

**ST CLEMENTS UNIVERSITY**



**DOCTORATE THESIS  
“ MEDIA AND POLITICS RELATIONS IN TURKEY'S DOMESTIC AND  
FOREIGN POLICIES ”**

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**Thesis Advisor : Prof. Dr . Bilal Semih BOZDEMİR  
ANKARA  
DECEMBER, 2020**

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**Political Science**

**ANKARA  
2020**

This study titled ' MEDIA AND POLITICS RELATIONS IN TURKEY'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES ', presented by Erol KINAY as his PhD Thesis in Political Science, St. Clements It was evaluated by us in accordance with the relevant provisions of the University Education and Training Directive and was deemed worthy of defense, and the candidate was found successful by unanimous/majority votes in the defense exam held on 31/03/2021.

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## ABSTRACT

### DUE TO DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY AND POLITICAL RELATIONS IN THE MEDIA IN TURKEY

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Doctoral Dissertation , Political Science

Supervisor : Professor Bilal Semih BOZDEMİR

December 2020, 120 Pages

Although the media undertakes an important role about informing the individual , when consider the institutional scope , its relations oath the possible influence , it could be said that media is ineffective position for evolution of society oath politics process . Therefore , it is possible to say that media is a strategic point for politic actors .

Of this study , media's dynamics , relations with politics actors and how it is shaped of the politics process is given . Definition of politics shaping oath the mentioned network of the relations are described with several examples from past to this day . Of this thesis study's first part includes historical developments of the press on the focus of France, the United Kingdom , Soviet Russia and USA are the states which influenced the global politics . Of the second part , it is focused on transformation of the media in Turkey . Of this context , internal oath external politics are studied while analyzing the media's effects in both of parts .

Generally it is focused on how to media influenced the politics field oath the society At the today day , when analyzed existing politics oath social developments , it is introduced that necessity of analysis the media in this research

**Keywords :** Media, politics , propaganda, identity , actor

## **THANKS**

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Prof., who gave his time, experience and close attention during the preparation of this thesis. Dr. I would like to thank Bilal Semih Bozdemir and my family for their unconditional support during difficult times.

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## INDEX OF ABBREVIATIONS

### Abbreviations

<b>USA</b>	America Unified states
<b>EU</b>	Europe union
<b>ANAP</b>	Motherland party
<b>AP</b>	Justice party
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>CHF</b>	Republic People party
<b>CHP</b>	Republic People party
<b>DYP</b>	Correct Path party
<b>MDP</b>	Nationalist Democracy party
<b>B.C.</b>	from Christ Before
<b>AD</b>	Later
<b>RP</b>	Welfare party
<b>RTÜK</b>	Radio and Television Top board
<b>SCF</b>	Free Republic party
<b>SHP</b>	Social Democrat Populist Party
Turkish <b>Grand National Assembly</b>	Big People assembly
<b>TR</b>	Turkey Republic
<b>TRT</b>	Turkey radio And Television institution

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis's primary goal is to investigate the media's impact on Turkish society and politics, given how significant a role it has grown to play in both domains. By focusing on the nations where significant international political events have occurred, the Turkish example aims to shed light on how much the media has changed from the past to the present and how this development has influenced its relationship with the government.

The goal is to demonstrate how influential the media is in shaping both foreign and domestic policy, how it influences how international relations are handled, and whether or not it influences political and social transformations. The study is based on the United States, the United Kingdom, and France.

The primary goal of the study is to ascertain how the evolution of Turkish media from the past to the present is connected to the growth of media in other countries. Put another way, the primary objective is to look at the media's effects on society and politics. The fact that this study is still relevant to both internal and international policy is what gives it the greatest significance.

Much more detailed analyses will be available in this study, which spans history and psychology. Different fields of knowledge, such as economics and international relations, will be used.

Throughout the study, we'll concentrate on the media's historical evolution and provide instances to illustrate the many roles it plays in both domestic and international affairs.

Following a discussion of the historical evolution, the media's contemporary areas of influence and effects on politics will be highlighted and scrutinized.

Generally speaking, case studies and examples will be utilized to show how the media has developed both internationally and in Turkey. The historical context of the media's functions will be explored, along with the effects they have on society and, therefore, on political life.

The method is the most significant criteria in this thesis. Only those mechanisms that alter the global political flow are covered in the first section. This is why the French Revolution, the two World Wars, the Cold War, and the growth of monotheistic faiths are all included. As a result, this procedure also served to identify the nations that were the focus of the study. Thus,

the nations covered in the first section of the study are France, the USA, the UK, and Soviet Russia. The relationships between media and capital were highlighted throughout the investigation of these four nations. This method was also used to examine international and domestic policy.

The Ottoman Empire's constitutional era will serve as the starting point for the historical process in the second section, which will also examine the impact of the media on Turkish politics today. The literature review was widely followed in this study, and experimental approaches were excluded. Furthermore, the core of this inquiry is the institutional structures and the concepts they stand for.

In essence, the study is qualitative. Numerous sources were consulted, including books, periodicals, newspapers, and the minutes of speeches made by the Turkish Grand National Assembly. It has been attempted to use instances from different eras to describe the media's views in both domestic and international policy.

Research focuses vary depending on historical eras. Before the industrial revolution, widely accessible media like newspapers and magazines were more common. However, as a result of technical and financial advancements, the term "media" has taken on new meanings thanks to technologies like television, radio, and the internet. In this way, the goal is to clarify the idea of "media" by contrasting it from several angles.

Aytaç spoke on the etymology and analogies of the term "Media". He used the previously indicated idea to determine what "tools" meant. These instruments come in a variety of forms, from computers to paper<sup>1</sup>.

Murdoch contends that big businesses become more successful when their states support them. On the basis of this, he characterizes it as a crucial instrument for command, coordination, and control in order to eradicate any issues that could arise for geographical and economic empires<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Gürsel Aytaç, *Literature and Media*, Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture Publications, 2002, p.62.

<sup>2</sup>Graham Murdoch, "Media, Culture and Modern Times: Social Sciences Investigations.", *Handbook of Media and Communications Research Methodologies*, Ed. Klaus Bruhn Jensen, London and New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 41.

According to Murdoch, big businesses become more productive when they work with their states. As a result, he describes it as a crucial instrument for command, coordination, and control in order to resolve any issues that a territorial or economic empire may have<sup>3</sup>.

Kaya looked into how the media affects society. According to Kaya, the media acts as a "determiner" for society, making decisions. It also describes the media as a continuously growing economic sphere or sector<sup>4</sup>.

Conversely, Geray highlights the significance of contact by analyzing how the media functions. Geray used a useful categorization as "classical" and "technological" to emphasize the "interaction" feature while attempting to explain the media's ability to foster interaction. He said that modern communication technologies, including the Internet, have made contact more opportunities. He said that the Internet has more engagement potential than conventional communication mediums like radio, television, and newspapers<sup>5</sup>.

Aydin, however, saw the media as a whole since it is mass media. Here, utility takes center stage. As a result, it is a public framework that contributes to social interactions and individual relationships by carrying out a number of different social tasks that inform, educate, and promote national integration—in other words, they support social order<sup>6</sup>.

Özsever discovered the media's vital role in the advancement of liberties. Therefore, he also highlights its utilitarian aspects, much like Aydın. Özsever defines media as the press in its broadest sense. It is a system that permits flexibility of ideas in terms of functionality. is the arrangement<sup>7</sup>.

According to Armstrong, who spoke about the media from a class standpoint, the media is a product of the capitalist system. According to his definition, the media is a sector that works for the ruling class and collaborates with it on government projects<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup>Graham Murdoch, "Media, Culture and Modern Times: Social Sciences Investigations.", *Handbook of Media and Communications Research Methodologies* , Ed. Klaus Bruhn Jensen, London and New York: Routledge, 2002, p.41.

<sup>4</sup>A. Raşit Kaya, *İktidar Yumağı* , Ankara: İmge Publishing House, 2009, p.32.

<sup>5</sup>Haluk Geray, *Communication and Technology* , Ankara: Ütopya Publishing House, 2003, p.18

<sup>6</sup>Nurullah Aydın, *Human Rights, Democracy and Media* , Istanbul: Kumsati Yay., 2008, p.156

<sup>7</sup>Atilla Özsever, *Unorganized Journalist in Monopoly Media* , Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2004, p.143

<sup>8</sup>Scott Armstrong, "Censorship Tricks," *Media and War Lies* , ed. Lenora Foerstel, trans. Ahmet Antmen, Istanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2007, p.28

Dursun, however, approached the topic of the media from a Marxist perspective. Dursun defines it as reflecting class interests at the economic level to the superstructure, so destroying the revolutionary potential of the working class as a conduit for intellectual dominance<sup>9</sup>.

Within the context of an economic-political viewpoint, Törenli described media as instruments that include all modern communication technologies, particularly those developed during the 1970s, such as computers and radio.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that the media may be defined in such a variety of ways demonstrates its complexity and the presence of both political and commercial factors in the public domain.

To summarize, mass media may be defined as the collective term for processes that possess the capacity to impact society and the political arena at large. Furthermore, the media's broad field of influence indicates how significant a role it plays in both the political and social arenas. With these interpretations, it becomes a significant player in determining how the media functions, how society perceives itself, and how people define their social identities.

Identity serves as an epistemic constitutive aspect, according to Keyman. Put another way, it is a definition that is applied to the development of discourses like globalization and the use of contrasting concepts like west and east and modern and traditional in international relations theory. It is also a key phenomenon that serves as the cultural foundation for the understanding and justification of the world in terms of IRT<sup>11</sup>.

The most discriminating category is sexual identity, according to Smith, who assesses identification in three basic ways. In cultural and ethnic contexts, land is synonymous with belonging. Lastly, the socioeconomic social class viewpoint on identity<sup>12</sup>.

In the present process, Cox and Smith's ethnic and cultural definition of land as belonging is more prevalent than other categories<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup>Çiler Dursun, *Ideology in TV News*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2001, p.26.

<sup>10</sup>Nurcan Törenli, *New Media New Communication Environment*, Ankara: Science and Art, 2005, p. 177

<sup>11</sup>E. Fuat Keyman, "Identity and Democracy", *State and Beyond*, Ed. Atila Eralp, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, p.219-220

<sup>12</sup>Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, Trans. Bahadır Sina Şener, 1994, p.18.

<sup>13</sup>Robert W. Cox, "Beyond Empire and Terror: Critical Reflections On The Political Economy of World Order", *New Political Economy*, Vol:9, No:3, 2004, pp.307-323.

The assimilation of various values into the global economy is said to have shaken national identity and culture, leading to the development of strong reactions in the name of identity defense in nations that have changed under the pretext of modernization, according to Bilgin, who contends that globalization is effective in putting identity more on the agenda than in the past. It continued <sup>14</sup>.

Conversely, identity was seen by Lundby and Ronning as the antithesis of media culture as it was based on traditional culture. Furthermore, they asserted that media culture encircled identity and that this was due to accumulations from the past. <sup>15</sup>.

According to Fiske, the word "people" cannot be justified as a set sociological term. The rationale is that social categories are formed by characteristics of identification such as class, color, age, religion, and similar viewpoints. This indicates that rather than being seen as passive individuals, the people are thought of as active actors.

Gripsrud believes that the media has a significant role in altering societal norms, customs, and individual viewpoints in addition to its influence on identity formation <sup>16</sup>.

In a system built by human labor, phenomena like "Islam," "Nation," and "Christianity" express a portion of social reality in the form of distinct identities. According to Edward Said, these identities exhibit identity approaches like "Western" and "Eastern," which are perceived as the other. backed up <sup>17</sup>.

Furthermore a stunning illustration of how the Welfare Party, which ruled Turkey in the middle of the 1990s and had a similar sense of self and saw itself as the antithesis of the West, recognized the discourse it created on anti-Westernism in both internal and international policy.

It is also evident that the media has a role in the identity phenomenon. Products from other societies' consumption habits, such jeans and Coca-Cola, are promoted to the public by the society as national values, taking advantage of national sensitivities. This is an obvious example of how the media forms identity in this context. Upon examining every aspect of identification, it is evident that the pursuit of identity by people, and particularly by all societal strata, is an

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<sup>14</sup>Nuri Bilgin, *Identity Construction*, Ankara: Aşina Kitaplar, 2007, p.21-22.

<sup>15</sup>Knut Lundby and Helge Ronning, "Media Culture Communication: Interpreting Modernity Through Media Culture", *Media Culture Politics*, eds. Süleyman İrvan, trans. Nilgün Gürkan, Ankara: Alp Publishing House, 2002, pp.5-28

<sup>16</sup>Jostein Gripsrud, *Understanding Media Culture*, London: Hodder Arnold Publication, 2002, p.5.

<sup>17</sup>Edward W. Said, *Islam in the Media*, Trans: Aysun Babacan, Istanbul: Metis Publications, 2007, p.119.

indispensable social component. Because of this, it is possible to conclude, based on the findings of these studies, that when analyzing people's responses or impressions of all societal layers, particularly in the media, all facts that determine identity should be taken into consideration.<sup>18</sup>.

The first theory to challenge realism's interpretation of foreign policy and international relations was behaviorism, which shared realist theory's acceptance of the state as the primary actor. In this case, we may state that the two approaches' decision mechanisms and scenario structures are identical<sup>19</sup>.

Gönlübol, new players in today's international politics have come from outside the nation. They are seen as new players in the political system by international organizations, multinational businesses, and even autonomous national groups.<sup>20</sup> He does concede, however, that the state has greater power than other players.

Arı does not imply that state institutions have developed into a powerful force in the political, cultural, financial, social, or other domains, despite his belief that the 20th century has altered the structure of international politics. We contend that in foreign policy assessments, players other than the state need to be included as well. It continued<sup>21</sup>.

Nation-states are becoming less and less significant, according to Giddens, who contends that states are in the process of losing their dominating position—that is, their principal actor position—in today's political system. Giddens backs this theory by arguing that following World War II, supranational organizations assumed some of the authority formerly held by nation-states. According to Strange, authoritarianism—a measure of a state's ability to make decisions—will undermine all governments, big or little, for financial and technical reasons. This is consistent with Giddens' points of view. protects and becomes more significant as a definition for those in positions of authority or organizations that may make decisions. It demonstrates that actors nowadays are not limited to governments and that social, political, and financial institutions that have influence on state decision-making processes may now also be regarded as players<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup>Nuran Hortaşçu, *Me We You All: Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007, p.57

<sup>19</sup>M. Fatih Tayfur, "Foreign Policy", *State and Beyond*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, p.81.

<sup>20</sup>Mehmet Gönlübol, *International Politics*, Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2000, p.43.

<sup>21</sup>Tayyar Arı, *International Relations and Foreign Policy*, İstanbul: Alfa Publications, 1996, p.14.

<sup>22</sup>Susan Strange, "The Declining Authority of States," *The Globalization Reader*, Ed. Frank J. Lechner and John Boli, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, p. 234.

In order to assess the two phenomena that are associated with the word nation-state independently, we may first define the term country as a human community sharing a similar culture and striving for some kind of autonomy, independence, or local authority.<sup>23</sup>

The word "nation" Because nationalism is a political reflection, it may grow beyond the bounds of international politics and, when emotionalism and populism take hold, it can result in conflicts between nations. may result in It's a social strategy.<sup>24</sup>

Gellner contends that nationalism cannot develop in a society in which there is no state and also links nationalism to the presence of the state. Gellner defines a state in this sense as an entity or group of institutions in charge of upholding law and order in a certain area. Those who uphold order, such the police and courts To him, the gadgets represent the state itself.<sup>25</sup>

Oppenheimer, however, contends that the state has unique qualities and defines it as the sole kind of organized political system. He views the state as a "classroom state" in this sense, a hierarchical organization made up of lower and higher social groupings according to distinctions in status, property, or other attributes.<sup>26</sup>

Yalvaç contends that while the state remains a static, unitary, and rational actor in his theory of international relations, it has acquired a historical and sociological component. Furthermore, Yalvaç said that the state is the nation-state, the economy is the national economy, and society is the national society. Yalvaç founded the harmony between the state and society on nationality..<sup>27</sup>

The definition of "nation-state" or "national state" should be made in the light of the concepts of a nation that was purified from old traditions and local loyalties during the establishment of the Republic, according to Kızılyürek, who accepted kemalism as Turkey's nation-state model. The nation-state system is more than a management model, even if it is acknowledged that it

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<sup>23</sup>Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, *Borders: Identity, Nation, and the Edges of the State*, trans. Zeki Yaş, Ankara: Ütopya Publishing House, 2002, p.20

<sup>24</sup>Mehmet Gönlübol, *Age*, p.320

<sup>25</sup>Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Trans. Büşra Ersanlı and Günay Göksu Erdoğan, İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 2008, p.74-75

<sup>26</sup>Franz Oppenheimer, *The State*, trans. Alaeddin Şenel and Yavuz Sabuncu, İstanbul: Engin Publishing, 1997, p.37

<sup>27</sup>Faruk Yalvaç, *Age*, p.2232 Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Cyprus in the Grip of Nationalism*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p.169-180



defines the character of the state, as the example of Turkey makes clear. It serves as a model for changing society as well.

Various departments have performed study in media studies. It is evident that scholars from several fields, including sociology, communication, and public relations, concentrate on the effects of media on people and society. It has been discovered that one of the primary research areas is mass media, particularly television. As a result, studying only one or a small number of the media's constituent parts has not adequately addressed the media's holistic aspect.

Many departments have carried out study in the field of media studies, with an emphasis on the effects of media on society and the person. These departments include sociology, communication, and public relations. It became evident that there was insufficient information in the media's holistic aspect. These days, international relations has taken a particular interest in studying how the media interacts with capital and power as well as how the media is seen as a whole when it comes to social and political issues. No study has been found on which roles are taken as basis, despite the fact that researchers at the Department of International Relations in Turkey are particularly interested in the media's role in agenda-setting, its relationship with terrorism, and its role in psychological warfare.

Some individuals have said that the media is a tool under the direction of the forces that form society, citing the critical authors Chomsky and Herman. Additionally, they said that they thought the government, which was ruled by money, shaped public opinion based on shared interests.

Another scholar, Patil, argues in "The Dirty Truth" and "No to Empire" that society is exposed when it uses the media to uphold American hegemonic rights, which distances it from truthful facts. He went on to say that if it came to it, the media may be held criminally accountable for spreading lies in order to undermine the resistance to foreign involvement. In contrast to Palenti and Chomsk's theories, Meyer contends in "Media Democracy" that the media colonizes politics.

In contrast to Palenti and Chomsk's theories, Meyer contends in "Media Democracy" that the media colonizes politics.

Meyer thinks that because of the media's influence, politicians may be influenced by them.

is covered in the book "Social History of the Media" by Briggs and Burke, which examines the media from a historical perspective. It is stressed that as technology has advanced, so too has the reach of the media.

In her book "Media History from the Beginning to the Present," Jeannine focused on the functional aspects of mass media to analyze their political and social effects since the Roman Empire while also providing historical assessments of other forms of media. In this historical process, Jenny also looked at the media's economic structure, characterizing modern media as intensely profit-driven organizations.

Fiske's work "Understanding Popular Culture" embodies the communication strategy produced inside social cognition and established by the media in popular culture. Another source used in this article is "Ideology and Communication Theory" by Stuart Hall.

The international scientists and other authors listed above assessed the mass media's historical evolution, industrialization in the US and other Western nations, usage as a propaganda weapon, and relationship to major media outlets in this research. Evaluations based on factors including their owners, social influence, and roles in the process of globalization were used, among other things.

Gülseren Adaklı, a Turkish thesis researcher, Beybin Opinions about the changes occurring in Turkey were stated by scientists and authors, including Kejanlıoğlu, A. Raşit Kaya, İlhan Bardakçı, Çiler Dursun, smet Bozdağ, Tevfik Çavdar, and Oya Tokgöz. Turkey uses media and its present position. The study "Turkish Media Industry" by Adaklı examines the relationship between financial power and the cartelization of Turkish media throughout history. The book "Transformation of Turkish Media" by Kejanlıoğlu concentrated on the contemporary functional aspects and evaluated the quality of Turkish broadcasting companies. The "Güç Topu" piece by Kaya concentrated on the ways in which Turkish capital attempted to exploit the media in its dealings with the government. Dursun's work "Ideology in Television News" looked at media discourse and how it affected society. Çavdar's "Imprinted Newspapers and Journalists" and Bozdağ's "Press Tyranny in the World and in Turkey" both highlight the issues facing the press in the Republic of Turkey's historical core. Based on critical communication theory, Tokgöz's book "Understanding Political Communication" examines the connection between politics and the media.

It is evident by looking at the writings of the aforementioned writers that they all take distinct stances when analyzing the media. Opinions with historical and critical views were employed in this thesis research.

The following are academic studies on how the media affects social and political domains: The opinion-forming power of the media in the context of Turkey-EU relations was examined in Ceyda Elif Çağlayan's 2002 master's thesis, "The role of the media in the opinion formation process, a case study: Examining Turkey-EU relations from the perspective of daily Turkish newspapers." The investigation of the media's view and public reflection of the events in Gazi District was the focus of Ercan Özyiğit's 2002 master's thesis, "Social power and news media: Presentation of Gazi District events in the press". "The role of the media in the transition from war to peace" was the title of Ogün Yıldız's 2006 master's thesis, which examined the media's role in assisting society in switching from one political-social process to another. The function of the press in the political power's forest land policies was examined in Zübeyir Yücel's 2007 master's thesis, "Press in the policy-making process: Debates regarding the transfer of ownership of forest lands". The role of the media to the industrialization of a sports field was studied in Cevahir Evren's 2007 master's thesis, "Examining the ideological attitude of the most basic current media in the industrialization of football as a mass sport in Turkey". Çiğdem Dirik examined the globalization of media and the role of Turkish media in this process in her 2007 PhD thesis, "Global media-Turkish media relationship within the framework of globalization." A study on how the Turkish media set the agenda on the Cyprus Problem was done for Yener Önder's 2007 master's thesis, "The Cyprus Problem in the EU Process and the effectiveness of the media in setting the agenda". The 2007 master's thesis "New media and journalism" by Nuray Turan looked at the composition of modern media and the role of journalism within it. The building of social identity in Turkish press articles was highlighted in Şerafettin Baş's 2008 master's thesis, "Designing Turkish cultural identity in the press during Turkey's EU membership process (British example)". The 2008 master's thesis "Media-terrorism Relationship" by İsmail Alper Yalçınkaya explored how important the media is to terrorism. The events leading up to the 2003 America-Iraq war were covered in Hakan Günaydın's 2008 essay, "Media and foreign policy in Turkey: 2003 memorandum crisis". It was investigated how the media affected the political attitudes of Turkish legislators and the general public during the basic draft process. "The relationship between media and democracy: Rethinking the democratic role of the media" was the title of Yeşim Yakışır's 2009 master's thesis, which explored the role of the media in democratization of social and political life. Yunus Kurtuluş completed a PhD thesis titled "Media evaluations about Islam after September 11, 2001" which was published in Turkey in 2009. By comparing the news and writing published in four newspapers with varying

backgrounds and styles over the course of a year, both before and after September 11, the changes in the newspapers were investigated. "After the January 24 Decisions, changing ownership structures and power relations in the Turkish media market" was the topic of Aysun Eyrek's 2009 master's thesis, which looked at the media's post-1980 cartelization and governmental connection. The 2010 PhD thesis "Media and democracy: The role of the media in the political power-society relationship in Turkey" by Nigar Değirmenci explored the many roles that the media plays in the power-society relationship. Ahmet Mert Utma studied the influence of the media on political campaigns and the foundation for swaying public opinion in the context of electoral processes for his 2010 master's thesis, "Media-political power relationship in Turkey after 1980."

Topics like the media's transformation, its influence on agenda-setting, its shaping of social life, the government's relationship with the media in political processes related to foreign policy in the EU process and the Cyprus Problem in particular, and the media's role in election processes are all covered when we take a broad look at the aforementioned thesis studies.

Considering the global relations method, the primary feature that sets this thesis research apart from others in terms of the intended outcome is its disclosure of whether or not the media actively participates in political processes. Consequently, even if the subjects covered in this thesis are comparable to those in some other theses, the media dynamics have been investigated within the context of the study of global relations and are bolstered by the historical aspect. According to this goal and methodology, the media's role in politics in Turkey was examined in light of its social and functional roles.

