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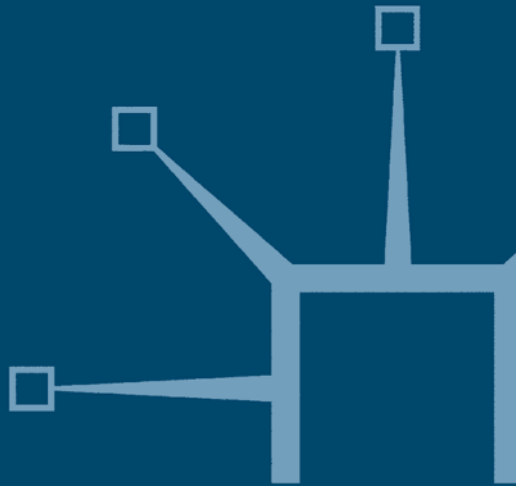
# Turkey in the Cold War

Ideology and Culture

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Edited by

Cangül Örnek and Çağdaş Üngör



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## Ideology and Culture

Edited by

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*Cangül Örnek and Çağdaş Üngör*



# List of Abbreviations

AID	United States Agency for International Development
DISK	The Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu)
DP	Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti)
ECA	European Cooperation Agency
IECO	International Economic Cooperation Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IZFAS	İzmir Fair Services Culture and Art Affairs Trade Inc. (İzmir Fuarçılık Hizmetleri Kültür ve Sanat İşleri Tic. A.Ş.)
JP	Justice Party (Adalet Partisi)
METU	Middle Eastern Technical University (Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi)
MP	Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi)
MTTB	National Turkish Union of Students (Milli Türk Talebe Birliği)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NMP	Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)
NOP	National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi)
OWI	Office of War Information
PRA	Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı)
PRC	People's Republic of China
RPNP	Republican Peasants and Nation Party (Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi)
RPP	Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
TDK	Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu)
TİİKP	Turkish Revolutionary Party of Workers and Peasants (Türkiye İhtilalci İşçi Köylü Partisi)
TİP	Labor Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi)
TKP	Communist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Komünist Partisi)
TKZS	Trudovo-Kooperativnote Zmedelsko Stopanstvo (Agricultural Labor Cooperative)

TüSTAV	Social History Research Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırma Vakfı)
UFI	Global Association of the Exhibition Industry
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency
USIA	United States Information Agency
USIE	United States Information and Education
USIS	United States Information Service

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# Introduction

## Turkey's Cold War: Global Influences, Local Manifestations

*Cangül Örnek and Çağdaş Üngör*

A young Turkish boy visiting the İzmir International Fair in the mid-1950s would have found it difficult to choose a favorite between the Soviet pavilion, which displayed a model Sputnik, and the American pavilion, which promised its visitors the sight of the 'magical' TV set. By the late 1960s, he might have faced a similar dilemma upon entering a bookstore in Ankara, where he contemplated buying a 'social realist' novel instead of going to a downtown theatre to see the latest Hollywood movie. In the meantime, his friends might have been gathering at the campus of the Middle East Technical University (METU) – a model Western institution, where the language of instruction is English – to demonstrate against 'American imperialism'. Such dilemmas, needless to say, represent only a tiny fraction of what we, as the editors of this volume, call 'Turkey's Cold War experience'. This volume, which aims to explore the local manifestations of the Cold War struggle in its ideological, social, and cultural dimensions, is inspired by these seemingly contradictory life experiences.

Although Turkey's position and policies during the Cold War have received considerable attention from scholars,<sup>1</sup> much of the available literature concentrates on high politics, that is, Turkey's Cold War diplomacy, military strategy, its bilateral relations, and so on.<sup>2</sup> The ideological and cultural dimensions of Turkey's Cold War experience are largely neglected in this literature, although they are essential to capture the full historical picture and thoroughly understand the interplay between the global and local contexts.<sup>3</sup> Another major flaw in the available literature on 'Turkey in the Cold War' is its excessive preoccupation with Turkey's position in the Western alliance and the developments that occurred on the Turkish–American axis. Although Turkey was not an open battleground, where both Cold War fronts enjoyed equal representation and influence, the sole emphasis on Turkish–American relations overlooks

## 2 *Global Influences, Local Manifestations*

Turkey's encounters with the Soviet-led 'Eastern bloc'.<sup>4</sup> The available literature on Turkey's Cold War experience, therefore, is biased, both in the thematic and geographical sense. This volume addresses these fundamental shortcomings and attempts to broaden the scope of research on 'Turkey during the Cold War' by drawing on the conceptual tools of the recently emerging 'cultural Cold War' literature.

