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CULTURE POPULARIZED: THE WORLD OF

TAN



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INTRODUCTION

TAN is a less than two-year-old daily newspaper that has been Number One in terms of sales since the day it appeared - over 700.000 copies. The first reaction to an academic inquiry into TAN centered around the question, "but why?", implying that TAN publishes big spicy photographs in color and fabricates "scandalous" news and sells at the significant price of 20 TL - whereas daily newspapers are 50 TL and sex-and-scandal weeklies are 70 TL. The point of interest, however, was not why it sells, but, rather, what "of culture" was being sold and bought, which might also provide an answer not-so-obvious for the question "why".

All this was prior to a preliminary tracing of TAN for a fixed period. This period was simultaneously backed up with readings on various approaches to social and cultural formation. At this stage, a curious analogy seemed to appear between the fuzzy properties of the object of study and the definition of popular (mass, common, marginal, etc.) culture: Namely, the difficulty of locating TAN in printed mass media and the difficulty of defining popular culture in relation to culture (proper, general, dominant, etc.). The question "What is being sold?" was then somewhat reformulated: If salability can be taken as an index of popularity, what were these popular items, or what were these cultural items that were being popularized, and on what bases was the selection and organization made?

For an exploratory study, TAN was segmented into there: a cultural artifact (a format, a genre), a content (the story, the argument) and a mode of expression, yielding the below impressions:

1- If we can call a daily newspaper a "genre", TAN was not

exactly a newspaper in terms of its format: It contained a sports page, an economics corner, a lonely hearts column, lottery, classified ad's, etc., but the conventional front page was removed to the third page and all this was curiously wrapped up in an envelope in color: local (front page) and international (back page) "news" accompanied by erotic photographs of ambiguous origin and credibility.

2- As for the "content" of this curious wrapping (a mixture of clippings from international and local magazine and police items, it seemed), Woman appeared to be in the leading role. However, it did not look exactly like a sex-and-violence theme, nor could the woman be readily identified as a sexual object, "a commodity".

3- Finally, the mode of expression, both written and visual, did not look exactly like a reporting of facts, a journalistic concern with the validity and reliability with reference to an "outside reality". Nor did it claim to be totally fictitious where it would be understood that all events and actors were imaginary. Rather, in a playful manner, there was an implication that some were fabricated while others were "for real".

Hence arouse the questions: If this is an "agent for dissemination of information and opinions" what is the basis of this information and opinions? Is this Woman displayed in plenitude an object of pleasure that is sold and bought on the market? Am I being told with reference to "facts" or is this a tale set to entertain - and mock - me?

Or, maybe, the questions didn't rise at all: For, a limited questioning of TAN readers (spectators) revealed an attitude similar to the mischievous approach of the paper itself. For the readers, TAN was FUN: they referred to it as the "family

paper" or the "official paper", labels with connotations worth noting.

Based on these impressions, it seemed that TAN can be approached-bracketed- as a "text", a "narrative", in which the question of "how it works" will be given priority over "what it means"(1). The internal articulation of the object of study, we hoped, will lead to the possibility of its effect (its use), hence the meaning(2).

It was further expected that such an approach would also coincide with, on one hand, the definition of popular culture as a "concern with the nature of the effect" rather than with "the truth"(3), and on the other hand, the definition of a "text" as a symbolic act which offers an imaginary solution to a social contradiction: an alternative to reality(4).

The Design of the Study

The study consists of two parts. The first is a paradigmatic approach where the specificity of TAN is probed in the history of the Turkish press (Chapter I); through an evaluation of the available figures on the top-selling Turkish papers at present (Chapter II); and the views of the producers of TAN (Chapter III).

In the second part, TAN is approached syntagmatically, as a text (Chapter IV). Analytically segmented into context/story/narration, there follows a brief discussion on the general daily newspaper as a context (Chapter V); and a description of the specificity of TAN in terms of its context (Chapter VI: The Restructuring of a Context). The restructuring is further operationalized at the level of the story and the narration after a hypothetical model for narrative analysis based on Barthes (Chapter VI: TAN Tales). As a result of the

restructuring of the context it was observed that the Sunday supplement rather than the newspaper proper had become the defining quality of TAN as a newspaper. On the other hand, the narrative analysis yielded the result that TAN as a text, is structurally closer to tales rather than to news items. The next section is an attempt to exemplify what TAN presents as "reality", in the form of a tale and serialized in a sample of 30 consecutive issues of TAN (Chapter VIII: The World of TAN).

There follows a general discussion on the presentation of Fact as Fiction, in terms of its possible cultural implications.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. "Noone has been able to pose the problem of language except to the extent that linguists and logicians have first eliminated meaning and the greatest force of language was only discovered once a work was viewed as a machine, producing certain effects amenable to a certain use." (Deleuze-Guattari, Anti-Oedipus, p.109 in Jameson, F., The Political Unconscious, 1981, p.22). Jameson remarks that Deleuze and Guattari's proposal for such an anti-interpretive method (which they call schizo-analysis) can be considered as a new hermeneutic in its own right and that it is one of such "methods" offered by antiinterpretive positions which include, i.e., "archeology of knowledge" and "political technology of the body" (Foucault); "grammatology" and "deconstruction" (Derrida); "symbolic exchange" (Baudrillard) and "sémanalyse" (Kristeva) (Jameson, Political Unconscious, p.23).
2. "...The structure is not an essence outside the economic phenomena which comes and alters their aspect, forms and relations and which is effective on them as an absent cause, absent because it is outside them... The structure which is merely a specific combination of its peculiar elements is nothing outside its effects." (Althusser, Reading Capital, p.186-189 in Jameson, Political Unconscious, p.25).
3. Lowenthal, Literature Popular Culture and Society, Englewood Hills, 1961, in Barbu, "Popular Culture...", p.54.
4. Rather than limiting sociological work to showing how a given cultural artifact "reflects" its social background, Jameson suggests that cultural objects as "texts" be read as "symbolic resolutions of real political and social contradictions... as acts which are merely symbolic, their resolutions imaginary... (Jameson, Political Unconscious, p.79-81). Elsewhere, Barbu states that, "the significance of {popular} culture may be and often is a function of its capacity to express an alternative to reality, a compensatory myth, to use an expression which Freud applies to folk tales in general (Barbu, "Popular Culture: A Sociological Approach" in Bigsby (ed.) Approaches to Popular Culture, 1976, p.53).

PART 1

THE BABIALI PRESS: A Historical Account

When the first newspaper in Turkish, the state sponsored Chronicle of Events (Takvim-i Vakayi) was published in Istanbul in 1831 as a part of the westernizing reforms of Mahmud II, there were already several papers in French circulating in İzmir. The Chronicle itself was also printed in French and in several minority languages as well: Arabic, Persian, Armenian and Greek. The second Turkish newspaper, Register of News (Ceride-i Havadis) owned by a certain Mr. William Churchill appeared in 1840 under the sponsorship of the Ottoman state. However, there is an inclination to commence the history of Turkish journalism with The Interpreter of Affairs (Tercüman-ı Ahval, 1860) and The Image of Ideas (Tasvir-i Efkar, 1862), both privately owned by Agah Efendi and Şinasi, "the founders of Turkish journalism". This attempt to detach Turkish journalism from the state and the foreigners seems quite futile: On one hand, the writers in Mr. Churchill's paper include names who have been very influential and active in the formation of journalism in Turkey, such as Ebüzziya Teyfik and Ahmet Rasim. On the other hand, both Agah Efendi and Şinasi have studied abroad (in Paris) on state scholarships and have earned their livings as civil servants even during the periods they published their private papers(1).

So, whatever the exact date, Turkish journalism was fundamentally an undertaking of the civil servants in the middle of the nineteenth century, when European journalism already had a two centuries old history. The significance of the undertaking is twofold: the 200-year lag compared to European journalism and the problematique of the civil servants struggling against the state for power and autonomy.

The consciousness of a historical lag, rooted in an

evolutionary conception of a single, universal history and in the comparison with the existing European model has always been the main preoccupation of the Turkish "intellectuals"(2): the second being the oscillation between standing for the state and against the state. The specificity of the Turkish journalist is that in his attempt to unite with the people against the state through mass communications, to form a "public" for himself(3), he shares the same authoritarian conception of "the people" with the state: a mass "to be educated" and addressed in a simplified discourse, other than that of the official.

Mahmud II, in a note he sent to Esat Efendi, an official annalist assigned to publish the Chronicle ordered him to write in a style understandable by the "masses" and to translate expressions such as "tevsen" (untamed animal) "çetr-i gerdune" (parasoled chariot?) into Turkish before publication(4).

Forty years later, Ahmet Mithat Efendi, a protegee of Mithat Paşa, writing in Basiret shares the same concerns with the Sultan in his struggle to reach his "public":

"Can we call a language understood by one man in every hundred thousand a national language {millet lisanı}? Isn't there a language our people use? Let's make that our national language... We say, "In the auspices and endeavours of our incessantly progress-inclined state". Now, couldn't we simply say: "With the efforts and support of our state to further progress"?(5).

It is no coincidence that Turkish journalism is known basically as The Babıali Press-denoting straight-forwardly the administrative and political center. Furthermore, it may be a sign of the sensitivity of the literati involved in journalism that Gazette rather than Journal is the word used for newspapers since journalism (jurnalcilik) is the name of

the "profession" of the Palace informers in particular the famous "network of spies" of Abdülhamid II.

Ahmet Mithat Efendi's efforts of vulgarization (the Turkish phrase for which is "stepping down to the people": halka inmek) and his emphasis on the educative role of the press (periodicals are "travelling schools" for him) is furthered by Ahmet Rasim who suggests that rather than opening up Colleges of Journalism, to start "courses on newspaper reading" in all schools. (Incidentally, such experimental courses have actually been started in the US, Denmark, Switzerland, etc. around 1955)(6).

So these politicized newspapers, used in the struggle against the state i.e., for bringing about a constitutional administration, under the metaphor of "a school" were doomed to be short-lived thanks to the institution of state censorship. On the other hand, journalism in Turkey of the period was a part-time job since all those involved almost exclusively were at the same time civil servants, politicians, ideologues, teachers, novelists, poets- a fact which also contributed to the erratic lives of these papers.

The institutionalization of press censorship is almost as old as journalism itself. In 1858, when there were only two papers in circulation, the Criminal Law already contained a phrase prohibiting the publication of pornographic illustrations(7). The Press Regulations of 1864 is yet another measure against possible future threats as exemplified in the European model, when there were only four Turkish papers in circulation throughout the Empire. So, from the very beginning closing down of papers and exiling of journalists became routine forms of hindrance. That's how counter-measures became equally routine quite early in Turkish journalism: Tanin (1908) which is consistently closed down, appears as Senin, Cenin, Renin, the very next day(8). Muhbir is closed down and Ali Suavi exiled

to Kastamonu in May 1867. He escapes to London and in the August of the same year Muhbir is in circulation in London as the first Turkish newspaper published abroad(9).

As for the readers of newspapers, they too are well instructed to read between the lines quite early, as implied by a talimat during Abdülhamit's reign(10). Statement 4 of the talimat which itself is prohibited for publication in newspapers reads as follows:

"4- That there should be no blanks left in the articles published since these empty spaces may induce certain suspicions (malsuppositions) and may muddle the mind"(11).

Serialization of literary or scientific articles is another "yasak" mentioned in the same talimat: The expression "to be continued" is not to be used. Humour, on the other hand is one of the very few areas that curiously escapes censorship as early as 1877(12).

There are quite a number of "assasinated journalists" (i.e. Ali Suavi, Hasan Fehmi, Ahmet Samim, Hasan Tahsin)(13). They are all politically active, westernized "intellectuals" and their martyrdom is more in connection with "saving the state and/or the country" rather than in search of "facts". The flowering of the myth of the adventurous and dangerous life of the professional journalist seems to overlap the "nationalization" efforts in Turkey. During the Armistice and the War of Independence following WWI, the official bulletins published by the Anatolian Press Agency of the Government-in-Ankara reach Istanbul via the seamen by various routes. The silent struggle of competing correspondents rowing for the anonymous boats anchored out in the harbour of Istanbul in the dark of the night and the bargaining over the bulletins for

the rights of exclusivity is a picaresque description of the heroic fight for "facts"(14).

The foundation of the Republic does not seem to change much the direction of the development of journalism in Turkey, except for the introduction of the "facilities" of the Latin alphabet that backs up the "new" official language as reflected in the names of the papers, i.e., The Nation (Ulus, 1920), The Republic (Cumhuriyet, 1924). Visually and linguistically separated from their Ottoman heritage, these papers are still state-initiated, official and seriously involved in "educating the masses". Incidentally, the name of one of these papers is TAN (Dawn). It enters the press world under the sponsorship of the state-owned İş Bankası in 1935, directed by A.N.Karacan, the future founder of the present Milliyet. The paper is in deficit from the very beginning and Atatürk orders A.E.Yalman, (the future founder of Vatan) to take over and "start as an independent paper so that there will be some objective criticism in the country"(15). He does so, in a partnership with H.L.Dördüncü and Z.Sertel. The student demonstrations that culminated in the destruction of the offices and "the biggest rotary press in Turkey" of the "leftist" TAN known as "The TAN Incident" (4th Dec., 1945), was "arranged" by the single party (CHP) of the period against the precipitating DP struggling for a multiparty system(16). At the time, TAN had just started a new venture Görüşler, "a periodical of ideas", involving names such as C.Bayar, A.Menderes, F.Köprülü, as well as N.Berkes, B.Boran and P.Boratav.

1950 which marks the victory of the DP is "the economization of the political" from the point of view of journalism as well. Freedom of the Press continues to be on the agenda since press censorship that DP fought against as an opposition party is now but an instrument of the DP in power. During the marshall law period following the incidents of 6-7 September in 1955, press prohibitions cover all contexts that might possibly "provoke the masses"(17):

It is yasak to publish photographs of people waiting in bread-lines since this is news on scarcity, poverty, etc.

It is yasak to publish any writings or opinions to the effect that the demonstrations were organized by any group other than the communists.

It is yasak to describe in detail "exciting murder news".

It is yasak to publish pictures of naked women that might "excite the people" in the magazine pages of newspapers(18).

Recurrent white spaces on the front pages due to last-minute censorship mark the last years of the DP regime.

For the Turkish intellectuals the significance of 1950 for journalism is the profit-mindedness and the aim of high circulation at all costs that gets settled in Babiali, this time with a 50-year lag compared to the English model:

"The high circulating papers that address large masses have given precedence to the principle of making the people their subject of discussion (halkı konu edinmek) over that of occupying themselves with ideas that people ought to appropriate (halka benimsetilecek fikirler)(19).

"To step down to the people", "to fight in the name of a cause with his pen" are still the metaphors used by the journalists in their struggle to find a place to "coil up in" as intellectuals in the network of mass communications(20). "Freedom of press is a cause that will be defended not by newspapers that are turning into economically managed enterprises, but by the journalists themselves"(21).

The Association of Press Announcements instituted in the '60's

to regulate the distribution of official notices to papers was widely protested by the major papers as yet another form of state intervention. On the other hand, the very institutionalization underlines the newly forming additional function of journalism as it is entering the service of the private sector: a medium for advertisement of items for sale; a substantial means for profit that will shape the mental picture of a newspaper. The Press Moral Code, an attempt for further autonomy through auto-control also dates back to the sixties. The Press Honor Board that was to supervise the Code however, has not been sufficiently successful to carry out the system and "unfortunately" dissolved throughout the years(22).

Finally, the television joins the Turkish mass media network in the sixties. Together with the state owned radio system dating back to the thirties, broadcasting is reorganized under the Code of TRT (Turkish Radio Television), a state monopoly controlling the broadcastings of the 3-channel radio and single channel television networks. Hence the press is the only form of mass media for the private sector to indulge in.

"Mass culture", "Society of consumption" become the key concepts that criticism of journalism focuses on in the seventies(23). People no longer read papers but look at them. The advertising power of new industries, of entertainment, sports and tourism(24) dictate both the form and the content of papers. To win over new readers, papers become media for lotteries giving out all sorts of items to their winning readers, from washing liquids to trucks.

Technically, in terms of printing, page make-up, colorfulness, the high circulating papers of Babiali can compete on a world-wide basis(25). As for the "quality of the news" however, biased, false, exaggerated reporting becomes quite common(26).

Even though the percentage of literacy has risen from 33,6 % (1950) to 48,7 % (1965)(27) (a potential increase of millions of new readers), commenting on journalism, the Turkish intellectuals seem to agree that it is no longer possible to rejoice in the fact that more people will read newspapers(28).

At a glance then, TAN would seem to be the ideal-type of the Turkish papers that shouldn't be read with its low price, high circulation, fleshy pictures and the triviality of the events in its headlines.

FOOTNOTES

The Babiali Press

1. Topuz, 100 Soruda Basın Tarihi, (1973), p.10-18.
2. Just a few suggestive recent titles: 1950's: Mümtaz Turhan: Where are we in Westernization? 1960's: Niyazi Berkes: Why are we faltering for the last 200 years? all the way down to Füsün Erbulak: Why was I late? (a novel) (1974).
3. Mardin,Ş. "Aydınlar ve Ülgener", Toplum ve Bilim (1984).
4. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.7.
5. Basiret, 5 June 1872, in Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.82. My translation.
6. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.116.
7. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.43.
8. Topuz, 100 Soruda, p.103.
9. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.38.
10. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.61.
11. Şenyapılı complains about the divergence from the "principle of objective reporting in newspapers" in 1970's, saying that "now the modern reader is required to read in between the lines as well" Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin Başında Sayılarla Türk Basını", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, (1971), p.109.
12. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.57.
13. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.110.
14. M.S.Çapanoğlu, Basın Tarihine Dair Bilgiler ve Hatıralar, İstanbul, 1962. in Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.149.
15. A.E.Yalman, Gördüklerim, Geçirdiklerim, İstanbul, 1971, cilt III, p.119 in Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.156.
16. Tekin Erer, Basında Kavgalar, in Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.169.
17. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.205.

18. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.195-196.
19. Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin Başında...", p.73. The italics are mine.
20. Mardin,Ş., "Aydınlar ve Ülgener", Toplum ve Bilim, (1984) p.12.
21. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.258.
22. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.235.
23. Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin Başında...", p.75-78.
24. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.256.
25. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.251.
26. Topuz, 100 Soruda..., p.257.
27. Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin başında...", p.64.
28. Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin başında...", p.114.

THE NINE DAILIES OF BABIALI: An Evaluation of the Available Figures(1)

TAN is one of the Istanbul-based, nationally distributed, nine top-selling papers. The total sales of these nine is approx. 2,300,000 copies per day. The daily sales of the remaining 350 newspapers (20 more of which is published in Istanbul) total up to approx. 500,000.

TAN is the number-one paper in terms of sales in Turkey presently with a circulation close to 800,000 copies, closely followed by Hürriyet. Hürriyet has been the uncontested top selling paper for over fifteen years - until the appearance of TAN in May 1983. That is, if we leave aside short periods fluctuation, i.e. an "attack" of a former, or the "appearance" of a new daily covered by a wide advertising campaign (Ex. Günaydın, December 1981, 780,000 copies). Below are the figures for 1969 and 1984:

NUMBER OF COPIES IN CIRCULATION

<u>August 1969(1 TL per copy)</u>		<u>August 1984(20-50 TL per copy)</u>	
Hürriyet	656.370	Tan	693.441
Saklambaç	229.734	Hürriyet	691.789
Günaydın	200.814	Milliyet	173.517
Tercüman	178.308	Günaydın	163.918
Milliyet	154.127	Tercüman	149.232
Cumhuriyet	93.732	Güneş	146.146
Akşam	70.034	Posta	107.581
Yeni İstanbul	65.216	Cumhuriyet	90.938
Son Havadis	41.374	Bulvar	82.195

Organizing the available figures, we can construct some tables to get a clearer picture of the paradigm in which TAN appears. These will be with respect to percentage of sales, price, no. of pages, regional distribution, political affiliation and

finally percentage of space allocated to news and other sections in the papers.

CATEGORIES IN TERMS OF TOTAL DAILY SALES (as of Aug.84)

HIGH (±700.000 group) (%)		MEDIUM (±200.000 copies) (%)		LOW (±100.000 copies) (%)	
TAN	30,2	Milliyet	7,5	Posta	4,5
Hürriyet	30,1	Günaydın	7,1	Cumhuriyet	4,0
		Tercüman	6,5	Bulvar	3,6
		Güneş	6,4		
TOTAL	60,3		28,5		12,5

The figures indicate that of the 10 papers sold daily, 3 is TAN; 3 is Hürriyet and the rest is divided amongst the remaining 7 papers.

The results of a sales trend in a market research for newspaper advertisement covering the period of June-September 1984, has been interpreted as follows: Hürriyet shows a steady increase in sales despite the general decrease in newspaper sales. The trend for TAN, on the other hand, is interpreted as the most steady sales graphic among the top-selling papers, implying a constant readership and the formation of an "addiction" (tiryakilik) in its readers(2).

The fluctuations in the sales of the rest of these papers do not indicate any possibility of a "competitive leap" towards the top two.

Another table can be constructed in terms of copy-prices and the number of pages:

COPY - PRICE/PERCENTAGE IN TOTAL SALES/NUMBER OF PAGES

The 50 TL GROUP			THE 30 TL GROUP			THE 20 TL GROUP		
	%			%			%	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>No. of</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>No of</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>No of</u>
	<u>Sales</u>	<u>Pages</u>		<u>Sales</u>	<u>Pages</u>		<u>Sales</u>	<u>Pages</u>
Hürriyet	30,1	23,7	Günaydın	7,1	19,9	TAN	30,1	8,0
Milliyet	7,5	17,1	Bulvar	3,6	10,0	Posta	4,7	8,0
Tercüman	6,5	13,7						
Güneş	6,4	16,8						
Cumhuriyet	4,0	13,4						

The discrepancy between the copy-price and the number of pages is due to an organizational affiliation between some of these papers: Bulvar is a product of the Tercüman-group and TAN and Posta belong to the Günaydın group.

The different copy prices of the top selling papers is quite a new phenomenon stemming from the search for new ways to affect the sales, another being selling more pages at the same price. When the top nine dailies were all being sold at 1 TL (1970), the price of paper was 2,800 TL/ton. By June '84, the price of paper had risen to 175.500 TL. In other words, while the cost of its raw material multiplied by 63, the copy price of newspapers rose from 1 TL to 50 TL, the average increase in the sales approximating to 45 % in these 15 years. However, the number of pages, although no data is available, we can infer, have by all means increased: The Turkish press, as opposed to its Western models, publishes its dailies seven days a week. There is no price difference for the weekends, as is the case for the Times (20 p) and the Sunday Times (50 p) or Le Figaro that sells at 13 f on Saturdays as opposed to its 4 f week-day price(3). Furthermore, Turkish papers give free supplements (magazine, encyclopedic leaflets, courses for school entrance, exams, etc.) at least once a week. This activity undoubtedly implies

an increase in the expenditure of paper. As it appears then, the copy-price is far below the rate of increase in production costs.

To survive has always been an ultimate aim in the Babiali: Involvement in the press is traditionally a matter of prestige-if not a duty- for the Turkish journalist rather than an economic enterprise. It is not a coincidence that when large capital or an entrepreneurial attitude enters the press, one of the first organizational steps is moving out of the Babiali whenever possible. Incidentally, all of the top-nine, except for the Tercüman group are those that have remained in Babiali- at least territorially.

Returning to our figures of copy-price and the number of pages, we can account for the discrepancy between the two, as a search for possible solutions to the major problem of pulling up the sales in a restricted market. One solution offered has been experimenting with other forms of publications: books, weeklies, etc. Another has been the allocation of a high percentage of space to commercial advertisements: using the paper for a function other than its primary. A third has been the introduction of lottery and installment sales on consumption items: selling the paper to people who wish to buy something other than a newspaper, i.e., the hope of acquiring a TV set for free or on monthly payments. What the Tercüman and the Günaydın groups have attempted - a second paper to subsidize the primary - is yet another solution.

Now, if we classify the initial nine papers upon this information, we get the below rearrangement:

COPY PRICE / PERCENTAGE IN TOTAL SALES/NUMBER OF PAGES

	Copy- Price	% Total Sales	<u>No of Pages</u>	
The Tercüman Group (Tercüman, Bulvar)	80 TL	10,1	23,7	(%) (18,4)
Günaydın Group (Günaydın, Tan, Posta)	70 TL	42,0	35,9	(27,4)
Hürriyet	50 TL	30,1	23,7	(18,4)
Milliyet	50 TL	7,5	17,1	(13,0)
Güneş	50 TL	6,4	16,8	(12,7)
Cumhuriyet	50 TL	4,0	13,4	(10,2)
				(100,1)

The discrepancy between the copy-price, percent of sales and paper used disappears, except for the case of Tercüman, stripping bare the intentions of Tercüman and Günaydın of selling at a higher price without losing ground in the proportion of total sales-Tercüman's being not too successful an attempt.

What is significant here is that, if it weren't for the 8 pages of TAN, the rest of the Günaydın group (Günaydın and Posta) would be selling 28 pages of "news" at a price of 50 TL and covering 12 % of the total sales, while Hürriyet is selling 29 pages at the same price and still covering 30 % of the total sales.

Another observation: The relation of Bulvar to its parent-paper Tercüman in terms of sales (3.6 % to 6.5 %) is as would be "proper" between a subsidiary and a primary. The same applies to Günaydın and its second subsidiary, Posta (7.1 % and 4.7 % respectively). Incidentally, Günaydın has coined even a third subsidiary, 24 Saat, but to no avail: 24 Saat sells around 30,000-40,000 copies. However, the relation of TAN to its parent-paper is outrageously out of order: 30,2 % to 7.1 %.

A breakage in terms of the % distribution of regional sales does not point out to any significant difference between the top-two:

PERCENTAGE OF REGIONAL SALES AS OF AUGUST 84

	<u>Istanbul</u>	<u>Ankara</u>	<u>İzmir</u>	<u>The Provinces</u>
TAN	32,2	6,6	6,2	55,0
Hürriyet	30,0	11,0	5,0	54,0
Günaydın	46,2	7,6	4,0	42,2
Milliyet	40,8	12,1	4,6	42,5
Tercüman	23,9	9,5	3,0	63,6
Güneş	41,4	11,6	4,4	42,6
Posta	31,1	5,0	6,0	57,9
Cumhuriyet	32,5	12,9	6,5	48,1
Bulvar	36,5	6,3	6,0	51,2
<u>Average</u>	33,3	9,1	5,2	52,4

If we rearrange the distribution of regional sales according to the political affiliation of the top-nine papers, we get the table below:

POLITICAL AFFILIATION AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF REGIONAL SALES

<u>Political Affiliation</u>	<u>% Total Sales</u>	<u>% Istanbul</u>	<u>% Ankara</u>	<u>% İzmir</u>	<u>% Provinces</u>
<u>Left wing:</u> Cumhuriyet	{4,0}	32,5	12,9	6,5	48,1
<u>Center:</u> Hürriyet Günaydın Milliyet Güneş	{51,2}	42,2	10,9	4,6	45,1
<u>Right wing:</u> Tercüman	{7,5}	23,9	9,5	3,0	63,6
<u>Un-political (magazine)</u> Tan Posta Bulvar	{38,3}	33,3	5,9	6,0	52,4
<u>Average</u>		33,3	9,1	5,2	52,4

To note: Istanbul, the "capital", is definitely not a fervent buyer of Tercüman with its stand for religious morality. There seems to be a preference for the center papers over the left-wing and the un-political: the latter two representing the westernized papers, high-brow and popular respectively. Ankara, the political center, stands out as a significant buyer of Cumhuriyet, with its connotations of once being the official organ of the Halk Fırkası of the single-party period. Ankara the "serious", is definitely not a significant buyer of peripheral subsidiaries: the magazine papers.

İzmir, the ancient commercial harbour town, doesn't seem to care much for the right wing Tercüman nor for the center papers. There appears to be a preference for Cumhuriyet and the magazine papers.

It is in the provinces that Tercüman is victorious: The periphery doesn't care much for the center papers or for Cumhuriyet with its implications of the official and the western. On the other hand, they are the best buyers of the magazine papers-next to Tercüman. May we suggest then, that in the periphery the emergent rivals of Tercüman, an advocator of the traditional values, are these "frivolous", "transitory", "visual" papers that print "universal human concerns" in flesh and color?

As for TAN in particular, it stays where it belongs in this political distribution: un-political and entertaining, but with a difference: It is responsible for 86 % of the sales in its group.

Our final construct will be the breakage of each paper according to the percentage of space allocated to particular items and sections:

PERCENTAGE OF SPACE ALLOCATED IN TERMS OF CONTENT *

	TAN	HÜRRIYET	MİLLİYET	GÜNAYDIN	TERCÜMAN	GÜNEŞ	POSTA	CUMHURİYET	BULVAR	AVERAGE
NEWS-OPINIONS	51.5	39.0	50.9	44.8	54.2	44.7	48.2	60.8	54.1	49.8
News	49.8	35.2	41.8	43.7	47.6	37.6	43.9	47.7	51.0	
Columns	-	.9	4.2	.9	6.4	3.1	1.2	7.4	.7	
Reports, interviews	1.7	2.9	4.9	.2	3.2	3.0	1.1	5.7	2.4	
SPECIAL INTEREST	11.8	6.7	14.9	24.0	14.9	13.2	13.9	20.2	10.5	14.4
Arts: news, comment	-	.4	.5	1.3	.4	.3	-	6.3	-	
Sports: news, comment	11.8	5.7	13.6	20.0	14.0	12.6	1.4	13.9	10.5	
Children's corner	-	.6	.8	2.7	-	.3	12.5	-	-	
Religion (corner)	-	-	-	-	.5	-	-	-	-	
GEN. ENTERTAINMENT	14.5	21.5	15.2	12.6	11.6	15.9	32.1	3.4	25.6	16.7
Horoscope, personal column, advise	6.4	2.5	6.4	3.7	5.9	5.9	12.2	.2	5.9	
Puzzles, Quizes	.6	.5	1.1	.2	.9	.4	1.7	1.4	.6	
Humour, cartoon	1.3	7.1	1.4	3.6	2.0	2.2	4.6	1.8	5.0	
Fotoroman, serial. cartoon	6.2	9.1	6.3	5.1	.9	6.6	13.6	-	14.1	
Serial. fiction	-	2.3	-	-	1.9	.8	-	-	-	
ADVERTISEMENT	22.4	32.9	19.2	18.6	19.4	26.1	5.7	15.7	9.8	18.9
Ad. proper	16.8	30.8	17.4	15.6	17.0	23.2	2.1	13.9	6.3	
Self-ad.	5.5	2.1	1.8	3.0	2.4	2.9	3.6	1.8	3.5	

* Figures as of August 1984.

Source: Veri Araştırma, Reklam Çözümlemeleri Bülteni, Eylül 1984.

We read the figures as follows:

Tercüman and Cumhuriyet rate highest on columns as would be expected from their ideological stands: a concern for the opinions of certain names associated with the given political view of the paper, in opposition to the governing party. They are closely followed by Milliyet and Güneş, which appear in the "center" of the political spectrum.

On the other hand, one would buy Cumhuriyet for a broad coverage on arts, and Günaydın for a coverage of sports. Posta seems to emphasize "children". As for general entertainment, Hürriyet follows the un-political Posta and Bulvar with a high allocation to entertainment space.

As for TAN, it appears quite different from its sales-rival Hürriyet. Hürriyet's news coverage is far below the average—whereas TAN is amongst the highest. In fact, one would be tempted to place Hürriyet in the magazine-group according to this scale with its high standing in entertainment and advertisement space: a typical "mass media" trend: serving the "escape" function and telling people what to consume. Alternatively, one would be equally tempted to classify TAN as an "objective", "impartial", "serious" reporter of facts, with its high coverage of news, lack of "opinion columns" and below average allocation of space to special interests and entertainment, had this percentage of cm² allocation been the only criteria of structure. "News" which takes up approximately half the space in these papers, presents a curious picture: The magazine group stands highest in allocation of space to news. The only explanation seems to lie in the fact that "picture-dailies" is the other name for such papers: "News space" is more visual than literal. Put differently, one would have to make some reservations before judging say Hürriyet and its relation to "news" solely on the

basis that it rates lowest (quantitatively) on news. Hence, with the reservation that quantitative breakage is not the only criterion, we shall nevertheless proceed onto breaking the news in terms of proportion of "news-type". Below is the table.

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF NEWS IN THE PROPORTION ALLOCATED TO NEWS ITEMS (%)*

NEWS-TYPE	TAN	Hürriyet	Milliyet	Günaydın	Tercüman	Güneş	Posta	Cumhuriyet	Bulvar	Average
Dom.pol., ec.	16.9	33.6	38.7	27.2	55.5	29.3	12.6	58.8	31.7	33.5
For.pol., ec.	0.9	9.0	10.6	13.2	10.2	17.8	1.0	21.3	3.7	9.7
Magazine	64.1	42.5	29.9	37.5	10.5	35.9	71.9	5.7	46.0	37.1
Police	13.2	6.0	3.4	8.0	3.5	4.2	4.8	1.6	12.9	6.4
Health	0.9	0.1	0.6	5.4	1.7	4.8	3.6	1.0	2.5	2.5
Education	0.5	2.6	8.7	2.3	10.1	5.2	1.8	9.2	1.0	4.6
Accident, Natural Disaster	2.8	3.1	0.9	2.1	1.0	1.0	1.8	0.8	1.2	1.6
Tourism	0.2	0.3	0.5	2.2	0.4	0.2	2.4	0.2	0.2	0.7
Other	0.5	2.2	6.6	2.2	9.0	1.6	0.2	1.5	0.8	2.7

*Figures as of August 1984.

Source:Veri Araştırma, Reklam Çözümleri Bülteni, Eylül 1984.

To note: Cumhuriyet's specialty appears to be domestic and foreign economical and political news. Next to this so-called front page coverage, Cumhuriyet allocates a large space to education.

Tercüman presents a very similar picture except for a lack of concern with the foreign part of front page news. The high percentage in the "other" category may be interpreted as "news on religion" since religion is not included in the type-of-news breakage while, on the other hand, Tercüman is the only paper with a corner reserved to religion.

As for the center papers, Milliyet closely follows the right and left wing papers: It rates third highest on front page news and education. Güneş and Günaydın are more keen on foreign rather than domestic news proper, and health rather than education.

Hürriyet appears to mark the norm in the allocation of space to foreign and domestic news proper as well as magazine and police news. It rates significantly low on education and health, strikingly high on accident and disaster.

TAN appears in an altogether different light here as opposed to the table on sectional breakage. Here, TAN is obviously the number one reporter of magazine, deviance and disaster and least concerned with front page news, especially foreign. A similar trend is observed in Posta and Bulvar, however, compared to TAN, Posta allocates more (visual?) space to health and tourism and Bulvar to domestic economic and political news.

As it appears then, in order to place TAN where it belongs, the magazine group, we are not to judge on the fact that it does not allocate to entertainment one third the space to reserves to "news", but on the fact that half of its news is magazine: which we assume to mean the curiosities of the show business, gossip on the private lives of stars, of "the rich" and "the popular". In short, all we can assume at this stage is that TAN consists of a brief touch on domestic front page news and lots on popularities, deviance and disaster; natural and cultural. But the question remains: Posta and Bulvar keep to their proper places as subsidiaries, and, much to the grief of their parent-papers, by no means claim one-third of the total daily sales of newspapers. What's special about TAN?

It looks like this is as far as we can go with the available figures in locating TAN amongst the top nine dailies in Turkey. We shall next move into a more interesting story: How it all came about- as told by the producer of TAN himself.

FOOTNOTES

THE NINE DAILIES OF BABIALI

1. The figures used in this section are based on:

Veri Arařtırma, Reklam Çözömleneleri Bülteni, Eylül 1984.

Veri Arařtırma, Gazete Reklamları Deđerlendirme Raporu,
Haziran-Eylöl 1984.

Rapor, Arařtırma Gazetesi, Eylül 1984.

Okay Gönensin, "Okumak ve Almak", Cumhuriyet, 19 November
1984.

Okay Gönensin, "Kitaba Sevgi", Cumhuriyet, 22 October
1984.

2. Veri Arařtırma, Gazete Reklamları Deđerlendirme Raporu,
p.13.
3. Rapor, p.17.

THE PRODUCERS OF TAN: An Interview

In the December 1984 issue of Bravo, a weekly magazine modelled after the Playboy, Penthouse line of publications, there appeared a lengthy interview with Rahmi Turan, the General Manager of TAN. The focii of the interview were sex, morality and the success of TAN. Below are some excerpts from BRAVO, highlighting the views of the executive of TAN, which has also helped the shaping of the interview in December, 1984 when Rahmi Turan was personally interviewed in a partially partitioned small office in the single newsroom of the Günaydın papers. The newsroom where close to 30 journalists are constantly at work, is modestly equipped and occupies one whole flat in the Günaydın Building in Babiali. The rest of the building consists of the administrative offices, the advertising and distribution departments and the printing press is in the basement. The Managing Editor was very cooperative and putting aside the questionnaire, he gave a three-hour interview which turned into an informal talk frequently interrupted by the production in process of the next day's issue which finally arrived fresh from the printing press. The interview that was tape-recorded follows below in full and verbatim-that is, as much as it could be retained in translation.

Excerpts from the interview in BRAVO:

Rahmi Turan, the Managing Editor of TAN is 45 years old, married with two children. He is among the few Turkish newspapermen with an education in Journalism. He has started his career as a reporter in the daily paper Spor in 1957. He has worked Akşam (1958-61; 1964-67), Yeni Sabah (1961-64) and Hürriyet (1967-68). Since 1968 he is with the Günaydın group.

RAHMI TURAN: "SEXUAL TOLERANCE HELPS DECREASE SEXUAL CRIME RATES"

The two roads to success

There are two roads to success in the Babiali press: 1) To model oneself after one or two existing papers and enter into direct rivalry with them to steal away their readers. That is difficult. They have years of accumulation behind them; 2) To find a lacuna in the spectrum of existing papers and struggle to get settled there. This is cheaper and easier. The difficulty is to find or to create that space. It means brains. You have to be real creative, otherwise you might think you have found a lacuna, jump in, and hit the rocks. I totally agree with an important Babiali publisher who commented that TAN has probed a potential of brand new readership instead of stealing away readers from other papers and that this is a substantial service to the press in general... Our success was in a way accidental. Everything was planned beforehand but success depends on the right timing, which in turn depends on professional presentiment...

TAN a pleasant paper

TAN is a light-hearted, entertaining, enjoyable, undisturbing, pleasant (keyifli) paper. We intend to make people start the day with a smile. Everybody in the streets walks around

sulking. We try to make them merry for at least 10 or 15 minutes...

TAN is criticized on two grounds

We are criticized on one hand for promoting immorality by publishing frank (açık saçık) pictures and on the other for publishing trivialities as news. Now, I am a journalist who has worked in serious papers such as Akşam and Hürriyet for years. I have actively directed Günaydın for 15 years. I hold a Press Honor Card and am on the Board of Directors in the Association of Journalists. One has to think twice if such a person is working for TAN. No, I don't think corruption of morality is a result of the pictures we publish in TAN. Had that been the case, morality would have been zero in England, in the US or in France. Far from it, morality is highest in these civilized countries. Alternatively, the countries where nakedness is considered immoral and banished, are either administered by the Shariat or totalitarian regimes ... and these countries don't rate too high on the scale of civilization ... There are limits, of course. These limits are determined by the customs, beliefs and traditions of the country in question. But customs change. History never flows back. Governments may fall, natural development continues...

TAN has entered the village coffee house as well as the businessman's office. 24 % of its readers are women (10 % in other papers). It would be an insult to the Turkish woman to call TAN a pornographic publication... The readers of TAN are between 25 to 40 years old (a much younger group compared to other papers). It has entered the home. Otherwise it is read on the way or in the office. TAN has two groups of readers: those who buy it as the only paper and those who buy it as the second paper. The readers in the second group range from the most conservative to the most liberal.

The second criticism is that we publish mainly news concerning sexuality, the police and the court. While there are so many important issues of national interest, why make a headline of a woman kidnapped by three men in Taksim, they say. Of course, this is not the most important issue, TAN works outside the conventions of routine (sıradan) journalism. We leave these serious news to our colleagues. TAN wants to be different. If people buy TAN, it is because they need it. We planned to be different. The important news are on page three. If people want to know what happened in the country or in the world, they can look it up on page three... We haven't copied any existing models. There are some similar publications outside of Turkey, but nothing exactly like TAN. Our job is to adapt.

