

THE REFLECTIONS OF POLITICS TO TURKISH CINEMA (1950-1986)

Arş. Gör. Burcu BELLİ*

Abstract

The main purpose of this paper is to show the political developments of Turkey, its reflection to Turkish cinema from 1950 when the multi-party life began in Turkish politics to 1986. The paper is consisted of four main chapters, in the first chapter the meaning of multi-party in Turkey is explained, the political and social atmosphere of DP between 1950 and 1960 is shown. The movies that are significant for this paper are presented and criticized. In the second part, the coup d'état in 1960 and its results in terms of political life and cinema is explained. In the next part, the conjecture of 1970s and two important names who shaped the Turkish cinema during this decade and later are presented and their movies are criticized. In the last part, another political coup in 1980 is shown, its political and social results are followed by the movies.

Keywords: Politics, Cinema, Movie, Coup D'état, Reality, Actors.

TÜRK POLİTİKASININ TÜRK SİNEMASINA YANSIMALARI (1950-1986)

Özet

Makalenin amacı 1950'de çok partili siyasi hayata geçen Türkiye'de politik gelişmelerin Türk sinemasına yansımalarını 1986'ya kadar takip etmektir. Makale dört ana başlıktan oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde çok partili dönemin siyasi açıdan Türkiye için ifade ettikleri anlatılmış, Demokrat Parti'nin iktidardayken yarattığı atmosfer incelenmiş, sonrasında ise bu koşullarda çekilmiş filmlerin bu makale için önemli bulunanları tartışılmıştır. İkinci kısımda 1960 darbesi hakkında tartışılmış 1960'ların ilk yarısında siyasi atmosferin yarattığı değişiklikler sinema açısından incelenmiş, 1960'ların ilk ve ikinci yarısındaki siyasi değişiklikler sinema filmlerindeki yaklaşımlarla açıklanmıştır. Bir sonraki bölümde 1970'lere gelinmiş, '70lerdeki Türkiye, seçilen sinema filmleri ile takip edilmiştir. Son bölümde ise 1980 darbesi ve bu darbenin neden oldukları izah edilmeye çalışılmış ve ilk altı yılda meydana gelen değişiklikler sinemadaki yansımaları ile takip edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Politika, Sinema, Film, Darbe, Gerçekçilik, Oyuncu.

* Nişantaşı Üniversitesi, Tarih Bölümü. burcu.belli@nisantasi.edu.tr

1. Using Movies In History And Its Methodology

It is obvious that, from the beginning- 1890s- cinema has been used not only for entertainment but also for political aims, in other word for propaganda. Quo Vads (1912), Cabiria (1914), The Birth of a Nation (1914) and Napoleon (1926) are some significant examples. In addition to this, there is a close relationship between cinema and history and it is a controversial topic for both movie-makers and historians. Cinema has provided an outlet for those unconnected with academia to exhibit publicly their own versions of the past. It allows history to be presented, and consumed in a form entirely new in twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Furthermore, the immense international popularity of movies meant that history as a seen on the screen has reached wider audiences than the writings of professional historians (Lambert, and Phillipp, 2004: 245).

The cooperation between cinema and history was recognized at the end of the nineteenth century when cinema was born. In 1895 William Kennedy Lourie Dickson who was an American filmmaker called cinema as a miracle that gives many opportunities to historians like great visual evidence about the past (Dickson, 1895: 31-33). In 1916, Gover, Jast and Topley made a research about the reliability of the cinema as historical evidence; according to their search, the recordings were more affective and successful to reflect the realities about the past than the classical documents. They added that, the state should keep recordings on the everyday habits or important days. Nevertheless, the importance and the value of the movies had not been recognized well, for instance the earliest surviving films were recorded or kept by individuals rather than the states or official authorities. The International Federation of Film Archive (FIAF)) was established in 1938, at a relatively late time. When it comes to using movies as a historical data, it is safe to argue that this issue is a controversial topic even today. In 1950s, Marc Ferra decided to study movies for example belonging to Nazi Germany or USSR, however Fernand Braudel warned him about keeping his study as secret. (Elton, 1955: 230) When Sir Arthur published his paper about the using of movies as historical data he alarmed his readers against its negative results in 1955. Some social scientists think that using movies as a historical source quite risky. At the same time, based on same side, it is claimed that making historical films is also dangerous (Guynn , 2006: 1). For instance anthropologists, whose approach and methods have been valued by

historians, resisted using films as historical materials. They argue that the screening of a film is a vulgarization and has no justifiable scientific purpose. Furthermore, French scholar François de la Bretheque claims that the relation between filmic depictions and reality of the past is never direct because film always distorts the truth (Guynn, 2006: 3). With the 1950s British historians and other scientists began to look for different types of sources because the classical history understanding began to change as well. The history of great men was no longer enough for them, so they started to concentrate on small people's stories remaining on margins. Therefore, this 'new' generation of historians started to focus on other materials like oral memories, novels and movies. Using movies as historical data became more widespread in 1960s and 1970s. Anthony Aldgate, Nicholas Pronay and M. Short are some of the names who benefitted from the movies. By the 1980s, Jeffrey Richard, Michael Chanan, Margaret Dickenson and Sarah Streen produced their studies with the help of movies (Peter and Schofield, 2004: 11-22).

Even though movies could find a proper place for themselves in history in 1970s, it had to wait until 1990s to be accepted as a historical source. (Özen, 2015: 62-71). Using cinema in history has both advantages and disadvantages; while it shows the clear monitor for historians about the time zone when it is recorded, it also shows the subjectivity of the director. In addition to these, another complexity is about the historians. Historians have accepted the writing materials and some other objects as historical data or evidence, so a great number of historians cannot decode the films, in other words historians did not know the movie-language. The reading and interpretation of the movies poses difficulty for historians. Lastly, historians should be aware of the danger of montage that can change all perspective of the movie so historians or audiences can be manipulated easily.

Another critical point about the movie issue is the censorship. Different authorities have different targets for censorship, for instance the state censor the movies because it is not appreciate to state policy. In addition to the state, the companies have censor rules based on their commercial policies. One can say that the most dangerous censor is self-censorship. Although censorship is a complicated topic, it also shows us the conditions of the period; the taboos or traditional values can be followed owing to censorship policies. The concerns of the authorities are represented by the movies. Abdülhamid II

did not allow the film which pictures his uncle Abdülaziz who had ruled before him to be shown, like this *Yeryüzü Aşkın Yüzü Oluncaya Dek* a documentary film about the Gezi Occupy in July 2013 (Reyan Tuvi, 2014) was not shown in 51st Antalya Film Festival. The main motivation behind these approaches are same; the authorities' political concerns.

In this paper the relationship between the politics and cinema will be examined. It is argued that politics effects, shapes and changes the cinema. Throughout the paper, the Turkish policy shall be summarized and its representation on movie industry will be exemplified. This paper is consisted of five main chapters. Each chapter will evaluate some significant movies. In the first chapter the beginning of cinema in the Ottoman Empire will be presented shortly. It should be noted that the main topic of this paper is not history of cinema in Turkey, however in order to understand the multi-party era's effect the period before 1950 should be pointed out shortly. Because of the same reason Muhsin Ertuğrul and his effects on Turkish movie until 1950 will be discussed. In addition, using of movies as a propaganda tool by Turkish Republic will be mentioned. In the second part, dominance of DP and their effect on both politics and cinema will be shown. Their so-called conservative perspective and western approach shall be compared. The difference of mentality between these two categories will be show. The results of American sympathy of DP's will be discussed. In the rest of this part, the movies will be analyzed. The tone, approach and meaning of the films will be shown, and the general conditions of 1950s in terms of cinema will be analyzed with three significant movies; *Toprak*, (*The Land*) *Beyaz Mendil* (*White Napkin*) and *Üç Arkadaş* (*Three Friends*). The third part will be separated into two subtitles, the first and the second half of 1960s. In the first half of 1960s the effects of military intervention will be analyzed and its political results shall be discussed, moreover the understanding of the movement will be questioned. The social realism effect on the movies will be clarified, the significant directors and their movies *Gecelerin Ötesi*, *Yılanların Öcü*, *Susuz Yaz*, *Acı Hayat Karanlıkta Uyananlar* will be shown; the purpose of directors will also be analyzed. The utopic unification dream of leftist directors are seen in some movies; for example, *Otobüs Yolcuları* and *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* present unification between the workers and intellectuals in Turkey. Moreover, the different political approaches of the directors will be discussed. In the second half of the 1960s, the leftist wing was damaged with the 1965 election; the AP (the Justice Party) and its effect to

