

BEFORE AND AFTER THE FIRST TURKISH COUP D'ETAT:
CHANGING POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE NEWSPAPER "YENI
SABAH" DURING AND AFTER 27 MAY 1960

by
MEHMET EFE INANIR

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Before and After the First Turkish Coup D'etat: Changing Political Attitudes of the
Newspaper "Yeni Sabah" During and After 27 May 1960

Approved By:

Prof. Dr. Cemil Koçak
(Thesis Advisor)

Prof. Dr. Halil Berktaş

Doç. Dr. Selçuk Akşin Somel

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ABSTRACT

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MEHMET EFE INANIR

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SUPERVISOR: PROF. CEMIL KOCAK

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The media plays a great role in distribution of national news and political arguments to the citizens. It is the key element for politicians, interest groups and journalists to form a public opinion, win polls, and in illiberal cases to manipulate and control. This is not different for the Turkish Republic; the media was the spannungsfeld, the area of political tension and conflict between two major political competitors: Republican People's Party (CHP) and Democrat Party (DP). Concentrating on the daily newspaper Yeni Sabah, this research will investigate the attitude of this medium during the first coup d'etat in 27 May 1960, until the elections held in 1961. The shifts and fluctuations in attitudes of the newspaper and the polemics it got into with the opposing mediums will shed a light on how the newspaper got molded in early Turkish democratization attempts. This presumed change in the newspaper policies will be examined in the context of the news and columns, tone of the authors and headlines.

ÖZET

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TEZ DANIŞMANI: PROF. DR. CEMİL KOÇAK

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Milli haberlerin ve politik tartışmaların vatandaşlara aktarılmasında medyanın rolü büyüktür. Medya politikacılar, menfaat grupları, ve gazetecilerin kamuoyu oluşturmak, seçim kazanmak, ve liberal olmayan durumlarda manipüle ve kontrol etmek için en önemli elementtir. Bu durum Türkiye Cumhuriyeti için de geçerlidir; medya, 1945-1960 arasında Demokrat Parti ve Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'nin ve bu partilere paralel siyaset izleyen gazetecilerin kozlarını paylaştığı platform olmuştur. Bu çalışma, bu dönem içerisinde yayın faaliyetine hız veren Yeni Sabah gazetesinin 1960 darbesi öncesi ve sonrasındaki tutumunu araştırmaktadır. Gazetenin izlediği politikadaki değişim ve dalgalanma, ve diğer gazetelerle girdiği polemikler, Türkiye'nin ilk demokrasi deneyiminde siyasal olayların Yeni Sabah gazetesini nasıl yonttuğuna dair ışık tutacaktır. Öngörülen bu değişim, gazetenin yayınladığı haber ve başlıklar, ve yazarların köşe yazıları incelenerek değerlendirilecektir.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

5W1H: Five Ws and 1 H (why, what, who, when, where & how)

DP: Democrat Party

NUC: National Unity Council

RPP: Republican People's Party

TGNA: Turkish Grand National Assembly



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Turkey as a modernizing nation witnessed military interventions more than once in its history, the first of them occurring in 27th May 1960, which have put an end to a 15 year democratic experience which was a first for the young republic. The society, which tried to cope with their nation, learned what was going on in their country from the media institutions like newspapers and radio. Media is an important entity in a nation due to its duties to inform the public on recent social, political and economical incidents and in forming public opinion. This was not different in the time of the coup d'etat in 1960, as most of the society learned about the military intervention from radios and newspapers.

While the political actors were the most influential people in this incident, media, as the fourth estate of the government was also responsible in forming public opinions, especially in times of crisis. Yeni Sabah, a newspaper that was established in 1938, was one of the first liberal newspapers of its time, claiming a politically neutral position, specifically in Democrat Party period. (1950-1960) This thesis is investigating Yeni Sabah's political stance before and after the coup d'etat, to see this intervention's effect on the newspaper and the media in general, and also the newspaper's effect on the

readers, as the newspaper had an important position in Turkish media in forming the public opinion.

Looking at newspapers in the time of coup d'etat and in times escalating to it is important to see the effect of the government/state on media and vice versa. Most of the scholar researches which concentrate on this issue (looking at the changing political attitudes of newspapers before and after the military intervention) were done by scholars who transformed their researches into articles, which were published in academic journals. Articles written primarily on this subject is on newspapers called Havadis and Zafer, which were initiatives of DP, and Ulus, Öncü and Akis, which were partisan mediums that supported the policies of the Republican People's Party while criticizing DP. As both were distinct in their political stances, especially before the intervention, these newspapers should have been more interesting for the scholars to research and reflect on the polarized political atmosphere of the nation back then.

The researches on these newspapers are focusing mainly on the years after the coup d'etat, as the main topic of discussion in these works are the military intervention and the attitude of the newspapers which are the sources that the scholars are referencing to see how these newspapers that were closer to party politics reacted to the historical events in the young republic. Most thorough work on this research area is a master thesis from Ankara University, which compared the newspapers Zafer and Ulus, which are politically opposite newspapers, while also reflecting on the media under DP government. Although researches, which focused on only one newspaper, also mentioned other newspapers in times of *spannungsfeld*, a further comparative research can be fruitful for the existing literature.

A master's thesis is written on a newspaper named Öncü, which was a newspaper that was established in 1960, after the military intervention. Claiming that the media is an extension of the political parties, the thesis is focusing on the army as the authority and media-politics relations by taking Öncü as the case of study. It is somewhat parallel to this thesis in its content, but the newspaper Öncü as the case is weak as it is a newspaper, which began its publication life after the military intervention, during the trials under the government of the National Unity Council. Even though it is a good addition to the existing literature, taking Öncü as the case brings blindness to the research and its area, as there is no background and the case history because of the newspaper's establishment date, 26th August 1960, after only three months of the military intervention. That must be the reason why the researcher focused primarily on the newspaper's issue that was published in 1962, to see if there was any change in the political attitude of the newspaper, two years after it was established.¹

Another research was done on the magazine called Akis, and it was very important, as Akis was the first in the field of magazines with political coverage. The research is focused only on the issues of Akis that were published in 1960, which is the reason why it is deficient in a general assessment of the magazine's attitude before the intervention. As the research claimed that Akis was critical of both parties from the beginning of its establishment, the idea of a change in political stance and attitude is not included, so the researcher focused mainly on the excerpts from Akis while justifying its claim that the magazine was even in its critical attitude. While an increase in

¹ Toklucuoğlu, A. (2013). *27 Mayıs Otoritesinin Medya Temsilinde Öncü Gazetesi* (Master's Thesis).

criticism of DP was high after the intervention, these critics were balanced. The research however, is weak in its resources; a lack of diversity of the materials that were cited is evident.²

A research, which was done on a DP medium, was the research on Havadis in which the researcher also looked at the changing political attitudes of the newspaper by justifying its stance by giving examples from the newspaper's publications. The study used photos and caricatures as evidence to the claims of the researcher. The actual news are used more, as Havadis was a newspaper which could be labeled "biased", and the news which it reported were easy to show as reference, compared to the liberal newspapers. The study's chronology is similar to this thesis, the researcher divided the study into three parts, Havadis "before the intervention", "after the intervention", and "during the judgment process". The research however, is weak in reasoning to the findings and conclusion that it made.³

Another research was done on Ulus, a newspaper that was a RPP medium. Even though the time covered in the study is same as other researches in the field, the materials that the researcher covered is different. It is an extensive analysis of a political party medium during the time of crisis and it mainly focuses on Ulus and how the newspaper tried to generate policies for the party it published journals for. The researcher got caught in the analysis and it only reflected on the anatomy of a newspaper, which published materials for the use of a political party, rather than looking at the differences from other newspapers, and focusing on the effect of the intervention on the newspaper's publications. It mainly puts the effect of Ulus on

² Önder, M. (2014). 1960 *Darbesi Sürecinde Akis Dergisi*. Journal Of Modern Turkish History Studies, (pp. 257-280)

³ Gülmez, N., & Aşık, S. (2014). 27 Mayıs 1960 *Darbesi Sürecinde Havadis Gazetesi*. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, (pp. 72-96)

politics in forward. The research is a detailed study of a party newspaper, which represented the national ideology of its time, Kemalism. That is the reason why it focuses on the relationship between Kemalist newspaper and Kemalist policies (RPP and its deputies), rather than taking the military intervention as the historical focal point.⁴

A thesis is comparing Ulus with another party medium, this time the newspaper named Zafer, which was close to DP. It is an important study as it is the most thorough comparative research in the field, which is the most deficient part in the existing literature. Even though other researches have referred to other newspapers while focusing only in one, this thesis is mainly concentrating on this comparison between Ulus and Zafer. It also focuses on media-politics relations just like this thesis, with a lack of reasoning in its findings just like the study on the newspaper Havadis. Regardless of what, it is the most thorough comparative analysis in the literature.⁵

This thesis however, is examining a newspaper with the second most circulation number of its time, liberal in its news coverage which claims to be “politically neutral” in times of crisis. While the military intervention is one of the most important elements in the thesis, it concentrates on Yeni Sabah as the newspaper and it also focuses on the years in which the newspaper began its publication life in 1938 until the second republic. It covers mainly between 1950-1960 under DP rule, the military intervention in 27th May 1960 and its aftermath, until 1961, when a new government was formed. While taking these years as the focal point, the research also inhabits the historicity of

⁴ Bensoy, O. (n.d.). "*Adımız Andımızdır*" 27 Mayıs Sürecinde Ulus Gazetesi ve Ulus İnşası.

⁵ Öztürk, O. (2007). *Demokrat Parti Dönemi Basın Rejimi ve Zafer Gazetesi (1957-1960) Ulus Gazetesi ile Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme* (Master's Thesis).

the Turkish media in general and the media-politics relations in Turkey, which is an important component for the reader to see the whole picture.

It is important to research more on newspapers that were published in this decade, as they were the most important mediums of their time to inform the public and form public opinion, considering that television was a technology, which began to be used in 1960s. The circulation and the amount of reader that the newspaper gets is what makes Yeni Sabah more influential publicly, and that is also the main reason why a further research on newspapers with high circulation number in this decade can strengthen and add more to the existing literature. Although there are researches about newspapers that were published during the times mentioned, a research on a newspaper with high circulation number with a liberal political stance has not been done; this thesis is can be taken as an attempt to fill that gap. A comparative research between newspapers that are liberal and journals/magazines that are closer to party politics can also enrich the scholar literature.

This is a research on the changing political attitudes of the daily newspaper Yeni Sabah and the examination of this presumed change in political attitude and stance will be done by utilization of tools of both the liberal and critical theory, as they are both important in deconstructing Yeni Sabah to see what the newspaper claimed to be and what it actually was. A change in tone and political attitude is inevitable for a newspaper, especially after a military intervention. That is the reason why this research is trying to understand the reasons behind this change, which can also shed light on the Turkish media in general. It is also important to examine columns and columnists, that is the reason why the thesis will progress chronologically, beginning from 1950 and

ending in 1961, concentrating on the important dates with excerpts from the news coverage and articles of the columnists. Şerif Mardin's article on center-periphery relations and his theory of this pattern in Turkish politics will be used as a method to understand the formation of the Turkish media, to find out more in Turkish politics and media relations and to see where Yeni Sabah was located in this presumed arrangement.



CHAPTER 2

TURKISH PRESS UNTIL 1961

From Ibrahim Muteferrika's Print House to First Turkish Democratic Experience

The innovative improvements beginning with Gutenberg in the field of printing strategies in the sixteenth century expanded greatly after the nineteenth century. These improvements saw in field of printing advances were especially seen in Turkey after the nineteenth century.

The first printing house in the Ottoman Empire needed to wait until Kemal Reis spared the Jews during the Spanish Inquisition. By the request of Sultan Bayezid II in 1492, the Jews were allowed to settle in Ottoman territory. After the settlement, Rabbi Gerson in Istanbul established the first printing house in Turkey in 1493. The Jewish community excelled at publishing books on religion, history and grammar by setting up printing houses in the following places: 1510 in Thessaloniki, 1554 in Edirne, 1605 in Damascus and 1646 in Izmir. In these underground-printing houses, printing activities were done illegally. The main Armenian printing house was set up in Kumkapi, Istanbul in 1567. In this printing house, grammar, prayer and religious custom books were printed in 1567. The main Greek printing press was built up in 1627 with the printing

presses brought from London by a Greek cleric named Metaksas. It is estimated that the number of printing houses opened in Turkey between 1494-1729 by minorities is 37.⁶

Ibrahim Müteferrika established the first Turkish printing house between 14th and 16th of December in 1727, on the lower floor of the place of Müteferrika in the area of Sultan Selim. The printing house known as "Darü'ttbatü'l Amire" was called "Basmahane" among the general population.⁷ There are three centuries between the entrance of the printing technology in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. This time interval made the Ottoman Empire late to the development of this technology. The reasons why printing in the Ottoman Empire was delayed can be hypothesized as:

- Ottoman social and cultural mentality was not ready for this innovation
- Resistance to Westernization and “European” ways
- Traditional oral storytelling in Ottoman culture
- Political and economical reasons
- Difference between alphabets
- Supply-demand: the dominance of hattats and sahafs in the sector.⁸

The nearness of a printing machine has changed the course of humankind's predetermination with a specific end goal to encourage instruction and give an extensive variety of potential outcomes for individuals through universal education.⁹ What are known today as newspapers came into popular use in Europe about two centuries after

⁶ Kabacalı, A. (2000). *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın*. İstanbul. (pp. 9-12)

⁷ Kabacalı, A. (2000). *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın*. (pp. 18-19)

⁸ Topdemir, H. G. (2002). *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı. (pp. 27-32)

⁹ Girgin, A. (2008). *Gazeteciliğin Temel İlkeleri*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları (pp. 11-15)

the creation of the printing press. Printing houses greatly improved the scope and use of printing press.¹⁰

Industrialization, automation and urbanization, which are the essential elements of capitalism, and have confirmed that since the second half of the nineteenth century, news coverage should have its spot in the public arena as a social and innovative establishment. That is the same reason why newspapers, which formerly had elite readers, transformed into public newspapers with the ease of distribution and circulation, which were the result of the automation and urbanization.¹¹

Until the reign of Mahmud II, the communication between the palace and the public was done by the firmans. In 1831, this old tradition gave place to the *Takvim-i Vakayi*, the official newspaper of the palace. In 1831, this old tradition gave its place to the *Takvim-i Vakayi*, the official newspaper of the palace. The circulation of this first Turkish newspaper amongst bureaucrats and the general public eased administrative duties of the palace. However, some scholars state that the inception of Turkish journalism was the establishment of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in 1860. This newspaper was a private initiative and was portrayed as a daily paper of ideas and was distributed “to utilize words and thoughts for the advantage of their own nation”.¹²

In the following years, Abdülhamid II began to censor the media. With his despotic rule over the Ottoman Empire, Abdulhamid is known for his oppressive reign

¹⁰ Atılğan, S. (1999). *Basın İşletmeciliği*. 2.Baskı. İstanbul: Beta Yayınevi. [11]

¹¹ Tokgöz, O. (2003). *Temel Gazetecilik*. 5. Baskı. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi. [11](pp. 29)

¹² Köktener, A. (2001). *Fikir Gazeteciliği ve ilk Türk Fikir Gazetesi: Tercüman-ı Ahval*. İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi, 11 (pp.215)

on the Ottoman citizens, especially due to his his network of police spies (informers). In 1876, he abolished the Basic Law (Kanun-I Esasi) and re-established absolutism in Ottoman Empire. Becoming paranoid of international pressure and of Young Turks who were composed of bureaucrats who opposed the old ways of governing by sampling the West, he constantly watched over the publications of the media, closed down “suspicious” printing houses and banished intellectuals who were considered to be hazardous for the present regime. The following quotation demonstrates the amount of pressure the palace applied on the media:

“The stratocracy is authorized to search those houses that are considered necessary, banish those people who are related to the suspicious circle and those people who have previously been convicted ... close down those newspapers that issue publications which can distract citizens, forbid the unions (meetings, boards, associations).”¹³

The Young Turks escaped from Hamidian oppression. They were radical progressives and they got their say in 1908 after the Young Turk revolution. The electoral procedure was reestablished in 1908 when military uprisings in Macedonia constrained Abdulhamid II to restore the constitution. This period (in spite of the restrictions, the political deaths, the military law courts and the coup d’etats) is the period in which Turkey had its first competitive elections. This was the first parliamentary process and the first emergence of organized political parties.¹⁴ The motto of the 1908 Young Turk revolution was “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”, which was adopted from the French revolution. This motto was reflected enthusiastically in the press. The intellectuals who could not previously expound upon their ideas and

¹³ Cevdet Kudret, *Abdülhamit Devrinde Sansür*. Milliyet Yayınları, 1977. (pp. 17)

¹⁴ Özbudun, E. (1988). *Development of Democratic Government in Turkey. In Perspectives On Democracy In Turkey* Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası. (pp. 8-9)

thoughts were now available to distribute daily papers and magazines with no political confinement. The press was took shape on various political perspectives. The decent variety in political thought, which was the blessing that accompanied the restoration of the parliament, reflected itself on the press. Besides the newspapers *İkdam*, *Sabah*, *Tercüman* and *Saadet*, new publications were now available for the reader. The newspapers *Tanin*, *Tercüman* and *Şura-yı Ümmet* were the organ of the party of Community of Union and Progress party which was the extension of nationalist, authoritarian and centralizing Young Turk movement. Meanwhile *Mizan*, *Hukuk-u Umumiye*, *Serbestî* and *Sada-yı Millet* were publishing on liberal democracy, administrative decentralization, more private initiative and an Ottoman identity based on the common fatherland and dynasty, regardless of religion, language and ethnicity. The religious traditionalist social group was still active, and they opposed the secularist aspects of the Unionist policies in *Sirat-ı Müstakim*, *Volkan* and other magazines.¹⁵

After the Second Constitutional Era, which went on for ten years, came the period between 1918-1923. In this period, there was an Ottoman government in central Istanbul and the Turkish Grand National Assembly Government in Ankara. The Ottoman government worked with the occupying powers, while the Ankara government fought the Independence War for the autonomy of the nation. At the same time, the Turkish press was centered in two groups, namely the Istanbul press and the Anatolian press. While *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *İleri*, *Akşam* and *Vakit* was supporting Mustafa Kemal and the national struggle, *Peyam-ı Sabah* and *Alemdar* was opposing them.¹⁶ Journalists who were deployed in opposition to the struggle and whose writings continued to

¹⁵ Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmüttan holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi kitabevi (pp. 83-84)

¹⁶ *ibid.* (pp. 98)

support occupying powers were reported by TGNA and they were expelled by the list of '150s' until 1938, which can also be stated as a list of “persona non grata”.

