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REFRAMING ANTI-COMMUNIST NARRATIVES THROUGH TRANSLATION: THE CASE OF *THE GREAT GLOBE ITSELF* (1946) AND *ASIL BÜYÜK DÜNYA* (1947)*

ANTİKOMÜNİST ANLATILARIN ÇEVİRİ YOLUYLA YENİDEN ÇERÇEVELENMESİ: *THE GREAT GLOBE ITSELF* (1946) VE *ASIL BÜYÜK DÜNYA* (1947) ÖRNEĞİ*

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ABSTRACT

Translation is considered a strategic site where political and ideological narratives are negotiated, questioned and reconstructed. Particularly in contexts of ideological polarization, translated texts often serve as vehicles for legitimizing specific movements or marginalizing opposing ones. Over the last few decades, it has become clear that translation is not an impartial or objective act; rather it inevitably involves intervention and manipulation, deeply influenced by the ideology of agents such as translators and publishers. Within this framework, the present study identifies Nebioğlu Publishing House as a prominent institutional agent that systematically produced translations to reinforce the anti-communist ideology that became hegemonic during the Cold War. To illustrate the mechanisms of this ideological mediation, the article offers a comparative case study of William C. Bullitt's *The Great Globe Itself* (1946) and its Turkish translation *Asıl Büyük Dünya* (1947). The analysis employs the methodological tools of textual reframing pertaining to Mona Baker's narrative theory (2006) and Gérard Genette's paratextual analysis (1997). Moreover, by comparing the source and target texts, the study discusses how the publisher and translator actively intervened to reframe the source narratives. Ultimately, the findings highlight that translations are not merely products of linguistic transfer, but also potent instruments of ideological positioning; both publishers and translators act as active agents who rewrite the source text through specific ideological filters.

Keywords: *translation and ideology, narrative theory, reframing, anti-communism, agent of translation, Nebioğlu Publishing House*

ÖZ

Çeviri; siyasi ve ideolojik içerikli anlatıların müzakere edildiği, sorgulandığı ve yeniden inşa edildiği stratejik bir alandır. Özellikle ideolojik kutuplaşma durumlarında, çeviri metinler sıklıkla belirli akımları meşrulaştırmanın ya da karşıt görüşleri ötekileştirmenin bir aracı olarak işlev görür. Son otuz kırk yılda yapılan çalışmalarla çevirinin nesnel ya da tarafsız bir edim olmadığı, aksine çevirmen ve yayıncı gibi eyleyicilerin ideolojisinden derinden etkilenen ve kaçınılmaz olarak müdahale ve manipülasyon içeren bir süreç olduğu açıkça ortaya konmuştur. Bu tartışma etrafında şekillenen bu çalışma, Türkiye bağlamında Nebioğlu Yayınevi'ni, Soğuk Savaş'la hegemonik hale gelen antikomünist ideolojiyi desteklemek amacıyla sistematik olarak çeviri eserler üretmede önde gelen bir kurumsal eyleyici olarak tanımlamaktadır. Yayınevinin ideolojik aracılığının işleyişini göstermek amacıyla makale, William C. Bullitt'in *The Great Globe Itself* (1946) isimli eseri ve Türkçe çevirisi *Asıl Büyük Dünya* (1947) üzerine karşılaştırmalı bir vaka analizi sunmaktadır. Analizde, Mona Baker'ın anlatı kuramına (2006) ilişkin yeniden çerçeveleme stratejileri ve Gérard Genette'in öne sürdüğü yan metinsel unsurlardan (1997) faydalanılmıştır. Ayrıca kaynak ve erek metinlerin karşılaştırılması yoluyla yayıncı ve çevirmenin kaynak metindeki anlatıları yeniden çerçevelemek adına ne tür müdahalelerde bulunduğu tartışılmıştır. Nihayetinde bu bulgular çevirinin yalnızca dilsel bir aktarım süreci olmadığını, aynı zamanda ideolojik konumlanışın güçlü birer aracı olarak işlev gördüğünü; yayıncıların ve çevirmenlerinse etkin eyleyiciler olarak kaynak metinleri belirli ideolojik filtrelerden geçirerek yeniden yazdığı vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: *çeviri ve ideoloji, anlatı kuramı, yeniden çerçeveleme, antikomünizm, çeviri eyleyicisi, Soğuk Savaş, Nebioğlu Yayınevi*

INTRODUCTION

Individuals and societies do not interpret events, facts, or experiences in a vacuum; they rely on common frameworks that shape how meaning is constructed and communicated instead. Narratives are crucial in shaping perceptions of social and political realities, especially in contexts of ideological struggle, by framing meaning with recognizable patterns. Translation, far from being neutral, actively mediates these narratives across cultures and plays a key role in transferring, reinforcing, challenging, or even reshaping them. In this regard, Ian Mason (2010) defines ideology as "the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts and other aspects of experience" (p. 86). Mona Baker (2006) similarly describes narratives as the "public and personal 'stories' that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour" (p. 19). Taken together, these perspectives suggest that ideologies often manifest in narrative form, while narratives provide the medium through which ideologies are produced and circulated. Translation, therefore, emerges as a crucial site where ideologies and narratives intersect, influencing how meaning travels across borders.

These perspectives become particularly evident when translation is examined within the fertile context of the Cold War (1947-1991), a period marked by intense competition between opposing global ideologies. In the post-war era, a bipolar world order was established, shaped by two superpowers: the Soviet Union and the United States. The ensuing conflict between the communist and capitalist blocs, led by these two superpowers, became the dominant paradigm shaping global politics, economics, society, and culture for nearly fifty years (Daigle & Kalinovsky, 2024, p. xvii). Rather than engaging in direct military combat, the superpowers channeled their rivalry into armed proxy wars across the globe, alongside a fierce psychological and ideological battle for hearts and minds — a phenomenon extensively conceptualized as the "cultural Cold War" (Saunders, 1999; Hixson, 1997; Cull, 2008; Iber, 2015).

In this context, for the capitalist bloc, anti-communism served as the primary instrument for building ideological hegemony and waging a struggle for influence (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 228). Generally defined as a hostility directed toward both the ideological foundations of communism and the concrete political structures that embody it (Fayet, 2014, p. 8), anti-communism emerged as a mostly conservative backlash against the global spread of socialist movements, particularly following the 1917 October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union in 1922, and escalated significantly with the onset of the Cold War (Miliband & Liebman, 1984, p. 1).

In Turkey, hostility toward communism, tracing its roots back to the Ottoman era (see Kocabaşoğlu & Berge, 1994), transformed into a systematic and organized movement in the second half of the 1940s (Örnek, 2015, pp. 63-64). Initially spearheaded by Pan-Turkist nationalist factions driven by deeply rooted anti-Russian and anti-Soviet sentiments, anti-communism was rapidly institutionalized as official state policy with the onset of the Cold War (Şimşek, 2021, p. 49). This state-sponsored hostility gathered momentum in the late 1940s under the Republican People's Party (CHP), manifesting in critical events such as the raid on the Tan printing house and the purge of left-wing academics from the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography (DTCF) —events that effectively functioned as the domestic reflections of the global "Red Scare" and a prelude to a Turkish brand of McCarthyism (Mumcu, 1993, pp. 93-98). This trend was systematically intensified by subsequent right-wing ruling parties, such as the Democrat Party (DP), and by most of the military coup governments from the 1950s through the late 1980s (Cop, 2020, p. 71).

The foundations of this decades-long political trajectory relied on the systematic eradication of left-wing opposition on the domestic front, a move inextricably linked to Turkey's alignment with the West. Consequently, the boundaries of the so-called democratization associated with the transition to a multi-party system strictly excluded leftist ideologies. Newly established socialist parties, namely the Socialist Party of Turkey and the Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party, were swiftly shut down. Prominent figures such as Şefik Hüsnü were imprisoned, and affiliated media outlets, including

periodicals like *Sendika* [Trade Union], *Dost* [Friend], and *Gün* [Day], were entirely closed (see Yeşil, 1998; Danacı, 2002). This political suppression was further institutionalized following the 1946 communist arrests; furthermore, the enactment of Law No. 5018 in 1947 severely stifled the labor movement by stripping trade unions of the right to strike and prohibiting their political engagement (Uslu, 2015, p. 366). Naturally, this heavy-handed state intervention deeply impacted the publishing industry, subjecting it to severe censorship and bureaucratic red tape. Following 1948, there was a drastic surge in the censorship of printed materials accused of spreading communist propaganda. Strikingly, the volume of books banned on these grounds in 1949 alone exceeded the combined total of all such bans issued between 1930 and 1948 (Güner, 2015, pp. 178-182).