cinema will be discussed. The directors who can make movies freely would not focus on social realism because of censorship and violence. Thus the directors and producers had to create an alternative way; national movies. The meaning and examples of this kind will be presented and Yılmaz Güney will be mentioned at the end of this period. When it comes to 1970s, political atmosphere will be presented firstly, as done before. The terrible conditions of Turkish left wing will be presented; as opposed to the end of the 1960s, the directors' reaction to this violence was to be different. Because of political instability the violence in the streets and universities increased, the results of these struggles will be discussed. In this chapter, two significant artists and their movies will be analyzed in terms of the political reflection; Yılmaz Güney and Kemal Sunal. The movies of Güney have been called as second wage of social realism, the second wage is alternative of classical Turkish movies or second kind of Turkish movies, and Sunal is important because of being an original comical actor. In part of this chapter the historical movies and their motivation in 1970s will be questioned. At the end of this part, the reflection of migration to Germany shall be discussed shortly. In the last section, the 12th September 1980 intervention will be told and its long-lived results on movie sector shall be mentioned. The women issue in the first half of the 1980s and the motivation behind it will be discussed. It should be remembered that, this paper focuses on the Turkish cinema that is affected by politics directly between 1950 and 1986. With the 1986 the Turkish cinema changed its way and it is topic of another discussion.

2. Origins In The Ottoman Empire And Turkish Republic

It is obvious that the first movies in the Ottoman Empire are a controversial issue because there is no record of these first films. In addition to this, even though cinema is one of the most popular trends recently, there is not enough number of studies about this issue. History of movies is studied by Nijat Özön and some other names, however according to Scognamillo many researches do not add new chapters to their studies. Nijat Özön divides history of movie in Turkey into four main titles, the beginning years between 1896 and 1949, then the changing years between 1950 and 1959, the period of movie makers from 1960 until 1980s, and the military coup years starting with the military intervention. However, Scognamillo separates Turkish movie into three main chapters, he calls the period between 1896 and 1959 as preparation years, he claims that

these 63 years shaped the Turkish movie industry and there was not a direct relationship between cinema and the politics until 1960s, a claim that can be argued is controversial. Then, he calls the second period between 1960 and 1980; the last section starts with 1980 military intervention like Özön mentions.

The cinema arrived to the Ottoman Empire very soon after it had been born in Europe. It is known that in Paris, Louis and Augusto brothers introduced a movie show in 1895; in Berlin Max and Emile Skladanowsky exhibited a movie show in the same year. In America, Thomas Edison showed the first movie in 1894. Coming of cinema to the Ottoman Empire is a controversial topic because of the historical events, while some researchers claim that a French man named as Bernard brought cinema to the Empire, some argue he did not. Another name Sigmund Weinberg is also called as one of the first people who dealt with cinema in the Ottoman Empire. It is argued that people in the Ottoman Empire watched the first movie in 1896 in public places (Scognamillo, 2010:15). Lumiere Brothers exhibited a short movie called *L'arrive d'un train en gane de la Ciotat* 1885, *The Entrance to the Train Station in Pera streets*. It is obvious that Ottomans watched the movies at the end of the nineteenth century in the capital.

Even though the beginning of the cinema is not clear it is known that it became widespread in a short time in the Ottoman Empire. Movies were exhibited in theater halls and circuses. It should be pointed out that movies were not same as today's, they were shorter and limited like short exhibitions of entrance of train to the station, bull fighting or a picture drawing by artists. Scognamillo reports that cinema was known only in the capital at the beginning (Scognamillo, 2015: 17). The issue of cinema became a controversial topic in the Ottoman Society; while the conservative side argued that cinema was a sin, the opposite claimed that it was a mark of civilization. Moreover, it can be argued that Abdülhamid II could recognize the meaning and effect of cinema, and he forbade electricity in the capital. People did not give up, oil lamps were used for a long time. Because of the ban in the capital, cinema grew up in Thessalonica and Izmir.

The exhibition shows continued during the First World War. Starting with the 1900s, cinema became a public space entertainment; especially in Ramadan various movies

were exhibited as a *traditional entertainment*. People who were members of high class could watch the movies in their houses, while ordinary people watched it in public places. Yonaki (1878-1954) and Milton (1882-1964) Manaki brothers made movies that are called as liberty movies, *Hürriyet Filmleri* in the Ottoman Empire. Scognamillo reports that these movies are about the Second Constitution and its victory shows (2015: 61-66). The author explains that these movies are no longer than 15 minutes; they show the military march, uniforms of CUP members Committee of Union and Progress), and a speech about the revolution. Another frame exhibits different ethnic groups in the empire. Özön argues that these movies were not recorded in studio, but it is obvious that fiction was used (2015: 66).

Between 1914 and 1921 The Collapse of Russian Monumental in Ayestefanos, Pençe (1917), Casus (1917), İstanbul'da Bir Facia-i Aşk , Zor Nikah, III. Selim ve Alemdar Vak'ası were filmed. In 1917 National Defense Society (Müdafa-i Milliye Cemiyeti) took the responsibility of making movies in order to make money for the war. It is interesting that like many other reforms and innovative movements, cinema was also controlled by the army in the Ottoman Empire. The first political aims in movies can be seen in 1919, the Independent War years, Ahmet Fehim made Mürebbiye in 1919, this movie was based on Hüseyin Rahmi's novel and it gave political messages. In the film a French teacher became a serious problem for the family she stayed with. It can be said that, this movie is a protest against occupation forces, so it was censored and not screened at the beginning. Even though the occupation forces did not allow, it is said, this movie was sent to Anatolia and encouraged people. (2015:30) After Mürebbiye, another movie Binnaz (by Fuat Uzkınay) which showed the complicated relations with the western states was screened. When it comes to 1920, the political movies gave place to comedy movies, like Bican Efendi Vekilharç (1921 by Şadi Fikret Karagözoğlu) which is claimed to be a kind of a remake of Charlie Chaplin movies. (2015: 33) Muhsin Ertuğrul put his mark on this period, until the 1950s in other words between the establishment of Turkish Republic and the multi-party selection, he was the leading name of Turkish cinema. Some authorities criticized him harshly, they argued that Ertuğrul took control of Turkish cinema and he did not allow it to grow up. In addition to this, Ertuğrul was accused of making movies irrelevant to the historical and political context (2015: 39). Between 1922 and 1953 Ertuğrul made 30 films and at least 20 of them were remakes of foreign movies.

