

The gulf conflict and Turkish media

Haluk ŞAHİN(*)

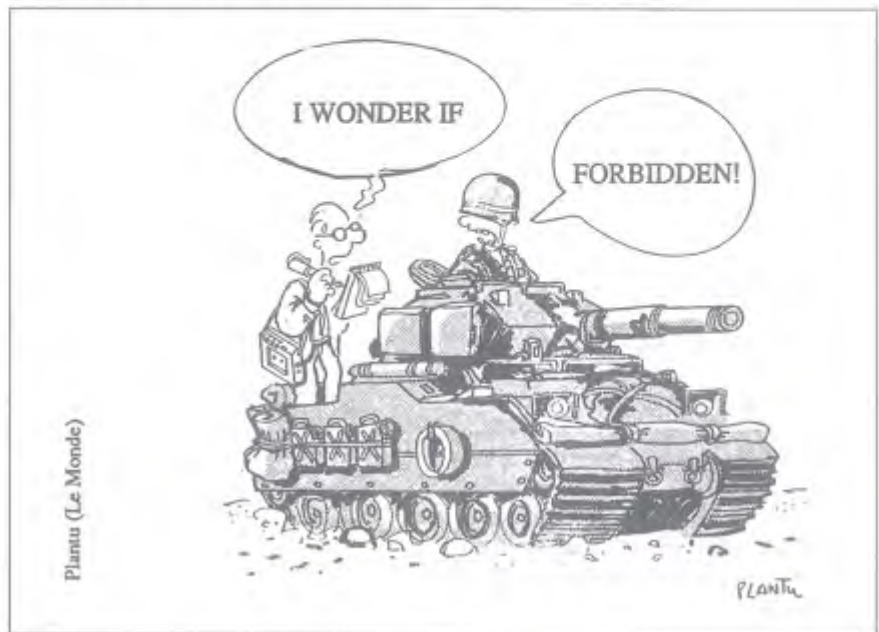
Despite its proximity to the combat zone the Gulf war was a satellite television war for Turkey, just like far away countries on the opposite side of the globe. This means of course, that Turkey viewed the conflict primarily from an American angle. In this international conflict American media established "air supremacy" much before the allied air forces.

From a communication research viewpoint, one of the curious discoveries of the most intense phase of the conflict was the decline in newspaper circulations. It had been widely expected in journalistic circles that this highly publicized war, like other earth-shaking events in the past, would give stagnant newspaper circulations a much-needed boost. On the contrary, the sales dropped significantly, especially during the first week of the air campaign.

It was obvious that this was not due to a lack of interest, just the opposite, people talked about little else. But they, like their media patriots elsewhere, preferred viewing it on television, i. e. CNN, rather than reading about it. Turks, like many other nationalities, watched the first bombs falling on Baghdad on CNN, carried "live" by the Magic Box satellite station. Millions were mesmerized by the videogame like attraction of this strange war, sending the ratings of Magic Box skywards. The TRT surrendered on the third day: it too hooked up with the CNN coverage.

Newspapers were always behind no matter how hard they tried. Sometimes even their pictures were taken from the CNN broadcasts. People could view a press conference live, rather than reading a "report" about it later. It seemed as if people suffered from information-fatigue via the screen in addition to sleeplessness, and were left with little or no appetite for other sources of information.

The infatuation with CNN was rather short-lived, however. Like new videogames, most people soon got tired of the innocuous, repetitive, raw, and yet strictly managed television coverage. The emphasis given to the Israeli view surprised many viewers



unaccustomed to American news values. Newspapers fought back with headlines on domestic politics and local repercussions of the war. The state television corporation, TRT, also discovered to its embarrassment that the prerogatives of a commercially-oriented American television network may not entirely match its evaluation of "national interest". A CNN report showing American planes taking off from the Incirlik base in Turkey on bombing missions in Iraq was crudely censored. Magic Box ran the story and the official double standard came to plain view. The TRT cut off the CNN connection soon.

In Turkey, the TRT news presents the official version of the day's happenings while newspapers present the oppositional and sensationalistic version. Ordinarily, there is very little overlap between the news agendas of the broadcast and print media. The war imposed itself on both as the leading event. Yet, differences in approach continued. There was little commentary on the TRT except for the pronouncements of President Özal. In those pronouncements Mr. Özal urged Turkey to take an "active" stand in the war, and participate in the fighting, if possible. A great majority of newspaper columnists and editorial writers urged caution and called for non-involvement. Almost all viewpoints

were expressed freely. The range of debate was broader than in the United States. The public opinion polls showed that the cautious line adopted by the press was shared by most people. While there was no sympathy for Saddam, there was even less support for joining the fight by opening a second front in the North.

Although a number of Turkish reporters and television crews went to the combat zone, Turkish media relied, by and large, on the Western news agencies for much of the coverage. Despite occasional critical remarks about this dependence in certain circles, there were no specific complaints. This changed, however, when those reporters came to Turkey to cover the exodus of the Kurdish refugees in the aftermath of the war. Accusations of bias and sensationalism were hurled against foreign-reporting from several quarters. As a result, many people may have begun to suspect that the Western news media upon which they rely for their understanding of the world, often travel with old-style preconceived notions along with space age technology. At least in this respect, the Gulf War, seen through American TV lenses, may have been an eye opener.

(*) Dr., Columnist in the newspaper Güneş

Turkish Press in the Eighties

Okay GÖNENSİN(*)

The events following the 12 September 1980 military coup divided the Turkish press into two crystallized groups. The majority of the daily newspapers preferred to increase their circulation through distributing coupons to their readership; choosing to be depoliticized published spurious news and generally practiced tabloid journalism. The second, minority group of newspapers remained loyal to the fundamental principles of journalism, never attempted to derivate from the truth and defended freedom of the press.

The vicious and oppressive 10-year period has brought to an incredible point those newspapers which hoped to increase their circulation not by journalism and ideals but by distributing coupons to their readers. This group of newspapers gave out everything to their readers, from buses to apartment flats, from cars to toys, from furniture to cooking pans and encyclopedias. I have to admit that they had creativity, and as far as I am concerned three of their most interesting ideas were as follows:

- Winning a dinner with a popular lady singer or a lady movie star.
- Winning a two-seat airplane.
- Winning cheese and olives for breakfast.

The colossal amount spent for this marketing system which could have terrified most of the western bingoists, reached such proportions it was flabbergasting. These newspapers spent 30 billion liras only for the television promotions of these coupon campaigns in 1989 and 70 billion liras in 1990.

