

REPRESENTATION OF ATOMIC BOMB IN TURKISH PRESS (1945-1946)

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Abstract

Use of the atomic bomb in the World War II was the beginning of a transformation in the world public opinion towards nuclear weapons. Frequent protests, activities of non-governmental organisations and news in the press caused a kind of consciousness and in turn fear and anxiety in the world public about nuclear weapons. Increase in the fear and anxiety of people started to transform the politics. In this article, the image of atomic bomb in Turkey during this early transformation period was examined through *Cumhuriyet* newspaper between 6 August 1945-31 December 1946 by content analysis method. The research question is "How was the use of the atomic bomb evaluated in the Turkish press at that time?". As a result of this study, it is seen that *Cumhuriyet* newspaper used a balanced language and avoided intimidating the public. Even though the newspaper succeeded to give information about the negative effects of the bomb, it could not have a leading role in giving rise to a movement against nuclear weapons.

Key Words: Atomic bomb, Cumhuriyet, Hiroshima, Nuclear, World War II.

ATOM BOMBASININ TÜRK BASININDA TEMSİLİ (1945-1946)

Özet

Atom bombasının 2.Dünya savaşında kullanılması, nükleer silahlara yönelik dünya kamuoyunun tutumunda bir dönüşümün başlangıcı olmuştur. Düzenlenen protestolar, kurulan organizasyonlar, basında çıkan yazılarla farkındalık oluşmuş; nükleer silahlara karşı duyulan korku ve endişe, siyasal karar alıcılar üzerindeki baskıyı artırmıştır. Makale, bu dönüşümün başlangıcında, Türkiye'deki atom bombası imgesini, 6 Ağustos 1945'ten 31 Aralık 1946 tarihleri arasındaki dönemde Cumhuriyet gazetesinden içerik analizi yöntemi ile takip etmiştir. Araştırma sorusu, "Atom bombasının kullanılışı o dönemde Türk basınında nasıl değerlendirilmiştir?" şeklindedir. İnceleme neticesinde; Cumhuriyet gazetesinin dengeli bir dil kullandığı, halkı korkutmaktan kaçındığı görülmüştür. Ayrıca atom bombasının zararlarını topluma aktarmasına rağmen, nükleer silah karşıtı bir hareketin öncüsü olamadığı tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Atom bombası, Cumhuriyet, Hiroşima, Nükleer, 2.Dünya Savaşı.

Introduction

The atomic bomb, which is a nuclear weapon, was first used by the USA against Japan during the World War II and thousands of people lost their lives. It is seen that because of radiation, the fertility of soil in the region decreased and the risk of cancer increased. Also, the effect of heat and light caused blindness and burns on people. Even after many years, birth defects still could be observed (Abazlıoğlu, 2019:27). Despite all these dangerous effects, how could this bomb be used? Generally, the use of the atomic bomb is closely related to the fact that a realist perspective prevailed in foreign policy at that time (James, 1995).

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According to the realist understanding of that period, moral values and feelings do not matter when it comes to the security of the state (Bull, 1995: 189 Doyle, 1997). The interest of the state is put forward and on the way of the reaching the state's interest, human life does not matter. It is the state that always matters. After all, according to the realists, the survival of the state is what the people need most.

The realisation of the damages done by the atomic bomb shortly after the explosion caused anxiety and even fear in the world public opinion (Tomonaga, 2019). This anxiety led to the establishment of many non-governmental organizations with the aim of abolishing nuclear weapons. Especially the press in the UK paved the way quickly in raising the consciousness of the public in late 1940s. The press together with the non-governmental organisations played a big role in leading the public against the nuclear weapons. As a result of all efforts, the atomic bomb, which was seen as an ordinary weapon in August 1945, turned into a dangerous weapon, which should be kept under the control, at the end of 1946. And it became "a taboo" at 1960s due to the pressure created by the anxiety in the world public opinion (Tannenwald, 2005).

This article aims at determining the stance of Turkish press during the time that the opposition movement against the nuclear weapons in the world started. The research question of this article is as follows: "How was the use of the atomic bomb evaluated in the Turkish press in 1945 and 1946?". This time span is a period that the memory of the atomic bomb is still fresh. In this time span, the opposition towards nuclear weapons had already begun especially in English press. Consequently, the representation of the atomic bomb by the Turkish press in the face of this disaster can give a clue about the way of thinking in Turkey at that time.

At this point, it should be said that the atomic bomb issue has not been investigated in Turkish political science literature deservedly. Thanks to this research, it can be discovered how public opinion in Turkey about the atomic bomb was directed at that time by the press. Thus, during the emergence of the resistance to atomic bomb in the world, the stance of Turkey can be discovered. Moreover, Turkey's contribution to this spiral of anxiety and transformation in the world can be determined at least in part.

Start of The Transformation in the World

The impact of emotions on the political sphere is a subject that was debated for hundreds of years. With the realist discourse dominating politics, the effect of emotions on politics was ignored for many years. However, recent studies, especially on political culture, revealed the effect of emotions on politics (Verba, 1965: 516). It is argued that change in emotions of the people affects

politics and enables the transformation of political decisions (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 888). The emotions felt by individuals at the micro level can affect the norms of macro politics altogether (Björkdahl, 2002). Anti-slavery, women's rights, women's suffrage are examples of movements that began at the micro level and led to some changes in norms at the macro level (Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan: 1997). For example; although associations, protests, articles, periodicals about women's rights in Europe of the 19th century seemed some little activities, these activities led to the growth of consciousness in the society. This consciousness in turn caused a positive change in women's rights.

