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The evolution of the Turkey image in 1964–1982 on the pages of the newspaper "Pravda"

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The article attempts to trace the evolution of the Turkey image in the Soviet press of 1964–1982 on the materials of the newspaper "Pravda". This edition was the main press organ of the country and expressed the official point of view of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Chronologically, the work covers the period from 1964 to 1982, that is, the period of the reign of L.I. Brezhnev in the USSR. The purpose of the work is to conduct a quantitative analysis of newspaper texts containing information about Turkey. The empirical basis of the research is the newspaper itself and its content. In the process of preparing the article, methods of scientific research were used, such as analysis, comparison, systematization and classification, methods of quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the newspaper "Pravda". The work examined the development of relations between the USSR and the Turkish Republic. Analysis of the material made it possible to trace the image of Turkey on the pages of the newspaper and to identify what information was conveyed to the Soviet reader.

Keywords: Turkey, Soviet Union, Soviet-Turkish relations, "Pravda", Soviet state press

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Introduction. Relations between Russia and Turkey have a long history, which was controversial: periods of numerous Russian-Turkish wars, ideological and foreign policy disagreements were replaced by rapprochement of states and the intensification of interstate trade, economic, political and cultural ties. Today, the entire world community is also watching Russian-Turkish relations with interest.

In the 20th century, after the end of the World War II, political relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey deteriorated and only in the 1960s, thanks to the activation of humanitarian ties, Soviet-Turkish relations began to improve. The military coup in Turkey on May 27, 1960 and the coming to power of Cemal Gürsel allowed the Soviet leadership to officially recognize the new Turkish government and express hopes for the establishment of "good-neighborly relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union based on mutual re-

spect, which could develop in conditions of international peace and security" [20, p.30].

In May 1963, a protocol was signed to increase trade turnover between the two countries, and this already indicated the return of relations to normal [12, p.631].

In 1964, on the way to the United Arab Republic, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR N.S. Khrushchev sent a telegram to Turkish President Ismet İnönü: "To His Excellency Mr. Ismet İnönü, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey. Following through the Straits on my way to the United Arab Republic on a State visit, I convey to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and to the entire Turkish people my best wishes for well-being and prosperity. Board of the motor ship "Armenia". Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. May 7, 1964" [33]. And Khrushchev receives a reply greeting telegram with words of gratitude from Ismet İnönü.

In October 1964, L.I. Brezhnev was elected First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee for the RSFSR. For foreign policy during the years of Brezhnev's rule, the detente between East and West was characteristic [9]. After much friction in the 60s, the first signs of a possible Soviet-Turkish rapprochement finally appeared [12, p.631].

Thus, the improvement of Soviet-Turkish relations and the image of Turkey in the Soviet Union (Russia) was served by humanitarian ties, which intensified in the 1960s. The exchange of visits of political figures and official delegations, scientists, artists and sports began, which was accompanied by friendly responses from the Soviet press.

The author considered the materials of the Soviet newspaper with the largest circulation at that time: "Pravda" as the source base of the study. It seems important to the author to briefly describe these publications.

The newspaper "Pravda" was founded by V.I. Lenin in 1912 and was published daily until 1991. The publication was considered the main print media of the Soviet Union. The materials of "Pravda" reflect the economic and cultural life of all Soviet republics, achievements of science, issues of public education and health, literature and art, nature conservation, physical education and sports. Each issue contains detailed information about international events [25].

In this paper, an attempt is made to trace the evolution of the Turkey image in Soviet propaganda – in the newspaper "Pravda" for 1964 to 1982. The materials of "Pravda" most often attracted the attention of both domestic and foreign historians.

The purpose of the work is to conduct a quantitative analysis of the texts of newspapers containing information about Turkey for the interpretation of the revealed data.

The most popular topics of publications were the state relations of the Soviet Union with Turkey, the problems of foreign policy and the international situation of Turkey.

The beginning of a new relationship. Since 1964, activities aimed at bringing the two countries closer have begun. There has been a warming in relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey and this has had a positive impact on trade and economic cooperation. So in 1964, Turkish Foreign Minister F.C. Erkin visited Moscow. This was the first official visit of the Turkish delegation at the beginning of Brezhnev's reign. The newspaper "Pravda" from October 27 to November 7, 1964 covered this visit of the Turkish delegation [26].