Since the 1990s, there has been an intensified scholarly effort to examine the social, cultural, and ideological dimensions of the Cold War struggle. The growing literature on the 'cultural Cold War'<sup>5</sup> has opened up new avenues of Cold War historiography, which was previously confined to a narrow strategic perspective. Before the flourishing of this new agenda, the political, economic, and military contests between the capitalist and socialist poles were analyzed as strategic moves in a chess game – as if they could be isolated from their manifestations in the world of discourses, ideas, and ideologies. Exploring the battles for establishing hegemony in the world of ideas, this new literature has shed light on the previously neglected spheres of Cold War confrontations, ranging from artistic creativity to sports encounters. Likewise, movies, books, exhibitions, media, and daily life experiences have assumed new political significance in the Cold War context.

The 'cultural Cold War' has illuminated the cultural milieu of the Cold War and enriched our insight with regard to the struggle between the two clashing worldviews. This literature has not only expanded the range of research topics, but also prompted studies that extend the geographical focus of Cold War scholarship. While the field is still predominantly concerned with developments in the European–American axis or inter-bloc cultural rivalry,<sup>6</sup> this new outlook has also inspired a number of studies that deal with the impact of the Cold War struggle outside Europe and the US. Most recently, East and Southeast Asia,<sup>7</sup> Latin America,<sup>8</sup> and the Middle East<sup>9</sup> have received some attention from historians who examine the social and cultural dynamics of the Cold War era in different localities. Despite the geographical expansion of this new research agenda, however, many issues relating to the Cold War experiences of non-Western countries still remain unexplored or overlooked. In this sense, Turkey is a major case in point. Although this country has been at the center stage of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan – as well as other globally significant policies, which have shaped the larger Cold War environment – Turkey is completely neglected in this new body of literature. *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture* aims to address this important gap by bringing the local ramifications of this ideological struggle to global scholarly attention.

The present volume, therefore, serves a twofold purpose. First of all, it locates Turkey on the map of ‘cultural Cold War studies’ by contributing to the expansion of the geographical horizons of this new scholarship. In this sense, this study will be a partial remedy for this literature’s relative neglect of the non-Western world – which is particularly visible in the Middle East region. Second, this volume contributes to the field of Turkish studies by illuminating the previously overlooked dimensions of Turkey’s Cold War experience. Shifting the focus to the social, cultural, and ideological dimensions of the Turkish Cold War experience complicates the picture presented in available studies, most of which concentrate on the official realm. Seen through the conventional lens, Turkey was a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member and a committed Western ally. On the economic spectrum, Turkey was a capitalist country, where anti-communism dominated the public discourse and IMF policies shaped important government decisions concerning agriculture and industry. Based on such parameters, therefore, Turkey seems to have been a model Cold War ally. When the focus is shifted to the social realm, however, one can see that Turkey had a highly contested Cold War culture. While it is clear that Hollywood cinema had its fans, the Cold War period witnessed various forms of resistance against American influence in the Turkish cultural sphere – a sentiment shared unequally and for different reasons by the Islamic, nationalist, and leftist circles.

As the above examples suggest, the Cold War struggle substantially altered the ideological positions pursued by the official circles and various social groups in Turkey during the second half of the twentieth century. Therefore, the local experiences associated with the Cold War era need to be properly addressed in order to grasp ideological, social, and cultural dynamics, some of which continue to influence modern-day Turkey. Having said this, one should note that *Turkey in the Cold War* is not a comprehensive volume, which presents a full-fledged analysis of Turkey’s Cold War history. Nor does it aim to provide full coverage of all the social, cultural, and intellectual developments that occurred in Turkey during the Cold War years. Whereas this volume does not concentrate on the diplomatic realm, it leaves few of the conventional topics relating to Turkey’s Cold War experience (including the Marshall Plan, Korean War, and Cyprus crisis) untouched. Examining the domestic repercussions of these events, this volume aims to provide an alternative reading of the ‘Cold War effect’ in Turkey and to draw scholarly attention to many of its underemphasized themes, such as literature, exhibitions or sports.

