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The Cold War Origins of the Turkish Motor Vehicle Industry: The Tuzla Jeep, 1954–1971

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ABSTRACT *With its automobile exports measured in millions of units annually, Turkey has become one of the top automobile producing nations in Europe. The current state of the Turkish motor vehicle industry stands in contrast to its modest origins, which can be traced back to the early years of the Cold War. In the 1950s, a private company ventured into the business of assembling Willy's Jeeps in Turkey. The early developmental trajectory of the Turkish automobile manufacturing resembled the experiences of many other countries that resorted to import substitution to reduce foreign currency dependency for automobile imports. However, it differed significantly from others in two ways. First, it was not undertaken in response to a coordinated government policy, but rather as a one-off private initiative. Second, it was justified in the context of the Cold War military and strategic requirements. In other words, it stands out among its contemporaries in terms of the prominence of military and defense considerations that shaped US and Turkish military views on a private venture during the Cold War. Although the Jeep assembly experience in Turkey ended in failure, its products had remained in service in the Turkish Army for nearly 50 years, surviving the Cold War and beyond. The experience also left its deep imprint on Turkey's pursuit of an indigenously designed and manufactured automobile.*

Introduction

Of the three entries that were shortlisted in the contest for New York City's new generation taxicab in 2011, two were from Turkey. The Ford Transit Connect and Karsan V1 competed against the Nissan NV200 in the contest, and in the end the Japanese entry was selected.¹ The fact that two Turkish designs were among the top three contenders in the highly competitive US automobile market is considered by many in Turkey to be an achievement in and of itself. The New York taxi contest in a way set the seal on the Turkish automotive industry's global competitiveness. In the last two decades, Turkey has gradually joined the ranks of Europe's top automobile producing and exporting nations. In its infancy, the Turkish output was measured in

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thousands of units, but now its exports are measured in millions. According to the Association of the Turkish Motor Vehicle Industry, production stood at 1,115,223 vehicles and exports at 745,354 vehicles in 2012, which was by no means a peak year.²

While these production and export figures represent the bright side of the coin, the fact remains that Turkish automotive production has been largely tied to international makers such as Ford, Fiat, Toyota and Hyundai in the last two decades. In other words, Turkey has not produced an indigenous model or brand after *Anadol*, the production of which was terminated in the 1980s.³ It should be noted, however, that Turkey's Prime Minister (now President) Tayyip Erdoğan has consistently been calling for an indigenous car design and brand since 2011.⁴ His repeated calls to Turkish industrialists have indeed revived the long-hibernating idea for an indigenously designed and produced car in Turkey.⁵

The current impressive state of the industry in a way conceals its extremely modest origins, which can be traced back to the turbulent first decade of the Cold War. In contrast to many of its contemporaries, however, the Turkish automobile industry may also be considered a late bloomer. At times, its evolutionary trajectory featured striking similarities with those of other nontraditional automobile manufacturing countries. To start with, Turkey hosted one of Ford's many overseas assembly lines in the 1920s.⁶ Established in Istanbul to assemble various Ford models for the Turkish and the Middle Eastern markets in 1929, this subsidiary of Ford was subsequently relocated to Alexandria, Egypt, after the World Economic Crisis.⁷

In 1954, when a Turkish private business ventured into assembling Jeeps with completely knocked-down (CKD) kits supplied by Willys Overland, several foreign governments had already adopted industrial strategies, which emphasized local assembly of automobiles with requirements for progressive increases in local content. Those governments deliberately promoted import-substitution strategies to reduce and eventually end dependence on foreign currency for automobiles and their parts in response to chronic foreign currency shortages in the 1950s and 1960s. Lack of an institutionalized and a coordinated government policy in this realm sets Turkey apart from its contemporaries. Moreover, most of these governments promoted transition from assembly operations to automobile manufacturing. Included among them were Argentina, Brazil⁸ and Mexico in Latin America; Spain in Southern Europe; India in Asia; South Africa in Africa and Australia.⁹ These countries had already made or were about to make progress in incorporating varying degrees of local content into the assembled automobiles.¹⁰ The Turkish choice of a utility car such as Jeep to start an automobile assembly was in line with the choices made elsewhere in favor of automobiles that would move goods rather than people. A case in point is India where private entrepreneurs Mahindra and Mahindra picked the Jeep and tractors as the first motor vehicles to manufacture in support of their newly independent country's massive effort for development after the British colonial rule.¹¹ However, the Turkish case substantially differs from its contemporaries to the extent that Cold War strategic and military considerations were the primary reasons for the launch of a domestic automotive industry.

With hindsight, it is evident that for the private entrepreneurs who first attempted to start automobile production the main drive was their commercial interests. However, these entrepreneurs' own accounts suggest that the military requirements of the Cold War were played up very persuasively to complement their private interests in launching a Jeep assembly plant in Turkey. In other words, Cold War considerations facilitated and even justified laying the foundations of an automotive industry in Turkey. The Jeep assembly plant that was established in Tuzla, Istanbul, in 1954 by two brothers who were prominent entrepreneurs of the time, Ferruh and H. Nejat Verdi, constitutes the first milestone in the development of the industry.¹² This assembly plant was long identified with the Jeep brand in Turkey, and its products were (and still are) affectionately known as "Tuzla Jeeps."

The Tuzla Jeep remains an understudied aspect in the historical development of the Turkish automotive industry. This paper thus aims to supplement existing narrative on the origins of the Turkish automobile industry in the Cold War context. Author's research at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) on the Joint United States Military Mission for Aid to Turkey (JUSMMAT) revealed the Mission's involvement in Jeep assembly in Turkey in pursuit of better value for American taxpayers' money. The Turkish state archives (*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivleri*, BCA) were also consulted to complement the documents in the NARA. Finally, a number of interviews/conversations were conducted with contemporaries of the Tuzla Jeep experience to fill in the gaps untouched by official documents, both in the USA and Turkey.

This paper is organized into four sections. The first section provides a historical overview of the early Turkish encounters with the Jeep as a military vehicle. Then the discussion moves onto the Jeep's initially underappreciated utility for public services in a period marked by an ambitious pursuit of infrastructure and highway development. Indeed, it is hardly surprising that a successful military product like the Jeep played such a prominent role in laying the foundations of a Turkish automotive industry during the Cold War. Its development went in tandem with the process of political, military, economic and social transformation that Turkey underwent in the aftermath of World War II. Moreover, in the early Cold War period, emphasis on the development of Turkey's transportation infrastructure, including its highway network, was driven by strategic and defense requirements as well. This emphasis inevitably turned the Jeep as a utility vehicle for rugged terrain into a practical means to meet military, public, civilian and commercial transportation needs in Turkey for the period under study. In the third and fourth sections, the paper discusses the rise and the demise of the Tuzla Jeep with the ebbs and flows of Turkey's economic and political fortunes during the Cold War. It concludes with an account of its lasting legacy in the efforts to design and manufacture an indigenous automobile.