In 1980 the daily net circulation of 6 big national newspapers totalled to 1.9 million. Today the daily net circulation of 12 national newspapers differs between 2.5 million and 3.2 million (according to the kind of coupons they are distributing).

In 1980, Turkey's population was 45 million people and the rate of newspaper readership was 47 per 1000. Today, Turkey's population is 57 million people and the newspaper readership rate is 53 per 1000 people. This rate is 184 newspapers in France, 92 newspapers in Italy and 84 newspapers in Spain.

In January 1980, the price of newsprint was 17,900 liras per tonne. This has increased to a million and 840 thousand liras per tonne in November 1990.

The price of a newspaper was 10 liras in January 1980 whereas this has been increased to 1000 liras in November 1990.

In 1980, a person could buy 29 newspapers a day with the Turkish daily average wage. This number has dropped to 12 newspapers in 1986 and 1990.

In Turkey, a family which has an average income has to pay 2.28 per cent of its income to buy one newspaper daily (In France this rate is 1.1 per cent).

In Turkey, the per capita yearly consumption of paper is 10 kilograms (This

amount is 59 kilograms in Portugal).

In Turkey, as it is in all other countries worldwide (if they are not state subsidized) all newspapers have to establish a balance between their advertisement and sale incomes. In Turkey the per capita advertisement expenditure is 45 U.S. dollars (This amount is 77 dollars in Spain, 28.3 dollars in Argentina, 10 dollars in Peru and 4.7 dollars in El Salvador).

(*) Managing Editor of the newspaper Cumhuriyet.



Electronic communication landscape in Turkey: A rapid survey

Aydın UĞUR^(*)

The Turkish electronic communications landscape changed drastically in the course of the last five years. The number of public TV channels jumped to 6; a private channel made its entry into the communications scene; cable-TV networks emerged; data exchanges were made possible.

BROADCASTING

Over-the-air TV: From the very beginning, in Turkey, TV broadcasting has been a public affair. The state monopoly has been exercised through the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), closely controlled by the political power.

TRT which operated only one channel since 1972, the date of the introduction of television in Turkey, inaugurated her second channel in 1986. In the following five years, the number of public channels rose to 6. (TV1; TV2; TV3; TV4; TV-GAP; TV-INT)

TV-INT launched in 1990 is mainly oriented towards Europe and targets the Turkish living abroad.

The coverages of the public channels are as follows (% of the total surface of Turkey):

TV1 = % 95, TV2 = % 82, TV3 = % 73, TV4 = % 40, TV-INT = % 20

The unique Turkish private channel (Magic Box) began transmissions in 1990. Based in Germany, Magic Box transmits through satellite its audience is relatively small because of the necessity to use a specific dish antenna.

Cable-TV: The introduction of the cable is a recent affair, in Turkey. The Turkish PTT, passing through the interstices of the present regulation which designates TRT as the single exerciser of the public monopoly in the broadcasting field, initiated the first cable experiment. By mid. May 1991, 11293 cable connections were installed in Ankara, with a waiting list of 13.500 demands. PTT is about to promote a very ambitious second phase. By the end of 1991 the cable network is planned to cover 10 cities and to reach 3 millions subscribers.

Satellite: Satellites are widely used by Turkey for telecommunications as well as for international television exchanges, within INTELSAT and EUTELSAT systems. The majority of international traffic is provided by a land station near Ankara, connected to EUTELSAT since 1985. Presently, this system handles television exchanges (2 programmes) and 1816 telephony channels between Europe and Turkey.

In 1986 Turkey bought from INTELSAT 3

transponders, making it possible to transmit 7 television programmes. The system has been consolidated by the installation of 200 receiving stations.

In the field of satellite communications, Turkey made a step further by passing an agreement in december 1990 with the French Aerospatiale in view of the creation of TURKSAT, the first Turkish satellite system. The first of the satellites (FSS type) is planned to be put into orbit by 1993 and will relay 10 television channels. TURKSAT satellites will have a downlink power of 51 dBW for Turkey, and 48 dBW for european coverage, and will operate in theband. Of the 10 relayed programmes, two will target the turks living abroad.

With TURKSAT, Turkey joins the group of 14 countries already having their own national satellite systems.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND DATA EXCHANGES

The most obvious improvements in the Turkish telecommunication infrastructure came by mid-80's.

An annual increase of 46,6 % in the capacities has been realized in 1987. It is to be noted that this achievement has not been excelled by any other country in the world.

The special telecommunication systems like land based mobile radio telephone, radio paging, videoconference, video text and data exchanges had been introduced in the year 1986. These innovations were coupled with a rapid digitalization process. Even though the first digital exchange was installed in 1984, today 60 % of the telephone exchanges capacities consists on digital lines.

However, albeit these serious efforts Turkey still preserves its relative weakness with respect to telephone penetration. By the beginning of 1991, the total capacities of the telephone exchanges were about 7.200.000 lines and the number of main telephone lines per hundred inhabitants was 12.

The number of subscribers to mobile radio telephone was 20.800 by mid. 1990. This constitutes only % 0,4 of the total telephone subscribers in the areas covered by the mobile telephony services.

As respect to radio paging, the objective of 22.500 subscribers was set up for the beginning of 1991.

The two existing systems of packet switched

data networks have registered a rather weak demand. The first one which is experimental was totaling only 124 subscribers by the end of 1989.

The second of the data networks-TURPAK- is covering 21 cities and connects 314 subscribers, presently.

On the other hand, the diffusion of the dial up system has been quite rapid in Turkey. At the beginning of 1991 1503 subscribers were using this system.

A few notes about the actors in the communications arena

The article 133 of the Turkish Constitution stipulates clearly that broadcasting in Turkey can only be realized by the public sector. The law No 2954 indicates that the only institution allowed to broadcast is TRT.

However, with the advent of ANAP (Mother Land Party) governments, that is from 1983 onwards both liberalizing and commercializing interests have combined in an effort to break the state monopoly. But this happens in a relatively chaotic way.

Though there has not been any regulation change the political sensibilities became more flexible under the impact of the world-wide deregulation tendencies. This new climate englobed the political actors and prepared the terrain for the various "legal by-passes" realized by different organizations. For example, PTT, in spite of the objections of TRT installed a cable-TV network, arguing that what was done was only the simple transmission of the television signals caught from European satellite channels and not real broadcasting.

