

# Two Film Analysis in the Context of Propaganda and Counter-Propaganda on the Basis of Hope 1970-1980

## Umut Kavramı Temelinde Propaganda ve Karşı Propaganda Bağlamında İki Film İncelemesi / 1970- 1980 (\*)

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### Abstract

The period between 1970 and 1980 is a very important process in Turkey. During this period, political stability deteriorated. Political powers were short lived. Many different ideologies dominated the period. Ideological divisions have turned into political conflict and violence. These ideologies used different propaganda tools to gather more supporters. Publications (books, magazines, etc.), press, television, cassettes (music), radio and cinema can be counted among the propaganda tools that were effective in the period. In our study, we focused on the question of how conservative thought and leftist thought use cinema. In this context, the movies named "Umut" and "Birleşen Yollar" were chosen as samples. When the films in question are examined carefully, it is seen that these films produce completely opposite messages. Therefore, these films were evaluated in the context of propaganda and counter-propaganda in our study. The movie "Umut" is under the influence of realism. On the other hand, the movie called "Birleşen Yollar" was shot under the influence of romance. Our study was supported by the information obtained by scanning the period newspapers. The subject has been tried to be further clarified by examining some of the other films shot in that period. Referring to oral testimonies and conducting a literature study can be counted among the other methods of our study

**Keywords:** Propaganda, Counter Propaganda, Yücel Çakmaklı, Yılmaz Güney, Cinema

### Özet

Türkiye’de 1970-1980 arası oldukça önemli bir süreçtir. Bu dönemde siyasi istikrar bozulmuştur. Siyasi iktidarların ömürleri kısa sürmüştür. Dönemde çok farklı ideolojiler egemen olmuştur. İdeolojik ayrışmalar siyasi çatışmaya dönüşmüştür. Söz konusu ideolojiler daha fazla taraftar toplamak için farklı propaganda araçları kullanmışlardır. Neşriyat (kitap, dergi vb), basın, televizyon, kasetler (müzik), radyo, sinema dönemde etkili olmuş propaganda araçları arasında sayılabilir. Çalışmamızda muhafazakâr düşünce ile sol düşüncenin sinemayı nasıl kullandığı sorusuna odaklanılmıştır. Bu bağlamda “Birleşen Yollar” ve “Umut” adlı filmler örneklem olarak seçilmişlerdir. Söz konusu filmlere dikkatli bakıldığında bu filmlerin birbirine tamamen zıt mesajlar ürettiği görülür. Bu nedenle bu filmler, çalışmamızda propaganda ve karşı propaganda bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir. “Umut” adlı film realizm etkisindedir. “Birleşen Yollar” adlı film ise romantizm etkisinde çekilmiştir. Çalışmamız dönem gazetelerinin taranmasıyla elde edilen bilgilerle desteklemiştir. Söz konusu dönemde çekilmiş kimi diğer filmlerin incelenmesiyle konu daha da aydınlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Sözlü tanıklıklara başvurmak ve literatür çalışması yapmak çalışmamızın diğer yöntemleri arasında sayılabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Propaganda, Karşı Propaganda, Yücel Çakmaklı, Yılmaz Güney, Sinema

(\*) This research is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Emine Cerit Akdağ, who passed away in the Covid-19 outbreak in 2020.

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## Introduction

The period between 1970 and 1980 is very important in the history of the Republic of Turkey. During this period, most people become politicized. When we look at the process, it is seen that political violence increased in the same years (Duma, 2014). It is known that political violence reaches down to secondary schools. Many cities in Anatolia, including metropolitan cities, surrender to political violence (Hürriyet, 19 March 1977). There are many reasons for the unfolding events. The economic crisis, the increase in migration from the village to the city, the chaotic state of the cities, and the political instability are just a few of these reasons. The increase in oil prices in the world and external developments in the form of tensions in the bipolar world also deeply affect Turkey's domestic politics.

It is known that propaganda is effective in mobilizing the masses. It is very important which methods are used in propaganda and which discourses are developed. However, the means by which these are carried out are the mass media. In this respect, it is necessary to examine at the mass media that were effective between 1970 and 1980. Press, television, radio, cinema and books, etc, including newspapers and magazines, can be counted among the mass media of the period. In this context, cinema has a different place because it offers visual content in a society where literacy rates are not considered good and where there are educational problems. Cinema was used as a serious propaganda tool by different groups or ideologies between 1970-1980. Therefore, it is an issue that needs to be investigated how the ideologies that affect the cinema are reflected in the films.

It is known that ideological polarizations were seen between 1970-1980. There are many factions. Between the same years, a communist threat is mentioned. But there is no single communism. It is possible to talk about many elements or sub-ideologies such as Chinese communism known as Maoism and USSR communism expressed as Leninism. However, our study has been formed as the reflection of two basic ideas on the cinema without mentioning the fractions and sub-ideologies. These are in the form of right (conservative-religious centered) and left thinking.