The press carefully spoke about the negotiations, using expressions such as "a friendly conversation took place on issues of mutual interest to both countries". On the pages of "Pravda", an opinion was published about the trip of Feridun Cemal Erkin on the day of departure from the USSR:

"We had detailed, useful conversations with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Gromyko. An agreement on cultural and scientific ties between Turkey and the Soviet Union has been signed, which opens up new horizons in relations between our countries. Useful negotiations on economic issues took place. All this, of course, will contribute to the expansion of Turkish-Soviet contacts" [27].

This was the first important event of the beginning of Soviet-Turkish economic cooperation in the 60s of the 20th century.

During this visit, the Cyprus conflict was discussed, as well as the development of Soviet-Turkish economic relations and an agreement on cultural cooperation and exchange was signed. Already in December 1964, an article with the subtitle "Art brings neighbors closer" appeared in "Pravda", which talked about the tours of Soviet artists (pianist, theater artist) in Istanbul and Ankara. The editorial further quoted the words of the Turkish Minister of Information and Tourism Ali Ihsan Gunesh: "Cultural relations between our countries are of great importance for the Turkish and Soviet peoples to know each other. We fully share the point of view of those who believe that art brings neighbors closer together" [18].

It was not mentioned in the Soviet press that the only agreement that was signed during the visit of F. Erkin to the Soviet Union was the Soviet-Turkish agreement on cultural ties.

According to the Turkish researcher J. Kaygusuz, from 1960 to 1969, very important and fundamental changes were observed in Soviet-Turkish relations. These positive changes were based on two main reasons:

- the complexity of the situation in which the Turkish economy was (difficulties in finding new financial resources on the world market, depreciation of the national currency, lack of competitive heavy industry, etc.);

- disagreements between Turkey and the Western world, especially with the United States, which appeared over the Cyprus conflict in 1960 [20, p.30].

In modern Russian studies on the policy of the United States and Central Treaty Organization, which included Turkey, it is believed that the American strategy in the Middle East proceeded from the fact that in the event of a hypothetical outbreak of hostilities, ground forces from among the Turkish and Iranian armies may be needed only for a short period of time to contain the first onslaught of the enemy, until nuclear weapons are used. This provision was disputed by England, who believed that in the case of actual military operations, the use of conventional forces could be longer. But both the American and British leaders planned to defend the region not in the areas bordering the Soviet Union – on the line of the Elburs ridges covering the southern coast of the Caspian Sea, but along the Zargos mountain ranges in southwestern Iran and on the Erzurum line – Lake Van in Turkey. These plans did not suit Turkey and Iran, because in the event of the outbreak of hostilities, they would have to consciously cede a significant part of their territory. The American and British governments had a low opinion of the combat capability of the Turkish and, especially, the Iranian armies. Washington and London did not discuss with the Muslim participants of the Baghdad Pact their own plans for waging war with the Soviet Union [45, p.166].

Turkey was presented to the Soviet reader mainly through the prism of news. Political analysis played an important role in this issue. In the Soviet press, Turkey was shown as a victim of American politics. For example, journalist I. Belyaev covered the situation with Central Treaty Organization, where he analyzed the situation of Turkey, considering it completely subordinate to the United States and England and isolated in international affairs:

"Turkey, Iran and Pakistan have begun to come out of the isolation imposed on them, have demonstrated their independence, and at the same time the desire to solve some of their problems themselves.

It is no less symptomatic that almost simultaneously both Turkey and Pakistan showed a desire to establish cooperation with neighboring countries.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey F. Erkin has just visited Moscow. His arrival in the USSR puzzled many. Of course! Turkey has taken a real step towards improving Turkish-Soviet relations. Their former state has always been speculatively used by the West for its own selfish purposes. [...]

The Soviet Union has always wanted to see its relations with Turkey as neighborly in the broadest sense of the word. Therefore, F.Erkin met a benevolent reception in Moscow..." [1].

Topics on the economic and international situation of Turkey and U.S. foreign policy in Turkey came to the fore.

The correspondent of "Pravda" in Turkey N. Bragin often published his views and reviews on the pages of the newspaper. In the article "Changes dictated by life" he tried to assess the economic and political relations between Turkey and the USSR, Turkey and the USA. Bragin said that the Turkish nation is kept isolated from its neighbors and thus affects its pride.

