When Turkish-American relations are considered, the general audience would remember that the relations between two states date back to the late 1940's. After the World War II (WWII), Turkey was looking for any opportunity to get rid of her political isolation and a safe haven from Soviet's aggressive regional demands from Turkey. At that period, the US stepped up to show Turkey was not alone in her struggle against the Soviet Union and showed a warm diplomatic gesture by sending recently passed Turkish ambassador Münir Ertegün's funeral to Turkey with USS Missouri battleship, in 1946. This process was followed by American economic aids to Turkey, in the name of Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan which commenced after 1947. Then, Turkey sided with the US during the Korean War, and sent a couple of thousands troops to Korea. Eventually, Turkey is accepted by the NATO in 1951, which consolidated Turkey's clear position in the western alliance circle. Throughout the Democrat Party Era (1950-1960) in Turkey, Turkey-US partnership continued with developments in economic, military and political aspects.

To some extent, this brief summary explains the basic dynamics of the history of Turkish-American relations; however, it does not cover the all. Obviously, post WWII period was a milestone in Turkish-American relations but there was some more between the sides in 1930s, as well. Only, it did not turned into a formal alliance, yet. The US officially recognized the Republic of Turkey in 1927, and sent her first ambassador, Joseph Grew, to Ankara. In exchange, Turkey accredited Ahmet Muhtar Bey to Washington. The frozen relations, because the Ottoman Empire was sided with Central Powers and the US with the Allies, since World War I (WWI) started to be restored after that date; in fact, they leaped forward visibly, specifically in economic relations, in 1930s. With the fixation of political problems in the 1930s, many American multinational companies as Ford Automotive, Singer or Curtiss-
Wright (CW) Aerospace Inc. started to conduct business in Turkish, established partnerships with Turkish government and respectable Turkish upper class business families as "Koç".

The role of American multinational enterprises in Turkey was quite significant not only in terms of Turkish-American economic relations but also publicity of two states to each other. Enterprising processes covered heavy diplomatic schedule between the officials, propaganda tours of the brands and other advertising activities. They also resonated with the public through the newspaper headlines and articles. Therefore, any economic deal covered a multidimensional structure with branches as propaganda, diplomacy and advertisement. Dor instance, the story of CW's penetration to the Turkish market in 1932 includes all these steps and stresses a significant milestone in the Turkish-American relations from the late 1920s to the 1930s. It cites economic, political and cultural cooperation in the relations in this period, includes many non-governmental actors' contributions and proves that Turkey and the US has developed a solid partnership long before the 1950s.

Despite the positive atmosphere of 1930s in Turkish-American relations, it is quite difficult to mention any significant improvement in the early 1920's. The decision-makers of the new republic denied the Treaty of Serves, which was offered to the Ottoman Empire after the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, as well as Wilson's Principles. Then, during the Turkish War of Independence (TWI) (1918-1923), they formed a new republic instead of crumbled empire. The new republic was recognized as a sovereign state by the European Powers with the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923; however, this was not valid for the United States. The inconclusiveness of Armenian Question, problems about American schools' future in Turkey and Ottoman debts hindered the normalization and rejection of the ratification of this treaty twice by the US Congress.

If the relations were that abysmal in 1920s, how did an American multinational company start to make investment in Turkey in ten years? What has motivated the both sides,
Turkish decision makers and the agents of this company, to establish a partnership? How did two nations mostly indifferent to each other throughout their history became significant partners in investment aspects? In fact, CW’s story in Turkey responds all of these questions.

To explain how did CW achieve to enter the Turkish market, three main ideas should be promoted. In the first place, the US Department of States accredited a brilliant ambassador to Turkish post, Joseph Grew, after 1927. Grew worked hard and became a key factor for the solution of the former problems and normalization of the relations with his well practiced public diplomacy. Secondly, Turkey’s first aviation incorporated company, Tayyare ve Motor Türk Anonim Şirketi (Turkish Aircraft and Motor Incorporated Company) (TOMTAŞ), established in 1925 with the partnership of German Junkers Flugzeug und Motorenwerke AG (JFM) was dissolved in the late 1929. The conclusion of such partnership enabled Turkey to find a new partner in this field. Throughout the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire and Turkey sent several officers to research aviation technology in Europe, where they looked when they need to make political reforms or adopt modernized technologies for two hundred years, and this tradition continued until the 1930's. However, this tradition have changed with a stunt occurred in July 1931, which has shaken Turkish decision makers up about there would be other modern role models and partners for Turkey besides Europe. Two American pilots, Johnnie Polando and Russell Boardman made a record-breaking, non-stop flight with their plane called Cape Cod, from New York to Istanbul, which made a tremendous sensation not only in Turkey but also the world. After their flight, these two American pilots welcomed as heroes wherever they went to Turkey and finally, they were received and honored by Atatürk himself. This incident demonstrated the success of American aircrafts industry and Curtiss-Wright (Cape Cod's motor's brand was Wright) to the Turkish decision makers throughout the
Therefore, this paper will be a case study to explain how various propaganda techniques and public diplomacy helped the CW to enter the Turkish market in the 1932.

Before going into the details of the process, it would be better to introduce the background of the scene in the first place. The popularity of aviation was increasing in the early 20th century, and the Ottoman Empire did not want to be left behind about the advancements in this field. After 1910, the Ottomans were in hot pursuit of this industry and sent several officers to Germany and France for education and to purchase the empire's first aircraft. The empire used her newly provided aircraft during the Balkan Wars for the first time in the 1910s. Furthermore, to sustain progress in this field, the Empire established its first aviation facility and an airport in Yeşilköy (Greenvillage), Istanbul. However, the first initiatives were interrupted with the outbreak of World War I (WWI), and Ottoman aviation became bogged down in the setup stage.

Despite the non-functionality of the facility, Ottoman aviators experienced the military usage of the aircraft by piloting several German provided ones during the WWI. This experience introduced the empire to the aviation industry for the first time, formally. However, after the defeat of the empire in WWI, these aircraft were seized by the Allies, and Ottoman aviation activities ended, just as the empire collapsed.