This wave of political and cultural suppression of the left directly mirrored Turkey's rapid integration into the American sphere of influence. As the country gradually aligned itself with the Western capitalist bloc, it actively adopted particularly U.S.-driven anti-communist narratives alongside locally rooted ones. While recent scholarship from the fields of history, political science and international relations, and sociology has witnessed a surge in studies regarding anti-communism and the impact of the Cold War in Turkey (e.g., Örnek, 2010; Meşe, 2013; Şimşek, 2018; Aydınlı, 2021), the subject has not yet been comprehensively examined within the framework of translation studies, with the exception of recent preliminary works by Fatma Balta and Müge Işıklar Koçak (2023, 2024). Yet, considering that the global dissemination of anti-communism relied heavily on the cross-border transfer of books, newspapers, magazines, and films, translation served as an indispensable tool of this ideological warfare (e.g., Bo, 2018; Arrabai, 2019; Haddadian-Moghaddam & Scott-Smith, 2020). Mirroring this global dynamic, individual and institutional agents in Turkey (including writers, translators, and publishing houses) played a crucial role in importing and translating anti-communist books. By producing and circulating these ideological texts, they disseminated these narratives nationwide, instrumentalizing both domestic and translated works in the service of a shared anti-communist agenda. Within the broader scope of the ongoing doctoral research that examines the impact of translation on the spread of anti-communism in Turkey and forms the basis of this article, a corpus of around 400 indigenous and translated books has been compiled to date using library catalogues, bibliographies, and online second-hand bookstores. Although the corpus reveals a wide array of state or semi-official (e.g., Türkiye Ticaret Odaları, Sanayi Odaları ve Ticaret Borsaları Birliği Yayınları; Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları; Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Yayınları), and private publishers (e.g., Türkiye Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği Yayınları; Göktürk Yayınları; Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yayınlar), Nebioğlu Publishing House distinguishes itself as the most prolific publisher of translated anti-communist works. Indeed, as Cangül Örnek (2013) reveals, the U.S. Embassy actively subsidized this ideological translation effort by providing crucial material and financial support, such as paper supplies and purchase guarantees, to strategic local publishers, most notably Nebioğlu Publishing House (pp. 137-138). Its extensive catalogue thus deeply reflects the ideological tensions and alignments, as well as the direct American influence, that shaped the cultural and political climate of the era.

The present article focuses on a book by Nebioğlu Publishing House, namely *Asıl Büyük Dünya* (1947), the translation of *The Great Globe Itself* (1946), and analyzes it through the lenses of narrative theory (Baker, 2006), paratextual analysis (Genette, 1997), and textual reframing (Baker, 2006). Drawing on Margaret R. Somers and Gloria D. Gibson's (2005) assertion that "everything we know is the result of numerous crosscutting story-lines in which social actors locate themselves" (p. 41), Baker (2006) defines narratives as "public and personal 'stories' that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour" (p. 19). Conceptualizing narrative not merely as "an optional mode of communication but as the principal and inescapable mode by which we experience the world" (Baker, 2005, p. 5), she categorizes narratives into four types: ontological (personal stories), public (collective stories circulated by institutional formations), conceptual (disciplinary explanations), and meta-narratives (geographically broad, historically embedded public narratives) (Baker, 2006, pp. 28-44). For the scope of this study, public narratives and meta-narratives are of particular significance as they provide the theoretical basis for analyzing the overarching ideological divide of the Cold War and the institutional narrative of

Nebioğlu Publishing House. Within these broader narratives, translators and publishers utilize framing strategies encompassing "temporal and spatial framing, framing through selective appropriation, framing by labelling, and repositioning of participants" (Baker, 2006, p. 112). According to Baker (2006), framing is "an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality" (p. 106). This conceptualization underscores the non-neutral nature of translation (Álvarez & Vidal, 1996; Tymoczko & Gentzler, 2002; Tymoczko, 2003; Nord, 2003) and foregrounds how agents of translation (Toury, 2002; Milton & Bandia, 2009) actively frame and reframe narratives. Indeed, in translation studies, agents are conceptualized not merely as linguistic intermediaries, but as pivotal actors, ranging from individual translators to institutional publishers, who actively drive significant historical, cultural, and political transitions (Milton & Bandia, 2009, pp. 1-2).

As part of the methodological framework, this study employs Gérard Genette's concept of the "paratext" alongside textual analysis. Genette (1997) defines the paratext as "what enables a text to become a book and, to be offered as such to its readers and more generally, to the public" (p. 1). Paratextual elements are divided into two main categories: peritexts and epitexts. Peritexts are elements situated within the physical form of the book, such as titles, covers, blurbs, prefaces, and footnotes. Conversely, epitexts are elements located outside the book, including letters, diaries, interviews, reviews, and criticisms (Genette, 1997, p. 5). Although Genette largely overlooked the phenomenon of translation, scholars in translation studies have widely appropriated his concept to explore how translated works are packaged and presented to the target reader (e.g., Kovala, 1996; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002; Batchelor, 2018). Functioning as a threshold between the translated text and its new audience, paratexts play a crucial role in shaping their reception within the target culture.

By comparing the source and target texts, this study asks how the Turkish translation of *The Great Globe Itself* reframed Cold War narratives for a Turkish readership and what this reveals about the ideological function of translation in early Cold War Turkey. It argues that the publisher and translator systematically intervened to reinforce anti-communist narratives in line with the hegemonic ideology of the period in Turkey.[1] Thus, the article contributes to broader debates on the ideological function of translation, highlighting that translated texts operate not only as linguistic products but also as instruments of political and ideological positioning. Moreover, the study positions translators not as impartial transmitters of meaning but as active rewriters who "adapt, manipulate the originals they work with" (Lefevere, 1992, p. 8) and whose interventions reframe ideological narratives.

1. Nebioğlu Publishing House as an Agent of Anti-Communist Narrative Production

Nebioğlu Publishing House was established in 1943 by Osman Nebioğlu (1912–1988)[2], a prominent writer, academic, translator, and publisher from a wealthy background with extensive scholarly training, including an undergraduate degree from Istanbul University, a master's degree from Humboldt University in Berlin, and a Ph.D. from the University of Göttingen. Fluent in English, German, and Arabic (Nebioğlu, 1962, p. 451), Nebioğlu was an influential figure in the publishing sector, participating in the establishment of Türk Editörler Derneği [Turkish Editors' Association], and serving on the administrative board of the Gazeteciler Cemiyeti [Journalists' Association] (Kaynardağ, 1987, p. 2828).[3] From its foundation, the publishing house presented itself as a modern Western-style

[1] In *"Komünistin Eşgali": Türkiye'de Antikomünizm (1945-1971)* ["The Profile of the Communist": Anti-Communism in Turkey (1945-1971)], Abdulazim Şimşek states that after 1945 anti-communism was institutionalized as official state policy (2021, p. 26). In the same vein, in *Antikomünist Şebeke: Örgütler, Kişiler, Yayınlar (1946-1980)* [The Anti-Communist Network: Organizations, Individuals, Publications], Fatih Yaşlı traces the origins of the anti-communist consensus among the ruling class specifically to the onset of the Cold War, arguing that it emerged not merely as a foreign policy alignment with the Western bloc and its capitalist system, but as a domestic strategy for dismantling the early Republican paradigm (2024, pp. 10-12).

[2] In his writings and translations, he also used the pen name Osman Nebi.

[3] Additionally, he was one of the first board members of Turkish Airlines. He was among the founding members of the Lions Club, which began its activities in Turkey for the first time in 1963. Nebioğlu also established the İstanbul İktisadi ve Ticari

publishing enterprise. In an interview published in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* on July 6, 1972, Osman Nebioğlu (1972) described Nebioğlu Publishing House as "the first Turkish institution established as a publishing company in the Western sense" (p. 6).[4] Citing the difference between booksellers and publishers as the reason for this, Nebioğlu (1972) enunciated that "A bookseller is a salesman, while a publisher is a book creator" (p. 6).[5] In the same interview, he stated that "the role of the publisher is to anticipate the public's tendencies and needs and prepare spiritual nourishment for them," (1972, p. 6)[6] and that the publisher has a great responsibility to the public. The publishing house received considerable praise from authors and critics of the period for introducing innovative works and improving publishing standards in Turkey, both in content and form.[7] Nebioğlu Publishing House, perhaps thanks to the resources provided by the Nebioğlu Printing House, published various periodicals in addition to books and encyclopedias. Its most popular and long-running publication was *Bütün Dünya* [Whole World] (1948-1977; 1982-1984). Inspired by the American *Reader's Digest*, the magazine featured translated articles drawn from globally circulated popular magazines. Through its translation-driven content, *Bütün Dünya* played an important role in disseminating American culture and lifestyle in Turkey (Örnek, 2015, pp. 97-98).

It is more appropriate to examine the ideological stance of *Bütün Dünya* within the socio-political context of its time, particularly its alignment with the ruling Democrat Party of the 1950s and its capitalist policies. In this context, it is known that prior to extending economic aid to Turkey under the Marshall Plan, which also had anti-communist motives, U.S. President Harry Truman sent Max Weston Thornburg to Ankara to conduct an economic assessment. His report, later published in book form as *Turkey: An Economic Appraisal* (1949), was translated into Turkish as *Türkiye Nasıl Yükselir* (1950) by Nebioğlu Publishing House, with direct subsidies from the U.S. diplomatic mission's translation program (Örnek, 2013, p. 152). The report, which criticized Turkey's industrialization program and the USSR's support in this area, encouraged a shift away from state-led economic policies toward private enterprise. In his report, Thornburg (1949) made the following assessments of publishing in Turkey:

> "The Turkish people have great need for the type of education which sound advertising provides. It is in the minds of the people that the desire for better living must begin. A great service would be rendered if appropriately selected American books and magazines were made more available. American popular literature reflects, and in some measure produces, the alert and facile adoption of new information and ideas which is a national characteristic. Not all the ideas thus disseminated are worthy of cultivation, even in America, but in a healthy community the good crowds out the bad. Such publications would find a wide reading in all the Turkish cities and most of the larger towns, where English is spoken by many and is being studied by an increasing number in the schools. Many Turkish publications would pick up much from such American sources if the material were made available to them. The newsstands and bookstores are active in Turkey."[8] (pp. 250-251)

Bilimler Yüksek Okulu [Istanbul Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences], where he served as a lecturer. In 1987, he was honored with the Burhan Felek Basın Hizmet Ödülü [Burhan Felek Press Service Award].

[4] "Batı anlamında bir yayın işletmesi olarak kurulan ilk Türk müessesesi." (All English translations are ours unless otherwise indicated.)

[5] "Kitapçı bir satıcıdır, yayıncı ise kitap yaratıcısıdır."