To investigate the theoretical aspect of the research, the definition of terms and an analysis of the media's influence are included in the first section of the study. Opinions about the reasons why media-related domestic and international politics need to be taken into account simultaneously are also presented. The media's evolution is discussed in the second section of the chapter from the standpoint of international relations. The emphasis was on the roles that mass media played and continue to play in the historical eras that brought about shifts in the global political and social order, as well as the media in more recent times. In the latter half of the second chapter, the place of the media within these systems is touched upon, depending on political regimes. The media's role in the liberal economic system has received more attention in the modern age due to the system's widespread dominance.

The media's role was examined in the second study section, which concentrated on Turkey's political system. Similar to the preceding part, this one also looks at the historical aspect and discusses the evolution of history from the republic's establishment to the present. More attention was attempted to be paid to this part as Turkey was going through a transitional era in the early 1990s after the conclusion of the Cold War with the September 12, 1980 coup. The third chapter's last section attempts to look in-depth at the rise of the idea of "dominant media" as a consequence of media cartelization, this segment's place in the politics-finance network, and its effects on politics.

In light of global and regional assessments, a general assessment is provided in the conclusion section, with an emphasis on how the media alters the political and social landscape and the extent to which it influences both domestic and international policy.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **1. MEDIA PERCEPTION IN THE DIMENSION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Understanding how powerful the media has become both domestically and internationally these days necessitates looking at social life in addition to politics. Thus, a closer look at the mechanisms that the media has used to consolidate its dominance throughout time would help to make the findings of this study more understandable. It seems a sensible approach to study the problem first with its historical dimension and then with its economic and political aspects in order to comprehend the causes behind this strengthening trend and its influence on the current political situations.

Prior to delving into the historical process, it is essential to unveil the ways in which mass media, the media's primary source, shaped the political and social structures of key eras that profoundly altered world history and the discipline of international relations. The discipline of global relations demands the employment of methodologies based on multifarious interaction in order to objectively expose the historical evolution of the media. Because of this, the cause and effect connection as well as global politics, global economics, and sociological evolution need to be explicitly examined for the media as different mass media become structured and actorized throughout time.

The influence of mass media, which is the wellspring of the media, on the political structure and social order throughout pivotal historical moments that profoundly affected the discipline of international relations and altered world history must be revealed when studying the historical process. The discipline of global relations demands the employment of methodologies based on multifarious interaction in order to objectively expose the historical evolution of the media. Because of this, as different mass media grow more structured and actorized throughout time, it becomes vital to study the cause-and-effect connection as well as global politics, global economics, and sociological evolution that is unique to the media.

#### **1.1 Theoretical Dimension of the Research**

The influence of the media is first looked at in the theoretical section, which also covers analyzing the study from a theoretical standpoint. This section contains assessments of the media's potential, degree of relationship, and regions of penetration.

There are theoretical perspectives on why, while assessing the media within the context of the field of international relations, home and foreign policy have to be taken into account simultaneously. There are instances that back up these opinions.

## **1.2 Media Impact Provider**

When describing the effects of the media, Thompson emphasizes on how each person and our society see one other. Put another way, media impacts a person's feeling of belonging to society in addition to altering how he perceives his environment and history. Thompson said that the sensation of belonging communicates a shared history, location, and trajectory in space and time. She went on to say that the media contributes to these sentiments and that they play a significant role in our society's attempt to establish a shared memory.<sup>28</sup>

Contrarily, Rucht looked at how the media affects social movements and stressed that while it may choose to ignore an already-existing movement, it can also take it into account and push it into the political agenda, as it did in the 1960s. Congruent with the perspectives of Thompson and Rucht, Törenli highlights the media's agenda-setting and directing abilities. However, he stressed that technologies like the internet, one of the new media's tools, are also a source of profit for businesses and said that the media is useful in the financial industry.<sup>29</sup>

Meyer highlights that politics may shift when they are subject to the media system's influence while assessing the media's effect on politics. Meyer says that the political system's logic cannot entirely be eradicated, even while the media system's logic has the potential to dominate politics. Furthermore, he asserts that the media has the power to reorganize subjects, protocols, and even the relative importance accorded to it throughout the political decision-making process. In conclusion, Meyer argues that the political process may be influenced by the media.<sup>30</sup> Naveh

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<sup>28</sup>John B. Thompson, *Media and Modernity*, trans. Serdar Öztürk, Istanbul: Kırmızı Publications, 2008, p.61.

<sup>29</sup>Nurcan Törenli, *Age*, p.200-201

<sup>30</sup>Thomas Meyer, *Media Democracy*, trans. Ahmet Fethi, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 2004, p.73

said that one must see the media as a component of both bilateral ties and the overall political system in order to comprehend the media's response to politics.<sup>31</sup>.

Politicians who make foreign policy decisions often have their perceptions shaped by the media. The ruling class or classes may effectively shape community awareness during class struggles to safeguard the interests resulting from the upholding of capitalist production relations.<sup>32</sup>.

Thomas Meyer articulates the political power and media's guiding impact in his book "Media Democracy" in the following ways.;

*“The political realm drastically alters and becomes reliant on the media system's regulations as soon as it is subject to its influence. The logic of the media system impacts the political process at the level of "production," or the point at which the political sphere becomes distinct from other spheres of existence, in conquering politics. It also restructures how the political is portrayed or interacts with other systems. The constituent parts of political logic are recast by the principles of media logic, which often give them new interpretations and introduce additional components derived from media laws. In this context, colonization refers to politicians' almost total submission to the logic of the media apparatus. ...”*<sup>33</sup>.

The media has an indirect impact on social behavior since it has the power to alter people's intellectual perspectives. Accepting that the media shapes societal perception will lead to a greater acceptance of the idea that the media has a significant influence in shaping political and financial events.

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<sup>31</sup>Chanan Naveh, “The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework”, Conflict and Communication Online, Vol.1, No:2, 2002, p.1-12

<sup>32</sup>Çiler Dursun, Age, p.26

<sup>33</sup>Thomas Meyer, Media Democracy, How the Media Colonizes Politics, Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2002, p.72



### 1.3 Domestic and Foreign Policy Connection

It becomes vital to highlight the reasons why domestic and foreign policies should be taken into account simultaneously in order to show the research component or framework, before looking at the interaction between the media and domestic and international politics.

II. The "globalization of the state" process plays a significant role in the post-World War II legal framework of the new international order. States' internal policies and national economies are now subject to international accords and global organizations that were formed in this context. The fact that the member states of the European Union have ceded part of their sovereign powers to a supranational entity is a significant indication of the tie between states in an era of globalizing the globe and law.

The legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government are now obligated to this higher institution as a result of clauses included in the constitutions of EU member states. An interesting illustration of the close link between national policies and foreign policy is the European Union system.

Gönlübol contends that a web of connections has grown among the components of the international system centered on central authority and that it is impossible to foresee how a state will respond to events taking place outside of its borders, with that state's response relying on its own internal dynamics.<sup>34</sup>

The globalization of politics, economy, and culture has been highlighted by Donnan and Wilson, who also claimed that it has played a significant role in the relaxation of government regulations governing the flow of money, products, people, and ideas.

Additionally, they contend that nation-state structures are strained and the state is still vulnerable to change and transformation in the economic, social, and political processes that arise based on outside influences, even when the modifications in the composition and purposes of global borders are taken into account on both a global and a single state scale.<sup>35</sup>

In light of the September 11 terrorist attacks, Soros highlighted that domestic circumstances in one nation would inevitably impact those in other nations as a result of

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<sup>34</sup>Mehmet Gönlübol, *Age*, p.31-32.

<sup>35</sup>Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, *Age*, p. 16.

globalization. Falk contends that a global component is emerging in both the commercial sector and our civic society. Furthermore, the impression of boundaries is weakened by the flow of ideas, money, crimes, and partially human beings. Globalization causes the state's position and viewpoint to be formed by external forces, even if this problem does not lessen the state's significance in today's world. Because of international accords, governments in the nation-state structure that globalization threatens are straying from populist measures.

We might infer that, given the legal and political framework established above the nation-state system, domestic policies—especially those related to globalization—cannot be divorced from international policy. The enormous pressures imposed by the global system mean that a country's internal political issue now influences the domestic politics of other nations. Consequently, it will inevitably be challenging to conduct a thorough study when looking at the influence of the media on both domestic and international policy as distinct concerns <sup>36</sup>.

#### **1.4. Media Organizations in the Context of International Relations**

Prioritizing what is more important and what requires closer examination is the first step in any methodical explanation of a phenomena or occurrence by an international relations expert. The question of what perspectives are required for analyzing a dynamic and intricate phenomenon like media arises because the concepts to be used in international relations authority and related research dimensions are also the focus of many different scientific fields, including law, politics, social science, psychology, and history. In this instance, selecting what matters to look at while analyzing the media is required.

"Historical development of the media" is one of the primary topics that may display how the media is responding to both internal and international politics. It will be simpler to identify the media's current domains of influence and if, in accordance with the neo-liberal perspective, the media is a player in the national and international arena after outlining the historical evolution.

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<sup>36</sup>Jeremy Brecher, Tim Costello and Brendan Smith, *Globalization from Below*, trans. Berna Kurt, Zeynep Kutluata et al., Istanbul: Aram Publishing, 2002, p.22

## **1.5. Effects of Mass Media on Human History**

Mass media have played important roles in many changing periods of world history. For the first time in B.C. It can easily be argued that writing, which is accepted to have been used by the Sumerians with the help of clay tablets in Mesopotamia in the 3000s <sup>37</sup>, was the source of inspiration for today's mass media such as newspapers, magazines, posters and billboards. On the other hand, written communication technology, which started with the Sumerians, provided great help in the creation of a social order, that is, in the establishment of civilization, by increasing urban management, institutional organization and religious control. The Egyptians made significant contributions to the spread of the communication network, first by using cuneiform writing and later by using papyrus <sup>38</sup>.

As a result of this human accumulation, the Roman Empire began using photos in newspapers, or *acta*, to facilitate communication between state-level entities. *Duirna*), in business dealings, in the advancement of legal affairs, and in several spheres of social-literate life <sup>39</sup>, established the framework for modern statehood and culture.

Writing, which evolved into the primary means of mass communication in antiquity, made it possible and continues to make it possible to pass down knowledge in a more beneficial manner to future generations. Because of this, it is possible to argue that literature other than the Bible have had a significant influence on societal forms like evolution and revolution. The printing press, the most significant innovation of the Age of Enlightenment, and the industrial revolution's introduction of radio and television into society, together with the subsequent development of social pressure culture, have had a significant impact on national and international political systems <sup>40</sup>.

### **1.5.1. Relationship between Holy Books and Media**

It is now widely accepted that one of the phenomena that sociologically, culturally, and psychologically shapes society is the existence of holy values. The Bible (New Testament), which has 27 books and was originally written in Greek, the Torah and Psalms, which were

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<sup>37</sup>Haluk Geray, *Age*, p.8.

<sup>38</sup>Haluk Geray, *Age*, p. 8

<sup>39</sup>Harold A. Innis, *Empire and Communication Tools*, (translated by Nurcan Törenli, ed. David Godfery), Ankara: Ütopya Publishing House, 2006, p.154

<sup>40</sup>Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *Age*, p.235-236

originally written in Hebrew and Aramaic, and lastly the Prophet Muhammad, one of the four caliphs of the Islamic world. The written text of the Holy Quran, collected by Osman into an Arabic book, is distinct from other written works because of the religious and spiritual concepts it conveys. Additionally, it is evident that certain books are more successful than others since they are doctrinal mass media instruments that spread more successfully when copied and distributed from their original society to new ones.

It incorporates the teachings of Hz as well as those found in the sacred texts Psalms and Torah. The Bible, dubbed the "new covenant" by Jesus, was noted for its longevity and was used to create a strong edge over other religions of the time, particularly Judaism. From this point on, it is recognized that the distribution of holy texts and the mass media, which use paper as their foundation, have had a significant impact on the expansion of religions and their sphere of influence. An noteworthy illustration of the above finding is the clergy's capacity to use sacred texts to exert significant influence over governments and society, particularly in the medieval era. The Bible remains more successful than the "mass culture environment" even in nations that have moved away from liberal thought.<sup>41</sup>.

The 42 lines per page of these Bibles—henceforth dubbed the "42-line Bible"—and their mass manufacture were made possible by Gutenberg's invention of the woodblock printing press in Germany between 1450 and 1456. This innovation sparked intense curiosity across Europe. Conversely, as printing firms proliferated, a new industry and social class started to emerge.<sup>42</sup>.

Long-term increases in social knowledge have been significantly aided by the growth of publishing firms and printing businesses. Given the remarkable rise in Bible printing, it is evident that Christianity had taken hold as the predominant religion in Europe. But as people became more aware of the Bible's contents, the church's political influence diminished considerably. Specifically, from a secular standpoint, the German-based Lutheran Reformation Movement has altered the political landscape of Europe.

Both the Islamic and Christian worlds were greatly impacted by printing firms' duplication of holy texts and public display of them. Because of this, nations' and decision-makers' perspectives on religion have had to shift somewhat.

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<sup>41</sup>Ünsal Oskay, "Let's Be Children Who Don't Want to Wash", Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Publications, 1998, p.372.

<sup>42</sup>Oya Tokgöz, Understanding Political Communication, Ankara: İmge Publishing House, 2008, p.38

### 1.5.2. Use of Print Media During the French Revolution

The political propaganda campaigns started with the aid of press instruments represent the most significant contribution of the French Revolution of 1789 to the contemporary political fight. For this reason, printing businesses were crucial to the revolution. Along with newspapers, news papers started to be utilized to create an information network with the assistance of these printing businesses. France had very tight press regulations before to the revolution. Because of this, French intellectuals and authors would illegally sneak their books into the nation after having their works published outside of France, mainly in the Netherlands. Interestingly, Rousseau published none of his masterpieces in France.<sup>43</sup>

Jeanneney, the press's function during the French Revolution went beyond just reflecting the political landscape. He was a key figure in the revolution at the same time. The pro-revolutionary press continuously questioned every incident that happened during the revolution, seeing it from the standpoint of either success or failure or freedom or imprisonment.

Because of this, the journalistic coverage of the Bastille Prison capture had a greater effect than usual. Compared to pre-revolutionary France, the French press had very extensive privileges. The press's significant contribution to the revolution's victory was the primary justification for its vast liberties. Due to severe persecution, the nation had only 41 publications before to the revolution. However, two months after the revolution, the number of newspapers increased to 1400 owing to the return of intellectuals from outside France and the liberation of those who had been detained. Eventually, however, the possibility of newspapers being taken over by republican opponents led the Directoire Assembly—which maintained sovereignty—to step up its inspections and cut the number of publications to only 13. Press pressure increased, particularly during the Napoleonic era, and publications were once again compelled to relocate outside of France. *Spectateur* was one of these publications, issued in Izmir, Ottoman Empire, by the republic's opponents. It's the *Eastern Observer*, a newspaper by that name. However, from 1795, the French government's embassy in Istanbul, which supported republicanism, was also referred to as *Bulletin. Nouvelles* (News Bulletin) was the newspaper he was producing. In

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<sup>43</sup>Harold A. Innis, *Age*, p.237.

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<sup>44</sup>Yılmaz Akkılıç, *First Printing Houses in the World and the Ottoman Empire*, [http://www.cgdbursa.org/cgd\\_bsntarih.asp](http://www.cgdbursa.org/cgd_bsntarih.asp), 10.07.2008

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England had to adopt military-oriented measures rather than diplomatic ones to assure the production of the raw materials it required and their safe delivery, even as it was continuously building the industrial revolution's infrastructure via colonialist activities. The social psychology of perpetual warfare may also facilitate the dissemination of divisive extremist ideologies that would be wholly incompatible with governmental regulations or, on the other hand, unquestioningly supportive.

However, our society's familiarity with mass media is one of the most significant elements that lowers this risk in England. The Industrial Revolution produced several devices that are now important in modern society, such the inexpensive newspaper, microphone, telephone, walkie-talkie, phonograph, and typewriter, which is the progenitor of the keyboard. These devices also greatly aided in the creation of the communication network. Newspapers played a key role in the revolutions that altered history by politicizing our society and igniting mass movements. They began to fill the communication gap comparable to the urbanization that occurred throughout the industrialization process.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Orhan Hançerlioğlu, *Philosophy Encyclopedia*, Volume: 6, Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1979, p.35

<sup>46</sup>Oral Sander, *Age*, p.216

Gazette, which began publishing in 1665. "London" has been published by this newspaper since its 24th edition. Taking on the moniker "Gazette," it published continuously as England's official journal until the 20th century.

The Times Newspaper started publishing and has endured since the most notable era of the Industrial Revolution, earning it great respect from the general public. The Times, which always took a strong stand against the government, was never shut down, despite the fact that several of its authors were put in jail at various points. The British Government's attitude, comparatively liberal to other European nations, facilitated the emergence of an emerging journalistic tradition that would eventually gain traction.

Conversely, however, talks about press control persisted under the pretext of "national security" throughout Britain's 1899–1902 South African War. However, the press organs did not immediately reject either censorship or the suggestions to create a voluntary self-control system inside the press. It was the press staff's and management's unambiguous attitude that compelled ministers and lawmakers to build positive relationships with journalists. But as World War I drew nearer, governments started to see photographic propaganda as more and more required. Particularly the British Kingdom, which had expanded into an international empire, started to use the word patriotism on a regular basis.

Not only were schools, churches, and patriotic community groups involved in the awareness-raising efforts conducted within the framework of this patriotic propaganda, but also the press and broadcasting companies. The prospect of an invasion of the British Isles was one of the subjects covered most often in British social propaganda. This topic has been the theme of several books. HG Wells's "The War of the Sands," William Le Queux's "Invasion of 1910," which was published in 1906, and Erskine Childers' "The Riddle of the Sands" are a few examples. These works are collectively referred to as "Air " <sup>47</sup>.

In America, the growth of the free market was matched by the expansion of the press. Put another way, the press became more industrialized as a result of the market's expansion.

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<sup>47</sup>International Encyclopedia Of Propaganda, ed. Robert Cole, Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998, p.287



The elimination of harsh levies on newspapers from 1853 to 1863 marked the birth of the American local daily press. The majority of the newspapers could only print locally due to the exorbitant prices, and this made the industry dangerous. One of the causes of the conflict with the less developed and conservative South was the press, which grew along with the North American economy. Furthermore, the politicians Pulitzer sponsored, who were pioneering the press's use of serial printing, helped the press establish a strong political position and gained an edge in elections. Theodore Roosevelt specifically won the presidency because of his collaboration with major newspapers in exchange for lowering the cost of paper during the presidential election. However, in exchange for the same cooperative strategy, the Democratic Party, headed by Woodrow Wilson, likewise supported a decrease in customs taxes on imported paper. It is evident that politicians and publications in America now consistently use the win-win strategy. One may consider this cooperative relationship to be the cornerstone of contemporary lobbying efforts.

The Times, one of the pioneers of American journalism, has enjoyed a monopoly since it began publishing in 1814 under the use of a steam-powered printing machine. With the removal of the paper tax in 1861, The News, established in 1846, and the Daily Telegraph, established in 1855, had amassed enough financial strength to challenge the Times' monopoly. Other newspapers benefited from the Times's decline as a result of the monopoly. However, the Times was also impacted by the New York Herald's publishing on domestic policy news, which had the potential to push even partisan organizations. The News and the New York Tribune took the lead in establishing the foundation for foreign policy news in America because of their shared approach to disseminating policies during the Franco-Prussian War, one of the period's foreign policy challenges.

Throughout the industrial revolution, American newspapers were unable to gain political clout due to their financial struggles and limited distribution. However, as American involvement in international affairs has grown since the turn of the 20th century, newspapers' readership and social impact have grown as a result of their use of dramatic reporting, as seen by the Spanish-American War of 1898. The American press was taking on a new dimension as it swiftly adjusted to the contemporary national and international processes, developed its own paradigm, and gained the ability to impact politicians and society alike.

that the press profession has had a boost from the industrial revolution to World War I in the national and international system controlled by a press that has grown significantly in strength, particularly in the western world. Because of this, the press was leading the society in the

direction that the governments desired, even if it had not yet taken on an active role in shaping national policy. Thus, a large portion of the press was responsible for turning the governments into propagandist and information machines.

#### **1.5.4. I. and II. The Effects of Written and Visual Media on the Course of the War During World Wars**

Following World War I, governments started to need propaganda, and three instruments in particular started to become more important. These were the radio, cinema, and newspaper. Thanks to the expanding business and the competitively driven ever-improving technology advertising promotion market, journalism started to regain financial stability after World War I. On the other hand, when radio became accessible in England in 1920, we may claim that a communications revolution began there. The British government founded the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) in 1926 with the intention of bringing visual viewpoints to the public. This radio broadcasting corporation, often known as a "official monopoly," was crucial in bringing knowledge to our culture. During the nationwide strikes of 1926, the BBC conducted the government's first propaganda test to sway public opinion.

Propaganda and counterpropaganda were jointly distributed by the government and the union during the railway strikes of 1919 and 1920. American movies with a working class subject have a significant negative impact on society. The British Government found itself in a difficult position due to the unions' frequent use of motion images. Because of this, the unions were successful in getting the government to agree to their demands during the 1919–1920 strikes. But the government got a big boost in the contest for public opinion and propaganda when BBC Radio was introduced in 1926. Specifically, the BBC's live broadcast function and its psychological effects on society made it possible for communication channels to be heavily regulated by the government. Because of this, strikers started to find it more difficult to publicly express their demands and opinions<sup>48</sup>.

President Wilson of the United States was the first politician to employ radio in politics. The radio was considered a luxury item during that era, and its appeal was heightened by the ability to listen to distant voices. The Versailles Peace Treaty was signed to bring the First World War to a conclusion. Wilson, one of the signing leaders, came to a deal with the heads of the main

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<sup>48</sup>International Encyclopedia Of Propaganda, p.290.

radio networks and began a campaign where radio played a pivotal role in influencing the public opinion of the United States in favor of the ratification of Versailles. American electoral campaigns also used radio-based public opinion-persuasion strategies. It was evident that Wilson, Warren Harding, and Calvin Coolidge prioritized radio addresses throughout their election campaigns before Coolidge was chosen as the next President of the United States.

America had a chaotic period of radio broadcasting competition in the 1920s. The public was forced to enact certain rules as a result. In 1927, the Radio Act and in 1934, the Communications Act were enacted.

In order to guarantee that the frequencies are dispersed uniformly and do not interfere with one another, several regulations were implemented. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) oversaw the licensing, frequency allocation, and license termination in accordance with these legal regulations. The FCC was a commission with seven members that operated independently. The US Senate gave its assent for the White House to choose the commission members. In theory, the seven-member committee may only have four members from the same party. The panel members' supervision responsibilities included public morals, child protection, and obscenity. The FCC also has the authority to suspend radio stations' licenses for breaking the guidelines. The committee also oversaw the candidates' equal participation in state election radio broadcasts. Radio stations made more money during election processes, which became political advertising. Politically and commercially, radio broadcasting benefited from this circumstance. However, the Political Campaign Communication Reform Act was passed in 1972 and political advertising expenses were placed under control due to concerns that rising demands for more money in advertising and political discrimination would result in inequity.<sup>49</sup>

II. VOA was established in opposition to Nazi propaganda and served as the American government's official broadcasting agency during World War II. It was President Wilson of the United States. Nonetheless, it seemed that the US Senate was leaning against approving the deal.

The Communications Coordination Office, which oversaw this group, depended on American and British assistance to offset the impact of Nazi propaganda. In an attempt to reach a wider audience, VOA began airing German shortwave radio transmissions in February 1942. Eventually, it also began airing English, French, and Italian programming. One of VOA's producers, John Houseman, was inspiring the audience with his captivating and powerful talk. By drawing parallels between democracy and fascism and nazism in its programming, VOA was

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<sup>49</sup>Haluk Geray, *Age*, p.50.

encouraging the occupied people to resist. Additionally, initiatives were being planned to inspire and fortify the resistance fighters, particularly in France.