During the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922) (TWI), several aircraft, which were either stolen from the Allies occupying Istanbul or broken, were brought to Konya. The Turkish aviators, who took part in the campaign, tried to fix these aircraft. These aviators managed to fix thirteen of them, made flights over the Greek army, reported their movements

---

and demonstrated usefulness in favor of winning the campaign. The decision makers of the young republic witnessed the impact of the aviation both in WWI and the TWI; then, they expatiated matters in this field after 1923. Clearly, Turkey was inexperienced in this field compared to the Western world; therefore, it is quite understandable why the decision makers sent Turkish officials to Europe to research aviation technology once more, as they witnessed the advancements of both the Allies and the Central Powers.

These were the Turks' motivations for modernizing a new republic in terms of aviation. On the other hand, what were CW's ones, to make an investment in a new country? In the late 1920s, Turkey has ended her partnership with JFM due to several economic crises of this company. Turkey owned an empty aircraft factory in Kayseri and was looking for another partner. Firstly, if CW decided to enter the Turkish market, they would have eliminated the factory cost. Secondly, the deal with the Germans did not only include aircraft producing but also owning of entirely different types of air concessions in Turkey. For instance, JFM, while in Turkey, was conducting aerial surveys, planning commercial air routes and helping to establish airmail service. The new partner would have benefited the whole package, as well.

Still, when CW started to produce its first aircraft in Turkey in 1932, neither the members of the Turkish government nor CW's American owners could have envisioned such a partnership just a decade ago. In 1922, the crumbling Ottoman Empire's dedicated officials had already rejected the harsh Treaty of Serves and were fighting in an independence war in Anatolia against the Allies supporting Greece. Even after the young Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, the USA did not rush to recognize it until 1927. When Joseph Grew was assigned to the Turkish diplomatic post in 1927, he inherited the burden of past hostility and

---

5 Tayhani, Atatürk'ün bağımsızlık politikası, 176.
continuation of previous problems. His diligent public diplomacy, which will be discussed in detail in the upcoming parts, achieved this partnership.

Throughout the paper, many scholarships those cover the period, topic and specific incidents as Boardman-Polando's flight will be used. In addition to these scholarships, many newspaper articles from both American and Turkish media, photos and advertisement posters will be provided. As the they were the primary actors of the period and process, autobiographies and personal memoirs the prominent actors as Joseph Grew and Johnnie Polando will be cited, notably. Joseph Grew's autobiography, *Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years, 1904-1945* covers the dynamics of his public diplomacy. He reveals the relationship between diplomatic success and the establishment of the economic partnership between these states and explains how did he deal with Turkish government and handled American pressure over the new Turkish state. Again, John Polando's autobiography, *Wings over Istanbul: The Life and Flights of a Pioneer Aviator*, presents the detailed story of the record-breaking flight from New York to Istanbul and stands as a good source to rely on this topic. In fact, Polando does not only tell the story of the process but also comments on its impact on Turkish-American relations or Grew’s efforts to turn this stunt into a diplomatic gesture. In terms of newspapers, while there are bunch of American ones, only Cumhuriyet (Republic), the only national newspaper at that time, will be cited by the Turkish side. In addition to these sources, the public records of the United States and Turkey will be consulted, as well.

In addition to them, researcher Stuart Kline’s *A Chronicle of Turkish Aviation* will be utilized as a proper chronological narrative of Turkish aviation history. In this work, Kline narrates many milestones, just as Boardman-Polando flight to Turkey and how it influenced

---

7 Joseph C. Grew, *Turbulent era*.
8 Stuart Kline, *A Chronicle of Turkish Aviation* (Türk havacılık kronolojisi) (İstanbul: Havaş, 2002).
the both Turkish decision makers and public opinion. He also promotes the story of the first aircraft factory in Turkey and its crucial place. Similarly, Turkish journalist Oktay Verel’s two-volume books İstikbal Göklerin Gökler Bizimdir (The future is in the skies, and it is ours)⁹ address some milestones in Turkish aviation history, as well. Again it comes out as a chronology about the Turkish aviation history, however, it is more detailed one compare to Kline's, which is well supported by newspaper articles and memoirs of primary actors. In Verel's narrative, any milestone in Turkish aviation history is enriched with a nationalistic proud attitude, which might be considered as a drawback about the reliance of the source, and this approach is reflected in his lines. Historian Roger Trask’s The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform, 1914-1939¹⁰ approaches to the economic relations between the US and Turkey in a general perspective. He focuses on the economic negotiations between Turkey and the US; explains the details of US-Turkey Treaty of Commerce of 1926, first Turkish loans secured in 1929 and how did Grew play a key role in these negotiations. He also directly interprets Grew’s diplomatic missions and its impact on the penetration of Curtiss-Wright to Turkey in his article. In addition to them, historians Nadir Bryikoğlu's Türk Havacılık Sanayii¹¹, narrates the history of Turkish aviation history and mostly focuses on the foundation of TOMTAŞ. He also gives the details of the contract between Turkey and JFM, how did this partnership developed in the light of both Turkish and German sources. Waldo Heinrichs Jr.'s excellent portrait of Grew in American Ambassador: Joseph C. Grew and the development of the United States diplomatic tradition¹² adds his interpretation of Grew and evaluates his public diplomacy in his career. It provides a good deal of information about Grew's mission in Turkey, as well. Ihsan Tayhani's detailed study of Turkish aviation in early

---

⁹ Oktay Verel, İstikbal Göklerin Gökler Bizimdir, (The future is in the skies, and it is ours) V.2, (İstanbul: Türk Hava Kurumu, 1985).
¹⁰ Trask, “The United States and Turkish Nationalism”.
republican era in Atatürk'ün bağımsızlık politikası ve uçak sanayii:(1923-1950)\textsuperscript{13} provides a quite similar information with Bıyıkoğlu's Türk Havacılık Sanayii, however; he focuses on Turkish motivations to adopt aviation technology, and it was one of the privileged policies in Atatürk's mind. Lastly, Şuhnaz Yılmaz's overview of Turkish-American relations in the late 1920s to 1930s in "Challenging the Stereotypes: Turkish-American Relations in the Inter-War Era."\textsuperscript{14} evaluates the Turkish-American relations in political aspect. She underlines the significant change in relations in the post WWI period to the pre-WWII period. She tries to explain how the Turkish image has evolved in this period in the American media and she gives some credit to Grew in this success, as well.