[6] "Yayıncının rolü, halkın eğilimlerini ve ihtiyaçlarını sezerek ona manevi gıdasını hazırlamaktır."

[7] For more information see İşli (2019, p. 12).

[8] "Türk halkı esaslı ilancılığın temin ettiği cinsten eğitime son derece muhtaçtır. Daha müsait bir hayatın başlaması arzusu halkın kafasındadır. Dikkatle seçilmiş Amerikan kitap ve mecmuaları istifadeye daha iyi arzedilseydi büyük bir hizmette bulunulmuş olurdu. Amerikan popüler edebiyatı milli bir vasıfları olan yeni mamulat ve fikirlerin süratle ve kolayca kabul ve tatbikini aksettirmekte, ve bir dereceye kadar yaratmaktadır. Bu suretle yayılan bütün fikirler, Amerika'da bile, tatbik edilebilecek değerde değildir, fakat sıhhatli bir topluluk içinde iyi kötüyü bastırır. Bu gibi neşriyat, İngilizceyi konuşan pekçok

As Thornburg's statements suggest, the import and translation of American books and magazines anticipated the Americanization of publishing in Turkey. It can be argued that Nebioğlu Publishing House's publishing policy was shaped along similar lines, and it followed these recommendations by publishing *Bütün Dünya* in addition to translated books in various fields. This publishing policy was not unique to *Bütün Dünya*, though. In his book *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür* [Popular Culture in Turkey], Ahmet Oktay (1993) describes the popular magazines published between 1950 and 1970 as undertaking "the task of meeting the externally dependent ideological expansions and demands of the Turkish bourgeoisie" (p. 79). However, according to Oktay, the bourgeoisie was not the sole target audience; the working class was also encouraged to embrace the lifestyle of the ruling class and to be integrated into the dominant ideology by being pacified with the illusion of social advancement. Furthermore, the most prevalent ideological characteristic of popular magazines, including *Bütün Dünya*, published during the height of the Cold War, was their inclusion of anti-communist and anti-Soviet articles. Oktay (1993) makes this characterization because such translations are made from Western sources that openly adopted the Cold War ideology, ignoring narrative distortions and emphasizing the superiority of the capitalist system at every opportunity (pp. 79-85).

Osman Nebioğlu's ties to the U.S. extend beyond ideological affinity, as demonstrated by newspaper reports from the 1950s. According to a report in the newspaper *Milliyet* dated April 17, 1954, he travelled to the United States at the invitation of the American government, delivered lectures on Turkey, showed promotional films and responded to questions on political, economic, and agricultural matters. He was invited to the University of Florida, where he gave a speech and screened a color film about Turkey (1954, p. 3). Osman Nebioğlu demonstrated his stance against communism not only through the translated books he published but also in his own writings. In *Kölelik ve Hürriyet* [Slavery and Freedom], he contended that "the communists […] have completely turned the individual into a slave" (1959, p. 167).[9] In an article co-written with Zahit İmre, titled "Atatürk ve Batılılaşma" [Atatürk and Westernization], Nebioğlu (1956) argued that "[communism] has not been successful in the countries that implemented it; it has not brought happiness to the people there" (1981, p. 36).[10] Additionally, Nebioğlu provided financial aid to *Milliyet*'s 1956 campaign to support the Hungarians who were revolting against the Soviet-backed government (p. 1). Over the course of more than forty years, between 1943 and 1987, Nebioğlu Publishing House published more than one thousand books, journals, encyclopedias, and calendars (İşli, 2019, p. 12). As part of the Ph.D. research currently in progress, a list of 247 books released by Nebioğlu was compiled, revealing that the publishing house produced works across a wide range of genres. This repertoire includes popular fiction such as detective and romance novels, nonfiction works on topics ranging from first aid to sexuality, astrology and rhetoric, as well as poetry anthologies, children's books, religious works on the Quran, and thematic encyclopedias.[11]

A closer examination of the list reveals that Nebioğlu Publishing House published a substantial number of translations (nineteen identified to date) about the United States, all translated from English, addressing themes such as American democracy, industry, capitalism, and the lives of American presidents. Works such as *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* (1952), *Story of the Presidents of the United States of America* (1953), and *Miracle in Motion: The Story of America's Industry* (1955) can exemplify the publishing house's pro-American, anti-communist ideological stance. As Atakan Yılmaz (2021) also notes in his research, Nebioğlu Publishing House played a significant role in familiarizing Turkish readers with the United States and its culture during the 1940s and 1950s (p. 15). In addition to political non-fiction works written from an explicitly American perspective, the publisher also released five Cold War novels including *World Aflame: The Russian American War Of*

kimsenin bulunduğu ve okullarda İngilizcenin hergün daha fazla öğrenildiği bütün Türk şehirlerinde geniş bir okuyucu kütlesi bulacaktır. Bu nevi şeyler istifadesine arzedildiği takdirde birçok Türk mecmuası Amerikan kaynaklarından büyük istifadeler göreceklerdir" (Thornburg, 1950, pp. 224-225; original spelling retained).

[9] "Komünistler […] ferdi büsbütün köle şekline soktular."

[10] "[K]omünizm, bunu uygulayan ülkelerde başarılı olmamıştır, oradaki insanları mutluluğa eriştirememiştir."

[11] A complete catalogue will be included in the first author's forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation.

1950 (1947), and *Hold Back the Night* (1951). Considering that these works were published during a period of Turkey's increasing alignment with the West, and given that the country's accession to NATO in 1952 constituted a significant turning point, it can be argued that the publishing house's choices were not coincidental but rather shaped by ideological considerations.

Within the broad corpus of books published by Nebioğlu Publishing House, sixteen non-fiction anti-communist works have been identified, including fourteen translations and two indigenous publications (marked with an asterisk). Below you see the list of these books:

YEARS OF ST & TT	TT TITLE	ST TITLE	AUTHOR	TRANSLATOR	PAGES OF ST & TT
1946/1947	*Asıl Büyük Dünya*	*The Great Globe Itself*	William C. Bullitt	Halit Çakır	310/190
1947/1947	*Rus-Amerikan Dünya Mücadelesi*	*The Struggle for the World*	James Burnham	Mustafa Yıldırımalp	248/135
1949/1949	*Mağlup Olan İlah*	*The God That Failed*	Richard Crossman		273/79
1950	*Kızıl Rusya'da Bir Türk Kadını**		Recai Sanay		236
1951/1951	*Moskova'da Üç Yıl*	*My Three Years in Moscow*	Bedell Smith	Vahdet Gültekin	346/228
1955/1955	*Demir Perdeden Hürriyete*	*Leap Through the Curtain*	George Mikes		223/112
1957/?	*Andau Köprüsü: Macar Kahramanlık Destanı*	*The Bridge at Andau*	James A. Michener		288/96
1957/?	*Sovyet Rusya Çin'de: Yetmiş Yıllık Bir Ömrün Hikayesi*	*Soviet Russia in China: a Summing Up at Seventy*	Chiang Chung-Cheng (Çan Kay-Şek)	Muhaddere N. Özerdim	392/376
1958/1960	*Dünya Gençliği ve Büyük Tehlike*	*World Youth and the Communists*	Nils M. Apeland	Ayten Dinçer	77/63
1960/1960	*Aklıselim Karşısında Rusya*	*Common Sense about Russia*	Robert Conquest		175/144
1960/1960	*Gelişme Nazariyesi: Gayri-Komünist Manifesto*	*The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*	W. W. Rostow		179/69
1973	*Orta Doğu ve Komünizm: Bugünkü Orta Doğunun Önemli Sorunları**		İsmet Giritli		160
1973/1974	*Gulag Takımadaları* (in 3	*The Gulag Archipelago* (in 3 volumes)	Aleksander Soljenitsın	Selim Taygan	660-720-576/552-598-534

	volumes)[12]				
1974/1974	*Saharov'un İsyanları*	*Sakharov Speaks*	Andrey D. Saharov	İvi Özerel	245/295
1974/1974	*KGB: Sovyet Gizli Casusluk Teşkilatının İç Yüzü*	*KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*	John Barron	Celal Bayrak	624/448
1974/1974	*Sovyet Liderlerine Açık Mektup ve Yalanla Yaşamayın*	*Letter to the Soviet Leaders* + *Live not by Lies*	Aleksander Soljenitsın	İsmet Giritli	64+4/75

Table 1: Indigenous and Translated Non-Fiction Anti-Communist Books by Nebioğlu Publishing House

The figure below presents the distribution of the books listed above by their year of publication between 1947 and 1974. As the graph clearly shows, Nebioğlu began publishing anti-communist publications in the 1940s, the decade of its establishment, with output peaking in the 1960s and 1970s. This pattern suggests that the publishing house's repertoire was shaped largely by the broader ideological climate of the period rather than by autonomous editorial preferences.

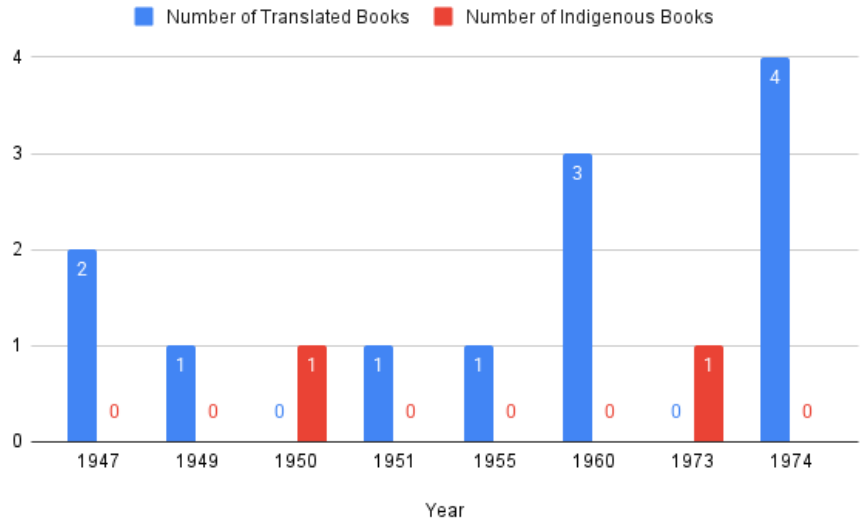


Figure 1: Distribution of Indigenous and Translated Non-Fiction Anti-Communist Books by Nebioğlu Publishing House by Year

Note: The two books with unknown publication dates are excluded from the graph.