From the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, communist propaganda has been produced by Pravda, the Soviet Union's pictorial journal. The Nazi invasion sparked World War II. The Red Star newspaper, a military journal, had its sphere of operations increased by the Soviet Union, which fought with the allies in World War II. Red Star also enhanced the quantity of periodicals like Pravda that are based on ideological viewpoints. The Soviet Union's leader, Josef Stalin, wanted articles in these two journals to promote Russian patriotism. Actually, these journals brought to light a number of Russian successes, such as Napoleon's defeat at the hands of the Russians in 1812. The idea that the fight against the Nazi occupation was a "Homeland War" had a lasting impression on the public. However, it's also important to recall that Soviet radio and publications often included slogans. Among them, "For Our Country and Stalin!" is the most frequently used. With their inspiring broadcasting tactics, Moscow Radio and Leningrad Radio almost turned into tools of war during the times when the German occupation of Russian land became more intense. Radio broadcasts of propagandist songs also occurred. The 1942 plays "Russian People" and "Wait for Me" by Konstantin Simonov were also widely televised. In addition, throughout the conflict, over 70 documentaries and propaganda movies were produced in Russia. It turns out that government influence over the media persisted even before the Cold War, serving as crucial propaganda instruments.

This problem demonstrated that the media, rather than acting as an actor in both the spheres of domestic and foreign policy, served as a "semi-state propaganda device" incorporated into the management-control levels of the government on issues pertaining to security or special procedures.

### **1.5.5. Examining the Effects of Media in the Cold War Era**

As the state-controlled broadcasting strategy advances, II. After World War II, the bipolar system developed and had a big influence. Political socialist groups were seen as a danger by Western nations, who saw themselves as the "free world". This is why the government was able to shape public opinion as it pleased since contemporary, efficient broadcasting mediums like radio and television were controlled by the state. Three distinct categories of western nations were included in the media examination that was conducted. The first is broadcasting on radio and television, which has a direct connection to the government. The BBC in England is the best

illustration of this. The fact that governmental control over broadcasting organizations constitutes the second kind of scrutiny. This technique was used in France, Italy, and Germany. The third approach involves regulatory bodies overseeing privately held media outlets on behalf of the public interest. This approach is used in America.

Voice of America Radio (VOA), which began transmission in 1942 as the Cold War was breaking up, also began transmitting in Russian in 1947. The United States created Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia in opposition to Soviet propaganda. VOA's budget increased from \$6.9,000,000 in 1946 to \$21.7,000,000 in 1953. This approach further compounded the antagonistic ties between the two superpowers as it evolved into an intellectual propaganda war. As in other areas, VOA was working to improve the image of America in Latin America. VOA compared democratic and communist methods in an attempt to maintain society's subjugation. The American intelligence organization CIA also made use of other radio stations, most notably Radio Free Europe.

Through these radios, communications were sent to spies in the nations under Soviet influence. The numbers recited during normal broadcast hours were passwords.<sup>50</sup>

As is evident, there were several escalations brought about by the bipolar system's friction between the US and the USSR. Newspapers, radio stations, and television networks all contributed in various ways to the regimes they were under throughout these years. Propaganda, misinformation, deception, and ignoring were the main methods that contributed to this. By now, the CIA controlled most of these activities in the United States.<sup>51</sup>

The media landscape was affected by the bipolar global environment that followed World War II. Particularly noteworthy is the advancements achieved by the media, which is backed by capitalism. Media outlets, which were wholly owned by the private sector and whose survival was based only on the economic system, were ideologically directed either directly or indirectly against socialism and the Eastern Bloc. This topic produced disparate findings, akin to the two sides of the "social responsibilities" coined by the silver screen in Hollywood and the black box known as television.

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<sup>50</sup>Joseph J. Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*, Trans. Enver Günsel, Istanbul: Pegasus Publications, 2006, p.296.

<sup>51</sup>Mark Zepezauer, *CIA's Major Operations*, Istanbul: Kaynak Publications, 1996, p.77-78

The capitalist bloc's leader, America, used the media in the conflicts in which it participated. More accurately, America and the media have begun to collaborate in some way. In actuality, American policy and the objectives of major American and international media corporations lined up perfectly. The core of the subconscious propaganda campaign is producing publications that promote the free market and voracious consumerism as a "way of life" and inspire similar behaviors in other audiences.

However, as American media evolved, natural connections between media organizations and major corporations emerged, and every newspaper and television network eventually became a division of massive corporations.<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, because of their isolation from the outside world, the Eastern Bloc was quite inept at propaganda and either paid little attention to the charges leveled against them or were unaware of the social psychological effects of anti-communist propaganda spread worldwide. Essentially, the People's Republic of China believed that strict control over the mainstream media under the guise of the "Cultural Revolution" would help them avoid international interference. Likewise, by enacting almost identical laws, Eastern European nations would shield their citizens against deceit. Mass communication's potential, however, has diminished the legitimacy of state-run media outlets.

However, the CIA also backed the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which was founded by non-governmental groups in the West at the start of the Cold War, and comparable initiatives received tens of millions of dollars in funding. Many intellectual groups produced a large number of periodicals. The most significant of them was the intellectual publication "Encounter," which ran from 1953 to 1990. The renowned pieces "The British Aristocracy" by Nancy Mitford and "The Rebirth of Liberalism" by David Marquand were also included in this journal. Isaiah Berlin, Vladimir Nobokov, Irving Howe, Jorge Luis Borges, Richard Ellmann, Arnold Toynbee, and Herbert Read were among the notable contributors of this publication, among other notable intellectuals of the time. There were readers of Encounter almost everywhere in the globe. The magazine's primary focus was culture, but its attitude to politics was subtly anti-communist. There is a surge in the number of anti-communist publications covering politics and culture, including Encounter, despite the fact that it was a continuously financially deficit periodical that had financial help from American and British intelligence agencies.

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<sup>52</sup>Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Age*, p.88

A few of them are *Science and Freedom* (which began publication in 1953) and *Walter* (which came out in 1955). The magazine *Soviet*, on the other hand, looked at Russia from a variety of angles and was edited by *Laqueur Survey*. *Nuovi* made their debut in Italy in 1954. The publication of *Argomenti* commenced, followed by *Tempo Presente* in 1956. The publication of policies that seemed to be opposites to one another but were fundamentally anti-communist served the CIA's "parallel organization" tactic. For instance, a large number of employees of the journal *Tempo Presente* were ex-members of the Italian Communist Party. Among them are *Vasco* and *Italo Calvino*. *Pratolini* and *Libero de Libero* were involved. A large number of these authors were criticizing communist authoritarianism. *Quadrant* magazine was produced in Australia and has been there since 1956. Articles by non-communist leftist intellectuals were published in this publication, which *James McAuley* served as editor of at first. This publication was crucial in the decline of Australian communism. Several publications were founded with the same goal, including *Ciyu*, which was published in Japan, and *Quest*, which began publishing in India in 1955.<sup>53</sup>

Specifically, it was said that the "security of the American People" was the reason for the military and political interventions carried out by the Reagan administration in Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Grenada, Libya, and Nicaragua. Many media channels were outlining the scenarios in which these little nations would attack America in order to get society to accept these assertions.<sup>54</sup>

In the latter part of the Cold War, the media underwent substantial organizational and financial transformation. During the 1970s, the world's top corporations included the US's CBS, ABC, and NBC, Germany's ARD, the UK's BBC, Thames and Granada, France's ZDF, and Luxembourg's CLT. These national companies controlled global marketplaces. Groupings, mergers, and acquisitions were common in the 1980s as a result of heightened rivalry and the opening of new markets.

As a consequence, businesses that compete in the global communication marketplaces of today are multi-national global businesses as opposed to single-national global businesses and businesses that operate across several industries as opposed to one.

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<sup>53</sup>Frances Stonor Saunders, *He Gave the Money, He Blew the Whistle*, trans. Ülker İnce, Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2004, p. 179,180, 230,231,232.

<sup>54</sup>Michael Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, trans. Ali Tartanoğlu, Ankara: İmgeKitabevi, 1997, p.80

The capitalist system's ownership and administration of the media has produced a complicated structure. The primary causes of this are sector-specific mergers and acquisitions. Here are a few instances: Viacom and National Amusements (1987) with Mac Millan and Maxwell Comm (1988), Time Inc. with Warner Brothers (1989), MCA with Matsushia (1990), RCA with GE (1986), ABC with Capital Cities (1985), and Telecommunication Inc. with Bell Atlantic (1993). America's global market share started to decline as a result of the activities of communication organizations and groups based in Europe and other continents, such as French Hachette, German Bertelsmann, Australian Murdoch's News Corp., Italian Berlusconi empire's Fininvest, British Maxwell and Saatchi & Saatchi, Japan's Asahi, Nippon, Fuji Telecasting, etc.

As can be seen, the media developed into a major financial force during the Cold War while also playing a crucial role in the Western system by disseminating propaganda in line with its ideological representation. It is evident that at this time, fundamental issues like cartelization and its connections to political parties started to surface in the media.

It is evident that the communist regimes that comprise the Eastern Bloc have total control over media companies; as a result, broadcasting there is less successful than in the West.

### **1.6. Media and Perception of Their Roles in Today's National and International Politics**

In tandem with the advancement of technology and the burgeoning eco-political landscape, the media, having become more influential politically and financially, is evolving into a more structured institution and playing a more significant role in society. The media today has a more significant role since fast information availability and information flow management are critical considerations. The media, which is regarded as the "fourth force" in Turkey, is well-established in almost all nations that have open economies. The media is well-established in America, England, France, Germany, and particularly Italy. Thanks to international collaboration and corporate mergers, they are extending their impact. <sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup>A. Raşit Kaya, Age, p. 143



Large media organizations often have a number of radio and television stations, news agencies, newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, distribution businesses, and internet sites. They may be founded directly with equity money or via mergers and acquisitions.

Additionally, media organizations have some degree of integration with financial institutions and businesses from other industries. Conversely, the media may turn into a financial company's satellite.<sup>56</sup> On the boards of directors of the media market, for instance, are representatives of enormous corporations like Ford, General Motors, General Electric, Alcoa, Philip Morris, ITT, IBM, and Coca-Cola. A prime illustration of how non-media industries fund media companies is the fact that General Electric owns RCA, a division of NBC that produces English-language television programming all over the world.

Westinghouse also owns a radio station network, a cable television network, and a number of television stations. Multinational corporations like General Electric and Westinghouse influence many other industries and have significant stakes in contentious fields like nuclear power and the manufacture of weapons. According to this data, it can be said that the media has evolved into an industry that supports global corporations. The American media, which is owned by multinational corporations with headquarters in the United States, has a foreign policy perspective that is intended to further the objectives of the government. Support for free markets and "national security" may be shown in anything from children's programs to news broadcasts by media outlets<sup>57</sup>.

There are very few famous international television companies that focus only on journalism. American newspaper publishers including The New York Times and Washington Post, as well as The New York Times published in England Sensitive to credibility and image building, The Guardian and the left-leaning Liberation, which publishes in France, only invest in the press market.<sup>58</sup>

Their customary autonomous attitude is a major factor in the typically steady circulation they experience.

Political groups feel obligated to cultivate positive relationships with broadcasting organizations in order to cover the agenda in a way that aligns with their own viewpoints, since

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<sup>56</sup>Seda Bulut, Age, p.88

<sup>57</sup>Michael Parenti, Age, p.123

<sup>58</sup>Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Age, p. 85-86

national and international broadcasting of television and newspapers has a significant impact on setting the agenda and directing attention in one direction. Alternatively, as shown by the Italian case, media companies could need to set the agenda based on the viewpoints of a politician who also serves as a media boss <sup>59</sup>.

It is important to recognize that Al Jazeera is more than just a "rival" in the face of a biased media. From this point on, the Pentagon started to target Al Jazeera, which acted as a "litmus test" to demonstrate the veracity of material on a worldwide scale. Because of this, Al Jazeera was able to cast doubt on America by informing the world about the assaults on its national security. All diplomatic efforts to stifle Al Jazeera, even if they elevate the news organization, Additionally, he started to fortify the concept of "Arabism."

In many nations, including Turkey, the link between politics, media, and money is entwined today. The media's perspective acts as a counterbalance to the previously listed two categories. Because of this, the establishment of a communication network—one of the functions that the media inexorably play—becomes significant. The media also plays the functions of shaping public opinion, fostering a psycho-social effect region, and serving as a conduit for information between the general public and politicians. The media may thus have an impact on society as well as the political system. Capital-related media firms, in particular, have a tendency to continuously construct their own society and politician profiles via their publishing strategies.<sup>60</sup>

### **1.6.1. Establishing an Information Network**

The media plays a wide range of communication-based responsibilities. A few of them provide the forum that politicians, interest organizations, and pressure groups need to express their opinions to the general public. However, it is in a position where our culture is encouraged to observe and discuss political processes as well as to educate itself, make decisions, and take part<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup>Faruk Arhan, Temel Demirer et al., *Media Criticism or Questioning Hermes*, Ankara: Öteki Publishing House, 1998, p.52

<sup>60</sup>Michael Gurevitch and Jay G. Blumler, "Political Communication Systems and Democratic Values", *Mass Media and Democracy*, Ed. Judith Lichtenberg, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 269-289

<sup>61</sup>Michael Gurevitch and Jay G. Blumler, "Political Communication Systems and Democratic Values", *Mass Media and Democracy*, Ed. Judith Lichtenberg, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 269-289

According to Hall, the social sphere is defined by communication institutions and the networks they build. Additionally, he contends that communication technologies control culture because they continue to exist in all spheres of society—social, political, and economic. Tools for communication foster ties between people<sup>62</sup>.

The Gulf War experience is among the best illustrations of how the information network may be used effectively in political conflicts. The communication network established by the western media proved to be a significant benefit during the Gulf War in 1991, and there was strong international support for the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi domination. Because of this, the topic piqued the attention of the media as well. The administration carefully screened the news about the Gulf War before making it public because of its concern for both America's reputation and the psychological impact of the conflict. Every piece of information that came in was gathered into a pool, and the American government had to filter through it all before announcing any news that could be derived from it to the general public. Because of this, influencing the media's portrayal of the Gulf War might help to establish the intended public image. Successful target strikes recorded by military cameras were shared with media, and Pentagon officials would make as many remarks as permitted to reporters in the press or briefing rooms. But no mention was made of the civilian targets that were attacked.<sup>63</sup> The information network's controllability is shown by this circumstance.

To put it simply, information disclosure to the public, the last step of the communication network, is a calculated maneuver that enables the media to maintain control over the flow of information. Considering that the established communication network resembles a water network's public tap.

This is why there may be more taps on the multi-channel and multi-source communication network. Data is freed from the monopoly of a single communication network in this manner. Consequently, it is essential to use diverse news outlets to increase public consciousness of events that have significant relevance to global politics. For instance, the Arab media had a communication network that they used to counter the American and British media's communication network when the Iraq War broke out in March 2003. Al Jazeera's international broadcasts, in particular, made it possible to follow the conflict from the viewpoint of the Arab world. For this reason, the American and British media's deception and misinformation

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<sup>62</sup>Stuart Hall, "Ideology and Communication Theory", *Media Culture Politics*, Ed. Süleyman İrvan, Trans. Ahmet Gürata Ankara: Alp Publishing House, 1997, p.107-108

<sup>63</sup>Maryan Cusimano Love, "Global Media and Foreign Policy," *Media Power Media Politics*, ed. Mark J. Rozell, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, p. 252.

campaigns throughout the war were ineffective. This led to the forced prosecution of several American and British troops for war crimes. The legitimacy of the coalition troops' presence in Iraq started to come up more often throughout the process. The public's exposure to an alternate information network is the primary cause of this.

### **1.6.2. Creating Public Opinion and Keeping Them Informed**

Broadcast streams are used to reach the general public, the last link in the media's chain of communication, and society is informed within the parameters of the topics discussed. When seen as a component of the public domain, media companies need to empower our society to make moral decisions about elections and other political matters, as well as provide a conducive atmosphere for public discourse. Put another way, news broadcasts and documentaries with a topic may both teach viewers new things. Using the information supplied, it is made sure that individuals are informed simply and promptly. Public opinion may be shaped, particularly in the context of the news broadcast's content. On the other hand, Meyer presents an opposite viewpoint, contending that the media manipulates audiences, generates a mass of information against which it is pointless to develop alternatives, and keeps people from having the chance to engage in open discourse and idea exchange.<sup>64</sup>

Psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists all often employ the idea of popular opinion. This idea, which has been around since the 19th century, when our industrial society began to emerge, has been defined in a number of ways. Doob, Mc Dougal, Childs, and Allport are among the intellectuals who generated concepts related to this theory. Jeremy Bentham acknowledges public opinion as a phenomena that influences foreign policy and that some parties and organizations that control "strategic regions" have the ability to shape it. Furthermore, the fact that lobbyists and public relations firms are able to successfully shape public opinion in this day and age by using mass media and dedicating a great deal of effort to this cause indicates that public opinion is a powerful force.<sup>65</sup>

Governments may sometimes be forced to impose other forms of press control because they are concerned about the impact of newspapers on public opinion. For instance, in 1897, two merchants named Henry Poidatz and Maurice Kendiau-Varilla purchased the French daily *Le Martin (Morning)*. Their goal was to become the first in the press to achieve significant success

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<sup>64</sup>Thomas Meyer, *Age*, p. 118

<sup>65</sup>Mehmet Gönlübol, *Age*, p.24.

and financial gain. In fact, they succeeded in both. First-rate journalists from all over the globe worked for Le Matin Newspaper, which emerged with a very different approach to journalism. In 1904–1905, Gaston Leroux, who would go on to become well-known for his writing, was dispatched to Russia to cover the revolutionary battle. Leroux, a young reporter, delivered news and interesting interviews to his publication. Still, France did not find the reporter's news or remarks very positive from a political standpoint. Russia seemed on the verge of disaster. Nevertheless, history justifies that not a single one of the reporter's interviews was published by Le Martin Newspaper. For throughout those years, Russian bonds totaling 6 billion Francs were offered in France, and the Russian Imperial government said it would deposit the proceeds in the Paris Stock Exchange.

The Russian Treasury paid monthly payments to the French press to prevent it from "writing the truth," with the official "permission" of the French Ministry of Finance and the "grace" of big banks. The Russians handed the French newspapers 100,000 francs a month, which they divided among themselves. And naturally, the largest bribe went to the revolutionary daily Le Matin, which had 1.6 000 000 readers!

Press historian Patrick Eveno said, "The same method was followed for the Ottoman bonds released in 1913," in his piece for *Historia* magazine that detailed the bribery event <sup>66</sup>

"If it is possible to establish a fraud network that can place 2000 people in key positions in the mass media, it will be easy to convince the entire USA and a large part of the world that the President of the United States is dead," says Fagen in explaining the influence of media outlets on the populace and politics. The reputation of the mass media, or media in general, is so strategic. When it comes to forming public opinion and influencing politics, media techniques are crucial.

The way the media shapes public opinion varies according to how well it uses the mass media that it possesses. Because of the manner in which a subject covered in the broadcast is presented to the public, organized, and examined, the intended message is attempted to be sent to a large audience. <sup>67</sup>.

To assess the impact of the media on public opinion with respect to foreign policy, it would be appropriate to use the 1996 Kardak Rocks Crisis as an example. The *Hürriyet* Newspaper reporters descended the Greek flag and replaced it with the Turkish flag on the Kardak Rocks one day after the Greek flag was raised there on January 26, 1996. They captioned this event with the headline "Flag War" right away, which is the most blatant example of an attempt to sway public opinion.

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<sup>66</sup>Sibel Özbudun, Gökçer Özgür, Temel Demirel, *The Emperor's Clown* Egemen Medya, Ankara: Ütopya Publishing House, 2007, p.121

<sup>67</sup>Stephen K. Medvic and David A. Dulio, "The Media and Public Opinion," in *Media Power Media Politics*, ed. Mark J. Rozell, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, pp. 208-209.

Because of the delicate public opinion that was produced, it was inevitable that Turkish decision-makers would build a discourse in conjunction with Hürriyet Newspaper. The newspaper headlines "That Flag Will Come Down" represented the rhetoric that the then-prime minister, Tansu Çiller, pursued in an attempt to profit from the situation<sup>68</sup>.

It is evident that the public opinion shaped by the media serves as a benchmark for the mindset that decision-makers need to adopt. Considering the aforementioned instances, it can be concluded that the media influences foreign policy, however subtly.

### **1.6.3. Creating a Psycho -Social Influence Area within Mass Media**

People's perceptions of the mass media and its derived media culture are greatly influenced by them. By interpreting the actual culture via its own lens, the media produces a new one. Real culture is projected onto and reshaped by media culture. The everyday existence of today is reflected and shown in media culture. The media's role in shaping how contemporary people see the world is another significant aspect of media culture.

The aforementioned visuals are a result of the way that contemporary people's experiences are regulated, which eventually results in the fictionalization of reality.

First of all, children and young people's lives and ways of thinking may be influenced by cartoons, TV shows, movies, and even ads. The growing adoption of fictional characters as role models might lead to detrimental shifts in societal norms and perceptions.

For instance, violent TV shows and cartoons that include death scenes and "young" or "heroic" human characters provide a bad example for viewers who are still developing.<sup>69</sup> There is no denying the impact of the media, as seen by the evident rise in fatal violent episodes that have been occurring in schools during the 2000s.

The following are a few studies that show a link between violent television shows and violence:

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<sup>68</sup>Hürriyet Newspaper, (January 30, 1996), p.1

<sup>69</sup>Nurullah Aydin, Age, p.223

Reported by Bluman in 1987, it was determined that, over the previous 30 years, violent deaths had killed more young people than infectious illnesses.

- According to B. Centerwall, a psychiatrist at Washington University, the murder rate in the Republic of South Africa quadrupled as soon as television broadcasts began.

- Leonard, a University of Michigan psychologist Children who watch violent television, according to Eron, believe that attacking is the only way to live and see the world as a dangerous jungle. According to Eron's ongoing study, those who watch more violent TV shows tend to commit more severe crimes.

Nurdoğan, an Istanbul University lecturer 58.51% of youngsters believe in TV more than their parents do, according to Rigel's study<sup>70</sup>.

In actuality, despite the fact that the "smart signs" application that RTÜK has been using since 2007 does not provide a long-term fix, the pertinent images demonstrate that the pertinent organizations acknowledge the value of television programming for personal growth.

The media's development of a psycho-social effect area has advantages as well. One of them is the capacity of some movies that are shown on certain TVs to increase awareness on a personal and societal level because of their reputation as "strong educational tools." Different publications that prioritize political problems above environmental preservation, cultural heritage transmission, and social sensitivity might help identify a shared, albeit relative, attitude from the person to society. For instance, customers are becoming more conscious of the need to assert their rights as a result of the rise in publications on the subject in recent years. The parliament could only raise consumer understanding of their legal rights on an individual and societal level by enacting Consumer Protection Law No. 4077 on September 8, 1995. Prior to the applicable legislation, the Turkish Commercial Code's Code of Obligations and a few of its provisions were the only places where consumer rights were discussed. Considering that no legislation pertaining to consumer protection was changed until 1995, it is obvious that the absence of societal demand or knowledge had a major influence. Currently, the public awareness raised by the media's informational campaigns has shown the need for such a legislation in our

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<sup>70</sup>Temel Demirer and Gökçer Özgür and Sibel Özbudun, *The Emperor's Clown* Egemen Medya, Ankara: Ütopya, 2007, p.234-235

society. This societal demand may, of course, be communicated to political authorities, mainly via the media.

According to Schiller, the information business uses the media as a weapon to mold people's minds in order to control or subjugate them on behalf of governments, particularly those in positions of status quo. He maintained that the media has a significant role in influencing society's thoughts to reflect the objectives of the ruling class.<sup>71</sup>

Fiske examined the BBC's "Food and Population" program, which focused on schools and aired on March 1, 1979. The program's commentator purposefully said that while the social and political group he represented was able to produce enough food to feed the growing population, there was still a risk of starvation in many areas, and the failure to apply scientific solutions was to blame.

Images of a modern coastal metropolis with a focus on technology and archaic agricultural practices in a community at the foot of the Andes were flashed on the screen during this talk. Thus, by presenting contrasts like scientific agriculture and conventional agriculture, market economy and subsistence economy, city and countryside, development and cyclical culture, the audience was subtly informed about the discourse of "us and them" based on two distinct social structures<sup>72</sup>.

However, Herman and Chomsky often argue that the media affects how the public views the governing party's positions on foreign policy matters, particularly those pertaining to US foreign policy in Latin America. Although US mass media presented the winning candidates of the US-backed candidates as "a step towards democracy" when they emerged victorious in the target countries, publications responded by stating that "the elections did not take place in a free environment" if these candidates were seen as threats. The similar strategy was used by the media to denounce the anti-American Sandinista triumph in Nicaragua.