At this point, it is necessary to mention especially about the feelings of anxiety and fear, which affect political decisions and change the norms in the political system (Crawford 2000; Fierke 2013; Hall 2015; Çetin, 2012; Jervis 1976: 3). It is claimed that the feeling of fear is very effective in the persuasion of people (Hovland et. al, 1953; Perloff, 1993: 162). Fear emphasizes the potential danger and harm that people can come across if they do not adopt precautions (Tanenbaum and et.al, 2015: 1178; Dillard et al., 1996; Maddux and Rogers, 1983). Therefore, it is argued that fear or anxiety felt about a threat will activate the people and one of the best examples of it is the fear towards the atomic bombs (Campbell 2003; Miller and Krosnick 2004, Valentino, 2011: 157; Tannenwald, 2005).

The atomic bombs were used for the first and last time during the WWII. In the war (1939-1945), the states fought in two separate camps, the Allies and the Axis (Wells, 2014). The war ended with the A-bomb that the USA dropped on Japan (Yavuz, 2016: 2). The USA dropped the first bomb called "Little boy" on Hiroshima in 6th August 1945, and after 3 days the second atomic bomb called "Fat man" was thrown to Nagasaki (Askew ve Ron, 2017). Both cities were destroyed, with approximately 130.000 deaths (Bernstein, 1998: 559). This attack remains the first and only nuclear attack in the world history.

At that time, the atomic bomb was seen as "any weapon" and 86 percent of the US public viewed the A-bomb as legitimate (Mueller, 1973). There was an expectation that the bomb would turn into a conventional weapon (Gavin, 1958: 256; Bernstein, 1995; Boyer, 1985). Immediately after the war, both the USA and the Soviet Union continued their nuclear weapon tests. Meanwhile, the bad effects of A-bomb began to be seen in Japan. It was understood how dangerous the radiation and toxic gas emitted by the atomic bomb were for the future of humanity (Rosenberg, 1983).

When the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, the world was stunned in surprise and trying to understand what had happened. The core states of Allies, like Britain and France, gave support to the the USA for the A-bomb because what the USA had done raised the chance to finish the war. At that time, Truman

who was the president of the USA was saying that the Japans paid what they did and the bomb was a revenge of Pearl Harbour. Believing in their president, the American public was supporting the A-bomb with 86 percent and the racist arguments against Japans were in rise (Boyer, 1988:25).

With the news coming from Japan, the world saw the destruction that the Japans experienced with the bomb (Bernstein, 1995). The effects of these terrible news were considerably high. For example, the pacifists , some church leaders and some leading scientists in the USA started to raise their voice against the A-bomb. They tried to make some lobbying activities to make the public understand the dangers of the nuclear weapons. Especially, the Federation of American Scientists (1945) that was established by the pioneer scientists in order to control the atomic bomb was an important step for the world (Smith, 1965: 176, 531).

Almost one month after the bomb, the unfavorable comments about the A-bomb started to appear even in the American newspapers. For example, in September 1945, Harvey Bundy, the assistant of former War Minister, says “The atomic bomb would be dropped from a height that would minimize radio-active poisoning” (Bernstein, 1996: 17–36). Moreover, a few months after this comment, the New Yorker published a report about the radiation effects of the bomb and questioned “the humaneness of American methods of warfare” (Tannenwald, 2005: 17). Furthermore, Vannevar Bush, a former dean and engineering proffessor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at the time director of the Office of Scientic Research and Development, issued a call in November 1945 to establish an international commission to eliminate national armaments of atomic weapon (Bush, 1970: 297-298). Interestingly enough, Truman accepted dangerous nature of A-bombs and left the decision of their use to an civilian institution called Atomic Energy Commission with the only authorization of the American president. It means that even Truman started to realize the danger coming from the A-bombs (Rearden, 1984). Also, American medical investigators visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki from September to December 1945 and saw the terrible effects of the atomic bomb. General Thomas Farrell, deputy-chief of the Manhattan Project also visited Hiroshima and said “I think this so horrible thing should never be used again” (Hook, 1987: 10).

Apart from the developments in the USA, the United Nations also dwelled with the subject. In January 1946, newly founded UN Atomic Energy Commission wanted all nations to eliminate atomic weapons. However, there was a dilemma in its proposal because it was letting the atomic bomb to be used “for peaceful purposes” (Tannenwald, 2005: 18). Moreover, the UN did another important move and in August 1948, the UN Commission for Conventional Armaments formally defined “weapons of mass destruction” and thus a new kind of weaponry was issued apart from conventionel weapons.

While the public in the USA was starting to awaken slowly, the UN was also working on the control of nuclear weapons. Moreover, it should also be noted here that in October 1949 people in Hiroshima began to voice their wish to destroy the atomic bomb (Tannenwald, 2005: 20). However, it is seen that between the date 1945-1948, most Western governments rejected any ban on the use of nuclear weapons. The governments of the USA, the SSCB, or Western countries did not show any effective effort to ban nuclear weapons. Although the SSCB wanted a ban and a strict control over the nuclear weapons via the UN, this proposal was not persuasive because the Soviets were building their own nuclear weapons. At that time another core country of the Allies, the UK was experiencing a more interrogative process about A-bomb. In Britain, the press was much more active than in the case of the USA. Especially *Mirror* and *Express* which were the leading newspapers of the time published important articles which affected the world public more than it was imagined (Bingham, 2012). The press in the UK had some kind of leading role in starting the movement against the nuclear weapons.

