FAIRY TALES: TURKEY'S PROSPECTS FOR WORLD FAIRS PROJECTS FOR IZMIR AND ISTANBUL

Cânâ Bilsel, Halûk Zelef

Since the 19th century World's Fairs, more than any other organized event, have been reminiscent of fairytales with their almost surreal, fantastic and joyful atmosphere enhancing imagination.[1] The term fairy tale implies happy endings, but not all the fairy tales end happily. The following text tells the story of three planned fairs in Istanbul and Izmir, two of which were never realized. Each of these ventures entailed a significant vision for these two major port cities. The first two, dating back to the first half of the 20th century, coincided with the foundational years of the Republic of Turkey, and, were parts of larger projects of urban reconstruction and modernization. The last project examined in this article is from the turn of the 21st century, and points to the continuing interest of Turkey in World's Fairs. As in two previous cases, the Expo 2015 project for Izmir shows that the modernization of the city's structure continues to be one of the main issues, though this time with complementary, yet, controversial arguments.

19th century Precedents in the Ottoman Capital

The history of Turkey's interest in the World's Fairs goes back to the nineteenth century. The Ottoman Empire participated in these events from the first London exhibition of 1851 onwards including the ones in Paris, Vienna and Chicago.[2] Such spectacular fairs instigated the idea of organizing a similar enterprise in the Ottoman capital Istanbul. The first attempt dates back to 1863, thus preceding many of the prominent World's Fairs, and indicates the "willingness of the Empire to become a part of the modern civilization," as Zeynep Çelik asserts.[3] Modest in scope, that exhibition aimed initially to promote the national industry against the import of foreign goods. And yet, it was open to the European countries' technological innovations as well.[4] The exhibition site was located at the very core of the city: the area of the Hippodrome. The second was planned to take place in 1894 under the title of "The Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exposition." This time the scheme was more ambitious in terms of its spatial layout (covering an area of 142.000 m2)[5] and economic benefits. While the one of 1863 was located at the center of the historic Istanbul, the 1894 exhibition was planned in a

newly developing area, i li, on the northern fringe of the westernized section of the city. Thought to become a new attractive social spot in the capital, this latter exhibition was thought as a permanent facility that would be open 8 months a year. Had it been realized as planned, this exhibition would have had a continuous impact on the expansion of the city toward this direction. The newly developed transportation system played an important role in the selection of the expo site. The streetcar network, which had been first put to operation in 1872, was extended to i li area in the early 1880s. The underground rail between Karaköy and Pera had already been put to operation in 1875, making the site more accessible from the historic core of the city. In addition, a rail system would connect different parts of the exhibition site to one another.[6] However, an earthquake occurred in 1894 in Istanbul and the exhibition plans withered away.

These two great events of the 19th century were perceived as occasions to modernize the infrastructure and enhance a new social life with a new *décor* for educating as well as entertaining people. The physical settings of both exhibitions were designed by western architects. The great hall of the first exhibition was commissioned to French architects, Marie-Augustin-Antoine Bourgeois and Léon Parvillée, whereas the latter was designed by Raimondo D'Aronco. The Italian architect was selected due to his previous achievements in the first Turin exhibition of 1890.[7] Following the 19th century examples, organizing as well as participating in the international exhibitions remained in the governments' agenda during the Republican period. Turkey took part in such events with specially designed pavilions representing national culture and architecture.[8] The first international fair of the 20th century in Turkey was to be organized by the city of Izmir in the 1930s.

The International Fair of Izmir

The Reconstruction of the City

Izmir, the second important port of the Ottoman Empire, was in ruins at the end of the Greek-Turkish war in 1922.[9] The fire, which started three days after the take over of the city by the Turkish forces, consumed an area of 300 hectares at the center of the city, destroying the business district and several residential neighborhoods. The majority of the non-Muslim groups who had control of the city's commercial relations at the international level left the city in the early 1920s. As a result, the economic activity was paralyzed to a great extent. Thus the reconstruction of Izmir meant not only the rebuilding of the burnt down neighborhoods but also the revitalization of the city's economy.

"The Society of the Reconstruction of Izmir", founded a few months after the fire,[10] contacted first Henri Prost. The French city planner realized the planning of new towns in Morocco under the rule of the French military governor Marshal Lyautey.[11] On Prost's recommendation, the municipality of Izmir commissioned René and Raymond Danger for the preparation of a *plan d'urbanisme* and Prost was also to con-

tribute as a consultant.[12] A commission composed of doctors, architects and engineers was formed by the municipality in order to define the principal goals of planning.

In 1924 the French planners accomplished their comprehensive plan – *plan d'ensemble*. (Figure 1) The plan, which went beyond the reconstruction of the burnt down areas, reorganized the urban area as a whole according to the principle of zoning.[13] "Hygiene" was the primary concern that found its expression in the usage of green areas, in the location of the new port and the industrial areas. Dangers and Prost developed the new business district as well as new residential areas[14] based on a regular, symmetrical "composition" on the irregular site of the old districts destroyed by the fire. A number of diagonal avenues, creating perspective axes either toward the sea, the citadel or other monuments, intersected at plazas. The Plaza of the Republic, the most monumental of all, constituted the symbolic entrance of the city from the sea.[15]

Dangers and Prost proposed a public park of 60 hectares at the centre of the reconstruction area. The park was in the shape of a large green axis that extended from the Plaza of the Republic toward the proposed central train station. The buildings of the university to be founded in Izmir were located on the periphery of this central green mall.

The plan was approved by the municipality in 1925. In the following years only

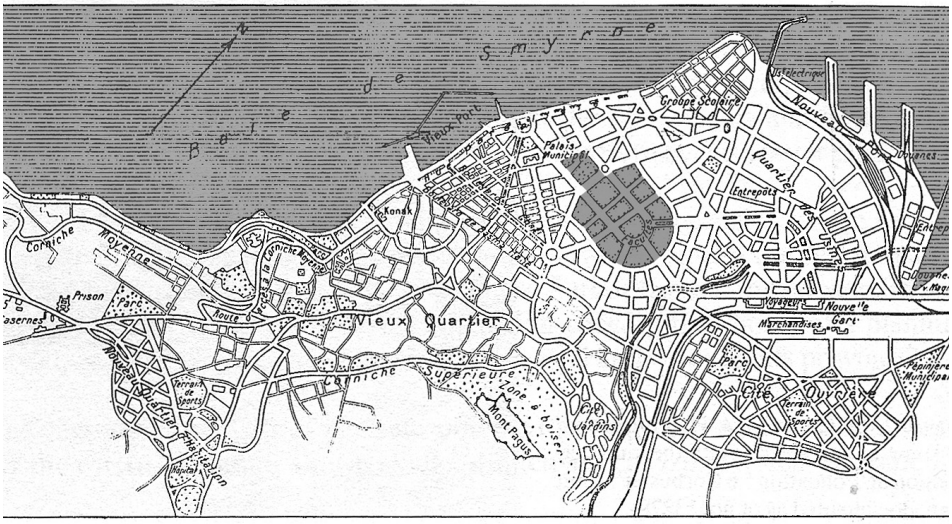


Fig. 1. La pianta di Smirne di Dangers e Prost, 1924-25 (Illustration, 4.3.1933, p. 271). (in evidenza l'area verde dove la Fiera Internazionale e il Parco della Cultura erano localizzati negli anni trenta).