This volume’s themes include propaganda and persuasion activities, the making of official and alternative discourses, the cultural/ideological



dimensions of Turkey's international exchanges, the Cold War's impact on Turkish intellectual circles and cultural life, as well as the local ramifications of Western aid and assistance. In particular, *Turkey in the Cold War* aims to provide answers to the following questions:

- What were the manifestations of the major Cold War ideological divisions (US–Soviet, as well as Sino–Soviet) in the Turkish context?
- What was the role of official institutions and pro-establishment intellectuals in disseminating pro-Western/anti-communist ideas?
- How did the Turkish officials, intellectuals, and dissidents respond to American influence in the social, economic, and cultural fields?

An overview of the main domestic and international events that have shaped Turkey's Cold War experience will reveal the relevance and significance of these questions to comprehend modern Turkey.

### **Turkey's Cold War: Significance and Legacy**

When the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, it inherited a contradictory legacy from the Ottoman Empire that was marked by the modernization efforts of the Western model and deep suspicions about the real intentions of European powers. The memories of the Western occupation following the Empire's defeat in the First World War were still fresh. During the 1920s, the founders of the republic focused on domestic priorities and made efforts to improve the poor economic infrastructure in the war-ravaged countryside. Having launched a full-scale Westernization campaign at home, they adopted a status quo approach in foreign policy and dealt with the unresolved issues lingering from the demise of the Ottoman Empire. In the meantime, the oppressive policies of the new regime silenced all kinds of political opposition. By the early 1930s, the authoritarian political tendencies strengthening in Europe after the Great Depression had immediate ramifications for Turkey, resulting in the establishment of the Republican People's Party's (RPP) one-party rule.

Having received political and material support from its northern neighbor during the War of Independence (1919–22), the young Turkish Republic maintained friendly relations with the Soviet Union throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The primary area of collaboration was economic planning and industrialization. Yet the RPP leadership followed a hybrid economic track – that is, they made use of Soviet development policies but also benefited from German technical expertise and adopted

Italian labor law, which constituted the legal basis for oppressive labor policies. In the realm of foreign policy, although the Kemalist cadres avoided building a binding alliance with the Western powers, they restored relations with Britain and other countries that had occupied Turkey following the First World War. In domestic politics and the ideological sphere, the pro-Western and anti-communist essence of the new regime has been apparent right from the beginning.

Early signs of deterioration in Turkish–Soviet relations occurred during the Second World War years, when Turkey witnessed the rise of a pro-German, pan-Turkist group composed mostly of Turkish men of letters and émigré intellectuals from the Turkic parts of the Soviet Union. Tolerated by the government and supported by the mainstream media, this group expressed its admiration for Nazi Germany and hatred for the Soviet Union, especially during the military campaign of the German army into Soviet lands. Although Turkey officially preserved a neutral position between Nazi Germany and the Allies,<sup>10</sup> the ideological climate inside the country was heavily influenced by racist and anti-communist propaganda. When the war ended with the victory of the Allied powers, including the Soviet Union and the United States, the members of this group were prosecuted by the Turkish authorities. The case became known as ‘Racism–Turanism’ (*Irkçılık–Turancılık Davası*). In the end, minor criminal charges were brought against a number of people, including Zeki Velidi Togan, Alparslan Türkeş, Nihal Atsız, and Fethi Tevetoğlu. These people would later become active in the Turkish political scene during the Cold War years, as protagonists of Cold War anti-communism.

While the RPP government had maintained a complicated policy of neutrality during the Second World War, Turkey joined the Allies in 1945, if only as a token gesture. In the immediate aftermath of the war, Soviet demands concerning the Bosphorus Straits and Eastern Anatolian provinces pushed Turkey further away from its northern neighbor. Eager to join the Western bloc, Turkey used this issue as an opportunity to win the support of Britain and the US.<sup>11</sup> The void in Turkey’s international affiliation was soon filled by the US government, which sent the SS *Missouri* warship to Istanbul in 1946 and extended Marshall Aid to Turkey in 1948. On the domestic scene, the RPP government fostered a new political climate in the country, which signaled the launch of the Cold War era. The early signs of this ideological shift were the debates surrounding the murder of Sabahattin Ali – a leftist writer – and the imprisonment of the famous communist poet, Nâzım Hikmet. Hikmet’s escape to socialist Romania in 1950 was not just the start of his exilic

life in the socialist bloc but also of the sharpening of Cold War ideological battles in Turkey.

