

GENÇ PARTİ'S POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN THE CONTEXT OF 'SPECTACLE SOCIETY'

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Introduction

According to Alvin Toffler, social life's evolution have had three waves. Firstly agricultural wave has been lived, after industrial society has been lived, currently informational wave is lived. Manuell Castells says that, in information society, medical, entertainment, education and media sectors gain more money than industrial sectors. Media is a great power also about money and politics.

Star newspaper is owned by Uzan Group, GP's chairman Cem Uzan who is one of the share holder of Uzan Group. Star used a nationalist discourse in 2002 general election campaign which is against EU and IMF. Government has been permanently warned by Star because of Kurdish autonom district which is placed in Northern Iraq. C.Uzan has been announced the young leader who was the survivor of Turkey by Star. Star has called AKP and CHP as defenders of IMF, USA and EU, also has said that "both of them are not different from each other". On this point, GP's differency has been tried to present by Star. Star has not applicated a special edition for EU adaption codes, but has criticized A.Öcalan's escaping from death penalty, and also has criticized using of Kurdish as teaching and broadcasting language. Star has also criticized all the decions which were related with EU adaption process.

GP has used a discourse which has been against IMF and EU by its own media, the other media which were on the axis of 'National Left' and 'Nationalist Right' can not be effective. Especially the governmental parties have had a persuasion problem. The differency of GP's situation has been

resourced why it's the political party which has been participated first time to the general elections and has been different from traditional parties, also it has applied political propaganda with it's own media. Star is the great media group which owns TV channels, radio channels, and newspaper, has formed public opinion with GP's agenda. Star group has announced social and economic problems with nationalist discourse and also has been an important advantage for GP. Only Star groups' media channels has been accepted to the GP's political meetings, GP's chairman C.Uzan has not placed on the other media channels, has not been asked critical questions, his image has been presented which has been made by his own media group. C.Uzan has applicated his political propaganda in his private political sphere which has been formed by Star group. This propaganda form reminds Guy Debord's 'spectacle society' theory. (Debord 1994:381-434) According to 'spectacle society' theory there is no content in 'spectacle society'. Spectacle includes a meaning which is opposite of dialogue. Spectacle has only monologue and image. C.Uzan's monologues were repeated permanently like propaganda's repeating rule, before elections in 147 political meetings same texts and slogans were used. Society was crystallized as 'we' and 'others', this crystallization has importancy for 'spectacle society' and nationalist discourse. (Schmitt; 1996:27) Star's edition policy has presented with monologue which is signed in Debord's 'spectacle society' theory. It has not placed the other political parties' discourses. In this context, according to Turan and Çapan Star can be called as a propaganda brochure of GP. (Turan ve Çapan; 2003:101-118) GP, has used a popular nationalist discourse which has not been doctrinal; (Özkanlı; 2002:706-717) announced 'nationalism', 'Kemalism', 'conservatism' elements without ideologic integrity. (Bora 2002:60)

Analyze of Star Newspaper

C.Kantarç who is also candidate to Turkey Grand National Assembly from zmir for GP, currently is article writer in Star. He has used an aggressive discourse to the other parties. C.Kantarç said, "IMF is like Düyun-u Umumiye which has Ottoman Empire's public assets." (October 4, 2002; 5)

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C.Kantarço has renamed K.Derviş as Derwish. K.Derviş has been minister for treasury in Ecevit's cabinet. He has been vice chairman of World Bank before cabinet membership, he has been presented as American guy by Star. He has resigned from cabinet before elections and has become candidate from CHP in the general elections.

Star has announced C.Uzan's speech as "we will spill invader IMF to the sea". (October 20, 2002; 1) According to Star, C.Uzan is like M.Kemal Atatürk, he is an hero, he has yellow hair looks like Atatürk and also blue eyes.

Star has individualized IMF and has started virtual debate with it. "Ey IMF, who are you, how can you ignore Turkish farmers" (October 22, 2002; 1)

Star has formed IMF an enemy for Turkey and has used "IMF or Turkey." (October 30, 2002;1) As a choice for independency.

For instance in October 21 date, "Here is IMF's cruelty" head has explained, IMF reconstruction program became Turkish farmers poorer.

Star has condemned IMF and prayed to God as, "Hopefully you go but not turn back" (October 17, 2002; 1)

In this context November 4 date which is after November 3 elections were commented as September 9 date which has been the victory day for National Liberation War. (October 29, 2002;5)

Star has oftenly has criticized AKP and CHP. It has announced both of them have agreed IMF and EU's conditions.

Star has used popular nationalism, it has announced GP as an independent party; as Star's opinion C.Uzan has been a successful handsome businessman.

