

ILLITERACY, CENSORSHIP AND PAPER SHORTAGE Newspapers and Circulation Numbers in Türkiye, 1923 to 1945

Dr. Ahmet M. KADIOĞLU
c, ahmetkadioglumurat@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-9786-1904

ABSTRACT

This research article focuses on dailies and other newspapers published in the first decades of the Turkish Republic and is mainly based on unpublished German and Austrian records. The sources do not only provide information about the newspapers' tendencies, editors, journalists and readers but also rich data on circulation figures. When compared with Western European countries, Türkiye's press was on a par with them in terms of the number of newspapers but lagged behind in respect to circulation numbers. This may be attributed to various factors, such as a high illiteracy rate, letter and language reforms and also a shortage of paper.

Keywords: Turkish Press, Circulation Numbers, Paper Shortage, Letter Reform, Single Party Rule, Press Censorship.

INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of the printing press in the Ottoman Empire until now, Istanbul (*Constantinople*) was the center of the press. Numerous newspapers and periodicals were published throughout the years, some of them also in other cities throughout the country. Not only the German and the Austrian missions but also those from other states paid much attention to the print media in Türkiye and closely followed reports and comments in the newspapers there. Numerous reports in the Political Archive of the German Foreign Office demonstrate that the German Embassy regularly sent summaries to Berlin about the main topics addressed to by the most influential dailies in Istanbul and Ankara.¹ Legations from other countries behaved similarly. One of the reasons for this deep interest in the Turkish press was to find out about the possibilities to impact on the commentatorship and public opinion in Türkiye by direct or indirect means.² On that account the missions in Türkiye were busy to gather as much information as possible about editors and journalists, including also data about the origins, confessions and political attitudes of the persons of interest and their wives. Also, the foreign representatives had great interest in news about the journalists' connections to foreign missions or hints from whom they possibly got financial support.³

This research article focuses on dailies and other newspapers that were published in Türkiye in the period from 1923 to 1945. Especially in respect to circulation figures of individual periodicals our current knowledge about that era is very limited and restricted to a few newspapers and years. In 1973, Edward Weisband published circulation numbers for the time span 1943-1945 that had been recorded from the British Research and Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office and the Royal Institute of International Relations.⁴ Not before three decades later the topic was addressed again when Rifat Bali presented circulation figures

¹ See e. g. Politisches Archiv des Auswartigen Amts, Berlin, (Hereafter, PAAA), Folders R78559, R78560 and Ankara 802.

² See e. g. PAAA, Ankara 757.

³ See e. g. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Hereafter, ÖSTA), Archiv der Republik (Hereafter, ADR), Österreichische Vertretungsbehörden im Ausland (Hereafter, ÖVB), Gesandtschaft Konstantinopel, Reservatakten 1934, ZI. 5 / Res., April 5, 1927.

⁴ Edward Weisband (1973). *Turkish Foreign Policy 1943 – 1945*, Princeton: Princeton University Press: 74 – 75.

for the years 1928, 1931 and 1932 that he had drawn from an Italian monography and the US-American National Archives.⁵

In order to fill the remaining gaps and to provide a comprehensive overview about the most important dailies and their circulation numbers over the years, research was carried out in the holdings in the German Foreign State Archive, in the Austrian State Archive, and in the National Archive. Valuable data were also drawn from three consecutive editions of Handbook of the World Press. These compilations were primarily based on data that the German missions abroad had collected for the Handbuch's editors.

The results of the archival research, supplemented with data from Weisband's publication and those from Bali's article that went back to his Italian source are summarized in a table that forms the most important part of this report.⁶ Furthermore, this paper provides information for most of the newspapers that are listed in the table, such as notes about their political orientation, readerships, owners, editors and leading journalists.⁷ It should be noted that most of the newspapers described appeared daily or almost daily, and that only a few of them were issued with a lower frequency.