The media considers its own internal dynamics when determining what should be considered newsworthy or unworthy of attention. The viewer or reader choose from a variety of media groups to design his own filter. Because of this, the psycho-social effects that media

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<sup>71</sup>Herbert Schiller, *Mind Manipulators*, trans. Cevdet Cerit, Istanbul: Pinar Publications, 1993, p.42

<sup>72</sup>John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, trans. Süleyman İrvan, Ankara: Ark Publications, 1996, p.214



outlets expose people to and our society to are influenced by the preferences and decisions of the person.

Even if indirectly, this circumstance may alter the strategies used by the media and governmental authorities. To connect with the people, journalists in particular need to become knowledgeable about popular proverbs.

In order for their ads to stand out from other commercials, advertisers must use both the language of society and their own creations. In Turkey, businesses have marketed their goods based on the lifestyle of the target market they have identified. For example, advertisements featuring conversations between a chestnut vendor and a kokoreç seller about an internet provider company or the creation of the character "Ali Desidero," who stands in for the lower and middle class, for a razor advertisement. By using discourse similarity as a means of interaction, the media may use this technique to open up the possibility of adapting their goods to the society in which they exist. The public language of the discourse to be used for ads does not, however, imply that the media market's general publication regulations are molded in the same way.

Tools from the mass media, particularly television, are used to raise societal sensitivity or national consciousness. In an attempt to create shared reactions and sensitivities in society, the government-controlled ceremonies that commemorate or celebrate historical events and enforce anniversary behaviors in large groups are extensively covered by a variety of media outlets, including internet media and channels like CNN and Al-Jazeera <sup>73</sup>.

To put it simply, the media has the unconscious power to mold and influence people at all societal levels, from the individual to the group, in order to establish shared viewpoints. In contrast, a product or concept may be embraced depending on the target population in areas like marketing without affecting their current beliefs and lifestyles.

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<sup>73</sup>Vamık D. Volkan, *Blind Faith*, trans. Özgür Karaçam, Istanbul: Okuyan Us Publications, 2005, p.148

#### 1.6.4. Ensuring Interaction Between Political Authorities and the Mass

Governments, political parties, and other political players go to considerable lengths to publicize their ideas and actions in the ways that suit them. On the other hand, the general public is interested in learning about events and advancements that they find interesting. The media is the sole instrument capable of satisfying the needs of both groups. Because of this, Turkey's wealthy political parties run their media outlets in an indirect manner. The news priorities of these media outlets are based on the actions of the political parties to which they belong. This is evident when we examine their news bulletins. This assertion appears to become stronger with time, particularly during election seasons.

The Magic Box channel made headlines in favor of ANAP during the election campaign since ANAP ignored its unlawful foreign broadcasting in Turkey in the early 1990s.<sup>74</sup> Turkuvaz A.Ş. is currently part of the Çalık Group, whose closeness to the Justice and Development Party is well-known in the government and society. The prime minister's son-in-law is a director of the group. The Sabah Newspaper and ATV Television were referred to as "partisan media"<sup>75</sup>.

A well-known figure in Turkish politics since the early 1990s, Cem Uzan made his mark on the political landscape on July 10, 2002, when he founded the Genç Party. He had the chance to spread misinformation using a variety of textual, aural, and visual mass media, most notably Star TV. In the elections held on November 3, 2002, Cem Uzan, the head of the Young Party, succeeded in creating a substantial vote potential of 7.5%. It is evident that the media has a major role in a political party garnering thus many votes in less than five months. Further examples can be found in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper's publication, which has been published in tandem with the CHP since its founding, and the Workers' Party's National Channel, a well-known media outlet, which actively works to reach the public and enhance communication with political authorities. Because of this, the media may play a necessary role in fostering the intended dialogue between the general public and political parties.

Considering global experiences, the media's impact on the connection between the general public and politicians in Turkey is relatively recent. In America, radio was the first medium to allow politicians and the general public to communicate directly and quickly in the 1920s. Later, it emerged as one of the most significant instruments for mass influence used by both the opposition and the government. Specifically, Roosevelt gave much more addresses over the

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<sup>74</sup>Metin Işık, "Reflections of the Communication System in Turkey on Media-Politics Relations", On Media and Politics Relations, Ed. Zülfikar Damlapınar, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2005, p.90

<sup>75</sup>A. Raşit Kaya, Age, p. 263-264

radio than he did in Congress, even though he only gave 15 speeches total. Roosevelt had 84 radio interviews in the ten months that followed his election as the Democratic nominee for president. Roosevelt ushered in radio's golden era, and it was instrumental in fortifying the Democratic Party. Following Roosevelt, Harry Truman emerged as the Democratic Party's next presidential contender. There was one Republican contender: Thomas Dewey. Print media was receiving support from Republicans throughout the election campaign. Like Roosevelt, Truman placed more value on radio and made fifty radio addresses throughout the election campaign. The Democratic Party allotted \$700,000 for radio ads throughout the election campaign. Republicans had \$200,000. Up before the election, newspapers and magazines kept up a heavy pro-Dewey publishing schedule. A few hours before the elections, Life Magazine featured an image of Dewey on its front page, with the words "President of Tomorrow" inscribed underneath it. "Americans will push away Truman and choose Dewey, who fits the trend of the vast majority," the magazine declared in its headline. Before the election results were declared, for instance, the Daily Tribune Newspaper was offered for sale with the headline "Dewey Defeats Truman". Truman's victory in the election was hailed as "the biggest political surprise of our time" despite the print media's fierce anti-propaganda, but the credibility of the media was also called into doubt. Despite radio's greater ability to influence listeners than newspapers, radio's dominance diminished as TVs proliferated across society.

One glaring illustration of this problem is the way that Hitler's Nazism, which emerged in Germany, used a variety of mass media platforms and techniques to control the populace. Films produced by the Ministry of Propaganda, which Göbbels personally oversaw, inspired the people. Broadcasting operations that included distinct shows for women and adolescents led to the rapid adoption of racism and the subsequent adaptation of this lifestyle by society <sup>76</sup>.

As is evident, with the introduction of radio and then television, the public's understanding of political propaganda and communication, as well as the relationship between the government and the people, have taken on a more intricate dimension.

### **1.6.5. Media Studies for Economic Stability**

In the modern economy, the media plays a significant and integral role at both the national and international levels. Due to the competition from free markets and evolving technologies,

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<sup>76</sup>Vamik Volkan, *Age*, p.116-117

the media has grown to be a high-budget industry. Because of its close ties to other industries like publishing, printing, news agencies, advertising, and information technology hubs, we may claim that the media is a significant economic sector.

The ownership of media firms is primarily divided into two categories. These are family-run businesses and states. 21 African nations, 17 Asian and Pacific countries, 7 Central Asian and Caucasian countries, 16 Central and Eastern European countries, 11 Middle Eastern and North African countries, and 16 Western European countries were included in a research looking into media ownership globally. This study, which solely looks at television and newspapers, finds that ground shares make up 4% of media organizations across 97 nations. Less than 2% are employee-owned, while the remaining 2% have alternative ownership arrangements. Three quarters of television channels and five sevenths of newspapers are owned by a single family. The percentage of state-owned newspapers is 29%, whereas the percentage of television owned is 60%. Furthermore, the government owns 72% of radio stations. Geographically, the nations of Africa, the Middle East, and North Africa have the greatest rates of state ownership. This number may reach 61% when taking into account the top 5 newspapers in terms of print volume. With TVs, this percentage rises to 85%. However, in Western European and American nations, the private sector dominates the media landscape.

The massive American media conglomerates, which are now driving the Western world, have expanded into international businesses. Twenty-four massive media businesses that meet these criteria split the cake of global media revenues. Two thirds of the largest media conglomerates are held by founding family members, despite the fact that the majority of their shares are listed on stock markets. In order to preserve the current financial situation, these families, who are also involved in other industries like banking and energy, take on a supervisory role and create a collaborative management system <sup>77</sup>.

The media is included in the definition of "monopolization" that is applied to the capitalist economic system. The most developed perspective on monopolized media nowadays is found in Western European and American nations. Beginning with the press in the early eras, media monopolization has expanded to include TV and other mass media in our day and age, giving it a significant economic component. Global media monopolies have been formed by internationalizing capital, and this global economic system has created media monopolies. Due

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<sup>77</sup>Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Age*, p. 88-89

to this circumstance, the mainstream media is now concentrated in the hands of a select few. As such, monopolies now dominate the right to knowledge in our society<sup>78</sup>.

In The privatization strategy has imposed an obligation on the media connected to private capital in nations that have joined the liberal economy to "raise awareness" of this problem among the target audiences. Çiler Dursun examined the publications made by the media in Turkey throughout the privatization process and investigated the discourses that were highlighted to help our society accept this development. The most basic news updates from the most popular private television networks are featured first in the study, followed by broadcasts on other economic topics such as the benefits of privatization and the inadequacies, corruption, and other drawbacks of public economic institutions. On the other side, the goal is to finish the relevant process with little controversy by attempting to draw a straight line between democracy and privatization.<sup>79</sup>.

In order to maintain economic viability, the advertising business, which is entwined with the media, facilitates the development of our consumer society and the fortification of our industrial society. As a result, media may be seen as a crucial component of brand building and promotion in the methods used by economic sectors to grow.

To put it simply, media corporations have a direct stake in each other. Their intricate connections with governments, banks, large corporations, and other industries are based on shared interests. Thus, this relational dimension will be the primary filter that influences the media's publishing practices<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup>Faruk Arhan, Temel Demirer et al., Age, p.45

<sup>79</sup>Çiler Dursun, Age, p.220

<sup>80</sup>Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Age, p. 124

### 1.6.6. Contributing to the National Policy Framework

Keyman defined identity by considering historical and environmental factors. Keyman argues that identity is an ontological fact that is related to political expansionism, colonialism, imperialism, and globalization processes, all of which are acknowledged as historical precedents in the field of global relations.<sup>81</sup>

Ergun claims that when the idea of "identity" is considered in relation to a feeling of belonging, it refers to how individuals portray themselves or are portrayed with their salient features on a personal level. Individual identities are based on affiliation with a particular country, ethnicity, tribe, or occupation. The individual's feeling of identity is expressed by this sensation of belonging.

Reform movements secured the commercialization of religion in medieval Europe, a region where religion had a dominating position. Nationalism became the foundation for the state's morality in the public domain as religion was commercialized. Despite the development of the nation-state concept after Westphalia, nationalism was unable to take root in society. The concept of nation encompasses the state's legal authority to bestow nationality as well as the fundamental meaning of nationality, which is derived from shared ethnic memories and is attested to by common history, language, traditions, and fashion sense. National politics are developed in line with the sovereign identity and national authority of the state today, when the nation-state system is predominant. Kışlalı said that the nationalism movement, which stems from patriotism, is one of the primary components of national strength. This notion gives significance to the division that emerged between "us and them" as a result of shared circumstances. Consequently, countries became the political idea that matched the new meaning of "we". Based on this theory, national states' political nationalism emerges at the nexus of economic and national independence, forming the framework of national politics<sup>82</sup>.

Gellner contends that rather than creating nationalism, internal dynamics and the mass media unquestionably contribute to its growth.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>E. Fuat Keyman, *State and Beyond*, ed. Atilla Eralp, Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, p.220

<sup>82</sup>Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, *Political Science*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1987, p.246-247

<sup>83</sup>Ernest Gellner, *Age*, p. 219

The media processes more of the historical sense of belonging during national sporting events, which are the venues where the "us and them" language that will be utilized to construct the national identity appears most visibly. Particularly when Turkey and Greece compete in sports, nationalist and militaristic discourses become more prevalent. The top item of March 29, 1989, in the *Hürriyet* Newspaper said, "We are facing Greece again, which we have always defeated until now." There were expressions used. According to an article in the September 9, 2004 issue of *Hürriyet*, attempts were undertaken to guarantee that the football match between Greece and Turkey would take place at Karaiskaki Stadium and that it would have a political and historical significance. Because the stadium has the name of Karaiskaki, a general who battled the Ottoman Empire for freedom but lost. Using the title "Heavy Provocation" in relation to the same story, the sports daily *Fotomaç* denounces the publishing of some newspapers with the article "Let Friendship Win". "We inquire, What is their friendship?" We can see that they are attempting to evoke national sentiments in the readers by stating this and making reference to the name of the stadium where the game will take place. Yet, the same publication claims that the Greek media also makes statements like "Turks are our eternal enemies" in an attempt to justify the outcry.

Using the same nationalist and political discourse, *Sabah* Newspaper underlined on July 26, 2006, that the game against Trabzonspor's Greek Cypriot team will take place at İnönü Stadium and highlighted the headline "Let Ayşe Go on Holiday," emphasizing national identity based on "us and them." By placing sports at the heart of political and historical truths, it seems that the goal is to sensitize our society on the basis of nationalism.

It is obvious that in nations where national politics and identity are entwined, the present circumstances will also have an impact on the media. In actuality, using a populist speech as a result of business considerations would not be inappropriate in this circumstance. Oral Çalışlar said that they attempted to conceal populism under the guise of "national interests" because they observed a tight link between the media and the components of power, which are intimately related to nation-state politics <sup>84</sup>.

In conclusion, it can be said that because of its broadcasts showcasing national identity, the media significantly contributes to the assimilation of nationalism into society. Identity creation may be inferred from the media's extensive coverage of both international sports events and the "we" speech that is used in domestic politics.

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<sup>84</sup>Oral Çalışlar, *12 September and Promised Journalism*, Istanbul: Gündem Yayıncılık, 2006, p.159.

## **1.7. The Position of the Media in Domestic and Foreign Policies in the Context of the State Regime**

Election procedures are without a doubt the most significant step in the formation of governments in nations with functional parliamentary democracies. Based on the election results, the best strategy to increase representation power is to use mass media, or media organs, to the fullest extent possible. The media's influence is seen in the majority of political parties' efforts for electoral victories. Because of this, one may say that there is a strong tie between the media and politicians during election seasons. It is also evident from Cem Uzan's example that the media is used as a weapon to uphold political claims in an effort to boost a politician's popularity or charisma. Aside from the case of Uzan in Turkey, Silvio Berlusconi, a politician and media tycoon, has returned to prominence in Italy, one of the continent's most powerful governments, demonstrating that despite his many errors, the public's opinion of him does not decline noticeably.

Freedom of speech and the exercise of this right have started to become less exclusive to the government or the governing parties in nations where the media has become large-scale commercial entities. The freedom of speech, media organizations, and the financial organizations they are linked with have increased due to monetary power, which has become a decisive element in the relationship between the state and the media.

Because of this, when the state machinery makes choices at the national and international levels, it may have to consider the responses of the media and the groups that support it.

To observe the many forms of relationships that emerge between the government and the media while deciding on both international and domestic policy, we must consider if the kind of regime in place is important. Because totalitarian regimes and nations that are democratizing vary greatly from one another, it would be helpful to examine the role that the media plays in the policies of the former and the latter.

### **1.7.1. Understanding the Media Phenomenon in Totalitarian States**

Totalitarian governments have a single party. Elections, and hence the will of the people, are not the source of power for the totalitarian dictatorship. Rather, its objective is to mold the populace's will within the parameters of their own political beliefs. There is virtually little ability



for the people under this government to question or challenge it. Both the Soviet Union under Josef Stalin and Hitler's national socialism are the most well-known totalitarian governments of recent memory. Sharing power with other elements of the totalitarian system is unfeasible due to its coercive nature. Kışlalı claims that whether or not other political organizations in the nation are allowed to ascend to power is the key indicator of whether or not a government is repressive.

Even if the American army has effectively overthrown the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Baath governments in Iraq, it is clear that the present state of unrest has not significantly reduced the totalitarian impact on the general populace. However, since they forbid power sharing, communist nations like China and North Korea might be regarded as totalitarian regimes.

Rather than being a channel for dialogue or negotiation, diplomacy was seen as a tool of provocation, intimidation, or propaganda in the foreign policy that totalitarian governments adopted in the 20th century. Nearly all ambassadors from authoritarian nations would fight to defend their nations by carrying with them well crafted documents that refuted the charges levied against them. Conversely, under authoritarian foreign policy, seminars were seen as platforms for propaganda rather than for intellectual debate.<sup>85</sup> One of the primary reasons for the popularity of this strategy was the media's worldwide broadcasts of live, primarily global seminars, which made sure that ideas were immediately communicated to the general public.

Kışlalı classified the totalitarian state as an internal subset and described it as an oppressive dictatorship. Fascist, Marxist, and dictatorial governments are all included in this category. Speaking of growing pressure from above to below, Kışlalı said that dread or danger slowly feeds dictatorships, citing the Colonels' Junta in Greece, Salazar in Portugal, and Franco in Spain as the most glaring instances. demonstrates. To put it simply, the need for an adversary to exist is continuous. The bureaucratic branch of the Marxist dictatorship oversaw the proletariat's authority, creating an authoritarian government. Because of the flexibility of the western world, Kışlalı, who contended that Stalin had a big role in creating this problem after Lenin, considered Soviet Marxism as a dead end.

Kışlalı contends that, in contrast to Marxism, fascism is driven by emotions, citing the fact that the world's first fascist state emerged in Italy in 1922. It also shows that fascism became a dominating tendency in Portugal in 1927, Japan in 1930, and Germany in 1933 as a result of the single-party system. The fear of proletarianization held by the middle class had a major part in

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<sup>85</sup>Mehmet Gönülöbol, *Age*, p.124-125

the development of this movement. However, the growth of the capitalist system was also undesired to the point that communism threatened secondary education.

Because of this, nationalism and fascist propaganda also contained some criticism of capitalism and large business. To ease the anxieties of this group, Italian fascist leader Mussolini proposed the "One Chief, One Organization, One State" prescription. Afterwards, Adolf Hitler, the Führer of Germany, shared this recipe with the populace and was successful in having it accepted <sup>86</sup>.

Press and information were controlled by a single center in such authoritarian nations. From 1933 until the conclusion of the war, Joseph Goebbels, the propaganda minister for Nazi Germany, exploited all media channels as state propaganda instruments. The fact that the support remained unwavering demonstrated how much simpler it was for the government to maintain psychological pressure on the populace. The Kingdom of Japan and Mussolini's Italy shared this trait. <sup>87</sup>.

"What could be more normal than having a single-voiced press there if there is a one-party, one-chief system in a country?" said İsmet Bozdağ, seeing Turkey's 1931 Press Law as a mirror of the totalitarian state. A polyphonic political and social system is not possible due to the laws passed during the time and the political climate created by the one-party rule; totalitarian regimes may be imposed at certain times, contingent upon the internal and external dynamics within the states.

The precise number of governments that qualify as "oppressive regimes" has not been established after the conclusion of the Cold War. But as far as American foreign policy goes, the nations that make up the "axis of evil" also include those that are home to repressive governments. Relating to Syria, the United States, Iran, North Korea, and occasionally Israel, the axis of evil in the "attribution of reputation" policy pursued globally by many Western states, chiefly the United States and the United Kingdom, is that "perceiving them as "oppressive regimes" has become much easier due to the security-oriented management structures of these countries."

It is impossible to discuss media independence or even autonomy, as seen in totalitarian regimes. Not only are news organizations unable to take action, but they are also held under

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<sup>86</sup>Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, Political Systems, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Publications, 1991, p.271-279

<sup>87</sup>International Encyclopedia Of Propaganda, p.895.

check and used by the government as a propaganda weapon, restricting the information available to the public. Media sources also know that despite technological advancements, certain technological steps have been made to keep humanity cut off from international media transmissions.

For instance, websites that criticize the present government and social taboos are tightly monitored, restricted, and subject to criminal penalties in nations like Iran, China, Saudi Arabia, and Uzbekistan. For legal reasons, Turkey has also enacted a similar control strategy; as a result, access to well-known video sharing websites like YouTube and others of a similar kind is restricted.

### **1.7.2. Media in States in the Process of Democratization**

Giving any nation the designation of "having completed the democratization process" is not very practical since some governments have attained the status of "democratic state" to a minimal degree. It will be possible to compare and contrast analyses of the media in totalitarian nations by grouping the states that are reasonably near or at the indicated level under this subject.

One may argue that information became a need in Europe, where the press profession originated, owing in large part to the influence of the capital and the bourgeois class centered in Northern Europe. However, the greatest social class in Southern Europe, the aristocracy, required the backing of the churches in order to permit the production of newspapers that included information about wealth, property ownership, and literary masterpieces. In summary, the tighter press-government interaction has become a persistent problem in Southern European nations, particularly Greece and Italy. In actuality, there is a lot of controversy in Greek and Italian publications, which have limited readership.<sup>88</sup>

The French Revolution, which altered Europe's political system, also caused the European press to undergo upheaval. In an intellectual sense, the nation-state approach—which has emerged as the dominant system in Europe—has also fundamentally changed the press. Projects like rewriting each nation-state's language, attempting to build national churches, and compiling a shared national history are said to play a part in bringing about this shift. "Now that we have created Italy, we must now create Italians," said Massime d'Azeglio at the inauguration of the

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<sup>88</sup>Esra Arsan, *European Union and Journalism*, Ankara: Ütopya Publishing House, 2008, p.61

Parliament of United Italy in 1861, demonstrating the drastic transformation that the nation-state system's construction demanded. The media is impacted by this circumstance as well.

According to Hallin and Mancini, the degree of affiliation between political parties and media outlets may be used to classify contemporary western media. There are three fundamental differences in this category.<sup>89</sup> The Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralistic Model is the first group. This paradigm is applicable to France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Examining the news in these nations reveals the existence of an elite-centered press. They have poor circulation as well. The commercial press's and press freedom's delayed growth is the cause of the low circulation. Newspapers in these nations need government assistance because of their meager revenue streams. Thus, a common belief among the general people is that the press has turned into a tool of the government and serves as the party's or government's spokesman. Media outlets have a high degree of political parallelism, with political news serving as the focal point of journalism.

Comments are given greater weight while the news is being presented. Because of this circumstance, journalism cannot become professionalized and is instead seen as a political endeavor, which undermines the journalist's independence.

The state and media, as proprietors, regulators, and creators of the nation's information, are significant players in the Mediterranean press paradigm. Governments are reluctant to impose meaningful control over the media because of the ensuing conflict of interest.<sup>90</sup>

The Democratic Corporatist Model, or North-Central European Model, is what Hallin and Mancini have created. The nations that comprise this group include Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, and Switzerland. The press became independent and industrialized early in these nations. There is a lot of newspaper circulation. Partisan media sources have always been numerous and engage in communication with one another.

Additionally, they often form bonds with nearby social groups. Nonetheless, since the 1970s, the political press's power has been waning. Columnists are what give the political press its vitality today. They also seek to show that they are unbiased by presenting several viewpoints.

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<sup>89</sup>Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p.67

<sup>90</sup>Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Age*, p. 68

There is a professionalism that is information-oriented as a result. In these nations, the media is seen as a social institution, hence the state's regulation and assistance functions are crucial.<sup>91</sup>

The Liberal Model or North Atlantic is what Hallin and Mancini have to offer. Similar to the democratic corporatist model, this one, which is prevalent in England, America, Canada, and Ireland, has low circulation and a strong commercial press impact. With the exception of the UK, there is no partisanship among the media outlets in the nations that use this paradigm, despite the low percentage of political parallelism.

According to this approach, independent journalism has suffered from commercial considerations and has instead been increasingly professionalized. The press's transformation into a political tool rather than financial considerations is the main reason why journalists in England are losing their independence.

While the state plays a minimal role in America, Canada, and Ireland, there is a scenario in England where the state controls the media due to the importance of national culture. However, in other models of this paradigm, information-oriented journalism continues to dominate, even if column writing is a popular career in England.<sup>92</sup>

To put it briefly, while a nation is going through a democratic transition, the media not only follows but also initiates social and political change. However, the government still maintains its hold over the media.

### **1.7.3. National Identity, Politics and Media in Liberal Democracy**

With the French Revolution, liberal democracy gained a foothold in politics and ruled over a parliamentary system founded on the division of powers as a counterbalance to the absolutist dictatorship supported by the capitalist class. Under such an arrangement, press freedom has grown to the fullest extent feasible, and significant advancements have been achieved in publications that appeal to all social classes as well as the bourgeoisie.