**Heavy Diplomatic Propaganda**

While propaganda is source-based and cause-oriented content that aims for mass persuasion with any tools and any methods, public diplomacy is linked to the use of soft power. When some locks cannot be opened with the power of money, persuasion or use of hard power, a soft power like public diplomacy steps in. In political scientist, Joseph Nye's words, soft power, unlike hard power, is based on indirect behavioral influences such as culture, values, and ideology.\textsuperscript{15} Therefore, it needs human interaction as its core rather than focusing on manipulative ways of propaganda. As it needs delicacy and intelligence, it is mostly advocated by professionally trained agents like diplomats. Ideally, a diplomat's target would be the decision makers, who also excel in public affairs or work for highly prestigious organizations. Therefore, public diplomacy should not be seen just as a euphemism for kinder, gentler propaganda but also a significant tool of the modern day's diplomat.\textsuperscript{16} Because a

\textsuperscript{13} Tayhani, *Atatürk'ün bağımsızlık politikası*.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
diplomat’s audience has the power to accept or decline any proposal, persuasion through any gentle propaganda is not applicable. Instead, persuasion is achieved by gaining trust and confidence. Credibility in this mission is essential, as gaining the trust of any decision maker. 17 More credible actors increase their chance of success, and more credible governments tend to affect other states in political and economic terms. In the multinational corporations’ cases, a diplomat in the investment planned state would be one of the key actors. This person, by the tools of his/her government, would secure mutual trust between the countries and evaluate political and economic conditions and throw together his fellow business people with the state he/she resides in.

In CW’s entrance process in Turkey, Grew had an indispensible role about fixation of broken Turkish-American relations and influencing skeptic Turkish decision makers about American sincerity in political and economic terms. That is why when CW started to settle in Turkey and run the factory in Kayseri in 1932, Grew was leaving Turkish diplomatic post proudly and in dignity.18

Before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and during the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the political relations between two states were quite limited. In addition to the US’ isolationist foreign policy, any US government's priority was not more than maintaining relief charities and American missionary schools in the Ottoman lands. The relations between two states mostly defined and conducted by non-governmental agents.19 American missionaries’ reports about the poor conditions of Armenians and rejection of Armenian self-determination demands by the Ottoman officials shaped the American aspect towards the Turks from late 19th century to early 20th century. Throughout this period, the

18 Grew, Turbulent Era, 916.
American newspapers mostly filled with the news about the assaults of the Turks to poor, Christian Armenians and the image of the “Terrible Turk” is remained in the minds of Americans.20

Mediocre relations continued until the WWI, which made the US and the Ottoman Empire enemies for the first time. Clearly, the relations between two states have never been quite promising; however, it has never turned into an open hostility, as well. During the war, the Ottoman and American forces did not face each other, thanks to the geographical barriers; however, the diplomatic relations were cut in 1917 and did not formed until 1927.

After the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the top prior job of the US State Department was securing the future of the American missionary schools and relief charities in Turkey. In 1919, the State Department assigned Admiral Mark Bristol as the High Commissioner to Istanbul to protect American institutions and interests in the empire in dissolution upheaval. Bristol was a quintessential open door policy-minded diplomat, who believed in an intense and humble foreign policy to secure American interests.21 To secure such policy he believed in economic cooperation, as previous American diplomats used to do. On the other hand, he was an enough experienced agent to know that this policy was fallacious during the war times. Instead of promoting economic relations, he suggested helping defeated states to improve their economy until it would be ready for the US businessmen’ inflow to markets in these states.22 However, this policy should be conducted neither persuasively nor intimidated and this defeated state should not feel she is a client state. The definitive words of this policy, which was the basics of the public diplomacy, should be

20 Yılmaz, "Challenging the Stereotypes", 224.
assistance, advice, and sympathy.\textsuperscript{23} In such understanding, Bristol represented his country between 1919 and 1927. In that time, he made many friends among the Turkish decision makers like İsmat Paşa (Prime Minister) and Tefvik Rüştü Bey (Minister of the Foreign Affairs), who would welcome his successor Joseph Grew later sympathetically for the sake of their friendship with Bristol.\textsuperscript{24}

Throughout the TWI, the US officials remained silent over the campaign but watched it closely. When the war was over, the United States decided to attend the Lausanne Conference as an observer and represented by three skillful diplomats, Mark Bristol, Washburn Child and Joseph Grew. The objective was to watch the negotiations between the Turks and the Allies closely and reestablish the relations between Turkey and the US if the negotiations go further.\textsuperscript{25} However, former issues were still problematic which remained unresolved in Lausanne, as well.

When Grew arrived Turkey in 1927, his mission was more or less clear; restoring the relations between US and Turkey while protecting the American interests.\textsuperscript{26} At the same time, the new state's decision makers were looking forward to normalizing relations, as well. In Mustafa Kemal Paşa's leadership, Turkey launched several reforms to modernize country in western standards, hoped to break weak image of the Ottoman Empire its recent times and restore the relations with the former hostile western countries.\textsuperscript{27} Despite promising approches of the both sides Grew’s mission was not an easy task to accomplish. Four years after the Treaty of Lausanne, the US barely recognized Turkey which disturbed the Turkish decision-makers. In his one of the first formal meetings with the Turkish cabinet, Grew had to stay on

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Grew, 	extit{Turbulent Era}, 720.
\textsuperscript{26} Heinrichs, 	extit{American Ambassador}, 146-147.
\textsuperscript{27} Dankwart A. Rustow, 	extit{The Foreign Policy of the Turkish Republic} (New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, 1958) 298-99.
the good side of Tevfik Rüştü Bey, who asked why the US Congress did not ratify the Treaty of Lausanne. The problems from Ottoman times, as minority problems in Turkey or American missionary schools future, have not solved, yet.