1. NEWSPAPER NUMBERS, DIVERSITY AND CIRCULATION FIGURES

In the table, almost 60 newspapers or dailies are listed for which circulation numbers could be found for any of the years 1924 to 1945. Admittedly, these comprise only a portion of the newspapers that were issued in the 1920s and 1930s. In the year 1930 alone, for example, altogether 188 newspapers and journals were published in Türkiye.⁸ The circulation figures of the following years was only moderately smaller as judged on basis of the numbers presented from Kemal Karpat analysis for the time span from 1934 to 1945. The lowest number of newspapers was observed in 1939 with altogether 117 publications, the maximum of 159 publications was reached in 1944.⁹ Compared with data from other countries in Handbuch der Weltpresse, the number of dailies in Türkiye in the 1920s and 1930s were similar to those of European states with a well-developed press.

The spectrum of newspapers published in Istanbul was especially broad. In an Austrian report from 1927, the dailies were classified into six newspapers appearing in Turkish, five in French, three in Greek, three in Armenian, two in Judeo-Spanish and one in German. There were also a lot of weekly, bi-weekly or monthly periodicals that were published in Istanbul and dedicated to special subjects, some of them being published in other than the Turkish language.

⁵ Rifat Bali. Newspaper Circulation in the Single – Party Period. *Journal of History and Society*. Vol. 221 (May 2002): 18 – 19. For circulation data from 1928 and 1931 Bali quoted NARA, decimal file 867. 402 / 42, April 19, 1932. For data from 1932 Bali quoted “*P. Di Roccalta, Angora e Kemal Pascia Problemi Politici ed Economici Della Moderna Turchia, A. R. E. Anonima romana Editoriale, Roma 1932, s. 126 – 128.*”

⁶ See Bali (2002). Bali quoted also an US – American source. For his study, a copy of the document was obtained from NARA in order to see the original. Unfortunately, this was not possible for the Italian source that Bali had quoted as no copy of the monography could be obtained.

⁷ There are several publications that treat the press in Türkiye but focus rather on the newspapers or journalists than on their circulation figures. Hıfzı Topuz, e. g. Provided a detail rich description of the censorship of the press and listed founders, editors and their co – workers but did not provide any circulation numbers (Hıfzı Topuz 1996). “Turkish Press History from its Beginnings to the Present in 100 Questions”. İstanbul: Gerçek Publisher, 2nd ed. See also Alpay Kabacalı. “Veiled Censorship of the National Chief Era”. *Journal of History and Society*. No. 38: 1987. Fuat Süreyya Oral (1987). “Turkish Press History 1919 – 1965, Republican Era”. İstanbul: Doğuş Publisher and Cemil Koçak. “Foreign Influences on the Turkish Press”. *Journal of History and Society*. 1987: 50 -52.

⁸ Deutsches Institut für Zeitungskunde (Ed., 1931). Handbuch der Weltpresse. Berlin: Carl Duncker Verlag, 1st ed.: 337. The book is henceforth referred to as Handbuch der Weltpresse (1931).

⁹ See Kemal H. Karpat (1964). The Mass Media. In Robert E. Ward, Robert and Danwart A. Rustow (eds.), Political Modernization in Japan and Türkiye, p. 279. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

To the diverse subjects being dealt with by these journals belonged sports, philosophy, theology, law, medicine, agriculture, technics and trade. For the area of medical and sanitary journal as example nine journals were named, among them two addressing issues of dentists and one published in French. Other journals covered questions concerning the administration of city of Istanbul, of agriculture or were dedicated to children. Unfortunately, for these periodicals neither circulation figures nor data about the periods during which they were published could be found. The same holds true for quite a few local periodicals that were issued in other languages or in provincial towns throughout Türkiye.

Circulation numbers were available for a lot of those publications that appeared in higher frequency, i.e. for newspapers and dailies. It turned out that, in respect to circulation figures, the Turkish press was orders of magnitude below newspapers in Western Europe. For the year 1928 (and 1932 as well) the circulation number for all daily newspapers in all of Türkiye altogether was estimated to account to 130000. The low number mirrors a high rate of illiteracy in Türkiye at that time. In 1928, the replacement of the Arabic letters by the Latin aggravated the problem and caused a sharp fall of the circulation numbers. From then on, circulation figures increased until 1939, followed by some years with decreasing numbers due to the shortage in paper during World War II.¹⁰ Though, it should be mentioned that even in the late 1930s still sixty to seventy percent of Türkiye's population were analphabets. Therefore the readers of the newspapers were mostly intellectuals, whereas the majority of the population obtained news either from the radio or heard about it in "coffee shops or at home".¹¹ There was another problem that meant a burden not only for readers that were still struggling with the new letters: the language reform that had been launched in order to "purify" Turkish from Arabic and Persian words. The effects were described from a temporary observer as follows:

"[...] Even the best educated men and women could not learn the daily news without looking up several words per paragraph. One need make no remark on the percentage of the population which is willing to struggle through its daily paper with a dictionary".¹²

It is also noteworthy that satirical journals were very popular in Türkiye, a tradition that went back to Ottoman times. Like other periodicals also satirical journals suffered from the letter reform of 1928 which only a few of them survived, namely Akbaba, Karagöz and Köroğlu. Except for Karagöz no circulation figures are available for the period of interest. Karagöz obviously sold very well and circulated in as high numbers as the most popular dailies.¹³

2. PRESS CONTROL AND CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS

¹⁰ The shortening of paper was reported from the German ambassador already in 1939 who expected the circulation numbers to go down in the following years, see PAAA, R123077, A2741 / 39, von Papen to Auswartiges Amt, September 26, 1939. Hereafter, Auswartiges Amt is referred to as AA.

¹¹ PAAA, R123077, record written from Schwörbel. The document refers to the press in Türkiye from summer 1937 to spring 1938 and was presented on 8 april 1938, therefore it is very likely to have been written in March or April 1938.

¹² Quoted as given from Walter F. Weiker (1973). Political Tutelage and Democracy in Türkiye. Leiden: E. J. Brill, Leiden: 233.

¹³ Murat Belge and Bülent Özüakın (Eds). Republican Era Türkiye Encyclopedia, İstanbul: İletişim Publisher, undated). Vol. 5 / 6: 1426: 1438.

After only a short period of relative freedom, the press in the newly established Turkish Republic had not only to struggle with the letter reform or the lack of paper to print on but also with a tight press control. On the occasion of a Kurdish revolt in 1925, and thus only two years after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the Takrir-i Sükün law was passed by the Turkish parliament. The law marked the end of the freedom of the press and favoured the government's position by providing it with all means to control and suppress the press.¹⁴ Several newspapers, among them also Tanin, Vatan and Son Telegraf that are mentioned below, were closed. Editors and leading journalists like Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Mehmet Zekeriya Sertel, Velit Ebüzziya or Ahmet Emin Yalman, had to answer to independence tribunals, as a consequence of which several of them were banned for some years.¹⁵

The act was repealed in 1929 but re-installed in 1931 under the name, Matbuat ve Ceza Kanunu, followed by modifications in the years 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935 and 1938.¹⁶ The strict ruling was abandoned only in 1946 when a more liberal press law was introduced.¹⁷ Due to the strict regulation it comes as no surprise that from 1925 on the press in Türkiye was, or at least seemed to be, very close to its government for the two decades coming thereafter. Not only the pressure and control exerted by the Turkish Ministry of Interior was responsible for this development¹⁸ but also the fact that a lot of the editors and journalists were members of Türkiye's national parliament.

3. PARLAMENTARIANS' DAILIES

"*Hakimiyet-i-Milliyet*" is one of the most prominent examples for such a newspaper. The daily, founded in 1920 and published in the capital Ankara¹⁹, was not only owned by a parliamentarian but also directed by him. Moreover, also the other the journalists working for "*Hakimiyet-i-Milliyet*" were members of the national parliament.²⁰ The daily was read throughout all of Anatolia and regarded as official organ of the ruling party CHF and the government who also subsidized it.²¹ In the 1930s, the CHF even took over the ownership, and in 1934, the newspaper's name was changed into Ulus.²² Also since the government placed announcements for job offers mainly in this daily, those working as public servants, tradesmen and members of the chambers of commerce were to be found among Ulus's readers.²³

The owner of "*Hakimiyet-i-Milliyet*" also possessed and directed three other dailies: *Politika*, *Milliyet* and its French edition "*Le Milliyet*", all of them being published in Istanbul. Little astonishing, these newspapers and "*Hakimiyet-i-Milliyet*" were closely related.²⁴

¹⁴ Hıfzı Topuz (1996): 81 – 82. For an overview about the Turkish History, see Jan – Erik Zürcher (2004). *Türkiye: A Modern History*. London: Tauris, 2004.