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<sup>91</sup>Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Age*, p.77

<sup>92</sup>Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Age*, p.82

According to Hortaşçu, identity is a malleable concept that may change depending on the circumstances. In this sense, identity is a phenomena that makes up a person's essence and sense of self, but it may also be an artificial instrument or even a weapon that is purposefully made in order to achieve certain goals. But with time, the identities created may be eaten and become invalid.<sup>93</sup>

When ethnic and national origins could not define the framework of national identity, the construction of an identity through "national values" came to the fore almost everywhere in the world, including Europe, the birthplace of the nation-state concept, one of the pillars of the liberal democratic system. National identity and nation-states are changing in tandem with the internationalizing culture as part of the globalization process that takes place under liberal economic and political principles. But this procedure does not signify the extinction of the idea of the nation-state.<sup>94</sup> Analyzing the role of the media in the liberal nation-state system and how national politics are molded on this level might be better done under different areas.

started to acknowledge the presence of significant non-state actors both domestically and internationally in the 1970s. Since then, many have started to doubt the state's sufficiency and function once again.

The efficacy of states in the international arena is starting to be limited by these non-state players, who have gotten involved in international relations and global issues.<sup>95</sup>

Pluralistic democracies are the argument given by Kışlalı for why governments in the process of democracy have to share power. Because democracy is threatened by the presence of a government that is unchecked and unbalanced. The media will be significant because public opinion will be a major factor in determining political choices in democracies. It is crucial to have a range of news and information sources because of this.<sup>96</sup> People will inevitably be impacted by the way knowledge is disseminated to society via the lens of a single medium. The methods used by political decision-making machinery may naturally be influenced by public opinion that has been shaped to suit the media's agenda.

In reality, we find that the number of newspapers is declining in practically every pluralistic culture, from America to Turkey, as press production equipment grows more costly,

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<sup>93</sup>Nuran Hortaşçu, *Age*, p.63

<sup>94</sup>Mehmet Taş, *Racism in Europe*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999, p.69

<sup>95</sup>M. Tahir Tayfur, *Agm.*, p.96

<sup>96</sup>A. Taner Kışlalı, *Age*, p.211-212

and a certain degree of monopolization is being attained. Because of this, governments in nations where the media is on the verge of monopolization may decide to consider media perspectives when formulating foreign policy and when making internal political decisions.

To provide one example, almost all newspapers and radio stations were eager to carry out a military intervention, and there was strong media backing for Turkey's 1974 Cyprus Landing. The song "I may come suddenly one night" was played on the radio a lot before to the surgery, and this is no accident. Naturally, the Ecevit Government, which was backed by the people and media, refused to budge on the Cyprus Problem, enabling what might be seen as extreme diplomacy against the United States and Great Britain to be conducted. <sup>97</sup>.

The Vietnam War was widely supported by the media as an American war against Communism. Indeed, secrecy and deception were used with strong media backing during the Vietnam War, which is remembered as the "first television war" of the Cold War. As American jets started bombing South Vietnam's rural regions in 1961 and 1962, American media and newspapers started to create articles that supported the government's foreign policy. The Vietnamese, according to Adlai, the American ambassador to the UN at the time, were protecting themselves against an assault on the United States. Critical voices started to surface in the media as the Vietnam War started to turn against America and even capital owners started to pull out of the conflict. The United States' early-war participation was portrayed by the American media as a kind and kind gesture. The fact that several academics supported this strategy was really intriguing. John K. Fairban, a Harvard professor and president of the American Historical Society, was the most intriguing case. In 1969, Walter wrote an essay for the New York Times. In assessing their divergent perspectives on Vietnam, Mondale and Gaty Hart believed that Russia was backing the military effort. But Mondale acknowledged in his piece that he had only recently come to realize that this theory was a fabrication. "Do you think the Vietnam War was a mistake or a fundamentally wrong initiative?" was the question posed by the Gallup Research Corporation in 1982. The percentage of Americans who responded "it was fundamentally wrong" to his question was 72%. <sup>98</sup>.

Though the press finds foreign relations to be a significant subject of research, the notions of "friend" or "enemy" are often used to sway public opinion. <sup>99</sup>. Since the Vietnam War, the

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<sup>97</sup>Süha Bölükbaşı, *Peaceful Non-Solution*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Publications, 2001, 216-217

<sup>98</sup>Noam Chomsky, *From Colonialism to Globalization*, Ankara: Ütopya Publishing House, 2001, p.33-41

<sup>99</sup>Oya Tokgöz, *Age*, p.378

American army's public relations campaigns have been heavily reliant on disinformation, which is widely employed to sway opinion throughout the globe.

But when the troops left Vietnam, efforts were made to hold the American army and itself accountable for the horrific incidents and cruel acts there. As a result, the media covered the conflict in all its brutality and bloodshed in even the most basic news reports.

As a result, the media lost this fight as well. These changes have given rise to a robust anti-war movement in the international political sphere. The 68 generation youth movement in particular has established a worldwide area of influence. Since the 1980s, George W. Bush and Ronald Reagan have used their own military PR strategies in opposition to this emerging tendency.

This is how the American media was manipulated to adopt a right-wing viewpoint on international affairs<sup>100</sup>.

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<sup>100</sup>Oya Tokgöz, Age, p.392



## **II. SECTION**

### **2. EFFECTS OF MEDIA ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES IN TURKEY**

#### **2.1. Development Process of Media and Türkiye**

It would be helpful to take into account the press's impact on social and political life during the time between the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the founding of the Republic of Turkey before looking at the evolution of the media in institutional, political, and financial dimensions in Turkey. The subheadings of this section also include the process of moving from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic, the organization of the media after the Republic's founding, and its interactions with political figures. Lastly, a valuable study may be made by classifying the years from the September 12, 1980 coup until the start of the Cold War as a "transition period" and analyzing them as a distinct subsection as they correlate to the media's process of growth and change.

#### **2.2. The Effect of the Press on Turkish Society from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic**

While newspapers and magazines, along with other comparable communication tools, have been widely utilized in Europe since the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire did not come into contact with Ottoman-language media until the Second World War. It happened under Mahmud's reign. The journal *Takvim-i Vekayi*, which is recognized as the earliest of the Ottoman newspapers, was named by Mahmud II himself and was regarded as a component of the Reform Movement.

Founded in 1831, the journal was intended to be published weekly, but it was never produced on a regular schedule. It was not given the status of a "photographic newspaper" after 1860, despite efforts to do so.

Less than a year after it resumed publication in 1891, *Vekayi* shuttered once again.

II. It was renamed the "Official Gazette" and became the publishing arm of the Istanbul government after the Constitutional Monarchy. With the fall of the Ottoman Empire on November 4, 1922, it was shut down permanently. <sup>101</sup>.

In the Ottoman Empire, there existed bias against printing presses. Newspapers were published by the Armenian and Greek populations in Istanbul and Izmir, as well as by the French and British who were in the area for business purposes.

Tercüman-ı Ahval, translating to "Reflector of Situations," was the name of the first private newspaper produced in the Ottoman Empire by Muslim Ottoman people. The proprietor of this publication, which went into print for the first time on October 21, 1860, is Agah Efendi, an Ottoman scholar who, while serving as a state official in Paris, came to understand the power of the press in the advancement of society. In an intriguing petition to address this issue, Agah Efendi, who began fighting against the state, non-Muslims, and foreigners receiving all press opportunities in his home country after his return from France, posed the question, "In a country where even foreigners can publish newspapers, why their own citizens are not granted the right to publish newspapers"?

Bardakçı said that the Ottoman Empire's press growth was severely hampered by a single authority controlling religious, political, economic, and military power. Even though it advanced quickly with the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, press repression by administrations once again hampered the press's growth. Furthermore, as the European example demonstrates, governments seeking to capitalize on the press's potential endeavored to convert established newspapers into their own publishing vehicles. In reality, the people referred to some publications as the "yellow press" because they were overtly pro-government. Exiles included authors and journalists who took an opposing stance, such as Namık Kemal.

Namık Kemal, a poet by trade, contributed pieces to several publications, most notably *İbret*. These writings were written with the intention of helping the nation and had a profound effect on our society's sense of patriotism. <sup>102</sup>.

The pro-ummah and sharia press (Volkan, İkdâm, Mizan, Osmanlı, and Serbesti) opposed the constitutionalism-based political system during the Ottoman Empire's decline and contributed to the conflict processes by publishing provocative and encouraging articles during

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<sup>101</sup>Tevfik Çavdar, *Leaving Newspapers and Journalists*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007, p.15-16

<sup>102</sup>İsmet Bozdağ, *Age*, p. 142

the pro-sharia uprisings that took place. First, the pro-constitutionalist Editor-in-Chief of the Liberal Party, Hasan Fehmi Bey, was assassinated on April 6, 1909.

Shortly after, on April 13, 1909, during the pro-Sharia rebellion known as the "March 31 Incident," the rebels looted the headquarters of some Unionist newspapers (ûra- y1 Ümmet and Tanin), which were known to be anti-Sharia, while deeply conservative newspapers published articles in support of the rebels. revealed. The Unionists regained power when the Movement Army entered Istanbul seven days after the uprising. Volkan Newspaper's owner, Derviş Vahdeti, was executed along with other rebel sympathizers for allegedly inciting the March 31 incident.

The Press Law, which governed newspapers' publication rights, went into effect on July 16, 1909. This statute allowed the government to shut journals that might jeopardize state security and promote revolt until the case was resolved. The publication was entitled to compensation in the event that the lawsuit was decided in its favor. Since the army dominated the Committee of Union and Progress as a result of the martial rule that was imposed after March 31, the administration was impervious to criticism. Unionists faced several murder charges. The most prominent of them was the murder of Ahmed Samim, the editor-in-chief of the Sada-y1 Millet Newspaper, who supported constitutionalism and opposed army authority.

II. Under the Unionists' leadership, the Constitutional Monarchy began to take hold in the Ottoman Empire, sparking discussions among politicians and the media about the three main ideological movements: Turkism, Islamism, and Westernism.

In order to support ideological groups, a number of organizations and media outlets connected to them were founded. The Turkish Association, led by Yusuf Akçura and founded in Istanbul, was the first organization to be founded on the ideas of Russian intellectuals. Turkish Association Magazine was first published by the Turkish Association in 1911. The Turkish Association Magazine's first edition included the Turkish Association Declaration. The Turkish Association's main objective is to make Turkish language more widely used. Its goal is to establish Turkish as the dominant language in the parts of the nation where it is not spoken.

Furthermore, Thessaloniki-based Genç Kalemler Magazine emerged as a hub for intellectual advancement throughout the period's political upheaval, including the emergence of Turkish nationalism. The tie between Genç Kalemler Magazine and the political structure is evident from the fact that Nesimi Sarım, the secretary of the Committee of Union and Progress Headquarters, is the magazine's privilege owner.

Political fights during the Constitutional Monarchy era may be considered to have taken on greater significance as a result of the establishment of institutions based on publications and

ideological movements that were either directly or indirectly associated with the institutions. It is evident that newspapers actively participate in social upheavals and that prominent journalists are targeted in an effort to undermine social movements or ideologies.

Pro-mandate and pro-protection periodicals proliferated in the seized main towns after the Armistice of Mudros, which effectively transferred power from the Ottoman Empire to the occupying troops. However, it seems that a journalistic organization that has been backing the local uprisings and liberation movement that began in Anatolia has started to gather momentum.

In order to secure popular support and to directly represent the activity of the parliament, Ankara had two newspapers published throughout the independence struggle that were not subject to censorship. Journalist Nizamettin Nafiz Tepedelenlioğlu of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, one of these newspapers, wrote of the press phase of the liberation struggle as follows: "We used to go to the coffee house and garden, which is now located on the site of the old Ankara Palas Hotel. We used to leave the parliament." Every MP would show up there. Atatürk would also make occasional visits. I've been to numerous other nations and studied their media. With all calm, I would want to state that, at that time, Ankara's free press was unmatched by any other democratic nation in the globe. News of the parliament session that day circulated, statements were made about it, and journalists, without consulting anybody, copied them to their publications. The parliament and the press functioned as one cohesive unit. Newspapers were the complete and undeniable representations of society, and they also conveyed the pain and ills of society.

Naturally, not every member of the nation's press had the same opinions. One may argue that the early 1920s resistance to the republic's establishment in Istanbul, the former sultanate's capital, was greatly aided by the Istanbul press. The Istanbul press was not just publishing pieces critical of the republic but also openly producing propaganda for the caliphate. Under these circumstances, Yunus Nadi, a writer for the *Yeni Gün* Newspaper, resided in the "Red Mansion" (Atatürk), formerly the Committee of Union and Progress's headquarters in Cağaloğlu, Istanbul. Nadi received direct support from M. Kemal Atatürk, General Director of Press Zekeriya Sertel, and Trabzon Deputy Nebizade Hamdi. They set about establishing the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper (named after the palace that was gifted to Yunus Nadi by ). On May 7, 1924, *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper was formally founded with the intention of educating the people about the republican administration and persuading them to embrace it.

The founder of *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, M. Kemal Atatürk, explicitly gave Yunus Nadi the task of countering the press that supported the caliphate.

Because Mustafa Kemal was implied to create a dictatorship by the newspapers Tanin (led by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın), Velid Tasvir-i Efkâr (headed by Ebuzziya), and Vatan (headed by Ahmet Emin Yalman).

The Takrir-i Sükûn Law was passed by the newly formed republic as a result of the Sheikh Said Rebellion, which began in 1925 immediately after the War of Independence. This statute marked the beginning of the government's actual control over the press. This strict supervision lasted until 1929. The government was granted considerable authority over the publication of newspapers and magazines when the Press Law (Press Law) was passed in 1931. They were supplying the bases. Publication of newspapers and magazines was dependent upon declaration, as per the 1909 Press Law. The Council of Ministers was granted the power to temporarily shut down periodicals and magazines in circumstances of "national security" <sup>103</sup>.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk claims in his speech that the Takrir-i Sükûn Law is necessary because of the concepts that are developing that are antagonistic to the republic and innovation. During his address to the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Kazım Karabekir declared his opposition to the Takrir-i Sükûn Law, claiming that the press was fully bound by it.

that the press had a broad scope of activity during the Republic's early years, and the newly formed government gave journalists chances and tolerance in order to keep our society informed. The notion that the press and political power are natural allies is reinforced by the reality that they compete in their respective domains with similar concepts and objectives. However, as a consequence of anti-government activities like the 1925 Sheikh Sait Uprising, the government was able to shut down publications as needed to keep the media from criticizing its policies.

### **2.2.1. Examining the Effects of Journalism on the Political Field Before 1980**

Newspapers like Cumhuriyet, Hakimiyet-i Milliye, Yeni Asır, Tan, and Ulus had a substantial readership prior to the switch to the multi-party system. In particular, the division between Cumhuriyet and Tan newspapers, which began before World War II, might be linked to political fragmentation. However, there existed a conservative organization and a conservative journal in Istanbul that fought the Republican People's Party-led Westernization push.

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<sup>103</sup>Korkmaz Alemdar, "Some Opinions in the Press About Kadro Magazine and the Kadro Movement", Kadro, Ed. Assoc. Dr. Cem Alpar, Ankara: Ankara Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences Publications, 1978, p.23-24

On the other side, publications started to formulate agendas about whether party represented left or right politics and which was more progressive with the founding of the Free Republican Party, which was really a reincarnation of the Republican Nation Party during the single-party era. Newspapers critical of the SCF started to headline accusing Fethi Bey of reactionism when she was greeted on the Akhisar leg of her Aegean tour with a banner that read "La ilahe illallah" in Arabic letters. Fethi Bey is the SCF Leader of the Free Republican Party. In the aftermath of this development, Behzat Arif (Bilgin), chief editor of the Yeni Asır Newspaper Abdullah Abidin, chief writer of the Hizmet Newspaper Zeynel Besim (Sun), and editorial office staff member Kadızade Bedri Bey were all taken into custody on charges of "insulting the moral personality of the government and publishing news that will arouse public desire". and they received a jail sentence. <sup>104</sup>.

Fethi Bey and his allies founded SCF, which sprang from CHF tradition and was overseen by the CHF administration, and prevented the media from presenting SCF as a party that supports Sharia in public.

Prior to World War II, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk developed and implemented vast projects to accomplish societal reform in a variety of industries. <sup>105</sup>.

The press had a crucial role in disseminating and elucidating the changes to the society. Cumhuriyet Newspaper, in particular, made significant efforts to encourage societal acceptance of the changes. Commencing on August 18, 1928, Cumhuriyet Newspaper underwent a gradual shift from the Arabic script to the Latin alphabet.

Etüval was published in Belgium. The interview conducted by Belj Newspaper with Yunus Nadi, the editor-in-chief of Cumhuriyet Newspaper, was also published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper on October 7, 1928. Etüval Belj provides the following comments as an introduction to Yunus Nadi:

He dedicated a significant portion of his life to actively engaging in events, particularly during the recent turbulent years in Turkey. He shown resilience in the face of the upheavals that occurred and had a prominent position in the realm of politics on a global scale. He was a journalist who belonged to the Republican Party, which advocated for the policies of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He is in charge of overseeing the operations of the prominent daily "Cumhuriyet". <sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>Alpay Kabacalı, Age, p.147-148

<sup>105</sup>Hüsnü Erkan, Restructuring for Information Civilization, Ankara, İmge Yay., 2000, p.52

<sup>106</sup>Cumhuriyet Newspaper (7 October 1928), p.1

Based on this statement, it may be inferred that Cumhuriyet Newspaper serves as both a newspaper and a political instrument, with Yunus Nadi being the one who operates this instrument. The administration sought to align the newly formed republic with the nation-state model and designated the Cumhuriyet Newspaper to play a role in promoting a Turkish identity that aligned with Western ideals and prevailed in society.

The article published on the front page of the Cumhuriyet Newspaper on October 24, 1928, asserts the need to safeguard Turkish identity. It also highlights that until 15-20 years ago, the term "Turk" was often regarded as an offensive epithet. A Turkish individual faced numerous challenges in their journey to embrace their Turkish identity. A deliberate and concerted effort was made to instill a sense of Turkishness in society, emphasizing that Turks were the most honorable, generous, and humanitarian nation, and being a Turk was a great privilege <sup>107</sup>.

The article "Physiognomy" was published on the front page of Cumhuriyet Newspaper on November 5, 1928. It compares the "old Turkey" with the "new Turkey" and aims to describe the societal transformation that has taken place. The essay draws a parallel between civilization and a dilapidated home on the verge of collapse.

According to reports, the progressive replacement of stones with bricks in the construction of houses occurred as Western cultural influences grew. However, this transformation did not occur abruptly, but rather took place gradually over a period of time. It was reported that individuals who arrived recently after seeing the "Turkey of the Sultans," which Europeans refer to as the "ancient homeland," discovered a drastically transformed Turkey, with the shift in hijab being highlighted as an illustrative example. There are claims that even women who wear veils have begun to follow fashion trends and reveal their faces, hair, and breasts. It is also said that women and men increasingly socialize together and enjoy themselves at gatherings, and this is believed to be a consequence of the present era. The essay titled "Ancient Turkish Physiognomy: Preparing for Modern Life Behind the Mask" explores how old Turkish physiognomy practices have adapted to contemporary society. The use of the line "" suggests the assertion that social connections and social perception are undergoing a process of "westernization".

Yunus Nadi, the principal author of the Republic, which began printing exclusively in the Latin script on December 1, 1928, referred to the newly adopted script as the "Turkish alphabet". In his piece, which was featured on the top page on November 12, Yunus Nadi

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<sup>107</sup>"I am a Turk", Cumhuriyet Newspaper (24 October 1928), p.1

advocated for Atatürk's reforms by asserting that those who did not transition to the Latin alphabet would lag behind the rest of society.

Furthermore, on December 1, 1928, Cumhuriyet Newspaper adopted a whole new alphabet and introduced its first publication motto. Immediately underneath the logo, the text "Published every morning, Political Turkish Newspaper" started to emerge. The slogan of Cumhuriyet Newspaper may be seen as a declaration of its representation of the Turkish identity. Another notable development is the establishment of a "foreign news service" that now provides daily news coverage, with a particular emphasis on European affairs.

The prominence of Mussolini's Italy and Turkey was mainly emphasized throughout the first month. The Cumhuriyet newspapers published on December 6, 7, 8, 12, 18, and 19, 1928, had news articles that expressed a positive stance towards fostering strong ties and collaboration between Turkey and Italy.

The article titled "The Oldest Turkish Tribe" in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated December 22, 1928, highlights the Chuvash Turks residing in the Volga Basin within the Soviet Union as "the sole Turkish Tribe untainted by the blood of Slavs, Mongols, and other invading tribes." According to European Turkic scholars, it is said that the Chuvash people speak flawless Turkish. It is evident that there are ongoing endeavors to influence the perception of Turkish identity inside society, particularly in the realm of foreign policy. This is achieved via the dissemination of news on Turks residing outside of Turkey who have similar ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, with the research conducted on the development of the Turkish alphabet, initiated in 1928 with the aim of enhancing the Turkish language in both written and spoken forms and reducing its reliance on foreign vocabulary, investigations into the Sun Language Theory began in 1935.

This idea, formulated by an Austrian scholar specializing in the study of the Orient called Kvergic, received endorsement from M. Kemal Atatürk. According to this hypothesis, it was postulated that all languages originated from a single language in Central Asia and thereafter disseminated worldwide. Turkish was seen as the language most closely related to this original language. According to this view, instead of being eliminated from Turkish, terms that were deemed foreign were "nationalized". Departments were formed at Ankara University to provide support for the Sun Language Theory. Nevertheless, this scientifically unsupported idea failed to get governmental attention after the death of M. Kemal.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>Erik Jan Zürcher, *History of Modernizing Turkey*, trans. Yasemin Sener, Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995, p.281



The Cumhuriyet Newspaper was exerting influence on social life in tandem with the government's policies. The journal started its first campaign with the objective of dismantling the societal impact of the Arabic alphabet, aligning with one of the government's aims. Cumhuriyet Newspaper, after transitioning to the Latin alphabet, initiated a campaign to boost readership by offering cheap coupons. As per the agreement with contracted firms, it was feasible to obtain a 10% discount when shopping using coupons. The promotional coupons included a depiction of a 7-headed monster, symbolizing the exorbitant expense of living, as well as Yunus Nadi with a sword to combat the dragon.

Another program focused on the modernizing of Turkish women. In order to achieve this objective, Yunus Nadi, the editor-in-chief of Cumhuriyet Newspaper, made a public announcement about a beauty contest that would be held by the newspaper on February 14, 1929. In the column, he preemptively defended against potential responses and said that no immoral incidents occurred in the beauty competitions held in Europe and America. Furthermore, the newspaper has made extra efforts to establish the "Republican lady" or "modern lady" image that the dictatorship promoted, by emphasizing the prestige of representing Turkey in international beauty pageants on behalf of the country.

In the 1930s, nationalism gained significant popularity in Turkey, similar to its rise in Europe. It is evident that each triumph attained by Turkey in global contests is seen in media and the political sphere as a victory of the Turkish ethnicity. When Keriman Halis represented Turkey in the 1932 global beauty contest and won first place, the news was prominently featured in all national and local publications. As newspaper sales data improved, a new emblem emerged to lead society. Following the successful outcome on August 1, 1932, M. Kemal Atatürk promptly sent a telegram to Yunus Nadi and publicly conveyed the following message in response to the achievement: "The Cumhuriyet Newspaper took the lead in showcasing the exceptional physical attractiveness of the Turkish people, which sets them apart from other nations worldwide, by organizing a beauty contest and effectively showcasing this to the global audience." Thus, he is deserving of our admiration and felicitations on this particular event <sup>109</sup>

This telegram from M. Kemal Atatürk demonstrates that the organization, which was formed via the efforts of Cumhuriyet Newspaper, and its subsequent worldwide achievements, bolstered the government's stance in both internal and foreign affairs. As a result, Atatürk expressed gratitude for Yunus Nadi.

After İsmet İnönü's visit to Italy in May 1934, Cumhuriyet Newspaper's front-page story on 22 May 1932, titled "Greetings from Kemalist Turkey to Fascist Italy," indicated that the

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<sup>109</sup>Aysun Köktener, Age p.38

newspaper likewise supported this foreign policy. It is noteworthy that the name "fascism" in Italy signifies "unity." Additionally, it is important to mention that despite the aggressive actions of Italian fascism before to World War II, there was no worldwide unfavorable response with an intellectual component.