In our study, the films "Birleşen Yollar" and "Umut" will be examined. The movie named "Umut" is very important for the reflection of leftist thought to the cinema (Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970). It can be said that the foundations of conservative thought began to be laid in 1946, after the transition to a multi-party system in Turkey. In the early 1970s, it is known that political thoughts that centered religion and spirituality became a political party. The movie "Birleşen Yollar", shot in the same years, can be evaluated in this context (Çakmaklı, 1970).

When checking at the electronic dictionary of the Turkish Language Association, propaganda is defined as follows: "It is efforts aim to introduce all ideologies and thoughts in carried out in various ways." (TDK, 2021). It is possible to think of any action taken to refute the aforementioned doctrine, thought, opinion or ideology as counter-propaganda (Akdağ, Political Perception and Propaganda in the Period of Coalitions in Turkey 1970-1980, 2018, pp. 20-33). The words right and left are opposites of each other. This situation expresses a contradiction not only in terms of direction and location, but also in terms of opinion, thought and ideology (Sivaslıoğlu & Türkmen, 2017, p. 349). In this sense, one is thesis and the other is the antithesis. If the movie "Umut" is a propaganda of the left, the movie "Birleşen Yollar" can be accepted as its counter-propaganda. While there is a positive emphasis on religion in the movie called "Birleşen Yollar", the opposite is performed in the movie called "Umut". The message "Peace is in Islam" is given in the movie "Birleşen Yollar". The disappointment caused by placing hope in psychic things appears before the audience as the main emphasis of the movie "Umut".

Form-1

Movie Name	Director	Year	The Main Actors of the Movie	What Idea Does the Movie Represent?
Umut	Yılmaz Güney, Şerif Gören	1970	Yılmaz Güney, Tuncel Kurtiz	Left
Birleşen Yollar	Yücel Çakmaklı	1970	Türkan Şoray, İzzet Günay	Conservative

### 1. Multiple Effects Theorem

An ideology can be said to be effective in general if it uses the multiple effects theorem. The multiple effect theorem means to surround the society in every aspect. The multiple effects theorem can also be understood as approaching society through different channels. Here, different propaganda tools are used to spread an idea in society (Akdağ, Ateş Söz Kitle, 2020, s. 46). It is seen that many political parties, regardless of positioning themselves to the right or left, try many ways other than party activities such as rallies to spread their thoughts. Sometimes the discourse and actions of political figures may not be enough for an idea to flourish. Different means and methods should be put in place. In this context, literature, cinema, theater and so on during the 1960s and 1970s in the rise of leftist thought. Many factors have a serious impact. In this respect, names like Ahmet Arif reached the society with their poems in the same years (Arif, 1971). Names such as Yaşar Kemal come to the fore in literary genres such as the novel (Kemal, 1969). In those years, the book was an important propaganda tool. (Akdağ, Political Perception and Propaganda in the Period of Coalitions in Turkey 1970-1980, 2018, pp. 250-258). In this sense, it is very interesting information that the books written by Bülent Ecevit are sold at the rally squares on the condition of generating income for the Republican People's Party (Şahinci, 2017). Many people must have been influenced by these books (Ecevit, 1977). With the effect of changing social texture with internal migration, new types of taste emerge in the field of music. In this respect, names such as Cem Karaca and Ruhi Su are very important. Although this is the case, bards are still influential in society. Here, too, names such as Aşık Mahsuni Şerif should be mentioned. Names such as Mümtaz Social are heard in the field of law and scientific studies (Soysal, 1974). In the cinema, names such as Yılmaz Güney, Şerif Gören and Zeki Ökten are mentioned (Ökten, Sürürü, 1978). It is seen that many ideologies, thoughts or formations try to apply the multiple effect theorem. Conservative thought and nationalist thought both interact with books, theater and so on. tries to reach the society by many means. It can be said that cinema has a special place among these means.

According to Emine Cerit, the money spent to go to the cinema before 1980 had an important place in the family budget. Emine Cerit relates: "We used to go to the movies as a family, especially in the evenings, after returning from the field. Cinemas at that time were open-air cinemas. However, they were surrounded by high walls. Many people would climb the electricity poles to see the movie inside and try to watch these movies illegally. Cinema owners would open the doors 10 minutes before the end of the movie. Until this moment, some people would wait at the door. They were worried about getting to the cinema for free, even at the last minute." The income level of the general population is low. Despite this, the public is in demand for cinemas. (Cerit, 2020). At that time, it is seen that many filmmakers who wanted to keep this demand alive told stories of poverty in their films. An example of this is the movie "Sultan", which was shot in 1978 (Tibet, Sultan, 1978). In the face of aggravating economic and social problems, it can be said that cinema, in a way, provided emotional relief for large segments of society. The arabesque music and film rush that started in the same period can also be explained by the same reasons (Gürsu, 1978). In summary, politics tried to benefit from the power of cinema due to the importance of cinema in the mentioned period.