More specifically, the translated book selected for analysis here, namely *Asıl Büyük Dünya*, was published in 1947, the year generally regarded as the official beginning[13] of the Cold War as well as the year of the Truman Doctrine's proclamation. This historical coincidence is significant, as 1947 also signaled the beginning of direct American influence in Turkey through economic and military aid. Through the Truman Doctrine and the subsequent Marshall Plan, the United States utilized conditional financial support to establish its hegemony (*Pax Americana*), thereby catalyzing a profound socio-political and economic mindset shift within Turkey (Oran, 2009, pp. 485-486). In this context,

[12] Although released in three volumes, this book has been counted as one book in the present research.

[13] Although the ideological groundwork for the Cold War was laid in George F. Kennan's "Long Telegram" and Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech in 1946, ultimately culminating in the 1947 Truman Doctrine (McMahon, 2003, pp. 16, 26), Örnek (2015, p. 30) notes that the Cold War in Turkey started earlier and ended later than in the West.

Nebioğlu's decision to publish such a work can be interpreted as an ideological alignment with the rising pro-American and anti-communist narratives of the period.

Implementing this ideological agenda, however, required the intellectual labor of reliable cultural mediators, i.e. translators. The interconnected nature of this U.S.-backed publishing network is perhaps best personified by the book's translator, Halit Çakır. Demonstrating the extensive reach of such cultural diplomacy, Çakır operated across key institutional nodes, translating American works for both the private Nebioğlu Publishing House and the state-run Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı [Ministry of Education] (MEB), which are among the institutions that collaborated closely within the broader framework of the U.S.-sponsored Franklin Book Programs[14] whose overarching goal was to counter Soviet influence with anti-communist and pro-American translations (see Robbins, 2007; Laugesen, 2017; Khalifa & Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2025). Although MEB generally refrained from adopting overtly aggressive anti-communist narratives, it actively participated in shaping the anti-communist cultural landscape through strategic translation policies. A striking manifestation of this ideological alignment is MEB's publication of prominent anti-communist literary works, including George Orwell's *Animal Farm* [Hayvan Çiftliği][15] and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* [Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört], as well as Igor Gouzenko's *The Fall of a Titan* [Bir Devin Düşüşü]. In Turkey, the U.S. Embassy and Franklin Book Programs closely collaborated with MEB to integrate such literary titles into the state's official cultural channels, a strategic partnership that notably extended to the translation, publication, and nationwide distribution of educational materials and textbooks (Franklin Book Programs, 1954-1961). Facilitated by this direct American sponsorship and collaboration, as Örnek (2013, p. 137) highlights, the translation of these works enabled MEB to embed American anti-communist meta-narratives deeply within the national education system, reaching even the most isolated Anatolian schools. Nebioğlu Publishing House, on the other hand, collaborated with the U.S. cultural diplomacy initiatives as evidenced by archival records, for instance, Nebioğlu's Turkish translation of James B. Conant's *Science and Common Sense* [İlmin İlerleyişi ve Sağduyu] (1951) is officially catalogued within the Library of Congress under the Franklin Book Program Collection.

Beyond his strategic role within this translational network, Çakır was a prominent contributor to *Yücel* [Exalt], a journal founded in 1935 with the aim of enlightening the youth and cultivating a Turkish humanist movement (Açıkgöz, 2021, p. 31), as well as its successor, *Yeni Ufuklar* [New Horizons]. In the latter journal, during the 1950s, he translated works by prominent American literary figures such as T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and E. E. Cummings, examined their poetic styles, and penned or translated essays on theater, Tennessee Williams, and Francis Fergusson. Furthermore, he wrote articles in both journals advocating for the *Öztürkçecilik* (Pure Turkish) movement, actively supporting linguistic purification by conceptualizing and coining new words (Gelir, 2007, p. 235). His writings on this subject sparked a published dialogue with the renowned critic, essayist, and language purist Nurullah Ataç, as the two engaged in a series of reciprocal responses (e.g., see Ataç, 2012, pp. 250-253, 315-317). According to an article in *Akis* [Reflection], Çakır, known for his deep devotion to the Turkish language and his purist ideals, also served as an expert on the State Planning Organization's commission, tasked with simplifying the language of the Five-Year Development Plan in cooperation with the

[14] In the Middle Eastern cultural sphere, the Franklin Book Programs did not operate as an isolated American entity. Rather, it was embedded within a broader U.S. network of influence, acting alongside other prominent actors such as the United States Information Agency (USIA), American universities, and the Ford Foundation. Furthermore, this regional cultural landscape was highly competitive, featuring both British and communist publishing operations simultaneously (Laugesen, 2017, p. 47).

[15] The Turkish translation of *Animal Farm*, undertaken by the renowned literary figure Halide Edip Adıvar, was first serialized in *Cumhuriyet* in 1952 and then published as a book in 1954. Globally, the translation and dissemination of Orwell's works was orchestrated by the Information Research Department (IRD), a secret unit established by the British Foreign Office to counter communism (Defty, 2004, pp. 161, 171), and the USIA translation programs (Barnhisel, 2010, p. 205). In Turkey, this effort likely involved the U.S.-based Franklin Book Programs, which covertly received Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) subsidies (Crewdson & Treaster, 1977), as Adıvar appears on a "people to contact" list circulated among its executives in the archival documents (Franklin Book Programs, 1960). Reflecting the pervasive American influence on these translation policies, MEB ironically published Orwell's British novel under its "New American Literature Series" for decades (Şahin, 2017, p. 217).

Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu-TDK). Within this commission, he worked to purge the document of foreign borrowings and to establish Turkish equivalents for commonly used English terminology (1962, p. 31). Despite his portfolio of significant literary translations, including *A Streetcar Named Desire* [Arzu Tramvayı] (1947/1965) by Tennessee Williams and essay collections by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and T. S. Eliot published by prominent state and private publishing houses that were not associated with outright anti-communist propaganda, such as Remzi, and Yapı Kredi, as well as MEB, no other anti-communist writings or translations by Çakır have been found apart from *Asıl Büyük Dünya*. His other non-literary translations include Clive Bell's *Civilization* [Uygarlık] (1928/1966), translated alongside Vedat Günyol, Mina Urgan, and others, which is a seminal work on humanism and cultural enlightenment, as well as Jozef Wilczynski's *The Economics of Socialism* [Toplumcu Ekonomi] (1970/1987), an academic analysis of socialist economies. Consequently, the isolated nature of *Asıl Büyük Dünya* in his translation oeuvre implies that Çakır was not deeply engaged with the systematic anti-communist movement, leading to the possibility that his translation for Nebioğlu Publishing House was a pragmatic or commissioned endeavour rather than a reflection of deep ideological commitment.

2. Comparative Analysis of *Asıl Büyük Dünya* in terms of Paratextual Framing

Examining how the publisher positioned the translated book through epitextual and peritextual elements, such as the series, cover visuals and blurbs, titles, prefaces, chapter headings, and footnotes, is crucial for understanding that anti-communist narratives were (re)constructed not only through content but also through form. The first aspect to be examined is the series in which the translated book was published. Book series are significant because they enable publishers to categorize, market, and present their works to readers. *Asıl Büyük Dünya* was included in "Nebioğlu Yayınevi'nin Siyasi Yayınları" [Political Publications of Nebioğlu Publishing House], which brought together the publisher's ideologically and politically charged works. Within this series, there were four non-fiction anti-communist books (*Rus-Amerikan Dünya Mücadelesi*, *Asıl Büyük Dünya*, *Kızıl Rusya'da Bir Türk Kadını*, and *Moskova'da Üç Yıl*) as well as one Cold War novel (*1950 Rus-Amerikan Harbi*). The remaining books in the series largely focused on world politics, with a particular emphasis on Turkey and the United States. Through its book selection, this series reflected a distinctly anti-communist and pro-Western stance. While portraying the Soviet Union and socialist regimes in highly critical terms, the books depicted the United States and the Western bloc in a more positive and democratic light, thereby mirroring the tense and polarized atmosphere of the Cold War.

An examination of the front cover of *Asıl Büyük Dünya* reveals that the book's subtitle, *A Preface to World Affairs*, is omitted altogether in translation, with no mention even inside the book. Instead, the phrase "Amerika'nın Eski Moskova Sefiri" ["Former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow"] appears just beneath the book's large red title and above the author's name on the front cover (see Figure 2). This paratextual choice signals a deliberate reframing, because rather than foregrounding the book as a general commentary on world politics, the publisher highlights the author's diplomatic credentials to enhance the text's authority and align it more explicitly with an anti-communist and pro-American narrative within the Turkish context of the early Cold War.