In the one-party period of the Republican People’s Party and thereafter, the first large-scale sanctions against the daily papers by the state were actualized on the premise of the Sheikh Said’s disobedience against the administration. With the Law of Takrir-i Sükun, there was pressure on the dominant newspapers in the country. Magazines, and intellectual publications were faced with censorship and even closure.¹⁷ Some of the newspapers that were published between 1931-1938 were, *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, *Tan*, *Son Posta*, *Ulus* and *Vakit*. The subject of the thesis, *Yeni Sabah*, was established by İlhami Safa on 1938.¹⁸

In 1946, the RPP government needed to make a few concessions while the multi-party turnaround was under way. Between 1945 and 1950, the Democrat Party was the biggest supporter of freedom of the press in order to win the help of the press, and they were successful. After the Second World War, the RPP's extreme wing had been generally vanquished. In 1946, there was a major increment in daily papers and magazines, with daily circulation of 202 newspapers and 302 magazines. The leading newspapers were *Ulus*, *Kudret*, *Tasvir*, *Tanin*, *Hürriyet*, *Zafer*, *Milliyet*, *Yeni İstanbul*, *Son Posta*, *Demokrat İzmir*, *Yeni Asır* and *Yeni Sabah*.¹⁹

¹⁷ Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmuttan holdinglelere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi kitabevi (pp. 146-147)

¹⁸ *ibid* (pp. 162-166)

¹⁹ Topuz, H. (1996). *100 Soruda Türk Basın Tarihi*. Ankara: Gerçek Yayınevi (pp. 101-104)

Democrat Party Period

The Democrat Party (DP) came to power in 1950 by gaining a majority of the seats in the Grand National Assembly; ending the twenty seven years of the Republican People's Party's rule. Keeping their promise, the DP government issued a different "Press Law", which was as follows,

*"The "Press Law" of 1950 is a liberal law. The regime, which was built on the "Press Law" and its amendments, afterwards is demolished and the pressure on the media and press is almost abrogated."*²⁰

The common society did not need to take authorization from the legislature in order to distribute newspapers and magazines. Writers could now protect themselves effectively, unlike previous years. With this practice established in a brief timeframe, the DP expanded the current solid press bolster considerably and nearly the whole press came to support the DP. This liberal progress in press began to fail in 1954. Two months before the general elections, in which the DP was very successful, the government designed a law for "crimes that will be processed by press or radio".²¹

This law, which the DP executives designed in 1954, became official in 1956, after the rising tension between the media and government as seen in the incidents between the 6th and 7th of September in 1955. On the 6th of September, state's monopoly of a news channel reported that a bomb placed in the house where Ataturk was born and

²⁰ Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmuttan holdinglere Türk basın tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi (pp. 193)

²¹ *ibid.* (pp. 195-196)

detonated in Salonika. As a result, the graveyards and shops of the Greeks in Taksim and encompassing territories were attacked and began to be pillaged. As time passed, the crowd lost control in the gathering, which led to an extraordinary reaction to the wealthy shops, both Turkish and Greek. After the police totally lost control, the administration requested assistance from the army.²² The press was shown to be responsible for the events. The tension between the DP and the press increased as the government imposed more anti-press laws in 1956.²³

A decree issued on November 26th, 1957 required newspapers and magazines to come from one source, and with another decree published on January 1, 1958, it was stated that all advertising will also come from one source. These decrees put newspapers and magazines under intense economic pressure. Following these new laws, the Democratic Party government announced on September 3rd, 1958 that it was preparing to issue a special and formal announcement of tariffs and arrange for newspaper distribution. A declaration issued on November 26th, 1957 required daily papers and magazines' papers to come from one source, and with another pronouncement distributed on January 1st, 1958 expressing that the commercial appropriation will be produced from one source as well. These declarations had put daily papers and magazines under extreme financial pressure. Following these applications, the Democratic Party government declared on September 3rd, 1958 that it was getting ready to issue a special and formal declaration of tariffs and arrange for newspaper distribution.²⁴

²² Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmuttan holdinglelere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi (pp. 198)

²³ İnan, S. (2007). *Demokrat Parti Dönemi (1950-1960)*. (Ed.: İnan, S. & Hayatoğlu, E.). Yakın Dönem Türk Politik Tarihi. Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık

²⁴ İnuğur, M.N. (1992). *Türk Basın Tarihi (1919-1989)*. İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları (pp. 327-328)

After the government coup in Iraq on July 14th, 1958, the daily papers that printed the opposition party's words defending the coup were prosecuted. This period, in which incalculable forbiddances were sent from the courts and prosecutors, is known in the history of the Turkish press as a period in which a significant number of cases against the press were opened.²⁵

In the last year of the Democratic Party, the Turkish press was dragged into an uncommon situation. It has been argued that changes in press and criminal law, special laws issued, prosecutions, prohibitions, closures, obstruction of political writing, removal of certain writings from newspapers and the publication of the first pages in white spaces have been developments that documented complete censorship of the press.²⁶

²⁵ Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmuttan holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi (pp. 204-205)

²⁶ *ibid.* (pp. 207-208)

CHAPTER 3

PRESS POLITICS RELATIONS

Press-Politics relations in general

Throughout history, managers or political competitors, who knew the power of the media in impacting the majority, monitored their communication channels in order to come to power and maintain it. Like all communications media, newspapers have not possessed the capacity to dispose these control endeavors from the power focuses since the first occasion they appeared. The forces requesting advocacy looked for approaches to develop and organize their supporters by depending on instruments such as authorizing (pre-authorization) and censorship to control the press.²⁷

In liberal theory, the press is seen as a fourth estate to balance the legislative, executive and judicial powers in democracies. Therefore, in order to be functional within the power balance system, objective, neutral and balanced broadcasting is a necessity. In critical media theories, however, the news media are not seen as an autonomous power and it is stressed that media items are molded inside the power networks. From this point of view, news in the media are not neutral, objective,

²⁷ Uzun, R. (2014). *Medya-Siyaset İlişkileri: Türkiye’de Savunucu Gazetecilik Olgusunun İncelenmesi*. İletişim Kuram ve Araştırma Dergisi (39) (pp. 130)

unbiased products of journalism. The media is responsible for distorting social reality and thus secures the ideological reproduction of unequal power relations.²⁸

Press in Liberal Theory:

The media depends on the liberal doctrine in capitalist nations that are controlled by democratic governments. In a modern state, in terms of liberal teaching, the origin of the press had its place in the democratic system as the "fourth estate" after the struggles to liberate the field of public communication from state control and intervention in the historical process.²⁹ The press also contributes to the pluralism of democracy by acting as a stage, which informs citizens about the existence of different opinions. This pluralism needs to be protected in order to secure a liberal posture.

Another obligation put by liberal doctrine on the media is to provide the readers with the information they need to work as dynamic members in a democratic system.³⁰ In this democratic regime, citizens must have an idea of the events of the day and a credible picture of the world, so that the citizens can fulfill their democratic obligations.³¹

²⁸ *ibid.* (pp.132)

²⁹ *ibid*

³⁰ Uzun, Ruhdan ,(2011). *İletişim Etiği: Sorunlar ve Sorumluluklar*, Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları. (pp. 40)

³¹ Iggers, Jeremy (1998). *Good News Bad News, Journalism Ethics and the Public Interest*, USA: Westview Press. (pp. 46-47)

Press in Critical Theory:

Since the nature of the free market brings monopolization and concentration, the media, which is led by the free market dynamics, as such weakens the democracy despite being its major tool in society. Liberal methodologies in the field of communication can sometimes be inadequate in explaining press-power relations because of the contradiction of free market and pluralism principles.

According to Marx, the thoughts of the ruling class are, in all ages, the ruling ideas. The class holding the means for material production holds the apparatuses of the mental production at the same time. The class, which owns the material production or regulating production, also controls the intellectual production. For instance, everybody has the opportunity to think and make remarks; however, just those with circulation means can utilize it. The ideas of the ruling class, which owns the means of production become dominant at that time, and those who lack the means of intellectual production, go under this rule.³²

Later Marxists, for example, Gramsci would problematize this idea of ideology or false awareness by studying the ways that specialists work amid times of "natural emergency", or those circumstances when social classes get separated from their parties and a vicious oust of the decision classes is conceivable. Trying to depict the ways that administrations recapture control of these classes amid such times of agitation, Gramsci expanded on the idea of "hegemony", wherein social actors inside the dominant classes persuade subordinate classes to agree to their own particular values and mode of action:

³² Tekinalp, Şermin ve Ruhdan Uzun, (2013). *İletişim Araştırmaları ve Kuramları*, 4. Basım, İstanbul: Beta. (pp. 59)

“The traditional ruling class, which has numerous trained cadres, changes men and programs and, with greater speed than is achieved by the subordinate classes, reabsorbs the control that was slipping from its grasp. Perhaps it may take sacrifices, and expose itself to an uncertain future by demagogic promises; but it retains power, reinforces it for the time being, and uses it to crush its adversary and disperse his leading cadres.”³³

The part that critical methodologies append to the media is to shape the cognizance of the majority so as to save and manage the interests originating from generally controlled capitalist production relations. For instance, as indicated by Noam Chomsky, the US and its supporters have commanded the upper and middle market in the nation and are forming the political and social reality of the entire society.³⁴ The most important of the essential undertakings of the media is propaganda. According to the "propaganda model", "the media serves the interests of the state and companies, which have firmly interlaced by setting up the system of news and investigation in a structure that backings set up benefits and constraining any verbal confrontation toward this path". According to the “propaganda model”, the news are molded in different channels. The motivation behind corporate profit, the impact of sponsors, and the reliance of journalists on the government, business circles or other specialists, are the channels through which the news are processed before it taking their final form.³⁵

³³ Gramsci, A., In Hoare, Q., & In Nowell-Smith, G. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.

³⁴ Uzun, R. (2014). *Medya-Siyaset İlişkileri: Türkiye’de Savunucu Gazetecilik Olgusunun İncelenmesi*. İletişim Kuram ve Araştırma Dergisi, (39). (pp. 134-135)

³⁵ Chomsky, Noam, (1999). *Medya Gerçeği*, 2. Basım, İstanbul: Tüm Zamanlar. (pp. 23)

Antonio Gramsci's "cultural hegemony" and Noam Chomsky's "propaganda model" will be crucial tools of utilization in analyzing Yeni Sabah during the trials in 1960; but before that, let us take a look at the press (media)-politics (power) relations in Turkey in particular.

Press-Politics relations in Turkey

Center-Periphery Bifurcation: Turkish Political Culture

The bifurcation in Turkish politics began in the 18th century as some bureaucrats favored rationalism and science, while some preferred traditional and religious ways of management. The efforts for westernization (military technology, laws and administration practices) in the Ottoman Empire were opposed by those who favored the religious ways of management (via Sharia Law). This conflict was located at the center, and it fractured the unity of Turkish political elite. The conflict escalated in the Ottoman experiment with constitutional democracy. In the clash between constitutionalists (Young Ottomans) versus the autocratic reformers, the Young Ottomans who did not represent the local notables or urban merchants realized that a parliament did not modernize the officials but increased the conflict between the central bureaucratic elite and the local (peripheral) forces.³⁶

The clash became apparent when the electoral process was reinstated in 1908 after the Young Turk revolution. Turkey had its first competitive elections, its first

³⁶ Özbudun, E. (1988). *Development of Democratic Government in Turkey*. In Perspectives On Democracy In Turkey. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası. (pp. 6-8)

parliamentary process, and its first organized political parties. The politics were issue oriented:

- The nationalist, authoritarian, centralizing and statist Society for Union and Progress (CENTER) versus:
- The liberals who were pro parliamentary democracy, administrative decentralization, more private initiative and an Ottoman identity based on the common fatherland and dynasty, regardless of religion, language and ethnicity (PERIPHERY)
- Religious traditionalists who opposed the secularist aspects of the Unionist policies (PERIPHERY)
- The non-Turkish minorities (Muslim and non-Muslim) who were feeling threatened by the nationalist character of the Society for Union and Progress party. (PERIPHERY)³⁷

“The religious institution was on the borderline between the center and the periphery. During modernization, and because of the secularizing policies of the center, it was increasingly identified with the periphery.”³⁸

The period of Nationalist Liberation (1918-1923) was not different. The Grand National Assembly adopted the Constitution of 1921, but there were major disagreements on constitutional and other questions which led to the resignation of a few deputies (prestigious generals closely associated with Mustafa Kemal during the War of Independence) who established the Progressive Republican Party in November 1924 which emphasized economic and political liberalism, respect towards religious

³⁷ Özbudun, E. (1988). *Development of Democratic Government in Turkey*. In Perspectives On Democracy In Turkey. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası. (pp. 8-9)

³⁸ Mardin, Ş. (1973). *Center-Periphery Relations: A Key To Turkish Politics?* Post-Traditional Societies, 102(1), (pp.172)

feelings and beliefs and opposition to despotism.³⁹ In his article, Ergun Özbudun cites Frey in arguing that behind the ideas of the PRP, laid the conservative aim of making the new Turkey conform to the customs and traditions of the “old Turkey”.⁴⁰

The 1925 Sheikh Said rebellion in Eastern Anatolia was used to justify the crush of the Progressive Republican Party. İnönü took over the government and adopted radical methods to deal with the rebellion. After martial law was introduced and organizations, publications and propaganda that could lead to rebellions and public disorder were banned, the PRP was banned in 1925 by the Council of Ministers.⁴¹ After these events, a one party regime was established by RPP; radically secularizing through banning religious orders, adopting the Swiss civil code to replace Sharia, closing religious schools etc. We can see the era between 1925-1945 as the “architects of Kemalism trying to establish their own center, and it remained as a fundamental – although often latent- issue of Kemalist policy to the end of one party rule in 1950.”⁴²

The Elections of May 14, 1950 are known as the “White Revolution.” It is called “White Revolution” because the RPP was ousted without any violence. DP came to power in 1950 and stayed in power until the 1960 military coup. The party was a coalition of various types of opposition to the RPP and brought together urban liberals, religious conservatives, commercial middle classes, the urban poor and more mobilized sections of the rural populations. All they had in common was their opposition to government officials. RPP had the support of government officials, landowners and a

³⁹ Özbudun, E. (1988). *Development of Democratic Government in Turkey*. In Perspectives On Democracy In Turkey. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası. (pp. 9-11)

⁴⁰ Frey, F. (1975). *Patterns of Elite Politics in Turkey*. Political Elites in the Middle East, 41-82.