The Jeep's Debut in Turkey

The process that culminated in the first Jeep deliveries to Turkey began with the US Congress' decision to extend the Lend-Lease Act to Turkey in 1941. It took two years

for the first deliveries to be made under the Act. During World War II, both sides strove to lure Ankara into joining their side in the War.¹³ The Germans and the British in particular were engaged in fierce rivalry for the hearts and minds of the Turkish public. To this end, their wartime propaganda journals were distributed free to the Turks. While the Germans relied on the Turkish-language version of their journal *Signal*, the British were issuing *Cephe (The Front)*, which was tailored to the demands of a Turkish audience. Indeed, the Turkish public became aware of the existence of the Jeep as a result of this German–British propaganda war. The February 1943 issue of *Cephe* published a lavishly illustrated two-page feature on this new vehicle that it identified as the most useful car in the world.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Turkish President İsmet İnönü met with the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, in Adana to discuss the terms of Turkey's entry into the War on the Allied side. During this meeting, İnönü refrained from committing Turkey to the War on the grounds that the military equipment and supplies that had been promised earlier by the Allies to strengthen the Turkish military had not been yet delivered. Upon this complaint, the Allies decided to expedite arms and equipment shipments to Turkey. Included among the military equipment earmarked for expedited delivery were M-32 MB Jeeps. Consequently, the April issue of *Cephe* published a photo of the first batch of Jeeps delivered to the Turkish army on the border with Syria in 1943.¹⁵ In short, the Turkish public and the military were introduced to the Jeep both literally and physically in 1943.

The Truman Doctrine of March 12, 1947, ushered in a new episode in the history of US military assistance to Turkey. President Harry Truman framed his administration's decision to extend military aid to Greece and Turkey as a mission to help "free peoples" against ideological and/or military threats from the Soviet Union. In practical terms, the idea was to strengthen these two recipients' national defenses with US arms and training. The US arms and military equipment were funneled to Turkey in greater quantities than under the previous Lend-Lease program. Hence, the Turkish military received 7551 Jeeps between 1947 and 1952.¹⁶ To oversee the transfer of equipment to the Turkish military, a US military mission was inaugurated in 1947. It was initially called the Joint American Military Mission for Aid to Turkey (JAMMAT) and renamed JUSMMAT in 1958.¹⁷

Adopting the US Way of War and Mobility

In the late 1940s, Turkey's roads were considered deplorable by American observers. Only a fraction of the existing roads were surfaced and only "half of the national road mileage [was] capable of being traversed with safety by ordinary motor vehicles."¹⁸ The rest were barely passable even by all-terrain vehicles such as the ubiquitous Jeep. The poor condition of the country's roads would negate the effect of US military aid to Turkey. This was the conclusion many US observers, including journalists, came to as soon as they experienced first hand the challenges of a cross-country ride on Turkey's roads. Upon returning from his trip to the Soviet border in a US-built military vehicle, Clay Gowran of the *Chicago Tribune*, for instance, argued that even the

sturdiest US-built military vehicles would be difficult to operate without improving Turkey's roads.¹⁹ Consequently, a highway group was added to the JAMMAT with USD 5 million specifically allocated for highway development in 1947.²⁰

In Turkey, railway and road development had always been driven predominantly by strategic requirements with scant attention for civilian or commercial needs.²¹ While railway development enjoyed a clear priority over other means of transportation in the early republican era, Turkish contingency planning during World War II revealed that the railway network was far from being capable of handling the troop movements required to defend the country.²² Before and during World War II, Turkish governments were reluctant to invest in highways. They were intent on hindering rather than facilitating movement inland for fear of foreign invasion. In other words, lack of attention to highways reflected a deliberate strategic choice aimed at rendering the country's hinterland impregnable by potential invaders.²³ This view starkly contrasted with the American way of war (and of life) that emphasized mobility on an extensive network of highways. Furthermore, this Turkish military mindset, an American report concluded, terribly missed "a broader strategic concern with transportation—the building of an economically powerful nation capable of defending itself by virtue of its high productivity."²⁴ Hence, roads were expected to strengthen Turkey's defenses, on the one hand, and to help integration of domestic markets, on the other.

Initially, their competing mindsets pitted the Turkish Highway Authority and the Turkish military against each other. The latter, for a while, stubbornly held to the view that extending the road network to Eastern Turkey would be tantamount to inviting a Soviet invasion.²⁵ The former, echoing the American vision, eventually prevailed and the country embarked on an ambitious program to build 23,000 km of new roads in nine years, largely with US funds and support.²⁶ Basically a national defense effort, it immediately unleashed significant economic and social consequences in Turkey. New highway building stimulated demand for automobiles, which in turn pulled down the cost of transportation with an attendant increase in the mobility of both people and commodities.²⁷

Meanwhile, the Jeep attracted significant interest and demand in this period of economic and social transformation in Turkey. However, the Jeep's popularity outpaced its availability in the Turkish market. Initial imports were insufficient to meet the demand from private individuals and companies for two reasons. First, Willys Overland did not yet have an authorized dealer in Turkey.²⁸ Second, exchange controls in Turkey significantly restricted the volume of automobile imports.

In 1948, the Türk Motor Anonim Şirketi (Inc.) of Ferruh and H. Nejat Verdi secured the exclusive dealership for the Willys Universal Jeep in Turkey. From among hundreds of competing compatriots, the Verdi Brothers were able to take advantage of their well-established commercial contacts in the USA. H. Nejat Verdi had opened a liaison office on Broad Street in New York in 1945 in partnership with another prominent Turkish businessman, Kazım Taşkent. While in New York, he was encouraged by his American acquaintances to pursue the Turkey dealership of Willys Jeep, which was considered "a gold mine."²⁹

Initially, the Jeep had been reserved only for military use in Turkey. The restrictions on the private and civilian ownership and nonmilitary use of the Jeep were finally lifted in 1948. Many public agencies rushed to procure Jeeps for official use. Soon, they all ran into trouble with municipalities (local governments), which refused to issue registration plates for Jeeps owned and operated by public agencies due to a loophole in the legislation. More specifically, Motor Vehicles Act 3827 did not include a category of vehicles similar to the Jeep. Obviously, the term “truck” did not translate well into Turkish nor did it strike a chord with Turkish traffic authorities in defining this unorthodox vehicle. In short, the Jeep defied existing vehicle categories and actually posed a serious cognitive and conceptual challenge for Turkey’s traffic legislation and bureaucracy.³⁰ The situation was further aggravated when some municipalities argued that the Jeep was a passenger car (*binek*), a category of vehicles denied to public agencies as a cost-cutting measure.