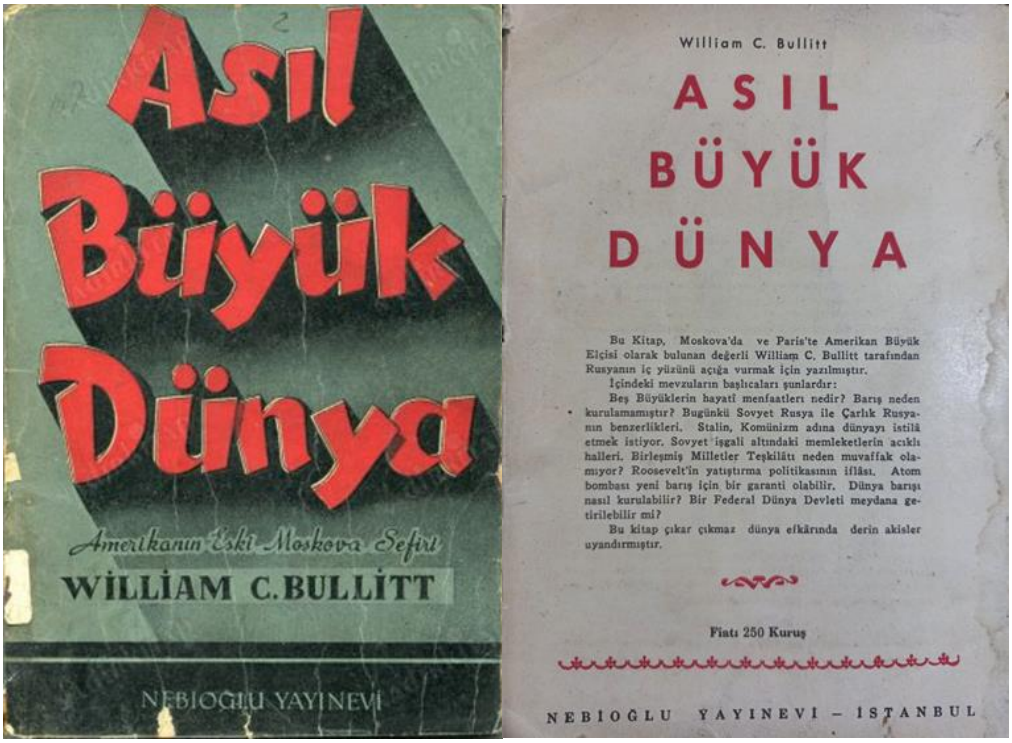


Figure 2: Front and back covers of *Asıl Büyük Dünya*

On the back cover of the book, various laudatory adjectives and phrases are utilized to attract the reader's attention and serve as a promotional function. For instance, the statement "Bu kitap çıkar çıkmaz dünya efkârında derin akisler uyandırmıştır" ["As soon as this book was published, it aroused profound reverberations in world opinion"] is prominently displayed. An analysis of the blurb on the back cover includes the phrase "Rusya'nın iç yüzünü açığa vurmak" ["to expose Russia's true nature"], asserting that there is a contrast between the country's inner workings and the façade it presents to the world. Through this phrase, readers' expectations and perceptions are shaped before they even engage with the main text as they are encouraged to interpret the narrative not as a neutral account but as an unmasking of the malevolent reality behind the façade of a deceptive and threatening "other", thereby instilling a sense of suspicion toward Soviet Russia.

The back cover provides information about the author as well, highlighting his diplomatic identity by referring to him as "Moskova'da ve Paris'te Amerikan Büyük Elçisi olarak bulunan değerli William C. Bullitt" ["the esteemed William C. Bullitt, who served as American Ambassador in Moscow and Paris"]. By contrast, the translator's name (Halit Çakır) is mentioned solely on the copyright page inside the book, reflecting a clear asymmetry between the author's and translator's visibility. In this sense, the publisher uses the peritextual elements not only as a promotional tool but also to strengthen the anti-communist narrative by associating it with the status of an American diplomat.

Nebioğlu Publishing House frequently included prefaces in its translated anti-communist books that were absent from the source texts. These additions both summarized and reflected the content of the books and framed them within a particular ideological and political outlook, encouraging readers to interpret historical events and figures from a specific perspective. Unsurprisingly, the narratives featured in Nebioğlu's prefaces are also anti-communist in nature, in line with the content of the books themselves. For instance, the preface to *Asıl Büyük Dünya* opens with this statement: "Our world stands on the eve of an invasion and domination. The goal toward which Hitler's dictatorship had been directed at the beginning of the Second World War, by the end of the war, changed masters and passed on to

Soviet Russia" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 5).[16] By drawing an explicit analogy between the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany, the preface asserts that communism, like Nazism, sought to establish global domination. Furthermore, the preface goes on to argue that the Soviet Union was no different from Tsarist Russia, characterizing both regimes as oppressive and expansionist:

> "The dark reign of tyranny that has continued since Ivan the Terrible, taking different forms through the ages, culminates in Stalin. Yet in essence, there is no difference. The same tradition of despotism and the same police-state mechanism are still before us today. Stalin aspires to conquer the world in the name of Communism." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 5)[17]

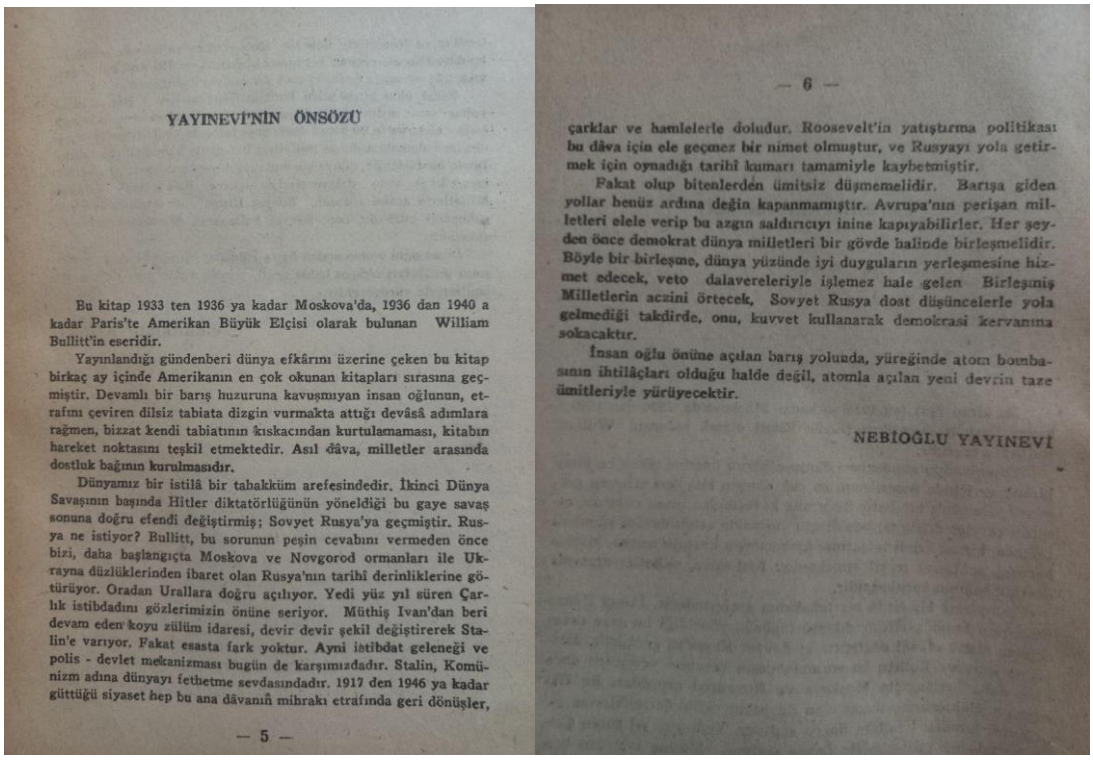
In the above passage, communism as embodied by Stalin is equated with Tsarist imperialism, suggesting that two vastly different systems, monarchy and communism, serve the same despotic mentality. This framing, therefore, reflects an essentialist and orientalist vision of Russia, rooted in the assumption that societies and cultures preserve inherent and immutable characteristics across time. It supports narratives that equate communism with slavery and imperialism, while also attributing to Russia stereotypical negative traits commonly associated with the "East" in orientalist narratives, such as opacity, deceitfulness, and mystery (Klein, 2003, p. 207). Therefore, communism in Russia is not regarded as a distinct political system but rather as a variant of Eastern-style despotic regimes.

Later in the preface, the statement, "[t]he wretched nations of Europe may unite and push this ferocious aggressor back into its lair [...] If Soviet Russia does not fall in line with friendly intentions, it will be driven into the caravan of democracy by force," (Bullitt, 1947, p. 6)[18] further reinforces the narrative of the Soviet Union as an expansionist aggressor. This statement also suggests that the idea of a worldwide communist revolution was seen as such a threat that it might justifiably be suppressed through military intervention.

[16] "Dünyamız bir istila bir tahakküm arefesindedir. İkinci Dünya Savaşının başında Hitler diktatörlüğünün yöneldiği bu gaye savaş sonuna doğru efendi değiştirmiş; Sovyet Rusya'ya geçmiştir."

[17] "Müthiş Ivan'dan beri devam eden koyu zülüm idaresi, devir devir şekil değiştirerek Stalin'e varıyor. Fakat esasta fark yoktur. Aynı istibdat geleneği ve polis-devlet mekanizması bugün de karşımızdadır. Stalin, Komünizm adına dünyayı fethetme sevdasındadır."

[18] "Avrupa'nın perişan milletleri elele verip bu azgın saldırıcıyı inine kapıyabilirler [...] Sovyet Rusya dost düşüncelerle yola gelmediği takdirde, onu, kuvvet kullanarak demokrasi kervanına sokacaktır."



YAYINEVİ'NİN ÖNSÖZÜ

Bu kitap 1933 ten 1936 ya kadar Moskova'da, 1936 dan 1940 a kadar Paris'te Amerikan Büyük Elçisi olarak bulunan William Bullitt'in eseridir.