It can be said that the public in the world was in a kind of preparation process for the future activities against the atomic bomb in late 1940s. Until 1950s, there was a kind of process that the press, civil organisations, scientists realized the danger of the atomic bomb and started to work in order to raise the awareness of the world public. Although the big protests, peace petitions, radio programs, ads in newspapers, meetings in large scale started especially with 1950s, it should be said that the mental preparation of these activities were made in late 1940s¹ (Tannenwald, 2005: 20-21).

¹ In 1950, Stockholm Appeal was signed by 273,470, 566 people (Bass, 2009; Bernal, 1958). Moreover, key figures such as Norman Cousins (1915-1990), Linus Pauling (1901-1994) and Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) became anti-atomic activists. Furthermore, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE/1957) and the Committee for Non-Violent Action in the United States (1957), the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain (1958), Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs and many other organizations wanted nuclear weapons to be halted (Katz, 1986; Burkett, 2012). In 1953, Eisenhower's efforts to make atomic bombs or nuclear weapons conventional did not succeed. John F. Kennedy administration approved nuclear weapons restriction by 1961. In 1967, for the first time, the USA accepted a legal restriction on nuclear weapons. Especially *The Movement against Atomic Weapons* organized more than 100 protests between 1964 and 1967. While protests were held all over Europe after the 1950s, the USA experienced big demonstrations with the 1970s. For example, in 1982 a protest was organized in New York with 1 million people. The US public started to take a stand against nuclear weapons (Wittner, 1997; McCrea ve Markle, 1989). Especially the accident at Windscale (UK, 1957), the incident in France (the Saint-Laurent-des-Eaux power station, 1969), The Three Mile Island accident on 28 March 1979, Chernobyl (26 April 1986) had an important role in this transformation (Giugni, 2004). As a result, in 1972 the United States concluded the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty with the Soviet Union (Wittner, 1997). Besides, The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) signed by 50 states in 1968 aimed to ban nuclear weapons (Müller,

Atomic Bomb in English and Turkish Press

Fear and anxiety, which started to prevail in the public opinion about nuclear weapons, influenced the way of thinking about nuclear weapons in the world. One of the most important tools in spreading these feelings was the press. As Lippman mentioned, the formation of "meaning maps" in people occurs with the information conveyed by the press (Irvan, 2001, 70). The issues highlighted by the press also come to the fore in the public opinion and affect their perceptions (Tekinalp and Uzun, 2004, 131). At this point, it is necessary to look at the influence of the English press on the public perception about nuclear weapons in late 1940s because the English press was instrumental in creating fear and anxiety against nuclear weapons in the world community at that time² (Bingham, 2012).

It is seen that when the news of atomic bomb was first heard, English newspapers published articles acknowledging the legitimacy of America's use of atomic bombs. They were fascinated by the nuclear technology. They made news that this weapon would change the whole world radically and cheap energy production would begin (Bingham, 2012: 611). However, after the first shock was over, newspapers started to question the atomic bomb and said that this weapon should be controlled.

Despite the support for the government, critical anti-atomic articles appeared in newspapers. When the newspapers called *Express*³ and *Mirror*⁴ which were the leading newspapers of the time are examined, it is seen that they took a critical stance towards the atomic bomb issue. Journalists like James Cameron (1911-1945) in *Express* or William Connor (1909-1967) in *Mirror* preferred to investigate rather than rely on implicit statements of the state. In fact, they often tried to raise public concerns about the dangers of nuclear technology, using the headlines such as "The monster" and "The horror bomb". Especially,

2018). Moreover, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1996), Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Testing in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and Under Water (PTBT / 1963), Strategic Weapons Limitation Talks (SALT-I / 1969), Strategic Nuclear Weapons Reduction Talks (SALT-II / 1979), the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA / 1957) can be seen as other efforts on the subject. It should be noted that Turkey signed NPT in 1969 and IAEA in 1981 (Stein and Udum, 2012: 148).

² The reading rate of British newspapers in the UK at that time was 85%. While 16.6 million daily newspapers were sold on weekdays, this figure reached 30 million at weekends (Seymour-Ure, 1996: 16-20).

³ *Express* had 4 million copies a day in late 1940s. It can be shown as one of the most important newspapers of the time. Also, it can be seen as a conservative type of newspaper in Britain (Williams, 2010).

⁴ *Mirror* was one of the leading newspapers in England. For example, it was the first-largest morning newspaper at the 1920s. In 1940s, with 4.5 million copies a day, it dominated the British daily newspaper market. It can also be called as a left wing newspaper (Pugh, 1998).

they tried to report the sayings of Japanese radio and eyewitnesses. One of the most widely read columnists of the period was William Connor. His article with the heading "Saving the world through Death" and Wilfred Burchett's⁵ (1911-1983) article called "The atomic plague" dated 5 September 1946 were very important turning points. Especially Burchett's article was so effective and American politicians started to say that Burchett was "under the influence of Japanese propaganda". For Americans, there were no deaths because of the radiation and they even gave a briefing to Burchett about it (Hook, 1987: 10). However, the anti-news about A-bomb did not stop. For instance, the series of articles on the subject, written by John Hersey at that time, was published even as a book in 1946 under the title *Hiroshima* (Yavenditti, 1974; Bingham, 2012: 615).