"For many years, – my friend told me, we have been seeing the same picture. More and more Soviet ships are following the Bosphorus, heading for the United Arab Republic, Syria, Greece, Italy and other Mediterranean countries. Why do these ships so rarely come to our port? Do we have nothing to buy in Russia, or are our lemons, tobacco, oranges and cattle worse than in other countries?"

That was a year and a half ago. And here I am again in Istanbul. ...Soviet tankers supplying kerosene enter Turkish ports. The Black Sea and the Bosphorus become the Soviet-Turkish highway. A direct railway community through the Caucasus has also been opened" [3].

Bragin noted that the five-year plan for Turkey's economic development adopted by the Government of İnönü dictated the need for a far-sighted approach to the problem of the country's foreign trade relations, since restrictions on ties with the Soviet Union became a brake on strengthening Turkey's economic independence [3].

During 1964–1982, the subject of the "Turkish" materials of the newspaper "Pravda" demonstrated thematic blocks devoted to the Soviet-Turkish agreements on political and economic issues, and Turkey's domestic policy, interest in the news of culture and sports of neighbors is less overlooked.

On January 4–13, a delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR paid an official visit to Ankara at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey [11; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17; 22; 23; 46; 49]. During the trip, the statesmen visited the cities of Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir. The Soviet press wrote about the prospects of this meeting.

In Soviet propaganda, the meeting of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union A.A. Gromyko with the Turkish government in Ankara on May 17–22, 1965, was considered successful in the work of bringing the two states closer. E. Primakov in "Pravda" stressed that neither time nor any subjective moments could cross out the bright pages of friendship that arose between the two countries during the times of V.I. Lenin and K. Atatürk. The Soviet public noted that the cooling off period turned out to be temporary, clouding relations between the USSR and Turkey. Primakov touched upon the Cyprus issue, saying that the Soviet Union stands for a peaceful solution to this issue on the basis of unconditional respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus; respect for the legitimate rights of both national communities – Greeks and Turks [44].

The Soviet press actively promoted fruitful developments in the economic and cultural fields of cooperation between Turkey and the USSR [4; 34; 35; 36; 37]. Although Gromyko's visit to Turkey did not lead to anything concrete, it created opportunities for high-level contacts and a new stage of dialogue, which was continued by Urguplu's visit to Moscow in August 1965 [19, p.122].

The official arrival of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, was considered a turning point in the development of Soviet-Turkish relations. "Welcome, dear Turkish guests!" [38], "May friendly rela-

tions between the USSR and Turkey grow stronger!" [39], "Develop good-neighborly relations between the USSR and Turkey" [40], etc. articles in "Pravda" were full of such titles.

The Soviet government sought to establish relations with Turkey. During the visit, S.H. Ürgüplü met with Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR A.N. Kosygin, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR A.I. Mikoyan. During the negotiations, much attention was paid to the economic relations between the two countries, which was reflected in the communique:

"As for the Soviet-Turkish relations, both sides noted with satisfaction that, adhering to the principles of independence, territorial integrity, equality, mutual respect, they sincerely wish to develop good-neighborly relations among themselves. [...]"

The parties reached an agreement that in order to maintain a constant high level of commodity exchange between the countries, the Turkish side will purchase machinery and equipment from the Soviet Union for the construction of individual industrial facilities, and the Soviet side will buy more goods of its national production from Turkey" [47].

"Pravda" regarded S.H. Ürgüplü's visit as an important step towards expanding and strengthening Soviet-Turkish relations and pointed out that there are no problems between the USSR and Turkey. The very fact of the Turkish Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union was of great political importance.

The cardinal acceleration of the development of Soviet-Turkish relations began after this official visit. During the meeting, a memorandum of cooperation on trade issues between the USSR and Turkey was signed.

Soviet propaganda actively observed the internal changes in Turkey. The parliamentary elections in 1965, the victory of the Justice Party and its program were covered on the pages of "Pravda" [41]. These changes could influence Turkey's foreign policy, and the Soviet government followed the news in Turkey. In Soviet propaganda, the head of the party, S. Demirel, who was educated in the United States, was perceived as a symbol of pro-Western capitalism. The Soviet press believed that in such an environment, the ruling circles of Turkey and the public opposed the improvement of relations between the two countries [24, p.39–40].