⁴¹ Özbudun, E. (1988). *Development of Democratic Government in Turkey*. In Perspectives On Democracy In Turkey. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası. (pp. 11-12)

⁴² Mardin, Ş. (1973). *Center-Periphery Relations: A Key To Turkish Politics?* Post-Traditional Societies, 102(1), (pp.177)

substantial amount of the peasantry who were influenced by local patrons. In this context the DP's victory was the rise of the periphery over the center.⁴³

“The RPP stood fast for the preservation of Kemalist ideas. And thus, the bureaucrats selected it as the one party with which they could best co-operate. There were now good reasons to claim that the RPP represented the ‘bureaucratic’ center, whereas the DP represented ‘democratic’ periphery.”⁴⁴ The military intervention in May 27, 1960 was another indicator that the center was identifying itself with the “preservation of static order” and the periphery was the real “party of movement”. The picture seemed to constitute center versus periphery as preservers of early Republican order versus those who wanted change.⁴⁵

Center-Periphery Bifurcation: It's Reflection on Media/Press

The press isn't only a technique for informing, yet likewise a strategies for proclamation, creation and dispersing of thoughts. Since the ascent of its first illustrations throughout the world, the press has been used as a strategy for policymaking and spread rather than a source of news and data. Each political development and improvements in the field of civil society liked to use press as a technique for communicating the authority of the state. In such manner, the political thought of the press also mirrors the political circle and its monetary establishment. In

⁴³ Özbudun, E. (1988). *Development of Democratic Government in Turkey*. In Perspectives On Democracy In Turkey. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası. (pp. 16-17)

⁴⁴ Mardin, Ş. (1973). *Center-Periphery Relations: A Key To Turkish Politics?* Post-Traditional Societies, 102(1), (pp.186)

⁴⁵ ibid

this way, the political advancement of the press is parallel to the process of financial and political change in a country.⁴⁶

Taking a gander at the historical backdrop of Turkish media, it is seen that there are daily papers and writers supporting the party in power and also daily papers and columnists who condemned them. Considering that the political advancement of the press is parallel to the political change in a nation, it would not be inaccurate to state that the political structure of the press is parallel to the political structure and culture of a nation. Şerif Mardin's center-periphery pattern in Turkish politics can also be a key in analyzing the political structure of the Turkish press.

The power-opposition clash in Turkish politics oscillates around the center-periphery pattern. Considering that the political idea of the press is the reflection of the political circle, it would not be wrong to label Turkish media on the foundation of center-periphery pattern. Giving examples to this bifurcation in media from the history of the Turkish media would shed a light on the structural alignment of the press.

The center-periphery clash on press can be traced back to the first constitutional period (1876-1908) in which the Young Turks were in opposition to the sultanate in favor of constitutionalism. It would not be inaccurate to label the palace and Sultanate as the center and Young Turks as the peripheral force in these three decades. Abdülhamid II, with his massive censorship on Young Turk publications and his army of spies all over the empire, crushed the peripheral forces in order to keep the status quo, the Sultanate/Caliphate as the center of power. This struggle lasted until the Young

⁴⁶ Koçal, V. (n.d.). *Bir Siyasal Değişim Aracı ve Göstergesi Olarak Basın: Siyasetin Sosyo-Ekonomik Temelleri Bağlamında Türkiye'de Basının Siyasal İşlevi ve Evrimi* [Abstract].

Turk revolution in 1908, when Young Turks forced the sultan to reinstate the constitution.

The second constitutional period beginning from 1908, brought the nationalist, authoritarian and statist Community of Union and Progress to the center in newly opened parliament, while liberals, religious traditionalists and non-Turkish minorities were dissenting CUP as the new peripheral parties. The first major effect of reinstating the constitution was on freedom of the press. The pluralism of voice in press was now clear as the center-periphery cleavage. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Tefik Fikret and Hüseyin Kazım for instance established *Tanin*, which was the media organ of the party of CUP as Hüseyin Cahit and many workers were also active in the political party. The political opposition to the CUP on the other hand, established *Mizan*, *Hukuk-u Umumiye*, *Serbestî*, *Sada-yı Millet* and *Volkan* as the newspapers which advocated peripheral policies. *Osmanlı*, directed by Süleyman Nazif, was the media organ of Ottoman Liberty Party (Ahrar Partisi), which was the major opposition to CUP, together with religious traditionalists and non-Turkish minorities.⁴⁷

Years between 1919-1923 is known in Turkish historiography as the years of truce after WWI, which also inhabited Turkish War of Independence, led by Mustafa Kemal. These years witnessed the struggle between Istanbul (palace) and Ankara, as Ottoman Empire was in the brink of collapsing and the commanders of the National Struggle were trying to establish a new parliament (new center) in Ankara, which was much more secure than invaded Istanbul. This conflict was reflected on media; *İleri*, *Yeni Gün*, *Akşam* and *Vakit* were the newspapers, which supported the National

⁴⁷ Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmuttan holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi (pp. 83-84)

Struggle, while *Peyam-i Sabah*, *Alemdar* and *Türkçe İstanbul* were attacking it. *Tasvir-i Efkar*, *Tevhid-i Efkar*, *İstiklal*, *İkdam*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and re-established *Tanin* were the newspapers, which had sympathy for the National Struggle.⁴⁸

Of course, it was startling that the press could have a boundless opportunity from the establishment of the Republic in 1923. There were the individuals who still defended the Caliphate, and meanwhile the individuals who trusted that the new administration would give opportunity to a wide range of thoughts. Amid the time of 1925-1930, the Sheik Said resistance, which occurred in the eastern area, the issuing of Takrir'i Sükun Law, the foundation of Independence Courts, the assassination attempts in Izmir and the Menemen revolt, prompted the solidifying of the weight of the administration towards media. The administration has focused on building up a strict control over the press, heightening its endeavors to systematize it, and moving towards a “guided press approach”.⁴⁹ The one party regime monopolized the voice in media, although there were publications that are critical of the government. Until 1945, when Turkey entered the multi party regime, the media was under strict control of RPP, and the party did not allow any religious publications, and let leftist publications on condition that these were published in Kemalist line. Koloğlu states that the left was integrated to Kemalism with this type of policy on leftist publications.⁵⁰

DP was established by some of the members of RPP as the regime began to transform in to multi party system with democratic governments and democracy turned out to be the victor after the Second World War. Even though DP was in power, they still were the peripheral force and RPP as the founder party was still in center with the

⁴⁸ ibid. (pp. 98-99)

⁴⁹ İnuğur, M.N. (1992). *Türk Basın Tarihi (1919-1989)*. İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları (pp. 51-57)

⁵⁰ Koloğlu, O. (2006). *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Pozitif. (pp. 118)

army behind its back as the guarding institution of Turkish Republic, loyal to the Kemalist revolutions. The party repeated that the issue of freedom of press was top of everything, as they were holding the initiative, due to representing the repressed part of the population, namely the periphery.⁵¹ DP came to power in 1950, and the first thing the party executed was the issuing of the Press Law, which decreased the pressure on media. This law brought fresh air to the media, as citizens and journalists were now much more free than the former years. *Vatan*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Dünya (Ulus)* were the newspapers that followed central policies while *Zafer* and *Havadis* were supporting DP and peripheral policies. There were now newspapers, which tried to be neutral; *Akşam*, *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet* were among them. Safa Kılıçoğlu, who had good relations with some of DP members and Adnan Menderes, bought *Yeni Sabah* in 1948. The government supported the newspaper, and in 1955, their circulation was second highest after *Hürriyet*. According to Hıfzı Topuz, *Yeni Sabah* opposed both DP and RPP in some cases, and it got into polemics with newspaper *Vatan* and *Dünya*.⁵²

Army-Media/Press Relations

Soldiers have assumed an imperative part in present day Middle East politics. Because of the principal changes being done in the military field during the time spent modernization, and particularly in the field of military preparing, the officers have picked up a reputation for being 'progressive intellectuals' both in Western circles of their own social orders and in their foreign counterparts. In countries where freedom has been picked up by a military battle against colonialists, troopers have developed as legends speaking to national solidarity and liberation and have been capable and

⁵¹ Koloğlu, O. (2006). *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Pozitif. (pp. 122)

⁵² Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmuttan holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi (pp. 209-224)

powerful on-screen characters of nation's politics. In many Middle Eastern countries, the soldiers who played important roles in the state and the nation saw themselves as the guardians of the nation, the state and the regime. The soldiers, who see themselves as a privileged group, bear the role of supervision over politics. For different reasons, the armed force, which emerges in the nation's governmental issues, has set up its own particular monetary systems for 'vital' concerns or 'class interests' and has likewise turned out to be powerful on the national economy.⁵³

Huntington labels the army as focal institution in Turkish power relations. For Huntington, Turkey is setting an example with Mexico in the end of the 1920s when political generals created a political party and this party ended political generals.⁵⁴ This characteristic is parallel to Weber's strong, "centralized and institutionalized army". It can be said that the historical heritage of the army in Turkey has three main sociological aspects: the first is the state-army identity that the rising period of the Ottoman Empire originated, the second is the undertaking of the 19th century reforms, the third is the period of the Republican period, in which the army took intervention as a duty when it was felt that the national security and regime was in danger.⁵⁵

This position of the armed force in Turkey demonstrates that it has a conclusive place in connection to politics and the media. In this unique circumstance, Turkish army can be considered as a constituent component in itself. The period in which the army's institutionalized attitude towards politics and the media can be traced to the May 27, 1960 coup and times escalating to it.

⁵³ Sinkaya, B. (2016). *Ortadoğu'da Asker-Siyaset İlişkisi ve Darbeler*, Middle Eastern Analysis, 8(76), Retrieved September, 2016. (pp. 51-53)

⁵⁴ Hale, W. (1996). *Türkiye'de Ordu ve Siyaset 1789'dan Günümüze*. HİL YAYINLARI. (pp.253-254)

⁵⁵ Akyaz, D. (2002). *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Ordu ve Subayının Tarihsel Rolü Üzerine*. In Askeri Müdahalelerin Orduya Etkisi. İis: İletişim Yayınları. (pp. 15-42)

CHAPTER 4

YENI SABAH

Ilhami Sefa and Cemalettin Saraçoğlu published the first issue of Yeni Sabah on 6 May 1938. Due to the introduction of Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın as the editor-in-chief, this newspaper gained importance in the days when dangerous steps were taken towards the Second World War and increased the number of readers.

The accompanying lines show up in the article "Our Path", which compresses the standards of the politics the newspaper will follow in their publications:

- *Yeni Sabah is a Kemalist newspaper. We will follow the direction of “six arrows” that rose from the genius of the eternal chef, Atatürk, whom we owe to him.*
- *If there is only one person who is looking for a smell of opposition when we are defeated, we will inform them of their frustration waiting for them already and clearly.*
- *We are not “all around yes sayers” whose eyes are veiled. We will equip our fingers holding the spotless pen with the greatest courage, which will not hesitate to report on the national and social wounds we see.⁵⁶*

The newsletter includes current news about murder, fire, suicide, and the like. Relevant news was given to foreign countries, especially technical and economic

⁵⁶ İnuğur, M.N. (1992). *Türk Basın Tarihi (1919-1989)*. İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları (pp. 144)

developments in these countries. In addition, news on commercial texts and prices are reflected on the inside pages of the journal. There are articles expressing their opinion that penal institutions and death penalty should be removed.⁵⁷

After a while Cemalettin Saracoglu bought the shares of İlhami Safa and became the owner of the newspaper. Resat Mahmut and Tevfik Erol carried out the task of writing affairs. In 1944, in the days when all the troubles of the Second World War continued, the newspaper entered to its the seventh year. Cemalettin Saraçoğlu was the owner of the newspaper while Sami Karayel was the publishing director. Under the heading of the newspaper was the phrase: “People’s Daily Political Paper”. The war news had gained weight in the paper while the retired general Kemal Koçer wrote on his column named “State of War”.⁵⁸

Even though the newspaper’s owner and editors changed, the effect of the one-party regime and Takrir’i Sukun Law seemed to be a constant for Yeni Sabah between 1938-1948. While reporting on the domestic and international news, the newspaper also gave importance to serialized novels, funnies, caricatures and fashion. This space allocation was an economic choice, the owner and the editor of the newspaper tried to increase the sales and circulation with these installments. Retired general Kemal Koçer’s column on war is a strong indicator of the existence of army and army officials in press and on public opinion as bureaucratic intellectuals.

There were some changes in the administration of the journal in late 1948. Cemalettin Saraçoğlu and Safa Kılıçlıoğlu were the owners, Sadık Aldoğan, one of the

⁵⁷ İnuğur, M.N. (1992). *Türk Basın Tarihi (1919-1989)*. İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları (pp. 145-146)

⁵⁸ *ibid.* (pp. 147)

founders of the Nation Party (1948-1954) was the concessioner. With the change in the board of management, the content and format of the editorials have changed and the idioms have hardened. Accusations to RPP, and suspicion towards newly established DP were some of the political attitudes of the journal. Nuri İnuğur points out following lines from an editorial named “*Beyond the law collusion?*” published on 28th October 1948 as an evidence that Yeni Sabah was actually supporting the Nation Party, with Sadık Aldoğan as its concessioner:

“There is no doubt and hesitation about the fact that the Democratic Party is a controversial party. The flow of all events shows this clear. The whole country knows that if there is an honest and free election, there is no possibility that the People's Party is the majority. Those elections if done seriously and sincerely, sweep the people from power and remove the president from office. True democracy in this country will be established nationwide despite the popular party and democrats.”⁵⁹

From 20 December 1948 onwards, the owner of the newspaper was Safa Kılıçlıođlu, and the director responsible for the publication was Reşat Fevzi Yüzüncü. DP came out as the leading party from the elections in 1950, and this resulted in change of the political attitude of Yeni Sabah and the press in general.

⁵⁹ İnuğur, M.N. (1992). *Türk Basın Tarihi (1919-1989)*. İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları (pp. 149)

CHAPTER 5

YENI SABAH BETWEEN 1950-1960

As mentioned above, the primary subject of the thesis is to look at the changing political attitudes of the newspaper Yeni Sabah after the first Turkish coup d'etat in 27 May 1960. But before that, in order to see the political stance of the newspaper before the coup d'etat, this chapter will include the key dates between 1950-1960 under DP leadership. Continuing chronologically, next chapters will provide data from the newspaper archives to be analyzed and concluded in the final chapter.

One of the first executions of the DP government was to close down the People's Houses in 8th August 1951. Another execution held by the government was to add religious (scripture) classes to elementary schools. Although this development is a huge step taken by the government, there is no single new or column that talks about this execution of the DP government. In addition to this, the newspaper is giving the main column to M. Raif Ogan once in a week. In his column called "*Religious Issues*" (*Dini Bahisler*), Raif Ogan is writing about religious issues for readers to read. "*Hazreti Muhammed'in Sevdikleri*" (*Those Which Mohammad Admired*) and "*Hazreti Muhammed'in Torunlari*" (*Mohammad's Grandsons*) are the columns, which were published Nezihe Araz. These columns are significant examples to Yeni Sabah's liberal

stance with Raif Ogan's column. These columns and the non-existence of the news on the addition of religious classes to elementary schools is a strong indicator that Yeni Sabah as the newspaper is favoring liberal policies of the government, as adding religious courses in elementary school curriculum is a liberal policy, which wasn't on the agenda of strictly secularist RPP.

Besides religious columns, Reşat Ekrem Koçu's column "*Osmanlı Sultanları*" (*Ottoman Sultans*), is also an important indicator that pluralism in media was the case after the nation transformed into multi-party regime. Progressive RPP tried to build a barrier between the Ottoman past and Republican period. For them, Ottoman identity and history was a stain that needs to be forgotten in order to reach the level of contemporary civilizations, which was the western civilizations in that time.