The graphics, the illustrations and the predictions that say "all cities would disappear" were seen in the newspapers. "Atomic spies" activities also appeared in the newspapers. For example, in 1946 there were reports that Dr. Alan Nunn May (1911-2003) carried valuable information about the atomic bomb to the Soviets (Jenks, 2006; Bingham, 2012: 618). There were also reports that stronger atomic bombs would destroy countries and journalists kept speculating. Significant fear in public was caused especially by the news about radiation (Aubrey, 1982; Divine, 1978). Endless news, especially that the Soviet Union was making an atomic bomb, increased the public fear. Consequently, these news in English press started to affect the public and increased awareness about the atomic bomb through 1945 and 1946⁶. What the English press did was important because none of the other Allied press could issue such brave news at that time (Hook, 1987).

If it is looked at Turkey during the Second World War, it is seen that Turkey developed a balanced politics (Deringil, 1994). With continuous pressure from the Allies and the Axis, Turkey experienced major economic difficulties (Ünalp, 2020). On 23 February 1945, Turkey announced that it was involved in the war on the side of the Allies (Ezer, 2020). Throughout the war, the Turkish government tried to control the press and requested publications in line with its own policy (Çelik, 2018: 315; Güvenir, 1991: 42). Opinions in the press were

⁵ Burch, who could reach Hiroshima from Tokyo after a 21-hour journey, writes: "I write this as a warning to the world". "Hiroshima does not look like a bombed city. It looks as if a monster steamroller had passed over it and squashed it out of existence". "It makes a blitzed Pacific island seem like an Eden". James Cameron also continued to warn: "I hold that anyone who at this moment does not live in a perpetual state of anxiety and concern is either an archangel or an imbecile. It is up to you either to put a stop to this dangerous nonsense or to take the consequences of it" (Bingham, 2012).

⁶ The news in English press against the atomic bomb continued to be seen in later years. For more information, see Adrian Bingham, "The monster?: The British popular press and nuclear culture, 1945-early 1960s", 2012.

directed especially by 75 journalist parliamentarians. It should be noted that 53 percent of these parliamentarians were newspaper owners, writers and editors (Çelik, 2018: 319). The newspaper with the highest circulation of the period was *Cumhuriyet* with 16,000 daily print (Doğan, 2014; Çelik, 2018: 319).

Despite being in line with the policies of the government, it is seen that *Cumhuriyet* was closed for 3 months during the war because it sided with Germany more than it should have been (Yavuz, 2016: 9). In August 1944, as the war approaches its end, the tendency towards the Allies was observed in the newspaper (Kozok, 2007; Doğan, 2014). In addition, warnings were made by the state not to throw sensational headlines and to use only Anadolu Agency (Anadolu Ajansı) as the news source (Topuz 2003: 168). It should be said that Anadolu Agency obtained most of its news from Allied agencies at that time⁷ (Yavuz, 2016: 3). Shortly, *Cumhuriyet* newspaper was mostly in line with the government though there were times that it exaggerated its support for Germany at the beginning of the war. As the Turkish government sided with the Allies, the newspaper did so. Therefore, a research on *Cumhuriyet* newspaper can give an idea about the inclinations of the Turkish government about the A-bomb at that time.

Method

Cumhuriyet newspaper that is chosen for this research is the one that had the highest circulation rate at that time in Turkey. It was also known for its closeness to the government. Other newspapers of the time like *Tan*, *Tanin*, *Tasvir-i Efkar*, *Ulus*, *Vatan*, *Akşam* could not combine these two features in themselves (Yavuz, 2016). Therefore, *Cumhuriyet* newspaper has been chosen for this article. The investigation of this article started on August 6, 1945, when the atomic bomb was first dropped, and ended on January 30, 1946. It should be kept in mind that this 16-months period was the period when negative articles about the atomic bomb started to be published in the English press. The iconic articles of widely read journalists such as Wilfred Burchett, William Connor and John Hersey on the atomic bomb appeared in the English press in 1946. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper mostly used Allied news agencies originating from London. While these developments were happening in English press, the news in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper was analyzed using content analysis method. Using content analysis, it is aimed to reach an inductive result and to have an idea about the stance of Turkey.

Findings

⁷ It is known that Germans established some news agencies like Deutsche Nachrichten Büro (DNB), Transkontinent Pres (TP), Transocean (TO) ve Nachrichten Pres Dienst (NPD) in order to balance the Allies (Yavuz, 2016: 3).

The first news about the atomic bomb in *Cumhuriyet* appeared on 7th August 1945 with the headline "20000 tons of dynamite equivalent single bomb"⁸. It is reported that the British and Americans were able to invent the atomic bomb that "opened a new and terrible era in the destruction of war". It is reported that the first atomic bomb was dropped in a Japanese city but condition of the city was not understood from the smoke (7 August 1945: 1). Truman's speech is in the front page saying, "We knew that the Germans were working on atomic bomb. If they had succeeded, they would have turned the world into a slave". Truman also emphasizes the importance of the atomic bomb in surrender of Japan. On the same day, columnist Ömer Rıza Doğruyol writes an article that supports Truman. According to Doğruyol, the atomic bomb could make Japanese surrender. Otherwise, Japanese would continue the war and sacrifice a whole nation (7 August 1945: 3).

On August 8, the newspaper is published with the headline "Excitement and Fear in the World"⁹. According to the newspaper, the "era of atomic power" began and this era would "be the end of either the war or the world". It is written that the destruction caused by the atomic bomb is equivalent to the destruction done by 1000 aircraft for 5 days but that bomb's size is like "a golf ball" (8 August 1945: 1). Even if the destruction was big, this destruction had caused good results like ending the war or advancing in technology. The columnists of the newspaper generally write articles that put forward "good results" of the bomb. For instance, the columnist Nadir Nadi writes about the achievements of the war in the technical field. According to Nadi, "the great democratic states that hold the secret of the atomic bomb will be able to easily stop the bullying states". Another columnist Salih Murad Özdilek also connects the atomic bomb with the themes of "the advancement of science" and "what human intelligence is capable of". Other columnist Ömer Rıza Doğrul defines the atomic bomb as "an awesome weapon that reduces the resistance of the enemy to almost zero by destroying everywhere it falls". According to him, "this revolution will be the agent of auspicious development, not of general collapse". To him, as the fear given by the new weapon increases, the greed of people can be made decrease (8 August 1945: 1,2,3).