## 2. The 1970s on the Basis of the Concept of "Hope"

"Hope" is an important political concept. In the dictionary of TDK, the word hope is defined as "the emotion arising from hope, what is expected or thought to happen" (TDK, 2021). The deepening of the problems, the unbearable extent of the troubles create the feeling of ending this situation as soon as possible. A person, a community or an ideology that creates the impression that it can reverse the current situation can soon become the hope of the masses. In this sense, the heavy situation experienced during the years of the National Struggle was effective in Mustafa Kemal's becoming hope. In politics, hope is an important strategic discourse (Akdağ, Political Perception and Propaganda in the Period of Coalitions in Turkey 1970-1980, 2018, p. 146). The fake hope trade should also be mentioned here. Sometimes fake hopes exist to overlook the real culprits of existing social and political problems. Fake hope is created for quell their anger by offering dressings if the problems are not resolved.

Unemployment rose in the 1970s. In the face of chronic high inflation, the purchasing power of the Turkish currency decreases. According to the news of Hürriyet Newspaper, in 1977, there were difficulties in reaching basic foods such as sugar in Turkey (Hürriyet, 6 January 1977). Fundamental factors such as the embargo imposed on Turkey, anarchy, and a corrupt economic order may have been effective in this. Since the mid-1960s, it has been claimed that poverty has been the source of many crimes. There is an impression in many movies shot at that time that people had to steal for reasons such as poverty. The movie "Beyond the Nights" can be said to be an American style movie. 7 friends are robbing gas stations in and around Istanbul. This movie must have inspired some of the later youth. It can be said that the film in question reflects the current situation of the period in which it was shot. Or the film must have predicted the near future in its own way. During the 1970s in Turkey, it is possible to see similar robbery news in the newspapers frequently (Erksan, Gecelerin Ötesinde, 1960). In the movie "Suçlular Aramızda", it is told how poor people are driven to steal (Erksan, Suçlular Aramızda, 1964). In the movie "Umut", it is seen that the heroes of the movie attempt theft under the influence of poverty (Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).



Picture 1: Poverty and Shoes  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).

Inequality in income distribution and deep and widespread poverty are serious problems. It can be said that the trust in the justice mechanism is damaged is a vital problem. On the other hand, it is emphasized in the films that the poor lack the power to seek justice. In the movie "Suçlular Aramızda", it is shown that when a crime occurs, the police have the understanding that it will never be committed by a wealthy person. Criminals and the source of crime are always sought in the lower classes. This is such a common opinion that some "reputable" (upper class) people easily commit crimes. Anyhow, there will be no doubt about him. Here, in the movie "Umut" directed by Yılmaz Güney, an example can be given to the fact that the character of Cabbar, played by Yılmaz Güney, whose carriage was hit by a car and whose horse died, was accused by the police despite his innocence. Aslında "Suçlular Aramızda" ve "Umut" filmi de aynı vurguyu yapıyor (Erksan, Suçlular, 1964).



Picture 2: A distinction is made at the police station by making the upper-class person sit down and the lower-class person standing. (Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).

In the 1970s, in the face of the weight of social, political and economic problems, "hope" was brought before people as a concept that would never be eroded. As the economic and social problems worsen, the hope of foreign aid by the rulers of the state increases. In particular, aid from the United States of America is very important here. In terms of foreign aid, Russia's name begins to appear more and more as a result of the strained relations with the United States and the embargo imposed on Turkey after Turkey's intervention in Cyprus in 1974. On the other hand, in the face of increasing problems, it can be stated that some political groups in Turkey argue that the political regime of the state should be as the regimes in the USSR or China. It is seen that the USA, the USSR or China are brought before people as hopes for Turkey to overcome its economic and political problems. It is seen that this construction of hope was criticized in some films shot in that period (Kılıç, Güneş Ne Zaman Doğacak? 1977).



Picture 3: In the movie "Güneş Ne Zaman Doğacak?", Turkey's lying on the ground and asking for help from the USA, USSR and China is represented (Kılıç, Güneş Ne Zaman Doğacak, 1977).



Resim 4: "Güneş Ne Zaman Doğacak" adlı filmde dışa karşı umut inşasının eleştirildiği sahnelerden birisi (Kılıç, Güneş Ne Zaman Doğacak, 1977).

In the 1970s, politicians like Bülent Ecevit appeared in the world of politics as hope (Akdağ, Bülent Ecevit'in Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Genel Başkanı Seçilmesi Sürecinde Yürüttüğü İletişim Ve Medya Stratejisi, 2018). Migration emerges with the effect of very different dynamics (Arslan, Topal, & Gürel Dönük, 2019). In the 1970s, cities begin to be a hope for those who can't make a living. The situation in question is similar to the story of girls who run away from home to become famous, which was common in the same years. Those who come to the city are lost in the city. Cities turn into chaos. This turmoil leads to the disintegration of many families. In the same years, it is seen that many films were made about the problems and consequences of migration (Aksoy, Tasi Toprağı Altın, 1978). One of the films that describes this situation very well is the movie "Gurbet Kuşları" (Refiğ, 1964). In this movie, it is seen that the message is given that everyone should be satiated in their own homeland. Migration from village to city is not a solution. It's just a building of hope. Migration from the village to the city is also on the agenda of the politics of that day. Republican People's Party leader Bülent Ecevit explains his project regarding this situation. He claims that this project will stop the migration from the village. Justice Party leader and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel opposes the project (Hürriyet, 17 Mart 1977).