Grew challenged his first problem as soon as he arrived in Turkey. Some teachers of the American School in Bursa were mentoring several Turkish students about the Christianity, and this incident submitted to the Ministry of National Education of Turkey. It caused a great disturbance in public. In these times Turkey was laying a foundation for a secular state, which planned to keep the state institutions aloof from not only Islam but also whole religious practices. Furthermore, the nationalistic policy of the state was colliding the existence of these autonomous schools, as well. Grew knew that the Turkish decision makers were not personally opposed to the existence of these missionary schools; even prominent deputies like Yusuf Akçura and the leader of Turkish Hearts (a significant institution to promote Turkish nationalism in education) Hamdullah Suphi Bey were great admirers of the education system of these schools. However, the American schools’ future was uncertain; and the religious propaganda issue left the new ambassador in a lurch.

Grew believed that the future of these schools was quite unpromising and compensation of the prospective closure of these schools for the improvement in the relations should be tolerable. Therefore, he decided to get away from this problem with minimum damages to the relations and did not put any pressure on Turkish decision-makers not to take a decision against these schools. However, this option did not satisfy American public opinion, either. Throughout 1928, the teachers of these schools were suspended and some of the American schools were closed, which was protested by some American newspapers.

28 Grew, Turbulent Era, 749.
29 Kemal Karpat, Turkey’s Politics: the transition to a multi-party system (New Jersey: Princeton, 1959) 61.
30 Grew, Turbulent Era, 741.
31 Ibid.
32 Grew, Turbulent Era, 758.
harshly. Grew met with Tevfik Rüştü Bey and İsmet Bey once, to ease the pressures on the American schools and got their words. Then, he advised the State Department not to send a diplomatic note to Turkey and did not give an interview to any American newspapers to defuse the politic tension. Grew’s humble silence over these issues was appreciated by the Turkish decision makers. They received Grew’s request to defuse tension and tried to ignore similar complaints about other American schools.

It can be said that the compromise was the first significant gain of Grew, in the direction of his public diplomacy. He believed that a political understanding must be shown to this new state's objectives and practices those she needed to be adopted. Turkey was up to promote its own nationalistic-democratic republic recently, which was very unusual compared to American democracy. At least, Grew knew that US must set its foreign policy towards Turkey by considering that psychology. Even, some practices caused disturbances to the relations between the US and Turkey sometimes; however, the US governments should act in sense. Turkey was on the same page with Grew, in this aspect. They hoped that other states would understand the social and political transformation in Turkey and show respect to its domestic affairs. Turkey's modernization with somehow western institutions will serve to the both sides' interests, in the end. Grew's public diplomacy towards such sympathy made Turkish decision makers to show their gratitude back to Grew. Grew defined his role as the following:

"I have learned and seen the power of fairness and generosity in Government relationships, leading to a confidence in him and his character that has meant much to all American interests. Again and again, Turkish officials have given me their witness in this regard."35

33 Grew, Turbulent Era, 761.
34 Grew, Turbulent Era, 707.
35 Grew, Turbulent Era, 814.
It seems American missionary schools topic was a quite good example about Grew's working public diplomacy. His cautious and sympathetic attitude restored the Turkish aspect towards Americans and enhanced its credibility. Then, he launched his new campaign; inviting American investments in Turkey.

Before moving on to that topic, several conclusions to be discussed. Turkey is a country which aims to modernize itself, specifically in the technological industries, and due to lack of experience in many fields she needs to establish credible partnerships. European states are quite convenient for the guidance and partnership for Turkey; however, the Turkish decision makers, who grew up with the turbulent era of the Ottoman Empire, witnessed the damage of concessions given to Europeans before. Therefore, they remain aloof to the partnership with the Europeans except for their former ally Germany, once more. On the other hand, Turkey did not close the door to the others and she seems quite eager to establish good diplomatic relations with them, who would like to make an investment in Turkey. She believes that keeping the diplomatic channels open would overcome the problems between the companies and investors. Furthermore, this partner should have a strong and sustainable economy, which would support its investors when it is needed. In the light of these definitions, it can be deducted that Turkey is looking for a partner, who was not hostile before, eager to establish a friendship with her and economically and technologically advanced.

In the late 1920s, the American companies were quite reluctant to make investments there. There are several reasons for this reluctance. First of all, Turkey was the heir of the debtor Ottoman Empire. Ottoman’s insecure economy may have been inherited by the new state.36 In fact, the Americans were right on this concern, because Turkey was having financial difficulties in the 1920s. She had already lost a major part of her population and

36 Heinrichs, American Ambassador, 141.
regions including petroleum centers as Kirkuk after the WWI. Secondly, Turkey had some political risks. The state departments generally stalled the foreign investments and the nationalistic approach was valid in the economic aspect, as well. Therefore, Grew decided to strengthen his hand with the state support. In 1929, Grew enhanced the relations with a trade agreement between two states. After he received his confirmation from the State Department, he immediately sat down with Turkish decision makers to negotiate a new treaty. This one would be the improved version of Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1830 which would allow more economic cooperation in trade and investment. In addition to the agreement, Ismet Bey mentioned Turkey asked for some loans in several conversations, which made Grew urge the financial mission of the State Department. Therefore, when such agreement is offered, Turkey signed it without hesitation.

This treaty paved the way for the American investments and loans to Turkey. With such treaty, both states approved an economic partnership in trade and it improved Turkey's trustworthiness to make the investment in eyes of American businessmen. In the next year, a delegation headed by former Minister of Finance, Şükrü Bey, went to the USA to secure first foreign loan from this state. Grew sent a letter to the famous banker J. P. Morgan and introduced Şükrü Bey to him personally. According to Grew, this trip would be an excellent opportunity to develop favorably the relations and Şükrü Bey would be more eager to promote American capital and methods in his country when he returns. More importantly, this financial trip overcame the prejudices of both sides and both American companies and Turkish decision makers were attracted to the each other. Indeed, it led other delegations to visit USA as the one received by Glenn Curtiss, which will be narrated in upcoming pages.