The Prime Ministry was initially reluctant to override the municipalities’ interpretation of Act 3827 and hence the Jeep retained its status as a passenger car under Turkish law. Consequently, all public agencies were instructed to return their Jeeps immediately to the Treasury as per the provisions of Act 3827, which prohibited them from acquiring and operating passenger cars.³¹ Ironically, this orthodoxy hit the Ministry of Public Works and the so-called mobilization for highway building the hardest. Drawing attention to the evident contradiction between the two, the Ministry of Public Works complained that it would not be able to carry out its functions without the Jeep which was the only means available for access to regions in need of infrastructure development. The ministry further argued that the value of savings from withdrawing the Jeep from public service would not justify the cost of delays in major public works caused thereby.³²

Almost a year later, the government came to grips with the fact that the legislation had to be amended to redefine the Jeep as a utility car rather than as a passenger car. International developments quickly rendered the previous position untenable because the USA earmarked a substantial number of Jeeps and similar vehicles for delivery under the Marshall Plan to help recipients’ development efforts. Eventually, public agencies were thus allowed to procure and operate Jeeps.³³ Although this automobile substantially enhanced the state’s penetration into the country (and therefore its administrative capacity), the state was extremely slow in recognizing this potential.

In this era of rapid motorization of transportation, trucks replaced camel trains for long-distance transport, while the Jeep replaced mules in mountainous regions. A witness to the impact of Turkey’s transition to motorized transportation offers in his memoirs a very striking account of mule-handlers’ reactions to the introduction of the Jeep to the mail service in the province of Hakkari in eastern Turkey. To eliminate the “unfair” competition that a single Jeep in public service brought about, the mule-handlers strove to put it out of operation by flattening its tires and denting its body.³⁴ That the Jeep was in direct competition with mules is not surprising at all. Years later in an interview, Ferruh Verdi expressed the vehicle’s essential function in Turkey: “The Jeep was a mule.”³⁵

After the Jeep's value for public services began to be finally appreciated, demand from public agencies grew significantly. At this point, Turkey's inclusion in the Marshall Plan led to the availability of the Jeep and other Willys products for Turkish public agencies under the US aid for development program. Around the time when Turkish traffic laws were amended to allow public agencies to operate the Jeep, Willys Overland Inc., of Toledo, Ohio, announced that it was awarded a contract from the US government to build Jeeps and other four-wheel vehicles for Turkey. The contract was worth USD 1,355,757 and included 279 Universal Jeeps, 574 four-wheel pickup trucks and 79 all-steel station wagons.³⁶

Even by that time, it is difficult to argue that the Turkish operators of the Jeep, including the military, could tap the vehicle's full potential for public and military purposes. In the case of the military, it was the low levels of industrialization and uneducated manpower that negated the effective use of the Jeep.³⁷ On the eve of Turkey's admission to NATO, an American journalist concluded: "[The] Jeep symbolizes difficulties in mechanizing the Turkish Army."³⁸

Despite such problems of adaptation, military and civilian appetite for the Jeep and other Willys products continued to grow. While Turkish military and public agencies relied on various US aid programs for Jeep deliveries, foreign exchange controls and import restrictions severely curbed the potential for individual and corporate Jeep sales. Despite these odds and restrictions, the 1949 rural census results indicated that 771 Jeeps found their way into farming/agricultural services across the country.³⁹ The Jeep had many other uses, from smuggling in the border provinces, particularly in Southeastern Turkey, to passenger transport in the rugged and mountainous Black Sea and Aegean regions. The Jeep was praised as "the most comfortable" means of transportation in the latter.⁴⁰

Although the Verdi Brothers' Türk Motor Inc. secured the exclusive dealership for the Jeep and other Willys products in 1948, parallel imports to Turkey continued unabated for some time. The exclusive dealership covered the new Universal Jeep. At this point, surplus US Jeeps in the part of Germany under US, British and French occupation (consolidated into a single zone as the Trizone) were offered at much lower prices and in direct competition to the Universal Jeep. If price offered one competitive edge that the surplus US Army M-32 MBs from the occupied Germany enjoyed over brand new Universal Jeeps imported from the USA, another was the method of payment. Turkey concluded a clearing agreement with the Trizone and imports from this entity did not require payment in a foreign currency. Until the surplus US Army Jeep stocks were exhausted, the Trizone remained a convenient supplier of Jeeps in the Turkish market.

Turkey's ruling Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, RPP) shortly joined the ranks of customers for Jeeps imported from the Trizone. In 1946, Turkey's ruling elite had made a strategic choice for a transition to a multiparty system after just over two decades of single-party rule. Such a voluntary transition was a requisite to bring Turkey into the fold of the emerging security community of western democracies. An opposition party, the Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti*, DP), splintered from the RPP in the process. In 1946, Turkey held its first direct elections that

were neither free nor fair. However, amendments to the electoral laws ensured that next elections in 1950 would be freer, fairer and much more competitive.⁴¹ Hence, political parties had to carry their propaganda efforts even into the remotest districts. In order to reach out to the electorate, the RPP placed an order for 35 M-32 MB Jeeps from the Trizone in 1949. They arrived shortly before the May 1950 elections and were placed at the disposal of its provincial organizations.⁴² Hence, the Jeep left its first mark on Turkish democracy in the May 1950 elections that resulted in a landslide victory for the DP.

