PORTRAYAL OF REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND AMERICAN PRINT MEDIA IN PRE SEPTEMBER ELEVEN ERA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWSWEEK AND THE TIME MAGAZINES

Dr. Shahzad Ali
Department of Mass Communication
Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, Pakistan

Abstract
This research paper investigated the coverage and portrayal of Turkey in pre September 11 era i.e. from 1991 – 2001 by Newsweek and Time. The nature of political, military and economic relations between Turkey and the U.S. would also be analyzed. The research study is theoretically linked with the propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky. In this connection, the portrayal of Republic of Turkey would be investigated with Perspective of slanting and framing. The study encircles the duration of before 9/11 that is from 1991-2001. This era is very significant for the western media as well as Muslim world. After the collapse of USSR, the western media needed to fill or bridge the vacant to continue the confrontation. Muslims and the Muslim countries proved plain sailing for western media to target them and the Muslim world was not a hard nut for the western media to crack. In this connection, 551 issues of Newsweek were analyzed. It was found that Newsweek published 23 articles about Turkey. Similarly 547 issues of Time during the specific time period were studied. It was found that 118 articles about European Muslim countries were published in 547 issues of the Time magazine (1991-2001). The facts about Turkey coverage revealed the greater portion of negative over affirmative coverage by the two eminent magazines of America. This coverage is 31.3% and 2.47% respectively. Out of 19 articles about Turkey in Newsweek and Time there were 17 articles which were neutral and rest of the 2 were unfavorable.

Keywords: Image, Portrayal, Republic of Turkey, American Print Media, Pre September Eleven, Newsweek and Time magazines

Turkey is officially called as the Republic of Turkey. The main land of the country, known as Anatolia, is in Asia, situated between Mediterranean and Black Sea. Turkish Thrace in the continent Europe comprised of about 3% of the country total area. It is estimated that 80% of the people of the total population of Turkey identify themselves as ethnic Turks (Nawaf E, 2002).

Kurds and Arabs are the second and the third largest ethnic minorities in Turkey. After the abolishment of Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kemal laid the foundations of modern Republic of Turkey. It became a secular state in 1928, and multi party’s political system was established in 1950. During 1960-61, it was ruled by military Junta, and again Military entered in power corridors (1980-1983). The reason of military intervention was political instability, inflation and act of terrorism. Since 1983, democratic system has so far been functioning successfully in the country (www.turkishembassy.org).

Disputes: It has territorial dispute with Greece; Cyprus question with Greece: dispute with Syria and Iraq over water development plans for the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (www.encarta.msn.com).

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TURKEY AND UNITED STATES

The relationship between Turkey and USA have been warm, cordial, smooth and friendly since world war II- Washington considered Turkey as a great ally due to her pro Western and American policies. The diplomatic history briefs that the present close and friendly relationships began with the agreement of July 12, 1947, which implemented the Truman Doctrine. In this connection, USA provided financial assistance in-shape of loan and aid (12.5 billion in economic aid and 14 billion in- military assistance) in- order to strengthen economic and military self reliance (Ibid).

Moreover, United State, President Harry a Truman declared in August 1946 that USA would safeguard territory, integrity of Turkey in case of USSR aggression. So, American paid high regard, to Turkey for her anti communist stance against USSR (33).

Similarly, Turkey supported USA during the war in Korea. In 1959, Turkey joined the western sponsored Baghdad pact. This pact proved a mile stone on the diplomatic road of friendly relations between Turkey and United States.

Good relations between the both countries can be understood from this example, when USA had used Turkish bases to support its plans for the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (www.encarta.msn.com).

Disputes:
• The relations between Turkey and USA were deteriorated for short span of time over the issue of Cyprus, Greece and Russian inclination towards her subsequently, the diplomatic relations between both countries improve markedly, during the first administration of President Ronald Reagan. Because the East-west conflict raised the specter of a new cold war and appropriations for Turkey, defense needs correspondingly increased. United States provided every type of economic and military assistance.

The following lists of bilateral agreement between both countries are symbol / sign of cordial relations (Ibid).

BILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES

• Trade and Navigation Agreement 1929.
• Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement 1980.
• Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments Agreement 1985.
• Main Donation Agreement 1991.
• Agreement on Science and Technical Cooperation 1994.
• Memorandum of Understanding on Agriculture Cooperation 1995.
• Global Learning and Observation to Benefit the Environment Agreement 1995.
• Avoidance of Double Taxation Agreement 1996.
• Customs Cooperation Agreement 1996.
• Memorandum of Understanding on Establishing the Turkey United States Business Development Council 1996.
• Turkey United States Joint Economic Commission 1996.
• Agreement on the Development of Trade and Investment Relations September 29, 1999.
• Agreement for the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy November, 1999.
• Agreement between Turkey and the United States Concerning the Development of Trade and Investment Relations, September 29, 1999.
Both the countries have had a joint economic commission and trade and investment framework agreement for several years. Turkey is considered as big emerging potential market for American exports. In 2001, the United States Turkey trade balance was almost even, with each country exporting about 3 billion dollars to other (www.unitedworldusa.com/reports/Turkey/usrelationasp). In short, economic and trade relations between both countries have been tremendously strengthened. That is why; the United States is Turkey's third largest export market.

In the arena of politics, Turkey shares common views with United States over the issue Middle East process, Gulf crisis, nuclear proliferation and war on terror. United States Turkish relations have focused on areas such as strategic energy cooperation, trade and investment, security, regional stability and human right issues over a period of times. Succinctly, after 9/11, the relations between United States and Turkey are exemplary because Turkey has been supporting American agenda since 9/11. That is why; Turkey is hailed as one of the greatest friend of American in Islamic world. The West and United States appreciated her secular policies and efforts for curbing down factor of extremism and fundamentalism from their society. On the basis of strong diplomatic, economic and military relations between Turkey and United States; she was placed in the list of United States allies in this research study.

Review of literature
The researcher has sought help from a good number of books, research works and foremost from USA’s elite magazines namely Newsweek and Time. The relevant work and pieces of research of different men of letters and scholars, which proved handy and effective for the accomplishment of this onerous article is given below:


STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
The research paper investigates the coverage and portrayal of Turkey by Newsweek and Time during the time period from 1991 – 2001. The research project is theoretically linked with the propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Article’s Name</th>
<th>Writer’s Name</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Total sentences</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 11, 1994</td>
<td>We’ll Save Islamic unity</td>
<td>Christopher Dickey and Sami Kohen</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 30, 1995</td>
<td>Let’s Talk Turkey</td>
<td>Sharon Begley</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 27, 1995</td>
<td>Drifting toward trouble?</td>
<td>Christopher Dickey &amp; Sami Kohen</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30, 1997</td>
<td>Between Allah and the Army</td>
<td>Sam Siebert</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 28, 1997</td>
<td>Tired of Waiting</td>
<td>Christopher Dickey</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 30, 1998</td>
<td>Turkey VS. Europe</td>
<td>Rana Dogar &amp; Mark Dennis</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 3, 1999</td>
<td>A Nation Turns Inward</td>
<td>Rana Dogar and Sami</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 30, 1999</td>
<td>The Big One</td>
<td>Jerry Adler</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 30, 1998</td>
<td>Terrorist’s Bitter End</td>
<td>Thomas Sanction</td>
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<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Total sentences</th>
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<td>November 04, 1991</td>
<td>His Crown, his Throne and All</td>
<td>Fredrick Painton</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 13, 1991</td>
<td>Missing Dividend</td>
<td>Robert T. Zintl</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 26, 1991</td>
<td>The Dangers of uprooting</td>
<td>Daniel Benjamin Bonn</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 19, 1992</td>
<td>Across The Great Divide</td>
<td>George J. Church</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24, 1995</td>
<td>Beating Foes and Leading Friends</td>
<td>Michael S. Serril</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 8, 1996</td>
<td>A Blow To Secularism</td>
<td>James O. Jackson</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 8, 1996</td>
<td>Islam Winning Edge</td>
<td>Eric Rouleau</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 5, 1996</td>
<td>A Hunger for Justice</td>
<td>Bruce W. Nelan</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 21, 1996</td>
<td>Which is the Real Erbakan?</td>
<td>Johanna Mc Geary and James Wilde Erbakan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 21, 1996</td>
<td>We have Done a lot</td>
<td>Lally Weymouth</td>
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<td>397</td>
<td>24</td>
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</table>
Turkey is under mentioned:
LIST OF WORDS/ PHRASES RELATED TO MUSLIM COUNTRIES APPEARED IN NEWSWEEK AND TIME:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Number of favorable</th>
<th>Number of unfavorable</th>
<th>Number of neutral</th>
<th>Total articles</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 highlights that out of 19 articles of Turkey in Newsweek and Time; on the whole it was found that 17 articles were neutral while 2 articles were unfavorable.