Although the RPP leadership was crucial in dictating Turkey's priorities in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, it was the Democrat Party (DP) which shaped the ideological and cultural parameters of Cold War Turkey. Adnan Menderes's Democrats, whose election victory signaled Turkey's transition into a multi-party democracy in 1950, turned the country into a capitalist and anti-communist stronghold in the following decade. The party promoted private enterprise, agricultural modernization in the countryside, and rapid urbanization. The DP government's promises to transform Turkey into a 'little America' with 'a millionaire in every neighborhood' had wide appeal. The cultural symbols of this large-scale change were the highways – which were built with American assistance and technical expertise – as opposed to railroads, which had become associated with one-party rule. In the rural areas, the mechanization of agriculture accelerated by tractors imported from the US as part of the Marshall Plan also caused remarkable social change.

Another turning point in Turkish history came during DP rule with Turkey's admission into NATO in 1952, subsequent to the country's participation in the Korean War under UN command. This decision solidified Turkey's geopolitical position and made the country an active partner in the organizational structure of the Cold War. During the early 1950s, the general atmosphere in Turkey was very much in favor of the US. In these years the early signs of American hegemony in Turkish popular culture became visible. A typical example was Celal İnce's song praising the Turkish–American friendship, which could be heard in football stadiums or in the *Voice of America's* Turkish broadcasts.<sup>12</sup> In the meantime, Grace Kelly hairstyles and nylon stockings became quite fashionable among urban women. Likewise, American novels and *Bütün Dünya* – a local magazine that published large excerpts from *Reader's Digest* – became available to Turkish readers.

US influence in the cultural realm was hardly limited to popular culture. A more subtle process was the emergence of a new generation of young people with an Anglo-Saxon orientation, which would reshape Turkish political and social life in the coming decades.<sup>13</sup> For a long time, Robert College in Istanbul had been the leading American educational institution in Turkey. Beginning in the late 1950s through to the 1960s, the Turkish university system gradually adapted to the American model. Furthermore, a number of universities, including Middle Eastern Technical University in Ankara and Atatürk University in Erzurum, were

founded by American assistance. In parallel with a global trend, the US became the new destination for university education, as well as academic and professional training. In the following decades, thousands of young Turkish people benefited from the American governments' exchange programs and visited the US. This new generation gradually replaced the previous elites who received their degrees from French or German universities, spoke French or German, and enjoyed European culture.

Throughout the 1950s, the Turkish–American alliance had few domestic critics – and those few were mostly confined to leftist intellectual circles. Under these circumstances, the DP government easily labeled any criticism against US policies either as a 'Soviet plot' or a sign of betrayal of the Turkish–American friendship.<sup>14</sup> The government's intolerance for dissident views hit a new low after the DP's third election victory in 1957. While anti-communism continued to dominate the public discourse, the government-sanctioned censorship measures now targeted even moderate journalists and university professors. The government's heavy hand on the national press led some to tune-in to *Bizim Radyo*, a Turkish Communist Party organ whose clandestine radio broadcasts from the neighboring socialist countries proved to be one of the earliest cracks in official propaganda.<sup>15</sup>

The censorship measures, combined with the economic hardship of the late 1950s, rendered Menderes an unsympathetic political leader in the eyes of the educated elite. In this fragile atmosphere, the ideological alliance of the urban middle classes around the main opposition party (RPP) and the army resulted in the first military coup of the republic's history. While the leaders of the 27 May 1960 coup executed Adnan Menderes and the top leaders of the Democrat Party, they immediately assured the US government that Turkey would continue to cherish its international obligations, including its membership of the Central Treaty Organization and NATO. Turkey's official Cold War position was therefore hardly affected by this abrupt political change. The same incident, nevertheless, completely transformed the social atmosphere in Turkey and reshaped the country's Cold War culture – which would become an increasingly contested one during the 1960s.<sup>16</sup>

Following the promulgation of the 1961 constitution, which introduced many new civil and political liberties, Turkey witnessed the flourishing of civil associations and left-wing political organizations – among them the influential Labor Party of Turkey (TİP). This era also opened a new phase in the trade union movement. The Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DISK), founded by leftist trade unionists in 1967, fiercely

challenged Türk-İş, the pro-government labor confederation that had advocated American-style 'free unionism' since the early 1950s.