¹⁵ Hıfzı Topuz (1996): 81 – 85 and Ahmed Emin Yalman (1956). *Türkiye in My Time*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press: 150 – 157.

¹⁶ Topuz (1996): 89.

¹⁷ Karpat (1964): 278.

¹⁸ PAAA, R123077, A584 / 34, von Rosenberg to AA, May 2, 1934.

¹⁹ Deutsches Institut für Zeitungskunde (Ed, 1934). *Handbuch der Weltpresse*. Berlin: Carl duncker Verlag, 2nd ed.: 320. This edition is hereafter referred to as *Handbuch der Weltpresse* (1934).

²⁰ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, folder İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, Z1. 5 / res., Konstantinopel, April 5, 1927.

²¹ PAAA, Ankara 755, Document from 1924.

²² Topuz (1996): 92.

²³ See *Handbuch der Weltpresse* 1931: 340. According to the *Handbuch's* Edition from 1934, *Milliyet* was in part also owned by the İş Bank and the Daily founded in early 1926 (*Handbuch der Weltpresse* 1934: 321). According to the first source, journalists Ethem İzzet Burhanettin, Ahmet Şükrü and Reşat Nuri worked for both *Milliyet* and *Le Milliet*.

²⁴ *Handbuch der Weltpresse* (1931): 340.

Likewise, several parliamentarians, among them even Ercüment Ekrem, the chief of the official press office, worked as journalists for “*Milliyet / Le Milliet*”.²⁵ The dailies were regarded as official voices of the government and covered issues concerning Istanbul more than other newspapers.²⁶ “*Milliyet*” had even correspondents in the capitals of the Balkan states and in Syria, in Germany, in France and Switzerland.²⁷ The daily was sold in 1936 to a private group and continued under the name “*Tan*”. “*Tan*” followed *Milliyet*’s political orientation and was also regarded as official organ of the Turkish government in Istanbul.²⁸

Another examples for newspapers in the hand of parliamentarians are “*Akşam / Akcham*” and “*Cumhuriyet / La République*”. The foundation of *Akşam* must have taken place in Constantinople in either 1917 or 1918.²⁹ After it had been owned by the Persian Nadschi and led by Nedschmeddin Sadik, it was bought in the late 1920s by parliamentarian Necmettin Sadık. Under his rule, the daily turned pro-Italian and pro-German and paid special attention to the rising Turkish nationalism and other political issues.³⁰ In the early 1939s, “*Akşam*” was regarded to be rather modern and counted to the most important newspapers of the leading People’s Party (CHF).³¹ Interestingly, and according to an Austrian source from 1927, the French edition “*L’Akcham*” was led by an Italian, Gilberto Primi, who was said to be close to the Italian Embassy and even to be financially supported from the Italian and the German mission as well.³² Noteworthy, Primi founded the daily *Beyoglu* in Istanbul as an Italian newspaper in 1934 but got frequently into political trouble because of his pro-Italian attitude.³³

“*Cumhuriyet*” was founded by parliamentarian Yunus Nadi 1923 in Istanbul, the French edition “*La République*” appeared from 1924 on.³⁴ As Yunus Nadi was close to the Turkish government “*Cumhuriyet*” was regarded as semi-official and circulated in high numbers. It focused on politics, especially on economical and foreign matters,³⁵ and was read by officials, business men and also foreigners.³⁶ Interestingly, the newspaper was regarded as being accessible for “*prograganda of foreign capitalists*”, an attitude that was not only reported in Austrian documents but also advocated in other foreign sources.³⁷

The daily “*Vakit*” was first directed from Ahmet Emin, later from the new owner Mehmet Asim. “*Vakit*” took positions close to those of the Turkish government.³⁸ Later the journal was renamed into “*Kurun*” and predominantly influenced by Tarik Us who not only worked as journalist and as parliamentarian but also led the Turkish press union.³⁹ Anadolu,

²⁵ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, Document İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, attachment to Z. 3218, Kral to Bundeskanzleramt, August 5, 1929. Therin, the names of the parliamentarians are given as Falih Rıfıkı, Yakup Kadri, Ruşen Eşref, Reşat Nuri, Ahmet Ağaoğlu.