Under the new DP government, mechanization in agriculture and motorization in transportation were given new momentum. The foreign exchange reserves of the country quickly dried up, as a result of, *inter alia*, the dramatic surge in automobile and agricultural tractor imports. In a time of depleted foreign currency reserves, an assembly plant in Israel stepped in to cater for the Turkish market's demand for Jeeps. In 1951, Kaiser–Frazer set up an automobile plant which did assembly work for several automobile-makers, including Willys Overland, in Haifa. Finland, Turkey and Yugoslavia quickly became the principal outlets for Kaiser–Frazer's automobile exports from Israel. Their prominence stemmed from the fact that all three preferred to trade in clearing-dollars than hard currency. In 1954, exports to Turkey accounted for USD 5 million of Kaiser–Frazer's total exports worth USD 7,148,000.⁴³ Clearing trade (or swap) offered a way for both Turkey and Israel out of the chronic foreign exchange shortages they had been enduring. At that time, Turkish agricultural products were inferior in quality, while Israeli industrial products were overpriced. Hence, the two countries provided one another with secure outlets for products that would hardly be competitive in world markets.⁴⁴ Kaiser–Frazer's company brochure for the Izmir International Fair of 1954 identified Turkey and Israel as "ideal partners due to their geographic proximity, deep rooted friendship between the two nations and complementary economies."⁴⁵

Assembling the Jeep in Turkey

Bartering for imported Jeeps with Israel provided only a temporary solution in meeting Turkish demand for this type of vehicle, and in any case the Turkish government banned bartering in foreign trade in 1954.⁴⁶ Therefore, the idea of local assembly of the Jeep began to take root in response to the chronic shortage of foreign currency. In the 1950s, Willys Overland permitted license production of the Jeep in other countries with assembly lines in Israel, France, Spain, Argentina, Brazil, Australia and Japan.⁴⁷ Ferruh Verdi brought up the idea with Willys Overland executives for the first time in 1953 but to no avail. For the company, the size of the local automobile market ruled out profitable assembly operations in Turkey. Undeterred by Willys Overland's rejection of his proposal on commercial grounds, Ferruh Verdi put a military spin to the proposal to recruit the Pentagon to the idea of local assembly of Jeeps. His revised proposal, predicated on strategic and military considerations, made sense to the US military which saw it as an opportunity to improve the efficiency of military aid to Turkey. In other words, savings in USD terms from local assembly of

Jeeps would mean better value for American taxpayers' money. With the Pentagon's endorsement, Willys Overland relented and agreed to open a Jeep assembly plant with the Verdi Brothers in Turkey. In the end, Cold War thinking prevailed over economic and commercial considerations, which understandably did not favor the Turkish proposal at all.⁴⁸

The incorporation of the Türk Willys Anonim Ortaklığı in 1954 marked the first step toward Jeep assembly in Turkey. A year later, the Willys Overland Export Corporation announced that construction of a new plant had already started in Tuzla and the necessary machinery and equipment were being packed in Toledo. The plant was to assemble Jeeps for Turkey and other countries in the Middle East. Hickman Price Jr. of the company was also quoted to have said: "Willys is investing 'considerable' capital in the new concern to be known as 'Turk Willys' but most of the capital comes from Turkish partners."⁴⁹ In the meantime, the Turkish Government approved the incorporation of Türk Willys Overland as a joint stock company established between Willys Motors Inc. and Verdi Limited with a capital of TL 6 million for a period of 50 years.⁵⁰ Willys Overland committed USD 500,000 capital, including USD 240,000 in machinery and equipment, USD 10,000 in cash, USD 115,000 in manufacturing plans and engineering support and USD 135,000 in patent rights.⁵¹ In other words, Willys Overland put up 25 percent of the capital, while Verdi Limited underwrote the remaining 75 percent. The plant was located in Tuzla, about 30 km from downtown Istanbul with direct access to both port and railway facilities. It could roll off 20 vehicles per day with provisions to double the assembly rate in case of need.⁵²

The Tuzla plant ultimately would cost USD 2.1 million and employ some 500 people.⁵³ It was officially opened by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes on April 25, 1956, and the first Jeep assembled there was presented to him to mark the occasion. The Tuzla plant could assemble both CJ3-B and CJ5 models. Though basically a civilian model, the former's militarized versions would later be supplied in large quantities to the Turkish military under US military aid programs. Due to its lower price, CJ3-B became popular among civilian users as well. The CJ5 was an advanced model with a higher price tag and was preferred by nonmilitary operators in both private and public sectors. All models assembled by the Türk Willys plant came to be known as the "Tuzla Jeep."

Local assembly was encouraged by the DP government to alleviate the impact of foreign currency shortages in foreign trade. To this end, the government pledged to make sufficient foreign currency available for the uninterrupted flow of knocked-down kits to keep the Tuzla plant in business. However, it was never able to deliver on its pledge.⁵⁴ Tahsin Önalp, who was the plant manager in 1957, confirmed that the foreign exchange allotted to the plant sufficed to keep the assembly lines open for a few months only and they remained idle for the rest of the year.⁵⁵ A telegram in the Turkish archives (wired in from Rio de Janeiro) by President Hickman Price, Jr. of Willys Overland Export Corp. directly to Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes captures perfectly the essence of Türk Willys' predicament with foreign exchange restrictions:

It is with great sorrow that I must approach your excellency with a very serious problem which is being encountered by Türk Willys and by ourselves. As you perhaps have been informed, operations at Tusla (sic.) [Tuzla] have come to a complete stop due to lack of components for assembly and manufacture. Naturally this is a great disappointment in view of the high hopes which you and I have always entertained for the contribution of Türk Willys to the economic development of Turkey. Unfortunately my board of directors are accusing me of having been over enthusiastic and I am sure you will appreciate the seriousness of such criticism to a person directing the financial destinies of a great corporation. Your orders enabling the shipment of assembly parts now lying in New York ready for transportation and for which letters of credit have been established but actual transfers of which have not yet occurred will greatly help me out of the difficult position in which I find myself.⁵⁶

Official figures reveal that only 734 Jeeps were imported in the 1956–57 budget year.⁵⁷ Hence, the Tuzla plant's ability to cater for nonmilitary needs remained extremely limited throughout its existence as a private company. To survive, Türk Willys had no choice but to rely on Jeep orders for the Turkish military during the Cold War. Within three months after the rollout of the first locally assembled Jeep, the Turkish military officially requested from the JUSMMAT that 1600 Jeeps be supplied under the Mutual Assistance Program (MAP) for Fiscal Year (FY) 57 and should be assembled at the Tuzla plant. The JUSMMAT document on *Knocked-down Vehicle Assembly Capability [in] Turkey* reports that this "idea met with strong approval by the Departments of State and Defense."⁵⁸ However, the available evidence does not suggest that the DP government embraced the idea with a comparable degree of enthusiasm. Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan only reluctantly gave his approval. This reluctance stemmed from the realization that Ankara would be required to partly foot the bill for an item that used to be supplied for free to Turkey. Polatkan's assessment, hence, read:

The US is strongly resolved to have some aid equipment manufactured in recipient countries and the President of the North Atlantic Council (sic.) [likely the Secretary-General] is concerned that insisting on delivery of built-up Jeeps may result in US authorities' exclusion of such items from aid. Notwithstanding the burden it will cause in terms of budget and foreign currency, it is considered appropriate that 1,600 Jeeps be assembled in our country and supplied to our Army.⁵⁹