The newspaper also writes about the invention process of the atomic bomb. It is reported that the first bomb test was made on July 16 in a deserted area of New Mexico in America. Workers in factories did not know what they're working for and the public was not aware of the existence of the factories. When the explosion occurred, a magnificent pillar of flame rose up. The light from the explosion of the bomb was so strong that a blind girl noticed it in a place 200 km

⁸ Turkish: "20.000 dinamite muadil tek bomba".

⁹ Turkish: "Bütün dünyada heyecan ve korku".

away from the field. The shake from the explosion was felt from a distance of 450 km. It was seen that the steel tower on which the bomb was placed melted and opened a large hole in the ground resembling a volcano mouth. It is said that a 25 gram uranium ore creates such an energy that Niagara Falls can not produce in a week. According to the newspaper, the damage of this bomb is "equivalent of a terrific earthquake" and it can destroy everything "without any traces". The newspaper says, "America has gained complete dominance in the battlefield thanks to this latest discovery of science". Then, the newspaper repeats the idea that if Germany had found this bomb, "none of us would have been here today". (8 August, 1945: 3).

In the column called *Hem Nalima Hem Mihma*, this secret invention of the atomic bomb is praised. According to the column, Anglo-Americans did not give any hint that they were working on this weapon. Although there were times when they felt the need to raise the spirit of their nations, they kept their silence. This silence shows that Anglo-Americans had a firm belief in victory. It is also written that the USA and the UK took pride in "inventing" the atomic bomb, and the Japanese could take pride in "being kicked by this horrible bomb for the first time". In addition, the newspaper gives a place to the words of the pilot who dropped the atomic bomb. The pilot says "Where we had just seen a whole city with its streets and people, now there was a black cliff" (9 August 1945: 2,3).

The next day, the newspaper talks about the destruction of Hiroshima. The headline is "Japan is crying out"¹⁰. It says that the Japanese radio, which tells about "devastating destruction" of the atomic bomb, demands the intervention of the neutral states. According to the newspaper, sixty percent of Hiroshima became a pile of debris. During the explosion, parts of the buildings flew up to 7000 meters. Japanese radio reports that the city was completely destroyed and it was not possible even to describe the damage. When the bomb exploded, people in the streets were feverishly burned. The bodies were so burned that it was impossible to recognize whether they were male or female (9 August 1945: 3).

After the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, the news about it was covered next day by the newspaper. On August 10, the headline is "A black day for Japan"¹¹. It is written that 150,000 people died with the first atomic bomb, but the damage caused by the second bomb dropped on Nagasaki has not known yet. The words of Tokyo radio are quoted and it is stated that almost all people and animals were burned with the explosion of the atomic bomb. Japanese radio says "the destructive force of the bomb can not be described in any capacity". To

¹⁰ Turkish: "Japonya feryad ediyor".

¹¹ Turkish: "Japonya için kara bir gün".

the newspaper, this death is a new death and that it may be called "atomic death" because the body structure is destroyed by the heat.

The newspaper never questions the legitimacy of dropping atomic bombs over the Japanese cities. It also never blames USA for the deaths but often makes quotations from Truman's speeches. For example, in the newspaper of 11th August, Truman says again that this weapon was also attempted to be invented by the enemy forces. If they had succeeded, Truman says, "We now fully realize the catastrophe that would befall the American nation and other peaceful nations, and finally the whole civilization" (11 August 1945: 1,3). The newspaper emphasizes that "the USA and the UK, which are aware of the danger of the atomic bomb, will protect the world from total destruction" (9 August 1945: 3). On August 14, the news from Washington says that if the Japanese had discovered the atomic bomb, no one would have survived on earth, and it would have been a danger to peace and civilization. Moreover, according to a London-based report, the Germans could not succeed to invent the atomic bomb but they produced a new lethal gas. A drop of this gas would paralyze the skin and kill a person after 20 minutes. Germans had 10000 tons of bombs filled with this gas. They would strike London and other cities with this gas. Therefore, the atomic bomb prevented all these deaths (6 September 1945: 3). It is also learned that the USA continues to produce atomic bombs and British scientists developed a missile that can destroy them (17 August 1945: 1,3). Accordingly, the atomic bomb and the atomic missile will be tested by hitting each other at a height that will not cause any damage on land (18 August 1945: 3). In addition to that, a theft attempt to steal the formula of the atomic bomb was mentioned in the newspaper (17 August 1945: 1,3).

In the newspaper, the columnists continue to mention different features of the atomic bomb but in the last instance they support what the USA did. For example; Salih Murad Özdilek writes about technical issues in his column such as the atomic scale, the principle of conservation of energy, atomic isotopes, alpha particles of matter, nitrogen nucleus, etc. Another columnist Abidin Daver writes that thanks to the atomic bomb, Japan would surrender. Other columnist Burhan Felek talks about the scientific developments caused by the atomic bomb and uses the words "the world is running, even flying!" (14 August 1945: 3).

