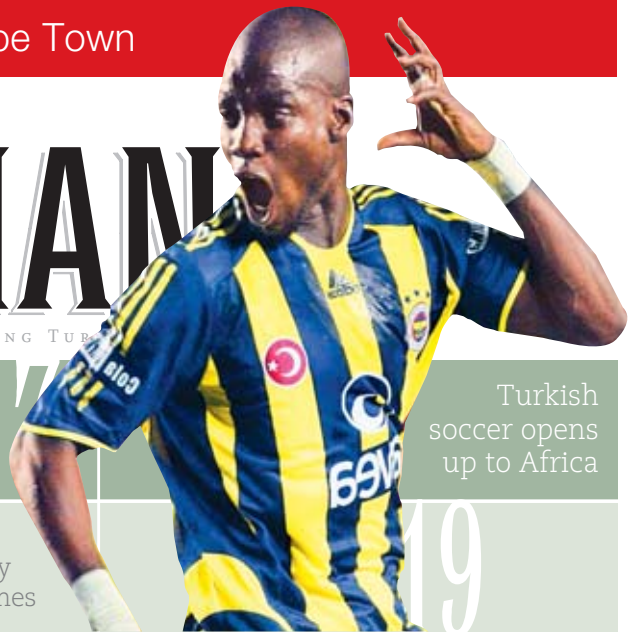


# TODAY'S ZAMAN

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YOUR WAY OF UNDERSTANDING TURKEY



Turkish soccer opens up to Africa



08

Turkish Trade Minister Tüzmen: Trade volume with African countries will exceed \$14 billion



11

If every picture is worth a thousand words, then Turkey is an endless library of volumes



19

## HARMONIZATION PACKAGES FAIL TO SECURE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

MURAT AYDIN, ANKARA

Turkey, which has been taking determined steps toward EU membership in recent years, has made important amendments to its constitution and laws. In order to change the legislation at odds with EU criteria, eight harmonization packages have been introduced since 2001. In these packages, which made a large number of changes in the direction of human rights, liberties and democratization, regulations that secure freedom of speech were prominent. However the problems in implementing the packages still persist, despite amendments envisaging the eradication of bans and limitations on freedom of thought. Although there is a relative decrease in their numbers, many journalists, writers and politicians are still sued and tried on charges related to thought crimes. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 04**

## CONTROVERSY

## THE JOURNALISTIC OPPOSITION - WHO RULES: MEDIA OR POLITICS

KERİM BALCI, ANKARA

Whenever a Turkish politician from the incumbent party complains about the media, the term "media" means "the media opposing or criticizing the government's policies." The newspapers and TV stations that openly support the government fail to be referred to as media. It is just like the polemicist journalists' understanding that "bad news is good news" -- media is bad media, think the politicians from the incumbent party. This one is universal: governments are like monsters who feed themselves with supportive news items and they are never full, never satisfied. Critical journalists, on the other hand, believe that success is the duty of the government; don't wait to see yourself in the headlines if you manage to control inflation, or construct new highways, or create new work opportunities. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 05**