After the Turkish government's approval, the idea was put into action. First, 1600 Jeeps (1/4-ton trucks in US military terminology) were removed from the FY 57 aid program to Turkey. Then the US Army Department awarded a contract to Willys Overland for the procurement and shipment of kits sufficient to assemble 1600 vehicles. While the original FY 57 program probably called for the delivery of military model M-38 Jeeps, the contract was made for commercial CJ3-B model

Jeeps with a distinctively taller hood to accommodate a Hurricane F-Head engine delivering 20 percent more horsepower. The kits did not include canvas tops, seats and several other items. Since the CJ3-B was basically a civilian model, it was militarized with the addition of heavy duty springs, pintail hooks, trailer sockets, and heavy duty filters and cooling systems instead of standard components. Even the militarized CJ3-B was not suitable for the mounting of 24-volt radio systems or recoilless rifles as the cost of conversion kits would cancel out any savings from local assembly.⁶⁰

The Turkish Ministry of Defense then contracted Türk Willys for the manufacture of parts not included in the kits procured from Willys Overland as well as for assembly, painting and delivery of the vehicles. The first batch of 1600 Jeeps assembled in Tuzla was followed by contracts for two subsequent batches in 1959⁶¹ and 1960,⁶² each covering 2000 vehicles. Under FY 62, Turkey was slated to receive a further batch of 3836 Jeeps that were assembled by Türk Willys.⁶³ A year later in 1963, a contract for a final batch of 2315 CJ-3B-based 1/4-ton trucks was awarded to Türk Willys. In total, the Tuzla plant delivered 11,751 CJ3-B Jeeps to the Turkish military under the MAP.⁶⁴

Local assembly of Jeeps saved around USD 200 per vehicle. It is worth noting that this was the amount saved in terms of foreign currency. For instance, in 1962, the cost of an assembled CJ3-B Jeep to the MAP was USD 1733, whereas a CKD kit cost USD 1536. An additional cost of TL 3500 was incurred for locally manufactured seats, canvas tops, painting and finally assembly.⁶⁵ Another JUSMMAT document recommended that all calculations should be based on USD 1 = TL 13 exchange rate for 1962.⁶⁶ Therefore, local costs equaled USD 270 per Jeep assembled. The Tuzla plant brochure from its official inauguration states that an assembled commercial CJ3-B would cost USD 1614.10 to import, while a Tuzla-assembled CJ-3B required USD 1234.55.⁶⁷

By 1957, there were 6622 Jeeps of all models owned by private individuals and public agencies in Turkey. The peak year for Jeep imports had been 1954, which was the year of general elections when around 1467 units were added to the existing pool of motor vehicles in Turkey.⁶⁸ Personal accounts suggest that the government allocated generous amounts of foreign currency to Verdi Limited to import about 1000 vehicles. About 100 Jeeps were placed at the disposal of the DP for its election campaign. After the elections, these Jeeps were returned to the importer who refurbished and sold them.⁶⁹ Considering that the Jeep made its debut in Turkish elections in 1950 in the context of the ruling RPP's campaign, the new rulers of Turkey also seem to have adopted a comparable strategy in reaching out to the rural electorate. Personal accounts and parliamentary and other official records suggest that the DP cut a similar deal with the Verdi Brothers for 150 Jeeps that were supplied at substantial discounts before the 1957 elections.⁷⁰ The worsening of the foreign exchange situation led to the suspension of Jeep sales to civilian (private or public) users, and the entirety of the Tuzla plant's output was reserved for military needs.⁷¹ All in all, the Tuzla plant assembled only about 2000 Jeeps for civilian use between 1956 and 1960.⁷²

Assembly Industries Directive: Headed for Trouble

The Türk Willys Overland plant in Tuzla assembled the first batch of 300 Jeeps with imported semi-knocked down kits and no local content.⁷³ However, the management was committed to increase local value added progressively from 15 percent to 65 percent by 1960.⁷⁴ It should be noted that these were the goals the company voluntarily set for itself. The Tuzla Jeep plant was a stand-alone establishment. Meeting such ambitious goals in terms of local value added depended more or less on the development of supporting industries in Turkey. Moreover, Türk Willys was followed by about a dozen new investments in vehicle assembly industries, leading to both the expansion and diversification of the product range.

The DP government was ousted by a military coup on May 27, 1960. The coup was followed by an ambitious pursuit of industrial development. Consequently, the idea of a Turkish automobile began to take root. This thinking gave birth to the first ever locally designed and built automobile *Devrim* (named after the coup—as it was identified as a revolution back then). *Devrim* was never put into production, however, and only four prototypes were built. It quickly became a symbol of national industrial development and gave rise to the enthusiasm that it would be followed by other local designs, including an indigenous Jeep-like vehicle.⁷⁵

After the coup, Turkey adopted a planned economic development strategy and established the State Planning Organization (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*, SPO) as its key instrument. Import substitution had been tried out of necessity in the previous decade. However, in the 1960s, it was institutionalized and officially promoted as an industrialization strategy. This move indeed brought Turkey finally in line with other nontraditional automobile manufacturing countries outside North America and Western Europe, which had switched from assembly to manufacturing in the 1950s and 1960s. In this context, the Assembly Industries Directive (*Montaj Sanayii Talimatı*) of 1964 set the legal framework within which assembly industries were required to gradually increase both the local value added and the local content in their products. Local value added was to account for 52.5 percent by 1972 in the assembly of vehicles in the category of Jeep.⁷⁶ In the case of the Jeep, which offered the bare minimum in terms of comfort, the major cost items were the engine, transmission, body and frame. The engine and the transmission were to remain imported items for years. Seats and canvas tops were already manufactured in Turkey. This situation left Türk Willys with a narrow margin to increase the local value added to the required levels.