TAN does not fabricate news

There are no fabricated (yalan) news in TAN. A few mistakes now and then maybe, but that happens in any paper. The source of the news is the police bulletins officially distributed to all departments concerned. What appears on our pages is one millionth of what is going on in Turkey without exaggeration. These news are distributed by the police daily and any paper who wants to can acquire a copy. But our colleagues usually throw away these items thinking they don't have any news-value. Whereas in TAN we sit down and think it out. We send out correspondents and learn the background, we have their pictures taken. We prefer the items involving pretty or handsome people. It is our principle not to publish anything that will disturb or hurt the feelings of the readers... As for the foreign sources, our friends translate them, it is their fault if they make any mistakes in translation. Otherwise, our secretaries ornament the nice photos which arrive without any captions with pleasant write-ups, or adapt the news written in accordance with the conditions, say in England, to suit our own. These are magazine items, all papers do that, including

the most serious... It is interesting that we get criticized by the two extreme views: the most conservative and the intellectuals. They have no civic courage so they feel obliged to say, whenever in company, "That is no newspaper".

On aesthetics

Aesthetics is very important. We make sure no ugliness, no vulgarity enters the paper. Display of nakedness is not pornography... Personally, I think culture comes before physical looks. It is a must for someone to like you: a very handsome man can be a brute at the same time. Women get tired of such men quite soon. Beauty of the mind is what counts. Coupled with physical beauty this is close to an ideal type. There is no golden rule for aesthetics in TAN. We choose what pleases us to look at. Since we work on a daily basis, scarcity of time and material hinders the aesthetics we mean to achieve.

The Interview

Q. Can you tell us how TAN came into being (in the context of the Günaydın group)?

TAN is our second paper, after Günaydın. It was first published on 23rd of May, 1983. The aim was to start a merry, pleasant paper that will help lighten the hardships and the worries of the day. Posta or 24 Saat were not around yet, but we had a few other publications, humour and fashion magazines mainly. It would subsidize Günaydın financially, we thought. . . Daily papers were getting expensive, the buying capacity of the people was continually falling, a cheap paper will sell, it was said. Ten TL. That wasn't the real price of course. We covered the costs by keeping the advertisement campaign down. So instead of a large coverage on the radio, the TV, the press and the billboards, we put aside the money allocated to advertisement to be able to keep the copy price at 10 TL for a while. The result surpassed all of our expectations; its circulation rose up to a million copies immediately.

Q. Was this the circulation of the very first issues?

We started by publishing 470,000 copies, in accordance with the calculations of our friends. That wasn't my idea. I had said let's start with 600,000. We have a distribution service here. They interviewed all the newspaper distributors and stands in Turkey and came out with that figure. My suggestion of 600,000 copies was not based on any scientific givens, it was a presentiment, let us say. But I didn't insist, thinking that return-copies might be costly for the company. The copies of the first issue were all sold out early in the morning. We pulled up the circulation by 10-15,000 each day. Paper is an expensive commodity as you know, paper printed for no good, and I am not counting in the ink, it is waste, so, carefully,

we kept printing more and more until the machines could no longer cope with it: the circulation had reached one million fifty thousand copies. We weren't ready for it, my most optimistic guess being 600,000 copies, we had no choice but to raise the copy price. One and a half months after the first issue. The return was 0,5 %. The million copies were all being sold. So we raised the price in order to pull the circulation down. We started selling at 20 TL and the circulation naturally fell down to 690,000 at first, then it started to climb up again, now we print 850,000, sales are over 750,000, the return is 6 %, we rate lowest on returns.

Q. How does TAN differ from Posta, or from 24 Saat?

Posta came out 7-8 months after TAN. Posta is also a merry, pleasant paper. But TAN's approach to news is different. TAN approaches the news the way people wants it to. TAN gives what the people want. Entertaining, merry, somewhat funny (gırgır). Ah, this is the second type of paper (ikinci tür vakası) they said, everybody knows that, what counts is to be able to do it. Some papers tried to model themselves after TAN, they failed, they know it but when it comes to application, they fail. All soccer players are on the field, but only one of them can hit the ball just the right way and it is a goal. They are all soccer players, but each in his own way (her yiğidin bir yoğurt yiyişi vardır). I think what is different about TAN is that it doesn't treat news too seriously, but rather jokingly, a bit humourous. Its choice of events enables the paper to do that. But TAN is not a humour paper, not at all, just the approach to news. In my view, it wouldn't have reached such a circulation had it been a humour paper. Daily humour doesn't sell. It has been tried. We, for example gathered the best humorists of Turkey in this company, let then publish a daily and it didn't sell, not for 10 TL even. Humour is something different, we mix humour with news and

come out with something tasty. We kept the price low, it is an important factor but not sufficient. Some people buy TAN as the second paper, others, because they don't have the means, buy TAN only, since it is 20 TL.

Q. Who exactly buys TAN?

The percentage of women readers is 24 %. That I remember because it is surprisingly high. The age group of TAN readers is 20-45. The younger generation don't buy much. 48 % of the circulation is sold in the biggest three cities, 52 % in the provinces, like the rest of the papers. Some buy TAN to start the day in a happy mood, read it, smile, look at the nice pictures and put it aside, others buy it as a newspaper, to read. For those who buy TAN only, we publish our third page like a normal paper, all the news are there, in summary form, but they are all there, it is hard to guess the level of education of the TAN readers. Professors at the universities as well as prominent businessmen read TAN, but also the barely literate. It is read at the gecekondu, at the military barracks. Anyway, if we hadn't managed to recruit readers from all levels we couldn't possibly have reached such a circulation. A representative cross section of the population is a must for a high circulation. Some papers address themselves to a particular group. Their circulation is always low, this includes ideological papers too. A leftist paper has a fixed circulation because its readers are only the leftists, the same goes for the right wing papers. A few, say leftists, may buy a right-wing paper, just out of curiosity, but most of them don't because it makes them angry. Papers addressing both views double their circulation, that is, if they succeed to appeal to both groups, To establish such an equilibrium is very difficult. Other papers are noncommittal and being so they pull up their circulations slightly higher. In order for TAN to keep up its high circulation it has to address all

groups. When we first came out, some said the circulation will fall eventually, but it hasn't, one and a half years is a considerable period in the life of a newspaper, after one and a half years we are even better off than we were in the beginning. So the sales of TAN cannot be explained away as a temporary fancy of the reader. But there are other dangers awaiting TAN. TAN is not a team-paper, a cadre-paper. There are papers, you set up a team or build upon some other safe foundation and even if the producers change, the newcomers can carry on just as before, because everything is normal, knowledge of normal journalism is sufficient to make it go. TAN is not structured so. TAN depends on one or two friends, a few people, I shouldn't say a few even, not even two, it depends on a very limited number of people. Let us say that two people are responsible for the particularity, the flavor of the paper. Of course, there are lots of people working for TAN. They perform their duties as normal journalists. They are successful in that too. We allocated a part of the Günaydın team to work for TAN when we first started. They were working for Günaydın, now they are working for TAN. There is no difference in the conception, in the quality of the team. But there is a difference between Günaydın and TAN. Günaydın is more serious, more solemn.

Q. Does the language used by TAN contribute for its difference?

No, it is not the language, it is the point of view. Our friends who work for TAN are professional journalists. A professional can do anything. They can work for a serious paper as well as for this. TAN is accused of not being serious. If you ask me, I consider TAN very serious. I don't mean serious in the sense of sulking, frowning all the time. TAN is serious because it has chosen an aim and it moves in all seriousness towards that aim, regardless of the various pressures and the increasing criticisms.

Q. What exactly is TAN's aim?

High circulation. TAN moves in a straight line, no detours, no concessions. TAN will publish the same sort of news every day, insistingly. They say, the people will grow tired of it, they say people will stop buying, if they do we'll think about it then. As long as it goes well, there is no sense in changing direction. But if we sense anything, we will have to turn the wheel. This is our job. We have no pretensions anyway. We don't claim to be the best paper in Turkey, we just say we are the best-selling paper, only that. There is no such a paper throughout the world. We are unique.

Q. What is special about Hürriyet the second highest selling paper after TAN?

It addresses to all kinds of people. And another thing, Hürriyet is strong on news reporting (habercilik), the strongest in Turkey. It is our rival now, but that doesn't stop me from admitting this fact. It is the most successful paper on news reporting because it spends a lot of money for news, the others don't. News is an expensive commodity. It is not something you can easily get. Hürriyet sacrifices a lot for news, it gives the best news in the quickest possible way. That's the difference between Hürriyet and the rest. Maybe it covers the same news for 25 days out of a month but for 5 days it gives better news, its reader is confident in Hürriyet.

Q. Can publications such as Merhaba, Hafta Sonu be considered in a relationship of rivalry with TAN?

Not at all, because they publish different things. Maybe a few of the news resemble, but on the whole they are publications of another type. They are based on news on stars, they have chosen that. TAN publishes news on stars, but police news, court news, political and economical news as well. TAN

plays on all strings, there are serialized cartoons, foto-ro-man occasionally a criticism on social issues. TAN is totally different.

Q. Was there a group of readers you particularly aimed at when you first planned TAN?

We thought: the economical situation of the country is not too bright, it is a period of hardships, eh, the political situation couldn't be called promising either. People were depressed due to external pressures daily: you opened up a paper and there it was: Europeans cornered us, the US imposed an embargo, Reagan clips down the credits, if Germany refuses to help such and such will happen, if the US doesn't give us any more wheat we'll starve to death... That was the general picture. Depressing, hopeless. The economic pressures of everyday life on the other hand... The workers, the employees could hardly make the ends meet. We thought a distressing paper wouldn't sell under such distressing conditions. The circulation tables pointed in the same direction: there was a considerable decrease in the rates. What to do? First of all, it had to be a cheap paper. Secondly, it had to be a pleasing paper, but of some service to the country while being pleasant. Now, there is a discussion going on as to whether what we publish is of any good for the country. I think it is. Others disagree. I respect different views. Here's why I think it is useful: A lot of things happen in our country, they have been happening for years, but noone knew about them because they never made it to the papers, or they were only mentioned superficially. Other papers published our sort of news only when they were uniquely interesting. Abduction of girls, or adultery let us say, or some such other sexually-heavy news. They appeared in papers but once a week or so, and that only if it were interesting enough. But hundreds of such events are happening everyday. After we

started with TAN, and because the idea was to be different, we thought this is a field left to us.

Q. Can we say then, that in general sexuality was becoming an issue openly discussed, but it had not yet entered the daily newspapers?

Sexuality is being discussed in Turkey for a very long time and there are weekly publications on the subject which are quite successful. There are also the type of magazines you mentioned, sensational and sexually inclined. But this was a lacuna in the dailies. Now, when we got involved in these sexual events because of TAN, we were shocked to realize the dimensions it had reached, we didn't know until then. Our source is police bulletins. We are incessantly criticized for fabricating. This is pure simple-mindedness. How is one to fabricate that much every day? Human imagination has never been that broad. Besides, wouldn't the local police, or the Minister of the Interior even, get up and say, you are writing about such and such an event, where did it happen and when, there are the officials of state, prosecutors, attorneys, all that, wouldn't they say, come, show me, prove it to me. It is not that easy to fabricate.

Q. According to my information, the accusation is that the pictures are clippings from the foreign press in particular and that they are not necessarily of the people involved in the news item...

It is a good thing that we can talk these out quite frankly. Now, the source of the news is known. They are from the police bulletins and go to all the other papers as well. Since they didn't care for this sort of news and since these news made up the backbone of TAN, there was a shock: such things don't happen everyday, they said. But it is true, I am telling you without exaggeration that you can publish 50 more papers like TAN, there is sufficient daily material for it.

There has been some mistakes. And when our colleagues caught on, they made a lot of commotion: Milliyet is, known to be a serious paper, and it wrote about TAN, as if it had nothing else to do, saying that a particular picture did not belong to the person mentioned. Tercüman wrote about us too. It was purely a mistake. We have lots of secretaries working for us. A secretary in our profession, as you know, is the person responsible for making up the pages. There are 8,9 secretaries here working everyday. They supervise the make-up table to see that pictures don't go to wrong slots

Now we have four daily publications going on. Günaydın, Posta, 24 Saat, TAN. All that gets set in this room. The pictures get mixed up everyday, they go around looking for their pictures and TAN's pictures come out of Posta's box. Now, this mistake was purely the personal fault of our secretary friends. A woman, the size was right, she was a speaker in BBC, Posta meant to use it somewhere, like the pretty speaker or something, and she ended up in one of TAN's nonsensical (abuk sabuk) news. So they wrote about it: This woman is a speaker at the BBC and in TAN she appears as such and such. We are not that stupid, if we mean to fake it, we wouldn't use a pretty speaker from London, we receive all sorts of publications, from all over the world, we would pick up anything from those and noone will notice. There was another one. A worker returning from Germany. Something happened to him, some such news. Next to this news about the worker from Germany, entered the picture of an American actor, Woody Allen or whatever his name is, and we skipped it. So they wrote: Woody Allen becomes a Turkish worker from Germany. But this is a mistake. Now if you write Ali underneath Rock Hudson's picture, even the retarded would know it is a mistake. That's how all the gossip that has reached you started. But thank God, the readers don't care about such things. They are far more understanding.

How are the news shared amongst the papers? Do any of the Günaydın papers have a priority or can any paper pick up the news it wishes to?

There are no priorities. But TAN has its special sources. Now, Günaydın has a normal news service. Lots of news from Europe, from the US and other places come to Günaydın. But Günaydın does not use that kind of news. Like sharing of duties we share news. Friends in Günaydın put aside certain news, saying that would go for TAN. If it fits our purposes we use it. Aside from these, TAN has a special group of reporters working for TAN only. In Ankara, Istanbul and İzmir. They work hard to get exclusive news for TAN. The news they acquire (haber çıkarmak) is published only in TAN.

How would you define "news"?

Anything that can be of interest to anyone is news. As long as it is interesting, unusual, as long it is the kind of news other papers wouldn't care for, it has value for us. When we receive a news, we say, such and such papers may use it and we leave it aside. If it is exclusive, if no one else has it, we put it on page one, the front page. If others also have it, we send it to page three.

What about the back page?

We prefer the fresh (aktüel) news for the front page.

If it happened yesterday, if it happened at the court or at the police station, it goes to the front page. This kind of news you can't let wait. A woman faints in a divorce case, and our correspondent has taken her picture. You can't make such a news wait for more than two days, it gets stale. Maybe we are not quite able to publish it on the very day it happened but since they are exclusive they can wait for a couple of days if necessary. The magazine-heavy news we save for the back

page. Actors, actresses, foreign news. Now, Joan Collins, let us say, she is fifty-two and she still takes part in movies displaying her flawless body. Now, you can put in such a news, today, a week later or never. It has no historical relevance. They are the kind of news that never die. On the back page, we try to establish an equilibrium between the domestic and the international. Two, three domestic, four or five international.

Q. How was the name, TAN, chosen?

We started looking for a name. I went through the dictionary, looking for a word that sounds right, the intonation, the meaning... I wrote down about thirty. We chose two, and finally decided on TAN (Dawn, Aurore).

Q. What was the other one?

Mercek (Lens). I didn't like it. It sounded nonsensical. TAN sounds right. Besides we have a slogan, TAN KRAL GAZETE (TAN a royal(?) paper). That's how we advertised on the TV. LENS A ROYAL PAPER sounds stupid. Actually we could have had a problem with TAN. That's why we kept MERCEK in reserve. TAN was the name of a paper that was published in the forties. Then something happened, they wrecked down the printing house of TAN, but that TAN was different, it was leftist, it could even be called extreme leftist in its day, that's why rightist groups, as a result of provocations of course, destroyed the building, the owners ran away to Europe and sometime later, someone else, I think it was Halil Hüsnü Dördüncü, the first owner was Zekeriya Sertel, he had run away to Paris, so this Dördüncü who was one of the bosses in Babıali took over TAN, he died in 1961 if I remember correctly. These were papers with very low circulations, three to five thousand copies. That was twenty years ago. So, when we chose to use TAN as a

name, the first thing we had to do was go through the legal procedures. You apply to the Security Police first, then it goes through the Municipality and Martial Law authorities. We asked the Security people if anyone was using the name. They looked up and said there was nothing on record since 1963, whereas it needs to be re-registered annually, you can't keep a name infinitely. In short, they had lost their right on the name. We applied and got it. It is not a new name. Now and then I read famous, important journalists who had once worked for TAN. Some of our readers ask if we are such an old paper, but you started coming out only recently, they say. That was a different TAN, we say.

Q. What kind of a readership did you expect when you first planned to publish TAN?

This wasn't exactly what we expected as readers. We had just thought of getting ourselves a place in the spectrum of papers as a cheap paper when papers were becoming more and more expensive. A cheap paper would sell three to four hundred thousand, we thought. The most serious problem in Babiali has been the inability to raise the percentage of newspaper readers. Although the population of Turkey is 50 million, the total circulation of daily papers is 2 million three hundred thousand. Reading has not become habitual in Turkey. So we thought we might raise the percentage of newspaper readers if we publish a more visual and easily readable, digestible paper. But it turned out to be something much different from what we expected. It addressed itself to a much broader cross section. It still serves the purpose we thought it would though, we have actually proven that people who had never read a paper started reading papers after TAN came out. In our somewhat simple inquiries, the percentage of those who answered that they had never read a paper before TAN was significantly high. I can explain the usefulness of TAN this

way: A newspaper is an education, it is a school. Noone enters the university directly. One goes to the primary school, then the secondary, the lycee and then enters the university exams, only after that one goes to the university. So we can think of TAN as a primary or a secondary education. There is a mobilization for adult literacy in Turkey as of now. The state spends lots of money on the project, hiring teachers, giving out diplomas. Which paper will these men and women read when they learn how to read? Which book? None. They can't, because they wont be able to understand any one of them. When they buy TAN, even if they don't understand it, they can look at the pictures, read the captions syllable by syllable (heceleme) and eventually they will get to read the leads...

Q. In connection with the newly literate, do you think what is important is what to tell or how to tell it? Is the language TAN uses any different than that of the other papers?

We have no problems as to what to tell, because we don't want to tell anything anyway. That is, we tell it indirectly. We just report some news, anyone can interpret it the way they wish to. Some interpret us negatively, saying of what use is this news for the country? What's wrong with being frank, we answer them back. We are widely criticized, these girls who run away from home, amongst the show people, girls who take to the bad road... adulterous wives or husbands. We publish a lot of such news. What's the use? I think they are of use. We want no husband to treat his wife like registered property. That's what we want to tell. They are happily married of 18 or 20 years, suddenly on the eighteenth year she cheats on her husband and with a no good man. But it is because she felt a need for it, we never think her as perverse. It is a need that causes such an act. So that's our message to men: Attend to your wives, don't treat them like a piece of land, like a house as soon as you sign the marriage

contract. Caress her soul, do all you can to please her. I come home from work, I go to bed and sleep, that won't do, she waited for you at home until the evening, she wants to have a couple of words with you. As a result of such lack of attention, even the most virtuous wife, I don't mean all women, but any one of them may one day elope with the neighbor's son and the husband is disillusioned. He should learn to look for the fault in his own behaviour. From the point of the women, on the other hand, 24 % of our readers are women mind you, the highest amongst all dailies, only Hürriyet gets close to such a percentage, others are read by men. The weekly publications you mentioned are read by women mostly. Factory girls, office girls, those who work in banks. There are quite a few of these weekly magazines, 7 or 8. That market cannot feed so many publications. Had they been fewer, their circulations would have risen. Now from the point of women we were saying, she too should look for the fault in herself in her relations with her husband. If the husband is looking for something outside of home, the reason is the wife. If she treats him so that he wouldn't feel such a need, we cannot detail it here now, that would be too scientific, our job is not scientific publications, we just mention these news and stop at that. But that's the lesson you can derive from them if you want to. This woman is adulterous. Why? The reason is in the news anyway. It is the woman's own account. Defending her case, she says, 'such and such'. Or this man cheats on his wife. Why? Especially amongst the men, the rate increases at a certain age, let us say when they are middle-aged. According to my observations young men very seldom betray their wives, when he is 25 for example. He is more energetic, more active, but he doesn't betray his wife. It happens more with men above 35,40. It is the result of a long marriage, growing tired of the partner, or it is a fault of the wife, this is not my own idea, I read it in the news, it's the impression I get from the news.

Q. Can we say that women who appear in TAN are of a particular type?

Every woman is news for TAN. Women from all sections, the lowest and the highest. Economically I mean. The richest and the poorest. What TAN is fastidious about is that the heroes of the news be as fairly pretty as possible. That doesn't mean that we don't publish any interesting news just because its heroes are ugly. But if it is a news we may skip anyway, we leave it aside because the types aren't correct. That goes for the man as well, you look at his picture, it doesn't say anything, that includes the way he is dressed up too. He may have an ugly face, but he may be descent looking, that too is enough. But that isn't too easy to do in TAN. So the first condition is looks, secondly attire. We get pictures from all groups. The kind of person we want to publish, attractive, well dressed people, don't get mixed up in such events anyway. Even if they do it's covered up. So we have real difficulty in finding the right type.

Q. Aside from being fastidious about publishing nice looking people, it looks as if you are careful in not entering any images of violence involving murders and such...

Well, of course. We don't publish such news. That is, we don't publish corpses and blood. We try not to. We don't want people to start the day with a shiver, startled. Papers are usually read in the morning. You open up the paper and a corpse, torn in pieces, is staring at you. You are all depressed before starting your day. If we have to, if it is a big event, we put on page three, in a small box.

Q. In your view, does a conception of morality stemming from the customs, beliefs of the Turkish people determine what news is to enter your paper?

We have no such measures. We make sure it wouldn't disturb or annoy the reader. But still some of the pictures we publish

are considered too severe by certain groups. We don't have a measure. Our measure is the law. We try not to trespass the law. Such news are legally restricted anyway. You can't publish pornography. We have no worries such as the people wouldn't like this. We try to abide by the law.

Q. How would you describe a daily paper?

A newspaper is an organ for disseminating news. Its main source is news, its flesh, its blood, its everything. What is news? That differs from paper to paper. There are all sorts of news. Usually a paper chooses a certain type of news and concentrates on that. We have no such obligations. We use all kinds of news. We have a single criterion: Is this of interest for the reader? If not, we are not interested in it either. A traffic accident in some way out place in the world, three dead, ten injured. Now, what does that have to do with the Turkish reader? News lose their value for us the farther it happens away from Turkey. We care for what happens in Turkey.

Q. Can we say that The Shadow Man represents TAN's attitude towards the existing social problems in Turkey?

Yes. TAN is a paper that stands by the people. It reflects the problems of the people in all of its news anyway. But just touch and go, no impositions, no brain storming.

Q. How would you define the ORTADİREK (The middle mast?)

Ortadirek, in reality is the oppressed class, the poor class. Those who make 30-35 thousand TL a month. The government defines it differently though. In reality there is only a Low Mast and a High Mast. Now if we took a meter-long ruler, 80 cm would represent the Low Mast, 5 cm. the Middle Mast, and

the 15 cm. the High Mast. If we were to call TAN the paper of the Middle Mast, that would mean the High Mast doesn't read it, whereas they do. The news in TAN interests them as well. Businessmen. Debaucherie (çapkınlık). Don't they do it? They do, but noone hears of it. We coined the name "The National Debauchee" (Milli Çapkın) for Süha Özgermi, now everyone uses it. Young men don't do it in our society. It is after a certain age, after 45 that they start. A 25 year old man wouldn't know how to appeal to a woman's soul anyway... Now, these women who want to become stars, naturally want us to publish their pictures. These women and the middle aged men have a relationship based on mutual advantage. On one side there is money and fame, on the other there is youth and beauty. But a woman should have qualifications other than youth and beauty to make it. Yes, they want their pictures published. In the pleasant (keyifli) news we prefer to use the less famous. For them the worst is not to be mentioned at all. They are ready to make any concessions in order to have their pictures published. We can't do the same thing with stars, they 'll say its's fake, no one will believe it. It is a fact that lots of girls run away to become artists. Their friends seduce them saying "you are as pretty as an actress". But the most important reason for their running away is economical, and also their fathers, big brothers who put a lot of pressure on them. Daughters of families who have managed to rise on the economical scale, daughters of educated families don't run away. If they do, it is because of pressure. TAN writes about these girls who run away and end up in the streets, in joints and what happens to them. We call it bad but, maybe, from their own point of view, they are better off than they were back home. We cannot claim to know what is better for them. We don't know the hell they had to live though when at home... Famous stars consider having a baby very important. Getting married is not that important. Those who have enough civic courage give birth out of wedlock. Those who are afraid

of being socially disowned get married in order have a baby, and once they do, they divorce the man. They consider marriage an unnecessary dependence. They have money, they have fame, why should they be dependent? Maybe that is natural for them, normal... There are abnormal people anyway. We expose the abnormal. Our readers are normal. The heroes of the events they read are abnormal. But isn't that so with literary works too? The heroes in novels are always abnormal, take Balzac, take Dostoevski. They are sick, gamblers and such. Normal people don't like to read things about normal life. Aren't all movies about abnormal people? The heroes do abnormal things like killing four people. There are of course positive abnormalities as well. Like innovations or discoveries. But news on positive abnormalities, especially in Turkey are quite rare. People don't care for that sort of thing anything.

Q. How would you define popular culture?

It is the first time I heard of such a thing. Being cultured is, as far as I know, being educated, knowledgeable, well brought up, someone who have a certain class. As for popular, the opposite can only be what people don't care for, someone not liked much. Popular is an expression used for famous, well known people, even if he owes his fame to a scandal, for having received bribery for example. Mehmet Ali Ağca is well known even in the US, he is popular. He is well known despite of what he has done. Besides how are we to know, maybe, from his own point of view, he has done something good... The contribution of TAN is this: It tries to help lift the extra pressure on girls, on women. It exposes what happens as a result of such pressures. An example: The news about the virgin and the fountain pen(1). Incidentally, let me recount something that made me very angry yesterday when I saw this news printed. I will thus exemplify our conception of news reporting. I always see the front and the back page personally

before the paper is printed. The rest of the pages is our friends' responsibility. Now, I personally okeyed this news, that is, the headlines, the captions, the picture, all that is on the front page. This news comes from our correspondent in Bursa who wrote it out real long. Our principle for the write-up in the inside pages is but to slightly expand what is already said on the front page. No details. But there is a gross mistake in the write-up of this news. There are two mistakes rather. Firstly, there is no need for details such as "I went to the mirror, I took the fountain pen in my hand", it is sufficient to probe the imagination of the reader with the captions. Secondly, there is a picture on the front page, the girl is unconscious, there are tubes hanging out of her mouth, her nose. Now, how can a girl in such a condition tell the story as she does with proper sentences and syntax on the inside? Wouldn't the reader think so? I was very angry, I called in our friends, don't you dare think the reader is stupid, I said. To treat the reader as such, is to admit our own stupidity. The most difficult part of our job is to simplify. It is not as easy as you would think. The news is given in simplified form in the headlines and leads on the front page. One has to be very careful while filling in the details. The worst is to tell more than necessary... In news involving sexual crimes, Statèment 33 of the Press Law prohibits the exposure of the victim. That means you cannot print the picture of the husband if his wife is arrested for adultery. This restriction leaves us in a difficult position. If we print it, it is against the law, if we don't, we are accused of fabricating news. But these things do happen. So what we do is to start reporting at the middle of the story. We let go of the most interesting details. Or, well, like in the news about the brother in law who raped his wife's sister, we let the reader imagine the details of the event, and throw in a joke like he mistook the sister's bedroom for his wife's, etc. But we have to be careful. The sister in this news, for

example, forced us to print a denial: She had brought suit against the brother in law. And what we said about him entering the bedroom by mistake, might have helped him get away with it at the count. So the sister wrote a denial detailing how he came out with a knife, how he undressed her forced her to bed and all that. It was very well written with all the details, so we naturally published her account and amended the mistake.

FLASH NEWS

Rahmi Turan resigned from the Günaydın group in mid-January 1985 to join Yeni Asır, an İzmir-based paper that has recently moved its head offices to İstanbul, getting settled in a newly industrializing section of the city outside of Babıali, reorganizing itself to compete with the top nine dailies of the Turkish Press. The rumour is that R.Turan has agreed to be "transferred" to Yeni Asır on the basis of 20 % partnership in the group and a carte-blanche to publish his own independent paper under the auspices of Yeni Asır. He has brought along his "right hand man" who was working with him in TAN(2).

FOOTNOTES

THE PRODUCERS OF TAN

1. For the clipping of this news see Appendix
2. For news on further developments see Appendix

PART II

7

CONTEXT/STORY/NARRATION: A syntagmatic Approach

In the preceding chapters we have looked at TAN as it stands in the paradigm of the Turkish press; historically, then in relation to the other top selling Turkish papers at present, and finally according to the views of its producers. Our approach in this section will be a bracketing of TAN, which will involve the testing of a hypothetical model of description based on linguistics in which TAN as a text will be described at three successive levels: a context (a daily newspaper), the story (what it narrates) and the narration (how it narrates), where the effect is horizontally distributed at each level and vertically integrated at each successive level(1).

Since the context (given in the genre-word, newspaper) conditions the perception and cognition of the object in question, we start with a general discussion on the newspaper as a context. Then the size, volume, color, choice and lay-out of the news and illustrations will be described and differentiated. We shall attempt to show how, among the possible combinations for forcing mass readership, the Sunday supplement (pazar eki) has become the front-page (the cover) of TAN, redefining the newspaper in terms of its supplement.

At the level of the story, we shall show in a comparison between a tale and a news item, that there exists a switch comparable to that between the newspaper proper and the supplement. The structure of the narrative, in terms of its functions, indices and informants, will be differentiated to be articulated at the level of narration.

Just like the genre-word newspaper conditions the expectation in terms of context, so does the manner of narration. At this level, we shall attempt to show how the referential (newspaper

reporting) and the emotive (story telling) modes(2) of narration are transgressed by linguistic tools of ambiguity and semantic double meaning (i.e., paradox irony, homophony, polysemy) blurring the boundaries between the factual and the fictive. It seems that only at this level that the choice of a newspaper as a context for telling facts in the form of tales can be articulated.

Finally, through a sample of 30 consecutive issues of TAN, we shall ground the paraphraseable content of the supplement which has become central (the cover-story) in terms of its central figure-woman, an image once peripheral at least in daily newspapers. This will involve a rewriting of the available narrative as Anchorage Tales, connecting it to "social reality" and as a Master Tale, which we shall label the Adventures of Woman, a serialized romance rooted in contemporary fact and where each news item is a sequence (function) in the tale (in Propp's sense)(3) and where the hero stands in opposition to the "others": Woman/Man, Woman/Husband, Woman/Boys, Woman/Other Women and in relation to the main themes such as, Love/Money, Sex/Violence, Prohibition/Violation, Success/Failure, Reality/Illusion, Fame/Anonymity, Perversion/Innocence, etc.(4). There seems to be a relationship of resemblance between this "allegory" in which the "social" is conceptualized but not resolved: namely, in the "image" of this "woman-on-the-make" modelled after the prevailing "image of man", in the form of a tale(5).

The abstracted World of TAN may provide clues for the description of the process of "popular culture", the social context in which TAN appears. It is suggested that the seemingly ungrammatical combination which yielded TAN is based on borrowings from given codes-be it the newspaper, the tale or the rules of linguistic ambiguity-may be meaningful when alternatively approached.

FOOTNOTES

CONTEXT/STORY/NARRATION

- 1- This is based on Barthes' model for narrative analysis which draws on Propp, Greimas, Todorov and Bremond mainly.
Roland Barthes, "Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits", Communications, 8:1966:1-27 (The English translation of which appears in Barthes, Image-Music-Text, Fontana, 1977).
V. Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, Univ. of Texas, 1970.
A.J. Greimas, Sémantique structurale, Paris, 1966 in Hawkes, Structuralism and Semiotics, Methuen, 1977, p.87-94.
T. Todorov, Les catégories du récit littéraire, Communications 8:1966:125-151.
C. Bremond, "The message narratif", Communications 4:1964: 4-32.
- 2- The concepts, referential and emotive, are from Roman Jakobson's classification of the six constituents of a communicative event. Very briefly, a communication consists of a message initiated by an addresser destined to an addressee. It further requires a contact (oral, visual, etc), is formulated in a code (speech, numbers, etc) and refers to a context (i.e., a football match) which makes it meaningful. One of these components are always, to a lesser or greater degree, "dominant. Hence, if communication is oriented towards the context, the mode is referential: "The distance from Cardiff to London is 150 miles". If, on the other hand, it is oriented towards the addresser, it is emotive: "London is a long way from home!" R. Jakobson, "Closing statement: linguistics and poetics" in Sebeok, Style Language, MIT Press, 1960 in Hawkes, Structuralism..., p.81-86. Also see, J. Culler, Structuralist poetics, RKP, 1975.
- 3- For a definition of "function" as a constituent unit of a tale, see next section on "Restructuring of a Context".
- 4- This is based on Eco's approach to Ian Fleming's James Bond series. (U. Eco, "James Bond: une combinatoire narrative" Communications 8:1966: 77-93).
Incidentally, such an approach i.e., in the form of binary oppositions, implies a probing into the deeper structure, the paradigm within which the narrative appears. We shall therefore try to remain within our syntagma of context/ story/narration, keeping in mind that all suggestions as to

the specificity of the case shall be speculative and deductive.

- 5- Woman, a conventionally marginal image in newspapers (i.e. "Images of Women in the Media" Stencilled Occasional Papers, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies University of Birmingham, 1974) while being contralized in TAN, opposes the dominant "value system" reacting to it not as a woman against "man-made values" but by replicating and affirming yet another alternative (popular) "image of man" contrary to that of the dominant culture.

THE CONTEXT: A Newspaper

The narrative we shall attempt to analyze is bound within the parameters of a newspaper—a cultural artifact. In other words, how we are to recognize and reconstruct the information we are to receive is at first conditioned by our assumptions, expectations, in short our mental representation of a newspaper.

A newspaper is a means of communication in a particular cultural set-up, namely, an urbanized social order. This order is so crowded, the members are, socially and spatially, so far apart that the community can no longer communicate in an intimate, face-to-face relationship. For this "mass" to function as a collective unity, it is assumed necessary to hold the members together by a "thread of communication" providing "the basis for some kind of consensus and collective action"(1). This thread is supplied by the network of mass media which includes the daily press, furnishing information, opinion and entertainment to a non-selective "audience". That is, at least in principle, the daily press transmits its bulk of news to "the people" regardless of age, sex, economic class, religious/ethnic, educational/occupational boundaries. The daily press, again in principle, is unspecialized, expect for the fact that it contains pages, sections, columns, corners for diverse interests. The format of the paper is so designed that one can glance through the paper and read, say the sports page, without searching for it, since it always appears on the same page every day. The primary function of the general daily press then, is the diffusion of information—in form of facts and opinions. The relation of the consumer to the "news" in the paper is two-fold: as a purchaser, he buys the "news" in the paper; as a reader uses this news according to his "needs". What the member of the modern urbanized order suffers from has been defined around concepts such as "routine", "monotony" and "anonymity", hence the

function of the daily press, subsidiary to "supplying information", can be loosely gathered under two groups: divertissement (a diverting of attention, alias, distraction, entertainment, escape) and ad-vertissement (a focusing of attention) be it in form of political propaganda, formation of public opinion, providing a sense of belonging, or advertisement proper

However, the decision to buy and to make use of the news depends on some preliminary assumptions. A newspaper is made up of "news" and "paper". Broadly put, as paper, it is differentiated in terms of format and in terms of periodicity from other "papers" for sale. A newspaper proper is roughly two times the size of a magazine (tabloid) and four times that of a book and contains more pages (volume). Alternatively, it is, in principle daily as opposed to the weekly, quarterly monthly magazine and as opposed to the book which is not a recurrent (time-bound) publication. On the other hand, as "news", it implies certain assumptions: that the events reported have actually occurred; that events ascribed a priority are there because they are of greatest importance; that information in special sections, i.e., sports, stock prices, really belong there; that information on goods-for-sale are presented differently from other information, i.e., advertisement(2).

These assumptions in turn imply that the collection, checking and arrangement of "news" is consistent with a code of journalistic practice, a professional ethics which can be summarized as an ethics of impartiality, credibility, accuracy, objectivity with respect to "fact". The "opinion" expressed in the newspaper is assumed to refer to "facts". Hence the demarcation line between fact and fiction, between truth and lie and hence the social responsibility of the newspaper to expose - if not to correct - the wrong, the

corrupt, the misdoer. All this implies a notion of authority: If the paper is not an "organ" or a "mouthpiece" of "The Establishment", if it has not been "sold to" an ideological fraction, or if it has not yet become part of big business' pulp publications (boyalı basın) then the journalist is still "the champion of the people's cause", "a detective in search of truth", a Superman in disguise with magical qualities that enable him to reveal the "true story" behind the scene. Hence the newspaper is preferably against the prevailing authority but with a claim to authority: The attitude is one of defiance rather than denial of authority.

However, all this preoccupation with the Real and the True has come to be shattered by the Mass Reader who has not lived up to the expectations of the Journalist in terms of an equally enthusiastic concern for the cause of the True and the credibility of the Real. The working masses no longer say, as evidence of truth of a fact, "Oh, but it was in the papers!". Instead they say, according to Hoggart(3), "T'is all lies in them papers", "Y'read all kinda things in the papers": They take interest in reading about the private lives of film stars but noone is expected to believe that they are happily married. They smile again - and go on reading. It is simply, almost automatically, assumed to be phoney; that money is involved at the back of it somewhere. No reasonable doubts are expressed, but, says Hoggart, "just the killing assumption".

How this indifference, this skepticism came about, to the disillusionment of the journalist, whose duty and right is to "impress", to "imprint", is beyond the scope of our discussion. However, the effect it has had on our mental picture of a newspaper calls for a brief review. In a way, it is the story of how the factual gave way to the fictional by the destruction of the priority of fact over opinion. The concern with impartiality and credibility was there at the very

beginning. The first daily paper in English language, the Daily Courant, opened its columns with the following undertaking in 1702:

It will be found from the Foreign Prints, which from Time to Time, as Occasion offers, will be mention'd in this Paper, that the Author has taken care to be duly furnish'd with all that comes from Abroad in any language... at the beginning of each Article he will quote the Foreign Paper whence 'tis taken, that the Public, seeing from what country a Piece of News comes with the Allowance of the Government, may be better able to Judge of the Credibility and Fairness of that Relation: Nor will he take upon him to give any Comments or Conjectures of his own, but will relate only Matter of Fact; supposing other People to have Sense enough to make reflections for themselves(4).

This was the often officially licensed press whose duty was to report the most important facts of the day rather than one of exposure. The impartiality and accuracy principle of journalism reached its peak with the introduction of shorthand into the profession. Hence became journalism a respectable profession with its correspondents registering the words of the speaker verbatim in their little notebooks and the newspaper becoming the "mirror" of society, the "carrier" of the message. Journalism was thus being named the Fourth Estate with its claim to "fact" and laws against libel seemed to be the only protection against this emergent claim to authority, present everywhere criticizing, supervising.

The arrival of the telegraph was to mark the total victory of fact over opinion in the newspaper. This expensive toy was decisive in the reorganization of priorities. "Telegrams are for facts", said the Managing Editor of The Times to his correspondents, "background and comment must come by post"(5).

Facts were becoming sacred and comment free. The tight-lipped "cablese" of WWI was the "great language" that attracted young Hemingway. He had to quit being a correspondent because he was becoming "so fascinated by the lingo of the cable"(6). Since the machine sent in the "irreducible pure fact", the task of the newspaper became to dress, personalize, to comment upon it.

The final blow, of course was the entering of broadcasting on the scene and making available the "event" here and now, in picture and in sound. The TV teams of the last decades resemble the flocks of reporters who, at the end of the last century were present at the scene with their notebooks beings accused of causing the scene themselves. "Reality" in the form of "electronically recorded and transmitted facts" is an expensive commodity. The image of time and space in the "daily" newspaper fell behind the "reality" offered by the electronic media. Hence, the reporter, the correspondent gave further way to the editor and the presentation rather than the collecting of "news" stepped forward. In order to survive, the newspaper was to become an industrial product and the editor had to learn to steer his way according to the requirements of a transmittable artifacts market. It was no longer the formation of opinions but the formulation of the already-there information. The paper was departmentalized in terms of pages, corners specializing on sports, women, or "news of human interest". The allocation of space to photographs progressively increased. The editor's job became to choose the event for the headlines, the basic units of the event, the "angle" to present it from, the right techniques to make the "news" most communicable. Furthermore, it was attacked on grounds of format, i.e., becoming a tabloid, or on grounds of periodicity, i.e., becoming a weekly.