In the period when economic, social and political problems get worse, some hopes are built in order to overlook the root causes, solutions or those responsible for these problems. For example, in the late 1970s, the unresolved housing and rent issues left many families in a difficult position. Newspapers, on the other hand, take advantage of this situation and begin to distribute coupons. They give land to one person among the large number of people who have accumulated coupons for a month. This attitude of the newspapers does not solve the problem in question. However, coupons can increase the sales figures of the newspaper. This is what is called the "fake hope construction". During the 1970s, games of fortune such as the national lottery, horse races and sports toto were presented to people as "fake hope". To be a singer and a movie star is another hope (Yılmaz, Ah Güzel İstanbul, 1966). Going abroad is another door to hope. Finding a treasure is another hope that appears (Eğilmez, Salak Milyoner, 1974). The hope of inheriting or being able to marry with a rich person is reflected in the movies shot at that time ((Yılmaz, Köşeyi Dönen Adam, 1978). In the movie "Devlet Kuşu", the daughter of a rich family falls in love with the son of a poor family. The man is indifferent to this love. However, the boy's family puts pressure on him in hopes of a better life. Here, the factor of turning the marriage into hope is seen (Ün, 1980). It is possible to see these hope elements in films in the 1970s (Okan, Otobüs, 1974). In the movie "Gurbetçi Şaban", the story of a Turkish citizen who went to Germany as a fugitive is presented with popular culture sauce (Tibet, Gurbetçi Şaban, 1985). On the other hand, in the movie "Almanya Acı Vatan", a more realistic narrative about the problem in question is used (Şerif Gören, 1979). As the economic problems continued after 1980, the dynamics of hope did not change much in the same years. Similar subjects continue to be handled in the cinema, blending them with popular culture in a slightly different way. In the movie called "Atla Gel Şaban", the story of people who have pinned their hopes on horse races is told (Baytan, 1984).



Picture 5: An illiterate poor person has his lottery ticket checked.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).

In the movie "Acı Hayat", shot in 1962, the marriage hopes of the main characters of the movie, who are poor, are tied to lottery games (Erksan, Acı Hayat, 1962). The problem of poverty, which could not be eliminated for years, has been used as a cliché or a myth in Turkish cinema for years. In Turkish cinema, the number of films in which the games of fortune and lottery are described in an independent way is quite high (Tibet, Talih Kuşu, 1989). The movie called "Billionaire" can be said to be a complete criticism of this subject (Tibet, Milyarder, 1986).



Picture 6: Lottery and hope (Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).

Sometimes, exploitation or fraud occurs in parallel with the hope factor. Voice and beauty contests, which were held frequently during the 1970s, are important in this sense. Many of these competitions were legal. They were not deceiving people. In other words, they emerged out of people's search for hope. It is not quite right to accuse them of committing fraud. However, it is a fact that this area is used by some people for fraud. Again, it can be said that this situation creates an area of abuse against women. This situation is reflected in the films after 1980 as well as in the films of that days (Turgul, 1987). Going abroad is a hope. However, Western states that demand workers from Turkey demand this under certain conditions and in a certain number. For example, going abroad as a worker requires a serious health check (Isaacs, BBC 1973). It is not possible for everyone to go abroad. Exploitation, hope-mongering and fraud are common in this area. Human trafficking, human smuggling exists. The movie "Bus" describes this situation (Okan, Otobüs, 1974). It is meaningful in this respect of the movie "Banker Bilo" starts with scenes about human smuggling to Germany. A human smuggler leaves the defrauded people in front of Istanbul by saying it is Germany, and people believe what he said. (Eğilmez, Banker Bilo, 1980).

### 3. Comparison of Hope-Based Films in the Context of Propaganda and Counter - Propaganda

#### 3.1. Hope

##### 3.1.1. The Environment in which the Concept of Hope Grows

In the movie "Umut", the story of a man named Cabbar, who makes a living as a horse-drawn carriage, is told. It is known that the character of Cabbar and his family migrated from the village to Adana (a metropol city). In fact, horse-drawn carriage and phaeton driving is an important profession. In the period when motor vehicles were not widespread yet, horse carriages carried passengers from train station to into city, from bazaars to neighborhoods. It is seen that horse carriages are also used for freight transport. In the 1970s, as a result of the widespread use of motor vehicles, it is seen that the jobs of horse-drawn carriage drivers began to decline. Discrimination against horse-drawn carriages begins. According to Emine Cerit, while driving of motor vehicle becomes valuable, horse-drawn carriage becomes more and more worthless. Those who do the job in question, when they want to get married, are rejected by the girl's family just because they do this job." (Cerit, 2020).



Picture 7: While waiting for passengers in front of Adana train station, the phaeton driver is asleep.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970)



Picture 8: The picture shows phaetons and taxis waiting for passengers in front of Adana train station.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).