The Council of Ministers issued a warning by closing Cumhuriyet Newspaper for a period of 10 days starting from October 29, 1934, mostly in response to its coverage of foreign policy matters. During the onset of the Second World War, Cumhuriyet Newspaper faced its most severe punishment to date, being shut down for an extended period. This was due to its persistent printing of content that endorsed German Nazism and Italian Fascism. In 1940, he received a sentence of 90 days of closure from August 11th to November 8th for "broadcasting against the general policy of the state." The Cumhuriyet newspaper had many closures due to identical grounds till the start of 1942 <sup>110</sup>.

Son Posta Newspaper had a distinct publication methodology from Cumhuriyet Newspaper, disseminating its news and viewpoints to the public. Selim Ragıp Emeç, a recognized left-leaning individual, is the creator of the journal that began printing following the repeal of the Takrir-i Sükûn legislation. Additional contributors to Son Posta, a daily known for its left-wing stance, including M. Zekeriya Sertel, his spouse Sabiha Sertel, and Nazım Hikmet, who penned pieces under fake names. Ahmet Ağaoglu was a contributor to the Free Republican Party newspaper throughout its existence. Son Posta Newspaper persisted in its publishing endeavors, aligning itself with the principles of SCF, while opposing CHF. After Sertels relocated to Tan Newspaper, it saw a decline in its previous level of popularity. Nonetheless, it had a significant impact on the shift towards a multi-party system by offering the opportunity to experience a diverse and liberal media.

Tan Newspaper, Volume II. It was notable for being one of the journals that strongly challenged the publishing strategy of Cumhuriyet Newspaper both before and during World War II. In an article written by Ahmet Emin Yalman, the esteemed editor-in-chief of Tan Newspaper, on September 1, 1937, he levied accusations against the Soviet Union over Cumhuriyet Newspaper's reportage on the sinking of ships inside Turkish territorial seas by submarines. Furthermore, Yalman countered these claims by asserting that Pravda and Izvestiya newspapers also vehemently condemned Cumhuriyet Newspaper. He categorically denied the allegation that the ships transporting goods from Russia to Spain were deliberately sunk by Russia. Nevertheless, he proposes that Cumhuriyet Newspaper and two other Soviet publications reassess the situation in a manner that is appropriate for the amicable ties between the Soviet

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<sup>110</sup>Aysun Köktener, Age p.35

Union and Turkey. Ultimately, he underscored the positive diplomatic ties between Turkey and the Soviets, highlighting that the foreign policies of both nations were firmly rooted in the pursuit of peace. It is evident that Tan Newspaper prioritized the development of Soviet Union and Turkey ties, in contrast to Cumhuriyet Newspaper. It may be inferred that newspapers have divergent perspectives on foreign policy, which influence the government and our society.

During the 4th Congress of the Republican People's Party in 1935, the party's agenda emphasized a strong nation-state approach to governing, characterized by the principle of "one nation, one leader, one party". This showed a clear intention to prioritize this strategy in the country's politics. However, in the same year, the government took the initiative to convene the Press Congress. The General Directorate of Press, which falls under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, sent invitations to not just newspaper owners and their representatives, but also to representatives from key ministries. During the congress held on May 25, 1935, General Director Vedat Nedim Tör expressed the objectives of the Tör institution as aligning the national press with the principles of revolution, state policy, and the nation's needs.

Tör outlined the press's responsibilities as follows: • Serving as a potent tool for disseminating the principles and ideals of the Revolution to the masses, • Promoting the revolutionary achievements and countering skepticism and reactionary forces, • Alerting the public to the actions undertaken by the revolutionary government.

The Turkish press is a genuinely national press that has committed itself to the principles of the revolution.

Tör, in his capacity as the Director General of the Press, saw the press as a public institution that serves the state's interests and priorities. Thus, when it comes to significant political matters, particularly Turkey's internal policies, the media is seen as a public institution that is obligated to safeguard the state's interests. Therefore, it is anticipated that the press would adhere to the internal policy of the state when it comes to discussing identities, ensuring compatibility.

The Dersim Rebellion, headed by Seyit Rıza in 1936-37, was primarily motivated by Kemalism's objectives of Turkification, reforms targeting religion and tribal structure, and efforts to dismantle Kurdish social formations. This rebellion emerged as a significant domestic policy concern during that era. The press exhibits a discourse and political position that supports the state on this matter.

Tan Newspaper's internal policy assessments, particularly on identity issues, seem to align with government policies. In his piece titled "Old Customs of Dersimli" from his series "In the Eastern Provinces," published on September 12, 1937, newspaper writer Latif Erenel discussed the cultural practices of the community residing in the Dersim area at that time. While he characterized the spoken language as "mountain Turkish," he specified that the traditional dances performed by both men and women were referred to as "kovent" by the local community. Additionally, he saw the bride and groom engaging in a playful competition to intentionally walk on one other's feet at weddings, which he found intriguing.

Erenel's piece depicted the cultural contrast between the western and eastern regions of Turkey, highlighting the local population as a group of Turkish individuals who speak the mountain Turkish dialect.

He was included in the headline of the news article titled "Last Cleaning in Tunceli" published by Tan Newspaper one day after the event. In other news, Seyit Rıza was characterized as a "sergerde" and "leader of a group of outlaws," while the other rebels were labeled as "thieves." Tan Newspaper ascribed Seyit Rıza's surrender to the Turkish government to his profound sorrow. He was previously known as "the most ruthless leader of the Dersim tribes." The next day, Tan Newspaper reported on its front page that Seyit Rıza expressed remorse for his belated realization of the facts.<sup>111</sup> "

The vocabulary to be used in this context is suited for the government's security strategy. Tan Newspaper might be considered on par with Cumhuriyet Newspaper in this aspect. Nevertheless, it is evident that they engage in substantial criticism of one another within the realm of foreign policy, to an extent that causes significant concern for the administration.

The ascent of Hitler's Nazism persisted throughout Germany. In the article titled "Newspapers and Foreign Propaganda" published on 14 September 1937, Tan Newspaper revealed that Cumhuriyet Newspaper was engaging in propaganda for Nazi Germany, whether intentionally or unintentionally. The first significant foreign policy controversy in the press was indicated by cautioning the Cumhuriyet daily about the difference between reporting and propaganda and advising against taking a biased stance by criticizing Hitler's Germany. Undoubtedly, this controversy would inevitably emerge in the everyday fabric of our society.

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<sup>111</sup>Tan Newspaper (14 September 1937), p.1

The primary dispute that arose between Tan and Cumhuriyet newspapers originated from a statement delivered by Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda under Hitler's regime. In his address, Goebbels said that our cause is advancing triumphantly in Poland, Austria, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Turkey. The catalyst was his verbal expression. In her "Opinions" section, newspaper columnist Sabiha Sertel wrote about Herr. The author penned an essay entitled "Goebbels is Telling the Truth" which he underscored the dangerous proliferation of racism in Turkey.

The user also inquires about the reasoning for Goebbels' belief that Turkey was aligned with Germany, and provides a compilation of potential explanations. Without explicitly identifying specific entities, he asserted that certain covert organizations have influenced Turkey to become susceptible to racism. Additionally, he mentioned that Turkish students who studied in countries with a prevalent racism issue (such as Cumhuriyet writer Nadir Nadi, who began his higher education in Vienna and finished it in Lausanne) were affected. During that period, Cumhuriyet newspaper released a book titled "Interviews from Hitler's Vienna" and strongly emphasized the risk of sympathizing with bigotry. On October 18, 1937, an article was published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper that saw these perspectives as devoid of significance, resulting in the accusation of disrespect against Tan Newspaper writer Sertel. In addition, he said that Sertel had engaged in communist endeavors.

The conflict between Tan and Cumhuriyet publications escalated into a campaign of defamation against people based on ideological differences. Ahmet Emin Yalman, the head editor of Tan Newspaper, explicitly accused Cumhuriyet Newspaper of engaging in overt Nazi propaganda. In his editorial published on October 20, 1937, marked with the double star of Cumhuriyet, he said that the newspapers had transformed into a Jewish synagogue and insinuated that Sabiha Sertel and Ahmet Emin Yalman were of Jewish descent. Furthermore, he said that Tan Newspaper was disseminating communist propaganda and camouflaging it by publishing anti-fascist pieces. During the lengthy conversations, Yunus Nadi said to Ahmet Emin Yalman, "As someone who has embraced Judaism, you cannot be considered a true Turk." By making this statement, he demonstrated a prejudiced and discriminatory attitude against Jewish people. He demonstrated his opposition to communism by referring to Sabiha Sertel, the writer of the same journal, as a "Bolshevik dudu" and a womanizer. Köktener contends that based on these debates and political declarations, Cumhuriyet Newspaper shown a favorable disposition towards Germany and national socialism at that period, while expressing opposition towards communism and left-wing ideologies.<sup>112</sup>.

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<sup>112</sup>Aysun Köktener, Age, p.59-60

Following the commencement of the conflict, authorities started enforcing martial rule measures and exerting significant pressure on the media. One of the choices that imposed limitations on the press was to refrain from providing commentary on the conflicting parties. This issue also received considerable coverage in newspapers.

Nevertheless, starting from July 1940, Cumhuriyet Newspaper started disseminating news that lauded Germany. In his essay titled "Reasons and Consequences of the New Treaty," Nadir Nadi expressed his belief that Turkey should strengthen its ties with Germany after the trade agreement reached between the two countries on July 25, 1940"<sup>113</sup>.

II. Martial rule, implemented on 22 November 1940 in response to World War II, remained in effect until November 1947, including certain regions. During this era, the press was subjected to inspection not just under the Press Law, but also under Martial Law Decrees. The General Directorate of Press, the Martial Law Command, and the prosecutor's office were the major components of the control system. The Tasvir-i Efkâr Newspaper, which had the most severe repercussions from the inspections, was forced to cease operations on 25 occasions. Furthermore, the closing of a newspaper resulted in the elimination of the opportunity for other publications to report on it, as mandated by a decree. Tan daily, the second highest-selling daily in Turkey at the time, had significant influence on public opinion with its libertarian and democratic speech. He was disrupting the equilibrium within the party by focusing severe criticism on CHP's MPs who oppose the multi-party system. Celal Bayar, the Minister of Internal Affairs, was attempting to establish collaboration with members of the CHP, such as Cami Baykut, and the staff of Tan Newspaper. The CHP management found this to be unsettling. Sabiha Sertel spoke on the pressures coming from the CHP in her column titled "Opinions" in the Tan Newspaper on December 1, 1945.

*“ The People's Party assigned the pro-government publications with the responsibility of addressing the critiques made by Tan and Vatan newspapers. Instead of supporting the government's actions, their responses consist of illusions that are filled with defamation and demagogy directed against Tan and Vatan publications and their proprietors. The People's Party deemed the publications of Tan and Vatan newspapers as acts of treason due to their support for freedom, democracy, and the defense of societal interests. Consequently, the party issued instructions, both orally and in writing, to vendors prohibiting the sale of these newspapers. Additionally, civil servants and students were instructed not to read these publications.”<sup>114</sup>*

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<sup>113</sup>Nadir Nadi, “Reasons and Consequences of the New Treaty”, Cumhuriyet Newspaper (26 July 1940), p.1

<sup>114</sup>Sabiha Sertel, “Exemplary and Meşveret Newspapers of This Era”, Tan Newspaper (1 December 1945), p.1

On December 4, 1945, a cohort of youths vandalized all the machinery owned by Tan Newspaper, thereby terminating Tan's publishing operations and rendering it incapable of further broadcasting. The police officer's failure to interfere throughout the prolonged assault, along with the absence of any subsequent inquiry, lends credence to the notion that the government may have been involved in orchestrating the attack. The essay titled "Rise, O People of the Homeland" published by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın on December 3, who is a trusted Member of Parliament of İsmet İnönü and the proprietor of Tanin Newspaper, which is affiliated with the CHP, served as a clear indication for the mentioned assault.

The article highlights the commencement of a battle against the dissemination of propaganda, emphasizing the need for journalists and responsible individuals, rather than the government, to prevent the spread of this potent and merciless poison. On the morning of December 4, 1945, a group of young individuals were marching towards Cağaloğlu, the location of Tan Newspaper, chanting "Down with the Communists, Down with the Sertellers". Additionally, there were aspiring journalists and potential members of parliament among the youth. Tan Newspaper, ABC Bookstore, Yeni Dünya Newspaper Bureau, La Turquie Newspaper, and Berrak Bookstore were all targeted in the same assault by the organization.<sup>115</sup>

In essence, the intellectual conflict between Cumhuriyet Newspaper and Tan Newspaper was progressing simultaneously with the internal divide within the CHP. Newspapers like Cumhuriyet and Tanin Newspaper supported maintaining the current political equilibrium, whereas newspapers like Tan and Vatan, along with other opposition media, were seen as "traitors" by the government, despite their close alignment with Kemalist philosophy.

An major factor contributing to Tan Newspaper's societal effect was their novel strategy of critiquing the political government from a materialist perspective, which was unfamiliar to the opposition. Additionally, they used folk English instead of scientific jargon, further distinguishing their criticism.

Conversely, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü, and Refik Koraltan, who constituted the opposition faction inside the CHP, were removed from the party as a result of their critical writings in the Tan and Vatan newspapers. This expulsion paved the door for the prospect of engaging in political activities outside of the CHP.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Tevfik Çavdar, Age, p.548

<sup>116</sup>Erik Jan Zürcher, Age, p. 310

In 1946, the Istanbul Martial Law Command effectively suppressed left-leaning journals and periodicals such as *Union*, *Ses*, *Gün*, *Yığı*, and *Dost*, therefore obstructing the publishing of opposition media.

Marko Pasha, whose first publication was released on November 25, 1946, addressed subjects like Turkey-American ties, anti-democratic legislation, and the underground economy. Shortly thereafter, Aziz Nesin, Sabahattin Ali, Rifat Ilgaz, and Mustafa Sleepless, all members of the magazine's staff, were subjected to a trial. During the ongoing court proceedings, Marko Pasha was brought up in the Parliament session on December 4, 1946, about the extension of martial rule. It was proposed that "precautions" be implemented to address this broadcast.<sup>117</sup>

The legislative efforts concerning the press were subject to frequent modifications in response to the political process and foreign forces. The 1938 amendment to the Press Law comprised 8 articles and mandated that the creation and distribution of a newspaper must be officially reported to the administrative authority of the province in which it operated. Additionally, a substantial sum of money had to be deposited in a bank as a form of security, along with various other comparable requirements. Law No. 3812, approved on April 29, 1940, made amendments to Articles 30 and 35 of the Press Law. Article 30 states that those who publish writings that offend national sentiments or distort national history with the intention of doing so shall be subject to a substantial fine ranging from fifty to five hundred liras. The document included his declaration. Article 35 included regulations pertaining to the content that was prohibited from being published. It was prohibited to disclose the court proceedings, which were deemed secret, to publish articles discussing investigations connected to state security and the steps taken to ensure state security, and to publish court deliberations.<sup>118</sup>

II. The bipolar global system that emerged after World War II caused the beginning of a new process. During this period, which was defined as the Cold War and continued until the early 1990s, Turkey's political structure was also changing. The Democratic Party, of which Celal Bayar was the first leader, supported by the conservative bourgeoisie class that began to develop in the multi-party system, was gaining superiority over the Republican People's Party in the period from the elections of May 14, 1950 to the intervention of May 27<sup>119</sup>.

The publishing of *Hürriyet* Newspaper began on May 1, 1948, at the period of the founding of the Democrat Party, marking a significant milestone in the history of Turkish journalism. Particularly in the first month of publication, news and writings opposing

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<sup>117</sup>Alpay Kabacalı, *Age*, p. 213

<sup>118</sup>Caner Arabacı, *Agm*, p. 24-25

<sup>119</sup>Tanju Tosun, *Fragmentation in the Center Right and Center Left in the Turkish Party System*, Istanbul: Siz Kitapları, 1999, p. 84



communism were published. The first edition of Hürriyet, which was launched under the banner of "Daily Independent Political Newspaper," prominently included news articles that were critical of communism. The article titled "Intrigues of the Russians to Intrude into the Central East" is on the first page and discusses the relationship between Great Britain and Britain. According to "The East" magazine, Middle Eastern nations, with the exception of Turkey and Iran, are facing a communist danger. The article also suggests that the growth of communism in Romania is a kind of intimidation against freedom. In his essay published on the first page, Sedat Simavi, the newspaper's creator, acquaints readers with the newspaper's publication policies and values. Simavi clarified that Hürriyet Newspaper was founded with the intention of promoting democracy in Turkey. Simavi emphasized that the newspaper would not blindly support the Democratic Party in its publications, nor would it display hostility towards the CHP. As proof of fairness, he put the texts of President İnönü and Democratic Party leader Celal Bayar on the same page. Simavi explains that the technological architecture of Hürriyet Newspaper was imported from America, which is an essential aspect.

Upon examining other sections of the newspaper, one may see a persistent focus on reporting on anti-communism. The second page contains information on the deployment of an American aircraft carrier to Turkey, which would transport planes, as well as another American ship that will provide tanks and spare parts. In the bottom columns, May 1 Labor Day is referred to as "Spring Day".

The third page of the newspaper had an article in the top left column on a meeting with the military ministers of five European governments. The purpose of the gathering was to discuss strategies for safeguarding Europe from the threat of communism. The Turkish military team was believed to be in Washington and will visit armaments manufacturing, as said in the side column. At the lower section, there was a news piece reporting the death of a Russian general due to an illness. The third column contains America's provision of wheat help to Turkey.

At the page's bottom, a news piece said that the Yugoslav King, who sought asylum in America, expressed his desire to reclaim his position as king in his homeland, despite the society's disapproval of the communist leader Tito. The news on the civil war in Greece was presented from the perspective of the anti-communist Greek Government, which was located in the right column of the page. The headline "Rebel gangs are being cleared in Greece" only encompasses the declarations made by the authorities.

The second edition of Hürriyet also has news that speaks well of America. The newspaper Hürriyet prominently covered the story of a Bulgarian pilot seeking asylum in Turkey with his aircraft. According to the Bulgarian soldier, he said that Germans and Russians had

similarities, which led to hundreds of commanders in the Bulgarian army eagerly awaiting a chance to flee. One may claim that this news was deliberately analyzed in great detail to shape negative opinions about communism among society.

The May 3, 1948 edition of Hürriyet Newspaper reported that the American government has officially outlawed communism. The remaining news reports indicate that the communists are engaging in nefarious actions, prompting the House of Representatives to provide authorization to the attorney general's office. Finally, it was said that communism is characterized as a "foreign preoccupation" in America.

In an essay by Cevat Nizami, published on the second page of the newspaper, England and America were categorized as nations that save or protect, whereas Soviet Russia and Germany were labeled as countries that oppose freedom. He said that under the Soviet Union, the state functioned only as a beneficiary, resulting in the impoverishment of the people.

According to these findings, he argued that statism performs a comparable role in Turkey and, as a result, private enterprises should be given chances. In the last section of his paper, he underscored the need of adhering to the notion of statism as a means of averting communism. This point was exemplified by the inclusion of the following statement: "The sun rises in the USA today." The whole global community, particularly the developed nations, must adapt their approaches, mindset, and ethos in response to the illumination emanating from this source. Excessive statism has the potential to lead nations into a regime that instills fear and undermines both economic prosperity and individual liberty. They are prepared.

According to Hürriyet's editorial strategy, the news focuses on topics that are in favor of America, while portraying communism as a potential danger. The objective seems to be to elicit empathy from our community towards America by the manner in which the help originating from America is conveyed. Hürriyet Newspaper has maintained a consistent agenda by consistently covering such news and stories. Due to the prevailing political circumstances in Turkey, it may be said that Hürriyet, a proponent of liberalism, persists in its role as a mission-oriented daily, akin to Cumhuriyet daily in terms of its caliber.

Similar to Hürriyet Newspaper, the Democratic Party, which espoused liberalism, pursued a political agenda that aligned with that of the United States. The Democratic Party represented the United States in Turkey and condemned the "statism" stance of the CHP. Thus, Hürriyet Newspaper and the Democrat Party mutually backed one another based on their shared sensitivities and ideological adversaries. In this particular scenario, the opposition coalition was comprised of Cumhuriyet Newspaper and CHP, both of whom embraced the state political system.

In its May 4 edition, Hürriyet began including news that offers critical analysis of the government's role in domestic politics, marking a notable departure from its previous coverage. The story highlights the surge in corruption and ineptitude inside the state government.

The newspaper Hürriyet, by describing the defeat of communists in the Italian general elections as "the triumph of democracy," demonstrates its unwillingness to accept the ascent of communists to power, even if it occurs via democratic processes like elections.

Therefore, it can be said that Hürriyet has taken on the role of advocating for one particular ideological stance in relation to foreign policy.

The articles authored by Hikmet Feridun Es in Hürriyet Newspaper, which focus on the Armenian community residing in California, provide insight into the filters used to portray their identity and culture. The article, first published on May 16, 1948, asserts that Turkish Culture holds sway in the Fresno area of California, with Anatolian Armenians assuming this dominating position. There is also a reported animosity against Turks among the Armenians residing in this area. In the second installment of the essay series, he discussed the mutual reliance of Armenians residing in California and expressed his lack of security while working in the area due to this factor. He explicitly states that he used scissors to protect himself while barricading himself in his hotel room. From this passage, it is apparent that H. Feridun Es views the Armenian community's cohesive existence and unbroken connections as a kind of intimidation. By using a "us and them" rhetoric, the piece aims to offer a Turkish model to society while expressing the prevailing sentiment. In his subsequent essays, he expresses his belief that although goods like pita, GÜllaç, and pastrami may originate from Turkey, he is dissatisfied with Armenians appropriating them as part of their cultural heritage.<sup>120</sup>

In the tenth installment of Es's article series titled "40 days in the Armenian Kaaba," he observes the intriguing practice of Anatolian Armenians donning traditional Anatolian attire during festivals. They engage in the traditional dance known as zeybek, using double-wire and harmanda instruments, accompanied by the rhythmic beats of drums and pipes. Notably, the songs performed during these festivities are not sung in Turkish. Es proceeds to delve further into his article.;

*"The players were as astonishing as the players. It may be considered as our Zeybek to a certain extent... It is unsurprising that young girls born in the USA engage in a game where they attempt to shatter a blender by flexing their knees and delivering a forceful smack on their knees... Subsequently, three adolescent females engaged in a competition with one another. They*

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<sup>120</sup>Hikmet Feridun Es, "40 Days in the Armenian Kaaba", Hürriyet Newspaper (18 May 1948), p.2

*engaged in a game similar to double-teaming. The attention of onlookers was captured by these attractive brunettes, adorned in embroidered skirts and jackets in shades of red and yellow. The audience responded with resounding applause. That is the mechanism by which propaganda operates... On that day, I became aware of the many aspects of our culture that would be appreciated by the New World. This realization came to me as I listened to the rhythmic beats of Turkish Armenians, enjoyed our songs, and saw our traditional dances. Once again, my attention was drawn to something different. Armenian-Americans really appreciated several aspects of our culture, like Çiftetelli dance, shish kebab cuisine, our rituals, and our pitas. Indeed, their fondness for the items was so great that they embraced almost all of them. They seemed to have no dislikes towards us. Aside from our own self ... Psychologically, this is a really challenging concept to articulate..<sup>121</sup>”*

It is evident that Es does not have the ability to promote Anatolian culture while expressing Turkish identity. Disregarding the fact that Anatolian Armenians are an integral part of Anatolian Culture, he advanced the concept of a "sovereign nation" in his paper by asserting that common values inherently pertain to Turkish Culture. In the May 31, 1948 edition of Hürriyet, it was reported that Minister of Agriculture Tahsin Coşkan delivered a statement in parliament on the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine being labeled a "communist hub" and the subsequent leftist provocations that followed. In Coşkan's address, the newspaper asserts that communism is a pernicious force, and regrettably, its manifestations are prevalent across the nation. Nevertheless, the Turkish Nation's framework is not conducive to this ideology. The psychology of dread over the growth of anti-communism in Turkish politics is now evident in society. In an attempt to reinforce the anti-communist stance, politicians' viewpoints are being used as a reference.

Conversely, he authored a prominent article advocating that while French held a significant role in foreign language instruction in Turkey, the government should prioritize English due to Turkey's strong ties with England and America. He recommended that the government implement policies to promote English education. Is visible.