Fig. 1. The plan of zmir by Dangers and Prost, 1924-25 (Illustration, 4.3.1933, p. 271). (The central green where the international fair and Culture Park were located in the 1930s is indicated).

two avenues envisioned by this plan could be implemented. The economic crisis of 1929 prevented the rest from being realized. As a result, the burnt districts were left in ruins for almost a decade. In the early 1930s the plan gained a new urgency due to a national law that required large municipalities to lay out development plans. The plan of Danger-Prost was revised in the early 1930s by the technical staff of the municipality in order to reduce the cost of reconstruction. The green area in this revised plan, approximately located on the green axis of Danger-Prost plan, was to become the site of the International Izmir Fair. Dr. Behçet Uz, the new mayor of Izmir, played a significant role in implementing the plan and in turning the idea of an international fair into reality.[16]

International Fair in the Culture Park

The Izmir Fair started in 1927 first as a national event. The main purpose in organizing this fair was to revitalize the commercial activity of the city and to support the local production of its region. The event became international later in 1934. The initial site of the fair, the entrance of which faces the Plaza of the Republic, was occupying only an area of 3.2 hectares. Widening of the scope of the event brought the need for a larger open area. Interestingly enough, the idea of creating a culture park came into the agenda at the same time. It was largely inspired by the Soviet Russia. Suad Yurdkoru, a journalist who went to USSR in 1933, was impressed by the Culture Park in Moscow (Gorky Park), which he described as "a very important institution for pedagogy and health" with gardens, playgrounds, a parachute tower, theaters and buildings of indoctrination exhibiting the "Tsarist oppression," Soviet industry and military power.[17] When Yurdkoru became the vice mayor of Izmir in 1934, he wrote a detailed program for a similar culture park including ceremonial, leisure and sports facilities, as well as buildings to promote the Turkish revolution and commemorate the War of Liberation. The program comprised a ceremonial plaza for 5000 people, two large open areas for physical training, an open air amphitheater, an open swimming pool and other sports areas, a parachute tower, an open area for a circus, a theater and a cinema for children, and a kindergarten. The educational mission of the park found its expression in several museums including a pavilion dedicated to Atatürk and his fellow revolutionaries. Other museums included one for the military, for revolution and culture, for geography, anthropology, geology, astronomy, for health and for regional production and industry. The relocation of the existing civic museum of Izmir to the park was also suggested. Yurdkoru has also recommended that the pavilions be built in "different old and new architectural styles," which would have turned the Culture Park to a sort of an open air architectural museum. Impressed by these ideas, the mayor Behçet Uz transmitted the proposal to the Prime Minister smet nönü. In 1935, leading a group of technicians, Uz visited Moscow where he was received by mayor Nicolai Bulganin and the director of the Gorky Park, "Beti Glen" [?]. Uz stated that, during their visit of 45 days, Soviet experts worked on a project for the Culture Park of Izmir, and prepared a program defining its fundamental principles. He acknowledged the "friendship" shown by the Mos-Soviet, and expressed the pride shared by both parties in implementing in Izmir a "younger brother" of the Culture Park of Moscow.[18]

Adapted from the Soviet model, the Culture Park was conceived as a "university for the people" for the cultural and physical development of citizens, in conformity with the modernizing project of the Turkish Republic. After the clearance of 36 hectares area, the construction started in 1935 and the Culture Park was opened a year later. Its master plan prepared by the technical office of the municipality, was principally composed of two main areas: an area reserved to the exhibition pavilions and to the museums to the west, and a large park with a botanical garden, a zoo, an amphitheater and sports areas to the east. While the stadium was not built, a lake was added later to the composition of the park.[19] (Figure 2)

As mentioned before, the idea of a culture park was coupled with that of an international fair from the outset. Thus, a capitalist agenda for development and trade was curiously brought together with a model adopted from the communist Soviet Union. Neither the budget of the municipality, nor the resources of the central government were sufficient to finance such an ambitious project. As stated in the memoirs of mayor Uz, the fair came to subsidize the park.[20]

Mayor Uz's pragmatism became apparent during the construction of the Culture Park. While the area allocated to the fair's participants was completed, the rest was left vacant during the first years. As a result, this great event of the 1930s enabled the realization of a vast urban park that served a social, cultural and ideological project.[21] Dr. Behçet Uz was the key figure behind the whole enterprise. He worked not only to solve the financial problems, but also to convince other political and economic actors. Despite the authority he exercised as a governor-mayor, the project was questioned by the members of the ruling Republican People's Party, as well as by the Chamber of Commerce.[22] The mission of the Fair was not incompatible with that of the Culture Park. Intended to introduce the public to new technologies, industries, and foreign cultures, the Fair could easily be reconciled with the project of a "university for the people."[23] It could also be considered an instructive setting from the point of architecture. The park was embellished with buildings, some of which are prominent ex-

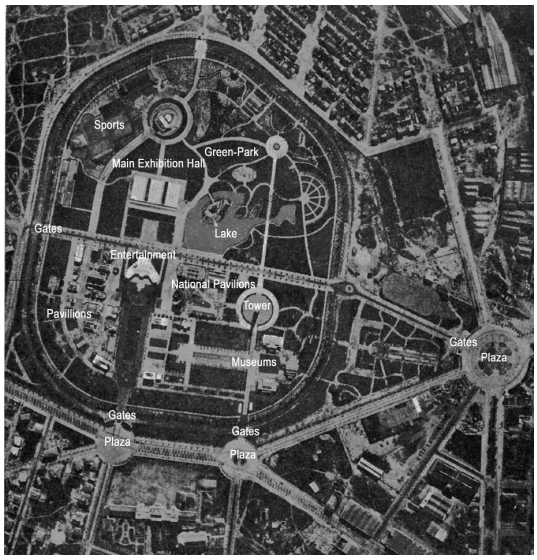


FIG. 2. FOTOGRAFIA AEREA DEL PARCO DELLA CULTURA E DELLO SPAZIO FIERA (ARKITEKT, NO. 11-12, 1943, P. 241).

FIG. 2. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CULTURE PARK AND THE FAIRGROUNDS (ARKITEKT, NO. 11-12, 1943, P. 241).

amples of architectural modernism in Izmir and Turkey at large.[2] (Figure 3) Young Turkish architects including Harbi Hotan, Rıza A kan, Ferruh Orel, Necip Uzman, and Seyfi Arkan, as well as international figures such as Bachillet, Gauthier, Algrandi and Bruno Taut were among the designers of these structures. Some of the buildings played a role within the larger urban context. The parachute tower, the tallest building in town, became a landmark situated at one end of the axis, which started at the Plaza of the Republic by the sea – conforming to the initial scheme of the French planners. The fairground in the Culture Park was opened in 1936, and was recognized officially two years later as an international event by the International Fairs Association in Milan.[25] Since then, the International Fair of Izmir has been organized annually at the end of the summer at the heart of the city, and has become a major attraction for the urban life by acting as a generator for the economy. Many countries from the West and the region have seized the Fair as an opportunity to further their commercial interests into the Turkish markets. Similarly, native manufacturers have seen this event as a means to promote and export their products. In the 1930s, Izmir Fair was competing against similar events in central Europe.[26] In those days, however, a more ambitious exposition was contemplated in Turkey, and this time in Istanbul.

A Project for an International Exposition in Istanbul

Prost's planning of Istanbul and selection of alternative exhibition sites

The project to organize a "great event" on the scale of a World's Fair in modern Turkey can be traced back to Henri Prost's plans for Istanbul. After his involve-



Fig. 3. Modernismo Architettonico nella Fiera di Smirne (dalle riviste Arkitekt e La Turquie Kémaliste). L'Esposizione di Istanbul del 1953.