Even though the movies have political powers, Turkish Republic did not prefer to take advantage of this power mainly between 1923 and 1946. It can be said that apart from one or two movies of Ertuğrul, the republic did not focus on the movie issue. However, these movies are still important in terms of reflecting the republican features. For instance, *Boğaziçi Esrarı* (1923) is about a Bektashi Sheikh, which represents the traditional habits as dangerous. Another movie is *Ateşten Gömlek* (1923), which was inspired from Halide Edip's novel; this movie is also related to the independence years. In 1928 Ertuğrul made a republican movie, *Ankara Postası*. Some argue that Ertuğrul was effective in Turkish cinema for 30 years because of these republican movies. Republic supported him, thus he could make whatever movie he wanted. When it comes to 1930 we see Nazım Hikmet who used Mümtaz Osman as nickname as a writer of many Ertuğrul movies. In 1932, Ertuğrul made *Bir Millet Uyanıyor*, a movie that can be read as a republican propaganda. Mustafa Kemal was seen in this movie, so it can be concluded that Mustafa Kemal and the state's officials supported Muhsin Ertuğrul. These republican movies were exhibited in People's Houses in Anatolia. Thanks to this support, he could make different types of movies apart from the republican ones. In other words, Ertuğrul made melodramas and comedy films based on western examples. Another important film made by Ertuğrul and written by Hikmet (Osman) is *Karım Beni Aldatırsa* (1935) in which there are many naked women which shows *the western side of Turkey* to the world. Until the mid-1930s Ertuğrul did not focus on social concerns in his movies. As it has been mentioned, Ertuğrul was called the official movie-maker of republic and Kemalist approach. In 1935, he made *Bataklı Damın Kızı* that was written by Nazım Hikmet. In this movie the land issue (toprak meselesi) was touched on for the first time. Ertuğrul who mostly made central movies turned his face to the periphery. However, this movie does not represent the relations between the people living in the cities and the villages, rather it shows village life to bourgeois living in the big cities. Therefore, we cannot see village habits or criticism in this movie.

Ertuğrul made melodramas and comedies except for three or four movies. His first concern was not to show the people's struggles or problems in his movies, rather it can be argued that he did not want to be inside the political issues. He preferred to make only republican movies. Ertuğrul is criticized because of his apolitical approach and technique. His technique is not mentioned in this paper, but the main reason behind accusations was his theatric positions in movies. In conclusion, between 1923 and 1949

Turkish Republic did not focus on movie issue as a propaganda tool apart from a few movies. In addition, the dominant names did not make films consisting of social concerns. In other words, the political actions, movements or ideologies were not reflected on movies, so Turkey's politics cannot be understood if the movies in this period are followed.

3. 1950s The Multi-Party Era: Dp's So-Called Democratic Atmosphere

It can be said that the dramatic changes in Turkish policy started with 1946 multi-party election. Menderes established his party named as Democrat Party, and he promoted democracy. It is accepted that during the two decades, the administrators and not the people organized the reforms and revolutions. Therefore, people could not adopt themselves to these republican reforms or revolutions. Thus, it can be argued that an invisible struggle between the republic and the people was born. Especially, the periphery, who were people living in the rural of Turkey, felt itself out of these movements. Then they concentrated on their traditions more than before. In addition to these political or everyday life difficulties, the Second World War made the life conditions terrible even though Turkey did not go to war. The state had to take measures, however these measures made people unsatisfied, especially peasants had to pay such taxes that these conditions lowered their life standards. Each class of Turkey discussed the economy policy of RPP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- Republican People Party). People in cities or periphery suffered from famine, basic foodstuffs were not supplied.

After the WWII the world was more liberated. In other words, the conditions or politics of Turkey in these years should not be evaluated apart from the world conjecture. Under these conditions, Menderes began to talk about the problems of peasants who were majority of Turkey. He concentrated on the peasants and small-traders who were ignored or neglected by RPP until that time. He criticized İnönü and his government, and then he won the 1950 election. Almost everyone expected a more liberal and democratic atmosphere in Turkey. As much as many other issues, cinema was also affected by these political changes. 1950 election was accepted as the beginning part of the liberality; however, the negative results on the film industry became clear in time

(Özön, 2013: 153-206). It was thought that apolitical approach and theater dominance Turkish movie would be changed with 1950s so called democratic atmosphere. However, the result was a disappointment. Even though there were new and enthusiastic moviemakers, censors of DP affected movies negatively. Many movies were forbidden, writers were not willing to write movies and directors were afraid to be judged. Özön argues that there was no progress in movie industry. It can be said that the number of movies increased between 1950 and 1959; however, it does not mean that Turkish cinema developed (2013: 153-206). In 1948 the movie taxes decreased so making movies converted to an easier and cheaper business. Traders and enterprisers realized this quickly, opened offices in Yeşilcam street and began to make serial movies. It should be accepted that Turkish cinema developed in these years, but it could not improve its original movie tone. According to the authorities, movies in 1950s were better than 1930s and 1940s; however, they were not quality enough yet. The substructures, qualified stuff and stories were not satisfactory. Movies deprived of main concerns or knowledge were made in short time. According to Esen's notes, the movie industry converted to fast-food action producers or directors who were not volunteers to solve the lasting problems, rather they solved issues temporarily (Esen, 2010: 48-68). Thus, Turkish movie sector did not develop.

The effect of DP' so-called conservative discourses can be seen in the movies made in 1950s. In other words, the azan, minaret, Islamic memorial serves- *mevlit*-, cemetery, poor but good young women, on the contrary to the image of rich but bad people, naked terrible women, prostitutes, murders because of honor became key words and images of 1950s' movies. Even the names of the movies explain this situation. Menderes was trying to have good relations with America after the WWII. In order to keep the relations stable, he reorganized the economic and social policy of Turkey based on the American's demands. After the WWII, Turkey became America's grain store, thus Turkey almost gave industrial sector up focused on agriculture instead. In this project, the state encouraged the peasants; for instance, it supplied low- interested credit, and they sold tractors cheap and with per month payment plans. To access to the periphery easier for collecting the grain, DP built roads. Thanks to these wider road networks, movie industry could also penetrate into peripheries quickly. In addition, because of close relations with America and western states, Turkish cinema began to produce remakes of American movies.

The producers began to increase the audience's number after they found enough sources to make movies. They tried to draw the attention of the majority, thus easily understandable movies like melodramas and comedies were made. Directors and writers tried to satisfy their producers, producers tried to satisfy the governors as well. Therefore, it is concluded that the main target was not to make movies with the aesthetic or political concerns, rather both producers and directors tried to make more money the easy way. Aslı Daldal thinks the same thing, says that Turkish cinema in the 1950s did not have good faith; rather its main concern was to make more money. In addition, it tried to stay away from the politics (Daldal, 2005: 64). In this context, the azan frames for Muslim audiences, or naked dancing women frames for male audience were added. Moreover, romantic lovers for young women and funny details for children were added to movies (Esen, 2010: 63). It can be said that movies in this decade shows the DP's utopic demands from the people. In the movies, the poor and innocent boy becomes rich at the end of the movie; it is a representation of "there will be a millionaire in each town" discourse belonged to DP. It is interesting that, while DP advocated the conservatism and traditional values, it also supported western life style in everyday life. It should be pointed out that the movies made in 1950s were recorded in centers rather than peripheries and rich and good actors had their own cars. Places were not small houses, apartments were chosen. It can be argued that DP tried to show periphery to centers as beautiful places.

Limited number of directors or producers tried to break these rules, which was not easy. Firstly, their films were censored; then these names got into trouble with the state. Finally, they were threatened unofficially by official names. For instance, Lütfi Akad reports that in 1954, he decided to make *Ekilmemiş Topraklar*, however his producer warned to him not to make this movie, otherwise he could be called as communist. He had to give this movie up and made *Kara Talih* that is an ordinary melodrama (2010: 63).

Even though the real number is not known, it is estimated that 300 films were made each year throughout 1950s. In addition to local melodramas Turkey imported melodramas from Egypt. Thus the melodramas became the most effective movies of the cinema industry in Turkey. In 1951, *Dudaktan Kalbe* was made based on Reşad Nuri's novel, *İki Süngü Arasında* (1952) and *Bir Aşk Hikayesi* (1955) shows that small people

could be heroes like sultans. In addition to the melodramas, another significant kind of movie was historical movies in 1950s. DP supported these films directly because they presented the conservative side of the DP policy. III.Selim'in Gözdesi (1950), Lale Devri (1951), Yavuz Sultan Selim ve Yeniçeri Hasan (1951), İstanbul'un Fethi (1951), Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa (1951), Vatan ve Namık Kemal (1952), Ankara Expressi (1952), Cem Sultan (1951), Cinci Hoca (1953), Safiye Sultan (1954) were made in the beginning of the 1950s. Historical figures are shown in these movies, and the importance of Ottoman Empire was shown again. Ankara Expressi is a different kind of historical or heroic movie, in this movie Turkey supported Germany in the WWII. Nazis were shown as romantic heroes. It is seen that during 1950s different types of movies were made provided not be political movies. For instance, Kızıltuğ is also one of these different movies; in this movie Cengiz Khan and Hassan Sabah are shown. One more important character was also born; this is a masculine woman called Fosforlu Cevriye, who is significant because she changed the understanding of women and created a new kind of woman in Turkey (1959).