Hürriyet Newspaper endeavors to raise public awareness of Cyprus by running a series of articles on the topic. In the first installment of the article series entitled "What is Cyprus like" authored by Rakım Çalapala, he underscores the fact that Cyprus has been detached from its mainland for a duration of 70 years. Additionally, the piece incorporates interviews with the Turkish inhabitants residing on the island. During the conclusion of the interview, he further expressed that Cypriots have a strong sense of loyalty towards their nationality. It is worth

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<sup>121</sup>Hikmet Feridun Es, "40 Days in the Armenian Kaaba", Hürriyet Newspaper (25 May 1948), p.2

mentioning that Çalapala's series of essays corresponded with the time when the Greek people started to endorse the concept of Enosis, which was gaining momentum in Cyprus.

The Cyprus Problem has gained significant attention on the agenda, mostly due to the influence of the press. As a result, there has been a growing concern in society about safeguarding the rights of the Turkish population residing in Cyprus. Nevertheless, the press had differing opinions about the involvement. While conservative publications like *Son Havadis*, *Tercüman*, and *Adalet* saw the intervention as necessary, newspapers like *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, and *Ulus* backed the government's Cyprus policy, which did not include involvement.

After the DP's election victory in 1950, the party passed Press Law No. 5680, which was put into effect on July 15, 1950, three months after the government was established. Nevertheless, the DP's endurance started to diminish as a result of the newfound liberty granted to the press. Despite facing significant charges and disrespectful words, the courts were unable to impose fines on the CHP-supporting press owing to the constraints of the Press Law.

Following the victory of the Democrat Party, headed by Adnan Menderes, in the 1954 elections, *Ulus* Newspaper, which served as a propaganda tool for the CHP similar to *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, increasingly and provocatively denounced the Democrat Party. The DP acknowledged that the resistance expressed by the *Ulus* Newspaper, which is recognized as the media outlet of the CHP, was essentially the opposition of the CHP. As a result, the DP was compelled to set aside the legislative norms pertaining to the press.

In commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic, Nihad Sami Banarlı characterizes Turkish youth as a fervently nationalistic community and perceives foreign ideologies as a danger to their well-being. Banarlı saw the young people in Kars and Ardahan communities as a collective group prepared to create a new heroic tale similar to the Battle of Çanakkale. He explicitly identified the Soviet Union as the source of the perceived danger. *Hürriyet*, a daily known for its frequent use of the rhetoric surrounding both domestic and foreign dangers, likewise promotes the idea that young patriots should have an anti-communist stance.

The event known as the "6-7 September Incidents" in 1955 demonstrated the significant role of the press in orchestrating and managing the crisis via the creation of a "patriotic mass". The second issue of *Ekspres* Newspaper, published at midday on September 6, included the title "Bomb Causes Damage to Ancestral House: Systematic Attacks Target Non-Muslims, Particularly in Istanbul." The newspapers *Hürriyet*, *Tercüman*, *Yeni Sabah*, and *Cumhuriyet* first used a nationalist rhetoric, asserting that the Greeks were the ones responsible for the events,

while disregarding the several fatalities, over 200 cases of sexual assault, and the widespread pillaging of numerous businesses and residences. In an interview with Tempo Magazine, retired General Sabri Yirmibeşoğlu characterized the event as a "flawless special warfare operation" and disclosed that newspapers were also involved in this aspect.

Comparing the events of September 6-7 to the assault by "patriots" that halted the publishing of Tan Newspaper, it becomes evident that the former was characterized by a higher level of intricacy and organization. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that the approach and the discussions used throughout both time periods were comparable. Nevertheless, it might be argued that the press has a more impactful role in raising awareness among the general public. Simultaneously with the growing impact of the press, Ercüment Karacan's Milliyet Newspaper entered the emerging Turkish press market, which was initiated by Sedat Simavi's Hürriyet Newspaper.

Subsequently, Sefa Kılıçoğlu's Yenisabah and Ilıcak's Tercüman started a rivalry with other publications. The trip of Istanbul-based daily newspapers to other outlying areas of Anatolia not only generated substantial advertising and marketing profits for the newspapers, but also facilitated their assimilation into the market. Due to a decline in its power, the local press saw a reduction in size and subsequently fell under the authority of larger media organizations. This might be seen as an initial stage in which the press starts to be influenced by a certain group. After the 1950s, the press industry experienced a situation where advertising and promotion earnings were insufficient to meet its financial needs. During the 1950s and 1960s, the revenue generated by picture advertising demonstrated a reliance on the government. In the 1980s, there was a growing reliance on corporations and monopolies in the market.<sup>122</sup>

He highlights that left-wing ideologies were able to flourish in the libertarian climate that arose after the May 27, 1960 coup. The communist publications categorized as "street press" had a significant degree of influence in shaping the society they cultivated. However, because of the potential for violence resulting from the clash of ideas initiated by the far-right mass, a closed system that excluded left-wing views was established on March 12, 1971.

The government agenda submitted to the National Unity Committee, created by junta commanders after the May 27 coup, also included the stance towards the press. The government program had the following viewpoints toward the press;

*“ The establishment of the Second Republic relies heavily on the presence of a free press, which serves as a fundamental cornerstone. Our comprehension and legislation about freedom*

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<sup>122</sup>Tevfik Çavdar, Age, p. 554

*of the press and press laws in the Western world, which have reached sophisticated levels in democratic societies, will serve as our framework. Radio, as a public service, disseminates daily information to our citizens, enhances their cultural knowledge, and importantly, it belongs to the whole Turkish Nation rather than being controlled by a single political party or interest group. A governmental body that amplifies the state's perspective It is inevitable. <sup>123</sup>”*

The government proposal being presented to the National Unity Committee seeks to establish press independence. The committee's willingness to include the press in its work and allow them to assist when needed demonstrates a tolerant stance towards the press. Minister of Transport Sıtkı Ulay responded to committee member Numan Esin's argument against making too many concessions to the press by stating that the press should be utilized and that expert press members, like Abidin Daver, could make a valuable contribution to the work. The committee members conducting the amendment research on the Press Law, which was debated on November 9, 1960, primarily analyze the response of the press. Conversely, it was determined that the House of Representatives would include representatives from political parties, as well as people from universities, professional groups, unions, and the press. The press's support to the activities of the National Unity Committee influenced their inclusion in this body. It was resolved to provide 12 membership quotas to the House of Representatives for press groups. The allocation of a quota to the press has led to equal representation of the courts and universities in the House of Representatives in terms of their influence and authority. <sup>124</sup>.

Ersü's categorization of the press as the "fourth force" and the army as the "fifth force" during the Constitutional draft studies of the National Unity Committee demonstrates the significant influence of the press on Turkish society at that period.

Despite the government's advantage in raising paper costs to counter the effect of newspapers, there were instances when public pressure generated by the press compelled the government to cut paper prices in half.

Prior to 1980, the state exerted control over the press, with the exception of the period from 1960 to 1971. Nevertheless, it may be said that the regulations imposed on publications differ based on the political framework. Although the limitations on the press throughout the Ottoman Empire were ostensibly justified by legal justifications, their primary aim was to suppress any inclinations that may pose a threat to the government or the sultan. During the War

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<sup>123</sup>National Unity Committee General Assembly Meeting Open Meeting Minutes, Second Meeting (11 July 1960), Volume: 1, p.8

<sup>124</sup>National Unity Committee General Assembly Meeting Open Birleşim Minutes, 53rd Birleşim (12 December 1960), Volume: 4, p.37

of Independence, a robust partnership was forged based on patriotism, and they mutually bolstered each other. To ensure the success of the nation-state policy and modernization efforts initiated during the early years of the Republic, a strict stance was adopted towards the pro-caliphate media. At the same time, newspapers that promoted the values of the republic to society were provided with support.

However, global economic conditions started to shift throughout the 1930s and were further transformed by the occurrence of World War II. During the years of World War II, prominent periodicals were influenced by the prevailing tide of nationalism and even bigotry. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the opposition to Sharia law has started to be increasingly supplanted by the opposition to communism.

Therefore, it is evident that governments are implementing preventive steps to combat extremism by broadening their power to temporarily halt newspaper publications and amending press laws. II. The press underwent a transformation with the conclusion of World War II, which was initiated by the establishment of a multi-party system. It is evident that American influence has a strong impact on Turkey, and liberal media are actively striving to promote the American way of life throughout society. During this time, Turkey, which was striving to integrate into the capitalist system, saw the emergence of a press industry that was well-suited for its needs. However, it may be said that the press is endeavoring to reshape society in alignment with the policies of the nation-state, rather than those of the government.

### **2.2.2. Radio Broadcasting and the Role of TRT Before 1980**

The first radio transmission in Turkey began in 1927. Although a French corporation was responsible for setting up the technical infrastructure of the first radio station, which originally broadcasted in Ankara and then in Istanbul, the broadcasting rights were granted to Telsiz, Telefon Türk AŞ (TTTAŞ). The license was revoked in 1936 owing to poor transmission quality. The two radio channels established in Ankara and Istanbul in 1933 were not operational until 1949.<sup>125</sup>

During the era from 1936 to 1964, only governmental monopoly was allowed in radio transmission. Particularly II. Due to heightened global awareness throughout the World War years, there was a significant surge in radio listenership. The radio, which operates under a state

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<sup>125</sup>Hüseyin Aykol, *From News Press to Islamist Media*, Istanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2008, p.76.



monopoly, has been characterized as "the voice of the government or the state" due to its close association with the bureaucratic apparatus.

The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), founded in 1964, had exclusive control over television transmission as granted by the Constitution. The first television transmission of TRT occurred in 1968. The Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTYK), founded in 1983, served as an auditing body only responsible for inspecting TRT until 1989, when the period of several channels began. Hence, RTÜK was sometimes referred to as the "TRT Supervision Agency" in relation to its scope of operation.

Following the military takeover in 1960, the 1961 Constitution was promptly established, granting TRT the designation of a "autonomous" institution. Additionally, the TRT Law was passed in 1963, further solidifying this position. Nevertheless, the independent structure of TRT was causing disruption to the administrations that were constituted following the coup.

The Justice Party Government, under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel, eliminated the autonomy of TRT. Following the coup on March 12, 1971, a new legislation was enacted that redefined TRT as a "neutral institution". Nevertheless, the claim of impartiality associated with TRT has always been a topic of contention as a result of power dynamics and evolving political circumstances. AP and CHP engaged in intense arguments, particularly during parliamentary general assembly statements, about TRT.

Following the Republican People's Party's return to power in 1974, Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit's decision to select journalist İsmail Cem İpekçi, who had a background in journalism, as the General Directorate of TRT, faced strong criticism from the AP. Yiğit Köker is a member of the Ankara Deputy from the AP party, representing the first district. Regarding Cem İpekçi, he expressed his concern about the fact that the same individual consistently uses the term 'Turkish culture', which has been deemed as a threat to our State in the parliament, and repeats this on TRT platforms. Furthermore, he intentionally showcases images of barefoot children in Kars. He openly expressed his disquiet over the TRT broadcast.

Lütfi Tokoğlu, a representative of the Justice Party, expressed his views on TRT during the Consolidated State Budget discussions in the Senate of the Republic. He emphasized that TRT is one of the crucial instruments available to the State for safeguarding the unity of the Turkish State and its people. He employed the phrase. Subsequently, he raised the concern of the dominant control that the ruling party CHP, led by Prime Minister Ecevit, had exerted on TRT. He said that İsmail Cem, whom Ecevit designated as the director of TRT, should not hold a public service position due to his left-wing ideology as shown by his published book.

Furthermore, he asserted that individuals with such ideological inclinations should not be employed in organizations like TRT. TRT said that, under these circumstances, it had been transformed into a medium for disseminating biased information in favor of the CHP. Furthermore, TRT claimed that it had been hindered from safeguarding the unity and sovereignty of the Turkish State, as well as the well-being of its citizens.

Justice Party Deputy Tokoğlu's response to the question about the nature of TRT suggests that it will function as an institution serving the political processes of the state. Hence, it may be inferred that the optimal TRT management should not possess left-wing political beliefs.

In reaction to Tokoğlu's speech, Istanbul Deputy Fikret Gündoğan, representing the CHP Group, issued the following statement:

*“TRT has a singular responsibility and significance for you: if you use it as a biased radio station between 1950 and 1960, just for your own enjoyment, objectives, and self-interests, to the extent of causing distress to the country and inducing a state of economic decline, then you must However, you will not express dissatisfaction with TRT; instead, you will feel content. If the TRT you criticize transforms into a biased mouthpiece that spreads falsehoods, conceals the truth, disregards the suffering of the destitute, the hungry, the wretched, the downtrodden, the corrupt, and only promotes its own agenda, then you will find satisfaction with this TRT. No one can remain by your side, despite your dislike, and surprisingly, the general people really appreciate and backs the present TRT Administration. You are expressing dissatisfaction with TRT, not TRT itself, due to your concern that the public may be influenced by these broadcasts and gain insight into the realities and the agony you have inflicted upon them over the years, resulting in the consequences you will face..<sup>126</sup>”*

TRT, which has become a battleground between the CHP and AP, is recognized as a crucial institution for politicians in their quest to attain or retain power. The argument on TRT between CHP and AP persisted until Kenan Evren delivered a speech on September 12, 1980, in which he announced the intention to take control of TRT.

### **2.2.3. A lot channeled To the media your transition review**

Following the coup on September 12, 1980, newspapers, magazines, radios, and televisions were consolidated under the same publishing groups. Therefore, it is important to consider newspapers and television organizations as part of a larger media group, rather than evaluating them separately. Thus, it would be more pragmatic to specify the media conglomerate with which they are associated, rather than referring to broadcasting entities that share identical broadcasting rules and administrative structures.

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<sup>126</sup>Republic Senate Minutes, 26th Birleşim, Volume: 19, (5 February 1975), p.54

The most notable headline in the press immediately after the coup was featured in Milliyet Newspaper, which is controlled by Aydın Doğan, the individual who would form the future media conglomerate known as Doğan Publishing Group. The editorial titled "The Success of September 12 is a Must" published on the first page of Milliyet on September 14 emphasized the importance of patriotic individuals supporting the new administration in order to achieve its goals successfully. It also highlighted that removing the circumstances that necessitate the intervention of the Turkish Armed Forces would contribute to the success of September 12, ultimately leading to the realization of Turkish Democracy. Milliyet said that the Turkish Armed Forces' effective execution of the coup will result in the triumph of democracy as well.

In the essay penned by Uğur Mumcu in Cumhuriyet Newspaper, he characterized the Armed Forces' assumption of control over the chain of command in the midst of a politically unstable climate as an occurrence as commonplace as rainfall. He contended that the military did not orchestrate the coup with the intention of establishing a lasting administration, which he considered to be a significant guarantee.

The editorial headlined "May God Help Us" in Tercüman Newspaper posited that the intervention's objective was to enhance the caliber of Turkish democracy.

The article headed "Today is a New Day" by Hürriyet asserts that the intervention on September 12 effectively put an end to anarchy and terrorism, highlighting the Turkish Armed Forces as the guarantors of the rule. He enhanced the propaganda efforts of the Turkish Armed Forces by including the phrase "How content is the individual who proclaims their Turkish identity... Let us commence our tasks" in the concluding section of the essay.

Prior to the coup, many other progressive journals and periodicals were forcibly shut down, preventing them from being able to publish. Furthermore, the staff members of these publications were subsequently incarcerated. The initiation of the September 12 Coup marked the beginning of a new political process, which brought about the first transformation in the realm of media, namely inside TRT. From January 1981 till almost three years later, TRT was overseen by Retired Major General Macit Akman, who led a staff consisting of generals and colonels.

The rise of right-wing ideology at the governmental level has bestowed significant responsibilities onto the press in its efforts to establish dominance. The process of restructuring the state and society has included the inclusion of many institutions such as the press, universities, unions, judicial, religious, and cultural organizations. The September 12 coup aimed to promote national unity and solidarity, which manifested in the media via the prevalence of nationalistic views in journalism and publishing. Therefore, efforts were undertaken to

officially prohibit the presence of any publishing guidelines that deviated from the state's photographic ideology. Despite efforts made at both individual and institutional levels to eliminate these barriers, their effectiveness has been limited. TRT only authorized a limited number of programs with political content that successfully underwent rigorous bureaucratic evaluation. One such program was the monthly news show named 32. Gün, hosted by Mehmet Ali Birand. The program's publishing was a direct outcome of the steps taken by the former prime minister, Turgut Özal.

The radio was transmitting on three channels: TRT-1, TRT-2, TRT-3. City radios were functioning in locations inaccessible to regular postal services. The primary objective in broadcasting was to showcase programming that aligned with the state's stance against anarchy and terrorism. Furthermore, it was anticipated that 30% of international shows would be shown. During the time of September 12, a more stringent approach was adopted against the print media, which did not belong to a state entity like TRT. On the first day of the coup, the *Aydınlık*, *Demokrat*, and *Hergün* publications were shut down. By the conclusion of 1984, the newspapers *Güneş*, *Tan*, *Bulvar*, and *Posta* commenced publication. The editors-in-chief of widely circulated newspapers like as *Hürriyet*, *Günaydın*, *Tercüman*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Güneş*, and *Milliyet* were replaced either because of imprisonment, changes in the publications' political stance by the owners, or economic factors. The circulation had a complete loss of 500,000. A pattern emerged in which renowned columnists were being recruited from one newspaper to another, often enticed by lucrative pay. Through investments in newspapers, conglomerates initiated the establishment of the media industry and its subsequent integration with other financial sectors. However, from 1980 to 1984, a total of 927 periodicals were prohibited and editors-in-chief were collectively condemned to almost 184 years of imprisonment.

A significant number of individuals were incarcerated as a result of the 1982 Constitution and Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, which impose limitations on freedom of expression and assembly. Individuals with a background in journalism were also subjected to legal proceedings based on these stories. Newspapers were being shut down for even the most minor expressions of criticism against the military regime. The publishing of *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper was temporarily prohibited from 24 January to 18 February as a result of Nadir Nadi's article titled "A Strange Bill". *Hürriyet* newspaper suspended publication for one day on 30 November 1983 as a result of posting the obituary of İsmail Bilen, the General Secretary of the TKP. The pressures have compelled publications to prioritize the publication of court and tabloid news above political news.

In 1983, during the Council of Ministers program of the ANAP Government in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, under the leadership of Turgut Özal, it was emphasized that

the press should function in a manner that upholds democratic principles, and that radio, television, and other media outlets should maintain impartiality.

Furthermore, it was stressed that the press had obligations in fostering national culture, and that the Anatolian press should get assistance in pursuing this objective. It was suggested that television should be used to promote out-of-school educational and cultural events to assure the ongoing provision of public education.

During his speech at the GNAT rostrum, Aydın Güven Gürkan, the Antalya Deputy from the Populist Party, emphasized that TRT has the duty to promote secular and democratic principles as outlined in the 1982 Constitution. He further argued that TRT, being a "impartial institution," should not be manipulated by the government for malicious purposes. He said that the print media operates in accordance with the economic agenda of the conglomerates, as a result of their association with financial authorities. He said that the press had prioritized news that favored the administration because of the close relationships between the press and the government. Additionally, he claimed that opposition parties had little media attention.

However, on January 31, 1984, the TRT program "İcraatın İçden" was broadcasted, taking inspiration from the BBC principles in the United Kingdom and following the guidelines of Article 19 of Law No. 2954. As a result, opposition parties in the parliament started presenting legislative proposals to challenge the government. The primary cause for this discrepancy was that although the government had the freedom to articulate its acts on TRT for a duration of 30 minutes, opposition parties were deprived of their ability to counteract. This circumstance conferred a substantial propaganda advantage for the ruling party. The program "From the Inside of the Action" was discussed on TRT, focusing on the issue of unfair political competition. During this debate, the notion of "outside the institution production" was introduced for the first time in the "32nd TV Series" presented by M Ali Birand. The initiation started with the implementation known as "Gün". As special productions increased, the quality of TRT's broadcasts also improved.

Indeed, a considerable number of individuals employed at TRT voluntarily left their positions and established their own production firms or joined production organizations offering generous remuneration. Subsequently, they started the development of exclusive programs specifically tailored for TRT. Alemdar and Kaya view this process as a kind of privatization.<sup>127</sup>

The circumstances that substantiated Aydın Güven Gürkan's criticisms of media-businessman connections started with Aydın Doğan's acquisition of Milliyet Newspaper in 1979.

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<sup>127</sup> Korkmaz Alemdar and Raşit Kaya , *New Order in Radio-Television: World Experiment and Quests in Turkey*, Ankara: TOBB Publications, 1993, p.54

In 1982, Ömer Çavuşoğlu and Ahmet Kozanoğlu, both businesspeople, made a significant move by entering the media industry with the establishment of Güneş Newspaper. Subsequently, industrialists Mehmet Ali Yılmaz and Asil Nadir acquired Güneş Newspaper. Asil Nadir established the Veb Ofset Group on July 5, 1988, which included the newspapers Günaydın, Tan, Ekonomi Bülten, Ulus, Kocaeli, Sakarya, Ekspres, and Yeni Meram. In 1991, a 10% stake in Sabah Newspaper was purchased by Çukurova Group, which is controlled by Mehmet Emin Karamehmet, for a total of \$9,000,000. In 1990, British media mogul Robert Maxwell acquired 49% of Hürriyet's shares, but, the transfer was ultimately not completed. In 1993, Erol Aksoy, the proprietor of İktisat Bankası, purchased a 25% stake in Hürriyet for a sum of 17 million dollars. As newspapers grew concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, the problem of press monopolization emerged as a key subject of debate among the general public and policymakers. Concerns about monopolization were escalating after Doğan Group acquired both Hürriyet Newspaper and Milliyet. The prevalence of businesspeople in the media industry allows for the characterization of the connection between politicians and the media as a politician-capital relationship. Mustafa Şükrü Kaptanoğlu, a member of the Free Party and representative from Afyon, addressed the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the topics of press freedom and amnesty for journalists who were convicted of press crimes during the September 12 period. He emphasized that the press has been functioning in the best interest of the nation since the War of Independence. Highlighting the significant contribution of the press in the formation of Republican revolutions, he stressed that releasing the arrested press members would be advantageous for the nation.

He said that the presence of thought criminals and journalists in Turkish jails raises doubts in the global public opinion about Turkey's status as a democratic nation. He requested support from the Parliament for a journalist amnesty bill. The assistance was first implemented in 1991 when Articles 141, 142, and 163 were abolished.

of the shift towards profit-driven media, there was a growing emphasis on populist publications to maintain readership, resulting in the creation of newspapers of subpar substance. The decline in the quality of newspaper articles and the rise in offensive content have been a topic of debate among many factions, particularly conservative lawmakers. During his address to the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Hakkı Artukarslan, the ANAP representative from Bingöl, said that the writings circulated in Turkey had a detrimental impact on the Turkish family system. He emphasized the need for stricter monitoring of publications that contravene national, moral, and cultural principles. The author asserts that politicians and members of the press who identify as both Turkish and Muslim should handle the matter with caution. They contend that the current publications pose a danger to the Turkish identity and the structure of Turkish

families. Nevertheless, there were also expressions of concern in parliament over the press's lack of competence in policy matters. The concerns from political officials mostly centered upon the editorial approach that the press should adopt.

Turgut Özal, the prime minister at that time, similarly maintained a reserved demeanor with the press. His implementation of 19 price increases throughout his tenure till 1988 created tension in his relationship with the media. Under the Özal administration, the cost of newspapers per metric ton rose significantly, going from 10,750 lira to 859,000 lira. In reaction to the paper price rise implemented by the Özal Government, the Newspaper Owners' Union said on the front pages of all newspapers issued on April 17, 1988, that they had raised newspaper prices by 50 liras. Özal promptly countered this attitude by announcing a substantial increase of 35% the next day, namely on April 18, 1988. The media relations strategy initiated by Özal, which aimed to maintain a certain level of detachment while exerting control, served as a blueprint for future politicians. The media had a significant influence on the strategies used to attain political authority.