Fig. 3. Architectural Modernism in the zmir fair. (from the journals Arkitekt and La Turquie Kémaliste). Istanbul Fair 1953.

ment in Izmir, Prost was invited to conduct the planning of Turkey's largest city in 1936. He prepared a proposal for a master plan for the European side of Istanbul in 1937, which was approved subsequently in 1939. The main objective of the plan was to transform the old Ottoman capital into a modern city in the Republic.[27]

Henri Prost had worked previously as the chief planner of Paris from 1932 to 1936,[28] and was well acquainted with World's Fairs. Indeed, he was a member on the committee that oversaw a competition of ideas for the 1937 Exhibition in Paris in 1932.[29] Prost was one of the two reporters of that competition which was aimed to gather proposals for possible sites for the fairgrounds. [30]

Having received the commission to plan the city of Istanbul, Henri Prost was also asked by the municipality, in 1937, to recommend a proper site for prospective international expositions. He proposed three sites: one for "permanent exhibitions," and two alternatives for "temporary exhibitions." These two kinds of exhibitions required different locations according to him.[31] He proposed to locate the permanent exhibition, which would entail displays of national and regional products, as well as galleries for the Beaux-Arts, decorative arts and fashion, in Taksim, at the new center of the city. The permanent exhibition would be located in a park, in lieu of the old military casern, next to the Plaza of the Republic.[32] This central park was designed as a promenade, " nönü Gezisi," where eight identical exhibition buildings, were aligned on both sides of the symmetrical composition. The promenade was implemented as a green area and opened to public in the early 1940s, although the buildings were not realized.

One of the locations that Prost proposed for the "temporary exhibitions" was a valley close to Taksim, thus, to the permanent exhibition area. This site, surrounded by the new neighborhoods, would later be arranged as the Park No. 2. (Figure 4) The second alternative was the site of the burnt down Çıra an Palace on the European coast of the Bosphorus. He explained that this site, situated far from the city center, was suitable for a large scale "temporary exposition," considering the traffic it was expected to generate. The exhibition site could also be accessed by public ground transportation and by ferries. However, neither of these sites had the capacity to host a great event comparable to a World's Fair, or to have a considerable impact on the structure of the city.

International Exhibition of Istanbul 1953

In 1943, the municipality of Istanbul announced a program for the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II. A commission was formed for the programming of the events.[33] It is important to stress that a considerable part of this program comprised large scale urban operations brought by the Master Plan of the European Side of Istanbul.[34] (Figure 4) Henri Prost prepared a decennial plan covering the period of 1943-1953, for the realization of the master plan,.[35] As the central event of this program, he put forward a project for an

"International Exposition" in Istanbul for the year 1953. Parallel to this commemorative proposal, the organization of Olympic Games was also suggested. In both proposals, the nationalist pride was underlined as an important motivation for an international event.[3]

The large site that Prost chose for the international fair extended from Kadırga beneath the walls of the Byzantine Hippodrome, to Samatya on the Marmara coast of the historical peninsula, including Yenikapı area. (Figure 5) The project that he prepared in 1/2000 scale, had an organization based on a north-south axis, connecting the Atatürk Boulevard[3] to the Marmara Sea. This axis starting from an entrance plaza surrounded by hotels and ending with a marine pavilion on the seashore was designed as a pedestrian green mall. A congress hall and exhibition halls for fine arts and traditional decorative arts were aligned on the west of this central green axis, while on its immediate east, buildings for entertainment and tourism –adjacent to an international train station were proposed. Exhibition pavilions of foreign countries extended toward east following the coast, and at the back, buildings for health, education and administration were located.

On the eastern wing of the exhibition grounds, a historical zone was designed including an area for the Byzantine remnants around the Basilica of Sergio and Bacchus, a reconstruction of a Turkish bazaar, a Turkish street and open areas for traditional sports such as "cirit" (a traditional form of polo) and archery. The staging of the conquest of Istanbul would include a replica of an old Turkish military camp and fortifications. The eastern entrance to the expo would open to the Byzantine hippodrome, after clearing the buildings on the southern round end (sphendon) of this ancient structure. A monument dedicated to the young Turkish Republic and its revolution was also to be erected there. On the western wing of the site, large exhibition halls would be designed for various industries. A panorama building, an amusement park with water games, an aquarium and an open-air swimming pool were proposed next to the sea on the west. A club for sea sports with its tower and a marina for yachts completed the whole composition.



FIG. 4. I SITI PROPOSTI PER I GRANDI EVENTI (LE OLIMPIADI E L'ESPOSIZIONE INTERNAZIONALE) E I PRINCIPALI ASSI VIARI DEL PIANO DI PROST PER ISTANBUL (IFA/AA, FONDS PROST).

FIG. 4: SITES PROPOSED FOR THE GREAT EVENTS (OLYMPIC GAMES AND INTERNATIONAL EXPO) AND MAIN TRANSPORTATION AXES IN PROST PLAN OF ISTANBUL (IFA/AA, FONDS PROST).

In Prost's proposal for the international exhibition of Istanbul, it is possible to observe

traces of the Paris Expositions. As in the Trocadéro - Champs de Mars axis, the north-south axis connecting the Atatürk Boulevard to the Marmara Sea, formed the perpendicular spine of the exhibition area, on which the main cultural and social facility buildings were situated. The pavilions were set along the watercourse in both cases, and just as the rearranged quays of the River Seine in Paris, a continuous belvedere would be constructed along the Marmara coast in Istanbul. Interestingly, the size of the area planned for Istanbul Fair (120 hectares) is similar to the 1937 Paris Exposition. Prost's suggestion of taking the existing railway line underground, to create a boulevard aligned with trees in its place, reminds also the operations made along the quays of Seine for the 1937 exhibition.[38]

By making use of such a great event, Henri Prost aimed at facilitating the transformation of the old city of Istanbul. The site chosen for the International Exposition was qualified by the planner as a derelict area occupied by squatter houses, depots, coal deposits etc. Since his master plan studies, Prost intended to transform this area into a high standing housing zone, that would result in the gentrification of the district.[39] He already proposed the creation of a seafront boulevard with and taking the railway line underground in the 1937 Master Plan. These proposals could not be carried out as planned since it was extremely difficult to undertake any urban operation in this section of the city having extremely divided and numerous properties. An international great event with national themes could easily gain the consent of the authorities and the public at large. The exposition would provide Prost with an extraordinary opportunity to transform the area. For, the classification of the area as of national, "public interest" would endow the planner with the power to expropriate private properties.