In 1967, S. Demirel and the Turkish official delegation visited the Soviet Union, where a protocol on the redemarkation of the Soviet-Turkish border, agreements on the construction of industrial enterprises in Turkey with Soviet assistance, and on the establishment of direct air communication were signed. Soviet propaganda about S. Demirel's visit said that there were no issues in relations between the two countries that would lead to a clash of their interests and about favorable opportunities for the development of relations between them.

An important event in the history of Soviet-Turkish relations was the arrival of Turkish President Cevdet Sunay. This was the first visit of the President of the Republic of Turkey to the Soviet Union in 1969. "Pravda" printed information on the first pages about the arrival of the Turkish president, about his trip around the country and meetings. Unfortunately, there were no photos from the meeting of high-ranking officials in the press.

"On November 12, Moscow warmly welcomed the President of the Republic of Turkey, Cevdet Sunay, who arrived in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government. [...]

The streets of the city, along which the Turkish guests followed, were decorated with banners: "Long live the friendship of the USSR and Turkey!", "May the good-neighborly relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Turkey grow stronger and develop!", "Welcome, dear President of the Republic of Turkey Cevdet Sunay!" [8].

C. Sunay held talks with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR N.V. Podgorny and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR A.N. Kosygin. He visited such major cities as Moscow, Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), Kiev, Tbilisi, Baku, where he was introduced to the achievements in economics and culture [5; 6; 10; 42; 43; 50].

The Soviet public followed with interest the visit of C. Sunay also attached great importance to the relations between the countries:

"On November 20, a conversation took place between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev and President of the Republic of Turkey Cevdet Sunay.

During the conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, the issues of Soviet-Turkish relations were touched upon, and there was also an exchange of views on some problems of the current international situation" [2].

During the meeting, the parties discussed economic issues, exchanged views on the Cyprus issue, they expressed hope that the final settlement based on the independence and territorial integrity of the Cypriot state will take into account the legitimate rights and interests of both communities. The participants of the meeting also touched upon a number of other foreign policy issues, namely the Middle East. The Soviet Government declared that it firmly and consistently supports the Arab peoples in their struggle for strengthening their national independence, for social progress, and for eliminating the consequences of Israeli aggression [7; 48].

Soviet and modern researchers believed that the visit of President C. Sunay visiting the USSR, his meetings with Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders put the final point in the process of normalization of relations between the two countries.

Modern Turkish researchers believe that this was a formal visit and Turkey was committed only to considering a long-term trade agreement [19, p.116].

J. Kaygusuz in his work noted an increase in the volume of trade between the two countries in the period from 1967 to 1974 by 2.5 times, which amounted to 129.1 million rubles and that this cooperation between Turkey and the USSR greatly hindered Ankara's Western partners, and since 1970 aggressive political actions on the part of the West began to prevent this rapprochement and these political steps had partial success in the 1970s and 80s [20, p.32, 34].

In the 1970s, working visits were held between Turkey and the Soviet Union, in which the parties continued the course of achieving good neighborliness between the countries. During the aggravation of the Cyprus crisis, this situation was discussed at a meeting of ministers of both countries in New York, and A.A. Gromyko informed The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey T. Gunesh about the position of the Soviet government on this issue and stressed the importance of the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference within the framework of the United Nations on the peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem [32].

In April 1976, the Soviet delegation of the Parliament was in the Republic of Turkey. This was the third working visit to Ankara. The delegation toured the country and had meetings with Prime Minister S. Demirel. During the talks and meetings, it was emphasized that the expansion of interstate cooperation is dictated by the mutual interests of the two countries, as well as the process of international detente taking place in the world. "Pravda" wrote about the success of such official visits in strengthening good neighborliness and friendship between Turkey and the USSR [28].

The Soviet press noted the importance of the visit of the Turkish delegation to the USSR headed by B. Ecevit in June 1978 in the development of bilateral relations, namely the signing of a political document on the principles of friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey. The main objectives of this document corresponded to the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The parties committed themselves to observe the principles of non-use of force in mutual relations. Kosygin at a dinner in honor of Minister B. Ecevit noted that political relations are becoming more stable with the expansion of practical, business ties and contacts. They also have a stimulating effect on the course of economic and other cooperation between states [30].

The Soviet-Turkish negotiations received a wide response in the Soviet press. The results of these meetings were considered successful and fruitful, which opened up prospects for strengthening trust and developing mutually beneficial relations.