37 Grew, Turbulent Era, 854-855.
38 “Ticaret sözleşmeleri yapmakla görevlendirilen Heyet-i Murahhasa'dan Zekai, Mustafa Şeref, Menemenli Numan beylere hükümetimiz adına imza yetkisi verilmesi.” (Granting authority to Zekai Mustafa, Mustafa Şeref and Menemenli Numan to sign treaty of commerce) DAGM, 5-48-17, November 26, 1929.
39 Trask, "The United States and Turkish Nationalism", 64.
A Shut Down

1929 ended as dawn of a better age in Turkish-American relations. Most of the political problems were overcome, and a new economic agenda between these states were getting underway. However, this year was the beginning of the decline of Turkish aviation, when Turkey's German partner JFM started to fall into a financial crisis due to the Great Depression of 1929. Even though this disappointing upheaval halted the production and finalized by the withdrawal of JFM from the Turkish market in 1930, it also brought forth an unexpected partnership between Turkey and a partner which she had never considered thoroughly before.

A group officials led by General Muzaffer Ergüder was sent to Europe after 1923. This group was tasked to inspect aviation technology, to purchase aircraft and to find helpful staffs to adopt from Europe. Ergüder and his group completed their research in Italy, France, Germany, and Britain and returned to Turkey in June 1924. Through this visit, Ergüder specifically recommended that France and Germany would be suitable role models for Turkey, in this field. He submitted a report which indicated Turkey needs to establish an aircraft factory, to prepare a budget for this facility, to hire experts from these four states and to send students for the education to these states. This report assisted the foundation of Turkish Aeronautical Association (TAA), which aimed establishing a pilot school, training engineers for the aircraft industry, establishing an aircraft manufacturing facility and publishing magazines to introduce aviation to the public. This initiative and its expectations were promising; however, without a foreign help it did not seem achievable. Turkey has already started to buy aircraft from JFM several times and these purchases became the

---

41 Ergüder, Orgeneral Muzaffer Ergüder'in, 65-67.
reference for this company in the eyes of Turkish decision makers. Therefore, when Germany stepped up for the help and Turkish decision-makers embraced it easily.

There were two reasons why this partnership is established between Turkey and a German company. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire and Germany were the allies in the WWI and shared the same fate after the war. Before that, these two states were in friendly relations back in the late 19th century, as well. Until the WWI, Germany became a trustful ally of the Ottoman Empire, who had seemed no interest in obtaining troublesome concessions in the empire compared to the other Great Powers. Furthermore, Germany provided credits and arms to the Ottomans, while the other powers stood away in the early 20th century. Turkey, as the former hostile of Italy, France, and Britain, might prefer German cooperation in this economic partnership for this reason. In aspect of the German side Treaty of Versailles was limiting German military activities and controlling arms of Germany. Therefore, the German companies aimed to conduct their business abroad by making deals with the foreign governments. According to Nadir Bıyıkoğlu, the German companies’ preference was Turkey, for similar nostalgic political reasons introduced above. Moreover, even at some points that negotiations were breakdown German government, for the sake of future of the bilateral relations with Turkey, pressured JFM officials to reassure Turkish side.

After the conclusion of the agreement, JFM gained more that aircraft production in Turkey and became a monopoly of Turkey in the aviation business. JFM took over aerial transportation, airmail sectors and securing establishment of another facility planned to be

42 "10 adet Junkers madeni teyyaresinin Junkers Fabrikası'ndan satın alınması" (Purchase of 10 Junkers Aircraft from its factory) DAGM, 11-56-12, November 26, 1924
44 Serdar Sarsır, Kayseri Tayyare Fabrikası (Kayseri Aircraft Factory) (III. Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 2000) 437.
45 Bıyıkoğlu, Türk Havacılık Sanayii, 12.
46 Cemil Koçak, Türk Alman İlişkileri(1923-1939) İkinci Dünya Savaşı Arasındaki Dönemde Siyasal, Kültürel, Askeri ve Ekonomik İlişkiler (Turkish-German political, cultural, military and economic relations between the two world wars) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991) 67-70.
built in Istanbul. Moreover, the company exempted from tax, as well. These entire concessions show the intenseness of potential of Turkish market for investments. In October 1926, Kayseri Aircraft Factory opened with the attendance of both German and Turkish officials. However, the existence of the partnership did not last long.

Despite the great expectations, TOMTAŞ achieved very limitedly. In the first place, after the negotiations concluded JFM started to fall into a financial crisis, which disabled the company to fulfill its commitments. This situation leaked to the public by the newspapers and deepened the depression and increased concerns about the company in Turkey. In such inconvenient place, the company tried to settle in Turkey and to sustain its activities.

Kayseri Aircraft Factory remained open around two years and it produced only thirty-three aircraft. In the end, the factory was shut down temporarily in May 1928. The partnership dissolved as expected and JFM sold its rights to TTA. The factory remained open for a while, did not have technical capacity and staff to produce aircraft by itself but continued maintenance and repair. Turkish engineers were not ready to run the factory by themselves, yet. In the early 1930's, Turkey became a country with an aircraft factory and employees but did not have a technology to produce aircraft.

47 “Yeşilköy Tamir Atölyesi ve Hangarı, Divrik Hava Meydanı, Nuri Demirağ Uçak Fabrikası ve Beşiktaş Uçak Atölyesi ile Almanya'ya sipariş edilen uçak hangar planları ve Alman Hugo Junkers'in uçak üretimi için teklif” (Plans of Yeşilköy repair shop and hangar, Divrik Airport, Nuri Demirağ Aircraft Factory and Beşiktaş Aircraft repair shop and the offer to German Hugo Junkers for aircraft manufacturing) DAGM, 59-397-6, March 27, 1928; “Junkers Şirketi ile hava nakliyatı konusunda yapılan makaveletname” (The contract about airmailing is given to Junkers), DAGM, September 11, 1929; “Junkers Uçak Şirketi'nin Türkiye'de geniş kapsamlı bir hava hatti kurmaya için yapmış olduğu tekliflerin özeti ve sözleşme müzeddeleri” (The summary of Junker's offer to establish aerial line in Turkey and this offer's rough draft), DAGM, April 12, 1927.