Prost also aimed at creating a permanent node of cultural activities and recreation. In "the decennial program" he explained that, while some buildings would

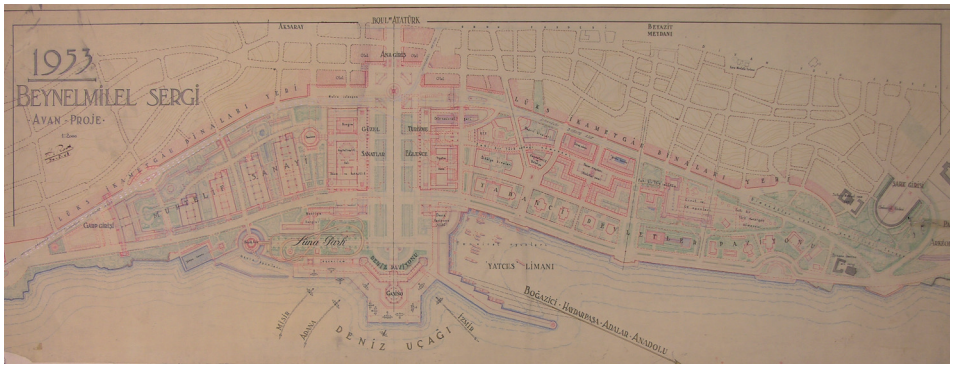


Fig. 5. Il progetto di Henri Prost per l'Esposizione Internazionale del 1953, 1943 (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).
Fig. 5. 1953 International Exposition project by Henri Prost, 1943 (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).

be demolished after the end of the International Exposition, others such as museums, cultural centers, sports halls and the swimming pool would continue to serve the city. The rest of the fair area was to be replaced by modern housing with gardens.

The International Fair was also thought as an opportunity to develop the city's transportation infrastructure. Prost proposed to develop the airport at the west of the city which was to be accessible by the seafront boulevard along the Marmara coast. The existing railway line that cut the city from the sea would be taken to the north edge of the exhibition area and be buried under ground. A subway line, using partly the same route, was to divert after the main entrance gate of the fairground toward north to connect it to other parts of the city.

Prost insisted in using seaplanes to connect Istanbul to other ports in the Mediterranean such as Alexandria, Adana and Izmir and to some others on Marmara and the Black Sea coast. A special landing for seaplanes was designed at the very center of the plan for the International Fair. The emphasis was to create here a hub of different transportation systems via air, sea, and earth as shown on a drawing of 1949 by Henri Prost. (Figure 6) Although the 1953 exhibition was not implemented, the idea of a fair gained a new currency towards the end of the 1950s. A smaller fairground to be transformed into a culture park was considered at Yenikapı. It included a leisure park, open air theaters, cinemas and a 60.000-seat stadium in the area once designated by Prost as the permanent exhibition zone. It is interesting to note here that the site reserved for long term educational and leisure activities in the Prost plan had almost the size of the Culture Park in Izmir. However, this second attempt for the same area in Istanbul remained as another unfulfilled prospect. Nevertheless, the idea of a fair could be realized, in the early 1950s, in a relatively modest version within the green zone planned as Park No. 2 by Henri Prost.

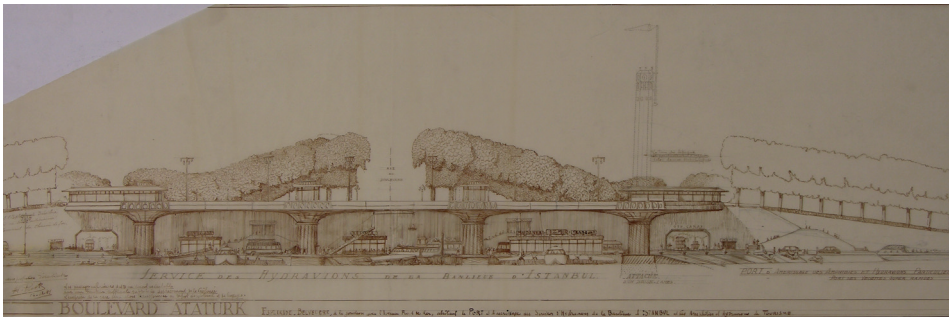


Fig. 6. Vista dell'area di Yenikapi dal mare: il sistema delle comunicazioni (ferrovie, strade, idrovolanti e traghetti) come da progetto di Henri Prost, 1949 (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).

Fig. 6. View of the Yenikapi area by the sea: Junction of railways, motorways, seaplanes and ferries by Henri Prost, 1949 (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).

Despite the fact that neither the fair nor the Olympic games for the year 1953 could be implemented, Prost's plans prefigured the setting of a transportation infrastructure. Although Henri Prost quitted as chief planner in the early 1950s, the new road network that he had proposed in the old core of Istanbul was implemented to a great extent later. As a part of this network, the seafront boulevard along the Marmara coast was opened[40] during the operations led by the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in 1957. This road, which was further widened in the 1980s, is still in use today as one of the main thoroughfares that connect the city to the Atatürk Airport. A port of ferryboats was constructed at Yenikapı later in the 1980s, at the same point with the landing of seaplanes envisioned by Prost. Reminiscent of Prost's multilayer transport hub, the railway tunnel passing underneath the Bosphorus, currently under construction, surfaces at Yenikapı, and constitutes one of the main transfer stations of the subway system of Istanbul.[4]

The first Universal Exposition after the World War II took place in Brussels, and the prospect for a World's Fair in Istanbul was never realized. The fact that there is no record about Istanbul's candidacy at BIE archives shows that, Henri Prost's proposal for an international exhibition in the city in 1953 remained as a tentative project of the municipality. Nevertheless, other great international events, necessitating large investments in infra- and superstructures continued to be intermittently suggested for Istanbul. The city's candidacy for the Olympics in 2008 and 2012, and the Formula 1 Turkish Grand Prix are worth mentioning. Designated as the European Capital of Culture 2010, Istanbul is now the site of large scale infrastructure and urban projects.

Candidacy of Izmir for the EXPO 2015

Despite Istanbul's potential as the greatest metropolis and the economic center in Turkey, the international exposition reaching out the largest audience has remained the annual Izmir Fair. In its recent history, Izmir housed two other important international events : "Mediterranean games in 1971" and "World University Games (Universiade) in 2005". At the turn of the 21st century, the endeavors to make this city the locus of a great event in Turkey took a new start.

The initiative to host the World's Fair came from a local organization. The Chamber of Commerce of Izmir first put this prospect in its strategic plan in 1992 for Expo 2000.[42] After the 1999 local elections, the municipality adopted the project, yet it took some time for the central government to endorse it. Turkey became a member of BIE in 2004. A competition sparked at that moment among the cities of Istanbul, Antalya and Izmir for being selected as Turkey's candidate for Expo 2015. Izmir's successful organization of the Universiade in 2005, the second largest sports organization in the world, was decisive in its nomination. In May 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs officially nominated Izmir to host the World's Fair of 2015 and announced its theme as "New Routes to a Better World: Health for all" with reference to the United Nations' millennium declaration.

Routes to Nomination: Local Initiative versus Central Authority

Turkey's selection of Izmir had a number of historical and political explanations. Many different international, national and local outcomes were expected from this event. National interests were stressed in the public discourses. "16 million more tourists," "first world expo in a Muslim country," "placing Izmir on a global spotlight" or to make Izmir a "world city" at the eastern edge of the "West" and western edge of the "East," coupled with the prospective European Union membership, were amongst the slogans. Although such common interests were voiced by all parties, it also provoked disputes regarding how the ruling conservative party used the Expo as a strategy towards winning the local elections in Izmir.[43] Furthermore, Expo became the focus of many environmental and planning discussions.