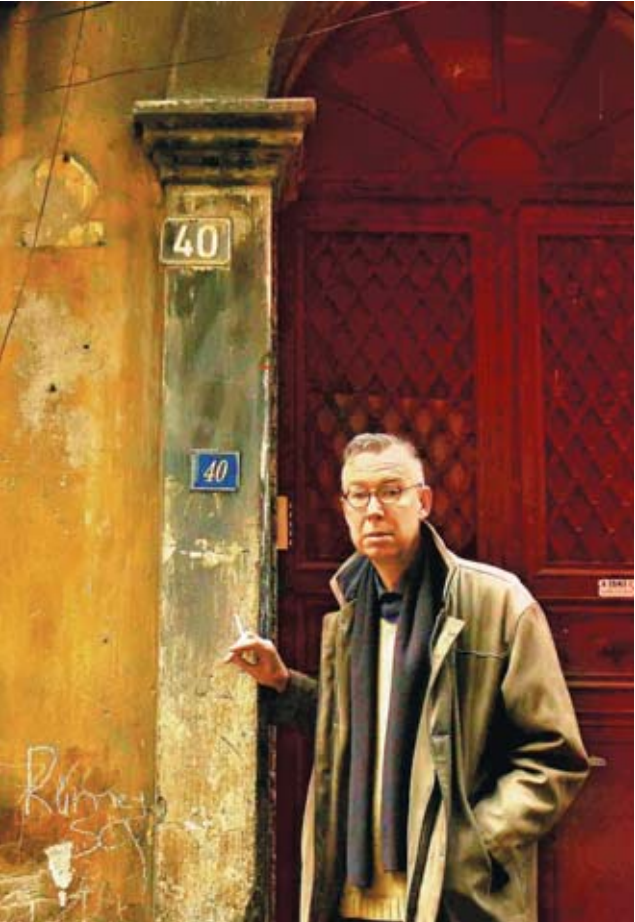


PHOTO BY KURSAT HAYHAN

John Ash, the doyen of contemporary Istanbul poets, arrived the city in 1996 after 11 years in New York.

**poets of istanbul** *With its opulent layers of history, an East that overlaps with the West and an intimate kaleidoscope of life filling its cities, Turkey has always inspired its own poets. Now the country is seeing one more benefit from opening itself up to the outside world in recent decades. Book after book of excellent poetry about Turkey is being published by English-speaking poets, many of them, like John Ash, living in and writing about Istanbul. BY HUGH POPE, PAGE 13*

## A BRIGHT FUTURE AHEAD FOR INTERNET MEDIA IN TURKEY

Internet media in Turkey, which has become so powerful as to form civil society organizations, is heading towards the stage at which it will be able to compete with the traditional print media

MEHMET SAKIN, ISTANBUL

The Internet-based media in Turkey has only recently started to be realized. Virtual journalists, who began this journey by copying newspaper stories onto Web sites, benefiting only from domain and hosting services, have covered a great distance with time. The Internet media, which has become so powerful as to form civil society organizations, is heading towards the stage at which it will be able to compete with the traditional print media. The next target for news sites, who tread their current path with only editors and redactors on board, should be employing real journalism staff instead of a couple of volunteer reporters. For example, news sites that subscribe to an agency may find the stories their readership really wants to access aren't provided by the agency, thus making real reporters a must.

The Internet media is traveling its path but remains beset by troubles. One of those problems is a lack of representation. Journalists in Turkey register their professional status by means of a press card issued by the Press and Information General Directorate, affiliated to the Prime Ministry. Internet journalists need a press card in order to benefit from some rights, such as working according to the press law. They also demand the right to answer and make corrections and the right to be given

official ads, mostly given by the Turkish courts, all normal things for the press. Turkey's Internet Media Association (İMD) has been holding talks with the Ministry of Transportation for a year regarding its rights, and it has covered an important distance in a short while. The possibility of being recognized in law during the new legislative period seems strong.

When we look at the levels of newspaper circulation, Internet users and Internet media sites, all three are rising. Despite the changes made to reach a greater readership and to optimize the readability of news reports as the number of Internet users increases in the West, the circulation rate of the traditional press is gradually dropping; however, the Internet media in Turkey is on the rise. Some media outlets declare their circulation rates as higher than they really are in order to be able to obtain a greater share of the "advertising pie," with some maintaining that newspaper readership in Turkey is not yet saturated.

Comparing the print media and the Internet media in Turkey, communication expert Dr. Haluk Sahin says that newspaper readership had become saturated in countries like the US, northern Europe and Japan by the middle of the 20th century. These countries, where there are 60 newspapers per 100 people, increased their literacy rates in the mid-19th century. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 06**

WHERE IS THE MEDIA IN POLITICS? BY EKREM DUMANLI PAGE 06

02 education

**In the heart of Africa, a meeting of minds**

"Turkish schools" in Africa? Well, it might sound surprising, but remember, we are all part of a global village now. The total number of Turkish schools worldwide exceeds well over 500.

03 journalism

**Reporting from the country on two continents**

The rule of law in Turkey applies to everyone, journalists as well. This means you must be able to understand the story and report it accurately. And this is if where bilingualism matters.

10 media

**Zaman Daily: excellence in print journalism**

Turkey's leading newspaper Zaman belongs to the Zaman Media Group, which also includes English daily Today's Zaman, a news agency (Cihan), a weekly newsmagazine (Aksiyon).