In 1972, the USSR provided Turkey with a new loan in the amount of \$288 million to modernize the steel mill in Iskanderun and bring its capacity to 2 million tons of steel per year. In 1975, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Trade Semyon Skachkov visited Turkey, and as a result of this visit, an agreement was signed on the establishment of the Turkish-Soviet Bilateral Committee for Economic Cooperation. In 1977, Moscow allocated another

loan in the amount of \$1.3 billion for 10 years, and the first tranches were completed a year later. In November 1976, a ten-year agreement on cooperation in the energy sector was prepared, according to which the Soviet side sold machinery and equipment worth \$3.8 billion to Turkey. On June 5, 1979, a corresponding protocol was signed [21, p.44–45].

Economic cooperation between Turkey and the USSR greatly hindered Ankara's Western partners, and since 1970 aggressive political actions on the part of the West began to prevent this rapprochement, and these political steps were partially successful in the 1970s and 1980s [20, p.34]

In 1979, Soviet-Turkish relations became strained due to the events in Afghanistan. Although Turkey has adopted a neutral position towards the Afghan war and pursued a cautious policy [51, p.375]. In the 1980s, Soviet-Turkish relations continued to be influenced by global and regional events. Despite the tensions caused by events in Afghanistan and other regions, relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey remained diplomatically stable.

During the period under review, scientific and cultural ties developed between Turkey and the USSR. During B. Ecevit's visit to the Soviet Union, documents on cultural and scientific exchange for 1978–1980 were signed. This cooperation program has expanded opportunities for the development of scientific, sports, tourist ties, as well as tours of theater and cinema artists. "Pravda" wrote that all this is evidence of the expansion of Soviet-Turkish cooperation, filling it with new content, establishing mutual trust [31].

Soviet propaganda wrote about the development of relations in a positive direction even after the army leaders came to power in Turkey in the 1980s. At the end of September 1980, an exchange of views took place between A.A. Gromyko and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the new Government of Turkey I. Turkmen. During this exchange, the stable state of Soviet-Turkish relations was stated and "the intention of both sides to further develop them in political, economic, trade and other fields on the basis of good neighborliness, principles of equality and mutual benefit" was expressed [29].

Conclusion. Having analyzed the articles from 1964 to the 1980s in the newspaper "Pravda", it should be noted that the most popular topics of publications were the relationship between Turkey and the Soviet Union, the problems of foreign policy and the international situation of Turkey, and the domestic policy of Turkey was also covered. The least number of publications were on the materials of culture, science and sports.

An important stage in Soviet-Turkish relations has been considered since 1964, when L. Brezhnev came to Soviet power and set a course to improve friendly relations with neighbors. Soviet-Turkish political relations reached a new level after Brezhnev became the head of the USSR. Active coverage of the image of the Turkish Republic takes place after these events. The materials on successful good-neighborly relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union

come to the fore. Official visits of both countries since 1965 have contributed more to the improvement of bilateral relations.

During 1964–1982 in the materials of the newspaper "Pravda" there was a formation of a positive image of Turkey, considering it subordinate to the United States and isolated in international affairs, and the Soviet press sympathized with it. Publications related to Turkey were devoid of negative connotation.

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Эволюция образа Турции в 1964–1982 гг. на страницах газеты «Правда»

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В статье предпринята попытка проследить эволюцию образа Турции в советской прессе 1964–1982 гг. на материалах газеты «Правда». Данное издание являлось главным печатным органом страны и выражало официальную точку зрения Коммунистической партии Советского Союза. Хронологически работа охватывает период с 1964 по 1982 г., то есть период правления Л.И. Брежнева в СССР. Цель работы – проведение количественного анализа текстов газет, содержащих информацию о Турции. Эмпирическую базу исследования составляет сама газета, ее содержание. В процессе подготовки статьи были использованы методы научных исследований, такие как анализ, сравнение, систематизация и классификация, методы количественного и качественного контент-анализа газеты «Правда». В работе было рассмотрено развитие взаимоотношений СССР с Турецкой Республикой. Анализ материала позволил проследить образ Турции на страницах газеты, выявить, какая информация доводилась до советского читателя.

Ключевые слова: Турция, Советский Союз, советско-турецкие отношения, газета «Правда», советская государственная пресса

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