3.1. Korean War Movies

Movies were affected by the politics directly, for instance, the government decided to send troops to Korea in 1950. These soldiers stayed there for 3 years. This issue is related to the politics; Turkey felt alone after the WWII, during the Cold War years Turkey preferred to support America and wanted to be accepted in NATO. Thus they sent troops to Korea War; in 1951 the first movies were made about this adventure. Kore'de Türk Kahramanları (1951), Kore'de Türk Süngüsü were also made in the same year. In these movies the Korean War was described as a domestic war and soldiers who had to go there were shown to be volunteers. This demonstrates that even the republicans did not focus on movie issue, so the DP could release the importance and meaning of movies and it tried to take advantage of it immediately. Another western effect is about the new types of movies, for example Tarzan İstanbul'da and Drakula İstanbul'da are movies that were remakes of well-known serials in United States.

3.2. Periphery Movies During DP's Era

Contrary to the general belief movies during the DP's era did not focus on the village issues, if village were to be shown in the films they were used merely as backstage. There are a few number of films concentrating on the peasant life, for instance *Toprak* which was directed by Fikret Oytam in 1952. The topic is about the everyday life of the peasants in Aksaray. In this movie the audiences see the hierarchic order of the rural life, in other words, Rıza Çavuş was *ağa* and it is accepted by everyone without a discussion. He was rich and a good person according to the movie, he used to support and help his people in the village and everyone was happy. Peasants are engaged in farming, they are poor and this issue is presented clearly. In order to make more money the hero Ümme goes to the city and earns more money there. Women in the movies are not free agents, they are controlled by men and the struggle is common among female figures. There are some details in the film shown specifically, for instance Mustafa Kemal's picture is seen and Rıza Çavuş is so good he uses his money for the peasants and he pays for the circumcision of the poor children. The land reform issue is also mentioned in this movie. When Ümmü returns his town, the state gives land to him based on the land reform, so people in this movie are thankful to the government. The couple builds their house on this land, they have to go to centers in order to see a doctor, and the doctor is a good person too. In this movie, authorities whether they be government people or local leaders are good; state is also the best for people. Another film about the rural life is *Beyaz Mendil* made in 1955 by Lütfi Akad. This movie is more radical than the other one, the main reason is probably related to the perspective of directors; in this movie the main topic is about the hostility between the two villages. Actually *Beyaz Mendil* looks like a classic rural melodrama, the hierarchic order is also shown in this movie, however it is different from the previous one. The rich people in this movie are bad while the poor are good. Poor man loves poor woman, but the landowner- *ağa*- does not allow them to get married, so the struggle begins. The women are not the center, however it should be pointed out that the women look poor and miserable. Their cloths are very old, they veil themselves so it can be said that Kemalist reforms were not penetrated into the villages contrary to the republicans' efforts (Yılmaz, 2013:22-78). The director used the pine tree as a metaphor. Akad shows the patriarch order, peasantry, love, loyalty, and relatively feudal society. It is obvious that, even though this movie is different from the others, the main concern was not to

evaluate the system directly. Instead it shows the poor conditions of the peripheries with respect to the cities.

So far the films, which are suitable for DP's policies, have been analyzed and mentioned. However, Memduh Ün in 1959 made a different type of movie, *Üç Arkadaş*. It does not focus on rural life and criticize the government; rather it concentrates on the cities and ordinary small people in Istanbul. On the other hand, this movie is a criticism of city life. There are three friends who are poor and losers, one of them is a non-Muslim named Artin. It is interesting because during the 1950s, Non-Muslims were not shown in social life. In this movie the life concerns of these three friends and their efforts to help a blind woman are told. Moreover, the director criticizes the modern people and their selfishness, rudeness harshly. This movie looks like a melodrama; however, it has deeper perspective. On the other hand, this movie is the story of small people who have to change in cities because of the people's bad behaviors. When it comes to other details, the drinking and alcohol are normal even though DP advocates the religion codes. In addition to this, women are served as sexual object and men can harass women. *Üç Arkadaş* is one of the most significant and different movies of 1950s in terms of its perspective and topic. Even though it does not criticize the government or governors, it criticizes the whole system.

When these movies are analyzed it is seen that these are not suitable *for conservative Turkey* in 1950s. In other words, many of the films were inspired from western states; the main reason behind this is the DP's policy which tried to act *like a Little America*. While in the melodramas the cities and heroes, western life style was promoted, historical movies represented to peripheries' religion and nationalist emotions. Thus one can argue that DP was not coherent in its policy.

4. 1960s: The Enlightenment Years and Disappointments

The DP ruled Turkey for ten years; however, the military forces were not satisfied with not only their lower position but also the conservative approach of Turkey. Even though Adnan Menderes and DP tried to take measures in order to prevent any military coup d'état, they could not achieve this, and on 27th May the army took political control. At the end of the 1950s Turkey was polarized, some advocated the DP's capitalist

movements, while the other wings who were mostly more educated, intellectual and bourgeoisie living in the cities did not support the policy of DP and hated Menderes. The winner side was the bourgeoisie wing in the morning of 27th May. In 1961 the constitution was reorganized by the academics. It can be said that in the first half of the 1960s Turkey was reestablished. Intellectuals believed that Turkey would be enlightened shortly, actually the constitution supported freedom in society. The freedom atmosphere continued until 1965 election.

4.1. The First Half of The 1960s: The Rise of the Political Movies and Social Realism

When it comes to movie industry, this freedom atmosphere had been expected for a long time. The political movies could not be made because of the censorship applications of DP, so some talented directors or writers had to made melodramas or comedy film to survive. Thus these intellectuals were satisfied with the 27th May movement, the representation of it was released in the social life shortly. The Turkish cinema in 1960s can be separated into two parts, the period between 1960 and 1965 and the pressure times after the 1965 elections until 12 March in 1971. In the first half the social realism was dominance, while the second half it had to change. With the 27th May the young, ignored and new director generation became visible. These people tried to combine the Turkish movie with the western techniques. On the other hand, this generation brought together the national cinema with western inheritance (Daldal, 2005: 58). Soon after the 27th May, the movie magazines, newspapers and festivals increased in number. For example, Si-sa, Yeni Sinema, Sine-Film, Sinema 65 were established. Turkish movies were sent to festivals in Berlin, Edinburg, Locarno, and Moscow and films were awarded prizes. Most importantly, political directors were born in cinema. Movies made after 27th May showed the struggles, problems and dialectics in the society. Especially in the first half of the 1960s the modernization and its results were questioned; Daldal calls this period reality in the movies. There are two main reasons of this criticism; the first one is related to revolutionary perspective. In other saying directors and writers tried to reflect the social realities to their movies with revolutionary perspective different from before. Secondly, this generation wished to create a national cinema tone (2005:58). Daldal claims that this movement should not be read different from Yön Movement. (2005:59). It should be pointed out that the

changes in the social life did not reflect to cinema only, for instance, the literature changed too.