Mr. Faruk Canbolat, the nephew of the Verdi Brothers, witnessed first hand the growth and evolution of the Tuzla plant from 1956 to 1971. He argues that the Tuzla Jeep set in motion a diversification of the range of products in the automotive and related industries in Turkey. For instance, the first local automobile paints were produced for the Tuzla Jeeps. Furthermore, the first paint-drying oven was built at the Tuzla plant. All of these additions to Turkish industrial capabilities contributed to the local value added in automobile assembly. However, in the case of Jeep assembly, the only way to meet the local value-added target was to manufacture the vehicle's

body and frame. The plain body shape of the Jeep, lacking deep bends or curves, could be handled with a relatively modest stamping capacity. The missing element was locally produced sheet steel, which the Ereğli Iron and Steel Works began to supply in 1965.⁷⁷ A 1000-ton press was installed at the Tuzla plant, another first of its kind in Turkey, to stamp Jeep bodies and frames.⁷⁸

As for the Jeep production run, Ferruh Verdi claimed that the Tuzla plant manufactured around 100,000 Jeeps under their management.⁷⁹ However, these are inflated figures. Excluding Jeeps assembled under US military aid programs, Türk Willys Overland's own company brochure in 1960 stated that about 2000 commercial Jeeps were manufactured between 1956 and 1960.⁸⁰ A study on the Turkish automobile industry indicates that 3940 all-terrain utility vehicles were assembled in Turkey between 1964 and 1970.⁸¹ During the same period, Türk Willys continued to supply the Turkish military with new Jeep products such as Gladiator 1-ton and 1.5-ton pickup trucks under the MAP. Interestingly, the Turkish army was provided yet again with a commercial model rather than its military counterpart, the M-715, as in the case of the CJ3-B. Türk Willys was contracted to assemble 1800 1-ton trucks in 1967, 467 1-ton and 1479 1.5-ton trucks in 1968 with CKD kits supplied by Kaiser Jeep Corporation.⁸² The choice of commercial models in both cases can be taken as an indication that the civilian market for automobiles was always kept in sight when making decisions about vehicles to be assembled for military use in Turkey.

The evident success of local assembly of Jeeps prompted the Turkish military to request all MAP vehicles supplied to Turkey in CKD kits for in-country assembly. There is a school of thought which argues that the US military aid held Turkey back from industrial production, for military purposes in particular.⁸³ In 1962, the JUSMMAT, for its part, considered "the assembly of 0.25, 0.75 and 2,5-ton vehicles for the MAP feasible and in the interest of the US from the standpoint of dollar savings and *promoting self-sufficiency in Turkey*."⁸⁴ By that time, Türk Willys was joined by several new automobile assembly facilities, such as Türk Otomotiv Endüstrileri A.Ş. (TOE) and Otomobil Sanayii A.Ş. (OTOSAN). Hence, the Turkish military invited all three to bid for the local assembly of 2441 6×6 M-602 REO Trucks delivered in CKD kits under the MAP in 1963.⁸⁵

The Assembly Industries Directive of 1964 began to take its toll on Turkey's fledgling automobile industry. Assembly plants that failed to meet local value-added and content criteria lost their licenses after 1968. Türk Willys was among the poor performers and its assembly license was suspended in 1971.⁸⁶ A commentator links Türk Willys' license suspension to its failure to meet quality requirements, particularly in body manufacturing.⁸⁷ It was also argued that the whole venture was exposed to ups and downs in Turkish politics, and that it eventually became a victim of the military coup in 1971. The defense minister of the coup government, Ferit Melen, had been a RPP deputy during the ten-year DP rule in the 1950s. He thus may have sought retribution for the intimate relations between the Verdi Brothers and the DP governments by denying military contacts and exchange permits to Türk Willys.⁸⁸ The archives, in contrast, suggest that the post-coup government awarded a contract to Türk Willys for the assembly of 645 4×4 1-ton trucks on July 2, 1971, just months

after the coup. Indeed, this was the last large contract for Türk Willys before its nationalization.⁸⁹

Faruk Canbolat, on the other hand, identifies two causes that brought Türk Willys to the brink of collapse. First was the family's reluctance to professionalize its management. Second was the labor strike.⁹⁰ A former plant manager, Tahsin Önalp, also sees the problem in management practices, which did not suit the growing industry's needs.⁹¹ As for the labor strike, Türk Willys had a long and interesting association with labor unions in Turkey. Turkey's first labor union was founded at the Tuzla plant on September 9, 1963, when its 25 employees became the founders of Otomobil-İş (Automobile Workers Union).⁹² Labor activism in the second half of the 1960s inevitably affected the Tuzla plant. Canbolat recalls a dramatic drop in daily output to three and then to two vehicles in 1970. The management brought in three timing engineers from the USA to identify the cause of the problem. The engineers concluded that an undeclared strike had been prevailing in the plant. It soon became a declared strike, which triggered a lockout by the employers. The transfer of the Tuzla plant to the government stood as the only way out for Türk Willys. In November 1971, it was taken over by the Ministry of Defense for a price of TL 30 million.⁹³ This takeover itself is a clear indication that the Tuzla Jeep was too important militarily to fail during the Cold War.

Although the Türk Willys experience retains its historical significance as the first step in building an automobile industry in Turkey, overall it does not stand out as a success story. A year after its nationalization, the SPO Undersecretary Memduh Aytür referred to the Jeep venture as a bad example to be avoided for the automobile industry and a burden on the economy.⁹⁴ A United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) study provides significant insights into the reasons behind Tuzla Jeep's failure as a private venture. It summarizes conditions least conducive for the development of an automobile industry as

It is essential that an automotive industry in a developing country begin with the development of manufacturing capability on a broad base. It is impractical to start such an industry with an assembly plant and subsequently attempt to develop manufacturing integration in a country which has little industrial capacity.⁹⁵

Moreover, it concludes that "[e]ven a cursory review of the automobile industry in developing countries would reveal that most of the problems stem from lack of a planning."⁹⁶ Hence, the study basically offers a lesson relearned in the case of the Tuzla Jeep experience in Turkey: the Cold War strategic rationale was not sufficient to keep the first Turkish attempt at automobile manufacturing alive by itself in the absence of a broad industrial base and planning.

After 1971, the Tuzla plant became the 1013 Ordonance Main Repair Plant of the Turkish Army. The 1013 resumed assembly works to meet military requirements exclusively after 1971. In 1974, Turkey carried out a military intervention in Cyprus in response to a coup engineered by the Greek junta on the island. The

Turkish military intervention precipitated a US arms embargo on Turkey in 1975. Suspension of US military assistance severely curbed Turkish military's effectiveness. The embargo also meant the suspension of CKD kit deliveries for the Tuzla Jeep. The plant stood idle for a while.⁹⁷

The US arms embargo between 1975 and 1978 taught a number of lessons to Turkish civilian and military decision-makers. First and foremost was that dependence on foreign suppliers for arms restricted freedom of action in foreign policy or at least in backing up diplomacy with military muscle. Hence, rebuilding a national arms industry presented itself as the natural choice for Turkey.