Yayınlandığı gündenberi dünya efkârını üzerine çeken bu kitap birkaç ay içinde Amerikanın en çok okunan kitapları sırasına geçmiştir. Devamlı bir barış huzuruna kavuşmıyan insan oğlunun, etrafını çeviren dilsiz tabiata dizgin vurmakta attığı devâsâ adımlara rağmen, bizzat kendi tabiatının kıskacından kurtulamaması, kitabın hareket noktasını teşkil etmektedir. Asıl dâva, milletler arasında dostluk bağının kurulmasıdır.

Dünyamız bir istilâ bir tabakküm arefesindedir. İkinci Dünya Savaşının başında Hitler diktatörlüğünün yöneldiği bu gaye savaş sonuna doğru efendi değiştirmiş; Sovyet Rusya'ya geçmiştir. Rusya ne istiyor? Bullitt, bu sorunun peşin cevabını vermeden önce bizi, daha başlangıçta Moskova ve Novgorod ormanları ile Ukrayna düzlüklerinden ibaret olan Rusya'nın tarihî derinliklerine götürüyor. Oradan Urallara doğru açılıyor. Yedi yüz yıl süren Çarlık istibdadını gözlerimizin önüne seriyor. Müthiş Ivan'dan beri devam eden koyu zülüm idaresi, devir devir şekil değiştirerek Stalin'e varıyor. Fakat esasta fark yoktur. Ayni istibdat geleneği ve polis - devlet mekanizması bugün de karşımızdadır. Stalin, Komünizm adına dünyayı fethetme sevdasındadır. 1917 den 1946 ya kadar güttüğü siyaset hep bu ana dâvanın mihrakı etrafında geri dönüşler,

— 5 —

— 6 —

çarklar ve hamlelerle doludur. Roosevelt'in yatıştırma politikası bu dâva için ele geçmez bir nimet olmuştur, ve Rusyayı yola getirmek için oynadığı tarihî kumarı tamamiyle kaybetmiştir.

Fakat olup bitenlerden ümitsiz düşmemelidir. Barışa giden yollar henüz ardına değin kapanmamıştır. Avrupa'nın perişan milletleri elele verip bu azgın saldırıcıyı inine kapıyabilirler. Her şeyden önce demokrat dünya milletleri bir gövde halinde birleşmelidir. Böyle bir birleşme, dünya yüzünde iyi duyguların yerleşmesine hizmet edecek, veto dalavereleriyle işlemez hale gelen Birleşmiş Milletlerin açzini örtecek, Sovyet Rusya dost düşüncelerle yola gelmediği takdirde, onu, kuvvet kullanarak demokrasi kervanına sokacaktır.

İnsan oğlu önüne açılan barış yolunda, yüreğinde atom bombasının ihtilâçları olduğu halde değil, atomla açılan yeni devrin taze ümitleriyle yürüyecektir.

NEBİOĞLU YAYINEVİ

Figure 3: Nebioğlu's preface to *Asıl Büyük Dünya*

The preface concludes with a particularly striking assertion: "On the path of peace that opens before him, mankind will walk not with the tremors of the atom bomb in his heart, but with the fresh hopes of the new era ushered in by the atom" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 6).[19] Here, the atomic bomb, which was widely condemned as a symbol of destruction after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is cast in a positive light and paradoxically reimagined as a source of hope and progress. While the Soviet Union is condemned through labels such as "expansionist," "totalitarian," and "enemy of freedom," the United States, despite its use of destructive weapons such as the atomic bomb, is supported, and an effort is made to legitimize the use of nuclear weapons and military power. This contradiction reveals the conflicting ideological messages advanced by Nebioğlu Publishing House's anti-communist public narratives.

3. Comparative Analysis of *Asıl Büyük Dünya* in terms of Textual Framing

In this section, *Asıl Büyük Dünya* (1947), the Turkish translation of *The Great Globe Itself* (1946) by Halit Çakır, will be analyzed comparatively to identify deliberate ideological interventions. It is crucial to state at the outset that Nebioğlu Publishing House operated with a clear anti-communist agenda, and that the translation process undertaken by Çakır was a systematic effort to reframe the narrative in line with this ideology. Following Mona Baker's (2006) narrative theory, the translation choices and recurring patterns that did not constitute obligatory shifts in expression are categorized under four main framing strategies: a) framing through selective appropriation, b) framing by labelling, c) repositioning of participants, and d) temporal and spatial framing. While these are primary theoretical categories, the specific procedures of framings (such as addition, omission, and dysphemism) are also addressed within these contexts.

Based on these four categories, the following section presents selected examples from the source and target texts.

[19] "İnsan oğlu önüne açılan barış yolunda, yüreğinde atom bombasının ihtilaçları olduğu halde değil, atomla açılan yeni devrin taze ümitleriyle yürüyecektir."

3.1. Framing through Selective Appropriation: Omissions and Additions

Selective appropriation involves suppressing, emphasizing, or elaborating on specific aspects of the source narrative through omissions and additions (Baker, 2006, p. 114). An examination of the anti-communist books published by Nebioğlu Publishing House reveals that these works were translated in abridged forms. The strategy of abridged translation can be regarded as a deliberate attempt to make the texts more accessible and to reach a wider readership through selective appropriation. This can be identified even in page counts, since numerous studies have demonstrated that translations are typically longer than their originals (see Nida & Taber, 1969, p. 163; Blum-Kulka, 1986; Frankenberg-Garcia, 2003). In this respect, *The Great Globe Itself* (1946) consists of 310 pages while its Turkish translation comprises only 190 pages.

Our research has revealed that footnotes, bibliographies, and indexes found in the source texts were largely omitted and not transferred into the target texts. In *Asıl Büyük Dünya*, Appendix I (which presents claims of the Soviet Union's violations of international treaties and agreements in comparison with the violations committed by Nazi war criminals tried at Nuremberg) was entirely eliminated in translation. Appendix III (containing excerpts from Stalin's *Problems of Leninism*) was repositioned and retitled as Appendix I. Appendix II (which traces shifts in the official policies of the American Communist Party as reflected in its newspaper *The Daily Worker*, in parallel with changes in Soviet foreign policy) was significantly abridged. Moreover, the ten-page Index at the end of the source book was completely omitted in translation. As a result, the target text became more popular in form and was transformed into an easily understood text that could be read effortlessly by younger readers and the general audience.

In a similar vein, references to the works of communist theorists and leaders such as Marx and Lenin, as well as quotations from their writings in the source text, were omitted in the target text. For example:

> "**ST:** [...] in Chapter 6 of his pamphlet, *The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism*, first published in 1920. (Bullitt, 1946, p. 6)
>
> **TT:** [...] kitabının 6. Faslında ele alan [...]" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 16)

In the above example, the deletion of the title of the canonical Marxist work reduces the visibility of communist intellectual heritage and removes the intertextual connection that would situate the discussion within the wider corpus of communist theory. As emphasized by Evans and Fernández (2018), "[w]hile translation can serve to include, it can also exclude. Translators can exclude material that they deem 'unfit' and thus stop target language readers accessing aspects of a text" (p. 3). In this vein, agents of translation act as "gatekeepers, standing at crucial points of control, monitoring what comes in and what stays outside any given cultural or linguistic territory" (Holman & Boase-Beier, 1999, p. 11). In our context, it can be argued that the translator gatekeeps communist narratives to prevent them from entering the target culture. Hence, he distances readers from communist thought and redirects their attention to the anti-communist narrative. By minimizing the scholarly density of the text, the translator, possibly in accordance with the publisher's directive, makes it more accessible to a broader readership while advancing their anti-communist agenda.

Conversely, selective appropriation was also executed through additions. Numerous subheadings were inserted into translations to reinforce the anti-communist narrative visually and structurally. While *The Great Globe Itself* consists of only five chapters marked with Roman numerals, its Turkish translation contains numerous subheadings within each chapter. To illustrate, the first chapter of the translation, which comprises 23 pages, is subdivided into 13 subheadings such as "Sovyetlerin Gayeleri: Her Türlü Hile, Yalan, Dalavere Mübahtır" ["The Goals of the Soviets: Any Kind of Trick, Lie, and Intrigue is Permissible"] (Bullitt, 1947, p. 15) and "Stalin'in Hayatını Dolduran Hile Zinciri" ["The Chain of Deceits that Fills Stalin's Life"] (Bullitt, 1947, p. 28). Similarly, the second chapter, with its 62 pages, is divided into 85 subheadings, including "Kızıl Terrör İdaresi İş Başında" ["The Red

Terror Regime in Action"] (Bullitt, 1947, p. 60) and "Sovyet Politikası En Basit İnsani ve Ahlaki İlkelerden Yoksundur" ["Soviet Policy Lacks the Most Basic Human and Moral Principles"] (Bullitt, 1947, p. 93).

It is evident that these subheadings were inserted at a frequency of nearly one per page to facilitate the reading for Turkish audiences. Moreover, since these additions were aligned with the thematic content of each page and typically highlighted the most striking aspects of the paragraphs below them, they functioned to reinforce prevailing anti-communist narratives in a more conspicuous manner. In this way, even readers who did not engage fully with the text but only skimmed through it would encounter emphatic statements designed to capture their attention and sustain their interest.

Furthermore, selective appropriation was employed to suppress positive representations by omitting certain remarks. While the source text does, at certain points, include positive remarks about the Russian people, Lenin, and Stalin, these are systematically omitted in the Turkish translation. Instead, the translator opts for a narrative that leaves no room for ambiguity and stigmatizes the enemy as an absolute evil. The following two examples illustrate sentences that have been entirely omitted from the target text:

> "**ST:** The Russian male was often defeated on the field of battle. The Russian female was never defeated. (Bullitt, 1946, p. 31)

By omitting the above sentences completely, the translator removes the positive representation of Russian women from the target text.