The official basic principles of 60s ideology were populism, secularism and statism. However, the populism was a little bit controversial, because industrial production was almost stopped in 1950s as the worker class did not evolve, so populism referred to peasantry in Turkey mostly. Intellectuals in 1960s, focused on the social realism. Vedat Türkali who was a member of Communist Party of Turkey, explains the meaning of 1961 constitution and the roles of intellectuals that “people could obtain some rights, however, they did not know the understanding of these rights. For example, union code is important. Turkish worker class did not fight for these rights as their western counterparts, thus moviemakers were very important to explain these codes; I have tried to accomplish this in my films; I have argued that we must protect our democratic rights.” (Türkali, 1985:201). These movies are *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* (1964) and *Otobüs Yolcuları* (1961). After the 1950s’ pressure years Lütfü Akad and Memduh Ün began to film the streets of Istanbul in order to reflect the realities. There are some significant films in 1960s; *Yılanların Öcü* (1962), *Susuz Yaz* (1963), *Suçlular Aramızda*(1964) which were made by Metin Erksan, Halit Refiğ made *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), *Haremde Dört Kadın*(1965), Duygu Sağıroğlu made *Bitmeyen Yol*(1965), and Ertem Göreç made *Otobüs Yolcuları* (1961) and *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*. The realism affected the romantic movies too, *Kırık Çandılar*, *Yasak Aşk*, *Seviştiğimiz Günler*, *Denize İnen Sokak*, *Son Kuşlar* and *Murtaza* were examples of these kind romantic films in 1960s. Directors and writers focused on worker and peasantry issue, however it does not mean that cities were ignored totally; *Acı Hayat*, (1962) *Suçlu* and *Üç Tekerlek* were made. This generation of producers criticized the feudality so *Şafak Bekçileri* ;(1963), *Murad’ın Türküsü* were made for this purpose. The most radical ones are; *Bozuk Düzen*, *Yarın Bizimdir* and *Kızgın Delikanlı* (1964). Turkish cinema followed the western one, Marx affected the directors and writers and they began questioning the system, this generation believed that capitalism made people alone in the crowds. Thus these names tried to show the negative side of the capitalism on individuals (Daldal, 2005: 60).

Daldal argues that there are some features of movies between 1960 and 1965; the directors were people who were disturbed by the pressure and censorship of DP at the

end of the 1950s, all these names were political agents. Their films serve their political approach. (2005: 62). In other words, it can be said that these directors felt responsible for the social life. In order to show their political attitude, they did not have to make political movies, they could imply their approach into the other kinds of films. However, it was obvious that these names were anti- capitalist and anti- bourgeoisie. Moreover, the films made between 1960 and 1965 focused on the small people's life on the contrary to the 1950s. Marginal heroes or sultans did not play role in these films; the characters were ordinary people. In the back stage, there was a social issue for examples; strikes, a code, migration from the peripheries to the cities.

27th May has been accepted as re-birth of republic and it has been argued that it is an anti- capitalist movement. However, the main purpose and position of the movement is a controversial topic, Çağlar Keyder and some other names argue that 27th May served to capitalism and brought Turkey to a more capitalist order while some of them claim that 27th May is a rejection of capitalism. It should be remembered that people who organized or supported the military coup have advocated the anti- capitalist side of the movement; in other words, this explanation may be a legitimization. Thus people should regard the world conditions in order to understand the 27th May's purpose better. When it comes to cinema industry, directors, writers and producers has believed that 27th May was an anti- capitalist movement, so they made films supporting the movements and they tried to enlighten the people.

As it has been mentioned, four names in this period are relatively more significant; Erksan, Refiğ, Göreç and Sağıroğlu. Although Refiğ and Erksan dealt with the politics in 1960s they avoided presenting their political approach to their films directly. (Daldal, 2005: 93). Göreç like Erksan and Refiğ, was not concerned about the language or aesthetic, his Marxist approach was felt in *Otobüs Yolcuları* and *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* both were written by Türkali. Sağıroğlu presented the capitalist exploitation in his films. These names and some others supported to 27th May intervention. Directors used social realism to show people living in the cities, while village was used in order to demonstrate migration from the rural to the urban. Apart from the migration issue these directors did not care about the village or reality of rural (2005: 95). In 1950s, bourgeoisie and intellectual hostility was common in the movies, but this situation

changed in 1960s; small traders were described, as they were worse people and were production of DP's mentality.

Gecelerin Ötesi (1960) that was made by Erksan tells the story of young losers in cities. He was inspired from Menderes's promise; *there will be millionaire in each town*. This movie's target is accusation of mentality of DP (Democrat Party). There are seven young people and they wish to change their life. All of these seven people in the movie are representation of the DP's people; two singers who want to go to America, a worker, a theatre player, a painter and a driver begin robbery. The conditions of factory and child labor are shown. Erksan advocates that the conditions are so difficult that they do not have any chance instead of robbery. After the first robbery, all of them volunteer for the next one. The film criticized the DP's unfairness, in the third robbery they get in trouble and even though they are regretful they cannot escape justice. Another significant movie of Erksan is *Yılanların Öcü* (1962) based on Fakir Bayburt's novel. It is important because it is one of the limited peasantry films of Turkey between 1960 and 1965. It reflects the struggles in rural life, women are very strong and dominant figures and the property issue is discussed in the movie. It is significant because unlike the previous village movies, it does not focus on love or drama; rather it represents the reality of the village life. Another significant point in this movie is about the image of authorities. Erksan insulted the chosen *muhtar* the local authority, he implies that *muhtar* represents the DP's mentality while the soldiers and district governor, *kaymakam* are presented as respectful people. It is also interesting that, even though this film promoted the 61 constitution and the military coup, it was censored (Daldal, 2005: 100). The film was shown with the special permit of Cemal Gürsel (1895-1966) who was army officer and fourth president of Turkish Republic. Another corner stone is *Acı Hayat* that is a melodrama; however, it gives social messages, Erksan made it in 1963. Young lovers were poor and they have a break down because of the social injustice. In other words, individual issues converted to collective problems. Erksan uses renting house issue both as a metaphor and real case. The rents are so high that the couple cannot find a house, so they do not get marry. Like *Yılanların Öcü*, Erksan focuses on the property problem in city unlike previous ones. Another peasantry movie is *Susuz Yaz* made in 1963. The main topic in the film is about the property again. Osman (Erol Taş) does not want to share his water with his neighbors in the same village, and then the struggle begins. Erksan used Osman as a symbol of DP, he is selfish and

competitive men. Aegean accent in the film may be the direct criticism of Menderes. The film presents bourgeoisie's abuse of property. Moreover, Scognamillo argues that, Erksan tried to show the necessity of organizational actions in social movements. (Scognamillo, 1988: 69). In the next year, Erksan came back to city life again; he made *Suçlular Aramızda*. He criticized the bourgeoisie and their weaknesses again. When it is compared with Osman in *Susuz Yaz*, it can be said that Mumtaz in this film is a more dangerous man. Erksan focuses on the differences between the classes in Istanbul. (Esen, 2010: 121). Even though the film is questioned because of its technique, its political message is clear. Another significant name in this period is Halit Refiğ, he made *Şehirdeki Yabancı* in 1963. Refiğ criticizes the intellectuals' life and their mentality. In this movie a young man educated in Britain returns his hometown Zonguldak, however he cannot adopt himself to Turkey and in the movie these struggles are shown. In this movie the director shows the meaning and importance of cooperation between workers and intellectuals. While at the beginning the young engineer is protecting workers, at the end of the movie workers save his life. As it has been mentioned before, between 1960 and 1965 the peripheries were rarely the focus, however the migration from the peripheries to cities were mentioned frequently. *Gurbet Kuşları* made by Refiğ in 1964 is an example of this serial. In this movie the director focused on an immigrated family from Maraş to İstanbul. The migration mentality and policy of DP are questioned, and these immigrants are described as barbarians who damage the cities. This family has to lose because they do not want to work, on the contrary they just wish to consume. The result of the film is controversial in terms of DP' criticism, because followers of DP could find a way to stay in the cities in reality, however this family in the movie leaves the city at the end of the movie. These returns might be wish of the intellectuals. Refiğ legitimized the 27th May movement with *Haremde Dört Kadın* in 1965. He dated it back to Tanzimat Edict, and he implied that 27th May is the next step of 1908. In this movie, the Ottoman sympathy of DP was criticized and insulted. However, it is interesting that this movie was shown after 1965 elections which AP (Justice Party) won. The negative perspective of the film was ignored and people appreciated it in terms of its Ottoman story (Daldal, 2005: 109).