What of our assumptions, our mental picture of the daily

newspaper then? It no longer is a first hand supplier and owner, but a "teller" of already-provided facts: its subsidiary functions becoming primary: to distract and/or to attract the attention of the reader. The demarcation line between fact and fiction is obscured as soon as "how to tell" becomes focal, and diction is admitted to shape "what actually happened": The reality that the paper refers to becomes a possibility.

From another point of view, what is preserved of the mental picture of a newspaper no longer depends on what is in the paper, but on what the paper itself is: the context becoming a sign for a way of life: the repetition, its daily routine; an established familiarity underneath the mis-hap appearance; the categorization of news in a fixed echelon of priorities; its object-ness that gives one the feeling of possession, safety. Why Hoggart's working masses "go on reading all them lies in the papers" seems to lie in such a relation between the newspaper and its reader: It is to the extent that the newspaper as a context represents the world and himself to the reader, that the reader buys and makes use of the paper.

FOOTNOTES

THE CONTEXT: A Newspaper

- 1- Gist and Fava, Urban Society, (1964), p.509.
- 2- A Smith, Politics of Information, (1980), p.177.
- 3- R.Hoggart, Uses of Literacy, (1957), p.227.
- 4- The Daily Courant, no.1, 21 April 1702, in Smith, Politics..., p.184.
- 5- The Life and Letters of C.Moberly Beel by his daughter, London, 1927, p.160 in Smith, Politics.., p.148.
- 6- Lincoln Stephens, Autobiography of Lincoln Stephens, N.Y., 1931, p.834 in Melling, "American Popular Culture in the Thirties: Ideology, Myth, Genre, in Bigsby, Approaches to Popular Culture, 1976, p.252.

THE RESTRUCTURING OF A CONTEXT: A description

TAN is eight pages long, its size is that of a regular Turkish daily. In other words, it consists of two sheets of 57x82 cm standard paper folded into two. The outer sheet is printed in color, the inner in black and white, in off-set type. About one-third of the front and back pages is pictures. On each of these pages there is at least one large photograph, about one sixth the page, of a preferably under-dressed, reclining or otherwise "posing" girl, or the close-up of her pretty smiling face. The rest of the pictures scattered in the lower half are smaller shots of other "nice looking" girls and ordinary people. No monstrosities, no blood-shot eyes, no screaming women or frightened children, but people, socializing, maybe a bit stiff, but smiling, dancing, drinking, embracing. Even thieves, burglars, rapists and swindlers are decent looking. The theme however is deviance, preferably unusual and involving women: An unusual virgin: DOKUZ YAŞINDAN BERİ 500 ERKEKLE SEVİŞEN 17 YAŞINDAKİ KIZ BAKİRE ÇIKTI. An unusual accident: MUALLA SEVGİLİSİYLE ÖPÜŞTÜ, ARABALARI SIRTÜSTÜ DÜŞTÜ. An unusual profession: OTUZ YILDIR NAMUSUMLA KADIN SATIYORUM or an unusual disappearance: UÇTU UÇTU GELİN UÇTU.

On the upper left hand of the front page appears the caption, TAN, white on red, and to the right is the daily lottery, TAN's self-advertisement. The upper half of the page is roughly divided into two for the major "news" of the day, the left hand side having precedence over the right as quite conventional. Each news is neatly framed in a box with the photograph(s), the headlines and the leads. The headlines is usually a proper sentence, a subject and a predicate, ending with an exclamation or a question mark, referring to the photograph within the frame, often in quotation marks. In the remaining space within the box are placed one to four leads, long sentences set separately, each in different but always

bold characters, reporting the event and the comment of those involved, again in quotes. The reader is informed that the write-up is on the inside. On the lower half there are the lesser news in smaller boxes with lesser or no pictures. Occasionally there is a comment set in a streamer in color above the headline: HAYRET! ZEVKE BAK! BU NE BİÇİM ÖFKE! Such remarks as if telling the reader how to react are becoming quite common in Turkish papers. Now and then appears a "name" on the front page (Türkan Şoray, Sakıp Sabancı, Erdal İnönü) reminding that the setting is here (somewhere in Turkey) and the time is now (the present). There is also the Shadow-Man, who appears incognito and erratically somewhere on the front page to comment on social problems such as the language used on the TV or corruption and bribery among the officials.

As for the back page, the scene is more international and the tense is the present continuous. The more adventurous photographs are reserved for this page: There is more nudity, more action, more celebrities here. Besides international show business figures and occasional Turkish film stars, there are the pretty and daring girls involved in drug traffic, African safaris, rapes or the Mafia. On the upper left quarter appears quite often some "scientific information" provided by "western specialists": NÜFUS: DÜNYADA ONDOKUZUNCU-YUZ! or ZAYIFLAR NEDEN DAHA UZUN YAŞAR! Scattered on the lower half there are again some more descent, ordinary people, mostly foreigners and involved in more daring deviance: they burn their wives alive, stab their fathers to death, make love in coffins or teach their dogs to steal the panties of their neighbors.

We have deliberately skipped from the front page to the back since that is the order of priorities for the TAN reader: you go through the front page, then the back, first the photo-

graphs, then the captions, and then you open up the paper and gaze through the rest-or you don't.

We go on: On the SECOND PAGE appears a women's corner: Başbaşa: a quadrain from Khayyam, advise on beauty, pregnancy cooking, etc. There is also a "video-roman" of Italian origin, two comic strips (Hanzo Kazım and Çiğdem). The Lonely Hearts Column: Güzin Abla; a crosswords puzzle and a horoscope. There is also a curious little column for those who wish to correspond through TAN, in form of brief personal notes, almost postcards: 'News from your Loved One'.

The THIRD PAGE consists of the front page news proper: Domestic and foreign political and economic news and some local police, magazine, disaster news important enough to make the proper front page. They are given in summary form and in black and white. There is no continuation of the news on this page in the inside. What should be underlined is that the magazine, police, disaster news, be it a rape or an earthquake, those that make the front page on the conventional dailies, no matter how suitable they may be for the front page of TAN, they always end up in the third page.

On the FOURTH PAGE appears the Economics Corner (exchange rates, the gold market, brief comments on industry, commerce etc.), together with the 'continued's' from the front and back pages. To note: the write-ups on these inside pages contain very little information that is not already said in the captions and the leads on the "cover" pages. The story is slightly expanded and repeated in smaller characters and longer sentences. The lower left quarter is reserved to advertisement for "The Elite Restaurants of Istanbul" or the "Chosen Theatre Houses and Movies" of the week.

The upper right hand of PAGE FIVE is reserved for the FOTO-

MODEL, a pin-up of foreign origin, preferably English. Underneath the picture is a caption and a story with reference i.e. to her attire: "LONDON-Famous English Fotomodel Samantha Fox, who is an accomplished tennis player..." or to her past: "ROME-Fotomodel Evelina whose mother was Italian and father an Algerian..." Incidentally, the pin-up corner is labelled "the editorial" (!) amongst more high-brow TAN readers. The rest of the page is more continued's from the cover pages and advertisement. It is either "The Books of the Week" (Foreign language course books, University Entrance Exam Courses, The Art of Kung-FU and Karate, Your Legal Handbook, etc.) or "The World of Records and Cassettes": "New" Voices and "arrangements" based on Turkish folk (?) music usually grouped under the not-too-well defined category of "the arabesque".

Page SIX is sports exclusively.

Page SEVEN contains the daily program of the TRT; an illustrated historical novel strip: DURAKOĞLU(2); Milyonerler Kulübü, another lottery of TAN and general advertisement.

What is the significance of this construct? Principally, nothing is lacking in the eight pages of TAN compared to the Turkish dailies in terms of departmentalization: it is not a specialized paper consisting of, say magazine features or of sex-and-scandal news only.

The striking difference has to do with the front page that totally reverses the priorities echelon in a newspaper. A general daily is divided into two in the professional code of journalism: the "front-page news" and the "back-of-the-book" as it is called in the jargon(3). For the news to make it to the front page, it is understood that they are of highest importance for the "people", whose parameters, in this case

of a nationally distributed paper, is "Turkey". Hence, in order for a "back-of-the-book" news to enter the front page, it has to be unusual. The cliché journalistic motto is that "the event has news value when a man bites a dog, not the reverse". Even when such news, from sources such as the entertainment world or the local police, enter the front page, they hardly make it up to the headlines, but appear somewhere around the middle or the lower quarters of the page. These "news" usually labelled "of human interest" belong to the universal "sex-and-violence" theme, a vulgarization of the love-and-death theme, be it in form of the official recognition of Bülent Ersoy's femininity or a "Bloody traffic accident on the Bosphorus". A recent trend in the Turkish papers is the sneaking of nudity onto the front page under pretexts such as fashion shows i.e., exhibiting the summer wear of '85(4). In order for an event, other than conventional front page news to make the headlines on the front page, however, the code of journalism calls for something more than being unusual: It should either be a nation - wide scandal involving people such as politicians, an entrepreneur or a film star, who make the front page anyhow, or it has to be exclusive to the paper. Exclusive news are highly esteemed in journalism. Before news became a commodity and exclusivity came to mean paying the price for it, a distinguishing quality of a correspondent was to somehow reach his paper with a "news" from the scene before his rivals. That is how exclusivity came to be called "scoop news" (atlatma haber) in the jargon. Alternatively, inability to prove the "factuality" of an exclusive news, called "fake" or "fiction" (asparagas haber) causes an important loss of prestige for the paper(5).

In the general structure of a Turkish newspaper, then, the front page is within itself classified in a hierarchy of importance (national/foreign, economic/political/social) starting from the top, preferably the upper left hand and ending at the

bottom of the page with the write-ups for each news already starting on the front page.

Broadly speaking, the second page is usually reserved to opinion: columns by some "proper names" associated with the particular political stand of the paper and occasional essays from other authorities and letters from the readers. On the third page, it is either foreign (i.e. Cumhuriyet) or local (i.e. Günaydın) news. The sports page is either somewhere in the latter half of the paper (Hürriyet) or the back page (Milliyet). Alternatively, the back page is either sports or magazine (Hürriyet, Günaydın). The rest of the sections, women's, economics, entertainment, is diversely distributed in the back-of-the-book. Finally there is the free-of-charge Sunday supplement, in color, usually four pages, of magazine, foto-roman, puzzles, social life, etc.

Now if we return to TAN, the front page and even the headlines are in principle about "ordinary people in extraordinary situations". One assumes then TAN operates in the parameters of "ordinary people", the in-famous so to speak, and the echelon of priorities from the most extraordinary event towards the lesser will be followed in the inside. But, you open up the paper and facing you is the front-page proper: Compact, not diffused throughout the paper in continued's, not in color either, but there. There appears to be a reversal of priorities to the advantage of the "ordinary people in extraordinary situations" over the "everyday life of the famous", in other words over the "serious" economic, political and social life: the victory of the back-of-the-book over the front-page. Furthermore, on page two, the conventional page for opinion columns and letters to the editor, there is yet another reversal. The set-up on page two with its women's corner, puzzles, horoscope and what-not reminds one of the Sunday supplement. And if one turns to page seven, the inside of the

back page, with its TV program, and illustrated strip-novel the realization is that the outer sheet of TAN is a Sunday supplement that envelopes a 4-page daily newspaper. That is, at least structurally, it contains all that makes up a general daily - but with a difference.

Derrida, in his discussion of Rousseau's reference to Education as a supplement to Nature, argues that the logic of supplementarity, by recognizing the priority of the term it supplies, at the same time reveals an inherent lack, an absence within that prior term. Hence, the supplement is external and extra, but at the same time an essential condition of that which it supplies(6).

Returning to our mental picture of a newspaper (see preceding chapter on Newspaper as a Context) the assumptions were that of format and periodicity on one hand, and on the other, that of factuality (that the events actually occurred), of classification (that the events are i- where they belong, ii- appear in an hierarchy of importance) and of differentiation (advertisement versus impartial reporting).

But there appears a total shattering of this image as soon as the supplement becomes the front-page or rather the cover of the newspaper and only the format of the paper is retained.

Once the hierarchy of importance is switched, the factuality assumption falls with it, since it rests mainly on front-page coverage: That is, the news are neither already confirmed by other media, nor, important enough so that the paper is forced to verify: the exclusivity of TAN's unimportant front-page thus becoming at the same time its unproven ambiguity. The classification assumption as well falls: these ordinary and deviant people obviously don't belong to the front page. Alongside the classification, falls the separation of goods-

for-sale assumption: a quarter of the front-page coverage is reserved to eye-blinking show girls and other "women" out to make a "career": This kind of advertisement is called "puff news" in the jargon.

But the newspaper proper is also there- in the back-of-the-book where it is allocated. It seems then that TAN does not deny but rather restructures the conventional newspaper. What is retained is the format and dailiness of the paper, and the supplement previously exterior to the paper, given for free, given in addition to the paper, becomes central. What is to be noted is that the cover of TAN is not a complementary section, a part of the whole. When a complementary section, i.e., economics, or women's corner become focal in a newspaper, then it becomes a specialized paper addressing a "sub-group" within the mass, in terms of interests, age, religion, etc. In other words, we cannot talk of a metonymical switch between the front-page proper and a section/page from the back-of-the-book where a complementary would represent the whole. It is rather something extra, something lacking in the definition of a newspaper (a supplement), that calls for a reconsideration. And as a supplement, it brings with it something that is not considered essential in a newspaper: the unusual, the deviant, the perverse that "happens to" seemingly normal people.

To see whether the supplement, which has become central in TAN contains also a defining quality of the newspaper, the focus will be narrowed to the "cover" of TAN and the question posed to read: What exactly is the "cover of TAN" made up of?

FOOTNOTES

THE RESTRUCTURING OF A CONTEXT

- 1- Appendix II contains some visual examples of the set-up described in this section.
- 2- Incidentally, Rahmi Turan is the author of this strip, as well as another, Kara Murat which became quite popular after having been shot as a series of films starring Cüneyt Arkın.
- 3- For the terminology specific to journalistic discourse (Turkish/English/French) reference is made to H.Topuz, Başın Sözlüğü/Dictionnaire de presse, İstanbul, 1968.
- 4- See Appendix
- 5- See Appendix
- 6- J.Derrida, "...That Dangerous Supplement...", Of Grammatology, p.141-164 "According to Rousseau, the negativity of evil will always have the form of supplementarity. Evil is exterior to nature, to what is by nature innocent and good... Yet all education, the keystone of Rousseauist thought will be described or presented as a system of substitution destined to reconstitute Nature's edifice in the most natural way possible" (Derrida, op.cit., p.145).

TAN TALES: A Narrative Analysis

1. A Hypothetical Model for Narrative Analysis

We shall argue that the cover of TAN modelled after the Sunday supplement of Turkish papers while becoming central, analogously brings on a switch in what is told and how it is told. Fundamentally this is a switch of priorities recognized to displaying a situation over transmitting information. The corresponding genrewords we shall respectively call a tale (a recital of happenings, an account of true or fictitious events) and a news item (information previously unknown, report of a recent happening). The difference between these two dictionary definitions appear to be quite trivial at first. Furthermore, the principle of objectivity (factuality) has always been a difficult one to follow in news reporting:

"Today as well as yesterday, both foreign and local newspapers, in transmitting events to their readers, could not help but transmit this information from their own points of view, in other words, subjectively. Objective news reporting has never been achieved totally in any period. It is perhaps possible to accept this inclination as natural. If the function of the newspaper is to form public opinion as well as news reporting, some deviance from the principle of objective news reporting may be expected. However, it is the degree of deviance that is of highest importance(1).

But there must be a better way of classifying news reporting rather than on a continuum of objectivity/subjectivity and measuring the degrees of deviance.

The category that envelopes both a news item and a tale is a narrative. A narrative is universal. It appears in every society, age and setting. It is carried in spoken and written language, in fixed and moving images. It is present in fable,

myth, tale, epic, history, novel, cinema, comic strips, news items, conversation(2).

How we are to identify and differentiate between these narratives, a tale from a news item in specific, calls for a common model for analysis. Unless the narrative is an ad hoc combination of happenings, in which all depends on the genius of the narrator/producer, there must be a common structure to all where the narrator is defined by not by his ability of inventing fine stories but rather by his mastery of a code equally shared by the listeners/readers. There are several structural approaches suggested for the analysis of narratives narratives(3). It is in accordance with the conformities and departures from such a model that analysis can arrive at the plurality of the narratives and at their historical, cultural, geographical diversity.

The model. Barthes, for example, proposes a hypothetical model for narrative analysis based on three levels of description: functions (in the sense Propp and Bremond use the word), actions (in the sense of Greimas' 'actants') and narration (in the sense of what Todorov refers to as 'discourse')(4), These levels are progressively integrated: A function having meaning in so far as it is part of the general action of an agent ^{and this action receiving its final meaning from the fact that it is narrated} discourse "Beyond the level of narration begins the ^{within a code} world, other systems (social, economic, ideological), whose terms are no longer those of narratives but are elements of a different substance (historical facts, behaviour, etc.)"(5). In an attempt to summarize Barthes' rather elaborate model to fit our specific purpose of distinguishing a tale from a news item, we shall synthetically divide the narrative into two: a story (consisting of functions and agents of functions) and a narration (defining the narrator's manner of intervention into the story).

First, a review of the terms involved, then we shall pass on to a comparative comparison of a tale and a news item as narratives.

The smallest unit of the story is a function, which in turn is divided into two: cardinal functions and catalyzer (Barthes). Cardinal functions indicate the risky moments in the story, as opposed to catalyzers which constitute areas of safety, rest, expansion. Cardinal functions are acts of characters significant for the general course of action in the story (Propp). They refer to (open, continue, close) the subsequent development of the story. In other words, they are what makes the story go on. They are in turn grouped in sequences (Bremond). Fundamentally a sequence involves a possibility, an actualization and a result of an act which in turn opens another possibility of action. The sequence of "acquiring a newspaper" for example, consists of the functions of asking for it, obtaining it, paying for it, which may or may not be followed by the sequence of "reading/looking at the newspaper". Indeed, as Barthes suggests, sequences are always nameable; they resemble the cover-words in translation machines which include shades of meanings. In Propp, the major functions of the folktale are labelled Interdiction, Transgression, Damage, Reparation, etc.

As opposed to functions which refer to doing, there are also indices which refer to being, such as notations on the identity of a character or an 'atmosphere'. Contrary to functions that distribute meaning horizontally, indices integrate it vertically. Indices, on the other hand, indicating a character trait, a feeling, a philosophy need to be further differentiated from informants which serve to locate an action or an agent in time and space. Informants serve to authenticate the reality of the referent, to embed fiction in the real world. Being signifiers with explicit signifieds such as a proper name, an

actual street, they do not necessitate deciphering as do the indices. They bring in immediate, ready-made knowledge and thus their functionality is more at the level of narration rather than of the story.

Barthes observes that tales are heavily functional, whereas novels are indical, to which we shall add that news items are heavily informing. A different expression of the same observation may be that novels and news are more culture-bound as opposed to tales which may be told any time anywhere.

The characters in narratives are defined by their actions, hence the labeling "agent of a function". In other words, each character is the hero of its sequence. The relations of the characters to one another, typified as, i.e., subject/object, donor/reciever, helper/opponent is understood in their relation to the major articulations of action, respectively, desire (quest, communication, and struggle (Greimas). An agent of a function, thus typified, can be filled in by different characters (by rules of multiplication, substitution, replacement, etc.). Consequently, we have narratives where the subject and the object is one: a search for one's identity; as well as those about the pursuit of successive objects by the same subject.

The narration. To separate the manner of telling from what is told has been a most difficult task in narrative analysis. One criterion of distinction has been the identification of the summarizable, translatable elements of narratives, the story being the part of the narrative that can be summarized and/or translated without fundamental damage to the message(6). We shall nevertheless suggest two other criteria in relation to the narrator's intervention into the story and his representation: 1) a declared stand, where the narrator tells as a bystander, as a witness; as opposed to the hidden stand,

omniscient, at once in and out of the characters, never identifying with one; 2) a direct reporting, in quotation marks so to speak; as opposed to indirect reporting, implying the presence of a mediator. A coupling of the omniscience of the narrator with indirect reporting, for example, is an indication of heavy authorial intervention as opposed to the effect created by the combination of direct speech and the limited point of view of an eye-witness: creating a vraisemblance of face-to-face conversation, more life-like, more here-and-now. The narrative situation is clearly defined by the narrator in orally recited narratives such as the tale: A tale almost never starts without an opening code; such as "once upon a time". In more recent times, however, particularly in written and visual forms of narration, there seems to be a reluctance to declare the code: It seems that the sign of narration has been transferred to the context: The causal act of opening of a newspaper defines the narrative situation we are to find ourselves in(7).

Finally, anything that intervenes with the sequentially of the story to unite the meaning vertically is a sign of narration: repetitions (as in tales) omissions (as in detective stories) expansions (informants in true stories) in short all distortions of linearity.

2. An Application of the Model

For the comparison we have purposely chosen a police news item that has appeared on the front page in almost all the nine top dailies on the 2nd of December, 1984, all except for TAN, where it was allocated to page 3. There seemed to be no reason for the police officer who murdered his mistress not to make the headlines in TAN: the people involved are "ordinary", the event is unusual, it is local, there is sex, murder, deviance in it. But it is not a news exclusive to TAN. To see what TAN's exclusivity exactly is, we shall compare this news as it appeared on page 3 of TAN on the 2nd of December (which also appeared in Hürriyet, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet on the same day) with a leading article from TAN, also involving sex and murder(8).

KILLING BEAUTY!

- * Müzeyyen who killed her 4-months husband with a single knife-stab said: "I was sick of making love with him 8-10 times a day".
- * Accused of murder, Müzeyyen narrated as follows:
- * "My husband ate walnuts, hazelnuts, bananas honey and grapes (raisins), he attacked me, rested a while, then attacked me again. Love had turned into torture. I tried to find a hole to hide away, but he laid me down wherever he found me, be it the kitchen, the bathroom or the toilet".
- * "Since he went to work whenever he felt like it, he was usually home. Occasionally he forced me into perverse relations."
- * "I had grown disgusted with marriage. I knew this torture wouldn't end if I didn't kill him. That night (Please, that's enough, no more, I have no strength left, I'm spent) I said, begging him. But he again forced me to bed" (Con't on page 4).

Photograph: The portrait in color of a pretty girl.

Caption: She became a muddress at the age of 17. 17-year-old Müzeyyen who killed her husband said: "Love is a beautiful thing... To make love is lovely. But it became a torture for me in the hands of an unharnassable husband".

Small snapshot in black and white of a heavy-set young man.

Caption: The murdered husband. Cevdet, who pulled his wife to bed day and night, giving her no time to rest, payed for his addiction to sex with his life.

ASSISTANT POLICE CHIEP BLOODSTAINS
HIS MISTRESS' HOUSE

- * Assistant police chief Mehmet Görkem who was stationed to Çorum drew his gun and killed his mistress Songül Şener when she refused to accompany him.
- * The enraged lover, who is married and has two children, then wounded the sister and two cousins of his mistress and ran away. Afterwards however he turned himself over to his colleagues.

The photograph showing a young man and a woman holding a baby. Underneath, the snapshot of a pretty teenager.

Caption: They were living together Songül Şener (23) who refused her assisant police chief lover's proposal to go to Çorum with him has been murdered. Above Mehmet Görkem and Songül Şener with their illegal child. In the event Songül's cousin Nuray Şener was also wounded (in small box).

THE SUMMARY

Killing Beauty

- 1- Müzeyyen, a 17-year old bride is married for four months.
- 2- "My family forced me to an engagement with him"
- 3- "He seduced and raped me while we were engaged"
- 4- "My family forced me to marry him"
- 5- "We got married"
- 6- "My husband forced me into excessive sexual intercourse"
- 7- "It was like torture"
- 8- "He threatened me with a knife"
- 9- "We struggled"
- 10- "I stabbed him in self defense, he was killed"
- 11- "I surrendered to the police".

The Police Officer

- 1- A police officer, married, with two children, is having an affair with a prostitute
- 2- He is stationed to another city
- 3- He asks his mistress to accompany him
- 4- The sister interferes: "She will not go"
- 5- They quarrel, mistress refuses to go
- 6- He shoots, kills mistress, wounds sister and the two daughters of the sister
- 7- He runs away
- 8- He surrenders to the officials the next day.

THE STORY

Killing Beauty

The Cardinal Functions.

- F₁ The engagement.
Marriage proposed
Family insists
The engagement
- F₂ The rape.
The seduction:
"Let's get to know one another"
The rape
Loosing virginity
- F₃ The marriage.
Family insists
They marry
Forced sexual intercourse:
"It was like torture"

Catalyzers

The preparation for mistreatment.

"He went to work whenever he felt like,
worked enough to allow him to stay in
10-15 days".

"He ate walnuts, hazelnuts, bananas,
honey, raisins, he rested a while, to
gather strength in between".

The mistreatment.

"He made love 8-10 times a day".
"He made love in the kitchen, bathroom,
etc."

The perversion.

"He made love as if he were role-
playing"
"He locked me in."
"He forced me into perverse relations".

The misery.

"My body was all bruised".
"I could not go the toilet even because
of the pains".

- F₄ The resolution.
"I had no way out but to kill him"
Catalyzers (Night of the crime)
She begs him to let go
He insists
She attempts to get away.

- F₅ The threat.
He threatens her with a knife.

- F₆ The killing.
They struggle
She gets hold of the knife
She stabs, he dies.

- F₇ Pleading innocence.
She surrenders
"I killed him in self defense"

The Police Officer

- F₁ Having a love affair.
A wife and a mistress
- F₂ Obstacle to love affair.
Being stationed to another city.
The sister(?)
- F₃ Possibility to overcome obstacle.
Request (demand ?) to accompany:
"You will come"
(?) Sister intervening (?)
- F₄ Obstacle not eliminated.
Refusal
Sister intervening (?):
"She will not go"
- F₅ The quarrel.
Provocation by sister (?):
She swears.
- F₆ The killing.
Kills mistress, wounds the others.
- F₇ The degradation.
Surrenders, arrested.

The story of the young bride is indeed her life story. It is consecutive: it starts with the marriage proposal and ends with her murdering the husband. It is also consequential: she is forced to marriage, she is raped, she is sexually tortured, so she commits a murder. In terms of the functions of the story, there is no major lack or distortion that would limit the retelling of the story anytime, anywhere. In other words, it appears structurally complete in terms of its functions. But besides functions, indices and informants contribute to shaping of a story. Before we pass onto these elements that correspond to cultural and social reality, however, we shall review the story of the police officer in terms of its functions.

As opposed to the young bride's story, there are definite gaps in this case. A crucial factor is the intervention of the sister. We do not know exactly when the sister intervened, whether it was the mistress who refused her lover, or, if the sister did not let her go. There is no mention of the mistress' direct refusal, whereas the sister "talks". Neither do we know if the obstacle was the separation from the mistress by being posted or if the hero did not want to leave his mistress in the hands of the sister. Finally, we are not given any information concerning the details of the marriage, and for that matter, those of the love affair. Indeed, the clues supplied by the functions can be developed in various directions. The mistress didn't want to go because the lover wouldn't/ couldn't divorce his wife and marry her; or because she wanted to break away anyway; the sister wanted her to work and look after the family; he was posted because of this affair; he meant to kill the sister but killed the mistress by accident, etc.

We cannot therefore conclude that this narrative is complete in terms of its functions, a defining quality of the genre 'tale' which is structurally functional and sequential.

INDICES

<u>ing Beauty</u>		<u>The Police Officer</u>	
<u>Signifier</u>	<u>Signified</u>	<u>Signifier</u>	<u>Signified</u>
<u>Hero</u>	17-years-old	young, a juvenile bride, a juvenile criminal	<u>The Hero</u>
	raped	Innocence	A police officer
	"Killing Beauty"	Beautiful/Criminal	Married with children
	"Eşrefpaşa güzeli"	prettiness socially recognized	"Enraged lover"
	(the photo)	Pretty, young	"Nervous fit"
	obsessed with sex		"Had been drinking"
<u>Victim</u>	perverse	a "bad" husband	Uses official gun
	no steady job		Runs away, then surrenders
	jealous		unfit for position, unreliable
	"cezasını buldu"		<u>The Victim</u>
	systematic torturer	a "bad" man	A prostitute
	"rapist"		A mistress
	(the photo): robust, angry(?)		23-years-old
			young, "a pity"
<u>Event</u>			<u>Other Victims</u>
	Cruelty, mistreatment/		Prostitution house owner
	A young and pretty bride	"a lesson"	She swears
	A forced marriage/	"a pity"	She makes sister work as prostitute
	An underaged bride	"a waste"	2 young girls
	Innocence/Rape		"a pity", innocence
	Sex a pleasure/Sex a torture	"injustice retributed"	<u>The Event</u>
	Injustice, torture/Retribution murder	"a social problem"	A marriage/An affair
			Official/Prostitute(s)
			Alcohol, swearing, prostitution
			"He deserves punishment for his general behaviour rather than particular crime".
			"The inevitable sad ending for a prostitute"
			"Prostitution a social problem".
			"Corruption in the police forces"
			He surrenders to his "colleagues"
			A tragic ending, irony.

The indices in the story of the young bride quite clearly point out to a structuring in terms of binary oppositions: the character-traits of the hero: (beautiful/criminal), the relation of the hero to the victim (beauty/beast) and the general atmosphere (injustice/retribution, sex/crime, desire/death). It appears as if this helpless girl has had courage enough to revolt against such injustice: she kills because sex should have been a pleasure for her...

Since the hero of the event is also the narrator, we have no other source for an evaluation of these attributes. The newspaper's limited comment, however, reinforces the narrator view: that she is pretty and juvenile and that he deserved it. Curiously enough, integrated into the story almost all of these indices, rather than distorting the linearity, contribute to the universality of the story: There is no reference to any particular cultural setting, except, maybe the visual images and some description of the place of crime or behaviour of the victim. But her looks and attire in the photographs, the fact that they live in a house with a bathroom and a kitchen and that he eats walnuts, bananas, honey, etc., indicate an atmosphere, trait, only to a certain extent: such information by no means limits the story to i.e. Turkish culture as of now. Conversely, such information serves as realist operators which embed the story in "reality", to be discussed shortly, under "Informants"(9).

The story of the police officer, involves two major oppositions in terms of signification: a marriage/a mistress; officialdom/prostitution. We do not wish to speculate further on the possible cultural connotations of this story since, as mentioned above, it is a story incomplete in terms of its functions and open to variation. So that the possible effect created by such a story based upon the available information, can only rotate around the culturally specific notions of "a police officer" "a prostitute" or marriage such as:

THE INFORMANTS

	<u>Killing Beauty</u>	<u>The Police Officer</u>
<u>THE EVENT</u>	A murder	A murder
<u>THE HERO</u>	A young bride	A police officer
<u>Name</u>	Müzeyyen{Sevgi}	Mehmet Görkem
<u>Age</u>	17	?
<u>Occupation</u>	Wife(?)	Assistant police chief, Narcotics Bureau, Ist. (recently posted to Çorum)
<u>Marital status</u>	Married	Married, two children
<u>THE VICTIM</u>	Her husband	His mistress (her sister, 2 nieces)
<u>Name</u>	Cevdet Sevgi	Songül Şeşer (Dürdane Tüzeyarar, Fatma, Nuray)
<u>Age</u>	?	23 (45,?,?)
<u>PLACE OF CRIME</u>	?	Okmeydanı, Halideedip Cad. 11/5, Ist.
<u>TIME OF CRIME</u>	?	Night of 30th Nov., 1984
<u>INSTRUMENT OF CRIME</u>	Bread-knief	Official gun
<u>PLACE OF ARREST/ TRIAL</u>	(presumably İzmir)	Şişli Emniyet Amirliği
<u>TIME OF ARREST/ SURRENDER</u>	?	Noon, 1st, Dec, 1984.
<u>WHY COMMITTED</u>	Sexual torture, mistreatment, self defense.	Refusal of mistress to accompany murderer to Çorum

(Mini-information: A regime of walnuts, hazelnuts, bananas, honey and raisins enables a man to perform sexually up to 10 times a day.)

Now, if we summarize the information received from the story of the young bride as a news items, it would read as follows: "Müzeyyen, a young bride, killed her husband with a knife sometime somewhere due to sexual mistreatment and in self-defense according to her own statement". The information given

in parentheses appears only on page 4 where the "news" is continued: which may or may not be read in TAN. Hence, that the crime was committed in Eşrefpaşa and the full names of those involved, do not appear on the front page. The information concerning the age of the murderess seems more of an index than an informant, since it heavily indicates that she is "underaged". The same goes for the occupation of the victim. As a signifier for "no steady job", it indicates a character trait rather than being a realist operator(10).

The curious mini-information that appears between the lines of the story, is a realistic reference, open to experimentation and verification, but, at the same time an index with connotations of natural remedies for supernatural power (magic?) that typically appear in tales, at the same time contributing to the contemporary myth of "sex unlimited".

In the item concerning the police officer, on the other hand, all the information required of a news item (what, who, when, where, why) are given in full, except for the age of the hero, whose identity is explicitly given otherwise. This information is recent (happened two days ago), unknown to the reader before being printed, and is open to verification in terms of the facts supplied. In contrast, the factuality of the young bride's story depends merely on the fact that it is narrated in the context of a newspaper.

Now, if we summarize the two narratives in terms of their structural characteristics as stories, that of the young bride which made the headlines is heavily functional, as opposed to the police officer's item on the third page. In the latter, there are missing sequences: You cannot re-tell the tale of a man who killed his mistress unless you know how the story developed. Alternatively, the factual information supplied in this news item, fills in the spaces left open

in the story, pointing at a single direction: that a murder was committed at a specific time and place by a specific person. In order to retell such a murder story, one would have to wipe out all such information and "fabricate" on the only available information left: a murder involving officialdom and prostitution or marriage and a love affair.

THE NARRATION

In the news item about the police officer, the narrator, a news reporter whose name is given underneath the caption, is nevertheless hidden, withdrawn. He tells the event as if he were present at the scene of the crime, but in a non-committal manner: a prostitute (mistress) has been murdered by a police officer (lover). The direct reporting of what the officer and what one of the victim's said before the crime was committed, is given in quotation marks, contributing to the effect that it happened before the very eyes of the reporter. Any doubt that may rise with regards this effect is counterbalanced with information substantiating the factuality of the event, all starting with phrases such as "as stated by the authorities", or "as declared by the police". The photograph is in black and white, somewhat blurred, and the caption of the photograph contains nothing more than a repetition of the already supplied factual information. All this is exactly what is expected from a newspaper reporter, what the producer of TAN calls "normal journalism".

Fundamentally there are two possible reactions created in the reader by such a narration objective: a "social problem" be it in the code of heterogenous monogamy, the police corps or the institution of prostitution: or idiosyncratic: "them intolerable flics!" or "a prostitute after all!". It is as if the reader is consciously distanced from the event, imper-

sonalized. In order for it to become an identifiable, shareable experience, there are gaps to be filled.

The murder of the young bride on the other hand opens with a single sentence that contains all the information in terms of what, who, why in a nutshell, then introduces the narrator who is also the hero of the story and lets her tell her own story, reminiscent of the opening code of oral tales.

The narrative situation in Turkish folk tales starts with a tekerleme which has no relation to the tale proper but involves the mentioning of local themes, elements which serve to authenticate the feeling that the tale is based on an actual story(11). A sentence such as "Accused of murder, Müzeyyen narrated as follows" is reminiscent of the Dede Korkut tradition where each "mesel" opens with sentences such as "Görelim imdi Hânım ne demiş" carried down in the tradition of bands: i.e. "Aldı sazi eline, bakalım ne dedi"(12).

This form of introduction is typical in TAN particularly as constitutive of the form of narration in the leading article. We can draw two more examples from our sample(13):

A YOUNG MAN WHO HAS LOST HIS MANHOOD COMMITS MURDER!

Murderer Şemsettin narrated the murder as follows:

"Years ago, while I was sleeping with a woman.."

"MY LIFE CAN BE A TV SERIAL"

"While I was trying to become a singer as in the TV serial "Eagles Fly High" I fell into the hands of a rich and old rascal (debauché)" said Aysel of Zonguldak and narrated her life as follows:

"When I was a child..!"

There is a striking resemblance in terms of form between these introductory lines and orally narrated tales(14), such as the Epic of Bachelor and the Married Man:

Ay masters I saw a wisdom today
Let me recount and see if 'tis not a wonder...
A bachelor and a married brave argued
Look! Is this not yer another fight:

The bachelor said: my time is the prime of life
The best of times is that of bachelorhood...(15).

Right after this brief introduction, TAN sets the hero of the event to argue his/her case: The tale-proper so to speak is told in the first person singular, in quotation marks: direct reporting with no authorial interventional until the hero finishes the story - a mimesis of conversation. The news item usually ends when the narrator (the hero) finishes his/her story, or, seldom, as in "My Life a TV Serial", there is a brief concluding note by the reporter to the effect that she/he is to be arrested, has been found guilty, etc.

The authenticity of the narrator, on the other hand is substantiated visually: There appears a large photograph of the hero/narrator preferably in color, young and pretty if female, descent-looking if male. The reporter usually interferes a very brief comment in the captions underneath the photograph, emphasizing a quality of the hero, "pretty", "frank" "innocent" or repeating the main "call": "Save me!", "I want to become a singer!" "I am innocent!", etc. This kind of intervention, right underneath the image of the narrator/hero both reinforces the reaction expected from the reader created by the image while at the same time resembling a conversation between two spectators (the reporter and the reader); "Isn't she pretty?", "Doesn't he look stupid?".

The image coupled with the direct narration, in summary form and in boldtype, as if the narrator (whose image is right there) is telling the reader his/her story him/herself-creates an effect of the closest possible one can get to know another person through a mass medium-other than the cinema. And all this given in a capsule.

Humour. A specific quality of the narration in the leading articles of TAN is the way humour sneaks into these essentially "serious" crimes: news about murder, adultery and such.

A fundamental form of joking is ridicule: laughing at someone, having fun at the expense of someone else. This gives one a feeling of relief by having escaped a similar natural blunder, a state of such possible feeling of inferiority(16).

In the story of the young bride, the situation is quite ridiculous. The sex-obsessed husband, feeding himself on walnuts, bananas and what-not, seems to have taken quantitative performance in sex quite seriously. And ironically his quest for more pleasure, becomes the reason for his death. Maybe black, but there is humour in it- and relief for those who cannot perform 8-10 times a day.

From a different angle, the story of the impotent youth is juxtaposed on the irony of plenty of girls/inability to perform sexually. There is also a mention of a proposal to "become a woman"- a typical remark for ridiculing a man in the Turkish culture.

The story of the girl in "My Life a TV Serial" is somewhat varied from the point of view of those involved. As far as the girl is concerned, more than ridicule hers is a tongue-in-check attitude, a satire, a shared joke-tecahül-ü arifane:

She knows and the reader knows the connotations involved in becoming a singer: She calls the men she has gone to bed with "my music teachers"; she thinks "she is climbing the stairs of art" while she is sleeping around. The ridicule here is reserved for the boys who were caught with her: "Everybody slept with her, we got caught". Promiscuity and adultery is not a legal crime for men in the Turkish society as of today(17), but if you get caught "like a woman" you are deviant from the code of manhood- a ridiculous situation.

Saving the more specific techniques of humour to our discussion of figures of speech (tropes), we move further into the narrative form of TAN. To repeat, we are dealing with the most difficult "part" of the narrative, what Barthes calls the "untranslatable" elements.

Repetition. Repetition is applied at three levels. One is the recurrent appearance of certain themes such as widowhood, disappearing women or deception (yanılgı). Another is the repetition of labels such as sapık, manyak, çapkın which serve to typify the agents of functions. And, finally the key-sentence, especially in the leading article is repeated at least thrice: in the headlines, in the captions and in the write-up (see "My Life A TV Serial").

Fundamentally, repetition serves to simplify and present the message in a nutshell. Remiscent of the first-grade alphabet-text or of the elementary books for foreign-language students, the crucial point here, from the point of view of the producer, is to simplify what is to be repeated without omitting the "crux" of the message: the process of simplification is much more difficult than that of elaboration: What is omitted is an equally important clue as that which is repeated.