> **ST:** Stalin introduced many industries, modernized his army and is creating a new navy." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 40)

By omitting the above sentence, the translator erases the acknowledgment of Soviet industrial and military developments under Stalin's leadership. Similarly, in the following two examples, the sentences are not entirely omitted this time; rather, only the positive references to the Soviet Union or its leaders have been deliberately excluded from the target text:

> "**ST:** Lenin was incomparably superior to the other leaders in intelligence, **will and political acumen**, and gradually he and his followers began to dominate the Soviet. (Bullitt, 1946, p. 52)
>
> **TT:** Bunlar arasında bulunan Lenin, zeka bakımında diğer önderlerden hayli üstündü. Bu üstünlük sayesinde yavaş yavaş kendi arkadaşlariyle birlikte Sovyet'e hakim oldu." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 55)

In the above example, by translating only the reference to Lenin's intelligence and omitting his "will and political acumen", the translator reduces the scope of his positive characterization in the target text.

> "**ST:** The Russians, as **always throughout their history**, were fighting for their soil **with magnificent tenacity, and their courage rightly** had aroused the sympathy of the world. (Bullitt, 1946, p. 21)
>
> **TT:** Bizzat ana vatan toprağı için silaha sarılann Ruslar bütün dünyanın hayranlığını üzerlerine çektiler." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 29)

Here, the translator omits the explicit praise of the Russian people's tenacity and courage and hence, downplays the positive qualities attributed to them.

3.2. Framing by Labelling: Dysphemism and Metaphor to Enhance Dramatic Effect

Framing by labelling involves using specific terms, euphemisms, dysphemisms, or metaphors to categorize people, institutions, or events, constraining the comprehension of narratives (Baker, 2006, pp. 122-123). A clear instance of dysphemism can be observed in how certain interventions shape the

Turkish readers' perception of the Soviet Union and communism in a negative light. The following example illustrates a case in which the narrative and perspective of the source text are entirely transformed into translation through such lexical substitution:

> "**ST:** Stalin [...] continued to **direct** both the Soviet Government and the Comintern — including the American Communist Party. (Bullitt, 1946, p. 69)
>
> **TT:** Stalin [...] eski bildiği gibi Komintern'i **kışkırtmaya** devam etti." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 67)

This choice reframes Stalin's role from that of a political leader to an agitator and provocateur. With this seemingly minor albeit deliberately ideological lexical substitution, the translator intensifies the hostility toward communism and the Soviet Union by labelling its leader as a disruptive force.

Furthermore, in the target text, particularly to enhance the dramatic effect, the translator assumed a more visible position, adopting an overtly ideological stance and making additions to the target text at the sentence level. In these added sentences, the ideas emphasized in the relevant paragraph or page were sometimes summarized through direct negative statements against communism.

> "**ST:** The Finns fought on against hopeless odds, and when peace was signed on March 12, 1940, the Soviet Union had to content itself with only a piece of Finland. And it had achieved the moral position of being the only nation ever expelled from the League of Nations for aggression." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 8)
>
> "**TT:** Fakat manevi kaynakların da bir haddi olmak lazımdı. **İki buçuk milyonluk Fin milleti yıldırım da olsa kendisinden 70-80 defa büyük bir heyulanın karşısında daha uzun müddet dayanamazdı. Son derece nisbetsiz şartlar içinde sürüp giden muharebelerden sonra,** nihayet 12 Mart 1940 tarihinde iki devlet arasında bir mütareke imzalandı. **Hiç şüphe yok ki, böyle bir savaşın sona ermesi en fazla Rus'ları sevindirmişti.** Milletler Cemiyeti çatısı altında bulunduğu halde saldırgan niyetlerinden ötürü kapı dışı edilen Sovyet Rusya, böyle bir sonuçla, hem bu kurumdan ilk defa kovulmak, **hem de manevi bozgunculuğunu göstermek bakımından tipik bir örnek vermişti.**" (Bullitt, 1947, pp. 17-18)

In this example, by adding dramatic phrases such as "a spectre seventy to eighty times greater" and "typical example of moral corruption", the translator frames communism and the Soviet Union in a highly negative light, thereby steering the reader's perception.

At times, moreover, the translator directly intervened in the text by explicitly taking sides, making additions, and opting for a literary style interwoven with idiomatic expressions specific to Turkish and embellished with exaggerations, rather than maintaining a strictly political tone. For example:

> "**ST:** These measures, which Lenin took to save his dictatorship, did in the end save it, but provoked immediate reactions that almost extinguished it. (Bullitt, 1946, p. 63)
>
> **TT:** Lenin'in yürüttüğü bu kızıl diktatörlük son haddini bulmuştu. **Aç ve sefil halk kütleleri** ayaklanmak için devamlı bir tahrikin altında **gözleri kanlı bekliyorlardı.**" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 64)

This example vividly illustrates the dramatic divergence between the source and the target texts. The target text reframes the narrative with a markedly ideological and emotive language. Through expressions such as "hungry and miserable masses" and "with bloodshot eyes," the translator portrays the Soviet people as on the verge of revolt as a result of impoverishment while rendering Lenin's leadership as weak and helpless. Therefore, the relatively neutral tone of the source text is transformed into a highly dramatized and ideologically charged depiction that reinforces the anti-communist narrative.

In line with the example provided above, the translator rendered certain sentences or clauses using Turkish idiomatic and exaggerated expressions, resulting in a literary, even aggressive and partial style. The key difference here is that the translator did not add entirely new sentences; rather, they chose to convey expressions already present in the source text in a more emotive and striking manner. For instance:

> "**ST:** The Red Army was **killing Finns and seizing their country** without declaration of war. (Bullitt, 1946, p. 8)
>
> **TT:** Savaş ilanına lüzum kalmadan Kızıl Ordu, memleketin iç köşelerine sokulmuş, **kadınlı, çocuklu bir avuç Finli'yi kılıçtan geçirmekte hiçbir haya kaydı görmemişti.**" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 17)

In this translation, expressions such as "a handful of Finns, including women and children" emphasize both the small size of the community and the presence of women and children among the victims, and hence, intensify the depiction of brutality. The intended effect is to portray the attacking party, namely the communists, as savage and merciless, eliciting a stronger emotional reaction from the reader.

Finally, to enhance the dramatic effect in the target text, the translator not only adds words or sentences as seen above, but also occasionally replaces full stops with exclamation marks at the end of sentences. For example:

> "**ST:** Molotov sent the reply, "The Soviet Union is not at war with Finland." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 8)
>
> **TT:** Molotov bu çağrıya verdiği cevapta aynen şöyle diyordu: 'Sovyet Rusya Finlandiya ile savaşta değildir!'." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 17)

By using the exclamation mark, the translator invites the reader to perceive the tone of Molotov's response from neutral to aggressive.

This strategy of labelling is also heavily perpetuated through the use of metaphorical expressions with negative connotations in place of direct references to communism and the Soviet Union. Such metaphors construct narrative structures that represent the Soviet Union not merely as a political entity but as the "enemy" or the "other." Hence, they contribute to the consolidation of this ideological perception in the minds of Turkish readers. For example:

> "**ST:** But it was equally obvious that the states of Europe, after liberation from the Nazi yoke, might fall under Soviet dictatorship. Enslavement of Europe by Moscow might replace enslavement by Berlin. Stalin might mount Hitler's saddle." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 9)
>
> "**TT:** Fakat Avrupanın Nazi boyunduruğundan kurtulmasiyle iş bitmiyordu. Geride **gözleri kanlı bir avcı** daha vardı ki, en az Nazilik gibi, **Avrupa'nın kalbine çekilmiş bir kılıç kadar tehdit unsuru** idi. Berlin tarafından ateşe verilmiş bir Avrupa ile Moskova tarafından sefalete sürüklenmiş bir Avrupa arasında hiçbir kader ve netice farkı olamazdı." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 18)

By adding metaphors such as "gözleri kanlı bir avcı" [a bloodthirsty hunter] and "Avrupa'nın kalbine çekilmiş bir kılıç" [a sword drawn into the heart of Europe], the translator creates aggressive and violent images that are absent in the source text, thereby resonating more strongly with Turkish readers.

Another example is the word "heyula" [spectre] used in translation in reference to the Soviet Union, communism, and Nazism alike. Since "heyula" in Turkish evokes an image of a threatening and abstract danger, this metaphor reflects the translator's ideological stance and, at the same time, serves to strengthen the intended negative perception among the target readership. The first example below demonstrates the use of "heyula" in place of communism.

"**ST:** It is not only a state but also the headquarters of an international faith." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 28)

"**TT:** Görünüşte yalnız tek bir devlet organizasyonu ile karşımıza çıkan bu **heyula**, aynı zamanda milletlerarası faaliyetlerin de karargahı mesabesindedir." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 35).

This usage may be interpreted as an intertextual reference to the common Turkish translation of the famous opening of the *Communist Manifesto*: "Avrupa'da bir heyula kol geziyor – komünizm heyulası" (Marx & Engels, 1848/2008, p. 21). [A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of communism] (Marx & Engels, 1848/2002, p. 218).[20] However, the metaphor is employed not to signal revolutionary potential but rather menace and hostility. In the following sentence, which does not appear in the source text but was added to the target text by the translator, the same metaphor is used to refer to the Soviet Union:

"**TT:** İki buçuk milyonluk Fin milleti yıldırım da olsa kendisinden 70-80 defa büyük bir **heyulanın** karşısında daha uzun müddet dayanamazdı." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 17).