As Turkey underwent this process of intense social and political transformation, new conflicts emerged in the intellectual and cultural sphere. In the relatively liberal atmosphere of the 1960s, translations of the previously banned Marxist classics became popular. Likewise, the left-wing literary circles engaged in a discussion with the socialists of Western and Eastern Europe on the merits of 'socialist realism'. Meanwhile, rock 'n' roll music found many fans among the urban youth. While the nationalist and religiously conservative circles in Turkey remained largely untouched by these cultural influences, they nevertheless engaged in various publication activities to propagate their own vision of Turkey. The alliance between the nationalist and Islamic circles, which would ultimately result in the 'Turkish-Islamic synthesis' of later decades, was being molded in the 1960s around local Associations for Fighting Communism (*Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği*). While the nationalists legitimized their position by accusing Moscow of plots against Turkey, the Islamic groups embraced 'national and sacred values' against 'godless communism'.<sup>17</sup>

During the 1960s, Cold War cultural and ideological clashes were no longer confined to a narrow intellectual sphere. Foreign policy issues and international developments were discussed by wider sections of society and were made manifest in people's daily lives. Although the US continued to exert influence in the cultural sphere, it was in this period that Turkey also saw the rise of anti-American sentiment. This was partly related to international developments that had placed Turkey's pro-Western foreign policy under closer scrutiny. A major example was the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, when the Kennedy administration used the Jupiter missiles located in Turkey as a bargaining chip to soothe its Soviet counterpart. As the missiles were removed from Turkish soil without consulting the local authorities, this incident raised questions on the very nature of the Turkish-American alliance.<sup>18</sup> Two years later, another major crisis was triggered by inter-communal violence in Cyprus, a Mediterranean island off the Turkish coast that was inhabited by Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In 1964, the US administration's involvement in the Cyprus question discouraged Turkey from acting on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots. President Lyndon Johnson's letter to İsmet İnönü, which threatened repercussions lest Turkey resorted to unilateral military action, caused a major uproar in the country. In the following years, the 'Johnson Letter' would become an important reference point for those who embraced anti-American sentiments.

Another fundamental discussion during the 1960s, and partly the 1970s, concerned Turkey's economic development. During the Marshall Plan years, the Turkish economy had been plagued by high rates of inflation and external debt. In the post-1960 era, Turkish intellectuals, influenced by the development debates and initiatives in the international sphere, such as the Bandung Conference, started to seek an alternative 'third way'. While protectionist policies gained currency in Turkey, as in the rest of the capitalist world, some circles advocated a state-led planning model as the only way out of the country's economic problems. Nationalization, which became the hallmark of development debates all around the non-Western world, was promoted in Turkey as well, as a remedy for the country's 'underdevelopment'. In fact, development debates harbored two approaches based on two conflicting models: of socialist planning and of capitalist development. While the leftist and left Kemalist intellectuals advocated the former, Turkey's conservative technocrats – assisted by American experts from the late 1950s onwards – implemented the latter model in Turkey.

In domestic politics, Süleyman Demirel's Justice Party (JP) – the immediate successor of the Democrat Party – became the dominant actor with its election victories in 1965 and 1969. Unlike the Democrats of the 1950s, however, JP rule had to face severe domestic challenges. By 1968, the Demirel government was overwhelmed by the surging leftist movement, which demanded radical transformations in Turkey, such as deviation from the country's capitalist economy or its alliance with the Western bloc. Inspired by student protests in the European metropolises, these left-wing students embraced anti-imperialist ideology as well as Third World-centric sentiments. A major influence was the guerilla movement in Latin America against pro-American governments and CIA-led paramilitary groups. Other global Cold War antagonisms also had immediate repercussions in the Turkish context. The deterioration in Soviet–Chinese relations, for instance, was closely followed by the rise of Turkish leftists in the late 1960s. The Sino–Soviet ideological split eventually led to the emergence of pro-China groups in Turkey, which represents one of the earliest divisions within the Turkish left.

In the final years of the 1960s, Turkish public opinion was dominated by anti-American student demonstrations and a radicalized labor movement. At Middle East Technical University, students set the US ambassador's car on fire during his visit to the campus. A number of leftist youth groups resorted to arms, kidnapped the Israeli ambassador to Turkey, and clashed with the security forces. In 1971, a right-wing army clique's

dissatisfaction with civilian measures to curb these events resulted in a military coup against the JP government. The so-called 'March 12 Intervention' was accompanied by numerous arrests, especially of left-wing journalists, authors, student militants, and university professors. Shortly after the coup, Bülent Ecevit's RPP gained new ascendancy in domestic politics as the 'left-of-center' party.<sup>19</sup> In 1974, the coalition government led by the RPP issued a general amnesty, which released all political prisoners. In the same year, the Ecevit government launched a military operation in Cyprus and divided the island along its north-south axis. While the 'Cyprus intervention' enjoyed much popularity at home, it strained Turkey's relations with Western powers.