The same argument is used by many localities headed by mayors, members of the opposition parties who offer their citizens many European programmes thanks to community antennae. The result is conflicting sentences of different courts seized by the public prosecutors.

Another example of the chaos in the communication field, is the creation in Germany of the Magic Box, the private satellite channel targeting Turkish audience. This is a somewhat peculiar achievement considering that locally based private initiatives are not given entrance permission.

It can easily be said that the public monopoly in broadcasting is coming to its end, in Turkey. Many think that the eventual ex-monopoly will be vitalized by competition and will undergo positive change; while some others have doubts about the capacity of the public broadcasting agency to survive.

The Turkish electronic media entered a new phase with an unpredictable future.

(*) Dr. Marmara University, Department of Political and Administrative Sciences

ILAD: who is it?

"İletişim Araştırma" is the in-house publication of ILAD, the Association for Mass Communication Research. The original intention was to publish six issues a year, but we have been able to bring out only four issues thus far. It is in Turkish and is circulated among ILAD members. This special issue in English is published in connection with the IAMCR International Council meeting and the international conference on "News Media and International Conflict" taking place in İstanbul.

ILAD is the outcome of much hard work and perseverance extending over many years. The Association strives to forge links among communication researchers in Turkey, as well as acting as a bridge between Turkish researchers and the international research community. Its main source of income is membership dues, a fact of life which imposes severe constraints on the scope of its activities.

Yet ILAD has accomplished a great deal during its two-year long existence. Panel discussions organized by ILAD on such controversial topics as satellite broadcasting, press monopolies, and privatization of radio and television have attracted a great deal of attention, and have provided a forum for the articulation of divergent view points by political party representatives, academics, media practitioners and others.

ILAD has successfully carried out three research projects for a political science foundation and has published books based on two of these studies. The first one entitled Press Monopolization focused on the problem of concentration of ownership in the Turkish media within the framework of potential foreign incursions, especially by Robert Maxwell and Rupert Murdoch. The second one A Broadcasting System for Tomorrow, aimed to shed some light on issues related to the restructuring of the Turkish broadcasting system. ILAD has also published a study on the role of the media on political processes called Communication and Politics.

Because of the delay in the adoption of the printing press by the Ottoman Empire (The first printing press using Turkish letters was established in 1729) Turkey made a late entry into newspaper publishing (First Turkish newspaper appeared in mid-19th century.) Radio on the other hand, emerged at around the same time as the rest of Europe, in the late 1920's. The adoption of television was deliberately held back. Regular broad-

Hüsamettin ÜNSAL(*)

casts began only in 1968. It spread, however, with amazing speed, reaching saturation levels in many parts of the country in less than a decade. Turkish broadcasting remains, by and large, a state monopoly. All four radio networks and the five television channels are run by the Turkish Radio-Television Corporation (TRT). The sole exception at the moment is Magic Box, a Turkish television station beaming its signals via satellite from Germany. Other projects of a similar nature are in line, and it is expected that the privatization of broadcasting will become a de jure reality within the next few years, even months. In the meantime, cable television is making rapid headway in Ankara and İstanbul.

The situation in the print media is not as lively. Newspaper circulations are low and basically stagnant despite outrageous promotional schemes. The total circulation of the 13 highest selling daily newspapers in the country is 4.5 million copies, resulting in 80 papers per 1000 people. It should be noted, however, that newspapers enjoy greater freedom of expression and are quite outspoken.

Mass communication education in Tur-

key also began rather late. The first two-year journalism school was launched in İstanbul in 1950's to be taken over by four-year schools in the 1960's. At present, five such schools (two in Ankara, two in İstanbul, and one in İzmir) provide a four-year mass communication education; graduate degrees are also offered. The faculty is mainly comprised of the graduates of these schools although a number of media professionals teach skills courses.

ILAD aims at strengthening the ties between Turkish mass communication researchers and the outside world. ILAD owes its existence, to a large extent, to the tireless efforts of its president, Dr. Hıfzı Topuz, who was one of the founders of the IAMCR and is well known and respected in the international mass communications community. The IAMCR International Council meetings and the ensuing conference will provide an opportunity for an exchange of views and insights in a fast changing communications environment.

ILAD is proud to host this meeting and hopes that the İstanbul conference will become a memorable event for all participants.

(*) ILAD Secretary General



INTERVIEW

GULF WAR IN TURKISH MEDIA

We made an interview about the "Gulf war in Turkish Media" with a professor of political communication and some famous journalists. Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan Unat, Mahmut Tali Öngören, Yalçın Doğan, Sami Kohen, Zafer Atay and Ergun Balci answered our questions. We asked five questions :

1. How were the Turkish readers informed about the Gulf war news?
2. Was the mass media objective in presenting the Gulf affair?
3. What do you think about the news? broadcasting of TRT on link with CNN?
4. Do you think there was a censorship during the war?
5. What do you think about İncirlik case?

1. HOW WERE THE TURKISH READERS INFORMED ABOUT THE GULF WAR NEWS?

MAHMUT TALİ ÖNGÖREN (Cumhuriyet)

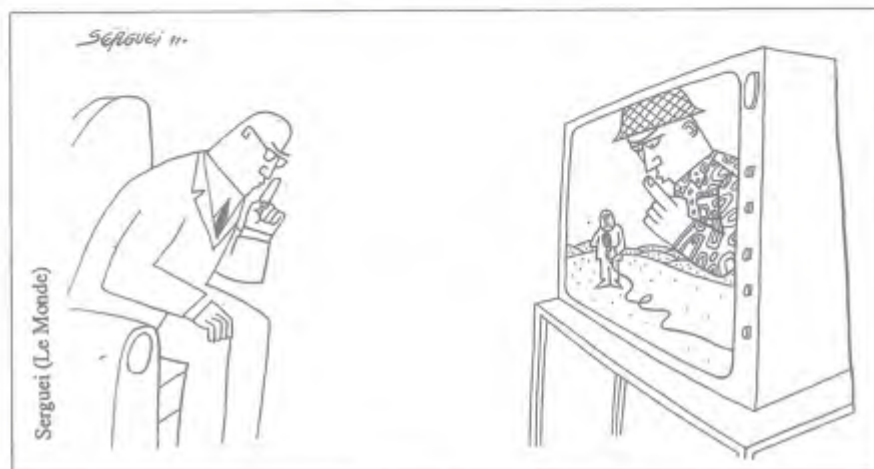
The Turkish readers were informed about the Gulf news from a few newspaper. In fact, most of all the news were foreign originated. At least, we can say that Turkish press had to give a few true news from foreigner filter, as it is usual on giving foreign or international news.