²⁶ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 321.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Institut für Zeitungswissenschaft an der Universität Berlin und Außenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP (Ed., 1937). Handbuch der Weltpresse, Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main: Armanen – Verlag, 3rd edition: 405. This third edition is hereafter referred to as Handbuch der Weltpresse (1937).

²⁹ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 320 and PAAA, Ankara 755, Document from 1924.

³⁰ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, Document İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, Z. 3218, Kral to Bundeskanzleramt, August 5, 1929.

³¹ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 319 – 320.

³² ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, z1. 5 / Res., April 5, 1927, attachment A.

³³ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1937): 404.

³⁴ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1931): 339.

³⁵ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, Z1. 5 / Res., April 5, 1927.

³⁶ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 321.

³⁷ See e. g. ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, Politische Berichte 1929, 1933 – 1938, 5 – Pol / 1934, concept, Tatigkrit der Sowjet – Organisationen in der Türkei, April 25, 1934 or NARA, M1224, 867. 4016 Jews / 27, Mac Murray to Secretary of State, August 6, 1938.

³⁸ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 332.

³⁹ PAAA, R123077, record from Schwörbel which was presented to Aschmann on April 8, 1938.

issued in Izmir, has also to be named as an parliamentarian-owned newspaper.⁴⁰ From the 1920s to the mid-1940s, the parliamentarian-owned newspapers “*Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, Akşam*” and “*Vakit*” reached the highest circulation figures of all Turkish dailies.

3. 1. İkdam and Tanin – Survivors form Ottoman Times

The majority of the newspapers appearing in those years was founded during or after the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923).⁴¹ Though, there were also some exemptions. One of them was the daily “*İkdam*”, established in Constantinople either in 1892 or 1984 bei a certain Babi Ali.⁴² “*İkdam*” was published in the newspaper’s own printing house and stood for a conservative and critical view towards the political parties. In the 1920s, “*İkdam*” was first owned and led from Ahmet Cevdet,⁴³ later followed by Ali Naci.⁴⁴ İkdam was not only known for its unbiased reports of the Turkish internal policies but also for its expertise in economical questions to which it paid special attention.⁴⁵

“*Tanin*”, another influential newspaper of the first decades of the Turkish Republic, was founded in Constantinople in 1907. It was regarded as the organ of the “*Comittee of Union and Progress*” which ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1908 to 1918. In the times of the Turkish Republic, “*Tanin*” was directed to intellectuals and those opposed to the ruling party, i.e., opposed to the “*Cumhuriyet Halk Firkası*” From 1924 on, the newspaper was published also in a French edition, both editions being printed in “*Tanin’s*” own printing house.⁴⁶ The owner was Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın who, after Istanbul’s occupation by the British, had been transferred to Malta in 1919 like many other Ottoman politicians, generals and intellectuals while archival researches were made to investigate their actions and possible involvement in the massacres of Ottoman Armenians during WWI in the mass killings of Armenians. In the mid-twenties, and because of his critical attitude to the new rulers decisions, “*Tanin*” was closed temporarily and Yalçın had answer to independence tribunals twice, as a result of which he was banished to the town of Çorum north of the capital Ankara. However, this did not hinder him to continue working as a journalist and editor in later years.⁴⁷

4. INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS: “*TAN, SON POSTA AND HABER*”

According to a German source from the late 1930s, the most influential newspapers throughout Türkiye were issued in Istanbul, namely “*Cumhuriyet, Akşam, Kurun, Haber* and

⁴⁰ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1937): 404.

⁴¹ For an overview about the Turkish History see e. g. Jan – Erik Zürcher (2004). *Türkiye: A Modern History*. London: Tauris.

⁴² ÖSTA, ADR, ÖVB, Gesandtschaft Konstantinopel, Reservatakten 1934, attachment B to document Z1. 5 / res., April 5, 1927 and PAAA, Ankara 755, undated document from the period 1924 – 1928, very likely from 1924.