Moreover, it is seen that the columnists blame Japan for what had happened. For example, according to columnist Ömer Rıza Doğrul, Japan was "eager to expand beyond tolerance" and consequently "drifted into a very dark future" (10 August 1945: 3). To him, greed of the rulers destroys empires as in the case of Japan (13 August 1945: 1,3). The Pearl Harbor raid is pointed out and it is written that Japan fell into this situation because of its own fault. Ömer Rıza Doğrul also states that Japan's "unfounded" behavior was the reason of the

atomic bomb (11 August 1945: 1,3). He writes that the Japanese "pay for what they did" (15 August 1945: 1,3). In the column called *Hem Nalina hem Mihina*, it is written that the Japanese are "spiritually primitive and backward". Moreover, it is said that the Japanese people "worship the Emperor like a god". However, the Emperor is the person who "inflicted the greatest disaster on Japan in its history" (16 Ađustos 1945: 1,2).

On August 11, the most important columnist of the newspaper, Nadir Nadi tells the importance of victory over Japans. Nadi says, "If this bomb had not been used, the war would have taken months, maybe even a couple of years". The bomb shortened the war and "prevented millions of innocent people from being wasted". Nadir Nadi writes that "Germany and Japan worshiped the god of war" and they lost (13 August 1945: 1,3). In the newspaper of August 15, Nadir Nadi praises Americans who, thanks to the atomic bomb, prepared "favorable conditions" to end the war. According to him, the United States did not covet an inch of foreign land, did not seize a square meter of land from anyone", so "we can believe that this nation will not run after land trials from now on". Next day, Nadir Nadi says "in the methods of this war, there was no foolishness or monstrosity, but a brave fight from the first day to the last day" (16 Ađustos 1945: 1,2). Nadir Nadi writes that "in an atmosphere of insecurity", Americans will not give the atomic bomb to "others with their own hands". According to Nadi, while Russia wants to expand, the atomic bomb has come just in time. If this weapon was delayed, it would have been impossible to stand up against Russian demands and to defend a peace based on rights and justice. In this respect, he thinks that the atomic bomb is very valuable for democracy (19 November 1945: 1,3).

The newspaper supports the atomic bomb not only with its columnists but with its positive news. The newspaper gives some innovative predictions for the future. For example, people will be able to change the weather conditions artificially as they desire. The thickest ice sheets will be melted with atomic energy and ships will be able to pass through the polar regions. Moreover, people will be able to benefit from mines in the polar regions. The newspaper writes that thanks to the atomic power, humanity will not need to work physically. It is also stated that the engines will be in the size of a fist in the future and the plane will travel around the world several times with fuel in the size of a brick (10 August 1945: 3). Furthermore, the newspaper writes that atomic power will eliminate hunger and make life cheaper. It will even be the solution to the food shortage in the world. Atomic power is very cheap to transport unlike coal, oil, gas and electricity. Thus, food prices will be drastically reduced. This power can also be used to find water. For example, there can be perhaps a water layer 2 km below the soil in Sahara Desert and this water layer can be turned into a vegetable

garden through atomic power. It can turn the stones into food (6 September 1945: 3). Furthermore, in his column, Kemal Saraçoğlu states that since ancient times, people benefited from radio activity such as x-rays. Atom can now be used to eradicate epidemics and germs. Jules Verne stories may come true (27 November 1945: 1,3). An article by Tevfik Sadullah says "atomic civilization, atomic age is a tangible truth". To him, the world will turn into a "fairy tale world" thanks to the atomic energy. People will not consider if there is oil or coal because if the atom wants, it will be able to turn stones into gold (5 December 1945: 2).

As time passes, the negative effects of the atomic bomb can be seen more clearly. With the 25 August, it is seen that the troubles with the atomic bomb starts to come forward. For example, according to the news of Tokyo radio, the number of victims of the atomic bomb was increasing and nobody was recovering. 82 percent of the people of Hiroshima were either killed or injured. Burns occurred within the 2 square kilometers area where the bomb exploded. The skin of people in this area was red and began to swell after two hours. Even workers working in debris removals had greatly reduced white globules in their blood. Besides, it is seen in newspaper that discussions began in the world about which states must have the secret of the atomic bomb (25 August 1945: 1, 3).

On September 1, it is written that the Americans did not accept the claims that the atomic bomb still caused the deaths. According to the rumor circulating in Tokyo, while a patient from Hiroshima was completely healthy, her hair was lost 10 days after the bomb, and it was observed that the white globules in her blood were very low. At autopsy, it is seen that the liver, kidney and lymphatic system were "exposed to radiation". However, Americans say these rumors were just Japanese propaganda (1 September 1945: 3). On September 5, the London-based report states that "there is nothing left in Hiroshima that stretches 3 kilometers in every direction". The "smell of death" was still felt in the city. The bomb caused "havoc and death" and gave people "great fear", even they went mad in hospitals. Some people 16 km away from the explosion were paralyzed and concrete modern buildings were also ruined (5 September 1945: 3).

On September 15, the headline is "Atomic Plague". According to the news from London, physicians who went to Hiroshima and Nagasaki fell ill after 8 hours and died within 3 days. To the report, "radiation in the air becomes a virus that the human body can not tolerate". If this is true, it will be necessary to cover the atomic bombs with rubber and lead, where gamma rays can not penetrate. If this measure is not taken, a new calamity can invade the world (15 September 1945: 3). Although it is a bit late, the news about Nagasaki is seen more detailly in the newspaper of November. On November 13, the newspaper has the headline

as "The terrible effect of the atomic bomb"¹² and says "Deaths continue in Nagasaki". Material damage caused by the bomb is terrifying in Nagasaki, 3 or 4 people still die in a week. Almost all of these last victims died due to the gamma rays. Gamma rays destroyed all the bones and the blood cells, so thus eliminating all possibilities for the regeneration of the blood in the victims (13 November 1945: 1,3). Nagasaki was a big port but with the atomic bomb, the city disappeared. From Mitsubishi factory, only fragments of crooked steel remained and people still continued to die (27 November 1945: 1,3).