YALÇIN DOĞAN (Milliyet)

Turkish audience watched the beginning of the war from CNN, then from TRT and Magic Box televisions. First news were watched from television, but the audience turned towards press after the first day. I think there was a great interest to this affair. Foreign press was also read by some people. But the average Turkish readers were informed about the events by the press with its news, photographs and interpretations. I think they were well satisfied. The Ally Forces were more or less generous on giving information to a certain degree. of war. Because they were victors, the result was clear. The Ally Forces were continuously informing both the war area and some certain centers such as Washington. Each newspaper presented the news in its own frame. I can't say in its own political direction for news has no directions. But there are directions of comments. I mean, at the beginning, some newspapers maybe didn't guess that war would last so long, they thought it would come to an end more quickly. But the majority of Turkish press saw that Saddam would lose soon. There were some exceptional comments but the majority saw the end.

SAMI KOHEN (Milliyet)

You ask about Turkish reader, so you refer to the press. Turkish reader generally reads Turkish newspapers. If we use the term "audience" we can talk further. There is lots of people listening to the foreign radio stations directed to Turkey, especially the Turkish broadcast of those stations. For instance, approximately hundred thousands of Turkish people are listening to the Turkish broadcast of BBC. I think the radio broadcasting of



Turkish corporation is so weak and undeveloped on catching the time, and the comments are not sufficient. So radio is not a good source for news. Television is maybe a little bit better, there is a variety of channels. From the first channel to the second and third, etc. so the audience can reach the news. Turkish television is also in advance to get detailed and better news nowadays, by sending professional reporters to the main centers like Washington, Rhiyad, Amman ond Cairo. Whatever the discussions are, it is clear that the link between TRT and CNN made it possible to get some live scenes. And we must add that, there is a big audience of Star-I (Magic Box). In conclusion, we can say that, Turkish readers were well informed by the press, foreign radio stations and our Turkish television stations.

ZAFER ATAY (Tercüman)

Turkish reader has got the Gulf news from television. It was the first time for the press to remain behind the audio-visual broadcasting. But it is not the inability of the press. At the whole world a war has been broadcasted on live for the first time. Turkish people also viewed the war on CNN channels by the link of TRT and this private television (Magic Box) to CNN.

ERGUN BALCI (Cumhuriyet)

They used newspapers and television as usual. Television did its best with a full time broadcasting. Indeed most of the newspapers gave the news from Western agencies. Some listened foreign radios, especially BBC. Turkish press sent their reporters to the area. The readers got the opportunity to follow the news in a better way. But it was television who had the most important role.

2. WAS THE MASS MEDIA OBJECTIVE IN PRESENTING THE GULF AFFAIR?

Prof. Dr. NERMİN ABADAN UNAT

I watched the gulf war in the United States and I think it is the first time in the history for this war to be live broadcasted on the screen. In this war, on

one hand there was a sense of censorship which was contrary to America's democratical convention on the other hand there was a natural censorship which fits to the dictatorship in Irak. It means that, neither the losses, nor the deads were to be seen, unlike the Vietnam war, because on the one side, censorship was essentially a part of the regime, and on the other side the press freedom had a break for the certain period. At the beginning of the war, "I want this war to be tidy in terms of surgery" said the President Bush. It means that, there would be no

scenes of suffering people from the bombs, no injured ones or broken households on the mass media. And the affair was presented so.

Irak, on the other side did the same as a matter of its usual censorship. Peter Arnett, the reporter of CNN was the only reporter in Irak. He was only reporting those given to him. This position of Peter Arnett caused strong discussions on U.S. television. He was accused to be on the side of Saddam even to serve the war aims of Saddam. Those discussions didn't come to a conclusion. At least, American public opinion supported the war 80 per cent and presented their confidence to their president. I think the reason of this high confidence, even if there was not a big enthusiasm or pleasure, was the restricted scenes of television news, and the deficiency of projecting the realities.

MAHMUT TALİ ÖNGÖREN (Cumhuriyet)

I don't believe that press, radio and television presented the Gulf affair objectively because of the reasons on my answer to the first question. Those foreign originated news were also filtered by our press, TRT and Magic Box in Turkey. Almost the each media covered the news according to its own politics, and the comments were in this frame. Objectivity was also distorted by this way. Only a few newspaper or magazine tried to make objective interpretations and succeeded so.

YALÇIN DOĞAN (Milliyet)

I think it wasn't. As a matter of fact, the most important subject during the Gulf affair was the distortion of objectivity. The media in all around the world, was directed by the American-Washington originated information at the Gulf area. We don't know definitely what happened in Irak. But it is so clear that, there were bomb attacks in one month nearly or maybe more than to the whole bombs dropped to Vietnam in ten years. The superior weapons of the ultra modern technology were used. We got the victory news of Ally Forces everyday. Yes, maybe it was true to a certain extent but it was such an extent that, on the first day after 24 hours, even 12 hours, it was announced that Saddam was over and the war would be over the next day. It shows that the broadcasting was not trustworthy.

What happened at the Irakian front? What happened inside of Irakian Revolution Council? We were never informed about them. The deficiency of war reporters in this war, was another subject I felt as a journalist. However reporting on war has on advance since Homeros, the characteristics of reporting on war, depends on evaluating and promoting the human factor at the war.

SAMI KOHEN (Milliyet)

This question leads us to an academical matter. This term of objectivity. What does it mean? There is not an objective conclusion on the term objectivity. At least, we may characterize the term objectivity to be less partial. The press is generally subscribed to the big news agencies. Two of them, Reuter and AP give information directly. It is always a matter of discussion, so it leads us to the matter of being dependent to the big news monopolies. My opinion is that, there was a partiality more or

less.

Here, we are talking about the war. Before the war, during the first 6 months of Gulf crisis, there was also the problem of distorting the news. But I must remind that, it was so because the other side didn't give credible, trustworthy and free information. If they could inform us so, there would be a possibility to have more objective and true news.

Our newspapers and the other media essentially had to be contented with those given from the big agencies. In fact, all over the world it was the same problem. So I can't say that there was an extra subjectivity or objectivity. It is nonsense to be doubtful to the foreign reporters, for we also got the news in the same direction from our reporters.