By specifically invoking a supernatural image, the translator increases the emotive impact on the target audience. Furthermore, the occurrence of the phrase "Nazizm heyulası" [the spectre of Nazism] in another sentence added to the target text by the translator clearly demonstrates the negative connotations attached to this metaphor:

"**TT:** Bugün **Nazizm heyulasını**, bir daha çıkamıyacağı çukuruna kapatmış, top ve bomba gürültülerini hayli geride bırakmış bulunuyoruz." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 33).

Beyond equating communism with Nazism, there also exists a translational choice that suggests communism has surpassed Nazism:

"**ST:** Stalin's record as a breaker of solemn international agreements and treaties **rapidly approached that of Hitler himself.**" (Bullitt, 1946, p. 8)

"**TT:** Artık Stalin'in milletlerarası anlaşmalara ve taahhütlere gösterdiği saygısızlık, **Hitlerin'kileri gölgede bırakmağa başlamıştı.**" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 18)

In the above example, the source text describes Stalin's violations of international treaties as rapidly approaching those of Hitler, which is a comparison that still conveys a cautious attitude. In the Turkish translation, however, Stalin is portrayed as having already overshadowed Hitler in this respect. This alteration constructs a narrative in which Stalin is depicted as even more lawless and unrestrained than Hitler, and hence, positions him as a greater threat to the world.

In accordance with enhancing the dramatic effect through labelling, the translator also altered animal metaphors. Furthermore, there are instances where the translator appears to have modified the text to avoid potential negative reactions from the Turkish readership or possibly the government. In the example below, the animal metaphor used for Soviet Russia in the source text is changed from "wolf" to "fox:"

"**ST: There were those who believed** that this meant the Soviet Union had reformed, finding it did not pay to be "**the big bad wolf**," and that the independence of the Baltic states and Poland henceforth was assured." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 16)

"**TT: Bazı saf kimseler**, Rusya'nın yeni jestini, o "**eski ve sinsi tilkinin**" artık ölüp, **onun yerine yeni ve insanlık ideallerine sadık bir hüviyetin doğması** şeklinde tefsir ettiler. **Bu zavallılara göre, zafer talihi geri döndüğü takdirde; bağımsızlıklarını elden kaçırmış** Baltık memleketleri, **harap ve bedbaht** Polonya artık garantiye ve hürriyete ulaşacaktı." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 25)

[20] German original: "Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa – das Gespenst des Kommunismus" (Marx & Engels, 1848, p. 3).

Given that the wolf is often associated with Turks and might have triggered nationalist sensitivities, the translator likely chose to replace it with the fox, which in Turkish cultural perception connotes cunning and slyness. This intervention demonstrates the translator's attentiveness to cultural connotations and his careful management of potential reader reactions.

3.3. Repositioning of Participants: Constructing the Enemy

The reframing strategy of repositioning participants involves aligning or distancing the reader by creating "us vs. them" or "here vs. there" boundaries (Baker, 2006, p. 132). The Turkish translator rendered "Soviet Union" (Bullitt, 1946, pp. 4, 7, 17) and "Soviet government" (Bullitt, 1946, pp. 23, 63) not as "SSCB" or "Sovyetler Birliği" or "Sovyet hükümeti" but as "Sovyet Rusya" (Bullitt, 1947, pp. 14, 15) or simply "Rusya" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 17) or "Ruslar" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 16) and at times even further reduced to "Moskova" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 30) or "Rus hükümeti" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 64) or "Rus emperyalizmi" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 25). Through these choices, the translation propagated the narrative that the true enemy was Russia itself to the Turkish target audience as it draws upon historical memory. Considering the long history of the Russo-Turkish wars between the 17th and 19th centuries, the choice of "Russia" instead of "Soviet" evokes a familiar adversary for the Turkish readership. By consistently foregrounding "Russia," the translator made the anti-communist narrative more concrete and immediate for the Turkish readership. It transforms the narrative from a global Cold War text into a locally resonant nationalist narrative. This kind of reframing thus operates through cultural memory, not merely lexical substitution.

The translation of certain terms and concepts related to communism and the Soviet Union into Turkish in ways that diverge from everyday usage can be seen as a strategy to distance the enemy and construct a distinct narrative around it. In such instances, the reframing strategy of repositioning participants becomes particularly visible. Terms like "national," "nationalist," "nationalism," and "nationality" are sometimes avoided altogether, presumably to prevent any possible association with communism or communists and/or to avoid provoking a negative reaction among Turkish nationalists. In the example below, rather than being translated as "milliyet" or "ulus," the term "nationality" is rendered as "tabaa:"

> "**ST:** [...] and at the end of the list: "Chairman for **Nationalities**: İ. V. Djougashvili (Stalin)." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 58)
>
> "**TT:** [...] ve listenin en sonuna kaydedilen **Tabaalar** Başkanlığına da İ. V. Dujugashivili (Stalin) geldi." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 60)

Another notable strategic choice in the translation is the rendering of the adjective "red" as "kızıl" instead of the more neutral "kırmızı" in a communist context in order to directly associate it with communism and communists:

> "**ST:** "**Red** Terror" (Bullitt, 1946, p. 58)
>
> "**TT:** "**Kıpkızıl** bir Terrör" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 60); "**Kızıl** Terrör" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 60)

This strategy represents an instance of reframing through the repositioning of participants, as the translator sometimes even adds the adjective "kızıl" or "kıpkızıl" to nouns where "red" does not appear in the source text, amplifying the dramatic emphasis:

> "**ST:** [...] **Soviet power** on the Rhine [...]" (Bullitt, 1946, p. 19)
>
> "**TT:** [...] Ren nehri üzerinde **kıpkızıl bir Sovyet baskısı** [...]" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 27)

3.4. Temporal and Spatial Reframing: Amplifying the Threat

Temporal and spatial framing involves embedding a narrative within a specific time and place to influence its reception and highlight its relevance (Baker, 2006, p. 112). Another strategy adopted by

the translator to shape Turkish readers' perception of the Soviet Union and communism can be identified as temporal and spatial reframing. For example:

> "**ST:** There is but one nation that we do fear may some day use the atomic bomb against us. **We fear the Soviet Union**." (Bullitt, 1946, p. 4)
>
> "**TT:** Fakat bir millet var ki, birgün atom bombasıını bize karşı kullanabilir. **Bu, Asya ile Avrupaya yayılmış geniş kaynakların sahibi Sovyet Rusya'dır.**" (Bullitt, 1947, p. 14)

With his additions to the target text, the translator emphasizes the Soviet Union's geographical enormity and resource wealth, which are elements absent from the source text. By portraying the Soviets as a vast power spanning two continents, the translator presents them as an immediate and looming threat to the Turkish readership. This emphasis on geographical expanse is continued in the following example, this time through the omission of certain elements from the source text:

> "**ST:** [...] the Soviet Government defeated its Russian opponents, and established its authority **over all the Tsar's Empire except Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, and Poland.**" (Bullitt, 1946, p. 65)
>
> "**TT:** Böylece meydanı boş bulan Komünistler memleket içindeki muhaliflerini yok ederek, açlık, sefalet, adam öldürme ve en çirkin hileler bahasına **eski Çarlık Rusyası üzerinde** egemenliklerini kurmuş oldular." (Bullitt, 1947, p. 65)

In the example above, through spatial reframing, the Soviet Union is depicted as having established dominance over the entire former Tsarist Russian Empire. However, as indicated in the source text, countries such as Finland and Poland had in fact declared their independence after the October Revolution. Thus, while the Soviet Union in reality encompassed a more limited territory compared to Tsarist Russia, the translation portrays it as a more expansive, absolute, and imperial power.

CONCLUSION

In this study, *Asıl Büyük Dünya* (1947), an anti-communist book published by Nebioğlu Publishing House, was examined comparatively with its source text, utilizing Baker's narrative theory and reframing tools at both paratextual and textual levels. By classifying the findings under four categories, we tried to demonstrate how reframing strategies (temporal and spatial, selective appropriation, labeling, and repositioning of participants) were employed to restructure the public narratives of the metanarrative of anti-communism in Turkish translation.

The analysis revealed that the publisher Osman Nebioğlu's selection of anti-communist books for translation was not arbitrary commercial choices, but deliberate acts driven by his ideological positioning. In this respect, Nebioğlu emerged as an active agent of translation who integrated his personal worldview (ontological narrative) with his publishing policy (public narratives) and the era's global meta-narrative, anti-communism. Moreover, the comparative analysis showed that translator Halit Çakır systematically intervened in the text in ways that reinforced and amplified anti-communist narratives for Turkish readers. The translator did not merely perform linguistic transfer; through additions, omissions, and other strategies, he actively reshaped the source narrative, producing a target text that diverged from the original at the ideological level. This illustrates that the translator was not a neutral mediator as he did not set aside his ideological commitments during the translation process. On the contrary, like Nebioğlu, he also acted as an active agent, directly shaping how the target readership perceived both the text and the narratives within it, thus becoming a rewriter of the text. These findings aligned with the perspectives of translation theorists such as Lefevere (1992) and Tymoczko (2003), who assert that translators are not passive or neutral, but that their ideological commitments exert a substantial influence on the shaping of texts.

In the case examined, the translator positioned himself in alignment with the political authorities of Turkey at the time, adopting hegemonic rather than oppositional or marginal narratives. Thus, the

Turkish translation did not simply import an American anti-communist narrative, but it domesticated and intensified it, embedding it within Turkey's historical and ideological frameworks. This suggests that translation functions as an ideological instrument that supports, reproduces, legitimizes, and disseminates the narratives and ideologies endorsed by dominant political structures. Consequently, translation, both as an act and a product, cannot be read in isolation from its political, social, and cultural environment. It is evident that it is a practice deeply embedded in ideological struggles capable of shaping public perception.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL / PARTICIPANT CONSENT

Ethics committee approval is not required for this study. There are no participants in this study.

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