Vehicle density begins to increase in cities and on highways. There is a significant increase in traffic accidents. In the movie "Hope", one of Cabbar's horses is hit by a car. The horse dies. In the following process, horse-drawn carriages and phaetons begin to be seen as elements that endanger traffic safety. Dense flies in cities cause discomfort. In some cities, intense bad smell is felt. Sometimes it is thought that these are due to horse feces and urine. Thereupon, local governments try to ban the use of horse-drawn carriages in cities. The protest of owners of horse-drawn carriages to the local governments against such decisions is reflected in the movie "Hope". It is seen that the leftist thought of that day often included protest scenes in movies in order to nurture a protest culture in real life and to invite people to the streets.



Picture 9: The picture shows horse carriages trying to transport passengers in heavy traffic in Adana.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).





Picture 10: In the picture, it is seen that the horse that died as a result of being hit by the car is taken by a horse carriage.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).



Picture 11: Horse-drawn carriages protest the municipality's removal of carriages  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).



Picture 11: Horse-drawn carriages protest the municipality's removal of carriages  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).

In the 1970s, a paradox was experienced in professions such as horse-drawn carriage and phaeton driving. As motor vehicles become widespread, it can be thought that this type of professions will end. However, those who practice such professions have nothing to change the professions in question. Unemployment is increasing day by day in the country. High inflation and high cost of living affect the whole country. All of this hits those who do this type of professions the most. These people quickly move away from earning a living income. In fact, the movie "Umut" is the story of poverty rather than the story of a charioteer. It is the story of the destruction on society of not having a certain income or the rapid melting of incomes. Cabbar can't even feed his horse. The horse was emaciated. On the other hand, it is very important for Cabbar's friend to say to him: "Any job is good when you have money. When you have money, you eat kebab, you eat dessert, you drink, you sleep in bed. When a man has money, he becomes strong. When a man has money, he has a house, and house turn to home. At home, the pot is boiling, they have children. If you don't have money, there is no worse than you. They chase you from everywhere. The face of the poor is cold. If you have money in your pocket in the coldest time of winter, you will not be cold. You sweat like you're in a Turkish bath. If you don't have money, you will be cold on a summer day. Because money keeps a man warm."



*Picture 13: The poor who cannot go to the doctor try to treat themselves at home.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).*



*Picture 14: The picture shows a emaciated horse.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).*

In the face of poverty, livelihood anxiety increases. The debt to the grocery store and other tradesmen increases too. It is important in this sense that last horse of Cabbar, despite his increasing debt, is seized by the creditors. Children are most affected by the poverty of the family. When the daughter of the house, who tries to study by candlelight, fails at school, she is subjected to violence by her mother. Children fight over a slice of watermelon. They cannot live their childhood to the fullest. Either boy is apprenticed to a place at a very early age or girl is married off at an early age. In the movie "Umut", the child is sent to the grocery store to buy salt with three or five cents that the mother finds by difficulties. Longing for games and toys, this child goes for three or five tours with the bike he obtained from the cyclist who came to his neighborhood with this money in the form of rent. However, the child is hit by his mother. Because there is no other money to buy salt.



*Picture 15: The girl tries to study in the light of the kerosene lamp.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).*



*Picture 16: In the repair shop, the boy gets beaten up by his master.  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).*



*Picture 17: Children riding bikes by renting  
(Güney & Gören, Umut, 1970).*



Picture 18: *Despair*  
(Güney & Gören, *Umut*, 1970).

On the one hand, the cost of living increases, on the other hand, the justice in the distribution of income in the society deteriorates. The difference between classes becomes abysmal. Banks and aghas get more richer with the system (Yeldan, 2014). It is shown in many movies and other media content that the current economic situation increases the hostility between classes. Of course, most of the people who make these movies are left-wing people. According to this idea, happy minorities live in apartments located on newly opened boulevards in cities, and mansions. The poor, on the other hand, are trying to live in too much bad places. Serious deterioration in the education system prevent all children from benefiting from basic education properly. In addition, the number of private schools and commercial institutions called private courses prepare children and youth for exams increases considerably (Konaklı, 2017). Yılmaz Güney portrays the upper classes as corrupt in many of his films (Güney, Arkadaş, 1974). In the movie "Umut", no one from the upper classes and landlords responds positively to the cry of Cabbar, who is crushed under the burden of debt, although he asks them for help.



Picture 19: In the movie "Umut", Cabbar is seen urinating under the bank advertisements boards.  
(Güney & Gören, *Umut*, 1970).



Picture 20: Private school and bank ads.  
(Güney & Gören, *Umut*, 1970).

### 2.1.2. Types of Hope and Fake Hopes

It can be said that the improvement of the political system in the country and the elimination of poverty are the real hope. Those elected in democracies are hoped to solve these problems. If the relevant persons cannot solve these problems, they will be held accountable. However, if problems become chronic, fake hopes may arise spontaneously. Fake hopes are often deliberately created to overlook real problems. In the movie "Hope", the use of horse-drawn carriages in the city is prohibited. Thus, it is tried to take their bread from the hands of those who make their living by horse-drawn carriage. However, new jobs are not created for them or offered anything for them. The lottery (games of chance) against increasing poverty is created as a hope by the state. It can be said that the hope of finding treasure is mostly created by the society itself. But this too is often a fake hope. One is legal and the other is illegal. Cabbar fails to find his hope in the lottery in the movie "Hope". He can not get anything after searching treasures. In the end, Cabbar gets mad and loses his mental faculties. In fact, this is a fake hope criticism made by the director. The fact that the clergyman accompanying the treasure search makes up reasons such as "the treasure becomes a bird, it flies, and it becomes a snake, escapes" in every failure shows the negative results of relying on superstitions.