In this context, the Tuzla plant was upgraded and expanded to increase the range of locally manufactured parts in military vehicles.⁹⁸ After 1978, the Tuzla plant became nearly self-sufficient in manufacturing all Jeep parts, except the engine. It was also specialized in overhauling the Turkish Army's CJ3-Bs. Nonetheless, its future remained uncertain even as a military facility. In the 1980s, economic liberalization in Turkey under Turgut Özal dictated a substantial downscaling of state involvement in industrial production. Although a military facility, the Tuzla plant was also considered for privatization for some time. Indeed, the new owner of the Jeep brand, Chrysler, was interested in acquiring the Tuzla plant along with its neighbor, TOE, to manufacture new Jeep models for the Middle East market.⁹⁹ This privatization deal could never be finalized and was eventually dropped.¹⁰⁰ There is little public information about the Tuzla plant's operations as a military facility between 1971 and 2005. A Turkish arms industry catalog suggests that the Tuzla plant overhauled a total of 12,631 CJ3-B Jeeps from 1978 to 1996.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

The basic vehicle, converted from the commercial CJ3-B to meet Turkish military requirements in the heyday of the Cold War, remained in service until 2009. Considering its long service with the Turkish military, therefore, it may be unfair to regard the whole Türk Willys experience as a failure. Despite the staggering operating costs of a vehicle that was powered by a gasoline engine designed in the days of cheap fuel, the CJ3-B probably broke the record for the longest-serving tactical vehicle in the Turkish Army for its 50-year service.

As a product, the Tuzla Jeep arguably represents the single biggest achievement of the whole Türk Willys venture. However, it pales in comparison to a similar venture embarked upon around the same time by two brothers to assemble CJ3-B Jeeps in India. While Türk Willys remains a footnote in the history of the Turkish automobile industry, Mahindra and Mahindra of India is now a giant, which has grown far beyond the CJ3-B assembly phase. Interestingly, Türk Willys provided mechanics and blueprint support for Mahindra and Mahindra's early CJ3-B assembly operations.¹⁰²

In the second half of the 1980s, the Turkish Army contemplated to indigenously design and manufacture a family of military vehicles based on the Jeep at the Tuzla plant. The idea bore some fruit in the form of a number of "T-Model" or

“Advanced T-Model” (T for “Turkish” officially or for “Tuzla” unofficially) tactical vehicles supplied to the Turkish armed forces after the end of the Cold War. These T model vehicles, called *Tayfun* (four-wheel drive) and *Poyraz* (two-wheel drive), were initially marred by engineering problems¹⁰³ and could only be manufactured in very small numbers until 2005.¹⁰⁴ In other words, military needs continued to justify the high costs of manufacturing at such a small scale under both the private and military ownership. This was one element of continuity between the two periods.¹⁰⁵

Another element of continuity lies in the emotional attachment to the Tuzla plant and its products in Turkey. The Tuzla plant is considered to be a milestone in the evolution of the Turkish automobile industry. Its vehicle assembly and manufacturing lines remained open for about half a century from 1956 to 2005. The name “Tuzla Jeep” resonates positively particularly with the Cold War generations of the Turkish public. However, those who were involved in the design, engineering and production of T-Models in the 1980s and 1990s display stronger emotional attachment to these later generations of “Tuzla Jeeps” manufactured at the Tuzla plant in the 1990s. Considering that the idea of a national automobile still resonates strongly with Turkish public at large, such an emotional attachment to the Tuzla Jeep should not be surprising at all.¹⁰⁶

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Notes

1. Michael M. Grynbaum, “In Contest for New York’s New Taxis, Turkish Entry, the Karsan, is Rejected,” *The New York Times*, May 2, 2011.
2. Otomobil Sanayi Derneği, “Monthly Report.”
3. See Kurtgözü and Savaş, “Exploring the Material Practices,” 20–35.
4. “İşin Babaları Burada. Yerli Otomobil Üretelim,” *Milliyet*, January 10, 2011.
5. See for instance, Şimşek, *Yarım Kalan Devrim Rüyası*; Azcanlı, *Türk Otomotiv Sanayinin Tarihsel*, 78; Çetiner, *Otomotiv Sanayii Nasıl Kuruldu*, 146.
6. Such Ford assembly lines were also set up in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Spain, India, Australia and South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s. Jenkins, *Transnational Corporations*, 41.
7. Emiroğlu, *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi*, 444.
8. Shapiro, “Determinants of Firm Entry,” 889–97.
9. Jenkins, *Transnational Corporations*, 41.
10. In 1956, about 40 percent of the automobiles exported complete were supplied in CKD sets. In case of exports to countries such as Australia, the CKD sets did not include bodies which corresponded to 50 percent local content. Maxcy and Silberston, *The Motor Industry*, 54–5. For South Africa, on the other hand, the local content by weight remained relatively low, around 15 percent for passenger cars until 1961. Bruton, “The Structure, Conduct and Performance,” 313.
11. M. Anand, “Driving with the Nation,” *Business Outlook India*, August 20, 2007.
12. Ceyhan and Ölçen, *Türkiye Otomotiv Sanayi*, 359.
13. See Deringil, *Turkish Foreign Policy*.