One of the most important incidents, which have widened the gap between media and the government, was the 6-7 September incidents in 1955. The first thing that gets the attention in those dates is the headline of Yeni Sabah, which was published in largest font size possible when compared to other headlines. On September 7th 1955, Yeni Sabah was published with the headlines that read: "*Halkı Galeyanaya Getirdi*" (*The Event Simmered The Public*).⁶⁰ While the newspaper gave the news according to the media standards in dates which the incidents have occurred, the journal published 3 columns consecutively on 8th, 9th and 10th September. The articles which can also be seen as public announcements had the signature as "YENİ SABAH", which shows that

⁶⁰ (1955, September 7). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

the announcements were co-written by all the columnists and editors in chief. The announcements are as follows:

“What Happened Yesterday

Last night in İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara, events that no man could understand have happened and some of our compatriots' properties were destroyed. Because of the Cyprus issue for months, the agitation of the Greeks brought the Turkish people to excitement. The pressures on the people of Western Thrace, and finally the Turkish consulate in Thessaloniki and the attack on the house where Atatürk was born had a heavy impact on our people. On this bad news, the "Cypriot Turks" community heard a pure desire for protest, but this protest was "partially influenced by deliberate attacks of unconscionable people" which resulted in destruction of shops of Greek citizens.

The destruction of a part of the national wealth with such an unconscious act cannot be defended at all. According to the communiqué of the government, what happened last night was a communist incitement. But it is our duty to point out that the head of security forces delayed to take necessary measures and this resulted in events to be unbound. If necessary measures were taken on time, the protests, which began peacefully, could have ended that way. Another important thing to point out is that all of the incidents happened in different locations of these cities had began in same exact time. This shows that these events were planned beforehand. Another important duty of the security forces is to find out about these events before it begins. This situation is questionable, considering that security forces of İstanbul are mentioning that they are informed of all communist actions and plans.

We wish that the incidents that happened yesterday won't repeat itself and advice our citizens to put an end to conforming unconscionable people and be responsible for their actions. We must avoid actions, which labels our nation uncivilized, even if our good deeds stay unfinished.

YENI SABAH⁶¹

The announcement published by the newspaper includes warnings for the citizens so that the events would not get worse. While the happenings were explained to the readers in a calm manner, the inconsistencies in actions of security forces are began to be questioned. This first announcement is questioning the security forces with logical deductions. However, the next day, Yeni Sabah does not hesitate to criticize the DP

⁶¹ (1955, September 8). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

government for the incidents and label them also responsible as the security forces as being the leading party. The second announcement published on September 9th invites DP government to auto criticism as they think that condemning the incidents is not enough:

“Condemning Is Not Enough

Incidents that happened in 6th of September in Istanbul have been condemned by the Turkish society, and this is evidence that the conscience of the people influenced sadly. The media pronounces these events disgraceful as the opposing parties and their leaders received these events negatively. The statements of İnönü and Bölükbaşı leave no suspicion on this. The head of National Turkish Student Association also talked about the abhorrence of the Turkish youth on how the furore was handled. With all these evidences, it can be deduced that there were shady agents, which were involved, in this peaceful protest. As we mentioned yesterday, these shady agents messed with this peaceful protests and offended the general psychology of the society.

We also feel the necessity to point out that condemning these incidents is not enough. Those who are guilty for incendiary actions should be arrested and be punished; the officials who are responsible for the social security must be interrogated. Events happening in different places at the same time systematically cannot be a job of the general society. It is difficult to label this as a coincidence. This cannot be a carelessness of security forces of Istanbul. As a matter of fact, the security forces in Ankara interfered with similar events and prevented these incidents to get worse. This also could be the case for Istanbul, and it should have been. Our security forces are equipped with tear gas and similar tools to prevent these events to get worse. All of these require responsibility.

Do you think that Democrat party would do anything about this?

YENI SABAH⁶²

The incidents, which happened in 6-7 September, increased the tension between the media/press and the government. Facing with harsh criticism from newspapers, DP government labeled the press as the scapegoat. The press has been appeared to have the responsibility regarding the occasions. The tension amongst DP and press expanded as the legislature forced more anti-press laws in 1956. These regulations that limited the freedom of the press, strengthened the stance of RPP as the opposing party.

⁶² (1955, September 8). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

DP Assembly Group, which lost 79 representatives in the 1957 election, accumulated on October 31st to assign Celal Bayar as Presidential applicant and Refik Koraltan as a candidate for the Parliament. Bayar designated Menderes for the fifth time to frame another legislature, and Prime Minister Menderes broadcasted the cabinet on 25 November on state radio. The vote of confidence on the lodge was made on 4 December 1957. The Fifth Menderes Cabinet got a vote of certainty from the Parliament with 403 votes. It was comprehended that RPP had given a negative vote on this cabinet with 133 votes. These advancements will then be viewed as the first indication of the great storm to come.

The polarization in Turkish politics was now evident. After the elections held in 1957, and the rising tension between partisans, Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil penned an important article on the issue of this tension and polarization. In his column named “*Sabah Penceresinden*” (*From the Morning Window*), Siyavuşgil analyzed the current situation in his society with sensible analogy:

“*What The Nation Is Waiting For*”

It is nonsense to ask to a team supporter who yells his team’s name at the stadium why he’s supporting his team rather than the opposing team. That supporter is not a member of that club but he already chose a team to support. He always applauds that team, becomes happy when the team wins and gets devastated when the team loses, nursing grudge on his team’s oppositions. But if you ask the reason of his devotion, all reasons he would tell you would be about his affections and emotions.

But there is a small amount of people in a nation to support a political party like he/she support a football team. The country is not a stadium and our daily lives are not affected by the excitement of a goal. We cannot be distant to the harsh realities of life and leave ourselves to the sweetness of surrender. Even if we try to become distant to these realities, one would catch us unprepared, and we would lose our sleep over it. The politicians, who see the country as a stadium, see citizens as subjects who are bound to

their “political goals” with their actions and propagandas are making a huge psychological mistake.

Society is not a mass, which can be attracted to football jerseys and get excited with shoots and kicks like a crowd, which fills a stadium. It is a mass of millions which has to spare couple of hours daily to evaluate the reality, get an objective idea about current affairs with their own consent. He/she does it with full concentration, puts his/her reality on one side of the scale and political parties’ offerings to the other. Only the citizen knows his/her own reality and puts it onto the scale with exact calculation. When it comes to the realities, which the political parties offer, the citizen places it to the other side of the scale sometimes trimmed, sometimes added more. This whole weighing has to be done by the book and calculation, rather than the emotions and affections.

If our politicians see this fact, stop filling the opposition with the holes of criticism arrows and deal with citizens’ daily lives rather than concentrating only to their tomorrows, they will eventually gain the gratitude of the people. This gratitude would perennial, since it would come out of reason and rationality, rather than emotions. Following this path may displease some of the politicians but it would gratify most of the society.

I sense this fact in the light of the last elections. What the society expects from the deputies they chose for parliament is grooming of today rather than tomorrow, security and consistency, and finding solutions to poverty. These expectations cannot be fulfilled with emotions; it can only be fulfilled with rational measures.

I think this is what the society expects from political parties whether it be the leading or the opposing one. Getting together as a nation and trying to get this country a brighter condition were the things citizens expected when they voted, not reciprocal reproach, and mutual destruction. I also cannot think the opposite would be the case for the politicians.”⁶³

Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil's column in Yeni Sabah began as early as December 9, 1948. In the first half of the second page, his segment "From the Point of View of A Psychologist" proceeded with unevenly however steadily for a long time until the end of 1957. Despite the fact that his column's name was "From the Point of View of A Psychologist", Siyavuşgil wrote about cultural and artistic issues, which made him an exceptional columnist for his time.

Besides his psychological diagnosis on the society and politics his article “*What The Nation Is Waiting For*” which was published on November 2, 1957 sheds light on

⁶³ Siyavuşgil, S.(1957, November 2). Millet'in Beklediği. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

how Yeni Sabah's standing amidst the time of political tension and polarization. Using the analogy of a football stadium for the political arena, Siyavuşgil warned his readers as the society and the politicians of being emotional in their decisions and executions, rather than choosing the path of rationalism. With a diagnosis, which can be seen as an early example from the field of social psychology, Siyavuşgil tried to remind the readers how a democracy needs to be working. Criticizing the maximalist and fanatic decisions that voters, partisans and the politicians are taking, the columnist invited the society to a peaceful and rational negotiation with the goal of togetherness, and labeled this deduction as one of the main pillars of a democracy. Considering that Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil was the primary columnist of Yeni Sabah between 1953-1958, it would not be inaccurate to deduce that the newspaper was trying to be neutral, peaceful and soothing in times of crisis and political tension. His primary column, "*Sabah Penceresinden*" (*From the Morning Window*), which was published on daily basis in the second page, inhabited articles that were calming in times of *spannungsfeld*, and these articles were "scientific" and high in judgment/reasoning.⁶⁴

As a man of letters, Siyavuşgil was one of the founding intellectuals of the Republican era. He thinks about western model and rationality as the principal point of his subjects for the goal of closing the gap between the western civilization and his own society, and this is reflected in his columns as the major attitude.⁶⁵ His comments are more liberal than Kemalism's authoritarian interpretation. İlber Ortaylı in his column, which talked about the distinct characteristics of Siyavuşgil, wrote, "He did not deal

⁶⁴ Çalmaz, F. (2013). *Cumhuriyet'in Kurucular Kuşağından Bir Aydın: Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil* (Master's Thesis). Retrieved from Ankara Üniversitesi Açık Erişim Sistemi (pp. 87)

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

with the political polarization that was a trend in his time as a columnist, and he have collaborated with other distinguished intellectuals of his time.”⁶⁶

Siyavuşgil is using phrases such as “...as a citizen who is distant to politics...”⁶⁷ and “...it does not concern a neutral man like me...”⁶⁸ which can be seen as the proof of his political stance as the primary columnist of Yeni Sabah. Neutrality, social accountability, struggle against cultural capitalism are some common reflexes of founding intellectuals of the Republican era, who tried to avoid getting dealing with DP-RPP bifurcation.⁶⁹ This reflex reappears in his columns when the Hashemite monarchy in Iraq was overthrown (coup d’etat) in July 14th, 1958. Siyavuşgil wrote about the importance of keeping it calm as a nation and society, after a government which was a part of Baghdad Pact that Turkey was in, was overthrown:

“We Will Be Calm!”

It is time to be calm and follow the news attentively but serenely.

The incident in Lebanon that happened 3 months before the latest incident in Baghdad didn’t really have an effect on our society. Nevertheless, these are all connected to a series of events and this series of events’ beginning is the unification of Egypt and Syria.

Incidents in Lebanon did not alarm our society. In fact, those members of the United Nations did not stir up the trouble in their visit to our country. They tried to label these incidents as normal happenings and return back to their home.

[...]

Security forces in this region of the world should be much more attentive than before to preserve peace and calm.

⁶⁶ Ortaylı, I. (2010, October 10). İlginç Tesadüf. Milliyet.

⁶⁷ Siyavuşgil, S. (1954, May 4). Evlere Şenlik. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

⁶⁸ Siyavuşgil, S. (1954, November 26). Parti Dinamizmi. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

⁶⁹ Çalmaz, F. (2013). *Cumhuriyet’in Kurucular Kuşağından Bir Aydın: Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil* (Master’s Thesis). Retrieved from Ankara Üniversitesi Açık Erişim Sistemi (pp. 88)

The reason why our society got flurried was that the meeting of the Baghdad Pact was going to be held in Istanbul at the same day that the incident in Iraq occurred. Nevertheless, this anxiety of the society was never high. Keeping the rush to newspapers aside, there were not any social incidents, which can be seen, as panic like social gatherings and rushing to supplies to get storable foods. Istanbul, which is a critical city for international politics, kept its composure and remained calm.

[...]

Trouble at a neighboring country can only spill over to a society if it get flurried and alarmed for no reason. We will follow the news on the incident that happened in a region near to us but we will do it by meticulous attention and we will remain calm.”⁷⁰

Siyavuşgil and Yeni Sabah’s liberal stance is also valid in their ideas in economics. As mentioned in previous chapters, RPP in one party regime followed statist policies. The RPP government intervened with economics as many times as it could do whereas DP followed free market economics, which is a fundamental characteristic of liberal politics. Economic growth was one of the main goals of the government and they tried to accomplish this goal by getting financial aid from developed countries like United States. When in time of getting another financial aid, which could relieve the current economic condition, there were many objections from the main party in opposition, RPP. Siyavuşgil supported the DP government in their pursuit of getting more financial support while he criticized some of the RPP members for countering this plan with their statements:

“Let Us Rejoice

Dear friends, who label themselves patriots, please let us rejoice. What’s too much to brag about?

Is it really right for you to upset us and leave us hopeless with your statements, while we are in the negotiations of getting more credits and financial aids from our foreign friends?

⁷⁰ Siyavuşgil, S. (1958, July 17). Sakin Olacağız!. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

Let's rethink it with our conscience. The news on credits and financial aids are true. As soon as this news is being heard by our society, the real estate prices have fallen; those goods in the black market became reachable. Everybody felt the relief, businessmen gained hopes of trading. Exactly at this point, our "worthy" friend Kemal Gülek appears with these statements:

-Turkey's exportation numbers are not enough to pay debt of interest of the external national debt. The aids that our nation is getting are like a life buoy thrown to a man who is about to get drown.

Another opposing "worthy" friend after this statement:

-Turkish economy is like a sack with a hole. We need to sew this hole before we try to put more in it.

These friends' statements are concerning me.

Let's say I'm a black marketer who decided to go legal as soon as I hear the news on more credits and financial support. I foreswear that I will gain my money properly, according to legal standards from now on. As soon as I get into this idea, what will I do if one of the opposing politicians comes up with this statement?

-These credits, these financial aids will be squandered. Our economy will get worse after couple of months. We won't get out of scarcity and poverty.

What would I do after hearing these statements just as I foreswore to gain my money properly? What I will do is obvious. I will go back to the black market and I will do this job with much more greed. With the path that I have taken, Turkish economy would not catch a breath and get worse.

If that would be the case, than the chance of the opposition party to be the leading party would increase. But would that be really worth it? Would it be an honest achievement when the whole society is in depression? Would they forgive those who made them suffer?

Just wait. Let Turkey receive these credits and aids so that you can see how they can be utilized. After that, maybe you can tell that these aids are squandered. After that, you would have a say in the parliament with the facts and data as your proof. With this method only, we would be grateful to you as citizens.

But there's no apparent reason whatsoever. There's only the success of the government for the approval of getting credits and financial support. There is auspicious news on this accomplishment all over the country. People became happy and hopeful.

Let us rejoice; let us look at the future with hope. At least let those citizens stay hopeful for a better future, without black marketing and profiteering.

Please, let us rejoice!"⁷¹

⁷¹ Siyavuşgil, S. (1958, August 2). Müsaade Buyurun da Sevinelim!. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

Kemal Gülek, the first person that Siyavuşgil criticized is from RPP, and presumably, other statements in his column are again from the main opposing party, RPP. While Siyavuşgil also criticizes internal economic policies of the government, he is also supporting the idea of getting more financial aid for the well being of the nation and the society. He uses irony while he's calling out on politicians who opposed this development. It won't be inaccurate to see his criticism as a trial to soften the statist and authoritative attitudes of RPP members, as he has witnessed the measures the one party government took, especially under Ismet İnönü during the Second World War.

It is already mentioned above that between 1950-60, RPP represented the 'bureaucratic' center, whereas the DP represented 'democratic' periphery. While RPP as the founding political party was trying to keep the static order, DP as the representative of the periphery evolved into a real "party of movement". This "movement" is not just about liberal politics, which DP followed as the leading party. There are also sociological outcomes of DP's liberal politics and liberal economic agenda and that is the migration of the people living in the peripheral cities to cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Adana. It won't be inaccurate to say that with economic development and industrialization, in other words, as Turkey moved from agricultural economy to industrial economy, peasants in rural areas of the country began to recognize that now they could move into big industrial cities with more job opportunities on the table. Siyavuşgil, in his main column wrote about this issue:

"Peasant Inflow

*A youngster who is fond of novels about villages and rural areas asks:
-Do you have a right not to let peasants into big cities? Eliminate the conditions, which make them feel uneasy, and try to rebuild these rural areas into livable places. Do you think they would migrate into big cities from their lands?*

My answer: Of course they would migrate my brother because the distribution of our population is not even and not normal. %75 of our people are living in rural areas, whereas %25 of them is living in big cities. Maybe you can find another country with population percentages like ours, but in that case, it would be difficult to label these countries as civilized, it would be hard to tell that they are high on welfare. You can check the population statistics if you hesitate.

Of course the peasants will move into bigger cities when their nation is progressing. This current, which began with industrial revolution, is still visible in many nations. There's nothing to be surprised about this movement in our country.