ZAFER ATAY (Tercüman)

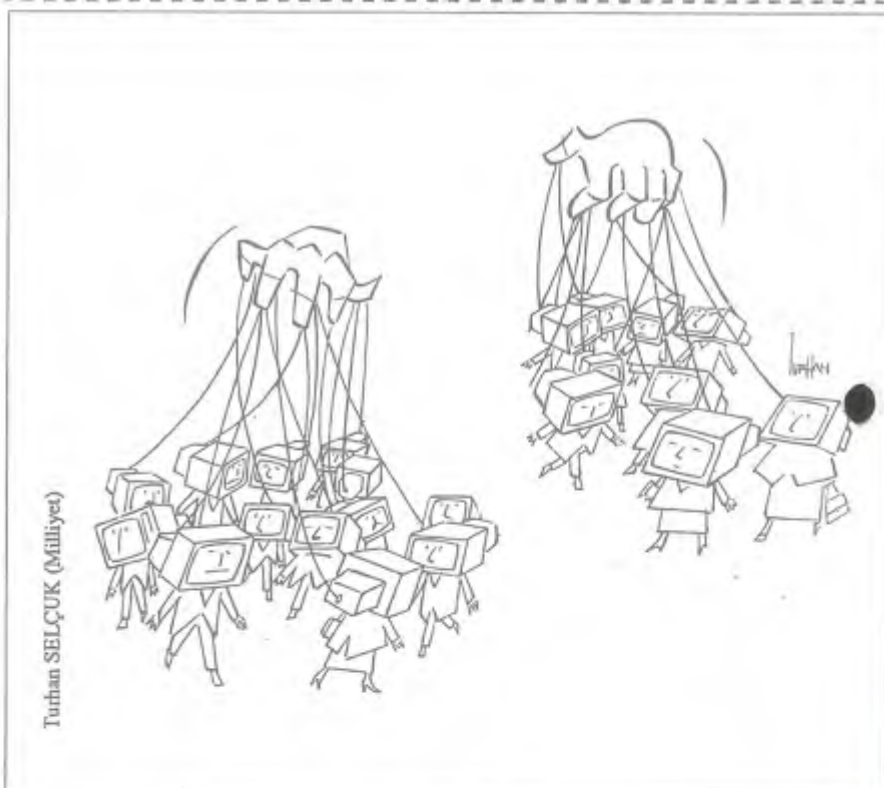
Objectivity is a matter of discussion. We can't deny that, after the first day TRT provided more objective broadcast by sending its reporters to the war area and to the countries around. CNN is an American television anyway. I am not sure if it is possible to be objective easily in such a national enthusiastic affair. So in my point of view, Turkish audience has viewed the affair more objectively after the reporters of TRT begun getting special news. Besides, Turkish press progressively sent its own reporters

to Baghdad. They have gone also to Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Israel. So I think the news were more or less objective, but there was a strong censorship in every country.

ERGUN BALCI (Cumhuriyet)

The fulltime broadcasting of CNN was effective worldwide. CNN was the first television in the history who gave a war in all degrees. But I don't think CNN presented the reality so objectively. At the first day CNN broadcast was such as the attack was so successful, there came the victory and the affair was over. It was so effective that, statesmen also joined this atmosphere of happy end, in addition to the columnists and newspapers.

As the usual, while a part of Turkish press was supporting Saddam, the other part was on the side of U.S. The comments were obviously not pure objective for there was a struggle and competition. Each was trying to give information for its own interests. Nevertheless, both sides were partly true and real. I mean, the war was not exactly a war of imperialism as it was claimed by the supporters of Saddam, it was not also a war of recovering a country from the aggressor as it was said by U.S. I don't think Turkish press did its best. I don't think the atmosphere with interpretations, headlines and news expositions was so objective.



3. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE NEWS BROADCAST OF TRT ON LINK CNN?

Prof.Dr. NERMIN ABADAN UNAT

Today the world is so close. There are lots of news agencies and corporations besides CNN. I

would like to see a transferring center of all those foreign broadcastings to serve the Turkish audience, as it was done in Greece. So the restricted connection between TRT and CNN was not a plus but a minus. The broadcast by satellite should serve to the interest of Turkish audience.

MAHMUT TALİ ÖNGÖREN (Cumhuriyet)

It was a typical subjectivity and dependency of

TRT to link CNN directly and especially at the beginning, presenting the war according to a certain foreign source, as well as an indicator for the need of a strong national radio-television broadcasting corporation in Turkey. A national radio-television corporation must have the qualities of following, gathering, evaluating and broadcasting the news previously by its own ability. Furthermore it may profit by foreign sources.

YALÇIN DOĞAN (Milliyet)

I don't think it was the best way. The majority of worldwide televisions used CNN not only TRT. Because it was only CNN who had reporters in Baghdad during the war even after the war. This is a great success for CNN. How was it, is out of matter. It is a result of unknown relations but nevertheless a success in means of journalism. It's natural for TRT to use this source but it's not natural to censor what they presented according to the political conditions of Turkey. The whole world was informed about the bomb attacks to Irak of American aircraft from İncirlik by CNN. But TRT cut off those scenes. It's a great lack of respecting to Turkish people. However it took place as a scandal in the newspapers the next day. It was not only a damage to the respect of TRT but also a great trouble for the government.

SAMI KOHEN (Milliyet)

TRT means Turkish Radio-Television Corporation. So I want to talk about the radio at first. The radio has an important part in my childhood memories. I remember the years of Turkish radio before being a part of TRT. At the beginning of my profession I was listening to radio not watching television. Now we all are watching CNN besides listening the other radio stations and able to get the current news by the help of agencies and telex system.

In the days of being the only news source, our radio corporation was giving the news with particular care. But it was in the past. Now there is no evaluation of news.

As for television at the beginning, it was a little confused. Then meeting with Magic Box suddenly, TRT saw the need to do more and linked to CNN. At least, getting the images of CNN was a service for citizens. They recognized that, the first reporters sent to the area by TRT were not sufficient, and changed the staff. The next team was more experienced and efficient, like Can Okanar and Ali Kırcı. That is to say, on coming the end of the crisis, TRT performed better in means of television, but radio was bad as a whole.

ZAFER ATAY (Tercüman)

It was a matter of discussion. CNN is a worldwide television. Its technical performance is super. They built a relay station in Jordan, made live broadcast from Baghdad and they became the first. So I don't think it was wrong to get the news from the source.