Omissions and expansions. Indices, referring to traits of characters or of the event are minimal if not omitted. Since there is almost always an impressive photograph of the narrator/hero and at least one snapshot of the victim, it seems the indices which refer to the characters are transferred to the visual sign, the icon. As for the details of the event, the producer, under the dictum of "the reader is not stupid"(18) insists that the description of the event should be left to the reader's imagination. However, what the producer objects to(19) seems more because such ~~such~~ expansions (descriptions) cut across the functionality of the tale and distort the message. Alternatively, a narration such as the ending of "The Killing Beauty" gives just enough clues for "spicing" the story without impeding upon its functionality:

"I took the knife and stabbed him. He collapsed. Frightened, I ran out of the house. But I realized I was naked and returned home. After I dressed up, I went to the police station and surrendered."(my italics)

Informants, as well are minimalized and carefully omitted from the story as narrated by the hero so that the sequentiality is not broken. The place to look for informants is the brief opening lines of the write-up in the inside pages. Occasionally there appears some further "realistic information" in the closing lines following the quotation marks that end the story.

As for the functions, what is omitted, in terms of functions, seems to be determined by the law (against pornographic publications) rather than the high regard for the reader's imagination, that's why "reader's are not stupid" (see chapter on The Producers of TAN). Functions are always there, it is the catalyzers, the precise description of the acts that are crossed out.

Tropes (Mecaz, dilsanatları). Spoken daily Turkish is heavily figurative. The inclusion of figurative speech into Turkish newspaper reporting style however is quite recent and still minimal especially in front page coverage. Traditionally, figurative speech in the context of newspapers is neatly boxed in opinion columns or serialized fiction, separating fact from opinion, where opinion, in the form of an "essay" or a "novel" is allowed to be "literary". Factual reporting on the other hand is characterized by long, expanded but grammatically complete and correct sentences even in the headlines, hence the labeling "serious", "official", etc. The ticker-tape style of news reporting, which Hemingway calls 'cablese' and appearing in its "purified form" i.e., in Dos Passos' USA, has not been widely adapted by the Turkish newspapers. A hypothetical explanation for the inability to break away from the official grammatical code, may be that traditionally the primary function of the Turkish press, has been "to educate the people" rather than "opinion formation". The relation between the recent increase in "figurative" reporting in news papers and the audio-visual media may be worth comparing to the relation between the introduction of the telegraph and "cablese". Even Cumhuriyet with its connotations of "solemnity" reports the developments in a recent official bribery involving shipping companies under the caption: "New documents washed ashore"(20). In TAN however, figurative reporting, far from being occasional, is the manner of narration.

The contrast between typical news reporting style and TAN's version of reporting is vividly captured on the 29th of October, the Day of the Turkish Republic. This national "festivity" is reported in a small box on the top right-hand corner of the front page as follows:

THE 61ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC

The day of the Republic is being ceremoniously celebrated.

Ceremonies have been arranged throughout the country, in Turkish representations abroad and in Cyprus, the baby-country, for the occasion.

The parade in Ankara will be transmitted in color and live by the television
(DETAILS ON PAGE THREE)

Caption under the small photograph:

ATATÜRK The Great: The Founder of Our Republic, The Magnanimous Leader.

Estranged in translation, this is the verbatim form used on such occasions by the solemn, official media, the state owned single channel television. And right next to it appear the real "festivity", the leading article of TAN, in its proper place: "MY LIFE A TV SERIAL".

As already mentioned, Turkish is a figuratively rich, metaphorical language. As reflected in courtly literature (Divan Edebiyatı), there appears under two categories, teşbih and istiare (which do not strictly correspond to the distinction between a metaphor and a simile) 13 types of teşbih and 17 of istiare, both used for relations of resemblance. The relations of representation, that is, metonymy, (mecaz-ı mürsel), as opposed to the variety of metaphors, is a single category under tropes (mecaz) (21).

The usage of tropes linguistic arts, is predominant in the narrational style of TAN, as exemplified below:

Labelling (tesmiye)

In the tale of "My Life a TV serial", the name of the hero is Aysel of Zonguldak: we never get to know her surname. Alternatively, the woman who racks her husband's mistress' house is Leyla, the Panther{21 Oct.}.

Contrast (tezat)

In a single issue of TAN, four out of the ten captions on the front page are built upon the art of contrasting: {19 Oct.}.

The groom who is arrested for attempted abduction on his wedding night is captioned in the contrast between a nuptial chamber and a prison chamber (Gerdek/Hapis).

The boys who have raped (!) another boy declare that they were drunk and thought the boy was a girl (Kız/Oğlan) with connotations of virginity (Kız/Oğlan/Kız).

The girl who elopes with her uncle's (mother's brother) son in order to escape marrying another uncle's (father's brother) son (Dayıoğlu/Amcaoğlu) "remains in the family"- which should be a relief.

One step further is the rhyming of contrasts:

The thief who mistook a women's coat for a men's, wears it anyway and because he is cold and is caught: Manto/Palto.

A girl kissing her driving lover is responsible for a car accident: (Kız Öpüştü/Araba düştü){20 Oct.}.

The uncle who rapes his niece is a bear: Dayı değil Ayı.
{26 Oct.}

Annomination (Fr.)(Tekrir)(?)

The recurrence of a proper name in its literal sense in the same sentence is yet another form of figurative speech.

The headlines for the man who beats his friend for asking him how many times he goes to bed with his wife read: "Sefer kaç sefer?". Right next to it appear a pin-up who has just fainted while smoking a nargile: Neşe'nin neşesi kaçtı {30 Oct.}.

Metaphors.(i.e. istiare-i temsiliye, istiare-i mutlaka, istiare-i temlihiye

Although the language used is overabundantly metaphorical, the "best" are saved for the naming of crucial heros and crucial functions of the tale.

The rich, elderly, flirtious "businessman" who understands a woman's soul is the "National Debauchee" (Milli Çapkın) {22 Oct.}. A debutant painter who is willing to pose naked for the newspapermen at her exhibitions is "The Crazy Painter" (Çılgın Ressam) {27 Oct.}.

The irony of the permissiveness to love-making only if it is a professional requirement, i.e., on a film-set, is captured under the phrase "obliged by the part he/she has to play" (rol icabı), Hence it becomes possible to report that an actor/singer has refused to "play his part as required" even on a film-set {21 Oct.}.

Promiscuity, as already mentioned, is reserved to men and not a legal crime in Turkey (men have to rape women in order to become criminals) as opposed to prostitution (fuhuş) and adultery (zina): the realm of illegal female sexual activity. When a starlet kisses an actor-to-be in TAN she declares "I think all men taste the same" {27 Oct.} like apples we presume,

and she may go on experimenting so long as she stops at "tasting" them and does not attempt to "devour".

Çuf çuf olmak (an onomatopoeia used by children who mimic trains) {16 Nov.} is the name of the newly evolving form of mobile prostitution centered around train stations..{16 Nov.

The increased number of wives who desert their husbands becomes a child's game: "Flies, flies the bride flies!" And you answer back "But brides don't fly!" {30 Oct.} It's fun!

Exaggeration. Mübalağa. The travel books of Evliya Çelebi are frequently referred to as the prototype of exaggeration, a form of narration very popular in the Turkish culture(23). Exaggeration serves to underline the grandeur, the absurdity or whatever else the message of the narrative is. Repeatedly used in TAN, exaggeration largely contributes to the humorous accent:

A 17-year-old girl who has slept with over 500 men in her 8 years of career as a prostitute is officially declared a "virgin" {4 Nov.}.

A mobile-woman-of-love (seyyâr aşk kadını) sleeps with 45 different drivers within a week {6 Nov.}.

A man accused of having raped 188 women suggests a reasonable solution: "I wouldn't mind marrying them all if it is legally possible" {9 Nov.}.

This exaggerated form of expressing sexual hunger is reminiscent of the grotesquely overweight females that typically appear in Fellini's films.

FOOTNOTES

TAN Tales

1. Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin başında...", p.109.
2. Barthes, Image-Music-Text, p.79-80.
3. See footnote I in above section "Context/Story/Narration". With reference to literary criticism in particular also see, R.Jacobson and Morris Hall, Fundamentals of Language, Mouton, 1956; F.Jameson, The Prison-house of Language, Princeton Univ. Press, 1972; J.Culler, Structuralist Poetics, RKP, 1975.
4. Barthes, Image..., p.88.
5. Barthes, Image..., p.115.
6. Barthes, Image..., p.120-21.
7. See section above on "Newspaper as a Context".
8. We would have preferred to compare this third-page news with the leading article in TAN on the same day. However, the headlines on the 2nd of December read: "Famous English fortune-teller Maggie tells Özal's fortune" and on grounds of comparability we chose "The Killing Beauty" that appeared on loth of December.
9. "Indices always have implicit signifieds. Informants, however, do not. At least on the level of the story they are pure data with immediate signification: Indices involve an activity of deciphering. The reader is to learn to know a character or an atmosphere... Informants bring in ready-made knowledge, their functionality weak without being nil". Barthes, Image..., p.96.
10. "Informants are realist operators and as such posses an undeniable functionality not on the level of the story but on that of the discourse". Barthes, Image..., p.96.
11. Naki Tezel, "Türk Halk Edebiyatında Masal", Türk Dili, p.450.
12. O.Şaik Gökyay, "Dede Korkut Hikayeleri ve Önemi", Türk Di-
li, p.432.
13. See Appendix

14. Such introductions are highly developed. Döşeme, Başlama, Yalan, are a few of the forms for preparing the audience for the narrative situation (to be told or sung) they are soon to enter. Aside from organizing popular entertainment, such highly developed formalization seems to imply a sensitivity for differentiating fact (owned by the dominant) from fiction (defining the popular). On such introductions see, M.Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, "Halk Hikayelerinde Döşeme Söyleme Geleneği", Türk Dili, p.4760-581.
15. Evli ile Ergen Destanı, F.Kırzioğlu, "Halk Hikayelerinde...", p.476, My translation.
16. Max Eastmann, The Sense of Humour, in Helen Butcher, et al. "Images of Women in the Media" (1974).
17. Cumhuriyet, 17 Ocak 1985.
18. See section above on "The Producers of TAN".
19. See section on "Producers of TAN". Also see Appendix
20. Cumhuriyet, 21 January 1985.
21. Yazın Terimleri Sözlüğü, TDK Yayınları, Ankara, 1974.
22. Such notations which will appear from here on in brackets refer to the date of the issue in which the news appeared. The full headlines on the front and back pages of the issues referred to can be found in the Appendix on The Sample.
23. Doğan Kuban, "Kuramsal Yaklaşımın Yerel Boyutlarına İlişkin Düşünceler 7: Geleneksel Türk Kültüründe Nesnelere Dünyasına Bakış", Boyut, 3/21, Mart 1984, p.28ff.

THE WORLD OF TAN: A Presentation of Reality

Telling tales in the context of newspapers-or under the pre-text of news- by no means implies that there is no correspondence between these tales and "social reality"- itself a construct(1). In TAN with a switch comparable to that between the paper-proper and the supplement, "reality" is transferred from the realm of facts to that of fiction. This realm, we shall call the "World of TAN". Jameson, referring to Levi-Strauss discussion of Caduveo Indians facial decorations, define a text (a narrative) as a symbolic act which offers an imaginary solution to unresolved social contradictions; leaving the "real" untouched: an alternative to reality(2).

The choice of the events to narrate, the typification of the characters, the major themes are all derived from a shared and internalized cultural code: It is only because male inability to satisfy the wife sexually is a justifiable reason for female adultery in the cultural code(3) that in the World of TAN this "fact" recurrently appears under various captions:

Her chair ridden husband is reasonable{20.Oct.}
An altruistic husband: he looks after his
wife's illegal child{23.Oct.}
Working over-time: wife runs away{2.Nov.}
Divorce case: "I want a husband, not a
brother{21.Oct.}
Sixt months with her lover/six months with
her husband{13.Nov.}

Alternatively, that there is an average yearly increase of 45 % in the rates of inflation is an economic "fact". One way of reporting such facts is via the monthly indices of so-called "kitchen expenditures":

"A family of four must spend a minimum of 58,310 TL to be properly fed"(4).

Transferred to the World of TAN, inflation is reported but at a different level: as rates of prostitution, of alimony, as selling rates of maidens, of plastic surgery, of wallets worth stealing:

Tele-girls (call-girls) ask for payment in dollars: 20,000 for two hours 30,000 TL for three hours{31.Oct.}

Alimony for a famous star: 300.000 TL/a month{21.Nov.}

Father sells daughter for 600.000 TL-the price of a video set{25.Oct.}

Plastic surgery: Complete works 4.000.000 TL{16.Nov.}

Thief returns wallet: there was only 1000 TL in it{8.Nov.}

How is this world, which at the same time corresponds to a culture and a social reality shared by the official media (TRT) and the "serious" press structured? The question calls for a brief review of, so to speak, the assets and the liabilities of TAN that defines the paper's parameters.

TAN's problematique is the universal interest in sex and deviance which is also a universal realm of prohibitions. The subject of sexuality is doubly appealing in a culture where display of sexuality is both prohibited (yasak) and shameful (ayıp)(5). Consequently, there exists a "veiled" language full of connotations due to this double restriction. This spoken, daily language is TAN's primary asset.

Secondly, there is the tradition of telling facts in the form of tales. Mesel, the ethimological root of masal (tale), means an example(6). Hence, the double functionality of the tale is linguistically reflected in Turkish. Functional, as the primary characteristic of the tale, sequential, based on actions; functional, in the sense of being exemplary, educative, containing a usable message.

TAN's liabilities on the other hand, stem from its sources (legal limitations) and its means of expression (cultural limitations).

Its sources (domestic police bulletins and Günaydın's left-overs of international magazine news) although cheap, or even for free, bring TAN in a delicate relationship with laws against pornographic publications and press laws against libel, concerning the exposure of the victim's identity in particular with reference to "shameful crimes" (yüz kızartıcı suçlar: adultery, prostitution, promiscuity, etc.(7)).

As for its means of expression, it is a newspaper competing against audio-visual media in a semi-literate culture, a culture in which half the adult population first became TV-set owners, then literate(8). To overcome the advantage of visual media, it allocates a lot of space to photographs, in color- and of women. Expression in the form of images (especially anthropomorphic) however, is a religious taboo, the veiled woman being the ultimate case: the image of sex. It is "shameful" to look at naked women.

It is only with a recourse to its assets, the spoken language and the tale, that TAN escapes both codes: in terms of the official, the images are anonymous, in-famous-if not fictitious- unidentifiable: female tits are hidden behind hand-painted colorful flowers; victimized men's eyes are censored black. In terms of the cultural code, on the other hand, TAN offers a pre-text for looking at these naked women: they have a tale to tell, there is a lesson to be learnt: Tales (masal) as opposed to legends (destan) are stories that even the story-teller believes to have happened(9).

Within these parameters TAN structures a world of deviance, of entertainment, that serves as a background for the (Master Tale: The Adventures of Woman(10)).

background for this fiction is "factualized: The socio-economic background (of sexual deviance, perversion, of theft) set up and the validity of the tale is supported by the presence of conventional front-page figures such as Özal, İnönü, and the situation is symmetrically compared to an international (western) scene. The uniqueness of this set however, is the normalization of illusion, of ambiguity which blurs the boundaries between fact and fiction: IN TAN there is always a mis-take, they are allured, or they are deceived; people very rarely act on purpose. This background in which the master tale is weaved, we shall label the Stage Tales.

ENCOURAGE TALES

World of Deviance and Entertainment (Or the socio-economic background)

The front page of TAN is roughly divided into three: upper left, upper right quarter and the lower half. On the left appears the leading article. The recurrent theme of the leading article is trespassing of the sexual norms: pregnancy out of wedlock, rape, adultery, prostitution, transvestites. Even the single murder case that appeared in the leading article within 30 days has to do with a woman's death {13.Nov.}. As opposed to the accent on the "story" in the leading article, the upper right quarter is heavily dominated by the female body in display. There is nevertheless a certain moral attached to these tourist girls or pin ups: The young naked girl by the seashore is being watched by two men in a motorboat only to prove a famous psychiatrist, that he is correct: According to the professor, "we Turks are gypsies" {19.Oct.}

The lower half of the paper is ordinary daily life in TAN: stories of deception, theft, fraud, forgery, etc.

The background for this fiction is "factualized: The socio-economic background (of sexual deviance, perversion, of theft) is set up and the validity of the tale is supported by the appearance of conventional front-page figures such as Özal, Sabancı, İnönü, and the situation is symmetrically compared to the international (western) scene. The uniqueness of this set up, however, is the normalization of illusion, of ambiguity which blurs the boundaries between fact and fiction: IN TAN people always mis-take, they are allured, or they are deceived; people very rarely act on purpose. This background upon which the master tale is weaved, we shall label the Anchorage Tales.

THE ANCORAGE TALES

The world of Deviance and Entertainment (Or the socio-economic background)

The front page of TAN is roughly divided into three: upper left, quarter upper right quarter and the lower half. On the upper left appears the leading article. The recurrent theme in the leading article is trespassing of the sexual norms: divorce, pregnancy out of wedlock, rape, adultery, prostitution, transvestites. Even the single murder case that appears as the leading article within 30 days has to do with impotence{13.Nov.}. As opposed to the accent on the "story" in the leading article, the upper right quarter is heavily visual: the female body in display. There is nevertheless a story attached to these tourist girls or pin ups: The reclining naked girl by the seashore is being watched by two boys in a motorboat only to prove a famous psychiatrist, thesis correct: According to the professor, "we Turks are peeping toms"{19.Oct.}

The lower half of the paper is ordinary daily life in TAN: lots of deception, theft, fraud, forgery, lots of drinking,

eloping, deserting wives, starlets and belly dancers. They are all amusing stories: The thief who steals five rolls of elastic band explains that his underpants were falling {26.Oct.}. Violence, physical assault very seldom reaches the dimensions of murder: A husband stabs his wife who refuses to talk to him{21.Oct.} or a man burns his own store to get rid of the tenant who wouldn't pay the rent{20.Oct.}. The few murders (five in a month) are briefly reported: Two women who unintentionally kill the elderly neighbor who keeps stealing their wood{29.Oct.}. The few suicides are similarly treated - brief and casual: Two lesbians commit suicide together {"Hopeless love", 3.Nov.}. A mistreated wife kills herself {"Mays this death be a lesson to all husbands", 28.Oct.} Characteristic of news involving death on the front page news is that they are neither given in bold print nor in the upper half nor are they accompanied by violent blood-and-tears pictures.

Then there is more news from the "social world": "Middle aged businessmen" introduce their 17th wives{8.Nov.}, yet another starlet{22.Oct.} or their teenage daughters{25.Oct.} Belly dancers teach elderly German tourists the etiquette of belly-dancer watching: Money tucked into the bosom of the belly dancer is never asked back{21.Oct., 31.Oct.}. There are the happy just-divorced wives: A collector of husbands shares her knowledge with the readers of TAN: German are thrifty, Belgians inexperienced, Englishmen effeminate{31.Oct.} Or a husband finds his wife working in a night-club in Istanbul after a long search: she is happy there and they have their last souvenir-picture taken: holding hands and the husband's eyes discreetly censored {9.Nov.}

There is always some advice on health. The virtues of natural food: Olive oil and chesnuts keep you young{24.Oct., 22.Oct.} walnuts make you potent{25.Nov.} Swearing is the best

medicine{18.Nov.} and there is the solace in knowing that everybody lies: According to the "Western specialists" an ordinary person tells an average of 50 lies a day {4.Nov.}

Finally there is the Shadow Man, who appears erratically somewhere on the front page. His face is censored white for he is in dangerous business in the name of the "people": He exposes the bribery and corruption going on in the "real" world {in The Turkish Airlines, 28.Oct; amongst the "Cowboy officials", 13.Nov}, he criticized the language used by the official TV {"May the bumble bees sting your tongue, TRT!", 8.Nov.} and the "class of gentlemen (beyfendi){18.Nov.} who joggle with taxes and interest rates {9.Nov., 16.Nov.}

What is conspicuously absent from the "ordinary" World of TAN, is, on one extreme, the image of violence, and on the other the family, i.e., no fathers on a fixed salary, no housewives making the ends meet, no careerwomen/mothers or children with their schooling problems. As a matter of fact, to make it to the World of TAN means being on your own, facing the world by yourself, not through or by means of any organized action or institution-the candidates for being singled out, for individual popularity. Hence the over-evaluation of the physical and mental attributes of the individual the body and the wit(11).

The Ambiguity

Deception, seduction, fooling is the predominant theme in TAN. There is no clear-cut marks that separate reality from illusion. Ordinary, everyday life is full of possibilities of adventure and TAN warns: "Don't open the door to anyone who knocks" {19.Oct.} In TAN a husband may kill his friend whom he has dreamt of kissing his wife{6.Nov.} A lady may be robbed and it may turn out that it was a dream{19.Oct}. A girl may scream "The monster is after me!" thinking that she is being followed {24.Oct.} There is almost no virgin who isn't seduced into

sexual intercourse: She goes to have her songs recorded, she comes out pregnant{1.Nov.} Alternatively, she sleeps with Ahmet, and declares it was Mehmet who impregnated her{15.Nov.} Magic is yet another means of seduction: A wife elopes with her lover when the charm that makes her stay with her husband loses its effect{10.Nov.} The "roles" people have to play is another reason for the ambiguity of their actions: Photo-models make "as-if" they are happy{19.Oct., 20.Oct.}, actors are arrested for molest when they attempt at more than making "as if" love{30.Oct.}. A favorite way of seducing girls is making them drink "rakı" and by the time they repent {"Rakıya, Tövbe" 24.Oct}, it is usually too late. Alcohol is frequently responsible for mistakes such as raping a boy: "We thought he was a girl after so many drinks"{19.Oct.} for kidnapping all-year-old girl: "I thought she was my girl-friend after all that vodka and beer"{14.Nov.}

The reliability of TAN

But drinking is a favored pass-time and people frequently appear with glasses of rakı in their hands, toasting the readers of TAN- including the Minister of the Interior:

"I prefer beer",{26.Oct.} and İnönü, the opposition leader {13.Dec.} This illusive, ambiguous everyday world is further normalized, legitimized by political figures who declare that TAN is "a real People's Paper" {The ANAP deputy for Istanbul, 28.Oct} or by the prime minister appearing just below a pin-up and hugging his grand children{23.Oct.} Leading businessman like Vehbi Koç try on a new costume next to a rapist {2.Nov.} or Sabancı advertises his eligible daughters{15.Nov.}

The Shadow Man is a liason between such celebrities and the World of TAN: Özal and Dalan are his friends{21.Oct.} Adnan Kaşıkçı writes him personal letters{14.Nov.} It is to him that Gönül Yazar tells the seven charms for getting pregnant {12.Nov.}

The comparability

The back page of TAN is reserved to those who have made it, mostly international and some domestic figures. What makes it to the front page as "news" here-and-now, is not worth reporting at the back: Here, murder is killing 17 women{1.Nov.} perversity is killing seven love-making couples in a row{15.Nov.} Such violence is always international-no such criminal deviance is seen on the national front page. Other issues, if not involving a celebrity, have to be at the level of "records": Divorving 12th wife at the age of 70{23.Oct.} being raped by Martians{16.Nov.} buying one's wife a forest in order to take pictures of her beautiful naked body{4.Nov.} Pin-ups too have to be manifestly daring in order to make it to the back page.

Finally, the typification of male and female images are clearly defined on the back page: Young and handsome celebrities have serious sexual problems: At the age of 48, Burt Reynolds, "battery does not charge any more"{1.Nov.} Tarik Akan declares that he will end up a "spinster" for no one wants to marry him{22 Oct.} Even James Bond (Sean Connery) can get ditched {22 Oct.}

Whereas equally famous actresses have affairs with 18 years old boys{25.Oct.} or keep at least two men at a time{1.Nov.} These famous, pretty, challenging women who have made it, define "a handsome man" as "above forty" and "with money" {24.Oct.} "Debauchery is balooney"{12.Nov.} they say, men make eyes at you and talk sweettalk instead of performing. So let them pay for the image: They demand 1,5 million TL to pose for an hour{22.Oct.} and for 6,5 million TL even the image of a Japanese can be corrected{12.Nov.}: Such are the "hard facts" of the international market, that the domestic bazaar is struggling to enter.

On the informative corner, the upper left quarter further news from the "West" complete the comparison: We learn that Turkey rates lowest in the category of wife-beating and divorce{19. Nov.} highest on unemployment{30.Oct.}; nineteenth on population{20 Oct.}: (they show sex films in Germany and France to increase the birth rate){13 Nov.} and that in 35 years there will be 3 women to each men{2 Nov.} and that November is the cruelest month{1 Nov.} for men, above 50{26 Oct.}: "Don't make love in cold weather" warn the "Western specialists" of TAN{15 Nov.}

THE MASTER TALE

The master tale itself is a serialized romance, where the hero is the Woman, typified by her functions; substituted and multiplied by different characters(12). The theme is her struggle in a man-defined world, a search for identity, fundamentally a success story.

The major functions of the folk-tale, simplified and summarized, is as follows:

An initial situation: A virtual peril

- 1- Interdiction/Protection (against Peril, of future Victim)
- 2- Seduction (of Victim by Villain)
- 3- Violation (of Interdiction by Victim)
- 4- Damage (caused by Villain)
- 5- Call to Repare Damage/Occasion to Show Merit (for the Hero)
- 6- Testing of Hero (for Donnation of Magical Agent)
- 7- Judiciary Action/Transfer to Another Realm (of the Hero)
- 8- Reparational Action/Struggle (by Hero against Villain)
- 9- Reparation of Damage/Victory (by Hero who carries Mark of Victory)

- 10- Arrival (of Hero in Society, Incognito)
- 11- Unfounded Claims (of False Hero)
- 12- Difficult Task
- 13- Recognition of Hero
- 14- Exposure (of False Hero)
- 15- Transfiguration(of Hero)
- 16- Punishment (of Villain/False Hero)
- 17- Recompensation (of Hero)(13).

We shall proceed by an analysis of a consecutive sample of the leading articles in TAN to describe the construction of the tale in terms of functions and typification and how they contribute to the Master Tale(14).

What we attempt to demonstrate is not a one-to-one correspondence between the folktale (as analyzed by Propp) and TAN tales. It is rather to show how allusions to the established structure of tale-telling serve to create illusions of familiarity: how it works. The leading articles in TAN, supported by and detailed in the lesser news, contribute as functions to the Master Tale, which, like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, fit in to complete the story. Barthes says that the central problem of narrative syntax is the confusion between consecution and consequence, in other words, between temporality and logic(15). The master tale in Tan is consecutive at the level of functions, but consequentially requires reconstruction. This may explain the "trick" involved in serialization as a literary technique in general, and the enigmatic factor that makes people keep buying TAN, in particular(16).

TALE NO	DATE	NEWS VALUE	CATCH-PHRASE	TALE VALUE	MAJOR FUNCTION	HERO	IMAGE OF HERO
1	19.10	Accused of attempted abduction	Gerdek/hapis	Unaccomplished task	11,12,14	M	Negative: A false hero, a failing groom
2	21.10	Transvestites	"Yandım Allah!"	Seduction	2,4,5	M	Neg.: seduced, ridiculed
3	23.10	Stardom/ Motherhood	Türkan Şoray	Recompensation	13,15,17	F	Positive: recompensated hero, famous and wealthy and mother
4	25.10	Illegal prostitution (selling of daughter)	"Bir video için"	Damage, villainy	1(neg.),4	F	Victimized hero (villain father)
5	27.10	Illegal Prostitution	"30 yıldır namusum-la kadın satıyorum!"	Struggle to repara damage	7,8,9	F(s)	Pos.: victimized, striving hero(s) (villain merchant of women: an Armenian witch)
6	29.10	Illegal prostitution	"Şarkıcı olmak istiyorum!"	Seduction, damage	4,7,8	F	Pos.: victimized, striving hero
7	31.10	Illegal prostitution	Tele-kızlar zam yaptı	Struggle	7,8	F(s)	Striving hero(s)
8	2.11	Stardom/physical assault	Gönül Yazar işadamını dövdü!	Punishment of villain	13,15,16	F	Pos.: recognized hero
9	4.11	Robbery	Soygun için soyundu	Difficult task	12,13	F	Pos.: recognized hero uncaught
10	6.11	Rape/attempted lynching	"Bırakın gebertelim"	Damage, call to repara	1,2,3,4,5	M	Neg.: villain, a seducing rascal
11	8.11	Adultery	İnen aşık	Difficult task	11(neg.),12,14	M	Neg.: false hero, ridiculed lover
12	10.11	National mourning	Atayı anıyoruz	{ANCHORAGE TALE}	{THE SHADOW MAN}		He shakes hands with Atatürk: a wax-figure
13	12.11	90-yr-old man in search of a bride	"Vali bey, bana bir karı bulur musun?"	Unfounded claims	11,12	M	Neg.: a false hero, a ridiculed grandpa
14	14.11	Stardom/ Marriage	Ahu kaç erkekle yattı?	Transfiguration	9,13,15	F	Pos.: recognized hero (ridiculed husband)
15	16.11	Adultery/ Prostitution	"Sen de mi çuf-çuf oldun?"	Seduction	7,8	M	Neg.: deceived, ridiculed husband
16	18.11	Divorce	Hippi gibi gezen karısını 20 milyona boşadı	Seduction	7,8,9	M	Neg.: ridiculed husband pays for divorce.

It is quite obvious that the World of TAN is not a place where chivalrous young men fight villains and woo fair and virtuous maidens. Neither is it an odyssey where the virile and cunning Turkish male is successively tried by alluring sirens of all sorts on his way to his wife's loyal and loving bosom.

It is, rather, a dark and solitary world underneath the make-believe cheerfulness, where each character is the hero of his/her sequence and success or victory is defined by the ability to deceive, to get away with it uncaught. Furthermore, there appears to be a priority recognized to the female heroes over the males: They are active, striving, hopeful, defying, successful, in short "manly"(17). It is only young and innocent virgins who are vulnerable to seduction and damage. Men, on the other hand, are by no means "heroic". They are either unable to accomplish the tasks of heroism (false heroes) or seduced, raped of their "manliness" by women (victimized heroes). Alternatively, elderly, respectable men, be they fathers or clergy, far from protecting, seduce and damage young girls, performing the functions reserved for Villains in folktales. Even these men defend themselves "like women" accusing young girls of seducing them{Tale 10}*.

This switch of roles between the male and female heroes, results in the definition of Woman as heroic, whenever she "acts like a man", but, most curiously, the ultimate recompensation of this Woman-Hero is neither riches nor a handsome prince-but motherhood(18).

*These tales are to be found on the table in the preceding page. The sample containing the headlines of these tales are in the Appendix on the Sample.

THE ADVENTURES OF WOMAN

Virility, a virtual peril.

Virility defines manhood, Austrian film stars are impregnated by the grandsons of the Conquerors of Vienna{24.Oct.} while 90 year old grandfathers still look for wives not older than 30 {Tale 13}. Alternatively, life is not worth living for an impotent man: the only murder that made the headlines in TAN within a month was induced by impotence{13.Nov.}

The virility of Turkish men is internationally famous. The proof is the tourist girls that enjoy and thank Turkish men for their hospitality{28.Oct., 31.Oct., 23.Oct., 4.Nov.}. As summer turns into winter, these tourist girls return home, after having presented the Turkish men with their maidenhoods {30 Oct.} and inviting them to return the visit{21 Oct.} leaving the ground for the arriving revue girls{29 Oct.}.

However, the domestic scene is not so promising. Turkish girls, far from letting men enjoy sex, are continuously complaining about being seduced, raped and sold. Married women on the other hand, grumble about their husbands who have "stopped in bed"{10 Nov.} who spend their money and vigour on other women{12 Nov.}.

Virginity, a sign of female virtue.

It appears that virginity, the sign of female virtue is under threat:{12.Nov.} Even fathers sell their innocent, dependent daughters{Tale 4} and respectable pious men seduce and rape their young students{Tale 11} under the pretext of teaching them religious principles(19). What is worst is that officials insist on giving documents to the effect that they are still

virgins (meaning virtuous) to girls who have been sold to over 500 men{4.Nov.} "What is left of me that is still virgin" {25.Oct.} they cry understandably. Virility is continuously threatening virginity and girls, virtue (namus), far from being protected against such peril by their "men", is becoming a marketable good.

The damage, the injustice.

Thus girls, seduced and raped, lose their virtue and become "common commodity" (orta malı). Prostitution is institutionalized{Tale 3}. Virtue becomes a word defining the qualities of a tax-paying "merchant of women" rather than maidenhood or female sexual adroitness.

Even girls who manage to avert the danger until they are married find no solace in marriage: Their husbands are promiscuous, they spend their potential, sexual and pecuniary, on other women. Being aggressive is no solution for the wife {21.Oct., 27.Nov.} If married women are adulterous or prostituting it is because their husbands do not "care for their feminine souls" and treat them like "registered property"(20).

The call for reparation.

This injustice obviously requires retribution(21). Female virtue is under attack and there seems to be no male heroes around to volunteer for the job. It is more the honor of the male community rather than the virtue of the female per se(22) that Turkish men have felt responsible: köyün namusu, mahallenin namusu. With the dissolution of the gemeinschaft spirit, very rarely a brother-in-law may fight in the name of his "yenge"{16.Nov.} but more often, men's honor (Şeref) as well as her own virtue (namus) is in the keeping of the woman: Her husband and her lover may get

together to beat an adulterous wife in the name of the "honor of the husband", the lover declaring that he would never have had an affair with her had he known that she was married{20. Nov.}

As daughters and as wives, unprotected, abused, mistreated, there seems to be a "call" for women to become the heroes of their own stories, to defend their own cases.

The transfer .

The woman is thus transferred to another realm: that of deviance. She runs away, elopes, deserts, in order to struggle against men, to repair the damage. There is a dramatic if not magical quality in her "disappearance". As a girl she runs away to escape "forced marriage"{19.Oct.} or "to become a singer"{29.Oct.}; as a wife, she runs away because she's got six more months to live{3.Nov.} or for no apparent reason as far as the husband knows{30.Oct.} At any rate, we know from a "serious" page-3 news item{15.Nov.} that within a week 56 women deserted their husbands in Istanbul. - And in the World of TAN appear everyday new women who have "just divorced", just quit the daily routine to become "singers".

The retribution of justice

The battleground for Woman is the sexual arena. Her clues she derives from the act that defines her lack: seduction and rape. Her means is her body, the image of sex: she knows that men traditionally pay for sex, and other men make money selling sex. Virility in Turkish (iktidar) is a word that defines the social as well as the sexual power of man. The sign of virility at the social level is money and a name. It is not a given but an acquired trait, since it takes some time for a man to become rich and famous: a businessmen is always middle aged

(meaning fiftyish) and of course seducing{Milli Çapkin, 22. Oct.}. Seduction and rape however is a double-edged sword: men can be seduced and raped of their social possessions- by means of sex. {"A good man is a rich man",{24.Oct;} "I prefer men over forty" 19.Nov.} That men are easily seduced by sex is a proven fact: Women rob stores in broad daylight by stripping for the owner{Tale 9}. Degradation in the World of TAN is not the result of the act of stealing, but of the inability to complete the act of stealing.

Another strategy is divorcing men: Seducing men to pay for marriage and for divorce is a well-advertised tactic, There are even women who get rich by raping men of their possessions: Marring and divorcing five of them within three years{26.Oct.} There are the husband collectors{31.Oct.} willing to advise the newly-recruited widows about the intricacies of the profession {15.Nov.} Viva Widowhood!{30.Oct.} is actually a war-cry celebrating the victory of the woman.

The victory.

The mark of victory is money. Justice has been retributed, virtue lost, money gained. Tit for tat. Now, with money, Woman can leave the world of deviance behind and depart for another country: that of entertainment, of stardom.

The return of the Hero, Incognito.

In order to be recognized when he returns to the society, the hero of the folktale is to accomplish a difficult task, unmask the false hero, show his merit. The conception of fame for TAN's Woman/Hero is that fame ultimately boils down to a display of physical looks and well planned self-advertisement: {"I am the greatest" 21.Oct.; Famous foto-model raises her rates, 22.Oct.}. Physical looks on the other hand can be

infinitely corrected{12.Nov., 16.Nov.} With new looks and a new name{19.Nov.} the hero is transfigured and ready to fight off the false heroes, the imposters. TAN also warns his hero that a refined form of "taking advantage of women" is marketing their images rather than their bodies by their "men" {18.Nov., 4.Nov.} The rule to protect oneself against such cunning is again to self-sell rather than let-be-sold.

The recognition of the hero.

It is a name, a unique identity more than money that establishes the hero as a celebrity. Being popular means having a name: Flick, for example is popular{28.Oct.} not because he is rich, but because everyone in Germany knows his name-due to a bribery scandal. Popularity or having a name, brings Woman on equal footing with the Man. For the Woman, the test of being recognized by society as a hero is to do all a man does and gets away with. She may get aggressive, beat a businessman "like a real man" {Tale 8} or be promiscuous{Tale 14}: This is still a man-defined world and social recognition, popularity is the pass-word for "manliness".

Recompensation.

A license to "social manhood", to do things only "men" can do may be the proof of the Woman's recognition by society, but the sign of Womanhood is pregnancy signifying Fertility and corresponding to Virility in men. Virtue of the maiden lost to Virility is recompensated only by Fertility. That's why the "Race of Pregnancy"{9.Nov.} goes on among the rich and the famous{26.Oct., 16.Nov., 18.Nov.} The folk-tale preferably ends with a marriage(23). -"and they lived happily ever after"- whereas in the Adventures of Woman, the recompensation is a daughter. The ultimate solace for this solitary, worn out, weary hero is to have daughter{20.Oct., 23.Oct., 2.Nov.} not a son, but a daughter who is a born-millionaire{24.Oct., 2.Nov.} well protected by her mother's fame and fortune, who will not have to go through the same ordeal.

FOOTNOTES

The Wold of TAN

1. "...the social world as a humanly produced reality, is understandable in a way not possible in the case of the natural world... It is important to keep in mind that the objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may appear to the individual, is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity". Berger and Luckmann, "The Construction of Reality" (1967) in Turnstall, Sociological Perspectives, p.55.
2. F.Jameson, The Political Unconscious, p.77-81.
3. Starr, June Ottinger, Mandalinci Köy: Law and Social Control in a Turkish Village, Unpub.Ph.D., Univ.of California (1970). in Emelie A. Olson, "Duofocal Family Structure and an Alternative Model of Husband-Wife Relations", in Kağıtçıbaşı, Sex Roles, Family + Community in Turkey (1982), p.60.
4. Cumhuriyet, 3 January 1985.
5. Describing the behaviours that symbolize the idealized sex roles in Turkish community, Levine remarks that "women are expected to be undersexed" (Ned Levine, "Social Change and Family Crisis-The Nature of Turkish Divorce", in Kağıtçıbaşı (ed) Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey (1982) p.337). Elsewhere Emelie Olson observes that career women are non-sexually defined so as to avoid their being sexually vulnerable in a men's world. Olson, "Duofocal Family..." op.cit. p.42-44, esp.f.n. 9.
6. Naki Tezel, "Türk Halk..." p.447.
7. In particular the "Küçükleri Muzır Neşriyattan Koruma Kanunu, no.1117" and "Basın Kanunu Madde 33". Tavus, Basın Rehberi, Ankara, 1969, in Kayıhan İçel, Kitle Haberleşme Hukuku, İstanbul 1977, p.223.
8. Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin başında..." p.68-69. A. Aziz, Toplum-sallaşma ve Kitleli İletişim, (1982) p.
9. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Dede Korkut...", p.428.
10. This particular tale, based on a sample of the consecutive issues of TAN for a month (19th Oct.-19th Nov.) is but to illustrate the "form" of serialization that gives an artificial order (meaning) to everyday life. Novelist Nathanael West of the American Depression Years has experimented with popular culture as a fictional strategy in his "Miss Lonelyhearts" which he once

considered subtitling "a novel in form of a comic strip". It was written in imitation of cartoonist methods where "each chapter is complete in itself while forming a part of a larger story". Furthermore, "Each chapter, instead of going forward in time, also goes forwards and backwards, up and down in space, like a picture." N. West, "Some Notes on Miss L.", Contempo, 15 May 1933, in Melling "American Popular...", p.249-5.

Elsewhere, Zeraffa, drawing on Levi-Strauss argues that the serial story is a nostalgic imitation of myths: "Even in its disintegrated form, myth still referred to a genetic and primordial order. But the serial story gives an artificial order to human existence and the not inconsiderable art of the writer consists in prolonging the process as long as possible. The reader is carried along by a series of episodes which appear at fixed dates punctuating the regular cycle of his social life torn between wanting and not wanting the series of adventures to finish, in any case he wants it to end he way he wants" (Zeraffa, Fictions, 1976, p.92).