This inflow of peasants into big cities is not because the rural areas are unlivable, as the youngster who asked the question thinks. Does taxation crush the peasantry? No. Those billions flowing into state's budget are coming from the %25 living in bigger cities. Did the peasants get neglected? If they did, the citizens who live in cities would also complain about this. Moreover, the state would give land to the landless peasants, and buy their crop for high prices. Give them credits, get them clean water, and build them roads and schools to get education. But of course this state cannot apply this to all villages. In our time, it would be ungrateful to think that the peasants are being crushed.

[...]

The real reason for this inflow is as follows: When the production in rural areas gets automated with new machines and technology, the demand for labor force decreases and these peasants migrate into cities in hope to find a job in which they can gain more money. Factories are being built in different locations of the country and these peasants are moving into these industrial cities for job opportunities.

These are the circumstances of our day. There is no reason to hold these peasants in their rural lands. The main goal should be adapting these peasants into these cities and that requires rational governance, not romanticism.”⁷²

Yeni Sabah conforms to the standards of journalism and 5W1H (5N1K) considering their general news, apart from the columns and columnists with their own visions and comments on current events. That is the main reason why this chapter until now, progressed in chronological and thematic order by mostly analyzing the columns and columnists' ideas. Another columnist who writes daily in Yeni Sabah in the third page is Nezihe Araz. It is already mentioned above that Araz is also writing columns about religious issues in “*Hazreti Muhammed'in Sevdikleri*” (*Those Which Mohammad Admired*) and “*Hazreti Muhammed'in Torunları*” (*Mohammad's Grandsons*). Apart

⁷² Siyavuşgil, S. (1958, August 25). Köylü Akını.. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

from these, she also comments on issues considering the society in her column named “*Hadiselerin Işığında*” (*In the Light of the Current Issues*). Her article that was published on September 3rd, 1958, is worth mentioning in order to understand the ideological standing of Yeni Sabah columnists at their time:

“*On the Issue of Chadors*”

Last week was the week of struggle against chadors. I saw a photo of a woman with chadors walking on street on a newspaper today and beneath that photo was written: “Dealt with this issue for a week but gotten no result.”

There is no doubt that chadors are ugly outfits. No doubt at all. This outfit doesn’t have anything to do with elegance and nurture. Furthermore, it symbolizes backwardness, ignorance and political reaction (irtica).

The truth is that swearing to these symbols is now a tradition. Because its much more easier to swear to these symbols and continue.

The main reason why I don’t want women to wear chadors is the issue of aesthetics. But also, I think that the idea that trying to make these women more civilized and cultured with banning chadors with laws would not add anything to these women.

The real goal must be to change the way they think and improve their economical condition. I believe that if these women’s minds are enlightened, the first thing they would do when they get their paycheck would be getting rid of chadors and wearing coats instead.

We have a launder. Her husband is working at a tire factory, and this woman is washing clothes. They have 5 children. They have migrated from rural areas. She is a young and clever woman. She did not wear chadors in her primary years and the last day I saw her, she wore chadors. I was shocked and asked the reason why she decided to wear it. At first she hesitated to answer, but than she began to talk:

-It is much more cheaper. My coat wore off. I wanted to buy another coat but they demanded 115 liras. I can buy it for 90 liras from rag-and-bone man, I told them. With which money can I afford this? One chador’s cost was 15 liras and I sewed it myself. Whatever I wear inside, won’t be seen from outside. Also you don’t have to wear a headscarf, but I know that it’s ugly. We don’t have a mirror in our home so I could not check it. But the kids cried when they saw me like this. I saw myself on the street and I couldn’t recognize myself. I told myself that someone who looks just like me is coming towards me but I don’t know who she is. I wore it desperately. When my husband gains more money, we will buy a coat for sure. Times are difficult nowadays.

After I listen to these, would it be normal to label my launder a reactionary and backward?

*Chadors are an ugly outfit, that's for sure. We must try to help our women to get rid of these as best as we can. But this dress is not always a symbol for reaction (irtica). Some women see it as a cloth to hide poverty. Ugly but inevitable cloth!"*⁷³

As her article shows, Nezihe Araz is trying to show her readers that stereotyping on the concept of clothes like chadors and headscarves would not move the society to forward. She acknowledges that these clothes do not fit to a western civilization, or a civilization, which is trying to be westernized. Clothing reform is one of the main reforms of Kemalist ideology and it would not be inaccurate to say that this reform together with hat reform, are radical measures which the government took in order to reach to the level contemporary civilizations. It seems that Nezihe Araz, just like Siyavuşgil, doesn't have any problems with this goal, but she thinks that the society should consider changing the minds of the people, rather than their clothes. The actual revolution will be there when you change the minds of the people because when these people change their minds, they will have the vision to see that this kind of clothes are bad for them and they will be wise enough to choose westernized clothes. While she is trying to break the social stereotype by giving example from her own life, she is also promoting an individualist society where people are able to think for themselves, rather than a collectivist one, which is one of the main features of eastern culture.

Her article on chadors and women's clothing is just one example from Nezihe Araz's articles about societal morals, customs and usage. Besides her occupation as a journalist, Araz authored many books actively and also contributed to the book, which was about the Turkish traditional customs and usage named "*21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Örf ve Adetlerimiz*" (*Our Customs and Usage In the Eve of 21st Century*). She was born into a religious family, and even though she had leaning to leftist politics while she was

⁷³ Araz, N. (1958, September 3). Şu Kara Çarşafılar. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 3.

having her education on philosophy and psychology, she had shifted to Sufism, by joining to a dervish lodge of Kenan Rifai, a lodge which was much more modern compared to other lodges of its time. Araz also believed in and followed Sufism, that is the main reason why she became assistant to Kenan Rifai, after being an assistant to Behice Boran in university.⁷⁴ This shift must be the reason why Araz was interested in Ottoman past and Anatolia. She has published books on Ottoman Sultans like Fatih Sultan Mehmed (*Fatih'in İçsel Dünyası/Fatih's Inner Self*), and more on Sufism, Anatolian saints and dervishes in her books *Anadolu Evliyaları (Anatolian Saints)*, *Anadolu'nun Kadın Evliyaları (Woman Saints of Anatolia)*, *Hoşgörü Ustaları (Masters of Tolerance)* and *Dertli Dolap Yunus Emre*, which was a book that was also published in German.

Because of her accumulation on these subjects, Araz presented her readers in Yeni Sabah articles and columns, which were related to her research and interest area. “*Hazreti Muhammed'in Sevdikleri*” (*Those Which Mohammad Admired*) and “*Hazreti Muhammed'in Torunları*” (*Mohammad's Grandsons*) are two columns she had contributed to in snatches. While writing on religious issues, she also wrote many books on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Atatürk Houses. *Bir Zamanlar O Da Çocuktuk Adı: Mustafa (Once He Was Also A Child: Mustafa)*, *Mustafa Kemal'le 1000 Gün (Thousand Days With Mustafa Kemal)* and *Atatürk Evleri (Atatürk Houses)* are some examples for the books that she has published about the founder of the republic. After she was fired from Havadis, a newspaper that was published by Bahadır Dülger, a DP deputy, she began writing in Yeni Sabah and was one of the primary columnists with Sabri Esat

⁷⁴ Yalçın, S. (2009, August 2). *Solculuktan sufiliğe: Nezihe Araz*. Retrieved January 24, 2018, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/solculuktan-sufilige-nezihe-araz-12196520>

Siyavuşgil.⁷⁵ She melted the elements of tradition (religious mysticism, Ottoman past, Prophet Mohammed) and secularism (Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Atatürk houses) in one pot, which made her one of the most important woman intellectuals of her time. She can be considered a neo-traditionalist, as she reminded her readers of the importance of the tradition in a culture, while she emphasized these traditions with newer and secular elements which came into being with the young republic. Araz also published Meydan Larousse, Turkish encyclopedia together with Hakkı Devrim and Safa Kılıçlıoğlu, the owner of the newspaper Yeni Sabah.⁷⁶

Even though the columnists of Yeni Sabah were trying to comment on the social, political and economical issues with optimism, the political tension in Turkey was increasing as the years passed. The polarization between DP and RPP have reached its peak level when Republicans People Party, Freedom Party and Republican Nation Party formed a front named “National Opposition Front”, while DP also decided that a front should be formed after the decrease in votes in 1957. Most of the scholars think that the Iraqi coup d’etat (1958) distressed DP members and led them to think that what happened in their neighboring country could also spill over to Turkey. All of these developments laid the foundation for DP to follow more authoritarian policies and form a front just like the opposition parties did. Adnan Menderes in his speech in 12th October 1958 labeled National Opposition Front as a front of “hatred and hostility” and invited the citizens to “Vatan Cephesi” (Homeland Front). While these policies and measures which Menderes and DP took were for near future in which they try to eliminate the possibility of losing more votes, and a possibility of coup d’etat, it actually increased the tension in politics and society.

⁷⁵ ibid

⁷⁶ Yalçın, S. (2009, August 2). *Solculuktan sufiliğe: Nezihe Araz*. Retrieved January 24, 2018, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/solculuktan-sufilige-nezihe-araz-12196520>

DP, after these political developments, tried to take harsh measures against the media and opposing parties. İsmet İnönü went on an excursion in Aegean side of the country to explain the oppressive policies of DP to the society. İnönü have arrived to Uşak in April 30th, 1959, and his train was attacked by some of the DP partisans. When he was on his way to train station to return to Ankara on May 1st, 1959, a stone was thrown from the crowd and he escaped the incident with a small wound.⁷⁷

Yeni Sabah's headline on May 2nd, 1959, gave the news on this incident according to the standards of 5W1H (5N1K). However, there is something different than other headlines, which the newspaper published, in important dates in which important incidents happened. In the first page, Yeni Sabah gave the news, "İnönü got Wounded On His Head by A Stone Thrown in Uşak" (İnönü Uşak'dan Ayrılırken Taşla Başından Yaralandı).⁷⁸ After the main columns reported on the incidents that happened to in Uşak, 3 columns were left blank with only a star in the end. Publication of the first pages empty was a common reflex of the newspapers when faced with incidents, which they find noteworthy to protest. While the newspaper in general did not felt the necessity to make a statement about the incident like they did in the events in 6-7 September 1955, Siyavuşgil the next day spared his column to discuss the future and began to mention his concerns about the first test of Turkish democracy:

⁷⁷ Karayaman, M. (2010). *İsmet İnönü'nün Uşak'ta Taşlanması Olayının Sebep ve Sonuçları*. Tarih Okulu, (8), [Abstract]

⁷⁸ (1959, May 2). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

“After The Incidents

May god protect us from the worse; the last incidents must open our eyes. There is an issue of unethical politics. It must be admitted that we are not doing anything to reverse this with effective measures.

By mentioning effective measures, I'm not thinking of bans and prohibitions because with them, nothing will be solved, on the contrary, it will get worse. Our biggest mistake was not being able to form an order by examining those orders in world history, which were successful and implement it with all principles and institutions when we as a nation decided to enter the democracy. We entered to this new life from roundabouts and that is the reason why we falter.

We must think about the issue without trying to find faults in opposing parties. If we had built democracy on solid basis, the society could easily understand that the democratic order is not just about votes and institutions and they could understand that all of the issues can be handled in calm manner, and in this way they could keep their temper and understand that everything can be solved by with this composure. However, because we were not able to build this fundamental mechanism, the politics have spread into coffeehouses and streets.

This generated a bad habit of “politics” addiction in our nation. We began to think that toppling the opposing party would solve everything. An institution that reaches everywhere be formed and some muscle should be rounded up in this case. This of course would lead to crowd gatherings instead of healthy programs and we would be left with resentments and hostilities instead of nerveless dialogues. All of these would lead the society to see the political parties and democracy as attacking the opposition instead of seeing the principal duty of parties, warning and illuminating one another with the goal of reconciliation.

The events that are called “saddening” became inevitable due to this path that our political parties are taking. Our defection is our inexperience, and not beginning the journey of democracy with solid basis.

If we had begun this journey with this solid basis, who would leave their work to go to political receptions and yell while waiting on their feet for hours, fight with those who act like themselves and injure people's head? If everybody knew that their rights and freedom was protected, everything proceeds with justice and everything can be handled with mutual understanding, they wouldn't see political parties like boxers on the ring and they wouldn't felt the necessity to gather around these parties every single day. If the climate were like this, party leaders would arrange their tactics according to these realities.

All of these necessities did not materialize and this led the politics to be a zone of brawl. I fear that neutral citizens will lose all their hopes of democracy after seeing these facts. What will happen than? Where would this lead us? Every possibility that comes to mind

is bad. The thing that would save us is reconciliation between people and political parties, instead of intolerance for opposition and eagerness to topple them."⁷⁹

As an intellectual who has the utmost knowledge about how a democracy should be working, Siyavusgil in his daily column invites people to rethink about their actions. In times when the political polarization and tension was increasing he tried to illuminate the readers on what was actually going on by deconstructing the necessities of a democracy. National Struggle was held by the generals like Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü and these important historical figures got titles of “eternal chief” and “national chief” respectively. Considering that the national memory of these years were still alive, İnönü getting injured in such manner alarmed Siyavusgil as a public intellectual. The same was valid for the army, as people saw this institution “glorious” and “triumphant” even if the years have passed after the National Struggle. The author used the phrase “What will happen than? Where would this lead us? Every possibility that comes to mind is bad.” This is a strong indicator that he felt that the future of the democracy was on thin ice. It would not be inaccurate that the possibility of a coup d’etat was on his mind, given that this could be the only outcome of a failed state/democracy.

Siyavusgil was not the only one who had concerns about the future of the nation. As the tension between the media and DP increased, the government also appealed to more oppressive politics, especially on the main opposing party, RPP. On 18th April 1959, DP government proposed a proposal in the parliament, to form Investigation Council to look into party policies of RPP. The proposal included following components:

⁷⁹ Siyavuşgil, S. (1959, May 3). Hadiseler Karşısında.. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

- RPP lost all its hope to become the leading party by taking legal measures and the party provokes the society to destabilize the politics of DP.
- The media is collaborating with RPP and this collaboration's ultimate goal is to bring the army to the political stage.
- RPP is trying to arm their partisans and provoke them against the government.
- RPP is trying to establish secret organizations and publish elements, which jeopardize the ideal and moral elements of democracy.
- RPP endanger the nation's political, social and economic life with fabricated publications.⁸⁰

Naturally, the proposal evoked objections in the parliament. After being hit by a stone when he was in a political trip to Uşak, İsmet İnönü controverted to this proposal with speech in the parliament. Yeni Sabah covered this news on their first page and what they wanted the readers to see was the political agenda of the current government was boiling, as both sides were giving harsh statements. İnönü somewhere in his speech mentioned “revolution (ihtilal) is a legitimate right, when the right circumstances arise”. He also stated that “even he can't save the government” after sometime. This of course was an important statement, considering that İsmet İnönü apart from being a politician, was another “triumphant” general, which led Turkish army to victories in battlegrounds during the National Struggle. Most of the scholars think that these statements which came from an important military figure who was called “Pasha” was the final straw that broke the camel's back.

The rising which İnönü mentioned was told to be a revolution, not a coup d'etat. These terms are different in their context. What happened in 27 May 1960, being coup

⁸⁰ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre, XI, c.13, 18. IV.1960, TBMM Matbaası, Ankara 1960

d'état or a revolution, is not the topic of this thesis, but the conclusion part will also inhabit this discussion. Before that, there's benefit in looking at Siyavuşgil's column during the times of crisis like these. On 19th May, 1959, Siyavuşgil wrote an article to his main column "From the Morning Window" which underlined the importance of neutrality, especially in times when the political polarization escalated to the highest level during the Democrat Party reign:

"Neutral Party

Neutral Party will prevail in the end. This never ending bickering will end when this party with common sense, a goal and without institution, rules and ambition, will say "enough".

This party does not have anything to do with the bickering and or the brawl to get or maintain an administrative post. This party wants peace and tranquility by looking at future with confidence. It wants an opposition, which does not turn inspection into party propaganda and a leading party, which does not count activities and operations as an accomplishment of the party. This party's millions of members will form the future of Turkey, when desired order and understanding is established.

Which conscience would let its nation to the days' just like of the last days of Byzantine before it collapsed? Which conscience would let that happen while such a blessing is on the table?

The Neutral Party wants employment rather than gossip, reality rather than a stage, love for creating rather than anger and fury. The Neutral Party wants the party members in the parliament to be loyal to the people just like they are loyal to their own parties. It wants them to be loyal to the whole country, rather than being loyal to their region. It wants them to deal with important issues cooperatively, and deal with these issues meticulously. It wants them to operate as if some of the voters are not opposing.