In time, the news about the atomic bomb start to be interested in secrecy of A-bomb's formula. The news on September 24 quotes the words of British Trade Minister Sir Stafford Cripps. He says "If the nations do not use this new power in favor of humanity, they are likely to perish". The atomic bomb incident radically changed the political scene and a new war would be a suicide. The atomic bomb is the greatest destructive tool people had ever found (24 September 1945: 1,3). There are some rumors in the newspaper of September 25 that the Russians discovered the atomic bomb (25 September 1945: 1). On October 5, the headline is "The scholars who made the atomic bomb are in revolt". It is written that these scholars attack the American government by saying that keeping the formula as a secret will cause an arms race. Truman's answer is "the secret will be kept" (5 October 1945: 3). Another statement of the scholars is in 8 October newspaper. Scholars say that there is no defense weapon against the A-bomb and if the A-bomb is not subjected to an international control, the whole world will be dragged into a disaster. They also state that until a few years there will be enough atomic bombs in all countries to cause a general disaster. According to the newspaper, these scholars "pleadingly demand" international control and emphasize that it is not possible to find a weapon against the atomic bomb (8 October 1945: 1). Moreover on October 11, the newspaper covers a report from *New York Times*. Accordingly, a letter signed by 20 American notables demands the establishment of a world federal organization to prevent atomic world war (11 October 1945: 3). On October 16, the newspaper reports that the Soviets are about to produce the atomic bomb by detaining some German scholars (16 October 1945: 1).

In addition, the words of the British king about the atomic bomb are also covered. The British king states that the atomic bomb should be used to improve the lives of people, otherwise the A-bomb has the destructive power that will reduce the world civilization to a dead point in a few hours (27 October 1945: 3). On October 30, it is reported that the Russians will find the atomic bomb in two years. Russians took the researches of German scholars, machines and even the dust on the ground to Russia (30 October 1945: 3). Next day, the speeches which

¹² Turkish: "Atom bombasının korkunç tesiri".

took place in the House of Commons are on November 1 newspaper. In these speeches, it is said that "Britain's destiny depends on America" so it is requested to convene a conference to take the atomic bomb under control (1 November 1945: 3). On 19 th October, the newspaper states that atomic secret will be kept until positive procedures and orders are established between nations (19 November 1945: 1).

In time, keeping the secrecy of the atomic bomb and the danger of Russians are emphasised more. For example, on January 1, the newspaper is published with the headline "The secret of the atomic bomb has not been revealed to Russia"¹³. On January 9 and 10, the danger of revealing the secret of the atomic formula are emphasized. It is said, "What secrets did the Bolsheviks tell the Allies so that the Anglo-Americans would have to give them the most powerful means of defense?". There is also information that on January 22, the United Nations Organization unanimously agreed to establish a commission for the control of atomic power. The newspaper is interested in the secrecy of the atomic bomb more and more. For example, on February 17, the newspaper is published with the headline "The secret of the atomic bomb was stolen"¹⁴. The biggest espionage service of the Russians in Canada was discovered by the secret police. On February 20, it is informed that the atomic bomb had not been stolen, the secret was only in the hands of America.

The newspaper also covers the news about the technological developments about the A-bomb. On June 30, the headline is "Atomic Experience". The newspaper says that the atomic bomb test on the island of Bikini will be issued. According to the newspaper, all personnel will leave the island and 75 old warships will be left behind. In this way, the effect of the atomic bomb on various warships can be seen. The first bomb will be exploded in the air above the ships, the second bomb on the surface of the sea, and the third in the sea. American naval engineers say that the ships will be "flat like a can". 3400 animals such as cats, dogs, goats and pigs are also put on the ships. Some animal lover associations oppose this situation, saying that Nazis should be put on ships instead of animals. According to the newspaper, these associations seem to forget that the Nazis are also human beings (30 June 1946: 2).

There is information about the atomic bomb experiments in next day. According to the first reports, when the bomb was exploded, a magnificent pillar of flame rose and warships disappeared. Accordingly, the clouds laden with lethal dust could travel around the world. Radioactive clouds could kill people tens of thousands of kilometers away. The newspaper says that 3 ships sunk, 8

¹³ Turkish: "Atom bombasının sırrı Ruslara ifşa edilmedi".

¹⁴ Turkish: "Atom bombasının sırrı çalındı".

were heavily damaged. Large battleships could not be sunk (2 July 1946: 3). The American admiral says that "the day of the navies are still not over even though the bomb is a terrible destructive force". Soviet Russia remarks that the atomic bomb experience on the island of Bikini failed (3 July 1946: 1,3). On the 4th of August, the headline is "If the atomic bomb is used in warfare, humanity will be destroyed"¹⁵. People who are under the influence of this bomb for a few minutes are "doomed to death eventually". The radioactivity emitted by atomic weapons is unprecedented.