The first detailed report on the projects for Izmir in the context of Expo 2015 came from the Chamber of Commerce of Izmir in 2007. [44] The report entailed proposals related to the transportation infrastructure of the city and its region, to the conservation of historical heritage, to the diversification of tourism and accommodation facilities, to the urban transformation and creation of attraction centers, and to environmental issues. Among these, there were spectacular suggestions making use of the archaeological sites, highlighting the 8500 years of history. One of these projects was about connecting the ancient city of Ephesus to the sea making its ancient port a marina for tourists. Another project proposed a cable car system from Ephesus to the House of the Virgin Mary. Bringing to light the whole archaeological remnants of the Old Smyrna in Bayraklı, reconstructing the Roman agora and the amphitheater to house the opening ceremony of the Expo with an attendance of 20.000 people, were among the proposals that concerned the city center. New centers of attraction were also suggested such as a Disneyland or Miniatürk –a miniature park to be composed of Turkey's monuments. One can observe that all these proposals were directed to generate mass tourism in the region in continuity with the Expo activity. Proposals related with developing the transportation infrastructure, tourism capacity and also environmental projects such as cleaning the Izmir Gulf, all reflected a concern for regional planning, connecting the city to its hinterland. The promise of the Expo was a means to the development of the region.

The official report of the candidacy of Izmir stressed that the Expo offered a "unique historical opportunity and a catalyst" to realize "the potential of the city and increase its capabilities". It enumerated the expected national and local impacts of the event, briefly as follows:[45]

> All successful EXPOs have made major financial contributions to their host countries. They have helped to renovate the infrastructure of their host cities, increased employment, improved the quality of urban life and provided many new buildings and public artifacts. Izmir will no doubt receive many of these same social and financial contributions. With EXPO, the capacity of the airports and hotels will be increased, and many

> convention centers will be built. Alternative means and modes of commuting, such as subways and marine transportation will be developed, and investments in "fast train" will bring Izmir closer to Ankara, Istanbul, and other cities. Holding the EXPO also means the renovation and recreation of the historical city core. In short, EXPO will act as a catalyst for the renovation of the city. Parks and recreational units, in the EXPO area, will enable inhabitants and visitors to enjoy the natural beauty of the area while increasing the quality of life. […] EXPO 2015 will serve as a catalyst disseminating art and culture from the city centre to the urban periphery and will reinforce and strengthen the many elements shared with world culture.

Selection of the Expo Site: Urban Development versus Environmental Protection

Various interest groups such as politicians, entrepreneurs and environmentalists supported alternative sites and strategies for the fair.[46] Different locations were on the agenda, and each of them corresponded to a different scenario for the future of the city. (Figure 7) The chambers of architects and planners suggested alternative locations. Similarly, the municipality proposed a site located 45km away from the city center, next to the campus of the Institute of Technology, envisioning to use it as a technopolis in the future. Locating Expo on the western periphery of the metropolitan area, would help developing the transportation infrastructure toward that direction. However, the nciraltı site was finally selected after the intervention of the central government, and with the support of the local businesses. The report nominating Izmir implies that the municipality finally agreed to support this decision because "an urban planning of this scale need[ed] assistance from the central government" and also because such collaboration would ensure the "allocation of land of [the] treasury."[47] Declared as a "Tourism Area" of special significance, the land-use plan for the whole zone of nciraltı was prepared by the central agency of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, instead of the local planning service of the municipality. Within this zone, actually the area reserved for the Expo at nciraltı was 370 hectares,[4]: only 1:3 of the entire tourism area.

However, the local chambers of city planners and architects, in particular, opposed the selection of nciraltı.[4] They contended that the natural assets of the area, i.e. the lagoon and its ecology which had been placed under protection by a decision of the Conservation Council, and by the previous plans, would be endangered. They further underlined that such a choice contradicted the theme of the exposition, "health for all," and its sub-theme "a healthy environment" – not least because the documents that promoted Izmir's nomination defined health as "a dynamic equilibrium between the individual and environment." Supporters of the selection of the site at nciraltı defended their position by arguing that the fair would ensure a low-density development with large green areas, and thus, would be the least harmful and socially acceptable alternative for this centrally located zone. For, all other types of development for housing or tourism would yield to speculative pressures, and, therefore, would be detrimental.

The post-use of the exhibition site and buildings were among the issues discussed in the light of the question of sustainability.[50] Once the event is over, many

buildings in the Expo Park were planned to be used for sports, entertainment, education, cultural events and conferences. A center for health, pharmaceutical research and technology would also be a significant legacy of the Expo.[51] Although officially presented as a participatory process,[52] the planning strategy of the government received mostly negative reactions. Non-governmental organizations were the first to oppose what they saw as the government's "authoritarian" attitude, and demand a more inclusive process. They provided alternative platforms for debate and generated vivid discussions on issues of participatory planning, sustainability, urban development versus conservation of ecological habitats etc. It is interesting to see that while the environmental impacts of the Expo 2015 were being debated, a parallel discussion was pursued by the non-governmental heritage organizations in the public realm. Planning of a dam, which causes the submergence of the ancient city of Allianoi, became a major issue in this context. "Europa Nostra" was involved in the discussions to conserve the archaeological site. It was the subject of a demonstration when the BIE members were visiting Izmir.[53]

Master Plan of the Expo Site

The procurement of the urban design and architectural projects was also a

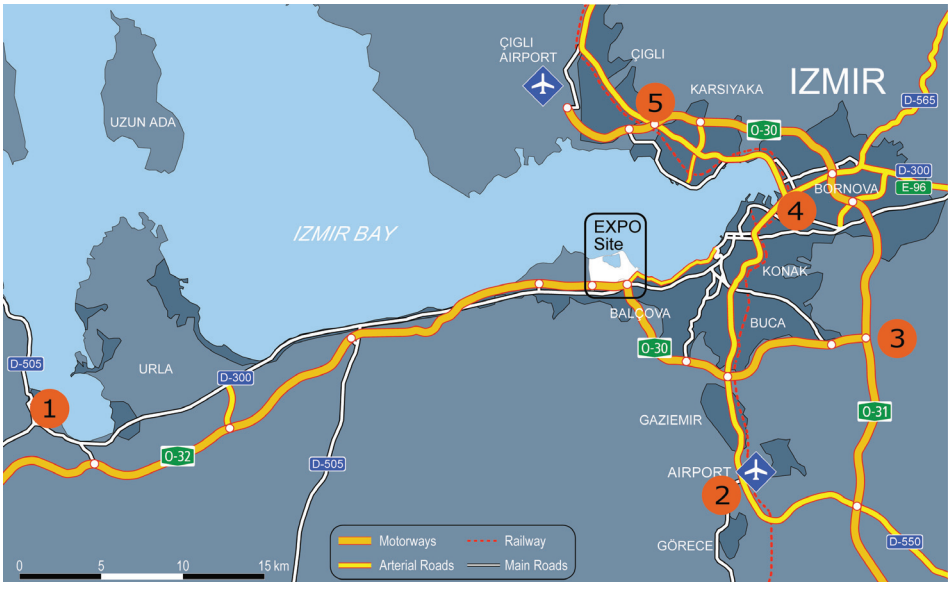


Fig. 7. I diversi siti proposti da differenti organizzazioni per l'Expo 2015 di Smirne.
Fig 7. Alternative sites proposed by different organizations for Izmir Expo 2015.

matter of concern. Instead of directly commissioning foreign specialists, the architecture and city planning organizations in Turkey demanded an architectural competition for the Expo. They regarded the "International Urban Design Competition for the Izmir Harbor Area," held in 2002 by UIA, as an example of an inclusive planning process. Their objections were ignored and the German group, Albert Speer & Partner, was commissioned directly for the master plan of the exhibition grounds and the Expo village. In this choice, the group's achievements in Hanover 2000 and Shanghai 2010 fairs certainly played an important role. However, their design for the Izmir Expo raised further criticism.