## 3.2. Birleşen Yollar

### 3.2.1. Social Morality and Ethics Problem and Politics in Turkey

Moral and ethical values erode throughout the 1970s. While bribery among civil servants is widespread, fraud is increasing. In this respect, people like Sülün Osman, who sell even public buildings such as the Galata Tower and the Bosphorus Bridge as if they were the owners of these places to gullible people, became the symbol names of the period. Some of the frauds committed by this person are reflected in some movies (Tibet, *En Büyük Saban*, 1983). In some films, this person's name is referred to: "You will call him Osman Bey from Fatsa. Because there are many Osman. There is Bölükbaşı Osman, there is Sülün Osman. There is also Goalkeeper Osman. But Osman Bey from Fatsa is one." (Seden, 1979). The issue of bankers, which came to the fore as a result of the outbreak of the "Banker Kastelli" incident after 1980, actually shows its effect in Turkey since the 1970s. Many people give their money to people called bankers with the promise of high interest or returns. Banker events continue after the coup of September 12, 1980. Cinema stars such as Cüneyt Arkın, Fikret Hakan, Ekrem Bora, Selma Güneri, İzzet Günay and Eşref Kolçak play at the same time in the advertisements in TRT Television of Cevher Özden. Cevher Özden is known in society as "Banker Kastelli". Advertising is effective. Many people hand over their investments to Kastelli. However, Kastelli declares bankruptcy. Kastelli flees abroad. It is said that the 100 billion liras Kastelli collected from 550 thousand people was steam. Inspired by this situation, a movie called "Banker Bilo" was made (Eğilmez, *Banker Bilo*, 1980). Smuggling, drug dealing and use, hoarding are common in Turkey during the 1970s (Hürriyet, 18 March 1977). It is claimed that some senators and deputies are also involved in drug trafficking (Hürriyet, 22 March 1977). Propane cylinder need is an important problem. There are queues for propane cylinder. Besides, stock

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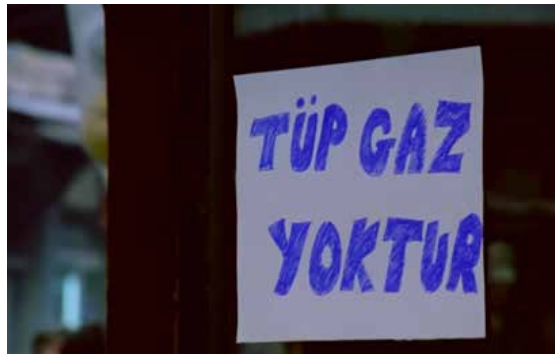
ing and black market are the most important problems. Such problems are well reflected in Turkish cinema (Aksoy, İstanbul 79, 1979). It is seen that these problems are well reflected even in many comedy movies (Ökten, Çöpçüler Kralı, 1978). The arrest of a Turkish senator in France with drugs makes one think that Turkish society has a moral problem on a very large scale.



Picture 21: Drug trafficking (Hürriyet, 22 Mart 1977).



Picture 22: The image shows stockpile of propane cylinder to sell them more expensive on the black market. (Aksoy, İstanbul 79, 1979)



Picture 23: The "No propane cylinder" writing hanging on the shop window. (Aksoy, İstanbul 79, 1979).

Against the morality problem in many areas in Turkey, the National Salvation Party will develop an idea or slogan such as "morality and spirituality first". According to the founders of the party, one of the ways to achieve this is religious education (Asiltürk, 2018). In line with this idea, this party will try to spread religious schools throughout Turkey during the periods when it is in power (Kıratlıoğlu, 2018). Efforts will be made to disseminate the idea in question through publications such as books and magazines. Press and cinema are other ways to reach the society. In this sense, the novel "Huzur Sokağı" is important here (Şenler Ş. Y., 1970). This book has a different meaning for people in the line of the National Salvation Party. This situation remains strong for a long time.



Picture 24: It is one of the posters used by the National Salvation Party in the 1977 Elections and emphasizing morality.

### 3.2.2. Birleşen Yollar ve Umut Filmlerinin Karşılaştırılması

The movie called "Birleşen Yollar" is made by Yücel Çakmaklı, one of the founders of the National Cinema school, inspired by the novel "Huzur Sokağı" written by Şule Şenler. The film has a serious emphasis on spirituality. The films "Umut" and "Birleşen Yollar" can be evaluated on the basis of propaganda and counter-propaganda. It is seen that these films were shot with the approach of refuting each other's theses. "Birleşen Yollar" is more reminiscent of Yeşilçam melodramas in form. The movie "Umut" is shot mostly under the influence of realism. "Birleşen Yollar", on the other hand, is mostly made under the influence of romance. For this reason, it is possible to come across emotional scenes frequently in this movie.