Because the Neutral Party have learned to distinguish among those policies which unlawfully and those policies which are done lawfully, thanks to the experience it got as the time passed. It only laughs to the comedies that are coated as if they were catastrophes, just like it laughs to the stage plays, which are shown as if they were real. This party learned the tricks of the politics and it predicts what the leading party will say, as well as predicting the opposition party's response. And when these predictions turn out to be true, it only laughs.

The Neutral Party wants the political parties to have an agenda, but it doesn't want them to establish shops all around the streets and try to sell their politics to people all day everyday. It wants politicians to be much more aware of the brain, rather than the party badge on the collar, and it values the expertise of these politicians, rather than their political identification. Above all, the party doesn't want laughers from politicians

as if they were tricking a child and it doesn't want leaders to act like they can end all of the misery with a sword blow like Alexander the Great.

The Neutral Party wants youth to be raised with good examples and build the Turkey of tomorrow without the miseries and defects of today.

Wouldn't the Neutral Party, which is after the hearts me, you, as well as some members of the political parties, turn the scale and groom the course of events of our nation?

Of course it will. Our salvation and our future depend on this accomplishment.”⁸¹

While Siyavuşgil is trying to maintain his neutral political stance, he also creates an imagined party with members who are neutrals. It seems that in the event of political tension, he's underlining the importance of “reason” and “calmness”. As a liberal intellectual who is suffocated by the rising tension between two parties, he says that the future of the nation depends on this imagined party, which inhabits people who keep their composure against the events, which increased the tension and polarization in Turkey. It is deducible from his comments that his concerns about the future of Turkish democracy are there more than ever. Also, as an intellectual who has leanings on western culture, he is trying to distinguish between the liberalism of West, and the liberalism of Turkey. As he criticizes both parties, it would not be inaccurate to note that DP was having an unsuccessful test of liberalism. He is also critical about the RPP, and their policies of inspection, which he thinks its actually party propaganda.

⁸¹ Siyavuşgil, S. (1959, May 19). Tarafsızlar Partisi, *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

CHAPTER 6

YENI SABAH AFTER COUP D'ETAT (27TH MAY, 1960)

Both the speeches in Turkish Grand National Assembly and the news and columns that were covered by the media give the feeling that Turkish politics, and Turkey's first test with democracy was in danger of ending. As two great wars have passed, and Turkey became a member of the NATO alliance, it would be nonsense to expect anything than a coup d'etat. İsmet İnönü as the leader of the opposition party, mentioned this possibility in the parliament more than once, and when Siyavuşgil's columns are considered, he was also giving alarm about a possible catastrophe in the "near future" and a catastrophe for a democracy could only be a coup d'etat.

The rising tension between the government, opposition party and the media was evident, especially after the general election held in 1957. After this election, the tension and the polarization in the society and the politics did nothing but increase, until the Turkish army took the command in the nation in the midnight of 27th May 1960. After the analysis of the newspaper Yeni Sabah between 1950-1960, this chapter will look at this journal's attitude after the first Turkish coup d'etat, and go on to conclusion.

There is not a single clue of a forthcoming coup d'etat in pages of Yeni Sabah before 27th May 1960. As the latest news of the previous chapter shows, Siyavuşgil was

the only columnist, who wrote about a possible catastrophe for the first democratic test of Turkey, and it did happen. Siyavuşgil mentioned this end with phrases like, “I fear that neutral citizens will lose all their hopes of democracy after seeing these facts. What will happen than? Where would this lead us? Every possibility that comes to mind is bad.”⁸² Him being concerned about the near future of Turkish democracy is a major sign that he wanted this first democratic test to continue; he did not hesitate to warn the public and diagnose the deficient parts of democracy. But both the newspaper’s and his neutral political identity was much more heavier than their critical identity after 27th May 1960.

On this date, which corresponded to a Friday morning, Yeni Sabah came up with the headline which announced its readers the first Turkish coup d’etat: “The Armed Forces Took The Command Over The Whole Nation” (Silahlı Kuvvetler Bütün Yurtta İdareyi Ele Aldı). It went on to report on the news:

“Bayar, Koraltan, 6 deputies, Chief of defense, Commanders of Land Forces and Gendarme has been put in safekeeping.

Because of the depression of the democracy and the latest saddening incidents, the Army took the command over the whole nation, in order to avoid a possible fratricidal quarrel.

The operation had been accomplished without bloodshed.

An election will be held as soon as possible, under a supervision of a council. Whichever party will win the elections, will take over the command of the nation.”⁸³

The first print of Yeni Sabah in which the columnists shared their ideas about the coup d’etat was published on 28th May 1960. Siyavuşgil, as the primary columnist of the “neutral daily paper” wrote about the incident with his usual tone. He wanted the

⁸² Siyavuşgil, S. (1959, May 3). Hadiseler Karşısında.. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

⁸³ (1960, May 27). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

society to be calm in the event of the upcoming issues in Turkey, while he seemed to feel the “triumph” of the “triumphant” Turkish army. Hope for a better future by learning lessons from the past was the central idea of his column:

“ We Will Walk With Dignity

We are in a turning point in our history yet again.

We need composure and dignity more than ever. The army, which was born out of this nation’s heart, the army, which is the nation itself, has taken the command. We are safe under the wings of this magnificent institution. We are sure that we will be collaborating as a nation with patriotism and reason while we are walking on the road to build a new state.

We don’t have animosity and grudge in our hearts. We only miss the Turkey with peace, freedom and justice. It is such a nation that it will eventually get to the point of peace with the light of rationality. It will show how much it deserves the respect of the free world as being the western civilization.

The love for freedom and admiration of justice are our character, as well as composure and dignity. We can defy suffering like a man and we also need to prevent our enthusiasm to lead to an emotion, which will turn into a state of oppression towards our brothers and sisters. Our love for our land, our rationality and our national dignity will help us in this process.

We are not a polarized society any more; on the contrary, we are a nation that makes the world jealous about its unity. There is no space left for the hostility instigated by greed. These are forgettable like memories of a nightmare. We are wearing the badge of star and crescent on our collars, as well as on our hearts and we acknowledge the brotherhood of our community.

The fights are all over. This new journey, which we will begin, altogether will only be on the direction of civilization and democracy. We will rebuild a democracy as soon as possible. We will get to the level of contemporary civilizations once again by rebuilding the state with freedom and justice.

We need to have the calm mind of an architect while we are building this new building, so that this building is durable. We need to be careful about tomorrow by a meticulous accounting of the past. We need to do this with rationality.

Moreover, we need to get out of the fronts that we have built in the past which increased the level of polarization and we need to continue our journey altogether, united. The things, which will divide us, will be our common enemy.

*Our main goal should be to turn this land into a nation in which we can all live happily. We will remember the thirst for a national felicity and we will continue our journey with composure and dignity.*⁸⁴

While Siyavuşgil wrote about the importance of composure in front of the upcoming events, which will change the Turkish state and constitution, Nezihe Araz, who do not normally write about the current events felt the necessity to write on the subject of coup d'état. As a newspaper with neutral political stance, the news columns are filled with reports on the events and incidents that are happening in Turkey, in alignment with the necessities of liberal theory. (5W1H/5N1K) That is the reason why the columnists must have felt that they need to spare their space to write about their ideas about the first Turkish coup d'état, which was obviously a major watershed in young republic's history. Araz also underlined the necessity for the society to be calm and composed in this tough times, and wrote about how strong Turkish nation is, which can be seen as an effort to strengthen the hopes of the society in a time of uncertainty.

“An Important Challenge

Turkish nation is officially in an exam after the coup d'état, which happened last midnight. The whole world's eyes are on our nation because of this challenge.

We have a tradition of the light that has been shed on our road in tough times: We leave our individual selves, our greed, and our grudge to form a unity.

Essentially, we don't have matters, which result in fratricidal quarrel, and matters, which will polarize the society. And if there is, it should end. Turkish nation have always found a way to get through these tough times with greater understanding.

Today is the day to unite, and today is the day to be awake. Today is the day to think of the nation's salvation and benefit.

Today is the day to be disciplined and follow the orders of the army without any hesitation.

⁸⁴ Siyavuşgil, S. (1960, May 28). Vekarla Yürüyeceğiz!. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

Yes my dearest readers, embracing these realities and acting according to it is our duty as citizens.

We must be united. Because many of the countries have been watching us to see if we can be united and together. We all know about the events of last month and how it has echoed in foreign media. This information leads us to be united around one light and one power.

Our historical and geographical position necessitates this. It has always been like this.

Our nation is mature enough, and it has the dignity and composure.

It has confidence in the army and the army has confidence and love for our nation, and this love is complete and full.

The best thing that we can do now is to do our duties with trust and confidence.

These are about all of the things that I need to tell to my readers today.

The god is with us. With the help of god, we will be succeeding in this challenge in front of the eyes of all nations and history.”⁸⁵

Nezihe Araz and Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil are two main columnists who wrote about the important issues that Turkey has dealt with through the years in which DP was in power. This did not change after the first Turkish coup d’etat. Apart from inviting the society to be calm and composed in the time of crisis, it is important to note that the authors welcomed the coup d’etat, as they saw the day as a new page in Turkish history to be filled with a better state organization and constitution while they insisted on the necessity to learn from the past by accounting the wrong doings in the first democratic test.

Araz consistently gave the western world as the reference, as she used phrases like “the other countries are watching us”, “we all know that the events of last month and how it echoed in foreign media”. Siyavuşgil also wrote about the importance of catching up with “contemporary civilizations” as soon as possible. These are all strong

⁸⁵ Araz, N. (1960, May 28). Büyük bir imtihan. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 3.

indications that Yeni Sabah writers were showing the West as the model and events that happened in last years of DP government was actually alienating Turkey from this ultimate goal of uniting with these civilizations.

These main columnists also repeated how welcome the Turkish army was to the political stage. Siyavuşgil's column was full of positive expressions on the Turkish army, which took over the control in the country. He used the phrase; "we are safe under the wings of this magnificent institution". Araz also warned her readers to "be disciplined and follow the orders of the army without any hesitation". Both of the columns gave the feeling that the Turkish army as an institution has an indisputable and unchallengeable place in the nation. An increase in nationalistic feelings in both of the columnist' articles are evident, as they were excited about the future of the country.

In a country where the army had gained the control all over the nation, criticizing the army must be illegal, if not hazardous. The columns and news that was published by Yeni Sabah did not have this hesitation. Apart from the columnists' the news about the coup d'etat also had 'triumphant' feeling in the latest incident. On the third page of the newspaper, in which Nezihe Araz had her main column, a space was spared for the news on the accomplishment of Turkish army. "The Vigilant Turkish Soldier Have Brought Peace, Quiet and Rejoice to Our Nation" was the headline of the news and it went on to report that the date of 27th of May as a "festival of freedom".⁸⁶

The next day, the newspaper once again labeled the army "glorious" and gave spared the first page to publish the news with the headlines, "Loyalty Telegraphs From

⁸⁶ (1960, May 28). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 3.

Turkish Youth to Our Glorious Army Are Piling Up”, and it went on to report “the youth was ready to do anything to help the army on this ‘war of freedom’”. The report was supported with a photograph of young students in front of a banner that said “Long Live Our Army”.⁸⁷ All of these news that the newspaper had reported shows that the general idea about the army was highly positive as they labeled it “glorious” and “vigilant” and labeled the coup d’etat as a “war of freedom” and “festival of freedom”. These are all strong indications that Turkish army, was still holding the reins of cultural hegemony in the country, as the guardian of the nation that was loyal to the Kemalist revolutions, which inhabited authoritative modernization.

On 29th May 1960, Nezihe Araz spared her column to talk about Cemal Gürsel, which can also be seen as an effort to introduce the general that led the “young officers” to a “successful” coup d’etat. She included elements that could relieve the tension of the society and the readers. By quoting the general’s statements about the future of the nation, she tried to show that the general and the army were to form another government as soon as possible. All of these were an indication that Cemal Gürsel was not planning to be military dictator, his and National Unity Committee’s plan was to get into the democratic life as soon as possible:

“Gürsel Pasha

We didn’t know Gürsel Pasha until May 3rd 1960. That day a ban on media had been executed. This ban occurred because of a letter of Pasha to the Land Forces after he retired from the same Force. The commander addressed the military units in his letter:

‘Be aware of the value of the uniform that you are wearing no matter what. Try to stay out of the political tension that dominates the nation’s agenda. Don’t get into the politics at any price. These words are important for the nation’s faith and the army’s power. Concentrate all of your efforts for the defense of the nation. I believe in you, and I salute all of the units with respect and affection.’

⁸⁷ (1960, May 29). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

This letter circulated around but nobody knew who Gürsel Pasha was. What was in this letter that gave a sense of relieve? The people got to know him through the radios on 27th of May.

He was talking as the head of the National Unity Committee rather than the head of the Land Forces. He went on to say, ‘Turkish society is not a senseless herd. Most of them are illiterate, but they have conscience, dignity and composure much more than the societies that are more illiterate. Taking this as the reference, I decided to cease this terrible going of Turkey and I seized the state affairs. I must go onto say that I’m not planning to be a dictator. My plan is to get the nation into a fair democratic life as soon as possible and give the reins of administration back to people. Believe in me and trust me.’

We needed a voice like this in times of fratricidal quarrel. This is the reason why the people received the word of Gürsel Pasha as a guarantee for peace and security. This is the real meaning of the last meeting of the nation with its army.⁸⁸

How the world had seen the coup d’etat has been reported on Ord. Prof. Şükrü Baban’s column that was named “International Politics” (Dış Politika). It is important to note that he mentioned both the western world and USSR was happy about the coup d’etat, which occurred in Turkey on May 27th 1960. Apart from other columnists, he did not hesitate to tell his readers that the DP government was in a bad situation, by taking the reflections of other countries reactions to the coup d’etat as the reference. When all of these are considered it would not be inaccurate to say that the primary fear all around the world was a reaction (irtica) that could have happened if the latest government’s affairs were not ceased by coup d’etat. The statement of National Unity Council, which underlined the fact that they were going to be loyal NATO, and UN was the major reason why the western world was feeling, relieved by the latest incident. USSR feeling relieved about coup d’etat despite this fact, is the paramount indication that what the world feared was a reaction (irtica) that could have happened in Turkey. His column, which was published on 30th of May, is as follows:

⁸⁸ Araz, N. (1960, May 29). Gürsel Pasha. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 3.

“The Auspicious Revolution Created Good Reactions

The latest revolution, which the Turkish Army had conducted, created good reactions internationally. Washington, London and Paris showed sympathy to this change and they officially recognized the new government.

The reactions of Iranian Shah during his visit to Istanbul have been the strongest indication how the revolution was taken gratefully in our neighboring country.

Turkish delegates at Tel Aviv and Baghdad had conducted with Foreign Ministers about the change and granted them that the new regime will be loyal to the old commitments. The radio stations gave the news on loyalty to these commitments with great joy.

The statement, which underlined the fact that the government will be loyal to the constitution of UN, NATO and CENTO, had been a reason of relief for the free countries in the western world.

The fact that the revolution was accomplished without bloodshed was another reason of enthusiasm and contentment.

The statement of Cemal Gürsel, which guaranteed that a new constitution would be written with university professors and transition to democracy will be done immediately, has left a good impression in our allies.

It is important to note that even the Russian radio had received the revolution with relief. Even though NUC had declared that they are going to be loyal to NATO and CENTO, Soviets have been relieved due to the statement that the new government will be friendlier with the neighboring countries unlike the government of Adnan Menderes.

This all sums up that the revolution of 27/28 May has been a received happily by the whole world. This is enough to show how unsuccessful the latest government was.”⁸⁹

As the days passed after the coup d’etat, Yeni Sabah began to publish news and evidences, which documented the corruption that occurred under DP leadership. As a part of the NUC investigation, documents of party leaders and members have been searched and they were given to the media to enlighten the society on the illegal transactions that the latest government had been doing. On July 2nd 1960, the first page of Yeni Sabah inhabited the news on the spending of Adnan Menderes. The newspaper was published with the headline, “New Documents About Adnan Menderes Has Been Surfaced” (Menderes ile İlgili Yeni Vesikalar Ortaya Çıktı). The newspaper went on to

⁸⁹ Baban, Ş. (1960, May 30). Hayırlı İnkılap Çok İyi Tepkiler Yarattı. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

report that the former prime minister has been spending money that has been taken from the state's budget. The columns under the headline have been spared to justify the illegal transactions of the overthrown government and went on to report, "every day, another abuse of former members of power or people close to them is surfacing"⁹⁰ Another illegal transaction which the DP government has done, have been reported on July 9th 1960. A column in the first page was spared to publish yet another corruption of the previous government. The news was announcing that the DP government has "taken 150 Jeeps which have been imported illegally". They announced this under the title: "A Common Corruption of D.P. and a Company".⁹¹ It is important to note that all of this news on the government corruption was supported with photos of the transaction papers, which is an indication that the newspaper was getting these documents from the research commission. *Yeni Sabah* was also backing up the news on the corruption with caricatures. The newspaper alongside many other media institution was now pro-coup d'etat, and it was backing the army and the research commission, which was investigating the unlawful acts of DP government.