The German group's master plan was based on an organic layout to match the theme of the Expo Izmir 2015: "Health for all".[54] (Figure 8) A main alley extending along an artificial lake constituted the central spine on both sides of which different zones of exhibition pavilions were placed. Five different zones corresponding to the sub – themes of the Expo were connected to each other with meandering roads – a metaphor for the blood circulation of the human body. At the crossing of the main pedestrian alley and the central perpendicular axis crossing the lake, a monumental open-air auditorium and an expo tower were designed in the form of a "crescent and star." This direct reference to the Turkish flag can be interpreted as an attempt to secure the support of the government and the public. (Figure 9) The master plan intended to preserve the lagoon in its natural state and the municipal park that neighbored it. As in their previous Expo master plans for Hanover and Shanghai, the German planners put forward a plan for the post-use of the expo site. According to this, its northern side adjacent to the lagoon was to be transformed into a park, while the central clusters were to be kept for the permanent uses. The planners emphasized "balanced and sustainable use of natural resources based on the use of renewable and clean energy sources" and the "ecological aspects" of the master plan. However the parking areas covering a surface of 120 hectares on an "environmentally sensitive" site put this statement into question. At the end of this fairy tale, Izmir lost the Expo 2015 against Milan, and this scheme remained on the drawing boards. The BIE mission of enquiry regarded Izmir's Expo project "not only viable [..] but that it also [had] a strong potential for the organization of a Universal Registered Exhibition."[55] Yet, the national delegates who voted for the final decision did not find it as attractive as that of Milan. Nevertheless, it is a fact that Izmir gained an invaluable experience, and its candidacy for the Expo 2020 is already on the agenda.

Conclusion

The International Fair of Izmir and the project for the 1953 International Exhibition in Istanbul were both conceived during a poverty stricken period. One was realized in a city devastated by fire, in the midst of the turmoil of the great depression, while the second was planned during the World War II. Between 1923 and 1946, the country was ruled by the one party regime and important administrators emerged as



Fig. 8. La planimetria dell'Expo 2015 di Smirne dello Studio Albert Speer and Partner (Expo Izmir 2015 Candidacy Report).

Fig 8. Site plan of Izmir Expo 2015 by Albert Speer and Partner (Expo Izmir 2015 Candidacy Report).

key agents in the planning agenda. In Izmir, the governor-mayor Behçet Uz was the central figure who initiated and led the projects of the International Fair and of the Culture Park simultaneously. Based upon an initial planning scheme prepared by the French planners and by making use of the Soviet expertise, the plan of the park was prepared by the technical service of the municipality. In the case of Istanbul, there was an influential city planner who initiated the idea and elaborated the plans of an international exhibition as a tool to implement his planning decisions for the city. Despite the support of the governor-mayor of Istanbul, and the approval of the President of the Republic, Prost's brainchild did not go beyond the planning stage. The latest case of Izmir Expo 2015 occurred in a comparatively prosperous economic context. Furthermore, local governments have gained power in Turkey following the policies of decentralization. The initiative for the candidacy of Izmir to the Expo came from a local organization and many different actors were involved in the process. However, it is interesting to observe that the central government was still the ultimate authority this international organization of the highest national interest. Remarkably, the nomination of Izmir brought into the fore the importance of participatory planning processes through a controversial, yet vivid pluralist and democratic public discussion. The German planning office, commissioned at the last stage, prepared only the master plan of the site, and, in fact, remained an outsider to all these debates. It is interesting to point out that, starting from the 19th century foreign experts played an important role in the planning of these international great events. By the turn of the 21st century, the presence of a vivid architectural debate on a national scale, furthered by the increased

number of local professionals, rendered the hiring of foreign planners more controversial. On the contrary to the planning of the Izmir International Fair of 1930s the site and buildings of which were designed by local architects, the case of Expo Izmir 2015 underscores the conditions of architectural practice in the age of globalization.

In all three cases, the international fairs were conceived as a means to an end: they helped modernize and develop the infrastructure of the city. All three intended to provide their respective cities with recreational and green areas, and socio-cultural

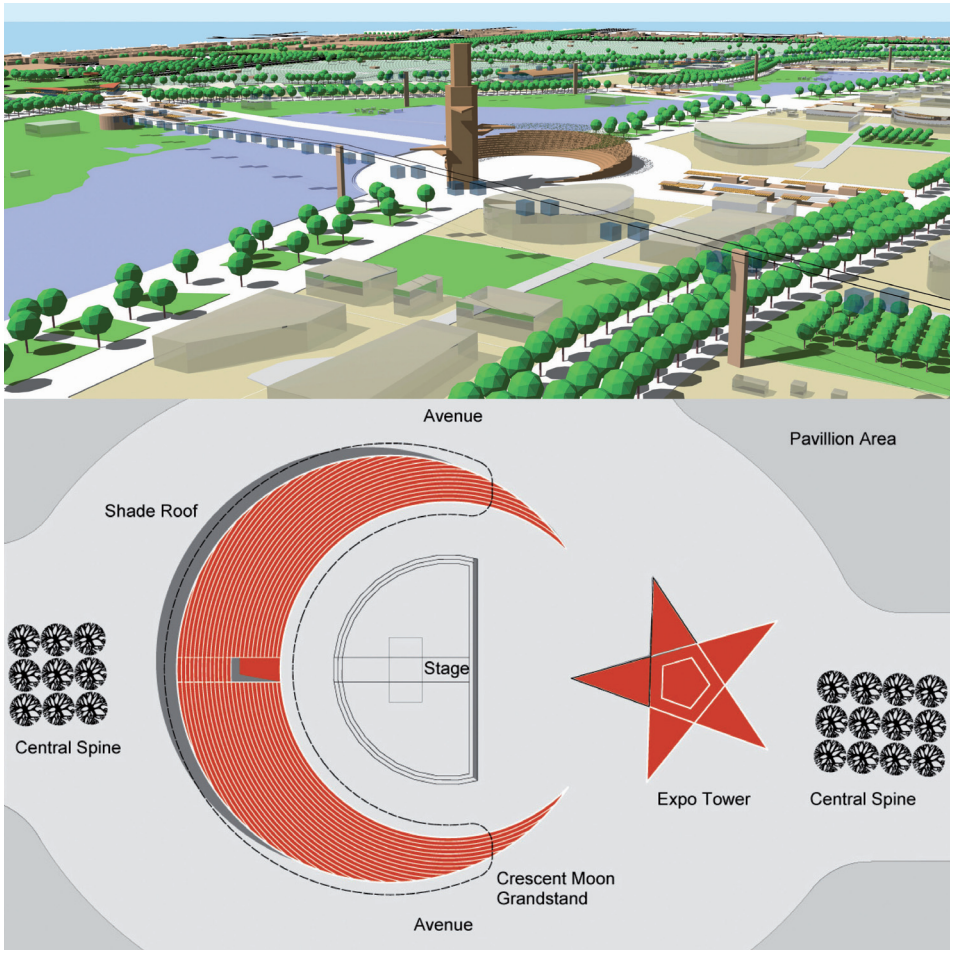


Fig. 9. La Piazza Centrale dell'Expo 2015 di Smirne nel progetto dello Studio Albert Speer and Partner (Expo Izmir 2015 Candidacy Report).