*Picture 25: Prayer scene  
(Çakmaklı, 1970).*



*Picture 26: Bilal and Feyza (Çakmaklı, 1970).*



*Picture 27: Passing away (Çakmaklı, 1970).*



### 3.2.3."Birleşen Yollar" Film

One of the protagonists of the movie "Birleşen Yollar", the boy's name is Bilal, and the girl's name is Feyza. Bilal is the first person to call the azan in the history of Islam. Azan is also a call. In this movie, a call to Feyza will be made by a young man named Bilal. Bilal is a former slave. In the movie, Bilal is also a lower class member and Feyza is a upper class member. Feyza's parents love nightlife. They participate in gambling parties. They are indifferent to their daughter Feyza. Feyza has been taken care of by her nanny since her childhood. Even when Feyza goes to bed, she laments "tell me a story, my nanny, the story of mothers who raise good children". The man's mother, on the other hand, is affectionate and smiling. She is an Anatolian woman. She does not let down the prayer for her child. Feyza's nanny is also an Anatolian woman. She picks up Feyza in the morning. She sweetly criticizes the life of Feyza and her parents.



Picture 28: Disruption of communication in family, parents gambling in the background, their daughters in the foreground (Çakmaklı, 1970).



Picture 29: Modern life (Çakmaklı, 1970).

Feyza is bored with modern life. This state of her must have made the people who watch the film happy, who are committed to values and traditions. Contrasts were created by making cross cuts in the film. Bilal prays and goes to bed with basmala. Feyza is still at the dance party; she drinks there. While there is inner peace in Bilal, the state of restlessness in Feyza is striking. The interests between Bilal and Feyza have also diverged. Feyza dances modern while Bilal dances the folk. For the upper classes, love and romance are games and entertainment. It is the field of claim to be won. Feyza makes a bet among her friends to seduce Bilal. She starts her relationship with Bilal, dressed as a traffic accident, which was very common in those days. Besides, she wears a headscarf to seduce Bilal. She agitates the situation, and abuses faith to look cute to Bilal. In fact, the scenes in the movie are similar to politics: After the MNP (National Order Party) and MSP (National Salvation Party) were established, the AP (Justice Party) and Justice Party Leader Süleyman Demirel increased religious discourse. In fact, Demirel is given the Qur'an as a gift at AP rallies. All this is criticized by MSP (Asiltürk, 2018). In fact, Demirel is implicitly accused of forgery.



Picture 30: A traditional baby figure coming out of the music box and Feyza singing Turkish music (Çakmaklı, 1970).

It can be said that the movie "Birleşen Yollar" is rather weak in terms of rhetoric. It is not possible to see strong dialogues and background texts in the movie. Instead, it is seen that visual messages dominate. The traces of the intense migration to Istanbul can be seen in the opening scene of the movie "Birleşen Yollar". The city is now growing vertically. Apartments are shown as new living spaces. In the neighborhoods where the slums are located and in the streets where the neighborhood culture is experienced, apartments are now beginning to be seen. Thus, conflict will arise between the new residents of the neighborhood and the old residents. The former residents of the neighborhood are more attached to values and traditions. Moreover, they are belittled by the new residents of the neighborhood. The old residents of the neighborhood do not like the newcomers either. In fact, Bilal, the main character of the movie, lives in the old neighborhood. His mother wants to marry him to a girl "as straight as a die". She does not want her son to marry people who grew up in apartment culture and consume alcohol. Bilal also points to this situation in his conversations with Feyza. Bilal told Feyza, "There is a beautiful world outside of your life and those around you. A world you don't know. The world of people who believed... The world of people who could stay above beauty, fame, money... They don't care about temporary whims. If you want, you can be one of them." Thus, Bilal fulfills his duty of preaching and guidance. Bilal continues: "You are like two different people. One of them is plain, dressed simply... On the other hand, she loves make up, smell, and noise. She is crazy about dancing and dressing." Bilal adds the following to his words: "All kinds of falsehoods and lies brought about by the last years disgust me. Sometimes I see young girls who my childhood friends, I do not recognize them. Most of them are caught up in a life that is not theirs and foreign pleasures. I came across those people who denied that they were born in Istanbul, degraded his primary school, that he was an orphan. I saw those who belittled his music, language and clothing, and those who were almost crazy to resemble those in foreign magazines. For years, I tried not to break away from my tradition and not to separate from myself. I am proud of my mother in a white headscarf who raised me with a three-month orphan's salary. A lot of people are not on the good way. They have become disbelievers and imitators, what can we do but pity them." Feyza responds to the words she said to Bilal: "These were things I had never heard of or knew about. It lights up my heart listening to you." Feyza, who wanted to play with Bilal, fell in love with him. Bilal is also in love with Feyza.



Picture 31: Bilal dreaming about Feyza wearing a headscarf (Çakmaklı, 1970).