Due to the intense political agenda, the editors and owners of *Yeni Sabah* should have felt the necessity of publishing notices to the public and their readers about the latest events and incidents. It is already mentioned that the newspaper was now pro-coup d'etat, apart from the glorification of the Turkish army as an institution, which was visible in columns of the columnists and the headlines of the newspaper. With evidences and reports on the government corruption piling up, on July 8th 1960, *Yeni Sabah* published the following statement with the signature "YENI SABAH". The

⁹⁰ (1960, July 2). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

⁹¹ (1960, July 9). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

statement is an important indicator of Yeni Sabah's stance against the corruption of DP, and corruption in general:

“Ethical and Faithful Union

The latest incidents on wrongdoings and corruptions of the previous government have been the most important reason to strengthen the ideas of NUC and the rest of the society to form more ethical and faithful union.

The corruption of the members of the government that was overthrown is becoming evident day by day. The wealth and reel estate that the previous DP members have embezzled after 1950 will be published and announced to the Turkish nation. Land registers and deed of three DP members have been given to the media just to get an idea on the vastness of corruption of the previous government. The wealth, which other DP members got unlawfully, will also be reported and announced, after more research will be done.

The material corruption, which the society has faced, will be nothing near the moral corruption. We are reminding the following incident, just for an example to the moral corruption, which this society has faced.

The overthrown president Celal Bayar, did not hesitate to say that “if there is something called soul, than there is no doubt that Atatürk's soul is in this parliament.”

You don't have to be genius to see how desperate this statement is, especially if it's coming from a president.

In an appropriate nation, a president has no necessity to be a member of a distinct religion. If all of the religions are approving that there is something called soul, than Bayar has declared that he is not a member of any religion by questioning the existence of soul.

Nobody has the right the question former presidents' belief, but there is also no need for an explanation on how nonsense this statement was, especially in front of a community where the majority of the society is Muslim. How nonsense it is to state that you are not a member of a religion! This recklessness is a strong indication of the unlawful acts, which the previous government had done. The material scandals, which they got into, should be counted as normal, when this type of moral deficiency is on the table. This is the reason why more ethical and faithful union is a necessity for Turkey.

YENI SABAH⁹²

⁹² (1960, July 10). Ahlaklı ve İmanlı bir Cemiyet. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

Apart from criticizing the previous government and their leaders, which have been accused of corruption, Yeni Sabah as a media institution tried to clarify what was being expected by the nation and how these expectations should be dealt with. Even though Yeni Sabah reacted to NUC and its research on the corruption and wrongdoings of the previous government gratefully, it also did not hesitate to underline the importance of dealing with reforming the state meticulously, as there were many subjects that should be dealt with. With all the respect to NUC, they felt the necessity to remind the committee that the reforms should be done in order of its importance cautiously, as they wanted the coup d'état to be to the best advantage of the new state:

“Dealing with Things Altogether

Because of the inabilities, negligence and sometimes lack of perception of the previous governments in power, our country has been put under a strain and that is the reason why the state institution must be rebuilt. Didn't a RPP member talked about how everything should be reconsidered and rebuilt from A to Z, and admitted that his party was insufficient in their policies and actions? Doesn't the NUC notify the society on how the DP sultanate, which took the reign the next 10 years, has been dragging the country to an abyss?

In any case, everybody is in favor of the fact that there are a lot of things to be done all over the country, which hasn't been dealt with in last centuries.

A nationwide reformation on these parts of the country to be reformed and rebuilt would not be done in couple of days, even in couple of years.

The people who saved the nation from a fratricidal quarrel with all dexterity and sacrifice in 27th May are now faced with these problems of the nation, which have been piling up since centuries. One would wish that a medicine that can cure all of these problems could be found.

The members of NUC are facing with squalls from every corner of problems that they are trying to deal with. What should be done in this case? This question is occupying the minds of the NUC members.

Attacking all of these problems and trying to knock them down or arraying these problems in their importance and try to begin with the most necessary and continue with the least important to relieve the nation's pain?

We presume that those who prepared the movement of 27th May should deal with this important point and set their agenda according to it.

YENI SABAH”⁹³

To sum up the journey of Turkey to the freedom it has been searching for decades, Yeni Sabah published yet another column to share with its readers. The column was about how difficult it was for the Turkish nation to reach the desired “freedom” and liberty, in western sense. Reminding its readers about the Turkish experiment with freedom and liberty, and its effort to cope with Western civilization, the newspaper notified its readers and the public that they hoped that the last coup d’etat, which they labeled as an auspicious revolution which was done by the army and the youth would be a spark and a beginning of yet another journey to the desired “liberty” and freedom:

“How Difficult It Is To Get The Liberty

Liberty and freedom has been like an American gum, which the society has been chewing on for years. How difficult has it been to capture this goal of freedom, it is quite bewildering.

The efforts to breathe the air of freedom and sacrifices to attain liberty are plenty in our history. Abdülhamit II reinstated the constitution in 1908, with the efforts of the army in Rumelia and Community of Union and Progress. This sultan had already declared that he was going to instate the Basic Law (Kanun-I Esasi), and grant the security of the freedom of the citizens when he ascended to the throne. Nevertheless, the Basic Law was like an ornament on top of the yearbooks and it did not really function.

The liberty and Basic Law, which was gained by the efforts of the army, and the CUP did not live for long and left its place to yet another oppressive regime. Istanbul and the whole country were filled with martial law, martial courts reactions and scaffolds. This arbitrary administration had collapsed after the Balkan and WW1, and the nation had lost two-thirds of its land, namely the Rumelia and Arabia.

That was the reason why the National Struggle had emerged and the victory after this struggle resulted in a regime of liberty: the Republic. But this change was not enough to

⁹³ (1960, July 21). Birçok işlere Birden Saldırmak. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

get to the desired freedom and liberty. Chieftaincy and arbitrary administration reappeared.

An effort to reach to the desired liberty had been attained with the democratic movement in 1947 but it resulted in yet another oppressive regime with the efforts of DP chiefs.

The youth and the army got the flag of freedom from the mud it got into. It is evident that this struggle for liberty had been a long and expensive progress, which is yet to be achieved.

Our desire is for the rise of the sun of freedom, which has been sighted in the horizon in last months.

*YENI SABAH*⁹⁴

Şükrü Baban's column on the international reactions to the coup d'état showed that the primary concern of the neighboring countries and the western world was a possible reaction (irtica) that could have happened in Turkey during the times of crisis. However, by looking at the internal policies and internal agenda of the Turkish politics, a religious reaction was not a possibility, but a general anxiety of the masses. Rather than reaction (irtica), rising tension between two sides, namely the political parties of DP and RPP, and the partisans and masses, which followed them, were the main cause for the Turkish army to cease the first Turkish democratic experience. The extreme policies which DP government have adopted against opposing parties and the media increased the tension in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and this tension and polarization has reflected on the streets between the masses and partisans. Fratricidal quarrel was the main term, which the media and Yeni Sabah used in their news reports before the coup d'état. While the newspaper tried to illuminate the reader with their notices in the first pages, day by day, they began to underline the fact that they were pro-army and pro-coup d'état. A good example to this is as follows:

⁹⁴ (1960, July 24). Şu hürriyet Ne de zor ele Geçermiş. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

“The National Movement That Prevented A Fratricidal Quarrel

The goal of the people who have created the revolution of 27th May was to avoid a possible fratricidal quarrel and they did not hesitate to clarify this point. One of the things, which the Turkish Armed Forces announce on the morning of 27th May, was this point.

Everyone knows that the main opposition of the DP government was RPP and a division among the masses and a fratricidal quarrel could have happened because of this polarization. As a matter of fact, the possibility of an assassination to İnönü, who was the leader of the opposing party, was a result of this polarization between two parties. This construct of assassination is yet another subject of investigation.

When the political situation was like this, NUC acting without any commitment to these political parties was suitable for the ideal of this revolution.

[...]

It is difficult not to find this act of the committee proper. All of the DP deputies and leaders are detained, leaving the political ground to the supporters of RPP and giving the reins of administration to the opposing parties' members while the DP is paralyzed, could have compromise the goal of this revolution, which is to end this tension and polarization to lead the nation into peace.

The movement of Turkish Army Forces in 27th of May is not for a political party or a social class. Trying to show this movement as a pro-RPP and anti-DP movement can be a skillful policy for RPP, but neither the public opinion nor the NUC would be deceived by this act.

Let's leave the scale of justice to the hands of NUC so that it can hold it neutrally and determinedly.

*YENI SABAH*⁹⁵

The amount of columns that were published with the signature of “YENI SABAH” has increased after 27th May 1960. The reason for this increase is evident, as the media companies and institutions were trying to show their political stance more than ever. Yeni Sabah's owner Safa Kılıçlıoğlu also began to write about the coup d'état and some accusations of other newspapers and magazines. He felt the necessity to write a column about what he is thinking and how he felt about the coup d'état and events, which led to it. Beginning his column with the reasoning that he was writing it

⁹⁵ (1960, July 27). Kardeş Kanının Akmasını Önleyen Milli Hareket. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

in purpose for a response to a column which was written by Nadir Nadi, another important figure in Turkish media:

“555K”

The other day, I have read an article titled “555K”, which was written by Nadir Nadi. By chance, I was also in Ankara that day. I thought that this coincidence was strange: I went to a walk that morning and just like Nadir Nadi, I was also thinking proudly that I also had a big share in this National Revolution.

I felt the sublime excitement of the morning of 27th May in my veins. After all, was it possible to forget that morning? Is it possible to forget how I leaped up and ran to my colleagues to hug them despite of the curfew? Is it possible to forget how soldiers warned me about the curfew and when I told them whom I was, how they told me to pass, and said that I was also agonized and I was also one of them?

I went way back while I was thinking. I thought about the lamentations of our newspaper after the events in 6-7 September. I thought about how we offered our columns to the leader of the opposition party when Ulus was closed down, the headlines we published fearlessly, how Hüseyin Cahit had been prisoned and freed.

I heard voices, which were like that of an owl sometimes. This voice had yelled at me and labeled me as a gravedigger and a desert rat.

I also occasionally felt that I was swinging in a corner of a car with blood flowing through my head. I also thought that I was one of the heroes of the day just like Nadir Nadi, and I walked and walked...

Suddenly I began to smile like a kid. Everything has been deleted from my memory and all I was seeing was 38 Turkish officers with their glistening uniforms and young and dynamic bodies. I have seen the peerless Turkish Army. The voice of youth which was yelling that the regime was in danger, accompanied my steps as I walked, like a soundtrack. Yes; who were we? Bediis, Falihs, Çetins, Nadirs?

We were taking credits from these lions whose hearts were beating with the passion of justice and liberty. It makes me happy to have a soul, which shares these triumphant feelings. And the idea of shedding light to the road of these young Turkish men gives me chills of delight.

KILIÇLIOĞLU⁹⁶

Apart from mentioning how welcome the Turkish Army and the coup d’etat was, Kılıçlıoğlu felt that he also had the feeling that he also had a finger in the pie. Due to the extreme pressure on media in the last years of DP leadership, he emphasized on

⁹⁶ (1960, October 1). 555K. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

how grateful he was after he heard the news on the coup d'etat in the morning of 27th May. As an owner of a newspaper, which basically published daily, papers as politically neutral as it can, Safa Kılıçođlu was pouring out his troubles under DP leadership, without mentioning the pressure which the newspaper had experienced in last years of the first Turkish democratic experience. It is now evident that columnists, editors and the owner Yeni Sabah were glad that the “revolution” had occurred and they filled their columns with praises to the “triumphant” and “victorious” Turkish army.

In first few months after 27th of May, Yeni Sabah and Kılıçođlu, unlike the previous decade, got into polemics with Akis, an adversary magazine. In order to make things clear and inform the public, Kılıçođlu published two columns about the accusations of Akis and its workers. While he was rejecting the accusations, he backed up his objection with his memories. He tried to persuade the readers and the public that he and his newspaper Yeni Sabah was not taking sides in times of crisis and they were carrying on the path of neutrality, unlike Akis and its workers had accused them about. Following two columns, which were written by Kılıçođlu, can be seen as an effort of an owner who is trying to defend himself and his newspaper, which had the second most circulation in Turkey:

“Lies of A Brat

They showed me the news on the event that was arranged by the head of the state for journalist. Akis, the center of lies and deceitful journalism, published this news and it was filled with lies about me.

I did not say any positive or negative words about deputies of parties before the coup d'etat in this event. I did not eat or drink anything while I was there. I only smoked a cigarette.

I went to Çankaya for only two times with long gaps and I don't know any employees who work there.

The news on how I told negative things about the overthrown government's deputies to the NUC is a complete lie. The news on how I wanted and expected service from the waiters does not reflect the truth.

Throughout the time I spent in the event, I have discussed with Muzaffer Özdağ, Numan Esin and Ahmet Er from the NUC. These people are witnesses for all of the things I have testified.

I will not hesitate to sue the media institutions, which operate with lies and slander like that of Akis. This type of journalism is the reason for my longing for more ethical media.

*SAFA KILIÇLIOĞLU*⁹⁷

The primary columnist of Yeni Sabah, Siyavuşgil, backed up his boss Kılıçlıoğlu by criticizing Akis and other newspapers and magazines, which appealed to, lies and slanders without any ethical concerns. As it is expected from his style and vision, he commented on how this type of journalism was evident in Turkish media, due to the lack of a voice and law that could block the way for this type of journalism:

"Effendi, Behave Yourself!

The letters that nobody could understand where Akis got from and the fact that the magazine publishing it, is a strong indication that some people think that even the laws which preserve the privacy of reporters are antidemocratic.

It is our right to be concerned that this type of wrong and deceitful reporting would raze the ethical issues, throw the inculpable man-to-man relationships into chaos and turn the society into a miserable community in which people crave to denounce each other.

[...]

If we are on this path and if these are the facts of humanity and a true democracy, let us lift the clauses 195 and 197 from the Penal Code. This way, those who would try to follow this path would learn about the things that they would face, and the victims could take precautions. But would an order like this be seemly to us? Would it be suitable for the civilized world that we plan to live in? Would it be suitable for the ethical concerns of humanity, whether it be Muslim, Christian, Buddhist or atheist?

⁹⁷ (1960, July 2). Veledin yalanları. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

If it does not suit, than there should be a voice which could roar “Effendi, behave yourself!”

It is our right to expect this kind of a voice to roar. There needs to be a voice which could warn those who think that the freedom of press allows people to make a fuss and play with people’s honor, integrity and dignity like a toy. A decrease of honorable people from a community would be an unrecoverable disaster for a nation.

We are waiting for this voice.

A just voice, which warns those people to behave, will be coming from state, the colleagues and the public. Otherwise a community and a life without this voice wouldn’t be worth to live in. Leaving myself aside, the possibility of people who doesn’t have a chance to defend themselves getting molested for no reason, makes me feel bitter. We can’t be like this. We shouldn’t be like this.

I have written on this issue many times, and I’m rewriting it. This nation needs independent and autonomous citizens. We need to leave the era in which being politically neutral was equal to being guilty and we need to respect each other’s thoughts.

I believe that before anything else, the revolution of 27th May have brought back this social reality. In that case, what is the reason behind this chaos, this disgusting behavior, and this careless attack on human rights?

Why and how? ”⁹⁸

While Yeni Sabah with its owner and columnists tried to show that the Turkish Army and the coup d’etat (revolution in Yeni Sabah’s case) was more than welcome, they did not cease to talk about the defections and problems of the society, especially the problems which arose after the coup d’etat. It is inevitable to have more problems in times of crisis, and when Turkish politics is considered, obscurity, chaos in media and calumnious journalism has increased despite the fact that the general public opinion for the coup d’etat was positive. What was happening in media was a reflection of what have happened in Turkish society and Turkish politics, failure of fulfilling the requirements and responsibilities of democracy.