11. "...the popular culture of Eighteenth Century England put a special emphasis on the "story" and "drama" of the underprivileged and uprooted who in their struggle for survival or success are more often than not compelled to fall on their natural resources". R. Mandrou, De la culture populaire aux 17e et 18e siecles, Paris 1965, in Z. Barbu, "Popular Culture...", p.60.
12. Propp, Morphology..., p.21. For an application of Propp's model to Turkish Tales, see Umay Günay, Elazığ Masalları, Doktora Tezi, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1975.
13. This is based on Propp's 31 functions which the folktale can possibly cover, and which, with their subcategories add up to over 200 different forms. Propp, in his Morphology demonstrates that i) the number of functions in a tale are always limited; ii) the sequence of the functions are always identical: the absence of certain functions do not change the order, so that:
Tale 1: F₁ → F₃ → F₄
Tale 2: F₇ → F₉ → F₁₁
Tale 3: F₁ → F₅ → F₇
Propp., Morphology..., p.21-25.
14. The sample consists of 16 leading articles that appeared in the odd issues of TAN between 19th Oct. and 19th Nov. 1984. The choice of every other issue enables the coverage of a comparatively longer period of time. The sampling was based on two observations: 1) that the fundamental functions of the tale always appeared in the leading article, 2) that all functions that appear in the leading articles are at least once repeated in the "lesser" news.

15. Barthes, Image..., p.98.
16. Veri Araştırma, Gazete Reklamları Değerlendirme Raporu, p.13.
17. P.N.Boratav analyzes the Turkish tales with pretty clever female heroes who compete with men on the social plane under the category of "heter tipi masallar". Drawing attention to the active role women have played in the tradition of tale-telling, Boratav suggests a relation between women struggling against the Islamic code for emancipation and the "clever girl" appearing recurrently in tales. (Zaman Zaman İçinde, Remzi Kitabevi, 1958, p.17). The "heter tipi" seems to stand at the same time for some common characteristics valued by the Turkish people in general i.e., cleverness (kurnazlık), courage, perseverance. "Hetaera" is the name given in Ancient Greece to educated conversable women whom married men occasionally met. While the legal wife's function was child-bearing, hetaera's duty was to perform the "art of love". See, Eser Erguvan-11, "Türk Masallarında Heter Tipi", Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Halkbilim Yıllığı, 1974, p.23. Nedim Gürsel, Yapıt, Nisan/Mayıs 1984.
18. This "switch of sexual roles" within a single (male) norm, rather than "a challenge" by one norm (female) over the other (male) is significant especially if Turkish culture treats men and women as "equal but separate" entities ("Kadın milleti") rather than as unequals within a single (male) norm. See E.Olson, "Duofocal Family...", op.cit.
19. There seems to be a curious universal relation between the conception of woman as evil and the social institution of "defloration" of virgins by the elderly male members of the society, sparing their future husbands of the first encounter (with evil?). This ritual is suggested as at least a partial explanation for the medieval custom of jus primae noctis. Freud, "The Taboo of Virginity" (1918), p.277.
20. See Section on "Producers of TAN".
21. "...analysis of disturbed marriages teaches us that the motives which seek to drive a woman to take revenge for her defloration are not completely extinguished even in the mental life of civilized woman". Freud, "The Taboo..", p.280. "Defloration has not only the one civilized consequence of binding the women lastingly to men, it also unleashes an archaic reaction of hostility towards him." Freud, "The Taboo...", p.282.
22. For an evaluation of the concepts of "namus" + "şeref" see Deristiany.J.G.(ed) Honour + Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society, London, Weidenfeld + Nicolson, 1965, in Özgür + Sunar "Social Psychological Patterns of Homicide" in Kağıtçıbaşı (ed) Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey, 1982, p.350.
23. Propp, Morphology..., p.63.

DISCUSSION: Fact as Fiction

The Babiali press of the formation years regarded newspapers as a "school" for the "education of the masses". More than two hundred years later, the producer of TAN feels obliged to pay at least lip-service to the "duties" of the press. In a similar attitude, the format of the newspaper is retained as the context in which contemporary tales are mass-produced. Tabloid is the format, usually one half the size of the conventional newspaper, that is associated in the West, particularly in England, with the mass-produced, pulp publications(1). If and when they are sold on the same stand with newspapers proper, they are seperately displayed to make sure that people know what they are buying. McLuhan's dictum that the Medium is the Message(2) is quite meaningful in such a social order: Even leaving aside the causal relationship between ideology and technology, it is still possible to say that for each conception, way of life, world-view there corresponds a technologically developed form conveying it. The relationship between the Victorian preoccupation with the perfect and enduring representation of the perceptual world and the development of moving pictures is another example in the same vein(3).

What happens in the specific case of TAN however seems to be a reversal: The medium by no means gives clues as to the message. The already established assumptions about a general daily newspaper is used for a purpose other than its original: for telling tales.

For a sociological approach to the case, the question branches out in two different directions at this point: What exactly is being done and why so? In what follows, both questions will be discussed in relation to their culturally specific implication as well as their relation to the popularization of culture in general.

Briefly put, what is being done is a bricolage, a borrowing from given codes(4). Pragmatic in approach, TAN chooses the newspaper as the context for its publications: The production and distribution facilities have already been discussed. But a newspaper also connotes a respectable, reliable source of "facts" with its more than two hundred years of history and affiliation with the "official". This is TAN's advantage over the picture weeklies (tabloid in format) such as Şey, Merhaba, etc., and over the monthly magazines modelled after Playboy (Erkekçe, Bravo). The images of the nude female body are less self-consciously bought and looked at at home, in public transportations or in the office when in the context of a newspaper.

"Formal" borrowings of the kind is by no means exceptional in the Turkish culture. The long history of westernization in Turkey can also be writ as a history of officially instigated importation of finished end products cut off from their cultural connotations. Having agreed that the European model is the only civilization available for mankind, the question has always been what to import and what not to import from the West in order "to save the country". One solution offered was to divide civilization into technical and non-technical and import only the technical part, which seems to have been the favoured throughout the efforts of Westernization. The alternative suggestion, "total importation" or the "appropriation of the Western culture" have aroused reactions amongst the elite to the extent that, accused of having proposed the importation of bridegrooms from Europe to cultivate the Turkish race, one of these intellectuals was heatedly condemned in the serious papers of the day and forced into political inactivity(5). Curiously enough, the same issue brought up in TAN itself illustrates how it is popularized. Under the caption of "Imported Sons-In-Law" are displayed in TAN {19 Nov.}, two Germans who have recently married Turkish

girls: They are depicted in the traditional circumcision attire which Turkish boys wear in the festivity that follows the operation. How TAN deals with these imported, ready-to-use breeders-of-the-race is quite significant. In order to appropriate them as "national" sons-in-law, they are first initiated into the culture by a ceremony that marks the entrance of the Turkish boy into the "community of men". The recourse to the traditional (religious) culture seems to be the only way to decode cultural artifacts such as bridegrooms.

All this is to illustrate the consistency of TAN in content as well as in form. The attitude is similar to the presentation of the newspaper to the semi or newly literate masses by the producers: a form to be appropriated through a recourse to the traditional mode of expression, the mode of fiction. However, before passing onto the relation of the fictional, the traditional and the masses, as opposed to the factual world of the dominant or the modern, one final remark remains to be made with reference to popular culture in general.

It is generally agreed that the popularization of a given culture, usually associated with the elite, is a process whereby it reaches a larger public as a "degraded" form of the former(6). Thus in Europe chamber music reserved for a roomful of aristocrats, reached the comparatively more crowded bourgeoisie through the symphony orchestra, which, in turn, became the refined form compared to its popularization i.e., "Play Bach" diffused via records and cassettes. But the "formalization" of classical Turkish music after the symphony orchestra, arranging the performers in a semi-circle and introducing an orchestra leader in coat-tails, contributes neither to its conservation as a refined form nor to its popularization, as it is stiffly performed on the nation-wide, single-channel TV(7).

Such official efforts at formal cultural synthesis always result in "freezing" whatever cultural process it interferes with. And such efforts, always labelled either "serious" or "official" readily serve to align the "masses" in opposition to it, like TAN the "merry paper" does.

With this we arrive at a series of questions starting with "why".

We have already mentioned that the process of popularization of a given cultural form involves multiplication, diffusion, in short re-production. Hence, it is a deliberate attack on the given: to destruct, to elaborate, to improvise, whatever the approach(8). The specificity of the Turkish cultural scene is that it is not possible to talk of a dichotomy between official/popular culture nor of a popularization of the official culture outside the problematique of westernization. Whenever the center interferes -in good will and ("in the name of the people"- to "westernize" an existing form or to adapt a western form, itself hesitant about the degree and manner of appropriation, it turns out to be a farce. On the other hand, the very fact that it is officially initiated is sufficient for a reaction against it in the periphery. Furthermore, in last decade or two, the periphery has come to differentiate between the officially adapted version of Western culture and its original form either through the networks of mass media or personally through Turkish "visiting workers" in Europe being sent back lately. The result is a precipitation against the officially offered version and the definition of popular culture as that which isn't official-a negative definition(9). Whatever connotes the official ("serious", "educative", "national") becomes parodied in its popular version, revitalizing a traditional polarity between the Ottoman and the "people". In the same vein, the written, recorded version of official reality, is opposed to

by fiction, traditionally associated with the entertaining, the oral, ineffectual and ephemeral.

The written form of fact has stood as a sign that neatly separated the ruling from the ruled in the highly developed bureaucratic heritage of Turkey(10). The Book means the Koran in Turkish; the Black-Coated Book is the Official Code and the Pen stands for the office where civil servants were trained and worked. Consequently, Western Rationality was legitimized as The Civilization of the Book(11). When such a correspondence is established between fact and the written forms of expression; fiction and the oral are allocated to the opposite pole. The liberty recognized to the millets under Ottoman jurisdiction to express themselves orally and 'fictively' seems to explain at least in part the highly developed metaphorical spoken language: Fact is first fictionalized then communicated. However, it is worth noting that such analytical dichotomies are constructed to explain the dominant tendency rather than a one to one relationship between the polarities.

Karagöz, the Turkish shadow play is one good example of a popular form of oral expression diffused throughout a "traditional" society. Karagöz was performed in the Palace, in the mansions of the elite as well as the local coffee house(12). Once transferred to the "Mirror of Facts", the white screen of Karagöz, and verbalized in homourous fiction, social and even political criticism was tolerated to a degree never made available to its written "serious" version(13). Certain delicate "facts" that the Sadrazam hesitated to discuss with the Sultan, afraid to infuriate him, were communicated through special Karagöz shows arranged for the occasion in the Palace. On the other hand, the Karagöz watched by women and children in the coffee shops or performed for the "family", was a form of entertainment allowing what otherwise would be

labelled highly immoral and pornographic(15). The Turkish "argo" owes a substantial portion of its vocabulary to Karagöz(16).

The official efforts to revitalize the tradition of Karagöz in forms of commissioning modernized texts, stage performance or broadcasting seems to have resulted in the same "freezing" effect. Alternatively, in the veins of written and illustrated forms of humour "runs the very same blood" of Karagöz.

The remaining question is how come the officials loosened their grasp on the written form with its long tradition as a keeper of facts? The answer seems to lie with the state monopoly over the audio-visual networks of mass media. The national radio network dating back to the first decades of the Republic, has come to stand for "official authority" from the very beginning and "facts" were diffused throughout the nation by whoever "took over the radio station". In the last years of the DP, lists of those who joined the pro-government National Front were read for hours over the radio without a break. The military coup of May 1960 was announced to the nation by Albay Türkeş personally. The "official" TV joined forces with the radio to close-circuit the audio-visual networks in late 60's. The claim on facts was thus transferred from the written to the audio-visual channels and rightly so, for a control over a very young and semi-literate population. The Mobilization for Adult Literacy of the eighties follows the TRT Code (1967) that legitimates state monopoly over the audio visual with a ten year lag (the higher echelons of education, on the other hand, are standardized under the Code of YÖK).

It is well known that internalized traditions die hard. But there is no Turkish equivalent of the Western tradition of written fiction with a claim to facts: i.e., the 19th century

novel with its lengthy "factual" descriptions of social and psychological reality have not diffused beyond the well - defined level of literate officials in Turkey.

As it stands then, the relation between fact + written/fiction + oral has been altered quite recently in Turkey. Since the televised world of images has claims to "reality" and facts are officially audio-visualized, the written form, with a recourse to the figurative speech and the tale form of the oral tradition, seems both the challenge and to defend itself against televised "official reality". It is no coincidence that "tale" is the word recently coined to differentiate official fiction-western or westernized- from the written form, (Latife Tekin: Tales of Garbage 1984). Alternatively, the very same word is used in newspaper reporting for claiming that official facts are but fiction (Gökova Masalı, Cumhuriyet, 30th Jan., 1985).

The specificity of TAN from this point of view, is that the timing was right, as correctly diagnosed by the producers themselves. It is not only that TAN offers fiction "to a world in which human imagination ... is arrested by a society in turmoil... more unstable and unpredictable than imagination itself"(17); TAN has come outright defining a "lacuna" available for the written form of mass communications: telling of tales, a trend the Babiali press with its long history of struggle over "facts" is hesitantly but nevertheless entering.

FOOTNOTES

1. Şenyapılı, "1970'lerin başında...", p.84; Hoggart, Uses of Literacy, p.335.
2. McLuhan observes that in mass society the content of the message is less important than the message itself which is the medium. McLuhan, Understanding Media, Routledge, 1964.
3. Smith, "Information Technology and the Myth of Abundance", Daedalus. Fall 1982.
4. "...the dynamics of rationalization-Weber's term, which Lukacs will strategically retranslate as reification- is a complex one in which the traditional or the "natural" unities, social forms, human relations, cultural events, even religious systems are systematically broken up in order to be reconstructed more efficiently, in the form of new post-natural processes or mechanisms...in which...these now isolated broken bits and pieces of the older unities acquire a certain autonomy of their own, which also serves to compensate for the dehumanization of experience reification brings with it and to rectify the otherwise intolerable effects of the new processes". Jameson, Political Unconscious, p.62.
5. Hanioglu, Abdullah Cevdet, p.388.
6. Barbu, "Popular Culture...", p.55.
7. Cem Behar, "Bir Açık Müzik Olarak Klasik Türk Müziği", Bo-yut, Şubat 1985.
8. In an evaluation of German culture during the Weimar regime, it has been argued that a "deliberate intention to shock" was the dominant feature of the cultural scene and all traditional forms were attacked for the "attainment of the sought-for effect", in this case, of "heightened feelings and intensified expression", W.Laqueur, Weimar: A Cultural History: 1918-1933 (London, 1974) in Barbu, "Popular Culture...", p.61-62.
9. "In contemporary industrial society there is one culture only, that of the dominant classes. The greater masses have to define their cultural status by simply opposing and rejecting this", Bourdieu, "Outline of a sociological theory of art perception", Internat. Soc. Sci. J., XX, 1968 in Barbu, "Popular Culture...", p.56.
10. Ş.Mardin, "Yenileşme Dinamiğinin Temelleri", Atatürk, 1983.

11. Ş.Mardin, "Batıda ve Bizde Siyasal Fikir Akımları".
12. M.And, "Karagöz Üzerindeki Bilgilere Yeni Katkılar", p.516 - 18.
13. Referring to Adolphus Slade (Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece...in 1829, London 1833, II, p.201), M.And notes that the Karagöz didn't give a heed to censorship, that even European newspapers were never allowed such overt attacks, that political satire is much more limited in the States, in England or France of the time, whereas the Karagöz of monarchic Turkey seemed like a carefree, nomadic daily, more to be feared since it was oral rather than written, attacking every possible social or political figure except for Sultan Abdülmecid whom it considered sacred (M.And, op.cit., p.515).
14. Melek Hanım, Thirty Years in the Harem, N.Y.: Harper, 1872, p.99 in Fanny Elsworth Davis, Two Centuries of the Ottoman Lady, Unpub. Ph.D. Columbia University, 1968.
15. "Nevertheless the Karagöz was never as important to the leisure life of the Ottoman woman as the story-teller, masalcı. There were two types of story-tellers during the Empire, the meddah and the masalcı. The former carried on his profession in public places and hence to an audience of men. It was the masalcı who entertained the women in the harem" (Davis, Two Centuries..., p.252).
16. M.And, "Karagöz Üzerindeki...", p.521.
17. Zev Barbu, "Popular Culture...", p.61.

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APPENDIX I

THE SET-UP IN TAN

Omer Hayyam dan dörtlükler

Kişi ile arkadaş olmak için
Biz bir öğe sevmemize akıl gözünden
Eğer bir öğe sevmemize akıl gözünden
İnsanlar çok bir şeyler sevmişlerdir

HANZO KAZIM



Hasan KACAN



ÖĞDEM



RAĞIP



UZAY FALI	Akşam hayatınız	Geceleri hayatınız	Sans Önyaban	Eğlence hayatınız	Para durumunuz
KOÇ BURCU 21 Nisan-20 Mayıs	*	*	*	*	*
BOĞA BURCU 21 Nisan-20 Mayıs	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
KIZILER BURCU 21 Mayıs-21 Haziran	*	*	*	*	*
TENGEC BURCU 22 Haziran-22 Temmuz	*	*	*	*	*
ASLAN BURCU 23 Temmuz-22 Ağustos	*	*	*	*	*
BASAK BURCU 23 Ağustos-22 Eylül	*	*	*	*	*
TERAZİ BURCU 23 Eylül-22 Ekim	*	*	*	*	*
AKREP BURCU 23 Ekim-22 Kasım	*	*	*	*	*
YAY BURCU 23 Kasım-21 Aralık	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
OĞLAK BURCU 22 Aralık-20 Ocak	*	*	*	*	*
KOVA BURCU 21 Ocak-19 Şubat	*	*	*	*	*
BALIK BURCU 20 Şubat-20 Mart	*	*	*	*	*

İSARETLERİN ANLAMI

- Kazanacaksınız
- Güçlükler çıkacak
- Umut var
- Çanınız çalınacak
- Önemli bir değişiklik olmayacak
- Sürpriz var
- Başarı gözüküyor
- Gelişmeler var
- Şanssızınız

Sevdiğinizden haber var

- ★ **POZANTI**'daki alleme ve arkadaşlarına sevgi dolu mektuplar yazmış. Jan, Onb, Gökyazan.
- ★ **SALİHLİ**'li güzel sevgilim A. Bir seni canından çok seviyorum. Her zaman da seveceğim. Salihli'den Naim Yaman
- ★ **SAĞLIK** köyün gölülk aşkım. F.D. Seni hep sevdim ve ömür boyu seveceğim. İstanbul'dan Hüseyin M.
- ★ **MALKARA**'nın güzel kızı N.K. aşkımız bir damla gözyaşı olsa bile seni kaybetmemek için ağlar mıydım? Ali beyköyü Erdoğani.
- ★ **SEVİNÇ** günün en yer gün insanı benim çünkü 24 saat seni düşünüyorum Seni seven asker sözün Kadir Gürkan.
- ★ **K.MUSTAFAPAŞA**'nın en güzel kızı Kader seni de özledim! Ben de sen de unutmadıysan eğer sevgini dile getirecek haberini TAN'da bakıyorum Bursa İnegöl'den J. ar Hamid Atalay.
- ★ **FETHİYE** Girmeler köyündeki tüm sevdiklerime kucak dolu selam eder, mutlu yarınlar dilerim. Gebze'de topçu asker İsmail Küçük Aydın.
- ★ **BİGALLI** Mahire'm seni çok seviyorum. Aşkım her geçen gün artıyor. Bigadlıç'te vatani görevini yapan İstanbullu asker U.Önbilimli Gündoğanı.
- ★ **AKSARAY**'daki tüm sevdiklerime selamlar yazarkenkinda düşünüyorum. 62/2 terlip asker Coşkun, Çerkezköy.
- ★ **GÖRELE** Çanakçı'nın güzel kızı A.B. seni ömür boyu seveceğim. biliyor musun? Kaleldibi köyü'den Mithat Barutçuoğlu.
- ★ **ALANYA**'daki sarı Emine seni seviyorum. Sen de seviyorsan TAN'a yaz. Ağrı'lı İbo.
- ★ **KONYA** Karapınar'daki Akyıldız ailesine sağlık ve selamlar. Vatani görevini yapan odunç 63/3 terlip A. Akyıldız.
- ★ **ZONGULDAK**'in eşsiz güzel kızı G.Ç. Ben seni seviyorum, senin de kalbin benimle ise adresime mektup yaz. Nazmi Şengün. Gözde Kündürü Mağ. Göle Çanakçı.
- ★ **BİNNUR** sen eğer gözlerimde yaş olsaydın, seni kaybetmemek için ömür boyu ağlamazdım. Karagürük'ten Kenan.
- ★ **İSTANBULLU** Nermin bir anemi sevgi dolu mektupları okudum. YAKAR.
- ★ **OSMANELİ**'den N.Ö. seni seviyorum. Gebze seviyorsan TAN'a yaz. Haznik'ten Orhan Akus.
- ★ **SOLHANLI** Servet ellerim havada gözlerim yolda bir aşkım bir de beni sakın unutma! Senin haberini TAN'da beklerim. D. Bekirli kız.
- ★ **DIYIRLI**'de bulunan babam, annem ve tüm eşdiklerime kucak dolu selamlar. U.Önb. Teşin Çengiz.
- ★ **KOLELİ** İsmet kız, seni unutmamak için hiç yapmıyordum. Sen de unutmadıysan TAN'a yaz. Lülbürgaz'dan Önb. Kenan Adana.



Okuldaki günlerini hatırladı

LONDRA- Rahibe okulundaki günlerini hatırlayan fotomodel Mary Tudor, mücevher reklamı için böyle poz verdi.

Çok değişik bulunan ve ilgiyle karşılanan bu poz için Mary Tudor sunları söyledi.

"Ailem beni rahibeler okuluna göndermişti. Öğrenimimi burada tamamlamıştım. O günlerim hiç aklımdan çıkmıyor. Okuldaki günlerimin anısına poz verirken rahibe kılıfına büründüm."

Fotomodel olup hayatı değiştikten sonra bile okuldaki yaşamını hasretle andığını söyleyen Mary Tudor bu pozdan sağladığı geliri okuluna vereceğini açıklayarak şöyle konuştu:

Okuldaki hocalarımı ilhamla anıyorum. Bugünleri hep onlar yaşıyorum. Ben de hayatı alemler için reklamını yaptığım mücevherlerin pozlarından elde ettiğim geliri okuluma bağışlayacağım."

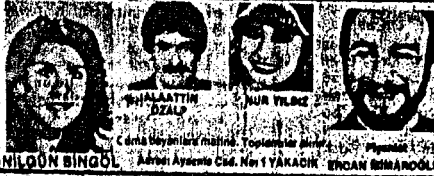
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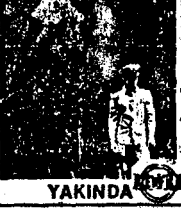
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SEYREDEYİM
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BİLMORSUN, ARAMIZDA
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VAR. DİNİMİZ DE
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HEP SEYİMİZ
AVRİ

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“Borc yığıdın kancısıdır” sözü doğruysa bu alandaki yığıtlıkte dünyada 13/üncüyüz.

Çocuklarımız dünyaya gelirken her bir 360 dolar borçlu doğuyor.

18 milyar dolar olan dış borçlarımızla dünyanın en yığıt milletleri arasında yer alıyoruz!

Yığıtlıkte bizi Brezilya 91 milyar dolar, Meksika 88 milyar dolar, Arjantin 45 milyar dolar, Kore 40 milyar dolar, Mısır 38 milyar dolar ve Hindistan 19 milyar dolar borcuyla geçiyor.

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18 milyar dolar dış borcumuz olduğuna göre, bir hesaplama yapılırsa çocuklarımız dünyaya gelirken her biri 360 dolar borçlu doğuyor.

Borc tablosu

Ülkeler	Borc Durumu
1) Brezilya...	91 milyar dolar
2) Meksika...	88 milyar dolar
3) Arjantin...	45 milyar dolar
4) Kore...	40 milyar dolar
5) Venezuela...	38 milyar dolar
6) Endonezya...	28 milyar dolar
7) Polonya...	27 milyar dolar
8) Filipinler...	26 milyar dolar
9) İsrail...	23 milyar dolar
10) Yugoslavya...	20 milyar dolar
11) Hindistan...	19 milyar dolar
12) Mısır...	18 milyar dolar
13) Türkiye...	18 milyar dolar
14) Cezayir...	17 milyar dolar
15) Şili...	17 milyar dolar
16) Peru...	14 milyar dolar
17) Portekiz...	14 milyar dolar
18) Fas...	12 milyar dolar

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Yatık" filminde yine "fahişe" rolü



"Benli Meryem yakışıklı komi arıyor"



Sinemamızın genç oyuncusu kendisinin düşündüğü hikâyeyi, Murathan Mungan ile birlikte senaryo haline getirdiklerini söylüyor. "Bir fahişenin saf, temiz bir gençle olan ilişkisini ve sonunda yine eski hayatına döndüğünü anlatan film çok iddialı olacak" diyor

Müjde Ar, hayranları Yarı Akın'ın fotoğrafı altında da, bir fahişenin rolünü canlandırıyor



"FAHİŞE ABLA'DAN" BENLİ MERYEM'E

Müjde Ar, yeni rolünü "Dağlık Yatık" filmiyle oynayacak. Senaryo Murathan Mungan'ın, yönetmenliğini ise Yarı Akın'ın yaptığı. "Benli Meryem" filmi, Cannes Film Festivali'ne katılacak. Genç oyuncu, "Benli Meryem" rolüne bir fahişenin hayatını anlatıyor ve geçen seneyki rolü de tekrar oynayacak.

Müjde Ar, yönetmenliğini "Bir Arzum Sevdi" ile Altın Portakal ödülünü kazanan Yarı Akın'ın yapımcılığında çekilecek. Genç oyuncu, "Benli Meryem" rolüne bir fahişenin hayatını anlatıyor ve geçen seneyki rolü de tekrar oynayacak.

Müjde Ar, yeni rolünü "Dağlık Yatık" filmiyle oynayacak. Senaryo Murathan Mungan'ın, yönetmenliğini ise Yarı Akın'ın yaptığı. "Benli Meryem" filmi, Cannes Film Festivali'ne katılacak. Genç oyuncu, "Benli Meryem" rolüne bir fahişenin hayatını anlatıyor ve geçen seneyki rolü de tekrar oynayacak.

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20 yıl aradan sonra, konser dizine başladı

France Gall'in dönüsü



Fransızların 1965'li yıllarda gençliği peşinden sürükleyen şarkıcısı, Kültür Bakanları'nın desteğinde düzenlenen konserlerden sonra, müziği bırakacağını ve yeni bir hayata başlayacağını açıkladı

FRANÇOISE SİPA PERE
RANCİ: 20 yıl aradan sonra müziğe geri dönen France Gall, konser dizisine başladı. Kültür Bakanları'nın desteğinde düzenlenen konserlerden sonra, müziği bırakacağını ve yeni bir hayata başlayacağını açıkladı.



Müziği bırakıyor

Fransızların 1965'li yıllarda gençliği peşinden sürükleyen şarkıcısı, Kültür Bakanları'nın desteğinde düzenlenen konserlerden sonra, müziği bırakacağını ve yeni bir hayata başlayacağını açıkladı

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EMZİKLİ AFACAN ALI

Emzikli afacan Ali, herkesten sakladığı oğluyla yakaladık

Perran Kutman'ı herkesten sakladığı oğluyla yakaladık

Nerden çıktı bu bebek?

Eğilin aserik görev nedeniyle bir yıldır sahneden ve kameralardan uzak, gününün Sarıkamış'ta geçiren güldürü sanatçısı Kutman'ın emzikli oğlunu yakaladık

EMZİKLİ AFACAN ALI
Emzikli afacan Ali, herkesten sakladığı oğluyla yakaladık. Emzikli afacan Ali, herkesten sakladığı oğluyla yakaladık. Emzikli afacan Ali, herkesten sakladığı oğluyla yakaladık.

5'ten sonra küçültüyor
27 yıllık hakim Mesut Fahir "Yaş büyültme ile küçültme davalarının hemen hepsini hanımlar açıyorlar" dedi

27 yıllık hakim Mesut Fahir "Yaş büyültme ile küçültme davalarının hemen hepsini hanımlar açıyorlar" dedi



Tecrübeli hakim
Mesut Fahir Hukuk Mahkemesi Başkanı Mesut Fahir, tüm değişikliklerin çoğunlukla kadınların açtığı davalarla ilgili olarak "Kadınlar 27 yıllık hakimiyetini de yaşayabiliyorlar" dedi.

10. Asliye Hukuk Mahkemesi Başkanı Mesut Fahir, tüm değişikliklerin çoğunlukla kadınların açtığı davalarla ilgili olarak "Kadınlar 27 yıllık hakimiyetini de yaşayabiliyorlar" dedi.



Şekillenmeye henüz bir yaşına basmamış çocuğu ile gelen kadını, kocasının boğazından nakleştiren bir kadın. Bu fotoğrafı sızdıran kişi hakkında soruşturma başlatıldı.

Süt parası
Boşandığından, çocuğunun nafakasını alabilmek için mahkemeye başvuran M.K. "Çocuğumun süt parasını mutlaka alacağım" dedi

Fırında ölümü!
Ammanlı'nın Amman eyaletindeki kızı, 29 yaşındaki Çiğdem Fırat'ın, 30 yaşındaki arkadaşları John Lane ile birlikte fırında ölümlerine sebep olan parçası olduğu iddia edildi. Fırında ölümlerine sebep olan parçası olduğu iddia edildi. Fırında ölümlerine sebep olan parçası olduğu iddia edildi.



İstanbul'da gece hayatına büyük bir değişiklik getiren Tahsin Duman'ın en güzel kadınları bir kızıdır. Maria Nine.

178 milyon kazandı

78 yaşında şanslı gülen Maria Nine'nin ilk işi, bir porşe otomobil ile disko bluzu almak

"Büyük bir kazançla bu denli şanslı davranıyorum" diyor Maria Nine bu parayı 2 bin yıla kadar harcıyacağını söyledi.

AUGUSTO/Alvar YORGANCI bildiriyor.

Ammanlı'nın Rheinlan-Pfalz Eyaleti'ne kazandı olan 178 milyon lirası Maria Nine'nin ilk işi, bir porşe otomobil ile disko bluzu almaktır.

78 yaşındaki Maria Nine, 6 rakamlı bir kazançla 178 milyon lirası kazanmıştı.

2000 yıla kadar bir ömrü 1 kez ve 6 kez kazanmış Maria Nine, Lotto'dan 6 numara'yı bulup 1 milyon 268 bin mark alırken hemen sonra, tüm alemler top layarak büyük bir kazançla yemekteyken sonra, önce Porşe 824 spor otomobil, bir de Disko bluzu aldı.

"Büyük bir kazançla bu denli şanslı davranıyorum" diyor Maria Nine, parasının kalanını bölümlere ayırarak, her yıl için bir miktarını emekli maaşına ekliyor. Maria Nine, 2000 yıla kadar her yıl 100 milyon mark kazanacağını bekliyor.



Maria Nine mutluluktan uçuyor
178 milyon kazandı Maria Nine. Fotoğrafı mutluluktan uçan Maria Nine çekti. Fotoğrafı mutluluktan uçan Maria Nine çekti. Fotoğrafı mutluluktan uçan Maria Nine çekti.

Ölüm tacirleri

İzmirliilerin "sevgilisi" Hong Kong'da öldürüldü



Ölüm tacirleri Billy Chang ve Leo Chan.

Geçtiğimiz yaz İzmir Fuarı'nda birçok hayranı toplayan ve göğüsleri açık dans ettiği için de sorguya çekilen Tahsin Duman Topluğulu dansçı Sita'nın cesedi evinde bulundu.

Gözel Sita'yı kiralık bir katipli barbasına zehir koyarak öldürdü. Cinayeti işletenin önlü gangsteri Billy Chang olduğu söyleniyor. Sita, gangsterin uzun süredir mektubunu yazıyor. Yazısı 6 sayfa.



Benzeri, ölüm korkusu içinde
İngilizce'deki bir golf kulübüne sahibi Mark Brown'un Margaret Thatcher'ın aynısı benzeri kadın benzeri kadın. İnce Parti'nin üyesi olan Margaret Thatcher'ın aynısı benzeri kadın. İnce Parti'nin üyesi olan Margaret Thatcher'ın aynısı benzeri kadın.

Süt parası
Boşandığından, çocuğunun nafakasını alabilmek için mahkemeye başvuran M.K. "Çocuğumun süt parasını mutlaka alacağım" dedi

Fırında ölümü!
Ammanlı'nın Amman eyaletindeki kızı, 29 yaşındaki Çiğdem Fırat'ın, 30 yaşındaki arkadaşları John Lane ile birlikte fırında ölümlerine sebep olan parçası olduğu iddia edildi. Fırında ölümlerine sebep olan parçası olduğu iddia edildi.

"Kuru" geliyor ama pahalı!
Dermasyon kuru, taze ve parlak olan 250 lirasına satılıyor. Parlak ve taze olan 300 lirasına satılıyor. Parlak ve taze olan 300 lirasına satılıyor. Parlak ve taze olan 300 lirasına satılıyor.

Beyaz peynirden sonra "Kaşar"ın da "ihali" isteniyor
Beyaz peynirden sonra Kaşar peynirinin de ihali isteniyor. Kaşar peynirinin de ihali isteniyor. Kaşar peynirinin de ihali isteniyor.

Paçoz
sözü yüzünden iki kadın mahkemelik oldu

Benzeri, ölüm korkusu içinde
İngilizce'deki bir golf kulübüne sahibi Mark Brown'un Margaret Thatcher'ın aynısı benzeri kadın benzeri kadın. İnce Parti'nin üyesi olan Margaret Thatcher'ın aynısı benzeri kadın. İnce Parti'nin üyesi olan Margaret Thatcher'ın aynısı benzeri kadın.

Bombalı Pazar!

İspanya, Portekiz ve Fransa'da patlayan bombalar hasarlı yol açtı

DNYANIN en büyük pazarlarından biri olan bombalı pazarın, Portekiz'de başbakan Jacques Chirac'ın An

Korkunç itiraf!...

● 500 metre derinlikte 4 gün mahsur kalan madenci ölen arkadaşlarını etlerini yiyerek yaşadı

TAYPEY, (AP)- Tayvan'da Çarşamba günü meydana gelen ve şimdiye kadar 50 kişilik ölümlere yol açan maden kazasında akillara dursunluk veren bir olay yaşandı. 500 metre derinlikte dört ilik kez sağ çıkarılan bir madenci, toprakların altında 4 gün süreyle ölen madenci arkadaşlarının etlerini yiyerek hayatta kalabildiği bildirildi.

EYVAH!

● Enerji Bakanı "Elektrik zammı yok" dedi

ANKARA, (THA)- Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanı Cemal Büyükkaya "Elektrik fiyatlarında bir ay önce artırdık, bu nedenle zammı yapılmaz" dedi. Cemal Büyükkaya yaptığı konuşmada, Bakanlık Kurulunun bir karar öncesi kabul ettiği bir karar



Bir intihar ve geride kahaneler... Ruhsal bir çöküşün sonucu intihar eden müstahdem HDseyin Pirizoğlu (sağda) ve eşi Bonazette perşan olan İsmet Atılgan Pirizoğlu çifti yavaş yavaş hayat ve sağlık ile ilgili tedavileri almaya başladı.

Müstahdem HDseyin Pirizoğlu'nun düştüğü bunalıma, eşi de...

Geride iki çocuk ve bir anne kaldı

● Karısıyla çocuklarının başıbaşa bulunduğu sırada su tüfeğiyle intihar eden HDseyin Pirizoğlu Yıldız Üniversitesi'nde müstahdemlik yapıyordu

Haber 11. sayfa

Bekâr odasında tüyler ürpertici cinayet...

Öğretmen Zencana kıydı

Tercüman

Kadın Ansiklopedisi

2. Cilt

Kupon No: (10)

● Fatih Balat'ta aynı odada paylaştığı arkadaşlarından ikisini kasıtlı olarak öldürülen, birini de yaralayan matematik öğretmeni, olaydan sonra kaçtı

● Katli, cinayet, iftirah çöp bidonuna atılarak öldürüldü. Arkadaşlarını da zanzalardan korunmaya çalıştı

● Polis, olayın ideolojik yönünün bulunup bulunmadığını da araştırıyor



CİNNETİN BEDELİ 2 ÖLÜ, 2 YARALI

2 arkadaşın cinasetine sebep olan sonra, önceki akşam yaşanan katil, bir arkadaşını da yaraladı. Bıçak çuvalına atılan cinayet, bıçakla oynayan küçük Serkan'ın da yaralanmasına yol açtı.



I/12. News and manner of presentation that do not belong to the conventional front page entering the top selling dailies: Above; Güneş, 10 December, 1984. Below: Tercüman, 11 November, 1984.

ogaz da srarengiz aza



● Çalınan oto, peşine düşen araçtan kaçarken bir taksiyle çarpıştı ve iki araç birlikte denize uçtular.
● Amansız takip, Asiyan'da başladı, Rumelihisarı'nda bitti

● Gazinocu Osman Kavran'a ait olduğu bildirilen ve çalınan araç denizden çıkarıldı fakat içindekiler bulunamadı. İki kişinin sirtaklam kaçıklarını sürüldü. Kovalayan araçtakiler de kayıplara karıştı.

● Taksinin solörü yaralı kurtarıldı, müşterisinin ise cesedi çıkarıldı.

(Yazısı 13. sayfa)



Hareket halindeki otobüsün tekerlekleri arasında düşen 18 yaşındaki genç, yaralı olarak çıkarıldı.

Evlat ACISI

● Çalıştığı halk otobüsünün altında can veren 18 yaşındaki Enver Eser'in babası, oğlunun kanlı elbiselerine sarılarak gözyaşı döktü.
(Yazısı 13. sayfa)

DÜNKÜ HÜRRIYET
376.460 - İstanbul Matbaası'nda
308.340 - Ahi ara
96.645 - Adana
86.350 - İzmir
39.915 - Erzurum
807.710 - Adet basılmıtır.



belki de hayatının en kavgı gününü yaşadığı oğlunun, akşam ölümü haberiyle alan Rehlin yüzünden vurulmuş döndü. Çığlıklar gibi hastalıklı baba, oğlunun kanlar içindeki cesetine...
(Fotoğraf: Engin GİRAY)



CESET ÇIKARILDI Fırat Yılmaz yönetimindeki fakatye yolcu olarak busem Kırkoç Kazancıyan adındaki müşteri, 35 metre derinliğe düşen otomobilin altından çıkarıldı.



GİSİYLE YAŞIYOR Eşi İbrahim'in 4 yıl önce Adana'da terör kurbanı olarak öldürülmesinden dolayı kalıplaşmış bir hayat yaşayan Nurhayat Demir, hastaneye kaldırılarak tedavisine konuldu. (Fotoğraf: İbrahim Bülent ÖZTÜRK)

Öldürülen kocasını düşünme düşünme çıldırdı Nurhayat'ın dramı

Öldürülen kocasının 1. yılında müdür muavini eşi, teröristlerce öldürülen genç kadın, karnında 7 aylık yavrusuyla duvara yaslanmış. (Yazısı 13. sayfada)



TARTIŞTILAR 17 yaşındaki Medine Ayata, ailesinin gizli bir işyeri yasağını da evire çevire dövdükten sonra potansiyelini kullanarak da ailesinin hâkim olmasını 600 bin lira karşılığında istemediği seninle evlendirmek isteyen Medine, "Ben seninle değilim" diye baharında...

Güzel Medine'den başlık, dayacağı

© 17 yaşındaki Medine Ayata, 600 bin lira başlık karşılığında kendisini 40 yaşındaki adamla zorla evlendirmek isteyen ailesinin gözünü bir yumrukle morarttı, yengesini de evire çevire dövdü. (Yazısı 15. sayfada)



Yıllık defilelerinde kadınlar mayolar, erkekler de mankenleri izledi. Defilede geçen yıllarda bu yıl bikiniyle yerini tek parça mayoları aldı dikkat çekiyordu. Ayrıca papyon ve kravat 1985 yazında deniz giysilerine girildi.