⁴³ PAAA, Ankara 755, undated document from 1924 – 1928, very likely from 1924. According to his source, also the journalists Burhanettin Aslı, Ethem Ruhi, Şemsettin Arif and Nejdett Sadreddin worked for the Daily. In 1928 and maybe even before, also the parliamentarian Celal Nuri worked for İkdam (ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB, Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, attachment to document Z. 3218, August 5, 1929).

⁴⁴ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, attachment to Z. 3218, August 5, 1929.

⁴⁵ ÖSTA, ADR, ÖVB, Gesandtschaft Konstantinopel, Reservatakten 1934, attachment A to Z1. 5 / Res., April 5, 1927.

⁴⁶ PAAA, Ankara 755, 1924. Besides the owner Hüseyin Cahit, the most prominent journalists working for Tanin were İsmail Müstak, Reşat Nuri. The newspaper also had correspondents abroad.

⁴⁷ For more details about Yalçın see also Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın’s memories, published as Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın (2001) *My Acquaintances*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Publisher and Cemil Koçak. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın and Movements of Ideas, *Journal of History and Society*, No. 68, August 1989.

Tan".⁴⁸ Some newspapers such as "*Son Posta, Son Telgraf, Zaman, Haber*" and "*Tan*" are interesting in that they, in contrast to the others names, could not be regarded as official or semi-official voice of the government but represented the independent press.⁴⁹ Though, because of the strict press control the possibilities to express attitudes that contradicted the government's position were very limited. Therefore, all newspapers in Türkiye were more or less close to the government and supported its aims.⁵⁰

"*Tan*" was founded in 1935 by the Turkish state bank institute. Because of it economic inefficiency the newspaper was sold one year later to a private group, namely Ahmet Emin Yalman, Mehmet Zekeriya Sertel and Halil Lütü Dördüncü.⁵¹ The position of editor was first held by Yalman. *Tan* became the most-read newspaper in Türkiye.⁵² It was close to the leading party CHP, covered more political topics than other dailies and was read mainly by officials.⁵³ At the end of the 1930s, Mehmet Zekeriya and his wife Sabiha Sertel took over the editorship. In the years before, the couple had edited the daily "*Son Posta*" and worked for "*Zaman*", a boulevard journal that was directed to all social classes.⁵⁴ Both of them were said to share communist attitudes, and *Tan* became known for a positive attitude towards Soviet Russia.⁵⁵ In 1945, "*Tan's*" rooms were attacked and plundered by demonstrators who protested against the leftist newspaper.⁵⁶

Also "*Haber*" stood out for a pro-communist attitude.⁵⁷ Founded in 1932 and owned by Hassan Rasim, the daily appeared as a boulevard journal and found its readers among all social classes. The newspaper was edited by Hassan Rasim and directed by Hüseyin Faruk Tanur, co-workers were Vallah Nurettin, Nizamettin Nazif and his wife.⁵⁸

Another journal that has to be counted into the group of independent newspapers is "*Son Telegraf*" which was founded 1924 in İstanbul. It was available in the evenings and had readers from all social groups. The daily, which was temporarily closed in 1925, and represented the attitudes of the political opposition, main journalists were Sadri Edhem, Lutfi Telli and Kerim Öner.⁵⁹

5. NEWSPAPERS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Although the majority of newspapers was published in Turkish there existed also a variety of periodicals and dailies that were published in other languages than Turkish, a fact that mirrors the multicultural and multilingual composition of the young republic that had its origins in the Ottoman past. As already mentioned before, the most important newspapers with high circulation numbers, namely "*Cumhuriyet, Akşam*" and "*Milliyet*" were also published in their French versions "*La République,*" "*L'Akşam*" and "*Le Milliyet*".

⁴⁸ PAAA, R123077, record from Schwörbel which was presented to Aschmann on April 8, 1938. PAAA, The record refers to the press in Türkiye from summer 1937 to spring 1938.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, Z1. 5 / Res., April 5, 1927.

⁵¹ Topuz (1996): 92 and Handbuch der Weltpresse (1937): 405. In the last source Ahmet Emin Yalman's name is misspelled as Ahmed Esim.