**(IKE E: /XARRA //KE!) Diverse people unite!**

The South African (SA) coat of arms is a multitude of symbols all together under a rising sun; pairs of elephant tusks, ears of wheat; a golden shield; human figures; a crossed knobkerrie and spear; protea (a SA plant with W-shaped petals); and a secretary bird. Even South African Ambassador in Ankara Sabizana Mngqikana wouldn't know the meaning of all these symbols. But the motto written on a green stripe stretched between the elephant tusks summarizes this plurality, IKE E: /XARRA //KE." This Khoisan utterance translates as "Diverse people unite!" in English. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 07**







PHOTO: TODAY'S ZAMAN

## IN THE HEART OF AFRICA, A MEETING OF MINDS

Education is a great need in Africa, as much as hunger, poverty, employment. I remember a black African teacher who would tell us later in Johannesburg: "Here in Africa you are doomed to death unless you get an education." This strikes one strongly because you can see how tough life is for the families who have to raise kids, some under horrendous conditions

YAVUZ BAYDAR NAIROBI

It is in the very early hours of the morning as we stumble into the thick, tropical air of deep Africa from the plane. The sky is still dark, the slight rain has left a wet layer on the tarmac. We are in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. Here is where we start on our journey in pursuit of Turkish schools, in operation for some considerable time, in various countries. Invited by the Foundation of Journalists and Writers, we are a group of scholars, columnists and journalists. "Turkish schools" in Africa? Well, it might sound surprising, but remember, we are all part of a global village now. Outside the airport, we are all welcomed by Mehmet Yavuzlar, a man of mild manners and a teacher of chemistry who has been the head of the Ömeriyer Foundation, which oversees the Turkish schools' activities in Kenya. He is busy, as you can see from the very first moment. Calmly and in control of his subject, Yavuzlar tells us that things are indeed going very well there. There are four schools in the country, he told us, two being in Nairobi and two others in Mombassa, by the coast. And the projects are still developing with the building of new schools all over the continent.

This is a growing vision, initiated by ideas of Fethullah Gülen, who leads a modernist Islamic community spread in Turkey with the view that Islam, as it developed in Anatolia, has a global aim. It is of crucial importance to this movement that every individual in the world must be fed with a decent dose of education and learn to develop themselves in the world. This vision must encompass, he seems to conclude, with non-discrimination of children - no matter what race, creed or language, they all deserve this right to the education. Therefore you are seeing these schools now everywhere, and on all continents.

The total number of Turkish schools worldwide exceeds well over 500. Most of them are self-financing. Only the starters need the backing of sponsors. How it goes is like this: When the choice of location of a school is done and the matter of bureaucracy is concluded, the sponsors are usually chosen from a certain town in Turkey (or where the Turkish businessmen live abroad), and it is most often a group of financiers from the same town. That is, for example town X in country Y is "adopted" by sponsors from town Z from Turkey. Financial backing goes on until the school in question is able to take care of its economy.

One of them is the primary school in Nairobi. "The Light Academy." In this school, as in most others belonging to this movement, you meet a number of young and idealistic teachers. The pattern is same everywhere else in the world. Teachers from Turkey who are graduates of prominent universities such as Bosphorus, METU, etc., are teaching mandatory classes in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and computers as well as Turkish. Science classes are mainly taught in English. The rest of the lectures were attended by local teachers who are appointed by the Kenyan Education Ministry. The system is secular. Those 240 learners in primary and some 300 that we visited in a Turkish gymnasium in Nairobi were religiously mixed: Half of the primary school and one-third of the gymnasium students are Muslims. The early grades are gender-mixed, but the gym did exclude girls. The teachers explained that the danger of HIV is so great in Kenya that they have to follow authorities' recommendations.

We met Joseph Bogonko and his wife, a middle-class couple whose children are "YATILI" in the school. "This school is among the



top five that are successful in sending their students on to university," they told us. "We are happy. The kids are often so happy at school that they don't want to come to us on the weekends. The food is also great," they told us. Another parent, Ismail Ramadhan, told us that all his four sons had studied here and that one of them had gone on to attend a university in Istanbul. This education is not free. In Kenya, families have to pay around \$2,000 per year. But the government has a plan to contribute some \$200 per year to successful students.