Conclusion

C.Uzan has been presented in an private sphere why only Star group's media channels has been accepted GP's political meetings. C.Uzan has not been in the

other media channels' programs. He has repeatedly been broadcasted in his own TV channels, radio channels and newspaper. Only he has talked. As it is known, spectacle is opposite of the dialogue. Not only C.Uzan but also the other political parties' leaders especially AKP and CHP have used spectacle society's methods. Their leaders made their speeches on the platforms instead of daises. They haven't used ties, have preferred sport wears. CHP's chairman has tried to present himself as a young grandfather, AKP's chairman has presented himself as 'Kasımpafla' which means in Turkey charismatic macho man. According to Brian Mc Nair, currently in political life is not important what politicians have said, but important point is how they have said.

C.Uzan has repeated his messages in 147 political meetings before the elections. He has read his speeches from the prompter. Approximately his speeches has taken 20 minutes and have been standardized. GP has not a particular ideology. It has used a popular nationalist discourse against IMF and EU. His main slogan has been "You can't stop it, Turkey is coming" C.Uzan's talking style is aggressive. He has wanted people in political meetings to repeat his slogans. In every meeting national anthem has been singed with audiences. GP's flag is like Turkish flag. GP has tried to present itself, it has not a particular ideology. Star group has not preferred 'right' or 'left' terms. In nationalist discourse, 'clean ideologies' are not in any political side. 'Clean ideologies' belong to nation. C.Uzan, has preferred 'white shirt' and always shirt has been wet. It means, he has been tired for nation. (He has been tried to present as perspirated) C.Uzan's sign is positioned in GP's logo. GP is individualized by C.Uzan. GP is like an Uzan group's firm.

GP and C.Uzan is the typical sample of spectacle society theory. GP and C.Uzan's image has been created by media and advisors. In 2002 general elections campaign, aggressive, emotional and popular nationalist discourse has been used by Star media group for GP. C.Uzan has gained an untouchability in his private political sphere with his own media. Every behaviour has been planned for

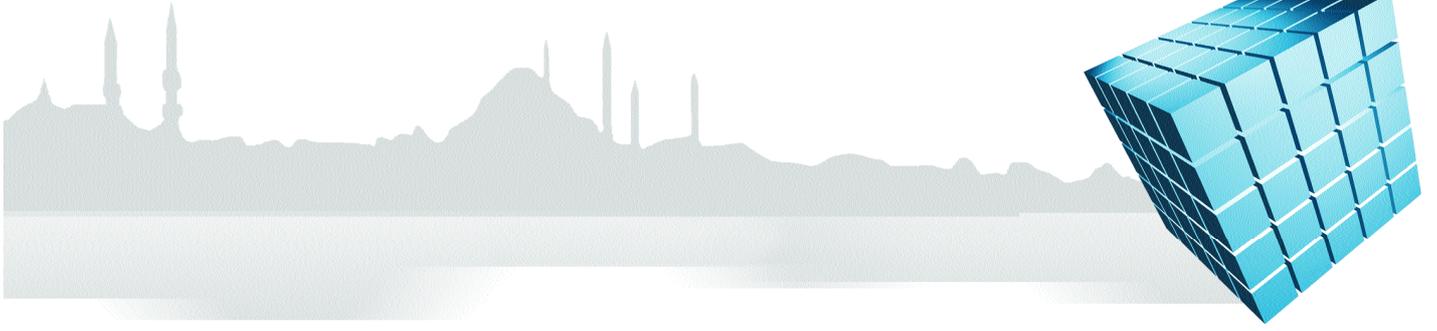


image. As a matter of fact, spectacle society theory is not valid for only GP, but why everybody's attention were to GP, it has been a new party and haven't had a particular ideology or traditional political action. Currently in spectacle society theory, form has become more important than content. Political campaigns are like shows. Political parties' programs are not discussed. Politics have turned a show business. Money and shows determine political campaigns. Voters have turned audiences in politics. There is only monologue. Audiences are fascinated in political campaigns. Political participation lose its' position why political sphere has become an imaginal and fascinated area, it has untouchability. Only rich or handsome or beautiful persons can be accepted in this fascinated place. Communication methods must be used with political contents and political sphere must be open to everybody as Habermas has said.

After November 3 elections AKP has won the elections. GP has gained 7.5% votes. After June 2003, Uzan's companies has been accused about financial corruption. C.Uzan's father and brother are wanted by Interpol. In these days C.Uzan has been presented by Brave Hard's film music on the Star TV. GP has used "For this republic" slogan. GP tries to show AKP is against to secular democratic republic. And Star also accuses CHP, for not to be an real opposition party and work with another media group which is competitor of Star group. GP's performance is wondered in March 2004 local general elections.

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