4. WAS THERE A CENSORSHIP DURING THE WAR, IN YOUR OPINION?

Prof.Dr.NERMIN ABADAN UNAT

Of course there was a censorship. In fact censorship is not forbidden by the laws. There are law orders about the limits of the press freedom in the case of war and extraordinary conditions, not only in Turkey but also in Western countries. But they, for instance U.S. had less experience of those orders up to now. Now, military forces felt the necessity of its validity and the censorship became effective. In fact the censorship is not wrong to their own laws, because it may be acceptable in the case of national interests, it may be harmful to give all the faces of some events in means of national deficiency. We may discuss the necessity of censorship in this war but the contrary also may be valid. So I am not so much on the contrary of censorship but I think it was reflected to the political actions of the citizens which is not good for democracy.

MAHMUT TALİ ÖNGÖREN (Cumhuriyet)

There was the state's censorship on press and TRT during the war. The General Directory of Press Broadcasting and Information, whose General Director is also the Press Advisor of Mr. Özal, had declared the forbidden subjects to the newspapers about the war news. It's an indicator of censorship for Turkey was not as an order was only a kind of censorship of TRT was a clear evident. TRT censored the broadcast of CNN a lots of time and hide the realities from the public.

5. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT İNCİRLİK CASE?

ZAFER ATAY (Tercüman)

It was said to be careful in some subjects however there was no censorship. They were some technical subjects, like the numbers and the identifications of the airplanes. I think they were out of from my service in my newspaper. Nobody interfered except to some high technical and militaristic subjects. And we can't claim it as a censorship. So there was not censorship in Turkey but it was a fact in U.S. and United Kingdom.

ERGÜN BALCI (Cumhuriyet)

There was censorship on television news of İncirlik. I think there was also some on the press for the information of weapon support from Europe to Turkey. We were said not to give detailed information about this subject.

YALÇIN DOĞAN (Milliyet)

Yes, it is a clear fact for this event. There was a censorship in addition of TRT's otocensor. Some of them was announced during the broadcast. The Ally Forces leading by U.S. began to censor the news during the advance of the war. As a matter of fact, previously it was announced than the broadcast continued in its normal way. So it means that there were bad times not to be announced. The censorship is so usual in Turkey especially during the militarist regimes. During the Gulf War there was censorship in various countries even in U.S. where the press freedom is advanced.

SAMI KOHEN (Milliyet)

No, there was no means of censorship in Turkey. There was not a certain commandment to forbid any news or any interpretations,

İncirlik is a military area and has an important position. For instance at the South East there was a Turkish military officer as announcer and he answered all the questions. It's acceptable if he wouldn't wish to declare something for there was a military operation. It is usual for all democratical countries. Americans who are known to be easy-going men, also said: "Sorry, I can't answer this question". It was good to have an announcer officer in South East but it should be the same in İncirlik. There was a real chaos. It was impossible to know what to ask to whom. I think, there in İncirlik was a confusion and lack of information

information about this subject.

Television didn't give the events so objective. For instance CNN gave detailed information about the destroy in Kuwait done by Irak. It also gave the destroy in Baghdad. But TRT was not so equal. And there was some unclear subjects. TRT didn't present the profits of U.S. which depends on the freedom of Kuwait. There should be some professional commentators evaluating what was happening. Only the anti-Irakian and anti-Saddam commentators took place in TRT. Besides the way of TRT broadcasting was just the same of the government's official policy. The opinion of President Özal took a great part on television with highest priority.

Mass Communication Research

The Bulletin of Mass Communication Research Association

Managing Editör: Semra Atılgan

Year: 2, Number: 6, June, 1991,

Adress: İLAD, Basın Müzesi Divan Yolu Cad. No: 84 34410 Cağaloğlu/İST.

Telefon: 528 26 43 Fax: (1) 527 84 61

Prepared for offset by: Ozan Yayıncılık Tel: (1)527 98 47

Printed by: Anadolu Yayıncılık

Expectation in Turkey about communication by satellite^(*)

Mesut ÖNEN^(**)

I think that one of the most important consequences of activities in communication by satellite in Turkey will be the formation of private Radio-TV stations which will share the present state monopoly established in the field of Radio-TV broadcasting. This is an expectation in Turkey currently shared by many.

In fact, the Turkish Constitution in effect now states :

"Radio and TV stations can be established only by the state, and their management belongs to an unbiased, judicial public person" (Article 133, Paragraph 1)

and, accordingly, act no : 2954 of the Turkish Radio and TV law states :

" The establishment of Radio-TV broadcasting stations, their management, adjustments in programs and broadcasting to foreign countries is in the monopoly of the state. This monopoly is used by the Turkish Radio and Television Institution (Article 4-a)

Thus giving the right of broadcasting in the form of a monopoly to the Turkish Radio and Television institution (abbreviated TRT).

This situation has changed in Turkey, especially due to Direct Television Broadcasting by Satellites.

As a matter of fact, many TV viewers in Turkey have been able to receive foreign programs with the help of satellite dishes for a long time. Today, in any TV magazine, the daily programs of many foreign channels can be found under the common title " From the Satellites ". Some of these channels include SAT 1, SUPER CHANNEL, 3 SAT, RAI UNO, RAI DUE, RTL PLUS, BBC TV EUROPE, PRO 7, GALAVISION, CNN, EUROSPORT. The coded AFRTS, broadcasted for the American soldiers in Turkey, could be added to these upon request. This situation has created an alternative against TRT for viewers in Turkey.

Although the above mentioned programs are in foreign languages, they're still wat-

hed by many.

The possibility of broadcasting out of Turkey is used for a Broadcast in Turkish as well. This broadcast has today become a very serious rival to TRT. The institution making the above mentioned broadcast is Magic Box Inc. A.G. This institution, which is in Liechtenstein (Balzer), has its Istanbul Office in Büyükdere Street, 40 Ada Han, Mecidiyeköy. Moreover, this institution uses " MBI (Magic Box International) Reklamcılık ve Ticaret Anonim Şirketi " (Advertisement and Commerce Corporation), and sometimes cenajans, for its activities in Turkey.

Nowadays, another broadcast by satellite in Turkish, HİLAL 1, is about to be added to this.

These have been thought of as such strong rivals to TRT that Magic Box was made real by an ex-TRT Executive Director, Prof. TUNCA TOSKAY, and HİLAL-1 is the project of another ex-TRT Executive Director, Prof. Şaban KARATAŞ.