Fig 9. Central plaza of the Izmir Expo 2015 by Albert Speer and Partner (2005-2008).

facilities, which would persist long after the end of the events. The Culture Park of Izmir, for instance, offers several cultural facilities and a vivid social center, and as such, has proved a lasting asset for the entire city. Although Henri Prost's project for an international exhibition for Istanbul was not implemented, it constituted, along with the master plan, a reference for the future transportation network of the city. It is interesting to point out that in both cases the exhibitions were planned on a *tabula rasa*. The Culture Park in Izmir was planned on an area, which had been consumed by fire, and became a generator of urbanization. In Istanbul, the international exhibition area was designed as a means to rebuild a derelict area. In this case, the great event was expected to be a generator of urban renewal. In the last enterprise of Izmir, the Expo was exploited to open a natural protection area to development. The master plan elaborated by Albert Speer & Partner, envisaged a permanent Expo park with social, cultural and research facilities that would serve the city in the future. As the scope of the events and the size of both metropolises expanded, areas reserved for these enterprises widened. Remarkably, the sites planned for the exhibitions tripled in each case: 36 hectares for the Culture Park in 1935, 120 hectares for Istanbul 1953 and 360 hectares for Expo Izmir 2015. Had these projects for hosting a World's Fair been successful, they would have been an impetus not only for the modernization of the technical infrastructure, but also for further economic and socio-cultural development of both cities. And yet, unlike in the 1930s, modernization is no longer the sole purpose of a planned fair. It is now coupled with a concern for sustainability, increasingly embraced by the non-governmental actors.

NOTE

[1] We would like to thank Dr. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci and Dr. Can Bilsel for their invaluable contribution in this article.

[2] Zeynep Çelik's study is still the most comprehensive source on the topic. ÇELIK Z.(1992), *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-century World's Fairs, Berkeley*, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. For the participation of Turkey in international fairs in the 20th century see ZELEF H. (2003), *A Research on the Representation of Turkish National Identity: Buildings Abroad*, Unpublished Ph. D Dissertation, METU, Ankara.

[3] ÇELIK Z., op.cit., p. 139.

[4] ÖNSOY R. (1984), "Osmanlı mparatorlu unun katıldı ı ilk uluslararası sergiler ve Sergi-i Umum-i Osmani", *Belleten*, n. 185, p. 208. There is a second pavilion for the display of the foreign participants, AKÇURA G. (2007), "Sergi-i Umum-i Osmani 1863" in *stanbul*, October, n. 61, pp. 126-129.

[5] The main hall of the 1894 exhibition was 44.000 m2, 13 times larger than the one in 1863.

[6] "Levant Herald and Eastern Express" 27 march 1893 quoted in ÇELIK Z., op.cit. p.143. The tram line from Pera to the i li area was established in 1883, and the network was electrified in 1914. http:// www.dersaadettramvayi.com/kronoloji.html.

[7] Raimondo Tomasso D'Aronco (1857-1932) worked in stanbul for 16 years and realized many buildings for the Ottoman court, after being invited for the 1894 exhibition. BARILLARI D. (2006), "Moderne architetture cosmopolite: opera di Raimondo D'Aronco a Istanbul", *D'Aronco, Architetto Ottomano Progetti per Istanbul 1893-1909, Restauro, Progetti, Libri*, Istanbul: Suna nan Kıraç Vakfı stanbul Ara tırmaları Enstitüsü, pp. 32-124.

[8] ZELEF H., op.cit. Besides the 1925 Exposition in Paris, Turkey's most spectacular participation in a world's fair is the one in New York in 1939, with a historicist pavilion. Turkey was also represented in other international trade exhibitions: 1925 Vienna, 1931 Budapest, 1932 Leipzig, 1934,1935 Thessaloniki, 1935 Brussels, Telaviv and Damascus in 1936, Belgrade in 1938.

[9] Following the Treaty of Sèvres signed at the end of the World War I, the city and its region had been occupied by the Greek Army for three years. The liberation of Izmir by the Turkish forces on September 9, 1922 marked the end of the war.

[10] The *Societé de Reconstruction de Smyrne* was founded by the deputies of the province while the negotiations for the Treaty of Lausanne continued. SERÇE E. (1998), *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e zmir'de Belediye, 1868-1945*, Izmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, pp. 174-175; BILSEL C. (2006), "Une ville renaît des cendres: La création de Smyrne la Républicaine", *Smyrne, La ville oubliée? 1830-1930*, Mémoires d'un Grand port ottoman, Paris: Éditions Autrement, pp. 205-219.

[11] It is interesting to see a reference to Lyautey in a later text: The French ambassador drew a parallel between Lyautey's achievements in Morocco and the Park of Culture together with the surrounding plazas, the botanical garden and its café. His words imply a sense of internal colonization of the city through the fair. "1939 zmir Beynelmilel Fuarı", *Arkitekt* no. 9-10, p. 200.

[12] A. F. (1927), "Le plan d'aménagement de la ville de Smyrne", *L'Architecture*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 121-126.

[13] BILSEL C. (1997), "Ideology and Urbanism during the early period: two master plans for Izmir and scenarios of modernization", *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 16, no. 1-2, pp. 13-30.

[14] A.F., op.cit., pp. 121-122.

[15] The citizens of zmir commisionned an equestrian statue of Atatürk in this plaza, to the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica. ÇELEBI M. (2002), zmir Gazi Heykeli, Izmir: zmir Büyük ehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplı ı Dizisi.

[16] SEYMEN U. B. (1992), "Tek Parti Dönemi Belediyecili inde Behçet Uz Örne i", BATUR E. (ed.), *Üç zmir*, stanbul: Yapı Kredi Bankası Yayınları, pp. 297-321.

[17] Suad Yurdkoru cited in FEYZIO LU E. (2006), *Büyük bir halk okulu zmir Fuarı*, zmir: ZFA Kültür Yayını, pp. 29-34.

[18] The original press statement taken from Sancar Maruflu's archive, Ece SAKAR E. (ed., 2007), *Atatürk'ün zmir'i, bir kentin yeniden do u u - Behçet Uz*, stanbul: Türkiye Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p. 69.

[19] Mayor's trip to Paris, in 1930, where he saw the "Paris Fair" might have played a role on the development of the idea as well. Interview with Behçet Uz in Ege Ekspres quoted in FEYZIO LU E. (2006) *zmir Fuarı*, op.cit., backcover. The exhibition that Uz mentioned should be the *Exposition Coloniale Internationale* in Paris. The pavilions were situated around the lake of Daumesnil within a landscape design. LEMOINE B. (2008), "Paris 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale 15 mai – 15 novembre", CLAVEL S., ICHALET-BAILHACHE I. (eds.), *Paris et ses expositions universelles, architectures, 1855-1937*, Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, Centre des Monuments Nationaux, p. 63.

[20] SAKAR E. (ed.), op.cit., p. 60.

[21] *La Turquie Kémaliste*, the periodical of propaganda of the Turkish Republic, presented the International Fair of Izmir to its readers on the occasion of the opening of the 1936 fair. "LA FOIRE INTERNATIONALE D'IZMIR, conçue dans le but de faire connaître annuellement à l'intérieur du pays aussi bien qu'à l'étranger, les progrès professionnels et économiques crées constamment en Turquie par le régime d'ATATÜRK et par le Gouvernement Républicain vient de fermer pour la sixième fois ses portes." In the same article, the program of the Culture Park was also introduced. It is interesting to note that the three museums in the park were listed as: "le Musée de la Renaissance Kamâliste, le Musée de l'Hygiène et le Musée de la Région de l'Egée." The term "Renaissance" used for the kemalist revolution underlines the humanistic basis of the Republican westernization. *La Turquie Kémaliste*, "La Foire Internationale d'Izmir", no. 14, August 1936, pp. 15-19.