48 “Türk Faaliyet ve Azminin Feni Sahada Yeni Bir Muavfakayıyeti ve Eseri” (A new scientific victory and work of Turkish determination) İkdam, October 8, 1926.


50 Sarısr, Kayseri Tayyare Fabrikası, 82.

51 “Türk Tayyare ve Motör Anonim Şirketi'nin iflası üzerine, tesislerinin ve Junkers Uçak Şirketi'ndeki hisselerinin Tayyare Cemiyeti'nce satınalmması” (TTA's acquire of shares of TOMTAŞ after Junkers' bankruptcy) . DAGM, 6-57-15, November 27, 1929.
Many years before 1930, the Ottoman Ministry of War received a letter from an American investor on September 9, 1913. In this letter, the investor was sending the features and price details of a boat plane that he marketed, which received awards in several races and proved its durability in terrible weather conditions. This vendor was Glenn Curtiss. However, this offer did not receive a feedback and Curtiss did not send another offer to the empire, as well.

His next offer had to wait nearly two decades, which took place in 1929. Turkey has already made a deal with JFM in these days; however, the deal was not promising because the JFM's financial troubles. Turkey was in search of a replacing partner in case the deal may be broken. For this purpose, a small Turkish delegation led by Major Şerif Bey and Captain Ferruh Bey were assigned to observe British and American aviation advancements and sent to these states for a tour, in July 1929. This tour was a nice opportunity for Curtiss, and his new partner Wright, to introduce their new company to the Turkish delegation. By the initiatives of Joseph Grew and US Commercial Attaché in Turkey, Julian Gillespie Turkish delegation were put in touch with Glenn Curtiss. A special catalog is prepared for them and Curtiss sent a private letter to the leaders which were praising the modernization progress in Turkey and how CW would be honored to contribute this process. It seems the delegation was quite pleased with the interest has shown to them. A note was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about delegations favorable aspect to make business with Americans.

In 1930, Curtiss-Wright Corporation launched a European tour to canvass their products to the new markets. As their second destination, they arrived in Turkey on May 18,

---

52 Stuart Kline, A chronicle of Turkish aviation, 76.
53 “İngiltere ve Amerika havacılığı konusunda araştırma yapmak için görevlendirilenlere siyasi pasaport verilmesi.” (Issuing political passports to the researchers who would visit England and the USA) DAGM, 30-18-1, July 3, 1929.
54 Kline, A Chronicle of Turkish aviation, 162.
55 “Türk Tayare heyetinin Amerika'da gördüüğü ilgi ile ilgili Washington Elçiliğimizden alınan yazı.” (A memo from Turkish Embassy in Washington D.C. about the attention that Turkish delegate received in the USA) DAGM, 30-10-0, August 29, 1929.
1930. The touring group spent a couple of days in Turkey, with promotion and exhibitions. According to the Cumhuriyet, Turks showed a great interest to these exhibitions; specifically, the one which demonstrated a short flight from Istanbul to Ankara. Ismet Paşa and his family were among the attendants to this show.56

Despite Turkey's urgent need for a partner in this field, it did not sign any contract with CW neither when the Turkish delegation visited the USA nor CW's pilots and agents toured in Turkey. The final step to convince Turkey about American aviation industry was yet to come.

The Stunt

When American pilots Russell Boardman and Johnnie Polando planned to break the world record in the longest distance with a non-stop flight, they decided to rely on their Bellanca brand plane amplified with Wright Whirlwind engine.57 Throughout 1930, these two adventurers prepared their plane for this flight and waited until summer 1931 for the best flying conditions. The record, which they would attempt to break, was held by two French pilots, Dieudonne Coste and Maurice Bellonte, at this time. They held this record by flying 4912 miles from Paris to Manchuria. American pilots set their destination from New York to Istanbul, which would be a distance roughly 5000 miles. After Boardman and Polando granted the necessary permissions, sponsored by the New York Times and set the date, the reams of news started to be published in the American media.

56“Amerikalı Misafirler- Amerikan tayyarecileri dün sabah geldi” (American aviators arrived in yesterday), Cumhuriyet, May 19, 1930. 1; “Misafir tayyareciler Eskişehir’e gittiler” (The guest aviators went to Eskişehir), Cumhuriyet, May 20, 1930. 2.
57 Johnnie Polando, Wings over Istanbul: the life and flights of a pioneer aviator (Portsmouth: P. E. Randall Publisher, 2000) 42.
The pilots took off from New York on July 28, and after that day every single detail about their journey have published. In addition to that, many copies of the New York Times of July 28 were given to the pilots for airdropping them to the European capitals while they were passing by. If they successfully land in Turkey, they would deliver a copy to Mustafa Kemal Paşa, as well.

After forty-nine hours of flight, the pilots landed Yeşilköy Airport, İstanbul, on July 30. They were received by Ambassador Grew, governor and mayor of Istanbul, president of TAA, national-foreign press, and a huge cheering crowd. Several newspapers stated that the pilots were welcomed as the heroes, indeed, it was true. After short comments and countless handshakes, they were taken to the Perapalas Hotel to rest. The suit of the hotel was booked to the heroes.

When Boardman and Polando arrived in Turkey, the current record holders, Coste and Bellonte, were in Istanbul for a propaganda tour, to sell French planes to Turkey. Polando remembers their first meeting with the French pilots and states; "Suddenly, two unshaven, uncombed, dirty Americans flew in Bellanca aircraft powered by a Wright Whirlwind engine claiming, quietly, that they just flew farther by at least ninety miles than the Frenchmen". Polando and Boardman was proud and jubilant but compared to Gillespie's joy theirs were spiritless. Arrival of American pilots collapsed French deal with the Turkish government and strengthen Gillespie's hand, who was seeking for a deal for CW. When the all pilots were photographed together, Gillespie was chortling with joy.