Thus, these private television broadcasts made by satellite have created in Turkey the expectation of the abolishment of the State Monopoly and the legal commencement of private TV broadcasting.

Many newspapers (e.g. Türkiye, Sabah, Hürriyet), municipalities and Bakırköy Municipality), and other private enterprises (e.g. Ulusal GROUP URT.) have been awaiting change in the present situation in order

to gain permission for their activities in the field of private TV broadcasting.

There is, at the present, quite a lot of evidence in favor of these expectations, hinting at a legal and constitutional change in the future.

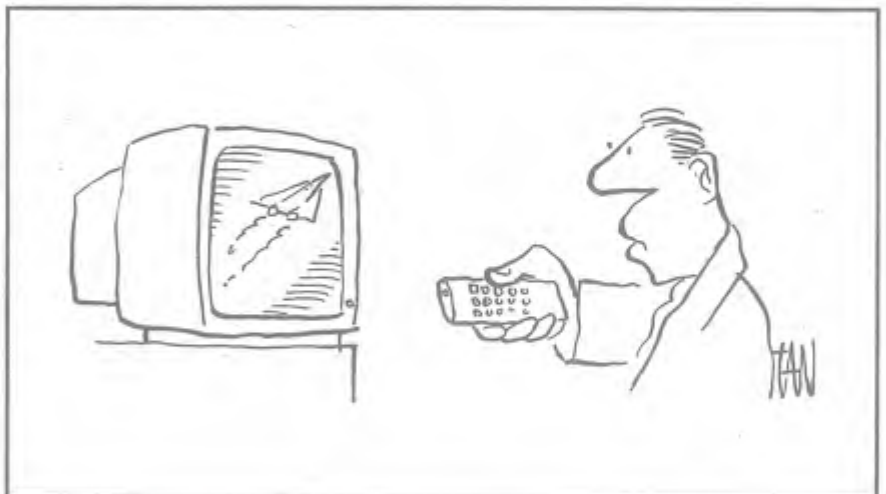
The government party ANAP, opposition parties SHP, DYP and DMP have prepared a constitutional amendment in this direction. The last five-year plan was clearly targeted at the formation of private Radio-TV stations. The Turkish ministers connected to the field of communication have always given their views in favor of private broadcasting corporations.

Thus, technological developments in the field of communication, necessity for capital investments in the economy and the needs of a more democratic environment in the political and social arena have created a new process in Turkey.

As a result, it can be concluded that the developments in the field of broadcasting by satellite have attracted the private enterprise so as to create expectations for private Radio-TV broadcasting along with the public sector in a way to end the state monopoly currently in effect.

(*) Translated from the Turkish by Tuğrul Özbakan

(**) Prof. Dr. (University of Istanbul Political Sciences Faculty)



The rise of Magic Box

Turkish Radio Television Authorities have opposed Magic Box and municipalities breaking their monopoly. So a deep discussion started in certain levels like universities, the parliament and among public.

Emre DAĞDEVİREN(*)

No one in television world believe a year ago that in such a country where legal atmosphere is quite conservative and where state broadcaster is not even prepared to tolerate a joke about deregulation of broadcasting, someone would come up with the idea of making over the air broadcasts from an other country and proving that it can be done...

● MagicBox showed this success in less than a year, be it a composition of political supports or be it the perfectly right coincidence of willingness of the people concerned.

It has not even been a year since Star-1, the first channel of Magic Box, has started its broadcasting, yet it seems to have accumulated right amount of sponsors and or commercials which would establish the backbone of the economics of the channel.

Star-1 has started its broadcasts over Eutelsat 1 F5 in spring 1990. Now that orbital position has been overtaken by Eutelsat II F1, the successor of 1 F5, it was announced that a second channel is to come in a year, namely Star-2. Now we learn that Star-2 will be on air by fall, this year.

● During the introduction of the channel and the service it was publicised that some seven East Spot Beam transponders from Eutelsat were leased to avoid any body competing. Actually this was a misinformation because total number of East Beams Eutelsat could provide did not add-up to seven, even if one ever had the chance and financial resources to buy them out.

In these days it can be seen that the German Wide Beam Transponder on Eutelsat II F2 announces Star-2 to be their potential user. Which puts Magic Box in a position to broadcast two channels in two different satellites in two opposite polarisations, which is a big commercial, economical and technical mistake. Especially for those who declared to have bought out all the available transponders.

The faith of Magic Box was unlikely to

the Spanish Canal 10 which pioneered the method of broadcasting from abroad via satellite. As will be remembered Canal 10 started being uplinked from U.K., but could not survive because of difficulties in collecting from "broadcasting beyond the borders".

Similar arguments were faced in Turkey. Long discussions have taken place in the papers in all levels and among public arguing that Magic Box was nothing but a pirate. Magic Box authorities defended themselves, indicating that they are a German GmbH and therefore they are perfectly legal in Germany where they uplinked their signal from. Their thesis was that they were making broadcasts for the Turkish expatriates in European countries and Turkey was receiving the signal as a matter of fact.

Discussions whether Magic Box is legal or illegal still goes on, fading down in the course of time.

Magic Box initially intended to DTH broadcast and therefore joined forces with an electronics brown - goods manufacturer local IIT-Schaub Lorenz representative,

Meta. Common aim was to import and distribute DTH hardware. Estimates for the first year was 60.000 dishes and associated hardware. But soon sales figures proved not to be very promising. Estimated total sales of the group is around 12.000 systems.

Since the penetration was not as high as expected, Magic Box authorities seem to have decided that the right way of teaching aimed target audience was through terrestrial transmissions.

This policy coincided with policies of many of the municipalities all over Turkey. The municipalities claimed that providing people with television retransmissions was also a kind of service they could bring.

Turkish Radio Television Authorities have opposed Magic Box and municipalities breaking their monopoly. So a deep discussion started in certain levels like universities, the parliament and among public.

What all of these discussions have brought to Turkish electronic media is that, deregulation of broadcasting is now something which can be discussed and even there is a proposal for private broadcasting in Turkey which is about to be presented to the parliament in the coming days.

So thanks to Magic Box...

(*) Dr., Director general of the Ulusal İletişim, Radyo TV group.



Mass communication education in Turkey

Dr. Özden CANKAYA(*)

Turkey has developed its communication systems in recent times compared to the industrialised countries of the Western World. The printing press was founded in 1729, almost three hundred years later than Europe, and the first Turkish newspaper was published in 1831. On the other hand, radio was established in 1927 and the first television broadcasting started in 1968. This retardation of the emergence of mass media in Turkey, also caused the retardation of mass communication education in social research institutions and universities. Until the journalism and mass communication schools were established in Turkey, the requirements of the profession were met by the profession itself, and many journalists and broadcasters were trained either in on-the-job courses or in the practical experiences of the business.