To raise awareness among the Turkish population about the immigration issue between Turkey and Bulgaria, which began in 1987, a film series titled "Reborn" was produced under the leadership of TRT's General Manager, Tunca Toskay. The series, which started airing on TRT in the same year, depicted the Bulgarian subjugation of Turks residing in Bulgaria. This series generated sensitivity among the Turkish population about the Bulgarian Turks and garnered support for the government's foreign policy. Following the Bulgarian government's efforts to reconcile with Turkey, the series was removed from broadcasting in response to a request from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Following the September 12 Coup, it seems that a news organization that was forcibly silenced and placed under government authority sought financial stability by merging with the business sector. The administration and the opposition seem to prioritize the press's importance in releasing non-controversial political publications that may effectively express the national identity.

### **2.3. Examining the Development of Liberalization and Media in Turkey After the Cold War**

The media industry has swiftly understood the fundamentals of neoliberal philosophy. The Turgut Özal administration played a crucial role in the implementation of neoliberal economic policies in Turkey, primarily via its opening-up model.

In Turkey, similar to the economic structure in the Western countries, there have been endeavors to reduce the size of the state, disengage from some sectors, and promote and enhance private firms.

Simultaneously with these advancements, the objective was to establish a society model that prioritizes individualism and consumerism. Turkish media has also started to conform to the principles of neoliberal growth.

to Liechtenstein, a jurisdiction known for its favorable tax policies, via its Rumeli Holding. On February 7, 1990, they leased two channels from the Eutelsat satellite to transmit their program from the Federal Republic of Germany. They founded a business called Magic Box Incorporated in Vaduz, the capital of the Principality, for this purpose.

After establishing its exterior links, the Uzan Family has obtained the required authorization from relevant authorities in Turkey. Foremost among these individuals were Turgut Özal and the Akbulut Government.

Indeed, on December 19, 1990, Ahmet Özal, the son of the President, formally became a partner in the corporation. Although Star 1 faced legal obstacles to begin broadcasting, Özal's influence successfully resolved this issue. TRT and Star1 were influenced by DYP once it gained control.

The first disputes between Ahmet Özal and the Uzan Family over STAR 1, Turkey's inaugural private channel, started around this period. The first issue arose when customs broker Turgay Aksoylu made an endeavor to confiscate the Magic Box using a promissory note valued at 20 billion lira. While there were no business transactions of this kind recorded in the company's books, the purpose of signing this paper remained unclear.

The presence of Ahmet Özal's signature, an unidentified individual's signature, and the company's stamp on the promissory note provided indications of the nature of their connection network. Despite Ahmet Özal's seemingly insignificant 1% stake in Star1, it is noteworthy that he was able to participate in deals that typically require a 50% collaboration.<sup>128</sup>

Concurrently with the government's liberalization efforts, measures were being implemented to launch a multi-channel television system that included private ventures. Nevertheless, the established approach is seen as lacking transparency and legality.

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<sup>128</sup>Beybin Kejanlıoğlu, *Age*, p. 350



## **2.4. The Connection in the Media-Capital-Politics Triangle in the Era of Private Television**

### **2.4.1. Strengthening of Capital and Control of Its Reflections on the Media**

The media's financial consolidation after 1990 also heightened its connections with politics. Media proprietors have endeavored to further their own interests by cultivating connections with political authority and other political establishments, use media platforms as a means of influence. Capital-supported media has had a significant impact on politics, particularly in privatizations and bank acquisitions.

When the interests of the capitalist elite are affected, the headlines of the newspapers they own and the television programs they control diverge. After the DYP-RP administration issued a decree permitting free automobile imports, Doğan Group, a partner of Tofaş Automotive, and Doğan Publishing Group engaged in opposition journalism targeting DYP leader Tansu Çiller right after the elections on December 24, 1995.<sup>129</sup>

Show TV, which began its broadcasting operations on March 1, 1992, was jointly owned by banker Erol Aksoy, who had a majority stake of over 50%, and the Hürriyet and Sabah groups, each holding a 20% stake. Additionally, Grundig, Profilo Holding, and Ahmet Ertegun were also shareholders in the network.<sup>130</sup>

The media functioned as a vehicle for cultural degradation with its brief news segments, provocative films, Hollywood productions, imitated contests, and American-inspired "talk shows." Cavit Çağlar, an industrialist, Bursa MP, and Minister of State, had a crucial role in the formation of Flash TV on December 1, 1992. This channel mostly emphasizes local productions and news programming. Nevertheless, it has consistently failed to get significant notice or viewership.

In 1992, the 3rd Television began airing and later became HBB (Has Bilgi Birikim), which is also owned by businessman Kadir Has. It garnered interest with its screenings of vintage Hollywood films, broadcasts of American football games, and sermons delivered from the mosque. Unfortunately, the duration of this channel's existence was rather short<sup>131</sup>.

The aftermath of the 2001 crisis in Turkey led to intense rivalry in the new economic landscape. Financial circles, who control the media, engaged in a fierce battle to establish dominance over one another by leveraging their media assets. The conflict between the Doğan

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<sup>129</sup>Vedat Demir, *Age*, p.206

<sup>130</sup>Gülseren Adaklı, *Age*, p.235

<sup>131</sup>Gülseren Adaklı, *Age*, p.235

Group and the Anti-Doğan Group, which includes the Bilgin-Ciner, Çukurova, and Uzan groups, was prominently conveyed to the public via the media.

The news on the financial activities of the Doğan Media Group, whether disclosed or withheld, provides a more comprehensive understanding of the link between the media and capital within the Doğan family. Doğan Media Group, which acquired a 51% stake in Petrol Ofisi on March 3, 2000, faced criticism for not reporting on the firing of 1200 employees and the resulting strike. This criticism mostly came from competitor media organizations. During the Welfare Party time, the pro-Welfare Party media failed to broadcast the "missing trillion" issue.

However, while multinational media monopolies, which are a part of global capital, are not highly involved in Turkey, the distinction between foreign and domestic capital in media ownership has greatly diminished due to the strong connection between domestic capital, which owns national media, and foreign capital. Arguably, the media in Turkey has evolved in tandem with the movement of financial globalization.

The integration of the media with capital in Turkey during the 1990s has led to a situation where political players attach more importance to the media and make more concerted efforts to exert control over it. Hence, it can be said that the correlation between the media and the government is more significant and has emerged as a paramount concern for politicians.

#### **2.4.2. Media Monitoring and Political Connections under State Control**

The Supreme Council of Radio and Television, responsible for examining media institutions, was established under the new radio and television statute no. 2954 on November 11, 1983. Article 4-a of this statute has utmost significance as it pertains to the creation of the Radio and Television Supreme Council. It is a substance. The objective of this body was to regulate the adherence of domestic radio and television broadcasts, including police and meteorological radio broadcasts, to national political standards. Subsequent sections of this article elucidate specific "broadcast principles" which include adhering to the state's national security policy and economic interests, and refraining from broadcasting content that incites negative emotions such as pessimism, hopelessness, chaos, horror, and aggression. This legislation is one of the "eleventh-hour" measures implemented after the elections held on

November 6, 1983. Articles 19, 20, and 21 of this statute eliminated TRT's policy of impartiality.

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Tunca Toskay, who held the position of General Manager at TRT from 1984 to 1988, is known for his "biased", "pro-government", and "partisan" broadcasts, as well as his involvement in the "idealist staffing movement" and allegations of corruption, which were ultimately proven false. Approximately 200 Turkish terms, such as revolution, freedom, action, speech, country, nature, etc., were prohibited, and some artists were prohibited from making appearances on TV. Essentially, with regards to the freedom of speech, TRT broadcasts have remained mostly unchanged. The rules that limit freedom of the press, such as the Press Law and the Turkish Penal Code, have not been modified. During this time, books, newspapers, periodicals, authors, translators, and journalists have faced several challenges, including trials, confiscations, destruction orders, and financial constraints.

Aytekin Kotil, the SHP Istanbul Deputy, addressed the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, highlighting that the ANAP administration not only introduced further limitations to the existing September 12 restrictions but also imposed economic barriers on the press. He said that ANAP's unrestricted use of TRT and its promotion of the ANAP administration, exemplified by programs like "From the Inside of the Action", violates the norm of impartiality. However, he stressed that the media was exerting pressure on them to adhere to a pro-ANAP editorial stance.

Several shows and films produced by TRT have gained attention in Parliament because of their intriguing restrictions. Notably, Ecevit was completely omitted from the Cyprus Operation Documentary. In response to a parliamentary inquiry on the subject, M. Yılmaz clarified that Ecevit's political activities were prohibited due to his involvement in politics, and this was a result of the heightened sensitivity produced by martial rule.<sup>133</sup>

The Ministry of Internal Affairs' report, compiled in early 1994, reveals that throughout Turkey, a total of 96 radio stations and 30 television channels were formed with explicit "ideological purposes" for broadcasting at both local and national levels. There are allegations that 45 radio stations and 19 television channels, mostly located in Central and Eastern Anatolia, adhere to a "Shari'a" ideology. According to the statement, there were 14 radio stations and 5 television channels operating in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia that were specifically airing programs in the Kurdish language. According to the information provided, Western Anatolia is the main region where broadcasts with a "extreme leftist" perspective are focused. Specifically,

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<sup>132</sup>Beybin Kejanhoğlu, Age, p.218

<sup>133</sup>Beybin Kejanhoğlu, Age, p. 249

there are 31 radio stations and 4 television stations around Dev-Sol that broadcast 11 of these programs. The "Idealists" were said to own a total of 6 radio stations and 2 television channels.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs' practice of classifying broadcasting entities ideologically might be seen as a manifestation of governmental control.

Several foreign policy journalists and editors have said that the media's broadcasting practices in Turkey align with governmental policies in safeguarding national interests in the realm of foreign policy. The other faction contends that the media has its own set of priorities. Contrary to the belief that foreign policy writers in Nordic countries have unrestricted freedom to write as journalists see fit, there is a greater emphasis on protecting national interests in countries like Turkey, depending on the circumstances. A news director has argued that there is a certain degree of overlap between national interests in foreign policy and the priorities of the media.

Consequently, the media has consistently experienced pressure since the 1980s in a manner that seeks to exert control. Both legal regulations and societal sensitivities stemming from social identity impose limitations on media organizations, particularly newspapers, in order to promote diversity. The discourse surrounding the "national interest" further constrains the scope of media organizations that present alternative perspectives, making them more susceptible to government control. Nevertheless, the level of control exerted by major media conglomerates, which include big broadcasting entities, is comparatively less stringent than that imposed on smaller media organizations. The primary catalyst for this phenomenon is the alignment of political interests with those of the dominating media. This category also includes the media sector, which has the potential to play a role in the political arena.

Television channels: Kanal D, Star TV, CNN Türk (co-owned with Time Warner), TNT (co-owned with Time Warner), Cartoon Network (co-owned with Time Warner). Furthermore, the Doğan Publishing Group also has ownership of the digital broadcasting platform D-Smart. The company offers news services to Doğan News Agency and its allied media group.<sup>134</sup>

The available radio stations include Radios, Radyo D, CNN Türk Radyo (which is shared with Time Warner), Slow Türk, and Radyo Moda. Television and music dissemination; D Productions, Kanal D Home Video, Doğan Music Company. Magazine and Book Publishing: Doğan Burda Magazine encompasses a collection of 25 distinct publications. Doğan Egmont is a prominent publishing business specifically catering to the age group of 0-14. Doğan Kitap is another notable publishing entity. Here are some examples of internet publications:

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<sup>134</sup> <http://www.medyatava.com/tiraj.asp> , 15.08.2010

hurriyet.Com.Tr, milliyet.Com.Tr, cnnturk.Com, yenibiris.Com.Tr, hurriyetemlak.Com, milliyetemlak.Com.Tr, hurriyetoto.Com, Arabam.Com, and anneyiz.Biz.

Yaysat, DPP, and D&R are involved in the distribution and retailing industry. Printing services are provided by Doğan Ofset and DPC. European Investments: Doğan Medya International, TME, Kanal D Romania, Euro D, and Euro Star are all examples of investments made in Europe. Other Activities: Doğan Dış Ticaret is responsible for the importation of newsprint and printing supplies, while Doğan Factoring is a fund corporation formed to mitigate payment issues and monetary risks faced by institutions.<sup>135</sup>

Turkuvaz A.Ş. is a company that owns many newspapers which are part of the Çalık Media Group. These newspapers include Sabah with a circulation of 336,000, Takvim with a readership of 121,000, Yeni Asır with a circulation of 34,000, and Fotomaç with a circulation of 236,000. Turkuvaz Magazine Publishing is a company that encompasses a total of 25 publications.

Television Channel: ATV and ATV Europe. Additional operations include the operation of Turkuvaz News Agency, Turkuvaz Distribution, Turkuvaz Production, Turkuvaz Kitapçılık, Turkuvaz Printing, and Turkuvaz Medya Digital, which offers online services and other IT-related services.<sup>136</sup>

The Çukurova Media Group comprises two newspapers: Akşam, with a circulation of 144,000, and Güneş, with a readership of 110,000. The television channels include Show TV, Show Max, Show Türk, Show Plus, and Sky Türk. In addition, there are platform channels called Türk Max and Digtürk that are accessible. Furthermore, there is a wide array of periodicals and radio programs available.<sup>137</sup>

The Ciner Media Group consists of many newspapers and magazines. Within the group, there are five publications affiliated with Gazete Habertürk, which has a circulation of 250,000. Additionally, there is Ciner Gazete ve Yayıncılık. Television: Habertürk TV and Bloomberg HT (a foreign partner economics channel). Additional pursuits: The user has mentioned their expertise in C Production and Filmmaking, as well as their experience in Habertürk Journalism and Printing.<sup>138</sup>

The fact that the four media clusters control 3,500,000 of the daily average national newspaper sales in Turkey indicates the establishment of dominating media within these

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<sup>135</sup> <http://www.dmg.com.tr/tr/Hakkimizda.aspx> , 15.08. 2010

<sup>136</sup> [http://www.calik.com/14\\_TR\\_Sektorler-Medya.aspx](http://www.calik.com/14_TR_Sektorler-Medya.aspx) ,15.08. 2010

<sup>137</sup> <http://www.cukurovaholding.com.tr/turkce/index2.htm> , 16.08.2010

<sup>138</sup> <http://www.cinergroup.com.tr/medya.php> , 16.08.2010

groupings. The media conglomerates, bolstered by their financial resources, maintain control over the dissemination of information to society, so demonstrating their dominance over the communication control mechanism. Upon examining the upper echelons of the influential media, it becomes apparent that there exists a notable resemblance in terms of social class or status. These media giants employ individuals who are well-educated and have extensive experience working in different control and management units, particularly inside the state bureaucracy. Fikret Bila, a columnist for Milliyet Newspaper, has great communication skills with governmental figures.<sup>139</sup>.

In 1995, during a period of extensive privatizations, Ufuk Güldemir, the editor-in-chief of Show TV's news bulletins, a prominent media outlet, stated that their news coverage was impartial, prioritized the nation's interests, supported democratization, privatization, and a free market economy, and was completely independent and unbiased. He provided a clear and concise definition of the term "bulletin". In this sense, neutrality and support for privatization in broadcasting policies are seen to be interconnected, since they both highlight the inconsistency of broadcasting ideals and the flexibility of supporting policies as needed. From this, it may be inferred that connections have been established with political figures based on the stated "principles". Political players rely heavily on media for almost all of their activities, particularly during election campaigns. Given the influential role of the major media in shaping the political agenda, establishing strong relationships with the media has become an essential component of political campaigns for politicians. This allows them to prioritize their messaging and gain visibility. In contemporary times, maintaining amicable ties with the media has emerged as a crucial concern for political figures, alongside traditional propaganda, as a means to attain or retain political authority. Except for the Welfare Party, no other political player in Turkey has gained power by challenging the media. It is worth mentioning that Necmettin Erbakan, the head of the Welfare Party, shows his critical stance towards the mainstream media by referring to them as "some media." He avoids openly targeting the media in this manner..<sup>140</sup>

In Turkey throughout the 2000s, the above-mentioned media companies have established a dominant position, exerting influence over the fundamental sources of information and news in our society. Conversely, in the context of Turkey's relationship with the EU, the media has implemented several changes in accordance with legal frameworks and rules. The regulatory procedure seeks to establish our information society, and it is now under progress.<sup>141</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup>Gülseren Adaklı, Age, p.330

<sup>140</sup>Naci Bostancı, Age, p.129

<sup>141</sup><http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=75&l=1>, 02.09.2010.

The presence of bank owners and businesspeople in the media industry indicates that the media may be used for both financial gain and for the purpose of managing relationships with political authorities. The complex connections forged with the government and other political entities have elevated the media to a position of significant influence in terms of its role. The publishing principles of the predominant media, particularly those that have embraced liberal economic policies, have been influenced accordingly.

### **2.4.3. Precursors of Media in Turkey and Dominant Perception of Media**

Media outlets are split based on who owns them, and the ones with the most reach have the greatest influence. It would be beneficial to assess publishing organizations based on their institutional strengths to determine which ones are crucial.

The Doğan Publishing Group consists of many newspapers with the following average sales figures: Posta (487,000), Hürriyet (441,000), Fanatik (223,000), Milliyet (152,000), Vatan (144,000), Radikal (38,000), and Reference (11,000).

## **CONCLUSION**

The study of the evolution and impact of media in the realms of global politics and local policies is a common focus in social sciences. This field of study remains relevant and dynamic due to the ongoing interaction between various actors and phenomena with the media. The profound influence of written mass media on social and political spheres, particularly in transformative events like the dissemination of sacred texts throughout history, the enlightenment brought about by the printing press, the French Revolution, and the fights for independence, has been further magnified by technological advancements in our modern era.

The historical progression, initiated by the dissemination of sacred texts and the subsequent conversion of radical concepts inside society and governance, facilitated the proliferation of diverse ideas via the advent of the printing press. It may be argued that throughout the development of social movements, particularly the French Revolution, printed materials were used not only for communication but also as a tool for propaganda.

The profit-driven newspaper industry is undergoing restructuring as a result of the strengthening of the monetary system, which began with the Industrial Revolution. Within this particular framework, the press has evolved into an autonomous entity apart from the government. Furthermore, the presence of indirect alliances or censorship, as well as other forms

of pressure, were topics of discussion, influenced by the connection between the government and the press.

II. The use of media for psychological warfare throughout the world wars is evident. As a result of the war environment, the government and the press collaborate due to the political and psychological milieu. The compliance of both radio and newspapers in broadcasting government-approved content demonstrates the media's passive stance under exceptional circumstances. Furthermore, a significant concern arises from the high demand for publications in modern culture, driven by the want for knowledge during exceptional circumstances. The mass media has significant influence in mobilizing the general population, as shown by the Propaganda Ministry of Nazi Germany or the state-controlled media in the Soviet Union, by assuring societal adherence to the government's agenda and promoting the war effort.

Particularly II. The emergence of the press as a significant instrument in the realms of both economics and politics during and after World War II compelled governmental entities to either exert control over or collaborate with the media. The privatization of the press, particularly in nations with a liberal economy, has significantly curtailed the state's capacity to regulate the media and communication networks. Hence, the recognition of the media as an autonomous force apart from the government is becoming more significant in democratic nations.

From a realist standpoint, a prominent critique is that only the state has the ability to influence global politics and that no other entity can exist. This argument is challenged by the presence of the media and its capacity to shape public opinion and exert influence. From a neo-liberal standpoint, analyzing the media as a non-governmental entity in the realm of global and local politics and recognizing its significant role in shaping the political landscape highlights the influence of the media on social sciences.

Controlling the press is a common practice in regions like the former Eastern Bloc, the Middle East, and Latin America, where democratization is underway but hindered by statist policies. This control is aimed at preventing the sharing of power. However, global powers and economic cartels still attempt to utilize the media to promote liberalization and the adoption of an open economic model. Proceeds with illustrations.

To analyze the Turkish press in a historical context, it is essential to explore its evolution throughout the Ottoman era. The press being under state monopoly is intimately linked to the present government. While radio groups independent of the state did arise under the Constitutional Monarchy, engaging in critical broadcasting led to the dissolution of these institutions and the imposition of jail terms. Therefore, it can be confidently said that the press faced significant scrutiny and stress during the Ottoman era.



Upon the establishment of the Republic, the press was recognized as a significant component of the new state's social initiatives. Several periodicals, particularly Cumhuriyet Newspaper, collaborated with the government in shaping the national character. Newspapers have been given significant tasks related to replacing the Arabic Alphabet with the Turkish Alphabet, promoting educational initiatives, and implementing other programs and innovations. Conversely, it has been noted that some publications, characterized by ideological differences stemming from a single-party rule and the prevalence of a particular ideology, have difficulties with the government. The case of Tan Newspaper clearly demonstrates how its publishing principles, which were embraced by the people, may potentially create challenges for the government. Currently, Cumhuriyet Newspaper has taken a stance in support of the administration and has engaged in a vigorous effort to tarnish the reputation of Tan Newspaper.

Particularly II. The divergent viewpoints of the two publications about Turkey's foreign policy and international events during World War II were prominently manifested in the political and social domain. Tan Newspaper condemned Cumhuriyet newspaper's writings for promoting a discourse that supported Nazi Germany and Italy during the Fascist administration. Due to the political dispute that ensued, the parties were able to level accusations of racism and communism against one other. Nevertheless, Tan Newspaper, which faced intellectual challenges from Cumhuriyet Newspaper, backed by the government, was plundered by a mob screaming anti-communist chants after inflammatory news, leading to the end of its publication. The primary factor contributing to the challenge of producing opposition broadcasts in this situation is the presence of a single-party political state.

The shift towards a multi-party system and the growing diplomatic ties with the United States indicated that alternative newspapers were becoming less susceptible to suppression, unlike the Tan Newspaper. The pro-Democratic Party stance of the Hürriyet Newspaper, which began publishing in 1948, is now less susceptible to censorship by the CHP and its associated newspapers. The political context has a significant impact on this.

The CHP is not much concerned by Hürriyet's publication strategy, which favors the United States and opposes communism. Nevertheless, the CHP's intimate affiliation with the Democratic Party poses a risk to its political equilibrium. Consequently, in the midst of the Turkish upheavals, opposition journalists may face detention alongside the ruling authorities. This scenario demonstrates the interconnectedness of the press and the political realm.

The move from the press to the media market in Turkey, as in other nations undergoing democracy, seems to be fraught with difficulties. The September 12 Coup and the subsequent transition phase in the early 1990s had a significant impact on both the press and the economic

system. The correlation between money and the media has grown as profound as the correlation between politics and the media. Thus, it is evident that the media remains an instrument that reinforces the state's stance on rigid matters such as national interests, national identity, and state policy.

The self-restraint that has been enforced since September 12 is likewise governed by legislation pertaining to the press. However, external circumstances such as global economic balances and the process of joining the European Union compel change. It may be argued that the Turkish press is actively involved in shaping society and preparing it for this transformation.

Nevertheless, the connections formed with the media during events that influence Turkish politics, such as election campaigns, have started to endure, leading to the emergence of the terms "partisan media" or "certain media" in political discussions. Furthermore, when considering the financial architecture of the media sector, the existing linkages become more multifaceted. The media market is seen to collaborate with certain political forces, particularly in relation to privatization and liberal policies. Within this framework, it can be said that the media has significant influence in molding the political landscape and fostering a connection with society. The discourse seems to have emerged as a result of populist broadcasting practices and the government's efforts to define a national identity, and it is now being embraced by the dominant media. The media's ability to shape public opinion and affect Turkey's foreign policy is evident in cases like the Cyprus Problem, the Kardak Crisis, and global sports contests. This suggests that the media's power in Turkey is growing.

As defined in the study introduction, the media may be considered a "actor" with a "variable influence" that can shape and guide both global and local society and political players. Nevertheless, it might be argued that its efficacy is diminished in the realm of internal politics, particularly in issues that have implications for the regime's security and long-standing state policy. The Turkish experience enhances the credibility of this notion.

The results of this study may be succinctly described as follows:

- The media is a crucial aspect of social and political life, characterized by its institutional structure, broadcasting strategy, and historical background.
- It is evident that the media may provide a pacifying function when needed and a stimulating one when essential during significant social events. The media's role might vary depending on the political circumstances, including both internal and foreign factors.

Media is an integral part of the economic system. Consequently, its association with financial institutions is more profound compared to its association with the government. Currently, all political factions, including the governing parties, have prioritized establishing

relationships with the media. Media studies have become an essential component of the political sphere, including both the realms of propaganda and information.

• By examining newspaper circulation and television viewership, it becomes evident that the media has become a central aspect of social life. Within this framework, the media assumes a pivotal role in fostering the connection forged between the general public and political figures.

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