---

59 Polando, p. 48.
60 “Welcome Aviators to Turkey”, “Air Heroes to See Turkish President”.
61 Polando, Wings over Istanbul, 54-55.
62 Grew, Turbulent Era, 892.
In their first day in Turkey, the pilots met with journalists. In these meetings, they repeated what Grew told them to state. They praised Istanbul's beauty, warmthness of the Turkish delegation, Mustafa Kemal Paşa’s leadership and Turkey’s modernization process. In this day, the pilots received the message of Mustafa Kemal Paşa, which invites them to Yalova to meet them in person, on July 31.

On the following day, the pilots arrived in Yalova in the afternoon and received by another huge cheering crowd. Before they were received by Mustafa Kemal Paşa, they met with İsmet Paşa and awarded very prestigious medals of Turkey for their great courage and success. Grew and İsmet Paşa gave speeches praising the friendship between Turkey and the USA. Then, the pilots were received by Mustafa Kemal Paşa in his mansion. Paşa asked short questions to the pilots about their journey and future plans, praised advancement of American aviation and expressed his enthusiasm about the future of Turkish-American relations.

Boardman and Polando spent a week in Turkey after their visit to Mustafa Kemal Paşa and left Turkey on August 9. In this process, they toured Istanbul, visited Turkish aviators, several facilities and met with many other Turkish officials. Most importantly, they were received as the men of the hour, wherever they went. Turkish press shadowed the pilots and narrated every move of them to their readers, as well.

Nothing could be better for the Grew's public diplomacy in Turkey. He used this opportunity to turn it into the diplomatic contact. Not only the interest of Turkish government

---

63 Verel, İstikbal Göklerin Gökler Bizimdir, 654.
64 “Gazi Hz. Bugün Hava kahramanlarını Kabul Edecek” (Gazi is going to receive hero aviators, today), Cumhuriyet, August 1, 1931, p.1.
65 Verel, İstikbal Göklerin Gökler Bizimdir, 657-658.
66 “Bir Hamlede Newyork’tan İstanbul’a” (Newyork to Istanbul with one fell swoop), Cumhuriyet, July 31, 1931, 1; “Gazi Hz. Bugün Hava kahramanlarını Kabul Edecek”; “Gazi Hz. Hava Kahramanlarını Kabul Ettiler” (Gazi received hero aviators), Cumhuriyet, August 1, 1931, 1; “Hava Kahramanları Abideye Çelenk Koydular” (Hero aviators left a wreath on the monument), Cumhuriyet, August 3, 1931, 4; “Hava Kahramanları Yarın Şehri ve Müzeleri Gezecekler” (Hero aviators will tour the city tomorrow), Cumhuriyet, August 4, 1931, 1; “Bugün Kahramanlara Şehrin Hediyeleri Verilecek” (Heroes will receive their awards today), Cumhuriyet, August 5, 1931, 1.
pleased him but also the crowds' embracement of the pilots. The cheer poured to the Turkish newspapers and columns which explained the situation and its possible reflections on the relations. Cumhuriyet's editor-in-chief, Yunus Nadi, published an article about the pilots and the record, on August 3. As the heart of the matter he explained that Turkish-American relations were in stagnation for a very long time and stressed the promise of the partnership to be developed between the two states in the nearest future.67 After the pilots received by Mustafa Kemal Paşa and honored by him, the US authorities and press sent their regards to Turkey and President Hoover sent a thank you note to Mustafa Kemal Paşa.68

When Polando and Boardman arrived in Turkey in 1931, the other factors which would help CW's inflow to Turkish market were more or less provided. Grew has been already shuttled back and forth between the Turkish decision makers to improve relations. Then, his diligent work crowned with this stunt. Moreover, Turkey has already canceled the partnership with Junkers, which made Turkey look for another partner in the aviation industry. It seems the other European states aware that Turkey's search and they started to visit Turkey to sell aircraft as Polando underlined in his memoirs. Still, Turkey's aim is not only purchasing aircraft but also to adopt and utilize Western aviation technology, as well.

Therefore, Boardman and Polando's record-breaking flight to Turkey promotes a great advertisement of the American aviation for Turkey. Moreover, as becoming a part of such kind of worldwide event, Turkey possibly felt both respected and flattered. If the interests of Mustafa Kemal Paşa, the Turkish government, and the public to the event are considered, this inference is quite logical. All these developments enabled the introduction of American

67 Yunus Nadi, “Türkiye ile Amerika’yi Yekdiğerine Bağlayan Son Hava Harikası” (Last aerial wonder that connects Turkey and America to one another”, Cumhuriyet, August 3, 1931, 1.
aviation technology to Turkey and the idea of America's respectful partnership position for Turkey in this field. These results eased the inflow of CW to Turkey, as well.

**Conclusion**

On September 17, 1931, Turkey started the negotiations with CW to promote a new aviation project. According to this project, TOMTAŞ's factory would be assigned to Curtiss-Wright for a year and at the end of the year this contract would be extended in terms of the results. The enactment was signed between the sides on November 3, 1931. Actually, the previous insecure agreement drove Turkey to negotiate a short-term one for this time. In the enactment, Turkey clearly stated that the accords should be observed no matter what. According to the agreement, Turkey would keep the rights of the Kayseri factory, while Curtiss-Wright would utilize it to produce aircraft, manufacture spare parts and establish airlines facilities. The only client of these regulations and products would be Turkey.