The first mention of journalism education in Turkey was dated 1931 when a new press law was passed. This law brought a regulation about editors and editorial writers obliging them to be university graduates. After a year, this obligation was cancelled. The first institution which offered journalism education was the Press Institute which was opened in 1947 in Istanbul. Later, after the year 1950, the School of Journalism was founded; a two year school opened by the Istanbul University. After a time, the duration of this school was increased to 3, and later to 4 years. Since the past of the social sciences in Turkey can be traced to very recent times, the communication sciences also undertook its share from this retardation, and it is a newly developed branch in this country.

Today, there are five journalism schools in Turkey, all of which carry the name "School of Journalism and Broadcasting" and offer a licence degree in four years. Two of these schools are in Ankara, two in Istanbul, and one in Izmir. The first "School of Journalism and Broadcasting" was established in 1965 by the Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences, which was followed

after the 1970's by the Istanbul University, Ege University in Izmir, Marmara University (Istanbul), and Gazi University (Ankara). All of these schools are 4 year institutions and their legal status are "High School" which is equal to university licence degree. In recent times, there is a joint-attempt by the academic and political circles to promote their legal status to faculties of mass communication. Also, it is worth to mention the section of communication arts in Eskişehir Anadolu University, which offers a communication education in practical terms more than theoretical. Anadolu University have a highly developed infrastructure in communication technology, and manages educational programs by television.

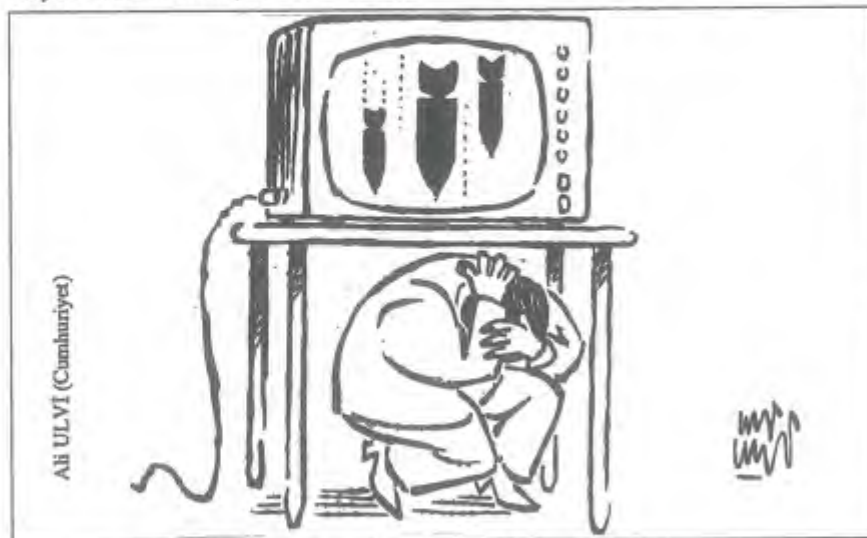
The schools of journalism and broadcasting are designed to give education in three branches: Journalism, Radio and Television, and Public Relations. The motive under this, is the desire to educate professional experts which communication institutions demand in each of these sectors. But when the educational profile of the personnel in the media are examined, it is easily discerned that the majority of the media staff are selected from schools other than the journalism schools, most of whom are lawyers, sociologists, economists, political scientists etc. According to a research in 1988, among 241 journalists working as news staff in daily MİLLİYET, only 41 persons were the graduates of journalism schools. The case is also similar in the electronic media. The employment policy of the Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) does in no way give any primacy to the graduates of these schools, and no contingent is reserved for them. The bulk of the personnel of the TRT are graduates from other scientific branches related to social and technical sciences. There are various reasons of this situation, and the recruitment of the media personnel are often based on

subjective motives of selection.

One of the claims held by the media managers is the fact that the journalism and broadcasting education in the Turkish institutions do not meet the requirements which the profession demands. Here, a question appears to be answered: Are these schools designed to give their students merely technical knowledge and skills about the media business, or are they institutions which graduate social scientists equipped with intellectual thinking and a true view about their society and the rest of the world. When we examine the educational programs of the journalism schools we see that, while they are planned to offer a social science education to their students, they are also equipped to give technical knowledge and skills which the profession demands. In the first two year, courses such as "Introduction to Law", "Constitutional Law", "Administrative Structure of Turkey" all of which are related to legal matters, and also courses related to economics and political sciences are taught. Courses about Turkish and world literature, composition techniques, a foreign language are also among the basic subjects offered to the students. After the third year, the courses are designed to educate the students in professional and technical subjects about the media business. This is where the critics of the media managers arise. They assert that the technical and professional education given in these schools are inadequate to meet the requirements of the business. Most of these journalism schools are devoid of technical infrastructure and equipment which are needed for media education. Most of the graduates of these schools lack adequate practical skills and their knowledge are mostly formed in theoretical level. This deficiency is tried to be met by apprenticeships offered by the media institutions. But this is also a problematic case. Because, most of the media institutions both in the electronic and printing media and in advertisement sector are reluctant to offer apprenticeship opportunities for the media students and it is often been a problem for the school administrations to find any media institution which is ready to supply a contingent for even a period of a month.

As a conclusion, we may assert that the journalism education is a very recent phenomena in Turkey, and it has many problems. But in spite of these problematical matters related to it, it is an educational branch which many young men and girls demand to enter in the university exams every year. Journalism and broadcasting education and profession are deemed highly respectable and outstanding careers, which offer a promising future to the new generations in Turkey.

(*) Dr. Marmara University, School of Journalism.





Milliyet
"Trusted Newspaper"



WHO WHEN WHAT WHERE WHY

Milliyet The most popular and an extremely influential, colorful daily in Turkey.

Everyday since 1950. Always together with it's 1.628.000 readers.

With it's 1000 Professionals **Milliyet** principles are: independent news, neutral comments, readers on both marketing and editorial subjects.

With it's 4 printing center, 19 nationwide bureaus in Turkey, 12 foreign offices and 25 representatives in press centers, in the world. Means everywhere.

In order to reach more executives, businessmen and consumers, who have a deep influence on corporate purchasing decisions.