⁵² PAAA, Generalkonsulat İstanbul, İstanbul 1, Allgemein, Vol. 1, March 8, 1938.

⁵³ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1937): 405.

⁵⁴ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 322, Handbuch der Weltpresse (1937): 405.

⁵⁵ PAAA, Generalkonsulat İstanbul, İstanbul 1, Allgemein, Vol. 1, March 8, 1938.

⁵⁶ Alpay Kabacalı, Tan's Event. *Journal of History and Society*, no. 24. (December 1985).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Topuz (1996), p. 81 83 and PAAA, Ankara 755, undated document starting with "Titel" son – telegraph and probably type – written in 1924 or 1925.

There were also some independent newspapers in French language. One of them was the “*Journal d’Orient*” which covered foreign and Turkish politics. The daily, owned and edited by Albert Carasso, was thought for French and especially Jewish readers in Istanbul and had correspondents in Rome, Paris and Belgrad.⁶⁰ Another example is “*Gazette*”, founded in Istanbul in 1924, which was written for foreign and local, especially Jewish businessmen. “*Gazette*” was printed in the daily’s own printing house and directed and edited from Gattegno and Mehmed Şükrü.⁶¹ “*Stamboul*” had been founded already in 1866 as organ of the French delegation. Its readers were mainly tradesmen, French-speaking foreigners and Levantines. The daily was directed by the French Pierre Le Goff.⁶² *Beyoglu* and *II Messagero Degli Italiani* were published in Italian, whereas the Turkish Post was printed in German.⁶³ Although also thought as newspaper for German-speaking readership the Turkish Post also aimed to promote German exports.⁶⁴

Although also thought as newspaper for German-speaking readership the Turkish Post also aimed to promote German exports.⁶⁵ Also the Armenian and the Greek-Orthodox minorities had their own newspapers. The most important Greek voice was “*Apoyevmatini*”, founded in 1925 and owned by Konstantin Vasiliadis und Odyssea Kristalidis.⁶⁶ According to an Austrian source from 1934, the newspaper published only daily news, was not interested in politics and was financially supported from Greece.⁶⁷ Among the Armenian newspapers the dailies “*Nor Lur*, *Astarar*” and “*Schamanag*” have to be mentioned. The daily *Nor Lur* was directed from Vovan Toschkian and *Astarar* was led by Monak Arslania.⁶⁸ In 1927, “*Schamanag*” was reported to be led from Simao Tschömledschian, by 1934 the directorship had been overtaken from Araxi Kotschunian.⁶⁹

RESULT

As a result of all these literature researches and findings, this study on focusing on newspapers has been completed. Especially the early periods of the Republic of Türkiye were examined and especially the daily newspapers were the focus of the study. In this context, German and Austrian sources were examined subjectively. These resources are; It facilitated the acquisition of information about the trends, editors, journalists, reporters and especially the readers of the said newspapers, and contextual data on the circulation numbers were provided.

In this context, it can be seen that the Turkish press has reached a similar level in terms of the number of newspapers, especially when compared with Western European countries. However, it still lags behind in terms of circulation. This issue is related to high literacy and illiteracy rates. Along with the letter and language reforms, this issue has changed in the

⁶⁰ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservatakten 1934, Z1. 5 / Res., Konstantinopel, April 5, 1927 and Handbuch der Weltpresse (1931): 340.

⁶¹ PAAA, Ankara 755, undated document beginning with, “Titel: Gazette”, typed in 1924 or 1925.

⁶² Ibid., ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservakten 1934, Z1. 5 / Res., Konstantinopel, April 5, 1927 and ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservakten 1934, Z. 3218, August 5, 1929.

⁶³ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservakten 1934, Z1. 5 / Res., Konstantinopel, April 5, 1927.

⁶⁴ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 322.

⁶⁵ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservakten 1934, Z1. 5 / Res., Konstantinopel, April 5, 1927.

⁶⁶ Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 320.

⁶⁷ ÖSTA / ADR, ÖVB / Konstantinopel, İstanbul Reservakten 1934, 66 / Res., 1934, May 24, 1934.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., and Handbuch der Weltpresse (1934): 322.

historical process. In addition, other factors such as the development process of the printing house and the shortage of paper production can be shown as an example of this negativity.