14. "'Cip' Otomobilleri: Dünyanın En Faideli Küçük Otomobili Dünyayı Dolaşıyor," *Cephe*, February 1943.
15. "Türkiye için Harp Malzemesi," *Cephe*, April, 1943.
16. NARA NND964322, RG334/250/1, JAMMAT Monthly Progress Report, December 1952.
17. See NARA NND964322, RG334/250/2, 091112C,1952, "Briefing for New Arrivals"; and NARA NND964322, RG334/250/3, Histories, Memorandum, March 9, 1950; Bernath, "JUSMMAT and Turkey," 1–10.
18. Thornburg, Spry and Soule, *Turkey: An Economic Appraisal*, 81.
19. "Turkey's Prime Need: Railways and Good Roads," *Chicago Tribune*, June 19, 1947.
20. McGhee, *The US-Turkish-NATO-Middle East*, 28.
21. Yıldırım, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Demiryollar*, 50–3.
22. Kocatürk, *Bir Şubayın Anıları*, 216.
23. Marshall Fevzi Çakmak who served as the Chief of Staff for more than 20 years is known for his unrelenting opposition to building of roads and bridges leading to the coastline. See Gündüz, *Hatıralarım*, 279.
24. Thornburg, Spry and Soule, *Turkey: An Economic Appraisal*, 78. See also *The Economy of Turkey*, 121–147.
25. *Anılarla Karayolu Tarihi*, 30.
26. *Yol Davamız*, 32; and Berksan, *Yol Davamız Nerede?* 129–30.
27. See Tütengil, *İçtimai ve İktisadi Bakımdan*, 43–90.
28. Oğuz, *Yaşadıklarım Dinlediklerim*, 626.
29. Interview with Perihan [Verdi] Todorowa, August 16, 2011.
30. For debates on the Jeep's utility for public services, see *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Term 8, Vol. 7, Session 2, (November 7, 1947): 22–26.
31. BCA, 199.359.13. December 14, 1948.
32. BCA, 199.359.13. December 14, 1948.
33. BCA, 199.359.14 and 15. May 12, 1949.
34. Oğuz, *Yaşadıklarım Dinlediklerim*, 276.
35. Çetiner, *Otomotiv Sanayii Nasıl Kuruldu*, 146.
36. "Willys Gets Turkish Order," *New York Times*, August 31, 1949; "Willys Overland Working on 1.355.757 Order for Turkey," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 31, 1949.
37. NARA, NND 853005, RG330/18/78, 001–121 Turkey (1950), Memorandum to Mr. Jack Ohly, Department of State from W. F. Finan, March 24, 1950.
38. "Jeep Symbolizes Difficulties of Mechanizing Turkish Army," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, December 10, 1951.
39. Tütengil, *İçtimai ve İktisadi Bakımdan*, 119.
40. Azcanlı, *Türk Otomotiv Sanayinin Tarihsel*, 78.
41. See Kayaoğlu, "Strategic Imperatives, Democratic Rhetoric," 321–45.
42. See BCA 490.01.1606.560.1.
43. Rubner, *The Economy of Israel*, 273.
44. "Strange Friendship," *Time*, January 10, 1955.
45. *Kaiser-Frazer İsrail Otomobil Fabrikaları*, 3–4.
46. Streater, *Monsieur Bernar Nahum*, 141.
47. Foster, *The Story of Jeep*, 7–33.
48. Çetiner, *Otomotiv Sanayii Nasıl Kuruldu*, 144.
49. "Auto Plant for Turkey," *New York Times*, April 23, 1955.
50. BCA, 142.22.3 March 10, 1956.
51. BCA, 139.31.10. April 5, 1955.
52. NARA NND984094, RG330/64A-3501/105, Turkey 0001.091.3 1962.
53. "Willys Affiliate Starts Jeep Production in Turkey," *Wall Street Journal*, May 18, 1956.
54. Çetiner, *Otomotiv Sanayii Nasıl Kuruldu*, 146.
55. Önal, *Cumhuriyetle Yaşat bir Yaşam*, 111–2.

56. BCA 6.31.7 August 2, 1956.
57. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Term 11, Vol. 1, Session 1, (February 9, 1957): 129.
58. NARA NND984094, RG330/64A-3501/105, Turkey 0001.091.3, (1962).
59. BCA 88.553.2. July 27, 1957.
60. NARA NND984094, RG330/64A-3501/105, Turkey 0001.091.3, (1962).
61. BCA 151.75.19. February 17, 1959.
62. BCA 155.2.1. June 11, 1960.
63. BCA 166.45.11. September 27, 1962.
64. BCA 1702.45.14. These numbers do not include Jeeps ordered by the Turkish military for services/ units not eligible for MAP equipment.
65. NARA NND984094, RG330/64A-3501/105, Turkey 0001.091.3, (1962).
66. NARA NND984094, RG330/64A-3501/105, Turkey 0001.091.3, (1962). Memorandum for Mr. William Bundy, May 24, 1962.
67. BCA 20.113.9. April 15, 1956.
68. See BCA 85.537.11, *Motorl Nakil Vasıtalarını Gsterir Cetveldir* (1958).
69. Oğuz, *Yaşadıklarım Dinlediklerim*. 454.
70. BCA 83.534.6. 17 October 1957; *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Term 11, Vol. 11, Session 3, (February 16, 1960): 951.
71. "Nakil Vasıtalarının Alım ve Satım Şekli Değıştiriliyor," *Milliyet*, September 26, 1958.
72. *Ordu Hizmetinde Türk Jeep'i*.
73. Interview with Faruk Canbolat, August 16, 2011.
74. BCA, 120.113.9. This file contains invitation and company brochure sent to Prime Minister Menderes for the opening ceremony.
75. "... ve Şimdi de Yerli Jeep," *Milliyet*, November 6, 1961.
76. Muter, *Montajcılıktan Otomotiv Sanayiine Geçiş*, 11.
77. Duruiz and Yentrk, *Facing the Challenge*, 99.
78. Interview with Faruk Canbolat, August 16, 2011.
79. Çetiner, *Otomotiv Sanayii Nasıl Kuruldu*, 145.
80. *Ordu Hizmetinde Türk Jeep'i*.
81. Ceyhun ve lçen, *Trkiye Otomotiv Sanayi*, 223.
82. BCA. 215.8.9 September 13, 1967 and BCA. 215.7.5. January 27, 1968.
83. See, for instance, *Trkiye Milli Harp Sanayii Semineri*, 209–16.
84. See also NARA NND989094, RG330/64A-3501/105, Turkey 0001.091.3, (1962) (emphasis mine).
85. BCA 171.36.9 July 4, 1963.
86. BCA 214.66.6 November 27, 1971.
87. Azcanlı, *Trk Otomotiv Sanayinin Tarihsel*, 272.
88. Oğuz, *Yaşadıklarım Dinlediklerim*, 454.
89. BCA 268.48.2. July 2, 1971.
90. Interview with Faruk Canbolat, August 16, 2011.
91. Interview with Hasan Tahsin nalp, December 7, 2011.
92. *Trkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi*, 500.
93. BCA. 273.83.8. Faruk Canbolat claims that the plant's value was assessed as being much higher than the price paid by the Ministry of Defense. Interview with Faruk Canbolat, August 16, 2011.
94. Ceyhun ve lçen, *Trkiye Otomotiv Sanayi*, 9.
95. *Establishment and Development of Automotive Industries*, 17.
96. *Ibid.*, 58.
97. "Dış Bağımsız Savunma Sanayi," *Milliyet*, October 11, 1975.
98. Telephone interview with Haluk Sabahattin Ergnenç, October 28, 2011.
99. Interview with Faruk Canbolat, August 16, 2011.
100. Haksever, "Trkiye'de Otomotiv Endstrisi," 122.
101. *Trk Savunma Sanayii rnleri*, 267.
102. Interview with Faruk Canbolat, August 16, 2011.

103. Tahralı, “Askeri Fabrikalar.”
 104. See *Türk Savunma Sanayii Ürünleri*, 26–7
 105. Telephone interview with Necati Tahralı, August 10, 2011.
 106. See Mustafa Gürlek, “Yerli Askeri Cip Üretimi Durdu, İthalat Başladı,” *Aksiyon*, 988, November 11–17, 2013.

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