Ertem Göreç made films that were written by Türkali; *Otobüs Yolcuları* and *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* are milestones of his movies. In *Otobüs Yolcuları* workers, students, drivers are seen together. In other words, it can be said that this movie presents the utopic

combination of leftist intelligence like *Şehirdeki Yabancı* (1962). Ertem Göreç focuses on the different classes and their relationships among themselves. DP is represented, as contactors who wish to make more money so they do not take measures for the construction. This struggle is seen between the contactor and the architecture, it is a fight between the illiterate and intellectual one. It is interesting that the abusing of religion by DP is also seen.¹ The perspective of Refiğ and Ergenç is different from each other; while Refiğ thought that the army should intervene in the political movements, Göreç and Türkali believed that people could solve the political struggles by themselves. Workers played significant role in another movie of Göreç, *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* in 1965. According to Daldal this movie rejects the rules of Yeşilçam and presents itself as a radical revolutionary movie. This film focuses on the period of enlightening of workers, this movie was supported by TİP (Turkish Worker's Party) and the leading names of the party praised the movie, for instance Mehmet Ali Aybar and Behice Boran published papers complimenting the movie (2005: 112). In addition to the workers' position, this movie is different from the previous ones in terms of showing the differences between the trade bourgeois and the industry bourgeois. While the film advocates the industrial sector, it insulted traders. Therefore, the movie converts a propaganda that supports the industrial developments. (2005: 113). Sağiroğlu approaches immigration issue from a different perspective; he focuses on the everyday concerns of a poor family living in slums of city in *Bitmeyen Yol* in 1965. The hero is a woman and she has two daughters; one is a worker of a factory, hard-working and a good person while the other one is opposite of her. On the contrary, in *Gurbet Kuşları* the poor loses the war because of the difficulties of the city. Contrary to Refiğ, Sağiroğlu accused the bourgeois because of exploiting the poor. He used materialist tone; the effects of the structures on people are shown clearly. The religion and its effects on people are also shown again and again. *Bitmeyen Yol* is the last political movie of the first half of the 1960s.

4.2. The Second Half of The 1960s: The Rise of the Pressure and Violence Against the Leftists

This leftist, progressive and intellectual period ended with the election of 1965. The result of this election made clear the discussion about the aim of 27th May, it made

¹ --I do not know how this building stays up?!
--with pray.

Turkey more capitalist. The winner of this election was Adalet Partisi inheritor of DP. The landowner Menderes was replaced with more modern Süleyman Demirel. The voters of AP were not different from DP, landowners, small traders, and immigrants. The industry bourgeoisie cooperated with AP, and put distance between itself and intelligence. In 1966 the fighting against the leftist began, thus this issue reflected on the movie sector too. Daldal argues that many movies had to be postponed or canceled after the election (Daldal, 2005: 119). The producers developed close relations with AP and they did not want to be damaged, the censorship was felt more than before; for instance, *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* was censored because of its religion criticism. It can be said that with 1965 the social reality in movies did not continue. Daldal calls this situation as a return to Yeşilçam or trade films (2005: 120). Directors and producers had two choices; the first one is they had to accept the defeat and give up making movies; second one is that in order to survive they must have made ordinary movies. However, some directors created an alternative way; they began to make national movies. They focused on the national values and items in the films, and show the differences between the Turkish cinema and the western ones. Akad made *Hudutların Kanunu*, which was written by Yılmaz Güney, in 1966. This movie is an example of national movie wing; the topic was the struggle between the peasants and the state. The feudality issue entered to movies like 1950s, *Hıdır* (Yılmaz Güney) is a smuggler in the border of Urfa. The survivor story of *Hıdır* was told in the movie, a young female teacher and gendarmerie are seen in this struggle. The next year another national issue was examined by Akad; the blood revenge in *Ana*. This time *Hıdır* was replaced with *Döndü* who is a stronger woman and fights against his husband's enemies in order to protect her children. Kozanoğlu focuses on the local issues again, Atıf Yılmaz made it in 1967, Yılmaz Güney was a naive boy who is hanged by the state at the end of the movie. However, the national movies were paused in 1971. The Marxist directors and writers began to read about the Asiatic model of production. For instance, Kemal Tahir wrote *Devlet Ana* and it affected the young Marxists in Turkey (Daldal, 2005: 122). Apart from these some significant and different movies during the second half of the 1960s were melodramas, comedies and western remakes.

The name of the movies reflected the mentality and policy of AP as well as DP did in 1950s; *Hak Yolunda*, *Cennet Fedailer*, *Hazreti Eyüb'ün Sabrı*, *Hazreti Yusuf'un Hayatı*, *Veysel Garani*, *Yahya Peygamber* were made in 1965. In the next year

Malkoçoğu was made, Memduh Ün returned western remakes; James Bond's remake Altın Çocuk was made, and classic melodramas started again. The most radical names of 1960s did not make sufficient movies, rather they made films to earn money; for example, Sağıroğlu made a film about love called as Nuh'un Gemisi. However, Yılmaz Güney began to star in movies in these years. Apart from some significant films like Kuyu and Yiğit the movies were remakes of western movies like Ringo Kit (Cüneyt Arkın), Dehşet Yaratan Adam, İstanbul Dehşet İçinde (1966), Yakut Gözlü Kedi (1961). When it comes to 1968 the general topics and approach did not change; same movies were made for a second and a third time. It should be pointed out that we cannot talk about political movies in the second half of the 1960s. The directors had to make melodramas or love stories, this obligatory changed the mood and style of melodramas, for instance Akad made Vesikalı Yarım in 1966. This is one of the most valued films of Turkish melodramas; it was a love story between a married man and a loser woman.

5. 1970s: To Resist Violence

It can be said that with the 1965 election the conditions were returned to that of the 1950s, the intelligence lost its powerful position and the small traders and peasants took their position again. However, the success of election did not reflect to the everyday life; the economy was terrible, workers became more militant, and DİSK (Devrimci İşçi Partisi- Revolutionist Worker's Part) was established in that time. University students were aggressive and they used to protest AP's policies based on United States' politics. The fights against university students began and it was an armed struggle. Ahmad reports that after 1966 the movements were radical; the government attacked the left wingers (Ahmad, 2007: 250). Intellectuals, writers and artisans were harassed by the official powers. Even though the AP tried to suppress the rebellions it was unsuccessful; the political struggles entered the universities, factories and finally the streets. In the second half of the 1960s the political murders and student movements became normal issues. As a result, it was understood that the AP government could not overcome these issues, and it is said that another military coup was expected. This struggle was so radical that Behice Boran who was the first women leader of a political party, and was leader of TIP could not talk in the parliament; she was accused of being a communist (2007: 205-255). The students were affected by '68- generation in Paris and they fought

against the western imperialism. While the right wing people's discourses involved anti-imperial promises, their imperialism referred to Russian imperialism which was not strong in these years. Demirel who was ninth president of Turkey said that the main reason of this polarization was the 61 constitution and large rights (2007: 254). The conditions did not change as the result of 1969 election, AP was the winning party, however, it had lost its power and the economy was still worse. The students and worker' movements, illegal actions like murder and robbery caused a chaotic atmosphere. As a result, in 12 March 1971 the government was forced to resignation. The government was accused of being the reason of violence in Turkey (2007: 261). The main purpose of this intervention was not understood at the beginning, the intellectuals who were tortured by the government and followers of it expected a leftist coup, however they were disappointed. The left wing of the politics was censored, and the tortures continued by the military powers (Ahmad, 2007: 265). The leftist journalists were arrested, the newspapers were shot down (Ahmad, 2007: 361). Members of TIP, Fakir Bayburt, Yaşar Kemal, Tarık Zafer Tunaya were detained. All rights given by 1961 constitution were taken back, authoritarians continued until 1973. Actually the election did not change the conditions, Bülent Ecevit took the control of RPP but he cooperated with Necmettin Erbakan who was leader of conservative side of Turkey, in 1974. Then short-lived governments, like the national front government were established (Milliyetçi Cephe Hükümetleri). When it comes to 1976 both political and economic conditions got worse, long-lived government was expecting; but the polarization became clearer. RPP, Ecevit won 1977 election but the government was not established, rather the Second National Front was established. It did not mean that all issues were solved contrary to the number of murders increased. These political and economic problems caused another military coup in 1980s.