Bilal presents Feyza with Islamic books and a headscarf. It is known that the National Order Party and the National Salvation Party and the Welfare Party frequently demand for the headscarf to be released in public spaces. The movie called "Birleşen Yollar" is the visualized form of these demands. Bilal realizes that Feyza came across him to play with him in the later scenes of the movie "Birleşen Yollar". He ends his relationship with her. Bilal marries someone else. Feyza falls into depression. She also makes a wrong marriage with this mood. Her husband is a smuggler, a gambler. Her husband's environment is very bad. Her husband's best friend declares love to Feyza. Thus, the director emphasizes the moral collapse of the upper classes in the film. As a result, Feyza's depression deepens. Thereupon, Feyza's nanny asks Feyza to read the books that Bilal gave her before. Those books will teach her the truth.



Picture 32: Bilal with his wife, child and mother. (Çakmaklı, 1970).

Feyza becomes devoted person for God. Feyza visits mosques accompanied by hymns. She prays and fulfills her duty of worship. She reads the Quran. She sheds tears. She repent. Her husband is imprisoned for a crime he committed. Feyza tries to raise her daughter in the best way in line with her beliefs. She strives to ensure that his daughter has a good marriage. Feyza does sewing and embroidery work to support her home. For this reason, she sometimes gets tired and gets sick. Romantic elements predominate in the movie. The son of Bilal, the doctor candidate wants to marry daughter of Feyza. Bilal opposes this marriage. However, later this marriage takes place. While Bilal and Feyza's children are on their way to their new life after marriage, Feyza dies in Bilal's arms.



Picture 33: Book (Çakmaklı, 1970).



Picture 34: Feyza reads Quran whole night. (Çakmaklı, 1970).



Picture 35: Feyza is praying (Çakmaklı, 1970).



Picture 36: Feyza does sewing and embroidery work (Çakmaklı, 1970).



Picture 37: Feyza gets sick (Çakmaklı, 1970).



Picture 38: Bilal's son tells Feyza that he wants to marry her daughter. (Çakmaklı, 1970)

While walking around the Feyza mosques in the movie "Birleşen Yollar", it is seen that the Hagia Sophia Mosque is visually emphasized in the movie. May 29, 1977 At the MSP Istanbul Taksim rally, the demand "We will open Hagia Sophia" rises. A giant banner printed Hagia Sophia on it is hung. They say: "We will open on a Friday". Conservative and nationalist movement was seen as an obstacle against the danger of communism after 1970. In this respect, despite conservative MSP and MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) still open, Turkish Workers' Party and the socialist and communist parties were often closed by the state. It is known that these parties were government partners in almost all of the period from 1974 to 1980. The introduction of nationalist and conservative films in Turkish cinema, the increase in their number and the effectiveness of these films can be explained by reason given above. Since the concepts such as common past, noble nation, honor and homeland are influential on the basis of nationalism, Numbers of history films increases in between 1970 and 1980. In this sense, conservative cinema also uses history. Here, the thought of jihad and conquest is especially effective in the person of sultans such as Fatih and Yavuz. Both nationalist thought and conservative thought also use the place phenomenon. For example, Hagia Sophia is very important places. According to conservative thought is that this place is symbols of Islam. This thought says that Hagia Sophia cannot be a museum (Asiltürk, 2018).



Resim 39: A news about Hagia Sophia. (Hürriyet, 23 Mart 1977).



Resim 40: Hagia Sophia. (Çakmaklı, 1970).

## Conclusion

The period between 1970 and 1980 is a very important period for the history of Turkey. During this period, political stability deteriorates. At the beginning of the period, a memorandum is seen. The period ends with the September 12, 1980 Coup. During the term, midterm elections, local elections and 2 general elections are held. Street incidents increase. All this demonstrates the importance of propaganda. It can be claimed that the period between 1970 and 1980 was quite rich in terms of propaganda tools. Books, magazines etc. (publication), press, radio, television, cassettes, records and cinema are some of the propaganda tools that were effective at that time. Cinema occupies a very important place in the social life of that day. Because in a society where literacy rates are low and the education level of the people is not good, cinema presents a visual message. For this reason, between the years 1970-1980, it is seen that the dominant ideologies wanted to take advantage of the power of cinema in order to reach the public and convey their ideas to large masses. This situation shows itself in many movies. During the 1970s, there was a serious rivalry between conservative thought and leftist thought. These two ideas try to refute each other's thoughts with propaganda tools. This is also reflected in the cinema. In this sense, "Birleşen Yollar" is a film made under the influence of conservative thought. This movie is more romantic. The movie named "Umut" has been a movie reflecting leftist thought. If "Birleşen Yollar" is a propaganda film, then "Umut" is a counter-propaganda film. As a result of our study, it is possible to say the following: The movie called "Birleşen Yollar" was shot as a melodrama. It can be said that the film is not very strong in terms of cinematography. An emotional atmosphere was tried to be created with the film. However, the trace left by this structure of the film on the audience is the subject of a different research. It can be said that the movie "Umut" is quite strong in terms of cinematography. There are quite a lot of films shot on the basis of propaganda-counter-propaganda in Turkish cinema between 1970-1980. It can be assumed that these films have a serious impact on society. Therefore, more research is needed in this area. In this study, the films named "Umut" and "Birleşen Yollar" were evaluated in the context of propaganda and counter-propaganda. As a result of our study, it was understood that these two films produced completely opposite messages.

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