[22] SAKAR E., op.cit., p. 58-59

[23] Later in 1948, in his master plan proposal for zmir, Le Corbusier pursued the same idea in his own nomenclature: *"Cultiver L'Esprit"* ; BILSEL C. (2009), "Le plan directeur de Le Corbusier pour zmir: un projet d'urbanisme sur le thème de la ville verte et de la Grille CIAM", BACH P. (ed.), Le Corbusier en Turquie - Le plan directeur d' zmir (1939-1949), Catalogue de l'Exposition, Strasbourg: IREG, pp. 93-109.

[24] The exhibition hall in zmir as well as the one in Ankara was amongst the major modern buildings of the period. BOZDO AN S., *Building the Nation* and also CHING F. D. K., *A Global History of Architecture*, Mark M. Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash. Bruno Taut designed the Museum of the Revolution in the Culture Park.

[25] Izmir became a member of the International Fairs Association (UFI) in Milan in 1938 amongst 33 member organizations. FEYZIO LU E., *zmir Fuarı*, p. 51.

[26] *Arkitekt* (1939), no. 9-10 p.198 and 200.

[27] PROST H. (1947), Les Transformations d'Istanbul, *La communication de Henri Prost à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts*, 17 Septembre, unpublished text, Institut Français d'Architecture Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe Siècle (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost); BILSEL C. (2007), "Remodelling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: the Representation of History in Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul", OSMOND J. and CIMDINA A. (eds.), *Power and Culture - Identity, Ideology, Representation*, Pisa: Edizioni Plus - Pisa University Press.

[28] Appointed, in 1932, as the chief planner of Paris by the governor of Seine, Henri Prost directed the *Plan d'Extension de la Région parisienne* until 1936, the date when the plan was approved.

[29] It is the *Comité d'étude de l'Exposition internationale d'art moderne à Paris*. LORTIE A., "Expositions universelles et métamorphoses parisiennes", CLAVEL S., CHALET-BAILHACHE I. (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp. 80-84 ; and UDOVICKI-SELB D. (1987), « Projets et concours », in LEMOINE B. (ed.), *Cinquantenaire de l'Exposition internationale des arts et techniques dans la vie moderne, Paris 1937*, Paris : IFA, Paris Musées, pp. 44-71.

[30] On this issue, see Danilo Udovicki-Selb's article in the present volume.

[31] PROST H., Note n. 36, Les Documentations (1936-1938), vol. 1, *Les Transformations d'Istanbul*, unpublished notes (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).

[32] PROST H., Note n. 19, Plans Directeurs, *Les Transformations d'Istanbul*, unpublished notes (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).

[33] *Güzelle en stanbul* stanbul Belediyesi Yayınları, stanbul, 1943.

[34] In 1939, President nönü ordered the "realization of the planning program till 1953 the 500th year of stanbul's conquest" by a commission under the Mayor of stanbul. The municipality spotted the need for an exposition and sports hall in the early 1939, noting that even a facility to celebrate the "native products week" (*yerli mallar haftası*) was not existing in the city. *Ayın Tarihi*, 30 January 1948. In 1943, despite the economic hardships of the war, mayor Lütfü Kırdar was talking about the great events of commemoration such as "the opening of the International stanbul Expositions Hall and Sports Hall, the stadium the hippodrome and an Olympic village" in a radio speech. (18.06.1943) Daily news of the time, quoting this speech, informed their readers about the urban projects to be undertaken in this context. " stanbul'un fetih yıldönümü enliklerine hazırlık olmak üzere muazzam bir imar programı hazırlandı" Ulus, 19 June 1943; "On yıl sonra stanbul ne ekil alacak?", *Cumhuriyet*, 19 June 1943.

[35] *Programme du Plan Décennal 1943-1953*, unpublished text and plans, (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).

[36] Actually many such great events coincided with nationally important dates. For example 1873 Vienna exposition was the 25th anniversary of coronation of the Emperor, or 1893 was the 400th anniversary of conquest of America, and lately the Expo 1992 in Seville commemorated the 500th anniversary of the same event.

[37] Atatürk Boulevard was recently opened cutting through the historic city according to Prost's plan.

[38] It is to note that a similar section, where the railway lines were taken underneath the promenade designed between Invalides and Passy along the Seine river, was realized on the occasion of the Expo 1937 in Paris. LORTIE A. (2008), "Expositions universelles et métamorphoses parisiennes", CLAVEL S., CHALET-BAILHACHE I. (eds.), *Paris et ses expositions universelles, architectures*, 1855-1937, Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, Centre des Monuments Nationaux, p. 83.

[39] PROST H., *Plans Directeurs, Les Transformations d'Istanbul*, unpublished reports (IFA/AA, Fonds Prost).

[40] Yet, it is to note that the sea-front boulevard in Prost's plan passed from the inside of the Byzantine city walls, whereas it was realized on the sea side of the walls by filling the sea.

[41] The archaeological excavations at Yenikapı, conducted in parallel with the construction of the transportation infrastructure, brought to light the Byzantine port of Theodosius and the findings of a settlement dating back to the Neolithic times.

[42] The visit of a group of representatives of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce to the Expo 92 in Seville was influential in the emergence of this idea.

[43] The fact that the municipality of zmir and the central government are from opposite political and ideological positions, was one of the reasons of disputes. The local authorities criticize the central government's attempts to push aside the local representation in many platforms in the elaboration of the project.

[44] Zmir Ticaret Odası, *zmir Ticaret Odası'nın Expo 2015 kapsamında önerdi i projeler*, prepared by Hitay Baran, September 2007.

[45] *New Routes to a Better World: Health for All, World EXPO 2015 zmir, Turkey*, Report for the candidacy of zmir submitted to BIE, vol. 1, p. 14.

[46] A report prepared by the Chamber of City Planners zmir Branch, states that the nciraltı area was selected from a group of 8 competing sites. Buca dam area is suggested as the alternative spot for the EXPO by the Chamber of City planners zmir Branch. http://www.spo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/4015b7f368e6b48_ek.pdf.

[47] *New Routes*…, op.cit., p. 76.

[48] Similar in size to 2000 Hanover 160 hectares and 2005 Aichi 173 hectares and larger than 2010 Shangai.

[49] The Chamber of City Planners sued, in late 2007, against the municipality to stop the implementation of the development plan for nciraltı.

[50] One of the meetings informing the professionals as well as the public on the World's Fairs and candidacy of zmir was particularly on the post-use of the fair zone. "Mimarlık ve Expo" (Architecture and Expo) Speakers Tamer Ba bu , Haluk Zelef, Cânâ Bilsel, Hasan Özbay, Chamber of Architects zmirBranch, 2007.

[51] *New Routes*…, op.cit., p. 149.

[52] As a sustainable and permanent solution, the municipality has developed a master plan for the zmir Metropolitan Area.

[53] Hasty restorations for a historical railway station to host those BIE delegates were also discussed on the media.

[54] Frank Höf (from AS&P Office) explained the outlines of the master plan of the Expo zmir 2015 in the following article: "Albert Speer & Partners tarafından tasarlanan master plan, zmir'e EXPO 2015 ev sahipli i getirecek mi?" (18 February 2008), http://www.arkitera.com.

[55] "BIE Report on the Enquiry Mission on the Proposal for a Registered Exhibition in Izmir in 2015," dated 13.11.2007, Bureau International des Expositions (BIE).