When it comes to movies in 1970s, it can be said that as much as being politic, the movies were also radical. The directors who wished to make radical movies were not afraid of the punishments. They did not feel safe after the 1971 intervention thus made them more bravely. The name marked on 1970s is Yılmaz Güney. On the other hand, second dominance movies were sex movies. As it is figured out there were two main film kinds that were dominant in the 70s; but what happened to the many other forms like melodramas, comedies and western remakes? It can be said that the economic difficulties in 1970s affected movie industry negatively; people did not prefer to go to

the cinemas. It was expensive and it can be thought that people might not feel themselves safe in dark cinema halls in 1970s when the violence was so common in the streets. In addition to these, televisions became widespread. The loyal audiences of movies were children and women preferred to watch the TV in their homes or their neighbors' homes.

The censorship rules of the constitution were flexible, so political moviemakers could make their films. It is claimed that movies of Yılmaz Güney was a continuity of the social realism movement between 1960 and 1965. The films were radical, however it should be remembered that the military coups in 1960 and 1971 caused auto censorship in the subconscious of the authorities. The political names censored themselves at the same time they could avoid the censorship. However, the main issue in these so-called conservative times should be how were so many sex movies made? Why did conservative and nationalist people ignore these movies? (Esen, 2010: 136). Esen argues that the producers of the sex movies might have found alternative ways like political movie directors, or she thinks that these movies should have been made after they gained permission (2010: 137). When it comes to ignorance of the conservative governments, it can be assumed that the government might have wished to keep these young people silent.

5.1. Çirkin Kral's Effects on Turkish Movie

The movies of Yılmaz Güney are social realism productions, at the same time they are national movies. He starred in Yılmaz's movies in 1958, and in 1960s he became *Çirkin Kral* the Ugly King, but then was arrested in 1961 because of being communist. He became a silent hero in *Eşkiya Koçero* (1964) and *On Korkusuz Adam* (1964). Yılmaz Güney created a determined character in different movies, even though the topics are different his character is the same; a young, loser Anatolian men, he mostly loses the wars or struggles, however Sağıroğlu shows us another Güney in *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım*. In 1970 he wrote *Umut* and it has become one of the cornerstones of Turkish cinema. Cabbar is a poor man trying to survive, he loses his horse and has to find a new way to earn money; and then he joins his friends and begins to look for treasure in Anatolia. The difficulties of this adventure are shown to audience in detailed; at the end of the

movie he loses his mental order. In the next year he made *Yarın Son Gündür*. This movie is not received positively; however, it is very important and valuable for Turkish love stories. In the classic melodramas lovers forget the realities and they focus only on their love. However, in this film, the realities of everyday life continue and the lovers *Kara Çocuk* (Yılmaz Güney) and *Mavi Çocuk* (Fatma Girik) try to combine their life and love. These couple returns Turkey after exile, and they try remembering the small details; for instance, they ask basic historical questions to each other. This movie has been ignored because of not being political; nevertheless, it pictures a socialist woman and man's emotional relation. In addition to this romantic socialist movie, Güney filmed *Acı* and *Baba* in this year, these movies tell the urbanized people's concerns. *Acı* is the story of *Çiçek Ali* who is arrested for fifteen years. Ali shows the complicated emotions in peripheries, the good characters in the film die. *Baba* is an example of urbanized gangster movie, Cemal wishes to go to Germany in order to work, but he cannot. He has to go to jail, when he is in prison his family breaks down. The movie tells this family's story. In 1972 Güney was arrested again, he could make *Arkadaş* two years later, and then he returned to jail. When *Arkadaş* is compared with the other Güney's movies, it can be said that it is different from them. It focuses on the different classes of urban life, Cemil and Azem are close friends but they are different people. The movie can be read as a basic bourgeoisie criticism. The love between Azem and Melike is also different from the classic melodramas. In 1974 Güney began to make *Endişe*; however, he could not finish it and Şerif Gönen completed it. This movie tells the story of workers in *Çukurova*. In 1978 Güney wrote *Sürü* and Zeki Öktem made it. In the movie *Şivan* (Tarık Akan) is a peasant, forced by a local blood feud to sell his sheep in faraway Ankara. The women's poor conditions are also shown in this movie. The collapsing of feudality in Anatolia and the rising of capitalism in cities are explained in the movie well.

5.2. First Local Comedy Actor

Another significant name in Turkish cinema in the 1970s is Kemal Sunal. He had starred in romantic comedies firstly, and then Ertem Eğilmez put him at the center of the movies, and like Güney, Sunal created a determined character. Even though the stories are different the main hero is the same. Sunal is important for Turkish cinema

because he is the first original character in Turkish cinema in a time when western remakes were common. In 1974 he became a hero in *Salako*, this movie focuses on the periphery and directed by Atıf Yılmaz. *Salako* is a goofy and naïve character. *Salak Milyoner* (1974) criticizes the DP' s mentality, in this movie the adventure of four brothers who migrated to Istanbul from Kayseri and their crafty plans are told. *Kapıcılar Kralı* was made in 1976. It tells the story of Seyid who migrated from periphery to İstanbul. The relations between him and various urbanized people in the apartment are shown, the migration mentality and urban life style are criticized harshly. Other movies like it, *Çöpçüler Kralı* (1978) and *Bekçiler Kralı* (1979) examine the urban life among the small people. *Kibar Feyzo* (1978) is a very significant movie because it can be said that this film is one of the most political films of Turkish cinema. The feudality, local leaders, and patriarch are discussed, additionally, the city life and bourgeoisie life style are also questioned. It can be said that many of Kemal Sunal's movies are political and radical, but producers and directors are clever enough to hide these dangerous features. Thus they used a comical character who is naïve and pure so he cannot have a political approach. In addition, these political movies were presented only as comedies thus producers and actors could earn money. It can be said that Sunal and his 'funny' movies are the cleverest alternative of producers in 1970s and 1980s.

5.3. The Return of Muslim and Nationalist Heroes

In addition to these serials, historical movies were made mostly. They did not have radical politic messages, rather they served DP' conservative policy. Followers of AP in 1970s used to watch sex movies, additionally, this *nationalist and religionist* generation were interested in historical movies. There are two important names in these serials; Cüneyt Arkın and Kartal Tibet. Arkın starred in *Battal Gazi* and *Malkoçoğlu* serials; these films represent the religious feelings and nationalist side of people living in 1970. It is interesting that the enemy is Byzantine Empire in this movies, while young and beautiful Byzantium Princess falls into love with Turk, her father is a terrible man. This beautiful and good princess does not like her father and she helps *Malkoçoğlu* or *Battal* then she becomes Muslim and marries with the handsome and powerful Turk. The main reason of this attempt might be the relations between Greece and Turkey; in 1974 the Cyprus and continental shelf issues drew the attention to Byzantium Empire. It can be

said that when Turkey felt alone because of these political issue, it satisfied itself with this kinds of fictions. When it comes to Tarkan series that is based on comics, it can be argued that these serial was made in order to satisfy the nationalist wing. Tarkan was not Muslim and refers to radical nationalists violence in the street during 1970s.