Kadın yılında kıyafet eşitliği Kıyafetli mayolar

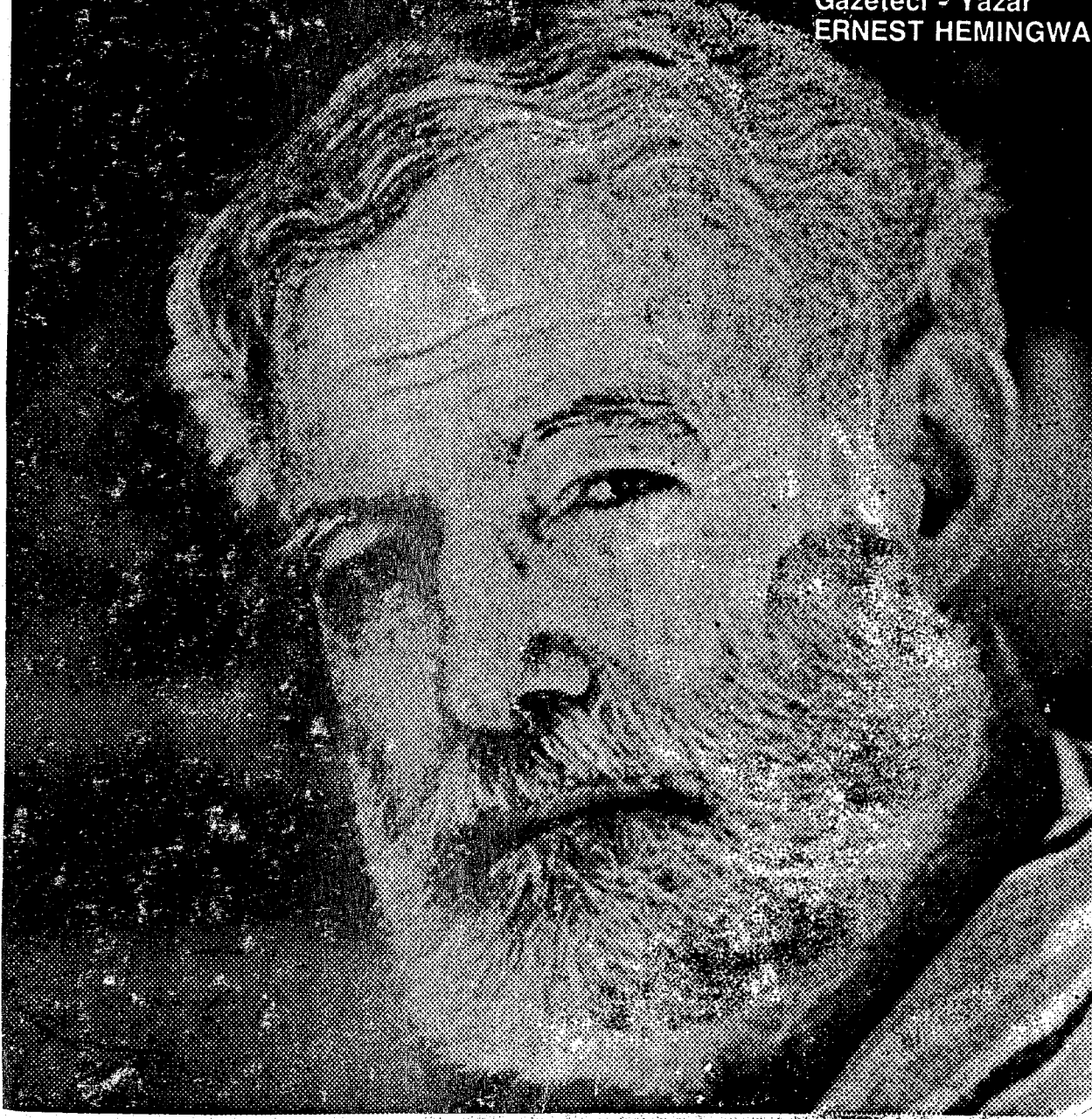
I.14. Further news from the lower half of the front pages of "serious" newspapers: Above: Hürriyet, 10 December, 1984; 16 December, 1984. Left: Güneş, 9 December, 1984.

A FOLLOW-UP ON THE PRODUCER OF TAN



Yaşasaydım, yalnız Nokta'da yazardım”*

Gazeteci - Yazar
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

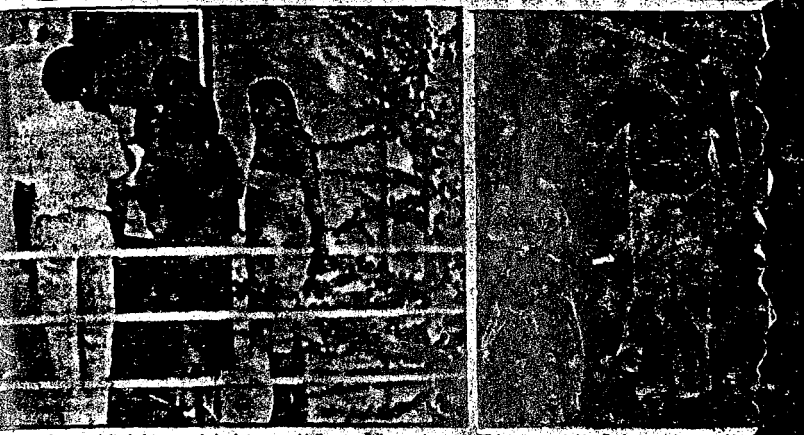


* Bu haberi kaynağından doğrulayamadık. Bu nedenle Nokta'da yayınlanmadı. Nokta Türkiye'nin en güvenilir haber dergisidir. Her haberi kaynağından doğrular. Nokta'da her iddia araştırılır, ta-

rafları bulunup konuşturulur, maddi olgular "çifte kontrol"le pekiştirilir, yazılır, redakte edilir, beş ayrı gözle beş kez okunur, üç yetkili imzayla baskıya teslim edilir.

nokta
Haftalık Haber Dergisi
Gelişim Yayınları
"Güvenilir Yayıncılık"

I/16. An advertisement for a weekly news magazine based on the professional ethics of, what the producer of TAN calls, "normal journalism".



Aktaköy'deki meşhur bahçelerinde beşyaprak pazarı: "yaygın" ile sonuçlanan...
 "Hayat kadını" ile bol para ile iki Arap turisti, motel odasının kapısını önüne get...
 "Bacı" "kızın ayrıştırdı" Üzerinde kısa süre tartışıp anlaşmazlıklar sonra odaya...
 "Bu manzara, aynı mahlule akraki olarak gözleniyor ve hepki kendine düşen...
 "Kadın pazarı, herkesin gözü önünde devam ediyor"
 "Arladıkları tekden Tekinalp, pek bir beyaz...
 "Beyaz kadını" ile bol para ile iki Arap turisti, motel odasının kapısını önüne get...
 "Bacı" "kızın ayrıştırdı" Üzerinde kısa süre tartışıp anlaşmazlıklar sonra odaya...
 "Bu manzara, aynı mahlule akraki olarak gözleniyor ve hepki kendine düşen...
 "Kadın pazarı, herkesin gözü önünde devam ediyor"

Araplara beyaz kadın bozdu



lin Asparagası: Milliyet'in "Pazar" haberi

ay elin kırılıydı Mehmet Ali Ağca. İpekçi'yi vurmasaydın bu Milliyet bu hale dü...
 di? O'nun devrinde han...
 let muhabiri "Araplara kadın pazarı" haberini la süslemek için rastge...
 resine sarılıp önüne ge...
 adının resmini çekerdii?...
 azı işleri sorumlusu bu i özene bezene birinci...
 1 sofi köşesine üç isütür...
 rdı? Aradan bir ay ge...
 t, iki ay geçince ikinci...
 kızı peş peşe yayınl...
 runda kalır mıydı Mill...
 oldu bunların. Muhabir

Haldun Tekinalp, temmuz ayın...
 da Aktaköy'deki motellerin kate...
 teryalarında cebi bol dolarlı...
 marklı Arap turistleriyle ai tak...
 ke ver külah olan (vizitesi...
 75-150 bin liraya) hayat kadın...
 ları haberini yazdı. Haberde bir...
 de renkli resim vardı. Üç kadın...
 ve iki erkek. "Arap turistleriyle...
 pazarlık eden üç hayat kadın...
 ni(1)" Kızılca kıyamet koptu son...
 ra. Resimdeki genç kadınlar...
 dan biri tekHzibi dayandı: "Ben...
 bakireyim, devlet memuruyum...
 Marmara Üniversitesi'nde yük...
 sek lisans eğitimi yapıyorum."
 Bir ay sonra, resimdeki genç...
 kadının annesinin tekHzibi yayı...
 landı: "3 hayat kadını diye bah...

sedilen kimseler ben ve iki k...
 zımdır. Bizimle netice olarak z...
 na yapmak için yazıda (odaya...
 girecek olan iki Arap turisti) di...
 ye bahsedilen kişiler ise Alman...
 ya'dan gelen gazeteci dama...
 dım ve lise öğrencisi olan öğ...
 lumdur."
 Tekinalp, apar topar Milliyet'
 ten yolcu edildi. Şimdilerde Gü...
 neş Gazetesi'nde "mesleğe"
 devam ediyor. Gazete de
 "Araplara satılan hayat kadın...
 ları" diye sunduğu ana-kızın...
 ağır tazminat istekleri altında ter...
 döküyor. İpekçi'nin ruhu da yu...
 karlarda bir yerden gazetesinin...
 ne hallere geldiğini seyrediyor...
 dur herhalde.

Öğretmenim, sen de oku...

Anneler okuyun.
Babalar okuyun.
Memurlar okuyun.
Amirler okuyun.
Şoförler okuyun.
Biletçiler okuyun.
İşçiler okuyun.
İşadamları okuyun.
Sinemacılar okuyun.
Fotoğrafçılar okuyun.
Crafikerler, ressamalar okuyun.
Yazarlar, siz de okuyun.
Ozanlar, âşıklar okuyun.
Bilim adamları, teknisyenler,
futbolcular okuyun.
Politikacılar, çiftçiler,
gazeteciler, sanatçılar,
tüccarlar, esnallar,
itfaiyeciler okuyun.
Köşe yazarları okuyun.
Profesörler okuyun.
Öğretmenim, sen de oku.
Din adamları, buluş adamları,
polisler, dakülo kızlar,
sekreterler, mankenler,
tezgâhtarlar, fizikçiler,
müzikçiler, mimarlar,
doktorlar, ebeler,
hemşireler, hastabakıcılar,
hastalar, sağlamlar,
çocuklar, gençler, büyükler,
ihracatçılar, inşaatçılar,
puantörler, jokeyler okuyun.
Reklamcılar okuyun.
Asansörcü çocuk, oku.
Garsonlar, şef-dö trenler,
metrdoteller, fah dö şambriar,
mürebbiyeler, müvekkiler, vekiller,
milletvekilleri okuyun.
Okuyun ev millet!
Oku. Okusun. Okuyalım.
Okuyalım. Okuyalım. Okuyalım.
Okuyalım. Okuyalım.
Okuyalım.

OKU
OKU
OKU

edef:
nilyon satan kitaplar.
5 milyon satan gazeteler.
Işıl ışıl bir Türkiye.

'Tan' Bulgaristan'da

Türklere yapılan baskıları yerinde saptamak için Bulgaristan'a giden üç gazeteci, 'Milliyet'ten Savaş Ay ile Güneş'ten Levent Çevik ve Faruk Arar, korku ve heyecan dolu anıların yanı sıra çok da ilginç izlenimlerle döndüler.

Her üç gazeteci de daha önce pek çok kez Bulgaristan'dan geçmişti. Bu geçişlerin kimilerinde de sıradan insanlarla kısıtlı temasları olmuştu. Son Bulgaristan gezisinde ise Bulgar yetkililerini tanımak olanağı bulundu.

Ay, Çevik ve Arar, Bulgar resmi ya da sivil güvenlik görevlileri tarafından, "çirkin çiplak soyunmaya" kadar varan sorgularla terletildiler. Ancak bu sorgular bazen "sohbete" dönüşüyorlardı. Ama sohbetlerde de:

"Araba senin mi?" "Bu maşla nasıl araba alabiliyorsunuz?" "Kaç odalı evde oturuyorsunuz?" "Ev kendinizin mi?" "İstanbul'da gezmek için nerelere gidersiniz?" "Haftada kaç gün gezersiniz?" gibi gazetecilerin özel yaşamlarına ilişkin sorular birbirini izliyordu. Üç Türk gazetecisi, soruların nedenlerini tahmin ettikleri için bu sorulara pek şaşırma-şışlardı. Ama son soruyu duyunca irkildiler: "Yanınızda Tan gazetesi var mı?" Savaş Ay, Levent Çevik ve Faruk Arar'ın şaşkınlığını gören Bulgar yetkililerinden bir ekledii: "Sizin Tan gazetenize baylıyoruz."

Amiral Bristol
NOKTA 10 ŞUBAT 1985

Faruk Arar, Savaş Ay ve Levent Çevik teneden tınağa arandılar.



I/18. An advertisement for the campaign "READ" sponsored by the Association of Journalists in December 1983 in conjunction with the Mobilization for Adult Literacy (left). Recruiting new readers for newspapers: TAN in Bulgaria (above).

Tan "babasını" kaybetti

"Kral Gazete"nin yaratıcısı Rahmi Turan Yeni Asır'a geçti

Evet, kendimi çocuğumdan ayrıyor gibi hissettiğim doğru. Çalıştık çabaladık. Türkiye'nin en çok satan gazetesini doğurduk. Bunu ben yaptım. 1 yıl 7 ay süre ile hiçbir tiraj kaybı olmadı. Artık kişiliğini buldu. Bu nedenle Tan'dan gönül rahatlığı ile ayrılabilirim."

Tan gazetesinin babası olarak bilinen Rahmi Turan böyle diyordu. Geçtiğimiz haftanın ortalarında Babiali'de Rahmi Turan'ın Veb Ofset grubundan ayrılarak Yeni Asır bünyesine geçeceğini duyanlar kullarına inanamıyorlardı. Zira kuruluşundan bugüne kadar, önce Günaydın, sonra Tan gazetelerinde manşet haberinden noktasına kadar her şeyiyle ilgilenen bir gazeteci olarak tanınıyordu Rahmi Turan.

İlk akla gelen, büyük transfer parasının ödenip ödenmediği idi. Nitekim fısıltılar hemen yoğunlaşıyordu. "25 milyon almış, 8 kişi ile gidiyormuş" türünden çıkan ilk söylenti daha akşam olmadan "duydun mu, Rahmi Turan 75 milyon

Yeni Asır'a geçmiş'e dönüşüyor-

du. Ancak perşembe günü akşamı işin aslının hiç de böyle olmadığı ortaya çıkıyordu. Kendisi ile bir telefon konuşması yaptığımız Rahmi Turan, "Evet yeni bir gazete çıkarmak üzere Yeni Asır bünyesine geçtiğim doğru ancak nakit olarak gerçekleştireceğim hiçbir transfer ücreti almadım. Şimdilik yüzde 20 bir ortaklık söz konusu. Siz Babiali'yi bilirsiniz. Bir köşede öksürseniz, diğer köşede zattırreden öldüğünüzü duyarsınız" diyordu.

Ama neden? Rahmi Turan'ın herhangi bir transfer ücreti almadan "çocuğum" diye nitelediği Tan gazetesinden ayrılmak akıllara ister istemez "ama neden?" sorusunu getiriyordu.

Bundan 7 yıl önce Günaydın gazetesinin çıkma hazırlıkları yapıldığı sırada, Babiali'de ilk kez gerçek anlamda sadece daha yüksek maaş vaadi ile gazeteci transferleri yapılmıştı. Rahmi Turan da o zaman Akşam'dan Günaydın'a geçmişti ve burada "Günaydın ekolü" olarak

ce İstanbul'a yönelik bölgesel bir gazete çıkarmak gibi iki ayrı projesi vardı. Ancak şimdi Rahmi Turan bir iki projenin tamamını dışında yepyeni bir gazete için gidiyordu. "Türk okuyucusu yenilik ister. İşte bunu bir kez daha deneyeyim. Eski deneyimlerimden ötürü kendime güveniyorum. Şimdilik sadece ben ve Akgün Tekin gidiyoruz. Yeni bünye ve yeni çalışma şartları var önümde. Bu nedenle kimseye şimdilik gel demiyorum. Zaten 20 kişilik kadrosu olan Tan'dan kimseyi de çağırmak istemiyorum. İnsan çocuğunun zor duruma düşmesini ister mi hiç?" Rahmi Turan son gelişmeleri böyle özetliyordu. Kendisini tanıyanlar ve Babiali çalışanları ise 46 yaşındaki Turan'ın "ben yaptım yine yaparım" düşüncesinde olduğunu fısıldıyorlardı.

Yeni Asır yöneticileri ne diyor. Yeni Asır Genel Koordinatörü Cetin Gürel ise Rahmi Turan'ın kendi bünyelerine sadece ortaklık alarak geçtiğini belirtirken, Günaydın bünyesinden hiçbir kimseye teklif götürmediklerini vurguluyordu. Bu konuyu tamamen Rahmi Turan'a bıraktıklarını ancak onun da ekibini Veb Ofset dışından kurmak niyetinde olduğunu söylüyordu. Bu son gelişmelerle ilgili Günaydın gazetesinin günlük istihbarat şefi Ahmet Vardar ve Golge Adam Ertugrul Akbay'ın isimlerinin dolastığını ileri sürdüğümüz zaman, Cetin Gürel "alemin ağı torba değil ki büzesin" diyordu.

"Kral Gazete Tan'ın egemenliği ne olacak? Rahmi Turan bu konuda arkadaşlarına güvendiğini ve gazetenin 590 günlük birimde kişiliğine kavıştığını, bu nedenle gözünün arkada kalmayacağını söylüyordu. Ancak tirajı 840 bin olan Tan'ın geleceği konusunda Babiali mensupları hiç de aynı zamanda değillerdi. Her bir abızdan "Üçüncü sayfa dışında her gün tüm gazeteyi o yapar. Onun buluşları ve başlıklarını kimse yaşatamaz" diyorlardı. Yeni Asır bünyesinde çıkacak olan gazetenin biçimi ve niteliği için hiç acıklanmamasına rağmen başına Rahmi Turan'ın getirilmesi nedeniyle bir ikinci Tan olabilir düşüncesinde akıllara geliyordu. Yeni gazetenin yaz aylarına kalmadan çıkacağı varsayılırsa, "Kral Tan"ın egemenliğinin ne olacağı yakında açıklığa kavuşacaktı.



Rahmi Turan: "Tan'dan Yeni Asır'a geçerken transfer parası almadım"



tanımlanan grubun yaratıcılarından biri olmuştur. Rahmi Turan yıllar sonra Türkiye'nin en çok okunan gazetesi Tan'ı da yaratıyordu. Şimdi ise Yeni Asır bünyesinde Türkiye çapında günlük bir gazete çıkarmaya gidiyordu. İzmir'de yayınlanan Yeni Asır'ın merkezini İstanbul'a taşıyıp gazeteyi Türkiye çapına yaymak veya sade-

Sabah itici güç olacak'

Türkiye'nin en büyük ve en güçlü bölge gazetesi Yeni Asır, uzun bir bekleme evresinden sonra Babil'i girme kararı aldı. Ama bu girişim Yeni Asır olarak değil de Sabah adını taşıyan yeni bir gazete halinde gerçekleştirilmesi öngörüldü. İşte bu amaçla Tan ve Günayın gazetelerinin mimarı sayılan Rahmi Turan'ın transferi sağlandı. Diğer teknik hazırlıklar da sonuçlanmasına getirildi. Yeni Asır ve Sabah gazeteleri imtiyaz sahibi Bilgin, Nokta'nın sorularını yanıtlarken, "Sabah'ın büyük bir başarıyla çıkması, 22 Nisan 1985 günü yayın hayatına başlayacağını" açıkladı. Dinç Bilgin, Nokta'nın diğer sorularına da şu yanıtları ver-

Nokta: Daha önceleri Yeni Asır'ın Ege dışına açılma projesi gündemdeydi. Son gelişmelerle Yeni Asır yine Ege'de kaldı ve Sabah yayı ortaya çıktı. Neden böyle oldu?

Bilgin: Aslında Yeni Asır'ın Ege dışına açılma projesi ortadan kalkmış değil. Yeni Asır'ın Türkiye tecrübesi yok. Biz bu yaygın pazarı İstanbul'da gazete çıkarmış bir takım tarafından yayınlanacak bir gazete ile birlikte kazanmak istedik. Oksan yaşına ulaşmış Yeni Asır'ı daha dikkatli ve tedbirli bir şekilde hazırlayarak piyasaya sunmayı nedim. Yani Sabah'a sadece ön-lik verdik. Yeni Asır'ı bir gün Ege'de Ege dışında da basacağız.

Nokta: Rahmi Turan ve arkadaşlarının ekonomik transfer ücretleri ve maaşlar verildiği söylenmektedir. Kendisi ise sadece Sabah'ın yüzde 20 hissesini alarak geldiğini söyler. Siz ne diyorsunuz?

Bilgin: Transfer ücretleri, maaş ve hisse, primler bütün bunlar için meselelerimiz. Olay, ticari açıdan içininde çözülmüştür. Bunun için bu konuda bir şey söyleyemiyorum.

Nokta: Yeni Asır'ın boyutlarını 1984'te daraltmıştınız. Aynı bünyede iki gazete olacaktır. Sabah da Yeni Asır gibi iki kâğıda mı basılacak? Aksi takdirde, bu durum teknik bir güçlüğü beraberinde getirmeyecek

Bilgin: Sabah Türkiye'nin diğer büyük gazeteleri ile aynı boyutları taşıyacak. Yeni Asır'ın tekrar 80'lik boyutuna basılması olayı ise henüz de safhasında. Ama büyük bir başarıyla iki gazetenin de boyutlanmasını sağlayacağız.

Nokta: Sabah'ın ilk aşamada ulaşmasını beklediğiniz hedef nedir?

Bilgin: Sabah öncelikle daha önce var olup da kaybolan bir milyon dolayındaki okuyucuya seslenecek.

Bu kesim, ekonomik zorluklar nedeniyle gazete almaktan vazgeçmişti. Artık 50 liralık fiyatın yaşanan ekonomik ortam içinde pek pahalı olmadığı kanısındayım. Ayrıca yeni bir potansiyel de yaratılabilir. Büyük gazetelerimizin oturmaş tirajlarını olumsuz yönde etkileyeceğimizi sanmıyoruz. Ama Sabah'ın bu büyük gazeteler arasında yer alacağına inanıyoruz.

Nokta: Zamanında Güneş gazetesinin yaptığı gibi etkili bir reklam kampanyası uygulayacak mısınız?

Bilgin: Tabii. Sabah piyasaya çıkmadan patırlı gürlürlü bir reklam kampanyası yapacak. Ama bu Güneş'in yaptığı ölçüde olmayacak. Güneş'in reklam için yaptığı harcamaları bizim hayallerimizin dahi dışında olan rakamlar.

Nokta: Sabah'ta lotarya olacak mı?

Bilgin: Televizyon, gazetelerin lotaryaya yönelik reklamlarını kabul etmiyor. Bu yüzden lotarya bir reklam vesilesi olmaktan çıkıyor. Satışımızı lotaryaya bağlamış değiliz. Ama yine de Sabah'ın kendine özgü bir lotaryası olacak.

Nokta: Sabah'ın Günaydın ve Tan arası bir biçim ve içerik taşıyacağı söyleniyor.

Bilgin: Hayır. Bu gazetelerden daha çok Hürriyet'e benzeyecek diyebilirim.

Nokta: Pekî Sabah nasıl bir gazete olacak? Tanımlar mısınız?

Bilgin: Sabah haber veren, ama haberi, okumaya çok çok zaman ayıramayan kesimleri düşünerek veren bir gazete olacak. Gerçekçi

zamanı geldiğinde vurucu, atak, güler yüzlü, siyasi yönden tarafsız ve evine tek gazete alma durumunda olan kitlelere yönelik bir gazete olacak. Kısaca, popüler bir halk gazetesi olacak.

Nokta: Örneğin köşe yazarlarına hangi ölçüde yer verilecek. Bu ko-

history of the BabiAli Press First appearing in 1895, it associated with names such as Ahmet Rasim, Ali Kemal and remained in circulation for consecutive years (H.Topuz, Soruda Basın Tarihi, p.75-78 name reappears among the leading newspapers in 1940's as Yeni where Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın was the editorial (ibid, p.165).

Bilgin: Bunun da belli bir ölçüsü olacak. Bazı sürpriz isimler var tabii. Ama şimdilik gizli tutmayı tercih ediyoruz.

Nokta: Sabah'ın çıkışı Ege'de Yeni Asır'ın durumunu etkiler mi?

Bilgin: Daha önce söylediğim gibi Sabah'ın büyük gazeteleri fazla etkileyeceğini sanmıyorum. Ayrıca Yeni Asır'ı Ege'de değil Sabah, hiçbir gazete etkileyemez.

Nokta: Şimdi siz iki gazetenin de imtiyaz sahibi olacaksınız. Ağır-ğı hangisine vereceksiniz?

Bilgin: Yeni doğan bir bebeğe daha fazla ihtimam gösterilmesi gerekebilir. Fakat yine de dengeli bir biçimde olacak.

Nokta: Bu girişiminiz BabiAli'de nasıl karşılandı?

Bilgin: Olumsuz bir tepki sezmedim. Hayırlı uğurlu olsun diyen sempatik davranışlarla karşılaşım şimdiye kadar. Ayrıca biz BabiAli'ye düşmanlık yaratmak, kavgaya çıkarmak için gitmiyoruz ki. Sadece biz de bir gazete çıkarmak istiyoruz. Eğer bu İstanbul'a dışardan gelme olayı ise, İstanbul'da gazete çıkaranların hepsi İstanbullu mu?

Aslında, enlem olarak değilse bile boylam olarak İstanbul'a en yakın olan benim. Olaya bir başka açıdan bakarsak, Yeni Asır Ege'de diğer meslektaşlarımıza başarıyı kovalamak arzusu yermistir. Ege'de diğer bölgelerden farklı olarak daha güçlü ve daha iddialı bir çalışma içine girmişlerdir. Bu da seviyeyi ve kaliteyi yükseltmiştir. Sabah için de aynı şey söz konusu. Sabah onlar için bir itici güç olduğundan daha iyi şeyler yapmaları isteyecektir. Belki de bu sayede tirajlarını artırma imkânı da bulacaklardır. Dediğim gibi Sabah'ın diğer gazetelerin tirajlarını olumsuz yönde etkileyeceğini sanmıyorum. Eğer tirajlarında bir düşme olsa dahi, bunu sadece Sabah'ın çıkışına bağlamak da yanlış olacaktır. Çünkü yaz sezonuna girmek üzereyiz. Ve bu mevsimde, gazetelerde tiraj azalmaları gayet doğaldır.

THE TALE OF THE KILLING BEAUTY
AND
THE POLICE OFFICER WHO MURDERED HIS MISTRESS
(A NEWS ITEM)

Öldüren güzel!



17 yaşında katil oldu

Kocasını öldüren on yedi yaşındaki Müzeyyen "Aşk güzel şey... Sevmek çok tatlı bir olay. Ama bu, azgın bir kocanın elinde bana tam bir işkence oldu... Sağlarımı yolsalar, tırnaklarımı çekeseler, kızgın demirle dağıtasalar, bu kadar ıstırap duymazdım" diye konuşuyor...

4 aylık kocasını, tek bıçak darbesiyle kalbinden vurup öldüren Müzeyyen "Her gün onunla 8-10 defa aşk yapmaktan bıkmıştım" dedi

Cinayet suçundan yargılanan Müzeyyen, şöyle anlattı:

"Kocam bol bol ceviz içi, badem, muz, bal ve üzüm yiyor, dinlenip dinlenip bana saldırıyordu. Aşk artık işkence halini almıştı. Korkudan kaçacak delik arıyordum ama, mutfak, tuvalet, banyo demeden beni nerede yakalarsa orada yatırıyordu."

"Canı isteyince işe gittiği için çoğu zaman evdeydi. Bazen beni sapık ilişkilerle de zorluyordu"

"Artık evlilikten öğrenmiştim. Onu öldürmeden bu işkenceye kurtulamayacağımı biliyordum. O gece (Ne olur yeter artık, gücüm kalmadı, kendim!) diye yalvardım. Ama yine de beni zorla yatağa çekti."

(Yazısı 4'üncü sayfada)
•Timuçin TULİS•



Öldürülen koca

Gece-gündüz demeden durup dinlenmeden karısını yatağa çeken Cevdet, seki tutkunluğunu canıyla ödedi

ÖLDÜREN GÜZEL!

İZMİR-Müzeyyen Sevgi adındaki bir genç kadın, kendisiyle günde 8-10 defa aşk yapan 4 aylık kocasını tek bıçak darbesiyle kalbinden vurup öldürdü. Olay, Eskişehir'de meydana geldi. Olaydan sonra karakola gidip teslim olan 17 yaşındaki Müzeyyen, "Kocam Cevdet'le, her gün 8-10 defa aşk yapıyorduk" dedi.

Karakoldaki ifadesinden sonra adliyeye sevk edilen ve cinayet suçundan yargılanan Eskişehirli Müzeyyen, olayı anlatırken şuları söyledi:

"Yakından tanıyalım"
"Kızken, Cevdet'i uzaktan tanıyordum. Alilemin işaraları sonunda onunla bir köstük. Ama o, daha tanışılmadan, (Birbirimizi) daha yakından tanıyalım" diyerek zorla irzına geçti. Bunun üzerine, ailemin baskısı sonucu onunla 4 ay önce İmam nikahı yapıp evlendik. Resmi nikahımız ise bir ay önce yaptık.

Evli olarak yaşadığımız 4 ayın her günü ıstırap içinde geçti. Kocam evlendiğimiz günden beri sabah, öğlen, akşam demeden, günde 8-10 defa benimle aşk yapıyordu. Bu bazı günler 10'a bile çıkıyordu.

"Nerede yakalarsa..."

Kuvvet toplamak için bol bol ceviz içi, badem, muz, bal ve üzüm yiyor, dinlenip dinlenip bana saldırıyordu. Aşk artık işkence halini almıştı. Her yanım sızlıyordu. Korkudan kaçacak delik arıyordum ama, beni bak-kala bile göndermiyordu. Mutfak, tuvalet, banyo demeden beni nerede yakalarsa orada yatırıyordu.

Kocam öte yıkayacağı yaparak para kazanıyordu. Bu nedenle canı istediği zaman işe gidiyor, çoğu zaman

Beni kaspacaklar diye ödü kopuyor, evden dışarı çıkarmıyordu. Yatak odasında, kaçarsın diye kapıyı bile kilitleyorduk. Bazen beni sapık ilişkilerle de zorluyordu. Artık evlilikten öğrenmiştim. Başkaları için en büyük zevk olan kart-koca ilişkisi benim için tamamen bir işkenceydi. Tuvaletimi yaparken bile zorluk çekiyordum. Her yerim morarmıştı.

"Yeter artık!"
Uykumun arasında bile sabaha karşı beni uyandırıp her gece birkaç defa aşk yapıyordu. Sevmekten yorulunca da şu sözlerle kedi gibi uylanıyordu. Böyle günlerde, sabah erkenden evden çıkıp gidiyor ve geç saatlere kadar çılgın 10-15 günde birkaç kez kadar, para kazandıktan sonra yine eve kapanıyordu.

Olay günü (Yeter artık!) deyip kendisiyle kavga ettim. Fakat yine dinlemedi. Sabah kahvaltısından hemen sonra benimle aşk yapmaya başladı. Akşamına kadar 8 defa aşk yaptı. Bitkin düştüm, çırpınarak uyuyla kalmıştım. Gece yarısı uyandırıp beni yine kendisine çekti. (Ne olur yeter artık, gücüm kalmadı, öldürdüm!) diye kendisine yalvardım. Ama yine de beni zorla yatağa çekti.

"Çığmı sönmüştü"

Onu öldürmeden bu işkenceye kurtulamayacağımı biliyordum. Başka çarem yoktu. O üstümden bir fırsatını bulup kalkmaya çalıştım. Kocam çığmı sönmüştü. Mutfaka gidip ekmek bıçağı ile döndü. Bu defa da beni bıçakla tehdit ederek yatağa itti. Bıçağı elinden alıp kendisine salladım. Yere yığılıp kaldı.

Korkudan evden kaçtım. Fakat

I/22. The Killing Beauty, 10 December 1984; Leading Article, TAN.



Birlikte yaşıyorlardı

Komiser Muavini Seyyidülminan Çorum'a atılma teklifini reddeden Songül Sener (23) tabanca ile öldürüldü. Yukarıda Mehmet Görkem ile Songül Sener gayrimesru çocukları ile birlikte görülüyor. Olay sırasında ise Songül Sener'in vadeden Nuray Sener yaralandı. (Kısa özetim)

komiser muavini evgünlisinin evini kana buladı

Çorum'a tayini çıkan komiser muavini Mehmet Görkem dostu Songül Sener'in kendisi ile gelmesini reddedince tabancasını çekip öldürdü

tabancasını çekti ve Songül Sener'i öldürdü. Sener'in yaralı olarak hastaneye kaldırıldığı ve hayatını kaybettiği öğrenildi.

12 Aralık 1984

Çorum'da Komiser Muavini Mehmet Görkem'in tayini Çorum'a çıkması üzerine Songül Sener'in kendisi ile gelmesini reddetmesi üzerine Mehmet Görkem'in evine girmesi ve Songül Sener'i öldürmesi olayı meydana geldi. Olayın ardından Mehmet Görkem'in de yaralandığı öğrenildi. Sivil Savunma Amirliği tarafından olayın araştırılması için soruşturma başlatıldı.

Detayları

Komiser Muavini Mehmet Görkem'in Çorum'a tayini üzerine Songül Sener'in kendisi ile gelmesini reddetmesi üzerine Mehmet Görkem'in evine girmesi ve Songül Sener'i öldürmesi olayı meydana geldi. Olayın ardından Mehmet Görkem'in de yaralandığı öğrenildi. Sivil Savunma Amirliği tarafından olayın araştırılması için soruşturma başlatıldı.

Yaralı Zikri

Yaralı Zikri Mehmet Görkem'in yaralı olarak hastaneye kaldırıldığı ve hayatını kaybettiği öğrenildi. Olayın ardından Mehmet Görkem'in de yaralandığı öğrenildi. Sivil Savunma Amirliği tarafından olayın araştırılması için soruşturma başlatıldı.

Hayat kadını dostunu öldürdü

Polisin yasak aşkı kanlı



DE KALAN FOTOĞRAF Evli ve 3 çocuk babası olmama rağmen hayat kadını Songül Şener ile 10 yaşındaki oğlunun Komiser Yardımcısı Mehmet Görkem bir de bu fotoğrafta. Kocasının öldürülmesinden önce çocukları ile Songül Şener, bir gün yarımadaki apartmanı için yarımadanın merdiveninde karşılaşmıştı.



bitti

- Aşırı alkollü 3 çocuk babası Narkotik Şube görevlisi Mehmet Görkem'in beylik tabancasından çıkan kurşunlarda sevgilisinin ablası ve 2 çocuğu da yaralandı
 - Çorum'a tayini çıkan komiser muavini, sevgilisine "Benimle gel" dedi: "Olumsuz cevap alınca ortalığı kandı buladı."
- (Yazısı 17. sayfada)

BANYOYA KAÇMIŞTI Hayat kadını Songül Şener polis sevgili tabancasından çıkan kurşunlara kaçmak istedi. Ancak Mehmet Görkem'in tabancasından çıkan kurşunlar Songül Şener'i cansız yere serdi.

Polisin yasak aşkı kanlı bitti

EVLİ ve 3 çocuk babası polisle, gençlev kadını arasındaki aşk. 1 kişinin ölümü, 3 kişinin yaralanması ve bir aile ocağının sönmesiyle, acı bir şekilde noktalandı.

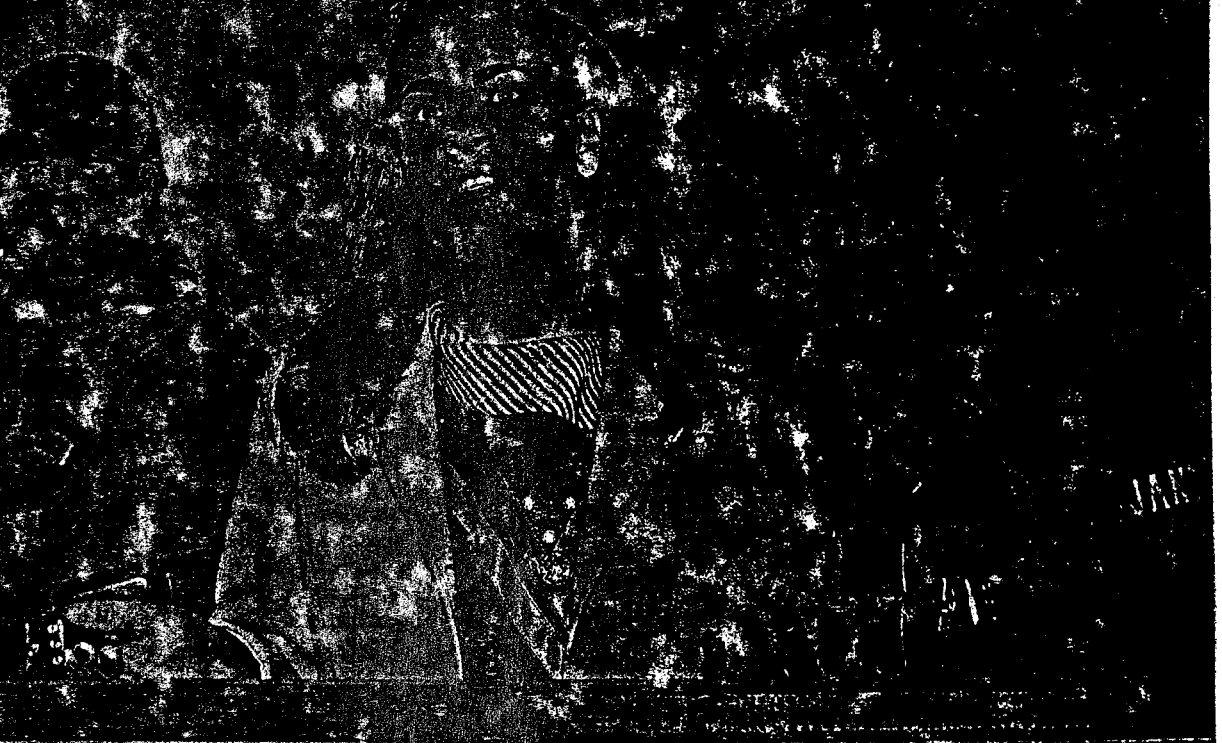
Bir yıldır sevgilisi olan hayat kadını Songül Şener'in evinde çıkan tartışmada beylik tabancasını çeken Narkotik Şube Komiser Yardımcılarından Mehmet Görkem, ortalığı kana buladı. Aşırı içkili olan Mehmet Görkem'in tabancasından çıkan kurşunlardan Songül Şener, olay yerinde can verirken, ablası Dürdane Tüzeyarar ile kızları Fatma Şener ve Nuray Şener de yaralandılar.

Polisin verdiği bilgiye göre, korkunç olay, önceki gece saat 05.00 sıralarında, Okmeydanı, Halit Ziya Türkan Sokak'taki Famas Apartmanı'nın 5 numaralı dairelerinde meydana geldi. Bir süre önce Çorum'a tayini çıkan Komiser Yardımcısı Mehmet Görkem, gece eğlence dönüşü Songül Şener'i evine götürdü. Songül Şener'in de Çorum'a gelmesini ve orada çalışmasını isteyen Mehmet Görkem, ret cevabı alınca, aralarında başlayan münakaşa, birden

büyüdü. Songül Şener'in aynı evde kalan ablası Dürdane Tüzeyarar'ın: "Songül, Zonguldak Genelinde çalışacak. Seninle Çorum'a falan gidemem. Biz rahat bırak ve buradan desol." demesine sinirlenen Mehmet Görkem, beylik tabancasını çıkararak kurşun yağdırmaya başladı. Songül Şener canını kurtarmak için kaçtığı evin banyosunda kurşunlara hedef oldu: kansız yere serilirken, Dürdane Tüzeyarar, kızları Fatma Şener ve Nuray Şener, çeşitli yerlerinden yaralandılar. Olaydan sonra Mehmet Görkem kaçarken, yaralıları, silah seslerini duyup eve koşan komşular tarafından Okmeydanı SSK Hastanesi'ne kaldırıldılar. Doktorlar, Dürdane Tüzeyarar'ın durumunun ağır olduğunu bildirdiler.

Komiser Muavini Mehmet Görkem, daha sonra karakola giderek teslim oldu. "İçkiliydim, bana söyleyen sözler çok kerhelidim; bir an kendimi kaybettim. Çok yazık oldu, pişmanım." diyen Mehmet Görkem'in olayı duyan eşi de perişan oldu. Polis yetkilileri, olayla ilgili soruşturmanın sürdürüldüğünü bildirdiler.