LIST OF WORDS/ PHRASES RELATED TO MUSLIM COUNTRIES APPEARED IN NEWSWEEK AND TIME:
The list of words or phrases (which are now commonly associated in slang style with Muslims) used in both magazines specifically for Turkey is under mentioned:

- Politicians of the fundamentalist leaning Rafah Party
- Enraged protesters
- Sympathetic violence
- The source of disturbance: Ruthless war
- Human right abuses
- Assault
- Vulnerable completely covered in dust and blood
- Terrorist attack
- Bloody war with Kurdish separatists
- conservative Turks
- Reports of torture in Turkish prisons
- Turkey’s already tattered human rights image
- Intense fighting
- Keep the conservative Muslims out of government
- Fundamentalist's violence
- Military officers made it clear they would not permit the rise of Islamic fundamentalism fanaticism
- Highly organized and prolonged hunger strike
- Turkey has lived through two decades of bombings, assassinations and urban guerrilla warfare and little sympathy for leftists
- Turkey's Islamic activists
- Turkey was whipping itself into a full blown crisis.
- For the generals, fundamentalism represents a great danger for Turkey's system and security” warn that if the Islamists are denied a legitimate political voice, party militants mighty turn violent
- Islamic fundamentalists.
- Turkey today is faced with a Radical Islamic threat
- A measure to roll back Islamic influences in educational and social programs” there was mutual railing against the threat of political Islam Terrorism or fundamentalism
- Radical wing

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SENTENCES OF THE U.S. ALLIES
As facts and figure revealed that both the magazines preferred to be neutral in case of Turkey yet there were negative sentences in order to show their aggression. Here is the list of the sentences which divulge both the flanks of the picture of Turkey:

- “Turkey has sought to eradicate Kurdish nationalism by suppressing their language, culture and political right”. ( negative)
- “For the generals, fundamentalist represents a greater danger for Turkey system ad security, says one western European analyst. The stanch secularist in charge of the armed forces says Turkey’s constitution makes it their sacred duty to oppose the rising political influence of Islamists like Erbakan and his welfare party (RAFAH). His Government winked it Rafah’s members efforts to impose Sheriah (Islamic Law), encouraging women to wear veils and scarves in public and reach out Iran, Iran and Libya drastic steps in a land like Turkey, where the separation of mosque and state is article of faith” (News week June 30-1987) (negative)
- “In the process the government has accrued, a record of human rights abuses that consistently alienates it from the community of modern democratic European countries it hopes to join”. (Newsweek, March 27, 1995). (negative)
- “Geography by itself favors Turkey. Peacemaking efforts in Moldova, and Nagorno Karabkh, attempts to put the West into more active intervention in Bosnia, Turkey have enjoyed a stable multiparty democracy and free elections. The government allowed private companies to thrive, opened the economy to foreign investment central Asians with Turkish heritage, are most inspired” (Time , October 19, 1992) (positive)
- “Turkish Red Crescent has been providing free food and medical care to civilians. Army promised to make restitution for any destruction for which its troop are responsible”. (Time , April 24, 1995) (positive)
- Often treated with prejudice by the country’s Sunni Muslim majority.” “Fundamentalist leaning Rafah party” “the army is waging a ruthless war against the PKK (Newsweek, March 27, 1995) (negative)
- “14 year separatist was in Eastern Turkey. Turkish shock Turned to fury- Islamists” (Newsweek, November 30, 1998) (negative)
- MHP has a tradition of violence” “The MHP must control Radical elements within the party.” “Both parties are reluctant to discuss Turkey poor human Rights record (Newsweek, March 3, 1999) (negative)