5.4. Germany Adventure

Turkey began to send workers to Germany in 1961. These people believed that they would return to their hometowns, but they would not. Instead of returning they invited their relatives and friends to Germany. However, this migration mood is very difficult for workers, many of them migrated to Germany from peripheries, thus they had certain adaptation problems in each generation. Even today the issue of migration to Germany has been studied by social scientists. The difficulties of Germany were realized at the end of the 1960s, when the first generation settled down. This social issue reflected on cinema too, in 1969 *Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim* was made, it can be said that this film is different from others in terms of its topic. It is about a German woman who comes to Turkey to find his child's father. The film focuses on this woman's story in Turkey. Another movie about Germany is *Dönüş*, which was made by Türkan Şoray in 1972. It is about a woman who waits her husband who went to Germany to make more money. However, the woman has to fight against the landowner's disturbing advances. Another movie is *El Kapısı* made in 1975. This movie shows Germany as the only way to make money, Elvan (Hülya Koçyiğit) has to go to Germany to make money because her husband needs to be operated, however in Germany she has to become a singer. While the film shows the difficulties in Germany at the same time it touches on the family issue and patriarch structure of Turkey. Thus it also is a production of social realism emerged in 1960s. In 1979 *Almanya Acı Vatan* was filmed. In this movie, the relations in peripheries and the perspective of people to Germany are told in detail. The Germany issue is still a contemporary topic.

6. 12th September of 1980: Never Be the Same Again

When long standing government could not be established until 12 September 1980 the military took control again. The military wing advocates that the main reason of this

intervention was to stop the murders, robberies and chaotic atmosphere. Moreover, the financial conditions were also terrible. In addition, the Persian Islamic Revolution in 1979 is also critical, because this unexpected political issue made Turkey more important for Middle East policy. The army declared that Turkey was still a member of NATO; this demonstrates the main reasons and motivations of the intervention. The constitution was reorganized in 1982. The fights against the left side became stricter; some argued that thanks to 12th September the violence in the streets came to an end. The main reason of this issue is that the state kept people under its control and tortured and killed them itself. It can be said that 12th September affected the next 30 years and may be more. It was believed that new generation born after the 12th September was called apolitical, did not care about politics, economy or other significant details. In order to break down this bias people had to wait for June 2013.

When it comes to film sector, Scognamillo argues that after the coup d'état Turkish cinema was damaged again. The number of movies decreased and topics of movies changed dramatically. Sex movies were censored; arabesque singer' movies were made instead. For instance, Orhan Gencebay starred in *Ben Topraktan Bir Canım*, *Kır Gönülünün Zincirini* and *Yarabbim*, İbrahim Tatlıses in *Ayrılık Kolay Değil* and *Çile*, Ferdi Tayfur in *Boynu Bükük*, *Durdurun Dünyayı* and *Huzurum Kalmadı*, Müslüm Gürses in *Bağrıyanık* and *Kul Sevdası* in the 1980s. There is a relationship between slums and arabesque culture. The migration from the peripheries to the cities began in 1950s with DP's policy. After this time, migration never stops; people began to come to İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara and some other big cities and settled down here. These people lived in *gecekondu*, slum house quarters, slums. When the election times come these people and their votes became significant and valuable for politicians and they made promises about social necessities like water, electric and road. Before 1980 intervention, these slums were centers of leftist side, *castle of the left*, because these people became workers in factories which were political areas throughout 1970s. However, 12th September changed this too, after the military intervention no one could talk about the politics in the streets, factories or universities. Then the political approach of these slums disappeared. Another culture was born in these places; arabesque. These people were poor, uneducated and actually tried to protect their traditional values in cities. Therefore, an arabesque culture was born and accepted in a short time; people supported and followed the arabesque singers who looked unhappy mostly. These

names became important figures in everyday life, people began to listen and watch them. The clever producers realized this situation quickly. Thus singers became new cinema artists. Moreover, this immigrant issue was also reflected in cinema, Züğürt Ağa, Fidan, En Büyük Şaban were made in 1980s.

Yılmaz Güney kept writing in jail and Yol (1982), Duvar (1983) were made. These movies are valuable films and milestones of Turkish cinema in the world conjecture. In the first half of the 1980s women issue was mentioned. The main reason of this most probably is related with the politics. Before 1980 coup d'état the leftist intellectuals expected a revolution, which involved many social issues like women issue. However, with the morning of 12th September these plans were destroyed, then women issue had to stay alone and evolved by itself. Herhangi Bir Kadın (1981), Bir Yudum Sevgi (1984), Dağınık Yatak (1984), Çocuklarımı Kim Sevecek (1983), Dur Bir Kadın, (1984), Adı Vasviye (1984), Gülüşan (1984), 14 Numara (1984), Alev Alev (1986), Teyzem (1987) were made. Sexuality of women was the topic of these movies; sexual life of women was seen in the first time in Turkish cinema apart from the sex movies. Women issue was analyzed deeply; women in 1980s became free agents in the movies and at the same time they converted to *hunt*. Refiğ approached this woman issue from a different perspective and made Beyaz Ölüm (1983) which focused on the drugs and prostitution issue. Other movies about the same topic were Haram (1983), Damga (1984), Nefret (1984) and Telekızlar (1985). Moreover, the directors returned to novels; Anayurt Oteli (1987) written by Yusuf Atılgan was filmed by Ömer Kavur, Fatmagün'ün Suçu Ne? (1986) written by Türkali was filmed. Muhsin Bey (1987), At, Ah Güzel İstanbul (1981), Hakkari'de Bir Mevsim were made in the first half of the 1980s, however Hakkari'de Bir Mevsim(1988) was censored for five years in Turkey. New types of comedy serials were made, for example Şekerpare and Gırgıriye. In Gırgıriye serials Romans are analyzed and their everyday life is served as funny events. The Roman or minority effect of Turkish movies in 1980s can be read as parallel to the Kurdish issue. Romans in these movies are presented as they were very happy and were not subjected to any discrimination, in other words Romans were also minorities of Turkey but they do not fight against the state in the movies. Minorities can live freely and the cause of the struggle between Kurds and the state was Kurds.

Conclusion

As it has been mentioned, like many other branches cinema cannot be considered separately from politics. From the beginning of the Turkish Republic cinema has been a controversial topic even though the republic did not focus on it more. After the WWII it was accepted that in order to solve the domestic problems multi-party regime was necessary, everyone demanded this. However, when Menderes was chosen for a third time these expectations were damaged; the DP used regional discourses and at the same time they followed the commands of USA. The conservative and western imitation approaches of DP could be followed by the movies made in 1950s, in addition as it has been mentioned above during 1950s many different cinema types were born. After the tax decrease in 1948 the cinema sector converted to serial industry, unfortunately it can be discussed that the tax reduction did not develop Turkish cinema.

The intellectual wing of Turkey was disturbed because of DP's politics, moreover a tradition returned: the army took the political control in 12th March 1971. Even though the 1961 Constitution is progressive one, it was forced by above, and then people might have remembered the first decades of RPP. Thus, in 1965 election the conservative side won again and the leftist people felt under pressure. All these developments reflected to cinema, they determined, affected and changed the movie' types. As parallel to politics, there were many successful movies at the beginning of 1960s. The directors who could not make what they wished in 1950s, made their masterpieces. However, this atmosphere collapsed with 1965 election and the pressure days came back. Comparing with the first five years of 1960, the second half of it was not successful in terms of cinema as well as politics and economy. When it comes to 1970s, there were three main categories in movie industry; the first one is national movies which consisted of mostly Yılmaz Güney's films, secondly sex movies, even though the governments were conservative. During the two national front governments there were no reduction on sex movies, it can be suggested that the governments ignored these movies consciously. The politics did not evolve and long-standing governments could not be established, moreover the violence increased in the country. There are many discussions about the relationship with these violent events and the coup d'état of 1980; however, they were not mentioned in this paper. When it comes to 1980, it can be said that social life changed dramatically, as much as politics. For instance, sex movies were censored,

political movies were not allowed to be shown, moreover another life style was born; arabesque. The effects of arabesque continued until the second half of the 1980s. As it has been mentioned before the Turkish movie walked another way after 1986.

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