I/24. The news about the police officer as it appeared in the front page of Hürriyet, 2 December 1984.



Ömür boyu hapis istemiyle vargılanıyor

...sü düşkünlü olan ve normal olmayan ilişkilerle geçen dört aylık kocasını tabii olarak yaralı olarak kalan bir kadın öldüren Müzeyyen Sevgi, ömür boyu hapis istemiyle vargılanıyor. Duruşmada sorulara ne bir kadın veyahut dışarıda olmuşum ne farkeder? Benim zaten hayatım sönmüş diye kızmasın diye diyor.

Aşktan nefret ettim!

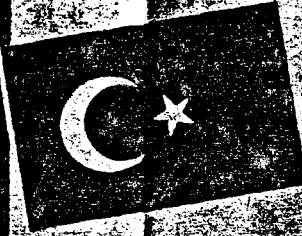
Kocasını tek bıçak darbesiyle öldüren Müzeyyen "Kocam sabıgın biriydi. Gece giyorduk. Yatmaktan başka bir şey düşünmüyorduk" dedi.

25. The follow-up on the Killing Beauty, 6 Januar, 1985; Front Page, TAN.

SOME MORE TALES FROM TAN

61. yılı

Cumhuriyet
Bayramı
törenlerle
kutlanıyor...



- Cumhuriyet'in 61. yıldönümü nedeniyle bütün yurtda; Dış temsilciliklerimizde ve yavru yatan Kıbrıs'ta törenler düzenlendi.
- Ankara'daki geçit töreni televizyondan renkli olarak naklen yayınlanacak.
- Ayrıntılı bilgi 3'üncü sayfada



Büyük Atatürk
Cumhuriyetimizin kurucusu
Ulu Önder Büyük Atatürk

★PAZARTESİ.29 EKİM.1984★20 LIRA

"Hayatım televizyon filmi olur"

■ "Kartallar Yüksek Uçar dizi filmindeki gibi şarkıcı olayım derken zengin ve yaşlı bir çapkının eline düştüm" diyen Zonguldaklı Aysel hayatını şöyle anlattı:

- "Küçüküm. Bir gün annemi eniştemle sevgilerken gördüm. Durumu aşıbayıma anlattım. O: "İkisini de dövü. Bu olay üzerine annem beni evden attı."
- "Gidecek yerim yoktu. Mustafa Özdemir adlı adamla tanıştım. (Gel seni şarkıcı yapalım) dedi. O boş boşim açtı. Güzelleş diye bana rakı içirdi. Sonra: "hatırlamıyorum. Bebeğim uyandı. Kendim bir yatakta oturdum. O: "Bunu her şarkıcı yapar" dedi. Ben: "Evet, ben de şarkıcı olacağım" dedim."
- "Mustafa beni daha sonra Emrullah Kılıç adlı adamla tanıştırmıştı. (Bu adam sana şarkıcıyı öğretecek) dedi. O: "Evet, ben de şarkıcı yapacağım" dedim. Ben: "Evet, ben de şarkıcı olacağım" dedim. Ben: "Evet, ben de şarkıcı olacağım" dedim."



"Onunla herkes yattı, biz yakalandık"

Aysel ile yakalanan Bülent Korkmaz ve Hasan Aydın "Onunla herkes yattı, biz yakalandık" dediler. Mahkeme Aysel ile beraber darbuka ve kemanla alen vapan onları suçsuz bulup serbest bıraktı.



"Şarkıcı olacağım günü bekliyorum"

Mahkemede çok sık konuşan Aysel "Birçok insan beni satın alırdı çok para kazandı. Ben her şeyi sanat için yaptım. Şarkıcı olacağım günü bekliyorum" dedi ama hakkında hiçbir suçundan arıtırma açılmadı.

(Yazın 4'üncü sayfa)

Mustafa ALTINTAŞ

I/26. "My Life a TV Serial" or "The Tale of the Girl Who Wanted to Become a Singer"

Erkekliğini kaybeden genç cinayet işledi!



Suçunu itiraf etti...

Şemsettin Erdol "Beni idam ederiz için olayı 6000 ayırtısı ile anlatıyorum" dedi ve şöyle konuştu: "Kadın benimle tekilf ettiler, kabul etmedim. Erkekliğim de yok. Onun için 6000 kurtuluştu. Ne olur beni kurtarın"

☐ Katil Şemsettin cinayeti şöyle anlattı:

☐ "Yıllar önce bir kadınla yatarken ansızın erkekliğimi kaybettim. Doktorlar (Bu psikolojik bir olaydır, geçer) dediler ama aletimin işgörmezliği hâlâ devam ediyor"

☐ "Bunu bilen arkadaşım Rahmi Seymen, benimle alay etmeye başladı. Karşıma güzel güzel kızlar getirip (Bunlar sana emanet. Nasıl olsa senden bir zarar gelmez) diyordu"

☐ "Güzel kızları görüp onlarla beraber olmamak beni deli ediyordu. Sonunda tepem attı. Bana bu işkenciyi yapan arkadaşım Rahmi'yi vurup öldürdüm"

☐ "Hiç pişman değilim. Kadınlara yatmadan önce sonra neden yaşamanın anlamı var mı? Beni idam edin kurtulayım"

(Yazısı 4'üncü sayfa)

• Mehmet ÖZŞAHİN-Trabzon •



Hayatıyla ödedi

Rahmi Seymen arkadaş Şemsettin Erdol'un erkekliğiyle sürekli alay etmenin cezasını hayatıyla ödedi...

Erkekliğini kaybeden genç cinayet işledi

TRABZON- Erkekliğini kaybeden Şemsettin Erdol isimli bir genç kendisiyle alay eden Rahmi Seymen adındaki arkadaşını öldürdü.

Olay Trabzon'un Sürmene ilçesinde meydana geldi. Şemsettin Erdol tutuklu olarak yargılandığı mahkemede cinayeti nasıl işlediğini anlatırken şunları söyledi.

"Bir şeyler oldu"

"Yıllar önce yanılmıyordum 1975 yılının temmuz ayında bir kadınla yatarken ansızın bana bir şeyler oldu. Kadın da bunun üzerine benimle alay etti. Bu yüzden onunla ilişkiye geçemedim.

Ondan sonraki günlerde de aletim iş görüyordu. Doktorlara gidince kadını yatışım gün erkekliğimi kaybetmişim anlamam. Doktorlar (Bu psikolojik bir olaydır, geçer) dediler.

"Çok sevmiştim"

Çok sevmiştim.. Hayata yeniden başlamış gibiydim.. Ama bir türlü aletimin işgörmezliği geçmiyordu.. Ne yapacağımı şaşırılmıştım.. O gündür bugündür aletimin işgörmezliği hala devam ediyor..

Bir ara yakınlarım ameliyatla kadın olmamı tekilf ettiler kabul etmedim. Belki bir gün düzelirim diye bekleyip durdum. Fakat hayal ettiğim o günler hiç gelmedi.

"Benimle alay etti"

Bunu bilen arkadaşım Rahmi Seymen de benimle alay etmeye başladı. Çıldırınca kadar üstüne üstüne getiriyor beni çileden çıkarıyordu.

Karşıma güzel güzel kızları getirip (Bunlar sana emanet. Nasıl olsa senden bir zarar gelmez) diyordu.. Güzel kızları görüp onlarla beraber olmamak beni deli ediyordu.

"Beni dinlemiyordu"

Kendisini uyarıyordum ama beni dinlemiyordu. Sonunda tepem attı ve onu vurup öldürdüm. Çünkü Rahmi'nin yaptığı dayanılmaz bir işkenciydi. Bir insan eksiklik olan bir arkadaşıyla bu kadar alay eder mi?

Hiç pişman değilim. Çünkü o bunu hak etmişti. Hapse düşmem umurumda bile değil. Kadınlara yatmadan önce en yakın arkadaşlarım tarafından alaya alındıktan sonra neden yaşayayım?

Aletim çalışmadıktan sonra yaşamanın ne anlamı var? Beni idam edin de ben de bu çekilmez hayattan kurtulayım. Ölümlümü beklemekten başka çarem yok. Ne olur beni bu hayattan kurtarın.."

Ölümden döndü

□ Dolmakalemle oynarken rahimine kaçıran Cahide ameliyat edildi



Genç kız ameliyattan çıktı, ayıldıktan sonra doktorlara "Bakireliğim gitti mi?" diye sordu. Operasyonu yapan doktorlar: "Evet, maalesef ameliyat sırasında dolmakalem çıkarmak için kuzluk zarını kesmek zorunda kaldık" dediler. Cahide'yi ölümden kurtaran doktorlar, "Baskı altında yetişen kızlarda bu tip tetminler çok görülüyor. Sosyal bir problem bu" şeklinde konuştular.

İki saat süren ameliyattan sonra
Bursalı genç kız, bir kaza sonucu rahimine kaçan dolmakalem yüzünden az da olsa ölüyordu. Jki saat süren bir ameliyattan sonra kurtarılan Cahide "Bu iş uzun zamandan beri alışkanlık haline getirmiştim. Coşma geçtim" dedi...

(Yazın 5'inci sayfa)

İsmail ÖZTAT

Ölümden döndü!

BURSA- Kendi kendine tetmin olmak isterken bir kaza sonucu rahimine dolmakalem kaçıran Cahide isimli Bursalı genç kız ölümden döndü.

Olaydan sonra kaldırıldığı hastanede iki saat süren ameliyatta kurtarılan genç kız, kendine geldikten sonra doktorlara, "Bakireliğim gitti mi?" diye sordu.

Operasyonu yapan doktorlar da genç kızı, "Evet maalesef, ameliyat sırasında dolmakalem çıkarmak için kuzluk zarını kesmek zorunda kaldık. Yoksa kurtaramazdık" diye cevap verdiler.

Kuzluğunu kaybettiğini öğrenince gözyaşlarını tutamayan 20 yaşındaki Cahide, "Bütün hayatımı mahvoldu. Şimdi ben ne yapacağım? Beni bu halimle kimse almaz" diye dert yandı.

"Hiç terslik olmamıştı"

Sözlerini, "Bugüne kadar herhangi bir terslik olmamıştı" diyerek sürdüren Bursalı genç kız, daha sonra olayları şöyle anlattı:

"Bu iş uzun zamandan beri alışkanlık haline getirmiştim. Ama daha önceleri genellikle uzun kalemler kullanıyordum. Çok hoşuma gidiyordu.

Olay günü evde kimse yoktu. Annem (Bir saat kadar döperim) deyip, komşulara gitmişti. Annem gider gitmez, annemden bir tane yazım. Elimde dolmakalem var-

tıymıştım. Ama Bana bir süre sonra annemden haberi verdim. Kalemle yazma batmıştı.

"Acı-zevik karışımı bir şey"

Acı mı duyuyordum, sevinmi diyordum. İçime vermiyordum. Acı-zevik karışımı bir şeydi... Annem gidecek diye daha çok hissetmeye başladım.

(Bir terslik mi oldu acaba?) diye düşünerek kalemle çıkarmak istedim. Fakat kalem yoktu. Bırakıp çıkarmak için öğrendiğim bir sağma solma yaptım. Çıkarıncam.

"Acıyımlı dene de artık"

Sonra acıyımlı dene de arttı. Kıvraklığı vardı... Bıyıklıydım... Sorunlar başlamıyordum. Gözlerimi hastanede açtım. Beni buraya kimin getirdiğini bile bilmiyorum."

Cahide, kendisini hastaneye getiren kişilerin anımsadığını öğrenince de doktorlara, "Annem olayı biliyor mu? Bilmiyorsa ne olur söylemeyin" diye yalvarmıştı.

Genç kız, annesinin olayı bildiğini söyleyen doktorlar, baskı altında yetişen kızlarda bu tip tetminlerin çok görüldüğünü belirterek şöyle konuştular:

"Bu maalesef sosyal bir problemdir. Ailelerin kızlarını baskı altında tutmalarını, onların genç kuzluk sorunlarıyla-

1/29. "The Tale of the Virgin and the Fountain Pen". The crossed-out paragraphs are those objected to by the producer of TAN as unnecessary detailing and "unreal": "The girl is unconscious, there are tubes hanging out of her mouth, her nose. Now, how can she tell the story with such proper sentences?"

THE PRESENTATION IN TAN

Ata'yı anıyoruz



Atatürk'ün en son fotoğraflarından biri

1938 yılında 10 Kasım günü saat 17.00'de bütün Türk milletini acıya götüren aramızdan ayrılan Ulu Önder Atatürk, artık kalbimizde yaşıyor. ADÖR hastalığına rağmen son günlerinde bir halkın önüne göçer yüzüyle çıkan Atatürk'ün aydınlık yüzü delme gözümüzün önünde.

46 yıl önce bütün dünya basını Ata'nın aramızdan ayrılışını O'nun öven sözlerle duyurmuşlardı.

Fransız "Journal" gazetesi O'nun için "Atatürk bütün büyük devrimlerin sahibidir" diyordu. İtalyan "Gazeta Del Popolo" ise "Atatürk'ün ölümü dünya büyük bir liderini kaybetti" diye yazmıştı.

Ulu önder Atatürk'ün 46'ncı ölüm yıldönümü nedeniyle bütün yurtta yaslar ilan edilmiş ve bu temsillerimizde büyük törenler düzenlendi.

(Yasa 1'inci sayfa)

Amerikalı Amiral Crowe diyor ki:

"Atatürk tarihte hiç bir savaşta kaybetmeyen tek komutandır"

Amiral William Crowe Mustafa Kemal'in yalnızca Gelibolu ve Çanakkale savaşlarındaki başarıları değil, O'nun bir örneği olduğunu söylüyor.

Atatürk'ün ölümlerinde "Türk milletini" dediği Amerikalı Amiral Crowe, Atatürk'ün bir örneği olduğunu söylüyor.

"Gelibolu savaşta, Çanakkale savaşta, Atatürk'ün hiçbir savaşta kaybetmeyen tek komutandır" dedi. Atatürk'ün bir örneği olduğunu söylüyor.

(Yasa 1'inci sayfa)

Ölümünden 46 yıl sonra Ata'nın elini sıkıyor

Ölümünden 46 yıl sonra Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün elini sıkıyor. Atatürk'ün ölümünden 46 yıl sonra Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün elini sıkıyor. Atatürk'ün ölümünden 46 yıl sonra Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün elini sıkıyor. Atatürk'ün ölümünden 46 yıl sonra Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün elini sıkıyor.

TAN

SİM 1984 * 20 LIRA

gazetelerin EKİM ayı günlük net satışları:

TAN yine bir numara

...ettiğimiz Ekim ayında 9 büyük gazetenin günlük net satış ortalamaları şöyle gerçekleşti...

TAN TÜRKİYE'DE	
TAN	713.584
HÜRRIYET	703.905
GÜNAYDIN	203.534
MILLİYET	200.587
DEMİR HAYAT	150.715
YENİ YAKIN	125.228
YENİ GAZETE	94.180
YENİ YAKIN	92.397
YENİ YAKIN	82.930

İSTANBUL'DA	
TAN	237.475
HÜRRIYET	227.803
GÜNAYDIN	93.178
MILLİYET	83.246
GÜNEŞ	57.347
TERCÜMAN	38.656
BULVAR	33.509
CUMHURİYET	32.739
POSTA	24.275



Anavatan Partisi'nin hanım İstanbul Milletvekili Leyla Y. Kösepolat "TAN okumadığım gün yok" diyor.
Anavatan Partisi İstanbul Milletvekili Leyla Y. Kösepolat dedi ki:

"TAN, tam bir halk gazetesidir"



I/31. Self-advertisement (above)
Self-defense: "Fabricated sexual news is a tradition in the Babiali Press" (left)

Seksi haberleri 55 yıl önce Cumhuriyet Gazetesi başlattı"

...yazıları arasında beğeniyle okunmuştu. Arkadaşlık aşk'ın ilanıydı. Ancak, "Seksi haberler" yollarca Cumhuriyet gazetesinden beş yıl önceki bir haberini örneği.

Ormanda bir ayı bir kadına tecavüz etti

"Küçük kız" dedi Dalaman nehri kıyısında Boynuzbükü köyünde 40 yaşlarında Yakupca narından bir kadın. Bir ayı bir ayınur karılarına uğramıştı.

Ömmühan kadın Boynuzbükü ormanında her gün beklerdir. Geçen ayın tam tatli bir ayınur aldığını ve kiti ilzerine bir ayının çıktığını görür. Uzağına örfenle bu kılımlı aralık eder bir de ne görür. Keşke bir ayı.

Ömmühan kadın fena halde korkar. Fakat ayı ayınuruna rağmen gayet hallim ve yumuşak davranır. Ömmühan kadının yüzünü aşkane ve meftunane barmeye başlar. Nihayet iş lenaya varır ve ayı uşak yetmişvikişi tekiadılıktına sonra paldığı ormana girer kaybolur.





asına rağmen bir genç kız vücuduna sahip olan garibi Deniz Erkanat'ın ve diriliğini fıstık yemesine borçlu olduğunu söylüyor...

"Ben fıstık gibiyim?"

genç babaanne Deniz Erkanat "Fıstık çok yararlı, üstelik... Ben bol bol yerim, bu yüzden de fıstık gibi oldum" diyor.



"Bu balonların dördü de sevgililerimi temsil ediyor"

Çapkın geçinen erkeklerin balon çıktığını söyleyen çlgın ressam Berrin Tuncel elindeki balonları göstererek "Hepsi birer sevgilimi temsil ediyor. Bu sevgililerim aşkta balon gibi söndüler.İsimlerini vermiyorum.Onlar kendilerini tanır" dedi

"Çapkın geçinen bütün erkekler balon çıktı!"

Çlgın ressam Berrin Tuncel "4 ünlü çapkınla arkadaşlığı oldu. Dördü de aşkta balon gibi söndüler" diye konuştu

Tabancasını temizlerken kendisini temizledi

Bakırköylü Feyyaz Gözden, bir arsada bulduğu tabancayı evine getirdi. Arkadaşları onu "Sen tabanca kullanmayı bilmezsin. Ya ateş alırsa. Canından olursun" diye uyardılar.

Feyyaz Gözden, uyarılardan kulak asmadı ve tabancayı temizlemeye kalkıştı ve olan oldu.

(Yazısı 6'ncı sayfa)

TAN 3 adet
'Leyland 30'
ÇEKİLİŞİ

• Bu kuponlardan 30 adet biriktirip bize yollayın

TAN
YATIRIM RAPORU

622.950
194.981
112.275
96.299

326.505

Kadir Karakılıç (Solda) mahkemede "Bundan sonra ne çek alırım, ne çek satırım... Yerde 100 milyonluk çek görsem elimi sürersem namussuzum" dedi...

Bir çek yüzünden çekmediği kalmadı

☑ Sokakta bulduğu 100 bin liralık çeki 10 bin liraya satarken yakalanan Kadir Karakılıç, önce hırsızlıkla suçlandı.

☑ Kadir Karakılıç, sonra da başkasının çekini bir başkasına satmak suçundan yargılandı...

• Cangöz ÖZKAN • (Yazısı 4'üncü sayfa)

I/32. Visual representation of the written message both reinforces the effect and helps the newly literate to check and see if he reads correctly (above). Repetition based on polysemy: A typical form of narration in TAN (below)



Daveya . bakan hakim genç kadına "Kocan niye Volkswagen'e benzior kızım? Kambur mu? Vücudunda bir sakatlığı mı var?" diye sordu.

Nezan Güler adı genç kadın "Sakatlığı İvar ama, düşünüyünüz gibi değil. Sakatlığı geceleri ortaya çıkıyor. Kocam tıpkı Volkswagen gibii. Motoru arkasında. Önünde ise hiç bir şey yok" dedi.

(Yazan 6'inci sayıfada)

I/33. The wife in a divorce case declares that her husband is a Volkswagen and the judge readily accepts to talk of the accused under the metaphor of a car (left)

Şişli de Harika adındaki genç kadının zina yaptığı ihbarı üzerine eve giden polisler, onu yatağında iki erkekle bastılar

Harika "Biz zina yapmıyorduk. Birbirimiz kuloğna kelimeler fısıldıyor, sonra onun nasıl değiştiğini görünce izliyorduk. Sosyalde bu oyunu herkes oynar" dedi

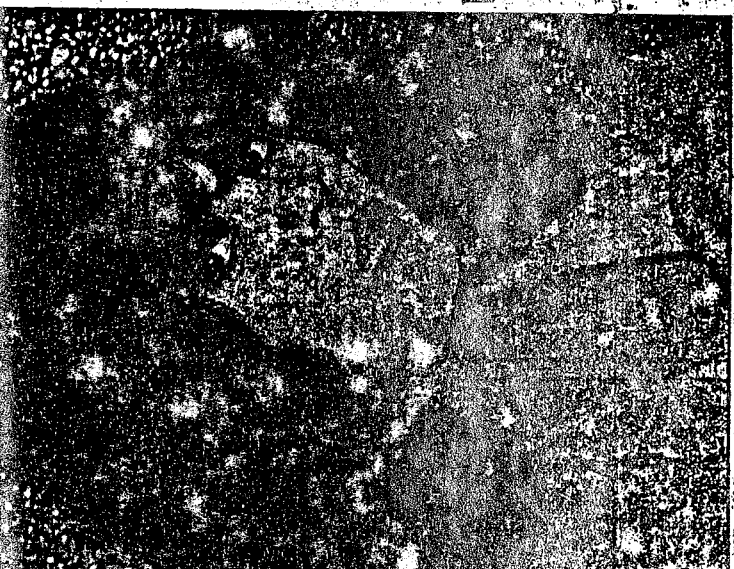


Harika'nın yatağından çıkan Dursun Küçük ile Selahattin Altın toplu seks yapma suçundan gözaltına alındı

Genç kadının başkole yakalanan Dursun ile Selahattin, "Duran evli olduğunu biliyorduk. Bu iş kendisi fark etti. Telefonlarımız oysundan ele geçirildi. Bizim de hoşunuza gitti" dediler

Harika adındaki evli bir genç kadının yatağından Dursun Küçük ve Selahattin Altın isimli iki erkek çıktı.

"6 aydır tanıyoruz" Dursun Küçük ile Selahattin Altın tanzimie görüşürken Harika'ya 6 aydır telefonlarımızı izlediklerini iddia ettiler.



Herhalde kocam beni boşar" Adil diye sevki edilen telefonculuk, oyumu hastası Harika "Bu olaydan sonra Ferhat ile kocam beni boşar. Ama gerçek suçlu kim? Belki de ben. Ben bir ileriye kayımdan bulmadım. Bu şekilde konuşuyorum"



Hereye kostuğunu herkes merak etti

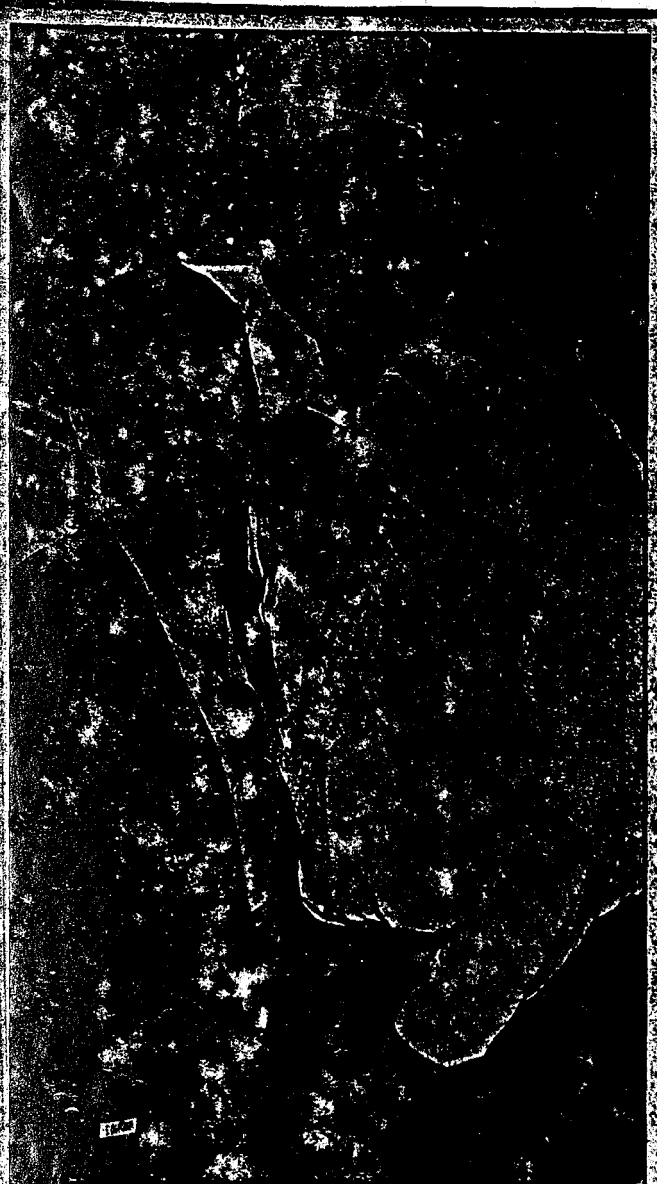
The headline implicitly refers to lice. The photograph, on the other hand, is far from conveying a wife recently arrested for adultery (above left). Serialization. The first three squares are in black and white, the last is in color and not necessarily of the same tourist girl. The effect is achieved by an editing trick (above, right).

"Ohh ! Dünya varmış !" Ama tahminlerin hiç biri çıkmadı. İsvçelli genç kız ve Sultanaahmet'te tuvalet. na Dekol (23) akşamı ve Sultanaahmet'te tuvalet.

"İşte yetiştim" Otelin kapısından içeriye girme ya bakkıroca cinavetten -öz

Kovalıyor mu? Cevreden dönen meraklılar "Belki bazı birisi kovalıyor" diye düşünüldü. "Belki de bir

Turist kız kaçıyor mu? Genç bir turist kızın Sultanaahmet'te son hızla kostuğunu görünen. Belki de beyaz. Belki de beyaz. Belki de beyaz. Belki de beyaz.



Bayılarak kestiler...

net olmaktan korkan Alman Jurgen Wurn ile birlikte bayılarak gereken işlem yapılabilirdi. Fotoğrafta Alman ve Türk eşi Günay Kasap'la birlikte görülmüyor.

Peter, gözünü bile kırpmadı...

Sır Alman fabrikatörünün oğlu olan Peter Rosenber, Leyla Aktas uğruna sünneti kabul etti. Mühendis olan Peter, sünnetten sonra "Şimdi daha güzel oldum" dedi.

thal malı damatlar!

- Gümrüğü, vergisi yok, üstelik döviz de getirtiler
- İki Alman mühendis, Türk eslerinin önünde sünnet oldu
- Günay ve Leyla hanımlar sünnet sırasında Alman kocalarına moral verip "Korkmayın, şimdi gerçek erkek olacaksınız" dediler

SOCIAL COMMENTARY IN TAN

Hırsızlığı meslek seçenler çoğalıyor



Safak Civelek
(Paket hırsızı)



Erdoğan Akodun
(Bavul hırsızı)



Ömer Durmaz
(Eşya hırsızı)



Kadri Avcılar
(Video hırsızı)

Vakalanan hırsızları söyleyelim

SAFAK CİVELEK: Akşam 8.30'da Otobüs Garı'na gelen paket ve koliler gibiymiş gibi alıp götürüyordum. Safak'ın (kralınca bu çare) baskını vardı.

ERDOĞAN AKODUN: Otellerde misafirlerin bavullarından eşyaları çalarak vakalandım. Erdoğan'ın bu çaresizlikten sonra bu yönde başarılarını söyledi.

ÖMER DURMAZ: Eşya çalıyordu. İşyerindeydi. Matkap, hesaplama makinesi, teyp gibi eşyaları çalan Ömer'in Matkap hırsızlığı değil, diyor ifade verdi.

KADRI AVCIĞAR: Video çalarken vakalandım. Polise verdim. İfade verdim. Çıkarıldıktan sonra her ay yalnız bir video çalıyordum dedi. Yazın ilüncü sayıya

Evrimine göre iş!

İş gelince palto çalmaya başladılar

Arada girdikleri 10 ev ve kahveden sadece bir tane Sezal Bektas ve Sami Maden'i adlı kişiye polis yakaladı.

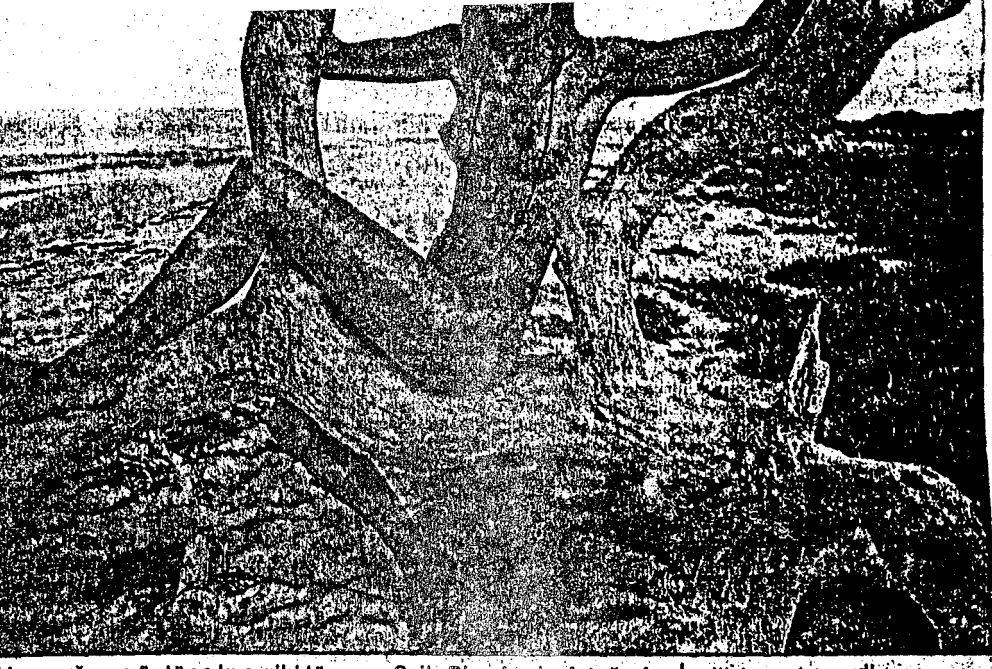
"Kışın palto bulmak da satmak kolay oluyor" dediler.

Hallit ORAL - (Yazın 7'nci sayıya)



Para kazandık ama vakalandık" diyen hırsız

I/35. The descent thieves of TAN (above) Seasonal changes affecting the profession of stealing (left)



kuru ağacın üstüne kuş gibi tüneyen Sally Bloor'un bu fotoğrafını İngilizler çok sevdi.

ğacın altını unutamıyor

iz fotomodel Sally Bloor'un Antalya'da kuru bir ağacın
inde çektiği fotoğraf Londra'da poster olarak basıldı

Benim için o ağacın üstü
geçirdiğim fatlı anlar önemli.
ve yaprakları olmadığı
ten hem aşktan
ya harika bir aşk beldesi" dedi



"Aşk burada kattık"
Adları Kanan ve Mehmet'ti diyen Bololuklu kızlar "Ge-
lin diye işaret yapınca adamıza geldiler. Atop devince ese-
sizce giderlerdi. Ne sebepsiz erkeklerdi" diye kanıksatır...

"Kızlığımızı iki Türk'e



Gökova'nın aşığı İngiliz coğrafya öğretmeni Bayan Murdoch
dır tatilini geçirmek için buraya geliyorum. Adeta aşığım"

"Gökova'ya yazık olaca

Tatilini Gökova'da geçiren İngiliz kadın öğretmen Dor-
othy Murdoch, Hükümetin bu körfeze termik santral yapma-
sızca açısından çok zararlı olduğunu söyledi.



Kocasının resmini karşısına alıp içti
Rahmetli kocam rakıyı çok sevdi. Her akşam karşılıklı tadeah tokuşturur-
düm yıldönümlerinde rakı içip ruhunu şadediyorum" şeklinde konuşuyor.

sını ,ölüm yıldönümlerinde kadar rakı içip anıyor

şar "Ne yapayım, o da yılbaşı gecesi ölmeseydi. Herkes-
ben oturup ağlayacak değilim ya" dedi (Yazısı 6'ncı sayıdadı.)



"Onlar (Tövbe tövbe) dar, ben (Şerife) derim"
Azadlılar Gömrük ve Maliye Bakanı Vural Arıkan "Ben rakıyı beğeniyim. Hiç
bir şey gizli yapmam. Her şeyini rakıya çıkarıyorum. Ben rakı içtim" diyor.

"Parti arkadaşlarım gizli içer, ben ise açıkça içerim"



"Kazanınca rakı şerbet gibi geliyor"
Belediye Başkanı SÖDEP'li Ali Gergök (Ortada) Genel Başkan İnönü
"Biz rakıyı ANAP'lılar gibi gizli içmeyiz" diyerek tadeah kaldırıyor...

önü: "Özal bizi dara getirecek"

Drinking rakı on the front page.



fazla
namuslu
çıktın!"
diyerek..



öfkeli nişanlı

Nişanlısının göğsünde sigarasını söndüren Nazım Özanoğlu polisten tarafından hemen yakalandı...

Sigarasını nişanlısının göğsünde söndürdü!

- Genç kız "Hain adam beni ne hale getirdi?" diye ağladı
- Olaya delikanlının "Nasil olsa evleneceğiz, Beklemeye ne gerek var? Gel erken zifaf yapalım" demesi neden oldu
- Nişanlısının teklifini reddeden genç kız "Daha önceki nişanlımdan da bu yüzden ayrılmışım. Bu erkekler neden böyle aceleci oluyorlar?" dedi

TAN commenting on virtue and virginity.

7 ARALIK 1984 * 20 LİRA

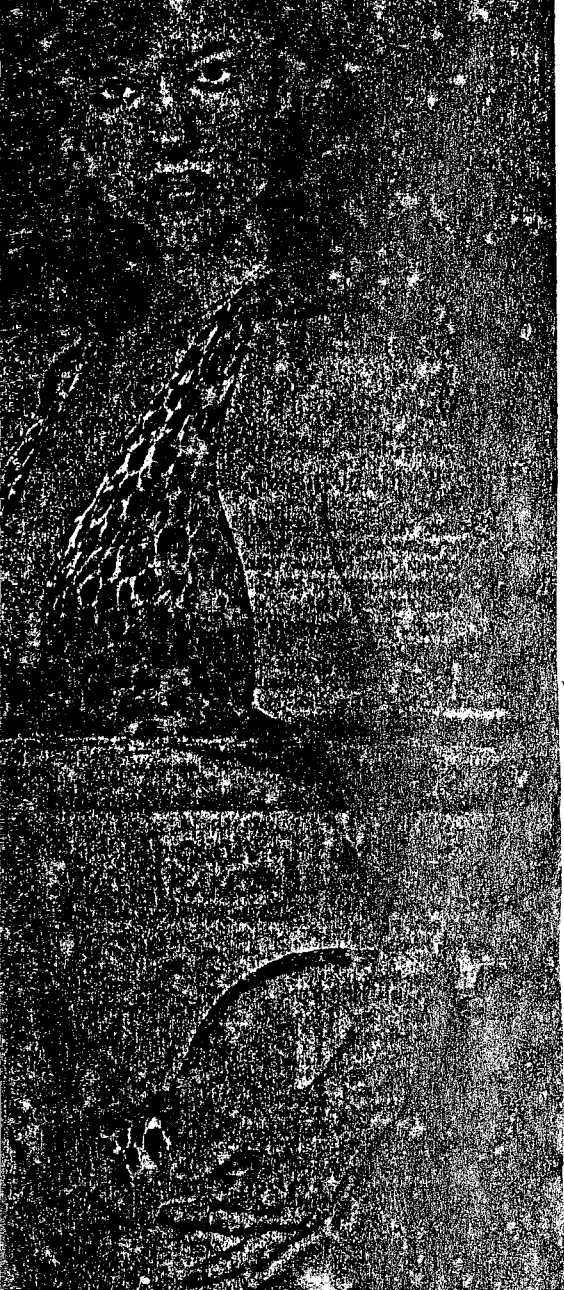
Bir gün bakire, bir gün değil!



- 9 yaşından beri fuhuş yaptığı ve 500' den fazla erkekle yattığı tespit edilen kız birinci muayenesinde bakire çıktı
- İtiraz üzerine yapılan ikinci muayenesinde bakire olmadığı yolunda rapor gelince üçüncü defa Samsun Devlet Hastanesi' ne gönderilen genç kız, yine bakire çıktı!
- E.M. adındaki kızın hakkında verilen doktor raporlarının hangisinin geçerli olduğu tartışılıyor

- Unysli genç kız "Bakiremiyim, değil miyim diye hastane hastane dolarken yoruldu. Kesir karar versinler de ben de ne olurum"





"Almanya'ya uyum sağlamak kolay"

Gisela Deniz Serbetçi, bir mankenlik firmasında çalışıyor ve ayda 8 bin mark para kazanıyor. Gisela Deniz: "Birçok ikinci kuşak Türk çocuğu sırf bir inat ve direniş yüzünden Almanca öğrenmek istemiyor, uyum sağlayamıyor. Biraz gayret gösterseiler Alman toplumuna çok çabuk uyurlar ve daha fazla para kazanırlar" şeklinde konuşuyor ...

"Uğur Dünder bir de bizi dinlesin!"

Annesi Alman, babası Türk olan Gisela Deniz Serbetçi, televizyonda bir süre önce gösterilen Almanya'daki Türk işçi çocuklarını konu alan "İkinci Kuşak" programı için Almanya'daki bütün çocuklarımız Uğur beyin gösterdiği gibi değil dedi ve şöyle devam etti:

"Ben hem Almanca, hem Türkçe biliyorum. Başarılı bir öğrenimim ve mankenlik firmasında mükemmel bir işim var. Bizim gibi Türk çocuklarımızın sayısı arttıkça bu problem halledilecek!"

(Yazısı 6'ncı sayfada)

"İyi kalpli Almanlar da var"

Yıllar önce çalışmak için Almanya'ya gitmişti... Süheyla çocuksu görünüşüyle, kedi kadar onu çok küçük yaşta, anne ve babasıyla birlikte...

Süheyla, Türk ama Türkçe bilmiyor!

Babası bir trafik kazasında ölen Süheyla'yı, bir Alman ailesi Süheyla, Türk olduğunu ancak yıllar sonra öğrendi. Süheyla'nın özelliği ile dikkati çeken genç kız, şimdi Almanya'nın en büyük şehirlerinde yaşıyor, çekildiği her fotoğraf için binlerce marka para kazanıyor. "Türkiye'ye gitmek istiyorum. Ne de olsa anavatanım. Bu yolda Türkçe öğreneceğim" diyerek Türkçe dersleri almaya başladı.

(Yazısı 6'ncı sayfada)

I/40. The second generation of Turkish workers in Germany: Those who have "made it".

IMAGES OF WOMEN AND OF MEN IN TAN

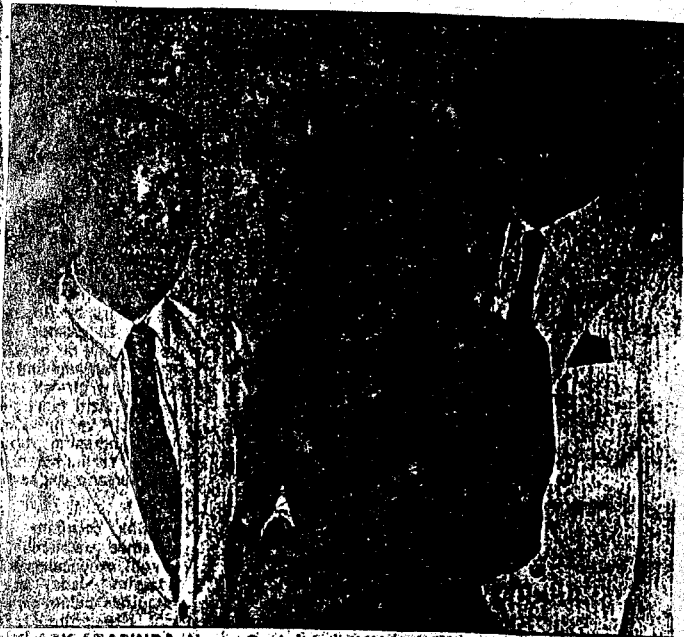


gece-gündüz çalıştı, bir yılda bir kat satın aldı. Fakat...
il, gece-gündüz çalıştı, bir yılda bir kat satın aldı. Fakat...
vgillerinden kazandı" diyen dedikoducular güzel rüyalarını gerçeğe aktıracak.