Turkey made this deal with CW because she was quite eager to establish good diplomatic relations with a non-imperialistic state, who would like to establish economic partnerships with her. She believed that keeping the diplomatic channels open would overcome the problems between the companies and investors. Furthermore, this partner should have a strong and sustainable economy, which would allow her to support her investors when it is needed. In the light of these definitions, it can be deduced that Turkey was looking for a partner, who was not hostile before, eager to establish a friendship, economically and technologically advanced. In the end, marvelous efforts of Grew and the

---

69 “Amerikan-Curtiss-Wright Grubu ile Kayseri Tayyare Fabrikası arasında uçak ve motor yapımı ile hava hatları konusunda bir yıl süreli sözleşme yapılması için Milli Müdafaa Vekaleti'nin yetki verilmesi.” (Granting authorization to the Ministry of Defense to make one year deal with American Curtiss-Wright Co.), DAGM, 30-18-1, November 3, 1931
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid.
epic stunt displayed in 1931 showed Turkey that she would find such a partner at somewhere else besides Europe. All led Turkey to the United States and CW.

At this point, it would be better to give plenty of credits to Grew factor. Claiming that Grew understood the Turks and Turkey in the short time he spent among them would be fair. During his five year service in Turkey, he changed the course of relations between US and Turkey and established a promising partnership, as a consequence of his public diplomacy's success. Clearly, this diplomacy was not unique to him. In the past Ambassador Oscar Straus and Admiral Bristol approached to quite similar policies, they called them "Open Door Policy" or "Dollar Diplomacy", to bring American investments to the Ottoman Empire and Turkey by improving the political relations; however, the time was not convenient. In Grew's diplomacy, the priority was not the economic partnership in the first hand; he believed until the restoration of the relations; the economy could wait. Everything should succeed in diplomacy and every opportunity must be taken which would serve on behalf of the relations. Ultimately, improvement in the economic relations would come. A small conversion between Polando and Grew just after the landing would explain this aspect better:

“Ambassador Grew’s greeting was warm but a bit reversed. The reason was soon evident. "Was it non-stop?" he asked guardedly. "Yes," I answered, puzzled by the question. Then he really glowed. "That's all I wanted to know,“ he said chuckling.”72

Three months after CW spent in Turkey, the sides met and evaluated the details of one year plan. According to the plan, CW would produce six Fledgling type aircraft (most of the parts of this plane would be produced in Turkey, as well) in Turkey as soon as possible. In addition to this, motor manufacturing system would be developed. In return, Turkey would buy these products. Furthermore, CW would be the owner of airlines concessions in Turkey.

72Polando, Wings over Istanbul, 52.
All the developments in each field would be submitted as a report by CW, in every year.\textsuperscript{73} In addition to this plan, Turkey would also purchase additional aircraft from CW. On June 19, 1932, a new contract is signed between the sides which required the details about this purchase. Turkey planned to buy at least one and at most three aircraft from CW annually and the pricing would be required delivery, spare parts, crew and insurance costs, as well.\textsuperscript{74}

The first year of the contract went well. According to an enactment released on January 14, 1933, Turkey decided to extend its contract with CW.\textsuperscript{75} Clearly, it was the result of a promising report about the progress that was submitted to Undersecretariat of the Ministry of National Defense. In this report, it is indicated that most of the production is done and approximately ten thousand pieces of aircraft sections are manufactured, in a year.\textsuperscript{76} In addition to them, twenty-four Hawk-II and eight Fledgling 2C1 are manufactured in Turkey until 1935. This progress pleased both sides and Turkey kept extending the contract in upcoming years, as well.

Turkey has manufactured approximately two-hundred aircraft until the WWII. Most of them are done during the partnership with CW. However, with the economic burden that the WWII created, the production rate of the factory decreased and the process turned into maintenance and repair once more, in time. With the Marshall Plan, Turkey started to receive or buy aircraft from the USA, which completely stopped the production, in 1950.

Today CW and Turkey pursue their partnership in various fields as defense and energy industries. In time, aircraft business replaced with these ones and the aircraft factory in

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{74}“Curtiss Right şirketiyle imzalanan kiralık uçak sözleşmesi” (The contract signed with Curtiss-Wright Co), DAGM, 30-10-0, June 19, 1932.
\textsuperscript{75}“Amerikan Curtiss-Wright Grubu ile Kayseri Tayyare Fabrikası arasında yapılan sözleşme nin bir yıl daha uzatılması hakkında kararname” (The enactment states that Kayseri Aircraft Factory extends its contract with American Curtiss-Wright Co. for one more year), DAGM, 33-5-7, January 14, 1933.
\textsuperscript{76}“Kayseri Uçak Fabrikası'nda imal edilmekte olan Amerikan okul uçaklarını gösteren rapor” (The report shows that American aircraft manufactured in Kayseri Aircraft Factory), DAGM, 59-398-9, February 14, 1933.
Kayseri has already shut down. Still, the story of this exceptional partnership, which combined with a heavy diplomatic schedule, a shut down and a stunt remains interesting.
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Ballston Spa Daily Journal.
Brooklyn Daily Eagle.
Buffalo Evening News.
Cumhuriyet (Republic).
Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of State Archives) (DAGM), 1920s-1930s.
İkdam (Struggle).
New York Evening Post.
Niagara Falls Gazette.
Philadelphia Inquirer.
The Citizen-Adviser.
The New York Sun.

Secondary Sources


Kline, Stuart. Türk Havacılık Kronolojisi (A chronicle of Turkish aviation), İstanbul: Havaş, 2002.

Kansu, Yavuz and Sermet Şensöz and Yılmaz Öztüna. Havacılık tarihinde Türkler (Turks in Aviation history), V. 1, Ankara: Hava Kuvvetleri Basımevi, 1971.


Koçak, Cemil, Türk Alman İlişkileri(1923-1939) İkinci Dünya Savaşı Arasındaki Döneme Siyasal, Kültürel, Askeri ve Ekonomik İlişkiler (Turkish-German political, cultural, military and economic relations between the two world wars) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.


Rustow, Dankwart A. The Foreign Policy of the Turkish Republic, New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, 1958.


Verel, Oktay. İstikbal Göklerin Gökler Bizimdir, (The future is in the skies and it is ours) V.2, İstanbul: Türk Hava Kurumu, 1985.