In the second half of the 1970s, the international repercussions of Turkey's continued military presence in North Cyprus, together with the impact of the global oil crisis, depleted the country's foreign exchange reserves. The financial crisis, which jeopardized the already fragile Turkish economy, was matched by the paralyzed state of the Turkish political scene. While the parliament proved unable to elect a president, the ideological struggle between the opposing camps took a violent turn. By the late 1970s, Turkish nationalists and Muslim conservatives had already solidified their alliance against the rising leftist movement. The organization of right-wing paramilitary groups, which would later gain the notorious label *Turkish Gladio*, had a substantial role in intensifying the so-called 'anarchy'.<sup>20</sup> Their activities paved the way for military intervention in 1980.

The violence culminated in the second half of the 1970s. On 1 May 1977, 36 workers were killed in Taksim Square, an incident commonly known as 'Bloody May Day'. Most of the workers lost their lives in the panic created by sniper shootings coming from the surrounding buildings. In December 1978, another massacre took place, this time of the Alevis living in Kahramanmaraş, a city located in southeast Anatolia. The Alevi population became the target of rightist paramilitaries because of their allegedly 'heretical' belief system and leftist political orientation. Over 100 Alevis were killed in Kahramanmaraş in a series of incidents that lasted for days. This was followed by the 'Çorum Massacre' of July 1980, resulting in 50 casualties among the city's Alevi population. Aside from these organized massacres, which were conducted by the *Turkish Gladio*, the newspapers of the time reported daily shootings in the streets, assassinations of university professors, intellectuals, and trade unionists. The attacks fueled student boycotts at high schools and universities, labor strikes, street protests that were met with further violence or measures such as strikebreaking, lockouts, and so on. During

the last summer before the military coup, the country had obviously descended into a severe political and economic turmoil.

Turkey thus entered the last decade of the Cold War with a completely dysfunctional democratic system. The bloodbath that had characterized the final years of the 1970s would be cited numerous times in the coming decades, chiefly to justify the military coup that overthrew the Demirel government on 12 September 1980. While the military leaders once again felt it necessary to swear allegiance to Turkey's international obligations (i.e. NATO), the political intentions of the coup leaders were hardly surprising to the US government.<sup>21</sup> The implicit American support for the military intervention became much clearer as the coup leaders reshaped Turkish political and social life in subsequent years. Although the coup initially targeted militants from both sides of the ideological spectrum, the official ideology of the post-1980 era – commonly known as the 'Turkish-Islamic synthesis' – proved to be in continuity with the anti-communist discourse promoted in Turkey since the early Cold War years. Following the promulgation of the 1982 constitution, which severely limited civil and political liberties, the 'Turkish-Islamic synthesis' came to dominate the educational curricula, as well as other aspects of social life in Turkey.

With the former political leaders remaining imprisoned, Turgut Özal's newly established Motherland Party (MP) seized the opportunity to lead Turkey into a neoliberal path in the early 1980s. Advocated at the time by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, this new economic mindset signified a shift from import substitution to export-oriented policies, as well as privatization of government industries. Funded by substantial IMF loans, MP's economic policies resulted in high levels of inflation and an ever-growing income disparity in Turkey. On the cultural spectrum, Turkey was gradually transformed into a consumption society – a process symbolized by the opening of the first McDonalds restaurant in Turkey in 1986. With few cultural critics and political outlets to divert attention and a severe restriction of student organization on campuses,<sup>22</sup> Turkish youth turned to mass culture, including TV shows, football, and pop music. This new popular culture was the equivalent of the 'American dream' in the Turkish context, since it articulated the opportunities provided by capitalism to move up in society.

The end of the Cold War therefore came to Turkey sooner than the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. When the Soviet Union started to disintegrate, there were few people left in the Turkish public sphere to lament for its demise. The right-wing circles, neoliberal intellectuals – composed mainly of professionals in the media and advertisement sector – as well