STRONG, PROVOCATIVE LANGUAGE USED BY BOTH MAGAZINES AND IMAGE OF MUSLIM WORLD
Strong and provocative language is the special trait of these USA’s magazines if the matter is of Muslim world, in spite of the enjoyment of coherent and cordial relationship of that country with USA. The rigorous, stern and scathing language used by the so called prestigious magazines of USA is under mentioned:
"Turkey a rude shock for the secular establishment", Turkey between Allah and the army”, “The Islamic government falls, the general should be happy”. “Turkey: The nation’s generals are not happy serving an Islamic government”. “Turkey: a blow to secularism, the big Muslim vote raises fears about traditions of pro western democracy”, “Turkey’s first Islamist prime minister”

The both magazines have given maximum coverage to such topics or issues which developed negative image of Muslim countries in the minds of the reader. Changes in political scenario of Turkey; emergence of Islamic Rafah Party in secularism VS Islamic govt. issue of Cyrus, Turkey disputes which Greece and other neighboring are the eminent topics which are exuberantly put forward by the American media in order to twist and deform the true picture of the things. It is a locus standi that everything has two flanks. And the American media adapted the dark side of the thing and did it so dexterously that almost the whole of Europe was over stuffed with this bogus propaganda regarding the negative aspect of Muslim world. From the aforementioned facts and figures it is vivid that the policy of these two magazines towards Turkey was neutral but bigoted.

PORTRAIYAL OF TURKEY

The theological beliefs, notions and dogmas of Muslims always proved apple of discord for them. The dilemma of the human being is that they always die for religion and fight for religion. The tussle between west and Muslim world is of theocratic type. The west and its media are repulsive towards those Muslim countries which have their base on theocracy. Because of this notional enmity the Muslims are portrayed as others by western mainstream media. The fables of their ferocity, ruthlessness and callousness are in plenty in American and western magazines. So in case of Turkey the type of confrontion is as old as that of Lucifer and Adam

By the scrutiny of the articles of both the magazines it is as clear as the day that America was the adherer of Secular turkey instead of Islamic Turkey. To provide support to Secular pillar these magazines magnified the western and liberal style of livening in Turkey and deplored the Islamization process even if it would be in democratic means. In simple way it can be apprehend that American media moved heaven and earth in order to justify the ferocious and inhuman step of military junta over the democratic Islamic govt. The following headlines published “Newsweek issue of June 30, 1997 would vividly point out the biasness of United States media towards Islam Government “Between Allah and the army. The Islam Government falls. The generals should be happy at least until the next round of elections. American mass media was the champion of military junta and encouraged its ban on political activities of Islamic Rafah party

- The biasness of American media is revealed by the scathing and sardonic coverage towards the Turkish relations with its neighboring countries, enlisting of turkey in European Union and Kurdish separatists’ movement. Furthermore the internal matters of turkey like inflation and unemployment were severely attacked by these magazines. In another article of News Week April 28, 1997, Islamic Government was bitterly criticized. The following headlines clearly depict the real state of mind of the magazine “TIRED OF WAITING? The nation’s general are not happy serving an Islamic Government.

Arbakan and his visits to different Muslim countries were depreciated by mass media of America. The facts about Turkey coverage revealed the greater portion of negative over affirmative coverage by the two eminent magazines of America. This coverage is 31.3% and 2.47% respectively.

- Out of 19 articles about Turkey in Newsweek and Time there were 17 articles which were neutral and rest of the 2 were unfavorable.

Last but not the least it can be infer in convenient manners that Turkey is an ally of USA. But as the facts and figures disclosed that USA went against its allies if it is the matter of Muslim World and its image. America was on the top of the list of enmity of Muslims. As in case of Turkey it is illuminating, American mass media proved back bone of military junta in discarding the democratic Islamic regime.

The facts also divulge the policy of both the magazines is the policy of USA. These magazines distort the code of ethics of Journalism to reflect the policy of their country.

Reference
Introduction about Turkey. Retrieved from www.turkishembassy.org, dated20-12-03

