been seen that what Türkiye wanted to achieve in all of the activities within the conceptual framework of public diplomacy as of 1964 was in parallel with what is expected from public diplomacy today.

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