⁹⁸ Siyavuşgil, S. (1960, September 3). Efendi, kendine gel!. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

While the tension between media institutions and journalists (spannungsfeld) was increasing, the first important development in Turkish politics came into view in September 30th, 1960. *Yeni Sabah*'s headline on this day was that "The Democrat Party Has Been Shut Down" (Demokrat Parti Kapatıldı). The news reported that the decision was taken by the civil court and continued to tell the readers that Adnan Menderes also wanted his party to be closed down.⁹⁹ The next month, the historical trials in Yassıada have begun. *Yeni Sabah* published its first page on October 14th with a dramatic illustration of a court with a judge and juries. The famous saying of "justice is the foundation of the state" (Adalet mülkün temelidir) is also visible in the illustration. The newspaper reported that the historical trials was going to start that day, and that the Supreme Council of Justice was going to call the overthrown government to the account for the years between 1950-1960.¹⁰⁰

Next day, *Yeni Sabah* was published with the first page including the headline: "The Overthrown Government is In The Presence of Justice" (Sâkıt İktidar Adalet Huzurunda).¹⁰¹ It was now official that the historical trials of Yassıada have begun. *Yeni Sabah* kept publishing news on these trials until September 15th 1961, when the court was ready to announce the decisions of the trials. Until then, *Yeni Sabah* gave the news with their reporter who had been present in the court to take notes on important issues. The reports were published in the first pages in the first months of the trials, and went on to be published in later pages after half a year has passed. İrfan Türksever reported the news on the column named "Trials" (Duruşmalar), while Hakkı Devrim and Kamuran Özbir illuminated the readers on what was going on in the court and off the court, in the column named "Notes From Yassıada" (Yassıada'dan Notlar). The

⁹⁹ (1960, September 30). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

¹⁰⁰ (1960, October 14). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

¹⁰¹ (1960, October 15). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

news and the reports were published in alignment with the necessities of liberal theory, which conformed to the 5W1H (5N1K) rule of news reporting.

The Yassıada Trials, which began in October 14th 1960, had been concluded 11 months later on September 15th 1961. On this day, *Yeni Sabah* published the news of conclusion of the trials with the headline, “The Decisions Are Being Stated” (Kararlar Açıklanıyor) by the Supreme Council of Justice and went on to report that the only those news taken from NUC could be published as the decisions of the council.¹⁰² From 592 suspects, 15 got death penalty and 31 of them received life sentence while 418 suspects had been penalized with various punishments.

On September 17th, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Hasan Polatkan have been hanged, and *Yeni Sabah* reported this news with the headline, “Zorlu and Polatkan Have Been Executed” (Zorlu ve Polatkan İdam Edildi). The newspaper went on to report that due to his illness, Adnan Menderes’ execution had been delayed.¹⁰³ The next day, Adnan Menderes was executed in the island of Imralı, after doctors have decided that he was not ill anymore. The newspaper published the news with the headline, “Menderes Has Been Executed” (Menderes İdam Edildi), and supported the news coverage with the edict from the contact office of the NUC.¹⁰⁴

It is important to underline the fact that during the trials in which the possibilities of executions were a subject of discussion in the courts, *Yeni Sabah* and the columnists did not feel the necessity to oppose the executions and mention human rights in any case. This attitude continued after the executions and no single column had

¹⁰² (1961, September 15). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

¹⁰³ (1961, September 16). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

¹⁰⁴ (1961, September 17). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

discussed about the trials and executions. The daily life had continued in the columns of Yeni Sabah.



CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The time it was first established, which corresponded to the time of one party government in 1938, Yeni Sabah announced that the newspaper was a Kemalist newspaper, which was going to be loyal to the ‘six arrows’ of Kemalism. This is normal, considering the fact that in the time the newspaper was established, Turkey was under one party regime, and the media was under strict control and pressure because of the law of Takrir-I Sükun.

With the inception of multi party regime in 1945 and Safa Kılıçlıođlu being the owner of the newspaper, the political stance of Yeni Sabah began to change. Due to the fact that the concessioner of the newspaper was Sadık Aldođan, who was a member of the Nation Party, the newspaper was suspicious of both RPP and DP. This attitude changed when Sadık Aldođan left the staff and DP came to power in 1950. Phrase and motto of the newspaper under the newspaper’s name went “Politically Neutral Daily Paper” from “People’s Daily Political Paper”.

Primarily, Safa Kılıçlıođlu was a businessman, and like most of the business people, he was leaning towards economical liberalism after the years of statist one party regime. DP represented economical liberalism in its first years as the leading party. That

must be the reason why Safa Kılıçlıođlu as a young businessman had good relationships with deputies from the DP government, as Hıfzı Topuz also mentions in his book.¹⁰⁵

With the inception of the multi party government with the leadership under DP, Turkish political agenda inhabited the elements of social liberalism, as well as economical liberalism. The execution of the Press Law which decreased the amount of government pressure on the media and Yeni Sabah began to publish religious columns and columns about the Ottoman past (Ottoman Sultans). This is not an indicator that the newspaper politically leaned to DP, but it definitely took the advantage of this government's policies.

The incidents that occurred in 6-7 September 1955, is an important example that while the newspaper was favoring liberal policies of the government and was receiving benefits from its policies, they did not hesitate to warn the same government with general notifications which was published in the front page with titles like "Condemning Is Not Enough".¹⁰⁶ Regardless of what, they did their primary job of journalism, which is interrogating the issues that needs to be clarified.

Existence of primary columnists like Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil and Nezihe Araz was the strongest pillar in Yeni Sabah's politically neutral stance. Siyavuşgil as being one of the founding intellectuals of the Republic with the background of psychology and sociology wrote articles, which were visionary and columns, which were ahead of his time. He acted as an inspector of democracy, by inviting the readers and the society to a peaceful and rational negotiation with the goal of creating togetherness. There is no

¹⁰⁵ Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmuttan holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi (pp. 189)

¹⁰⁶ (1955, September 8). *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1.

doubt that he was the primary columnist and as a matter of the fact, his columns were the main pieces, which have strengthened the neutral position of Yeni Sabah.

The neutral stance of Yeni Sabah could only be understood by looking at the articles of the columnists in years between 1950-1960. The news that the newspaper has published was according to the standards of 5W1H so it is necessary to look at the articles of the columnists to understand the political attitude of the newspaper.

Nezihe Araz, just like Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil tried to calm the society and the readers in times of crisis, but it is important to note that she also criticized the authoritarian policies of Kemalism by favoring liberalism and individualism. Her column on women's clothing and chadors is the most important proof to this fact.¹⁰⁷ Her columns on religious figures like Prophet Mohammed were also an indication that she was favoring the liberal stance, but favoring this stance does not necessarily mean that the columnist was favoring DP as a political party. Just like Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, she was neutral in times of crisis and she invited the public to peace and calm, rather than taking a side and adding more to the chaos.

As Nezihe Araz and Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil's liberal stance did not mean that they were favoring DP, them being disturbed by the increasing authoritarian measures which DP took did not mean that they were favoring RPP in the polarized atmosphere. Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil's article after what have happened to İnönü in Uşak is only one of the columns, which can be shown as an example of discomfort of the columnists during the times in which the tension have increased towards 1960.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Araz, N. (1958, September 3). Şu Kara Çarşafılar. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Siyavuşgil, S. (1959, May 3). Hadiseler Karşısında.. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

Both of these intellectuals knew what the desired liberalism and democracy were and they tried to guide the readers and the society to the real democracy and liberalism in western manner. This is not surprising, since both of these political states are fruits of western civilization. By being great observers, they both played the role of inspectors of democracy in Turkey's first experience with it. Their tone was successful in being allied to the newspaper's motto: being a politically neutral daily paper. So it would not be inaccurate to state that with the flair of its columnists, Yeni Sabah as being the second most circulated paper actually represented the real democracy and liberty in years between 1950-1960.

As it was mentioned in previous chapters, Şerif Mardin's theory of center-periphery bifurcation for Turkish politics can also be a key for understanding the political stance of institutions of media. Decades leading to the multi party era have shown that the newspapers and magazines have been aligned into this center-periphery pattern. This pattern of bifurcation of the media was much more significant before the onslaught of democracy in Turkey.

Most of the newspapers and magazines, apart from those mediums, which published newspapers either of the extreme ends of the political spectrum like communist, and Islamist extremist, have been aligned in this pattern of center-periphery bifurcation. CUP had gained the center in 1908, and the newspapers, which backed up and supported the nationalist, authoritarian, centralizing and statist policies of this party have aligned in the center of this pattern. The liberals who were pro-parliamentary

democracy and administrative decentralization have found a place for themselves in peripheral media forces.

With the establishment of the republic in 1923 and the execution of the law Takrir-I Sükun, it is quite normal to see a media, which have been monotype. Yeni Sabah also stated that the newspaper was a Kemalist newspaper, which was going to be loyal to the ‘six arrows’, and this fact made them an institution, which followed the policies of the center.

The center-periphery cleavage continued in the years between 1950-1960. There were newspapers, which were biased, meaning that they followed and supported the policies of either RPP or DP and reported news in a way that they were beneficial to these parties, which represented center and periphery respectively. As it is mentioned above, Yeni Sabah in this decade took advantage of liberal policies of the new government and the new regime, but this fact did not make them an institution that followed or supported the peripheral policies. Devoted to its motto, “Politically Neutral Daily Paper”, Yeni Sabah created a new room in Turkish media and with the flair of its columnists, became a pioneer in liberal and unbiased journalism. The newspaper criticized both of the political parties when necessary, and even if it favored liberalism, this fact did not make Yeni Sabah a newspaper, which corresponded, to the peripheral side of the pattern. The newspaper was unbiased, and it published news according to the standards of 5W1H. The reason why Yeni Sabah was one of the pioneers in Turkish media is that, they represented the ‘real’ (desired level of) democracy and ‘real’ (desired level of) liberalism in western sense, which also made them the investigators of these

values. These values were new to the Turkish politics and Turkish society as Turkish nation was experiencing democracy and a liberal government for the first time.

The years between 1945-1960 was the years of first democratic test for Turkey and even though there was a clash between the centralist force RPP and peripheral force DP, this experience of democracy is in itself an indication that the westernizing and modernizing aspects of Kemalism was hegemonic, as both of these values were taken from western civilization and the transition to the democratic regime was an outcome of Turkey joining the NATO alliance, which necessitated this transition.

Şükrü Baban's column shows that the coup d'état, which happened in 20th May 1960, was a relief for western and neighboring countries as the primary fear of these nations was a possible Islamic reaction (irtica) that could have happened in Turkey.¹⁰⁹ Internal politics and the news and columns that were published in *Yeni Sabah* however, show that the primary fear was a fratricidal quarrel due to the intense polarized atmosphere in both the parliament and the society.¹¹⁰ Regardless of what, it was apparent that there was another institution apart from political parties that was much more dominant, and it was the Turkish army and the military/bureaucratic social class.

In the fifth chapter of the thesis, the relationship between army and politics/media has been examined. It is mentioned that in nations where the independence has been grabbed by the army against the oppression of colonialists, this institution have developed as legend speaking to the national solidarity and liberation and have been proficient and powerful on-screen characters of nation's politics. Turkish

¹⁰⁹ Baban, Ş. (1960, May 30). Hayırlı İnkılap Çok İyi Tepkiler Yarattı. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

¹¹⁰ (1960, July 27). Kardeş Kanının Akmasını Önleyen Milli Hareket. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

army, like many other Middle Eastern countries' military institutions saw itself as the watchmen of the nation and the state.¹¹¹

The National Struggle against the imperial powers have been won only four decades ago and the national memory of these events were still young, as the generation which has witnessed these tough times and the victory of their army was still alive. This fact is crucial in understanding the dominance and hegemony of the Turkish army. The times between 1950-1960 in Turkey was lived by a population which “owed” its existence and foundation to their ‘victorious army’, and the times in which the tough battles have been won against imperialists was like yesterday. Today, majority of the Turkish people are still proud of the victory against the colonial powers, but since the generations have passed, this collective national memory is being learned in schools. In years between 1950-60, most of the population have witnessed these battles, and some participated in it. As a matter of fact, İsmet İnönü, one of the ‘victorious’ commanders of the National Struggle was still alive and he was serving his nation as a political leader of the RPP.

This youngness of these national memories was reflected in both the society and the media, which was also a reflection of its own society. Most of the news, which Yeni Sabah covered after the coup d’etat in 20th May 1960, mentioned the Turkish troopers and the young officers who led the coup d’etat as ‘victorious’ and ‘triumphant’. The news and columns all show that the coup d’etat was welcome, due to the fact that the Turkish army did it. Headlines and news such as; “*The Vigilant Turkish Soldier Have*

¹¹¹ Sinkaya, B. (2016). *Ortadoğu’da Asker-Siyaset İlişkisi ve Darbeler*, Middle Eastern Analysis, 8(76), Retrieved September, 2016. (pp. 51-53)

*Brought Peace, Quiet and Rejoice to Our Nation*¹¹² and *“Loyalty Telegraphs From Turkish Youth to Our Glorious Army Are Piling Up”*¹¹³ are only some of the example which Yeni Sabah published, while the columnists Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil and Nezihe Araz also included elements which celebrated and magnified the institution of military.¹¹⁴ The owner of the newspaper, Safa Kılıçlıoğlu also felt the necessity to talk about his gladness of the coup d’etat and he was proud of the army in his public notification titled “555K”.¹¹⁵ These are all strong proofs that the military/bureaucratic class, which was close to the military, was holding the reins of cultural hegemony in Gramscian terminology, and saw themselves as the guardian of the nation in times of crisis that was loyal to the Kemalist revolutions, which inhabited authoritative modernization.

The cultural hegemony of the army and the military/bureaucratic class is the most important reason why Yeni Sabah and its columnists were pro-government after the coup d’etat, considering the fact that the government until the second Turkish republic was established with the constitution of 1961 was National Unity Council with the head being general Cemal Gürsel. This hegemony is also the reason why all of the news and columns in Yeni Sabah, as well as the whole Turkish media pronounced the coup d’etat as a revolution, as both the world and Turkish society saw this as a continuation of Kemalist revolutions. An intervention during a time of crisis, which could lead to a deviation from Kemalist ideals of young Turkish Republic, was seen allowable, and gained recognition as a revolutionary act.

¹¹² (1960, May 28). *Yeni Sabah*, p. 3.

¹¹³ (1960, May 29). *Yeni Sabah*, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Siyavuşgil, S. (1960, May 28). *Vekarla Yürüyeceğiz!*. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 2.

¹¹⁵ (1960, October 1). 555K. *Yeni Sabah*, pp. 1, 5.

Apart from Antonio Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony, Herman and Chomsky's analysis of mass media, "A Propaganda Model" which is a famous excerpt from their book "Manufacturing Consent", can be useful in understanding the shift of Yeni Sabah's pro-government (NUC) stance after the coup d'etat. Out of the necessity of conforming to the NUC, as the opposite could have been hazardous, third filter (sourcing filter) of five filters, which Chomsky provided, suits with Yeni Sabah's case.

In this filter, Chomsky mentions "the mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest".¹¹⁶ This filter and fact is valid for Yeni Sabah and the rest of the Turkish media as the news on the administrative developments and trials were distributed to the journalists by the agency of communications of the National Unity Council. The evidences of the corruption which was being investigated were distributed by this agency, which was the reason why the independent news agencies, as well as Yeni Sabah was dependent to NUC via this institution, in order to maintain their broadcasting life. Apart from the cultural and societal dimension in Yeni Sabah's shift to pro-government attitude after the coup d'etat, the filter of sourcing was both a technical and economical necessity for the newspaper to continue its broadcasting life.

To sum up, Yeni Sabah as a newspaper, which was established in early years of republic, went through many political transitions until the years between 1950-1960. In these years under the leading party DP, the newspaper played the role of a pioneer in Turkish media, in their liberal and neutral stance with the flair of its columnists and reporters which tried to calm the society by inviting them to deal with social and

¹¹⁶ Chomsky, Noam, (1999). *Medya Gerçeği*, 2. Basım, İstanbul: Tüm Zamanlar. (pp. 23)

political issues with peace and rationality, rather than dealing with them emotionally and adding more to the intensely polarized atmosphere. Because of the cultural hegemony of the military/bureaucratic class and the army, and the social conformity of the people to this class and institution due to the youngness of the collective national memory, Yeni Sabah's political stance changed and the newspaper published news and columns, which were pro-government (NUC/army). While they tried to continue their constructive tone in their columns during the reign under NUC, the daily paper was technically dependent to this institution to continue its broadcasting life, like most of the Turkish media.

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