**lükten sonra yeniden
nyaya geleceğime
inanıyorum!"**
Berrin
kişilerin

Berrin Tuncel: The Crazy Painter.
(Above)

Süha Özgermi: The National Debauchee
(Right)



İKİ AŞK ARASINDA: Nazan Saatçi, kaholümlü aşık Etilim'in ortak aşkı Süha Özgermi.
Sağında Süha Özgermi, solunda Pakistanlı aktör Cavit Shaika. Milli Çapkin Süha Özgermi bu aşk mücadelesinden özgelelir ayrılarak ümitsizliğini korudu...

Milli çapkin yine galip!

Sinema güzeli Nazan Saatçi iki aşk arasında kaldı. Kendisine aşık olan Pakistanlı aktör Cavit Shaika ile Süha Özgermi arasında uzun uzun bocaladı. Sonunda genç ve yakışıklı aktörü terk edip, olgun ve tecrübeli Süha Özgermi'ye tercih etti. Nazan Saatçi



ÖL OLDUM"-Gülşay Sefer "Evli iken bana kimse dönüp bak-
rkes güzelliğimi göklere çıkarıyor."şeklinde konuşuyor...

ŞASIN DULLUK!"

kocasını Hüseyin'den boşandıktan sonra "Dünya varmış. Eski-
e kul idim, şimdi bütün erkekler bana kul köle oluyorlar. Dile-
zip tozuyorum. Evlilik çok güzel ama koca her gece sarıpoç-
at hapishaneye dönüyor." diyor.

(Yazın 5'inci sayısında)



...lms, genç sevgililerini böyle boy sırasına dizip fotoğraf çektiler...

gililerini boy asına dizdi!

ki ünlü yıldız Joan Collins haftanın beş gününü
evgilisine ayırıyor, iki gün ise tatil yapıyor

"Nereden" dizisinin
ki Joan Collins, sevgi-
di.

borçluyum. Onlarla beraber olunca kendimi
çok genç hissediyorum. Sonra, hepsini de
ayrı ayrı seviyorum. Hiçbirinden kopamiyo-



"Yemek hazır mı?, diye sormasından bıktım"
Gönlü İpek "Kocam eve geldiği zaman onu sokak bir ka-
yafilete karşılıyorum. Yüzüme bakmadan (Yemek hazır
mı?) diye soruyor. Yemekten sonra televizyon seyredil-
yor. Tom Miks'leri alıp yatak odasına çekiliyor" dedi...

Yatakta her gece Tom Miks-Teknas dergisi okuyan kocasını boşuyor!

44 yaşında üçüncü kez anne olmaya hazırlanıyor

Raquel Welch "Herkesin (At suratlı) dediği kocamdan dünya güzeli bir çocuk doğuracağım" dedi

HOLLYWOOD- Amerikalı
film seks yıldızı Raquel Welch
44 yaşında üçüncü kez anne ol-
maya hazırlanıyor. 1987 yılında
berli "Francis" filmi yapımcısı
Andre ile evli bulunan Raquel
Welch "Herkesin (At suratlı)
dediği kocamdan dünya güzeli
bir çocuk doğuracağım" dedi.

"Çok seviyorum"

Güzel yıldız daha sonra şun-
ları söyledi: "Andre benim
üçüncü kocam. İlk kocamın
beni yeterince mutlu edemedi-
ği için onlardan ayrıldım. Şim-
di çok mutluyum. Andre ile
evlendikten önce iki çocuğum
vardı. Çoğundan da bir çocuğum
olmasını istediğim. Bebegimin
sağlıklı doğması için ne gere-
liyse yapacağım."



L/42. The Emancipated Woman of TAN:
divorcing, promiscuous, incessant
fertile. Above local, below internatio

IAN

ler 8 erkekten biri iktidarsız!

Uzmanlar bunların çoğunun yersiz kuşkular nedeniyle yatakte başarısız olduklarını belirttik. "Panîğe kapılan erkekler kısa bir psikolojik tedaviyle eski güçlerine kavuşabilirler" diyorlar



James Bond filmlerinin yıldızı Stan Adey Roger Moore'u çok sıkıcı bir erkek olarak görüyor.

James Bond'u terk etti

Stan Adey "Roger Moore, filmlerde görüldüğü kadar cazip bir erkek değil. Bir süre beraber kalınca İnançın için karartıyor" dedi.

(Yasamı 5'inci sayfa da)

Sutyen takan casasını boşuyor!

Emmeye başlayan Fransız kadın Brigitte, Zina casesi soyduğunda kocamı sutyenli görünce na döndüm. Ben böyle adamla yatağa girerim" dedi.

Pierre ise "Kadınları giymekten çok seviyorum. Ne yaparsam diye yakındı."

Brigitte adlı Fransız kadın geçen geceyi soyunmuş kocasının sutyen takan halini mahkemeye başlatmış davası açtı.



Sutyen takan Pierre

(Yasamı 5'inci sayfa da)

48 yaşında pili bitti!



Artık film çevirmeyi ve çapkınlık yapmayı bıraktığını açıklayan aktör Burt Reynolds'un 48'li fotoğrafı...

"Seks İlah!" Burt Reynolds kendini emekliye ayırdı.

FLORIDA- Kadınların "Seks İlahı" adını tattıkları yakışıklı çapkın aktör Burt Reynolds kendini emekliye ayırdı.

Son sevgilisi film yıldızı Dolly Parton'dan da ayrılan Burt Reynolds, Florida'daki çihilğine çekilip özellikle kadınlardan uzak yaşamaya başladı. Burt Reynolds, "Kendimi çok yorgun hissediyorum. Bu yüzden sinemayı da çapkınlığı da bıraktım" diye açıklama yaparken Hollywood'daki hayranları "Burt'un ciddi bir rahatsızlığı var herhalde. Bunun için gizleniyor. Bu yaşta onun gibi bir adamın pili bitmez" diyorlar.

Fabrika işçiliğini bırakıp tele-erkek oldu, köşeyi döndü

KÖLN-Berd adlı Alman genç fabrika işçiliğini bırakıp tele-erkek oluncu köşeyi döndü.

Dört yıl bir fabrikada çalışan Berd, doğru dürüst para bile biriktiremeyince tele-erkek oldu. Para karşılığı kadınlara kendini kiralayan Berd, kısa sürede yükümlü oldu.

İşinden genellikle memnun olduğunu belirten Berd, "Müşterilerimin çoğu orta yaşlı kadınlar. Zaten gençlerden olmasana hiç istemiyorum. Çünkü genç kadınlar bir saatliğine pazarlık ediyor, üç saat beni bırakıyorlar. Üstelik ek ücret de ödemiyorlar" diye konuştu.



İşçiliği bırakıp tele-erkeklik yapan Berd kısa zamanda zengin oldu...

I/43. The international scene: The dangers that await Man.

APPENDIX II: THE SAMPLE.

The sample consists of the front and back page captions that appeared between 19th October and 19th November 1984, to which reference is made in the Sections "TAN Tales" and "The World of TAN".

THE SAMPLE

19 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

GERDEK YERİNE HAPSE GİRDİ!

PROFESÖRÜ MAHCUP ETMEDİLER: "Hepimiz biraz röntgenciyiz!"

"Sarhoş kafa ile biz oğlanı kız sandık!"

Yabancıya gitmedi! Amca oğluna verileceğini anlayan kız dayı-oğluna kaçtı!

Karnı açılan yavru güneşlenen annesinin memesine yapıştı!

"Hayatım mutluluk rolü ile geçiyor":
"Gölge Adam... Gerçekleri ortaya dök ki, herkese ibret olsun!"

Kapıyı her çalana açmayın

"Biri beni soydu" diyen kadının rüyasında soyulduğu anlaşıldı.

Aklınızda bulunsun: Sütü karanlıkta saklayın...

BACK PAGE

GÖĞÜS KANSERİ BEKAR KADINLARDA DAHA ÇOK GÖRÜLÜYOR

HOLLYWOOD SOKAKLARINDA YARI ÇIPLAK DOLAŞARAK ŞÖHRET ARIYOR

"Amerikalı erkekler kadından anlamıyor" diyen...: Dallas'ın Afton'u Fransa'dan sevgili ithal etti!

Filiz Ersürer köpeğine telefon açmayı öğretti.

Amerikalı doktor amâ olduktan sonra sekiz ameliyat yaptı!

Çaldığı mantoyu, palto niyetine giyince yakalandı.

Kocasını eve döndürmek için kendine sevgili buldu

Yakalanan köpek balığının karnından iki insan başı çıktı.

20 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

BU NE ÖPÜŞ!: MUALLA SEVGİLİSİ İLE
ÖPÜŞTÜ ARABALARI ŞIRTÜSTÜ DÜŞTÜ!

KOCASI HALDEN ANLIYOR!

Hülya Avşar'ın kızı mı var?

"5 yıldır evliyiz ama kardeş
gibiyiz!" dedi, boşanmak için
mahkemeye koştu

3 Gün kendisiyle tek kelime konuş-
mayan karısını bıçakladı.

Kiracasını çıkarmak için dükkanını
yaktı!

BACK PAGE

DÜNYA NÜFUS SIRALAMASINDA
19'UNCUYUZ!

ANNABELLA'NIN UNUTAMADIĞI GECE!

"Ben sakhoş muyum etrafı kırıp
dökeyim?"

Bebegin tekmelerini dinliyor: 71
yaşındaki müzik hocası 22 yaşındaki
öğrencisini hamile bıraktı.

Paul Newman'ın eşi açıkladı: "Kocam
dünyanın en sadık erkeğidir!"

Mirasına konmak için: Yaşlı kocasını
şöminede yaktı.

Londra'da sarhoş otomobil kullanan
adama 900 bin lira ceza verildi!

21 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

"YANDIM ALLAH"

(BANU ALKAN) "EN GÜZEL BENİM AMA ANLAMİYORLAR"

Panter Leyla ev bastı.

Milyoner Alman "Beni karım bile böyle tatlı öpmeydi. Bin mark ona feda olsun" dedi.

Özal, Gölge Adam'ın kulağına ne dedi de hep birlikte güldüler?

Tarzan Çetin'i aşk için Belçika'ya davet ettiler.

Bir kişi, 3 kızı birden kaçırmaya kalkınca kızlardan dayak yedi

BACK PAGE

(MÜŞERREF TEZCAN) KOCASINDAN AYDA 300 BİN LİRA NAFKA İSTİYOR!

"EL ÖRGÜSÜ KAZAKLAR YENİDEN MODA OLDU"

"Küçük Ev" in Laura'sı çekici bir kız oldu!

Hale Soygazi'nin eski kocası: Ahmet Özhan'ı rol icabı bile sevmeye razı edemediler!

Almanya'da her yıl 30 bin çocuğa anne babası işkence yapıyor

Kocasını döven adamı dövdü!

İlginç bir araştırma: Sabahları aşk yapan erkekler iş hayatında daha başarılı oluyor.

22 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

TÜRKAN ŞORAY KIZ ANNESİ OLDU

"ANTALYA'DA KIŞ YOK MU?"

Milli çapkın yine galip! "Ne olur
beni hapsetmeyin!"

Çimdik atma rekoru kırdı!

Aklınızda bulunsun: Kestane yiyin
genç kalın

Zevke bak!: Değişiklik olsun diye
tabutun içinde sevişirken basıldı-
lar!

BACK PAGE

AFRİKA'YA MACERA ARAMAYA GİDEN
GENÇ KIZI KAPLAN PARÇALADI!

SAATİNE ZAM YAPTI!

37 yaşına basan Tarık Akan dedi
ki: "Bu gidişle evde kalacağım"

James Bond'u terketti!

Kızının sevgilisini hırsız diye hapse
attırdı!

Bir rekor: Baba 9, anne 8 yaşında

Ömrümüzün 120 günü tuvalette geçiyor!

23 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

"Yağmur" adını verdiği bebeğini
dün iki defa emziren Türkan
Şoray konuştu: "HEP BİR KIZIM
OLSUN İSTEMİŞTİM"

"EN BÜYÜK TONTON DEDE!" (ÖZAL -
GÖLGE ADAM)

"Türkiye'ye gelirken çok korkuyordum!"

Yakalanan hırsızın bankada 20
milyon liralık hesabı çıktı

Borç içinde olan iki genç... Tuva-
lette 5 bin mark buldular

Fedakar koca(!): Karısının
sevgilisinden olan çocuğuna
bakıyor!

Sevdiği kızı vermeyen adamın evini
yaktı

BACK PAGE

"GÖK GÜRÜLTÜSÜ VE FIRTINA AŞKI
KAMÇILIYOR!"

KONTES'İN ZEVKİ!

Cüneyt Arkın kızına ayda 40 bin
lira nafaka ödeyecek!

İskenderun'da...: İki aylık hamile
kadın üç erkekle sevişirken yaka-
landı.

Bilardodan milyonlar kazandı!

"Fazla ilaç alanlar erken
yaşlanıyor!"

Mısırlı kocası İbrahim Nastassia
Kinski'den 5 çocuk daha istiyor!

"Biktim kadınlardan" diyen: 70
yaşındaki Kamil dede 12'nci
karısını boşuyor!

24 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

AVUTURYALI FİLM-YILDIZI HAYDAR'DAN
HAMİLE KALDI!

1.5 MİLYARLIK BEBEK...

Rakıya tövde etti!

"Canavar peşimde!"

Şarkısını beğenmeyen adamı
bıçakladı.

Evli öğretmen öğrencisine aşık olunca,
hem kocasını, hem mesleğini bıraktı

Gölge adam yazıyor: Yaşa TRT! Kül-
türümüzü artırıyoruz!

BACK PAGE

BOŞANMALARIN EN AZ OLDUĞU ÜLKE
TÜRKİYE

İLANLA KOCA ARIYOR!

Bahar Öztan: "Paralı erkek yakı-
şıklıdır!"

İki kadın, dertli erkekler için
bir gece kulübü açtı!

Karısına döndü: Kalp krizi geçiren
Adamo içkiyi, sigarayı ve genç sevgi-
lišini bıraktı!

Bir rekor: 1500 karısından 4 bin
çocuğu oldu

Zeytinyağı yaşlanmayı önlüyor

Şeytan ayağını dolandırdı: Cinayet
işlerken kimliğini düşürünce yakalan-
dı!

25 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

"BABAM VİDEO ALMAK İÇİN BENİ
TAKSİTLE SATTI!"

"İntihar ettim, yine de aşkıma
inandıramadım!"

"Benim nerem bakire?"

"Ben masum hırsızım!"

İŞADAMI NİYAZI SEVGLİSİNİ KIZLARI
İLE TANIŞTIRDI

"Türkan Şoray'ın bebeğine süt anne
olmak istiyorum"

Aklınızda bulunsun: Ceviz kuvvet
kaynağıdır.

BACK PAGE

ARAŞTIRMA: ERKEKLER NEDEN
ÇAPKINLIK YAPAR?

Sarışınlar esmerler 7-7 berabere

Fabrika işçiliğini bırakıp tele-
erkek oldu, köşeyi döndü

Çinlilerin yeni bir buluşu: Şoförü
sarhoş olduğu zaman otomobilin moto-
runu otomatik olarak durduran cihaz
yaptılar.

MÜJDE AR 18 YAŞINDAKİ BİR GENÇLE
SEVİŞECEK

Yunus'a öpücük vermek isterken ha-
vuza uçtu!

Karısı "para para" diye tutturunca:
Bir günde 4 banka birden soydu

Mühendisi bırakıp boyacıya kaçtı!

26 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

3 YILDA 5 KOCA BOŞAYIP ZENGİN
OLDU

Sapık dayıyı suçüstü yakalayan
komşular haykırdı: "Dayı değil
Ayı!"

Doğum yaptı, hastanede rehin
kaldı!

Nükhet Duru: Türkan Şoray'a gıpta
ediyor!

YUNAN TEKNELERİ KUŞADASI'NA TURİST
TAŞIMAYA DEVAM EDİYOR

Ankaralı kızın başına gelenler: "Be-
ni Zeki mahvetti!"

İçişleri Bakanı Galatasaray'ın uğ-
runa biracı oldu

BACK PAGE

UZMANLARA GÖRE: ERKEKLER İÇİN EN
TEHLİKELİ YAŞ 50

Brooke Shields itiraf etti: "Er-
keklerden korkuyorum!"

"Beni adam edemedin" deyip
babasını öldürdü.

Ressamı ayakta zincire vurup çıp-
lak resmini yaptırdı

(TÜRKİYE) "RÜYALARIMIN ÜLKESİ"

Nesrin, Johnny Logan'ın kucğından
inmedi.

Don lastiğı çalıp hapse düştü!

"Sisli havalarda burnunuzdan nefes
alın"

27 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

"20 YILDIR NAMUSUMLA KADIN
SATIYORUM!"

"ÖLDÜKTEN SONRA YENİDEN DÜNYAYA GE-
LECEĞİME İNANIYORUM!"

Bir de Bülent'in tadına baktı!

İbo ile Hülya neye gülüyor?

Filiz, sevgilisi Kadir'i arıyor.

Cebinde yabancı bir kadın resimi
bulduğu kocasını hastanelik etti.

Türkiye'den Suriye'ye kız kaçırır-
ken yakalandı.

BACK PAGE

KAYIP GÜZEL BULUNDU!

ALMANYA'DA BİR YILDA 1200 GENÇ ERO-
İNDEN ÖLDÜ!

Yatakta korselerini çıkarmayan
karısının gözünü çıkardı.

Öfkeli pazarıcı: "Yanlış tartıyorsun"
diyen müşterisinin kafasına kilo ile
vurup yaraladı.

"Beni iki defa köpekler ısırınca pos-
tacılığı bıraktım".

Hızlı müzik insanları kavgacı
yapıyor: Vals dinlemek ise sakin-
leştiriyor.

Erkeklerin beyni kadınlarinkinden
büyük.

Bir Rekor: 25 gün ara ile doğum yapan
Türk asıllı Bosnalı.

28 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

"AAA! BU BENİM KARIM!"..

Kazak kadın bulaşık yıkamayan kocasını evden attı.

(ANAP kadın milletvekili): TAN tam bir halk gazetesidir".

İRLANDALI KIZ "TÜRKİYE HUZUR ÜLKESİ" DEDİ.

Gölge Adam: Devlet parasıyla yan gelip yatanlar.

"Ölümüm herkese ders olsun" Kocasına kızdı canına kıydı!

Türkan Şoray taburcu oldu!

BACK PAGE

(UZMANLAR:) ZAYIFLAR NEDEN DAHA UZUN YAŞAR?

ALMANYA'YI RÜŞVETLE SARSAN ADAM: FLICK

Şişmanlara zayıflamalar için tansiyon hapi veren doktor tutuklandı

Yaprak Özdemiroğlu fotoğrafçıya aşık oldu.

Damat 73, gelin 74 yaşında: Boşandıktan 50 yıl sonra yeniden evlendiler.

Kalbi dayanamadı: Çapkın hasta hemşireye tecavüz ederken öldü!

Çiğdem Tunç: "Ben bildiğiniz kızlardan değilim!"

29 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

"HAYATIM TELEVİZYON FİLMİ OLUR"

Gelin ile kaynana kışlık odun için adam öldürdü!

CUMHURİYET'İN 61. YILI

Ya iki duble içseydi: Bir duble rakı içti, meyhaneyi altüst etti!

Angela: "Türk erkekleri hep böyle öfkeli mi olurlar?" diye şaşırdı

İngiliz revüsünün yıldızı: İstanbul'-da birçok erkeğin gönlünü çaldı.

BACK PAGE

ALMAN BİLİM ADAMLARININ İLGİNÇ İDDİASI: "AYRI YATAKLARDA YATAN ÇİFTLER DAHA MUTLU OLUYOR"

Bir elma yüzünden işinden oldu!

İnsan ısırması hayvan ısırmasından daha tehlikeli.

Kadın hakim, 7 yıla mahkum ettiği hirsıza aşık oldu!

SEKRETERLER KRALİÇESİ SEÇİLDİ!

Ahu Tuğba itiraf etti: Beni en iyi Tarık sevdi!"

Bir Rekor: 3 bin karısından 370 çocuğu oldu.

(Selçuk Ural) şarkıcıları bitirdi, mankenlere el attı!

Kocasını uyku ilacı ile uyutup aşığı ile sevişen kadını kaynanası yakalattı.

30 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

FİLM SAHNESİ KARAKOLDA BİTTİ!

KIZLIĞIMIZI İKİ TÜRK'E HEDİYE EDİP
GİDİYORUZ"

İbrahim Tatlıses, Alman turistle
gömleğini deęiş-tokuş etti!

Yaşasın Dulluk!

Aklınızda bulunsun: Dudağımız neden
uçuklar?

Uçtu uçtu gelin uçtu!

BACK PAGE

İŞSİZLİKTE ŞAMPİYONUZ!

İTALYA VE YUNANİSTAN DENİZ SUYUNU
SATIYOR!

Önce nişan yüzüğünü fırlatıp attı
sonra pişman olarak yeniden taktı

Bülent Ersoy: Bütün erkeklere bin-
lerce öpücük!

Kanserli anne bebeğini dünyaya getir-
dikten sonra intihar etti.

Bir Rekor: Sıra ile haftanın her
günü doğum yaptı, yedi çocuęu oldu!

6 kurşunla delik deşik etti! Kendisi-
ne tecavüz eden adamı tenhada kıstı-
rıp öldürdü! (Londra)

31 OCTOBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

TELE-KIZLAR, DOLAR ARTTIKÇA
FİYATLARINA ZAM YAPIYOR!

BU KIZI İSTANBUL'A KİM YOLLADI?

Koca Koleksiyoncusu!

"Dansöze yapıştırılan para geriye
alınmaz"

Bekar arkadaşları içinkadın kaçır-
dılar!

BACK PAGE

GERDEĞE BİLE GİREMEDİĞİ
KARISINDAN BOŞANAMIYOR!

"BANYO NEZLENİN EN İYİ İLACI!"

Barbara Carrera: "Kocam istediği için
soyunuyorum".

İsviçre TV'si kadınlara erkek,
erkeklere kadın buluyor!

Erkek olsun diye inatla doğurdu, 12
kızı oldu.

8 yaşındaki katil çocuk 11 yıl
hapse mahkum oldu! (Florida).

7 Çocuklu Adam... İki karısının üze-
rine bir de kız kaçırdı!

1 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

NACİ, NACİYE OLAMADI!

Erdal İnönü: "Halk odun almak için neyini satsın?"

(Turist kızın) nereye koştuğunu herkes merak etti.

"İYİ Kİ UÇAK SEFERLERİ KALKMIŞ!"

Plak doldurmaya gitti, karnını doldurdu geldi: Şarkıcı Efkarıye plak yapımcısı Metın Sarp ile gece yarısı long-play doldururken mercimeği fırına verdi!

Hırsız, "Git işine be adam, ekmeğimle oynama" diyerek ev sahibini bıçakladı!

BACK PAGE

DİKKAT: BUGÜN 1 KASIM 1984
PERŞEMBE! "KASIM EN TEHLİKELİ AY"

Perran Kutman: "Hayatımda iki erkek var!"

48 yaşında pili bitti: "Seks İlahı" Burt Reynolds kendini emekliye ayırdı.

Annesinden nefret ettiği için...
17 kadını öldüren sapık katil
461 yıl hapse mahkum oldu!

MİLYARDERLERİN TENİS HOCASI!

"23 yıl önce intihar ettiği açıklanan Marilyn Monroe ile ilgili Amerikan Sun Dergisi'nin iddiası: Marilyn Monroe Rus casusuymuş!"

Karateci Mualla çantasını kapmak isteyen kapkaççıyı hastanelik etti!

Umman'da bir erkek iki kadın değerinde.

2 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

GÖNÜL YAZAR BİR İŞADAMINI
DÖVDÜ!

"EMEL SAYIN KISKANDIĞI İÇİN BENİ
İŞTEN ATTIRDI!"

Vehbi Koç 80 bin liraya bir
elbise aldı.

"Fazla mesai yuvamı yıktı!"

Aklınızda bulunsun: Rastgele
antibiyotik kullanmayın!

Camide cinayet!

Perihan Savaş kızını milyoner yaptı!

BACK PAGE

OTUZBEŞ YIL SONRA HER ERKEĞE
ÜÇ KADIN DÜŞECEK!

MAFİA'NIN GÜZEL YEMİ EROİNLE YAKA-
LANDI!

Kan çakti: Öldürdüğü adamın mezarını
ziyarete giden katil yakalandı.

Kara Murat'ın ilk sevgilisi Hale
Soygazi.

Reklam Aşkı! Dikkat çekmek için
aşık rolü oynuyorlar!

14 yaşındaki çapkın, 12 yaşındaki
kızı kaçırıp beş gün aşk yaşadı :-
(Almanya)

Uykusuzluk faydalı imiş!

3 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

TÜRK UZAY BİLGİNİNİN AŞKI!
(Gölge Adam anlatıyor)

İNGİLTERE'NİN EN GÜZEL BACAKLI KIZI
SEÇİLDİ

(Azledilen Gümrük ve Maliye Bakanı)
"Parti arkadaşlarım gizli içer, ben
ise açıkça içerim"

Birini seven iki genç kız birlikte
intihar etmek istedi.

6 aylık ömrü kalan kadın... "Nasıl
olsa öleceğim" diyerek evini terk
edip, kendini eğlenceye verdi.

Aklınızda bulunsun: Tuz, büyük bir
düşmandır.

BACK PAGE

ARAPLAR GÜLŞEN'İN DÖRT FİLMİNE
DE BAYILDI!

EVLİLİK UZMANLARININ KADINLARA ÖĞÜ-
DÜ: "KOCANIZDAN ZOR BİR ŞEY İSTİ-
YORSANIZ YATAĞI BEKLEYİN"

En unutkan millet Japonlar!

Düzineyi tamamlayamadı: 11 çocuğu
öldüren adam şimdi "beni asın" diye
yalvarıyor (Kanada)

Komşunun çocuğu kocasına "Baba"
deyince boşanma davası açtı!

Dünya Yüksek Atlama Şampiyonu Ulrike
Meyfarth, Norveçli atlama şampiyonuna
aşık oldu!

Almanya'da bir yılda 266 koca,
boşanmak isteyen karısını
öldürdü.

Hırsız sanıp polisi dövünce hapsi
boyladı.

4 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

DEĞİŞİK BİR SOYGUN!

(KRAL GAZETE: TAN, YENİ KAZANÇ KAPILARI AÇIYOR: 3 ADET "LEYLAND 30" VERİYORUZ)

9 yaşından beri 500'den fazla erkeğe satılan kız bakire çıktı, kızını 8 yıldır satan baba yakalandı.

24 yıl hapsi çok bulup itiraz etti, bu defa idamı istendi.

"Ah şu köpek olmasa!"

Aklınızda bulunsun: Kadında cinsel soğukluk neden olur?

"Ben dul olmaktan memnun değilim!"

Sahte Kaymakam... "İçişleri Bakanı, Başbakan'ın bacanağı" deyince yakayı ele verdi!

BACK PAGE

İNGİLİZ BİLİM ADAMLARININ İLGİNÇ RAPORU: "EN DÜRÜST İNSANBİLE HER GÜN YALAN SÖYLÜYOR!"

"TÜRKLER'i UNUTAMADIK"

Karısına orman satın aldı.

Kadın hakim'in ilginç cezası: Karısına zorla tecavüz eden koca, doğum evinde 9 ay 10 gün temizlik yapmaya mahkum edildi.

Kılıbık koca sonunda kızdı! Gittiğin yerleri not edip bana rapor vereceksin" diyen karısını öldürdü (Avusturya).

Amerika'da "Erkeklik" okulu açıldı.

"Seksi haberleri 55 yıl önce Cumhuriyet Gazetesi başlattı".

6 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

"BIRAKIN GEBERTELİM!"

KRAL GAZETE TAN LEYLAND VERİYOR

"Üç ay nişanlı kaldık, beni bir defa bile öpmeyince onu terkettim!"

Gece rüyasında karısını öpen adamı sabah öldürdü!

Seyyar aşk kadını... Şengül, bir haftada 45 şoförü ağına düşürdü.

"Gökova'ya yazık olacak!"

BACK PAGE

BOŞADIĞI ÜÇ KOCASINI DOĞUM GÜNÜNE DAVET EDİP ZEHİRLEYEREK ÖLDÜRDÜ!

O AĞACIN ALTINI UNUTAMIYOR!

"Veresiye giyinir peşin para ile soyunurum!"

Damat kadın, gelin erkek!

Manavdan 5 sandık meyve çalan hırsızlar pay ederken hak geçmesin diye baskülü de götürdüler.

Sahtekar çöpçatan... "Evlendireceğim" Dövdüğü polislin resmini hapisteki odasına asmaya mahkum edildi.

8 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

ACEMİ AŞIK, İNEK TAKLİDİ YAPTI AMA
YAKALANDI!

MOTOSİKLETLERİ DEĞİL KIZLARI İNCE-
LEDİLER!

"Dilini eşek arısı soksun!"
(Gölge Adam)

Feri Cansel'in katili 15 yıl hapis
yedi

Oğlunun bacanağı oldu.

Dünya evine giremedi! Gelinin
koynundan çıkardılar (hırsız).

İçinden bin lira çıkınca emekli öğ-
retmenin cüzdanını geri verdi!

Züppe Hırsız: Sadece viski alıyor, rakıla-
ra dokunmuyor (rakı bana dokunur).

BACK PAGE

İKİ KARISINDAN DA AĞZI YANAN
MAHMUT TEZCAN DEDİ Kİ: "YENİ
KARIMI ASLA ARTİST YAPMAYACAĞIM!"

ONBAŞI HELGA TESKERE ALDI!

Dünyada çalışan kadınların sayısı
sürekli artıyor.

Farah Fawcette: Hamile kalıp sevgi-
lisini elinden kaçırmadı!

3 yılda 7 çocuğu olunca karısını
boşadı.

Üç çiçek, bir böcek!

Altı kızı bıçakladı... Ormanda koşu
yapan kızlara tecavüz edip öldüren
sapık yakalandı (Almanya).

9 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

ZEYNEP ÖZAL İŞ HAYATINA ATILDI (yazısı s.3)

HAMİLELİK YARIŞI!
(Hamile kalmaları an meselesi olan yıldızlar: E.Sayın, N.Duru, M.Ar, H.Avşar)

(Gisela Deniz Şerbetçi):
"UÇUR DÜNDAR BİR DE BİZİ DİNLESİN!"

4 çocuğun arasında zina yaparken yakalandı.

Gölge Adam: "Ensen kalınsa korkma, vergi de vermesen olur!"

Kaçan karısını buldu alamadan geri döndü.

"188 kadınla evlenemem ki!"

Mevsimine göre iş! Kış gelince palto çalmaya başladılar.

BACK PAGE

Kanserden ölen kocasının spermle-
rinden tüp bebek sahibi olmak
isteyen Fransız Corinne: "ÖLEN
KOCAMI İÇİMDE HİSSETMEK İSTİYORUM!"

ÜNLÜ ALMAN MANKEN, KADIN TüCCARI
ÇIKTI!

(Güngör Bayrak) 7 milyonluk otomobili 5 kuruş ödmeden aldı.

Sarhoş doktor... Bademcik ameliyatı yaparken hastasının küçük dilini kesti.

Samime Sanay kocası Edip beyi baştan çıkardı.

102 yaşında bekarlık canına tak etti!

10 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

ATA'YI ANIYORUZ.

Türkan Şoray Yağmur duasında!

Kendini sevecek bir kız buldu! Elleri bacakları olmayan Halit nihayet evleniyor.

Büyü bozulunca sevgilisine döndü

"Kocam yatakta stop etti hakim bey!"

BACK PAGE

Geri kalmış ülkelerde...
ERKEKLER YATIYOR KADINLAR
ÇALIŞIYOR!

Türk uzay bilgininin başına talih kuşu kondu.

Erkeği mantı ile avlarım.

Kocasının evli olduğunu 10 yıl sonra öğrendi!

HER ERKEĞİN BAŞINA GELEBİLİR:
Magnum (Tom Selleck) "karımı aldatacağım hiç aklıma gelmezdi" dedi.

Daha önce yakmaya kalkmıştı: Kocasını kapan kadının evini balyozla dağıttı.

Şimşekli ve gök gürültü bir geceden sonra beş yıllık başağrısı çekti.

12 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

VALİ BEY OĞLUM, BANA BİR KARI
BULUR MUSUN?

TAN SEVERLER KULÜBÜ KURDULAR.

Tenkit yerine yardım: İnönü Özal'a
kopye verdi.

Çapkın şoför yakalandı: Sevgilisiyle
rahat yaşamak için zengin bir
kadınla evlendi.

Firuze, Arap sevgilisi için kapandı.

"Kocanı neden aldattın kızım?"

Gölge Adam: Gönül Yazar, 7 çeşit
büyüyü nasıl yaptığını anlattı.

BACK PAGE

ERKEĞİNİZİ ÖPÜŞMESİNDEN
TANİYABİLİRSİNİZ

"JAPON OLDUĞUMA KİMSE İNANMIYOR"

"Çapkın geçinen bütün erkekler
balon çıktı!"

Aşkını reddetti.

Bu da Bülent Ersoy'un tersi...
Erkek oldu evlenecek kız bulamıyor

Ölen kocasının cesedini sekiz yıl
battaniyeye sarılı olarak sakladı.

13 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

ERKEKLİĞİNİ KAYBEDEN GENÇ CİNAYET İŞLEDİ.

(Altan Erbulak) boşadığı karısını her yerde savunuyor.

Gölge Adam: "Kovboy memurlar!"

YUGOSLAVYA'DAN HEP FUTBOLCU GELECEK DEĞİL YA!

Emel Sayın "ben de yakında dünya evine giriyorum" dedi.

6 ay sevgilisiyle, 6 ay kocasıyla yaşıyor!

BACK PAGE

10 KURALA UY 10 YIL ÇOK YAŞA

"Bana vurulmayan erkeği vururum!"

Almanya ve Fransa'da nüfusu arttırmak için TV'de seks filmleri gösterilecek

Çapkın müteahhit işi bitiremeden yakalandı.

YATAĞIMDAKİ ERKEKLER

80 milyon liralık mücevherlerini yanlışlıkla çöpe attı!

Her yere yalnız gidiyor: Perihan Savaş'ın yanına yaklaşmak için yürek ister!

20 yıldır bir gün bile nezleden kurtulamadı.

14 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

AHU KAÇ ERKEKLE YATTI?

Emine'nin dramı! "Benim evim sokaklardır!"

Gölge Adam: Adnan Kaşıkçı'dan mektup var

İçkici kocasını boşadı meyhaneci ile evlendi!

HAVALAR SOĞUYUNCA KÜRKÜNÜ GIYDI!

Sahte dolar basan adam dedi ki: "Özal'a yardım olsun diye dolar bastım!"

Votka ile birayı karıştırınca... Sevdiği kadın sanıp 11 yaşındaki kıza tecavüze kalktı!

BACK PAGE

Erkekleri tarafından kıskançlık yüzünden dövülen Alman kadınları hükümetten güvence istedi: "BİZİ KOCALARIMIZIN DAYAĞINDAN KORUYUN"

Burçin Orhon Johnny Logan'ın kalbini çaldı.

Sütyen takan kocasını boşuyor!

"SOYUNMASAYDIM İNGİLTERE PRENSESİ OLACAKTİM!"

Kendi televizyonunu çalarken yakalandı.

3 kız 3 erkek otomobilde kucağa aşk yaparken yakalandı!

15 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

TÜRKİYE'NİN EN ZENGİN İKİ KIZI

İstanbul'da son bir hafta içinde
56 kadın evinden kaçtı (yazısı s.3
te)

TÜRKİYE'NİN EN ZENGİN İKİ KIZI

Önce kırbaç, sonra aşk!

Mali müşavir sekreteri ile yatakta
mali işlere bakarken yakalandı!

İyileşen hasta hemşireyi de bera-
berinde götürdü!

21 yıllık mutluluk bitti.

Aklınızda bulunsun: Roka, harika
bir yiyecektir.

Uğursuz ikramiye!

Ahmet'le yattı, hamile kalınca suçu
Mehmet'in üstüne attı.

BACK PAGE

Kalp uzmanı Doçent Doktor Edip
Kürklü: "SOĞUK HAVALARDA FAZLA
AŞK YAPMAYIN"

ROMAN GİBİ KIZLAR OKU OKU BİTMİYOR

Aynur Aydan da aşklarını yazıyor

Parklarda sevişen 7 çifti öldüren
manyak katil İtalya'da dehşet saçı-
yor

Kaçırmaya çalıştıkları kızı
Volkswagen'e sokamayınca
yakalandılar.

Litresi 2.5 milyon lira "Fare Sütü"
ilaç olarak kullanılıyor.

Eski dul, taze dula akıl verdi.

16 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

SEN DE Mİ ÇUF ÇUF OLDUN HATİCE?

22 yaşında göğüsleri sarktı: Hülya Avşar şoförü ile mahkemelik oldu.

Evinin tapusunu çarpan Cinci Hoca'yı arıyor!

"Erkeğin vurduğu yerde gül biter!"
"Karımı dövmek hakkımdır"

Gölge Adam: "Hep bana...hep bana ..." diye diye bu hale geldik.

Her gün tavuk gibi gezmekten bir gün horoz olmak iyidir!

BACK PAGE

Garip bir yaratık doğuran 17 yaşındaki Yunanlı kızın iddiası: "BENİ UZAYLILAR İGFAL ETTİ!"

Güzelleşmeye de "ZAM" geldi!

Meral Orhonsay'ın uçan kuşa borcu var!

44 yaşındaki üçüncü kez anne olmaya hazırlanıyor: Raquel Welch herkesin (At suratlı) dediği kocamdan dünya güzeli bir çocuk doğuracağım" dedi.

Bulaşıcı hastalıklar en çok sudan geçiyor.

Yanlış kapıyı çaldı, başka kadını bıçakladı.

18 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

YÜZ BOYAMA MODASINA UYAN KARISINI
BOŞADI

"Beni bırakırsan intihar ederim"
dedi ve etti!

Gölge Adam: Beyfendi sınıfına
girmenin şartları

Dükkanına dört tane Yılmaz Güney
fotoğrafı asan bakkal yakalandı

"Türk olduğumu öğrenince neredeyse
beni yiyeceklerdi!"

İlaçtan daha faydalıymış! "Küfür
etmek insanın ömrünü uzatıyor!"

Kızına göz koyan 5 kişiyi önüne ka-
tıp Kasımpaşa'ya kadar kovaladı.

BACK PAGE

BİR TÜRK GENÇİ BİR ALMAN KIZI
UĞRUNA...BANKA SOYDU! HAPSE
GİRDİ! HAPİSTEN KAÇTI!

Fotoğrafçı sevgilisi Yaprak'a
sert çıktı: "Yalnız bana soyu-
nacaksın!"

Teyzesinin yolunda!

Önüme ilk çıkan Karslı'ya vurdu!

Çürüyen dişler vücudumuzu da çürü-
tüyor!

Bebegini düşürmekten korkan...
Christina Onassis milyarlarını bü-
yüçülere yediriyor!

19 NOVEMBER 1984

FRONT PAGE

ZİNA YAPAN KADINI HEM KOCASI
HEM SEVGİLİSİ PATAKLADI!

Amerikalı fotomodel Danya
Beyoğlu'nda babasını aradı

Sevgilisini eve getirmesin
diye kocasına başka bir ev
tuttu!

Burnundan sonra adını da
değiştirdi!

İTHAL MALI DAMATLAR!

Yankesiciler de dertli! (Ortadire-
ğin çantası da bomboş!"

Tanınmış bir işadamı fena çam de-
virdi!

Aklınızda bulunsun: Kahve alkolün
etkisini azaltmaz!

BACK PAGE

Almanya'da 2.5, Amerika'da ise
3 milyon erkek karısını döver-
ken...DÜNYADA EN AZ DAYAK YİYEN
TÜRK KADINLARI

Müjde Ar 17'li gençlerle aşk ya-
parken Nazan Şoray diyor ki: "Se-
veceğim erkek 40'ın üstünde ol-
malı!"

Kendisine tecavüz etmek isteyen
sapığı erkekliğinden etti

Tezgahtar kızını aldı, milyarder
hayatı yaşattı, sonra da öldürdü

Hayvan besleyenlerin daha uzun ya-
şadıkları anlaşıldı!

4 milyon lira zam yaptı, Kemal Sunal
fiyatını 18 milyona çıkardı!

"TV'de hava durumunu dinleyin, ya-
rınki ruh halinizi öğrenin!"

Acemi aşık yatak odasının pencere-
sinden düştü