On August 8, Ömer Rıza Doğrul commemorates the anniversary of the atomic bomb. To him, with the explosion of the atomic bomb "the whole world was frozen". He describes that day as "a disaster". Because a whole city suddenly became "ruined", the strength of the people collapsed at once, and Japan gave its last breath in a moment. The whole city was destroyed like ashes and turned into a cemetery. Considering that 130,000 people died due to the two bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it was seen that continuing to drop these bombs would result in nothing but destruction of the Japanese nation. That's why the Japanese nation preferred to surrender. The atomic bomb, on the other hand, had increased its destruction force many times since the first day it was fired. The United Nations commission was busy with the future of the atomic bomb, but did not come to a conclusion. America "decided to keep this ferocious weapon as a secret in order to preserve peace" (8 August 1946: 3).

On the last days of 1946, the news about the atomic bomb flows in a triangle of the USA, the UK and the Soviets. For example, on September 25, the newspaper cites Stalin's words that he did not see the atomic bomb as an enormous weapon. Then, on November 3, the newspaper reports that America had 100 atomic bombs and none of them was given to Britain. Moreover, on December 2, in the news from London, it is said that an atomic bomb 600 times stronger than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima was made in the UK. The news about the possession of an atomic bomb by the UK and Canada are published on December 12 and on December 16, the newspaper asks the question "is it possible to disarm?"

Conclusion

Firstly, it should be said that *Cumhuriyet* newspaper uses a balanced language about the atomic bomb issue. Both positive and negative aspects of the atomic bomb are stated in the newspaper. The positive sides written in the newspaper can be grouped under five headings. First of all, it is emphasized that especially Germans also worked to invent this bomb, and that if the Germans had found this bomb, they would not have left anyone alive and would have turned

¹⁵ Turkish: "Atom bombası harblerde kullanılırsa, insanlık mahvolacak".

the world into a slave. Second, thanks to the A-bomb, the justice in the world was built. Since the Japan's a "bullying state", it wanted to continue the war. If A-bomb had not been fired on Japan, this bullying state would not have been punished. It is written that the Japanese deserved this fate. Therefore, the justice in the world was enacted via A-bomb. The writings of the columnists like Ömer Rıza Doğrul and Nadir Nadi are particularly noteworthy at this point. Third, the invention of the A-bomb is seen as an important advance in science. The A-power would turn the world into a fairy-tale like in Jules Verne's novels. These ideas were supported by the columnist Salih Murad Özdilek and *Hem Nalına Hem Mihına* columns. Fourth, the idea that the A-bomb is safe in the hands of the USA is highlighted. The newspaper trusts the USA and writes that the world would be protected thanks to this bomb. Fifth, it is emphasized that the A-bomb ended the war and prevented millions of innocent deaths.

As a negative result, the newspaper writes about the damages done by the A-bomb. It is said that everything ruined in both cities. The news of the Japanese radio is also covered. Burned bodies, ruined buildings and factories, radioactivity are the subjects that the newspaper covered. With September 1945, the news about the dangers of the A-bomb starts to be seen. The news about the international control of the bomb, atomic spies, terrible effects of the bomb, declarations of famous scholars are emphasized. It should be noted that these news are parallel with the developments in the international politics. Anyway, the dangers of the A-bomb are noticed and the news about the protection of this bomb starts to be brought forward. Though the USA is still trusted to protect the secret, some questions about disarmament starts to be asked slightly. Although there are still thoughts on the benefits of the bomb in ending the war, these issues appear less in time. The radioactivity emitted by the atomic bomb is emphasized more. It is seen that the newspaper in 1946 accepts the danger of the atomic bomb and starts to focus on the protection of its secret formula.

When the news about atomic bomb was fresh, it was seen as "an achievement of science" or a show of "human intelligence". Atomic bomb was a result of "a firm belief" and "a brave fight". It was "valuable for democracy" and a key for a fairy tale world. There were expectations for unbelievable innovations. However, as time passed and the destruction done by the atomic bomb was acknowledged, the phrases used in the newspaper started to be seen as "devastating destruction", "smell of death" or "black death". The newspaper started to use the words like "perish, death, arm race, revolt, disaster, burned bodies, disaster". In August 1946, the A-bomb was described as a "disaster" while in 1945 it had been described as "awesome". And this can be evaluated as an indicator of the consciousness that began on the behalf of the newspaper about the dangers of the A-bomb.

It should be also said that language that could scare the public was not used in the newspaper. Big sensational news about the A-bomb was not covered. Although the news mostly originated from London, there were no similar articles against the atomic bomb as published in London at that time. For instance, the writings of James Cameron, William Connor, John Hersey were not covered by *Cumhuriyet*. Again, it is seen that the newspaper did not have any independent review-research article series as in London newspapers. All of these could be connected to the obedience to the orders of the government because the government had ordered not to be sensational. And because Turkey sided with Allies, the government and consequently the newspaper might not wish to anger the Allies by having anti-atomic bomb news. Also, it is very interesting that there were not any statements from any Turkish government officials about the A-bomb for 16 months. The reason of it seems to need more investigation.

As a summary, it can be said that *Cumhuriyet* newspaper generally followed a balanced news policy regarding the A-bomb, highlighted the positive and negative aspects of the bomb. Even though, it is not like in the case of English newspapers, a slight orientation towards the negativity of the bomb can be detected in time. Despite all the legal and political restrictions, the newspaper could still write about the dangers of the atomic bomb in a balanced language. This balanced language can be seen as a continuation of the balanced politics of the government. However, this balanced language caused a passivity on the behalf of the newspaper. The newspaper took a passive role and did not take the initiative to write against atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. *Cumhuriyet* did not have any leading role to fire a movement against the atomic bomb in the society. Its news could not have enough potential to reveal big anxiety and fear in the society. Therefore, it can be said that *Cumhuriyet* did not have a big contribution in the transformation of the world's public opinion about the nuclear weapons.

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