Education is a great need in Africa, as much as hunger, poverty, employment. I remember a black African teacher who would tell us later in Johannesburg: "Here in Africa you are doomed to death unless you get an education." This strikes one strongly because you can see how tough life is for the families who have to raise kids, some under horrendous conditions. One in every 10 Kenyans is infected with HIV, and the average age is just around 50. The per capita income is \$200, but the gap of income is huge. Only 10 percent of the population, swimming in wealth, swallows 40 percent of the national income, while the poorest 10 percent get only 2 percent. Survival is a real fight for the next generations. Primary education lasts eight years, but the fact that it is not yet obligatory makes one sad. There is still a long way to go.

### Light Academy builds a large complex in Nairobi

Relations with the Kenyan authorities are fine, according to Tufan Aydın, headmaster of the schools in Nairobi. Initial suspicion was overcome, and when the authorities detected the non-discriminatory approach and the secular curriculum it was replaced by mutual trust. Now the Light Academy builds a large complex in the outskirts of Nairobi. When we visited the construction area, it was lunch time. Around a hundred workers were fed rice and vegetables. Mustafa Akçıl, master constructor, had recently arrived

from Antalya. He hoped that the first facilities of the complex would be opened in two or three months. When the entire school opens, it will serve around some 800 students, boys and girls, some in the dormitories, in primary schools and gymnasium.

This is the statement we read on a plate as we enter Horizon International High School, a modern and clean building, in the outskirts of Johannesburg. We are in South Africa, where conditions and living standards are relatively better than Kenya, although the need for education is equally strong. We go from classroom to classroom in the large school. In the early hours of the evening, we meet boys, at the age of 14-16, some doing homework, some busy with their PCs.

We meet the teachers, who ask us humbly what we think of the schools. Guests are keen on praising them. I tell them my early observations which will only be confirmed as we travel along other cities in South Africa. This commendable "charity" work, apart from bringing the positive elements of Turkish culture and sharing the universal knowledge of science for a better future for the children, is also extremely valuable for the teachers from Turkey, to absorb the values of other cultures and nations. By traveling, the teachers are also students of culture and civilization, as varied and diverse as they are. This makes these teachers invaluable assets, as people with knowledge when they return to their homeland, Turkey. Most of them seemed to agree, though some of them complained of "loneliness." It is natural: they are far, far away from their families.

There are many Turkish schools in South Africa and neighboring countries. Hasan Tarık Sen, the chairman of the Horizon Educational Trust, whom we met in Johannesburg, informed us that there are now four primary schools combined with gymnasiums in South Africa, "combined" schools in Madagascar, Malawi and Mozambique, one in each. There are

plans for schools in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mauritius, he added. Some school constructions are apparently still under way.

Primary education for seven years is compulsory in South Africa. Tahsin Tümer is the headmaster of the schools in South Africa: "We educate a total of 1,400 learners now," he says. "Fifty-one of our teachers are from Turkey, 71 are from South Africa. Our relations with the local authorities are very good." The Turkish teachers live usually in rented flats, and their salary is around \$1,300 in average. Around one-third of them are married with Turks.

As usual, Turkish teachers go to science classes and teach Turkish. The language for the other teachers is English. Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans are not taught, although some students speak them. (South Africa is a complex country: In a population of 45 millions, there are 11 "official" languages; majority blacks live together with the Indians and whites. All the monotheistic religions are represented, as well as several pantheistic ones. These are the realities the schools have to pay serious attention to.)

### An unthinkable project 20 years ago

Whichever school you visit, you are faced with an interesting scene: There are always some black students speaking Turkish to you. Some of them do it fluently. They love to recite poetry, tell jokes. Most of them say they some day hope to study in universities in Turkey, as some already do. Khangelani Mhalemi, 17, has been to Turkey, and tells us lyrically his visits to Yalova and Istanbul. A teacher took him even to his native city, Diyarbakır. As they strolled in the streets, one curious street seller asked to the teacher, pointing out with his chin to the black Mhalemi, and asked: "Is this the new football player for Diyarbakırspor?"

We visited Star College, outside on the green slopes of Durban, a humid and hot coastal city. The school was composed of solid, strong makeshift houses, which had served as a missionary school before the Turkish foundation took over from a lonely nun in 1999. "Now we have around 200 students here. They have to pay \$2,000 per year, and they can get a scholarship of \$200," said the young headmaster, Faruk Turken, who also teaches mathematics there.

İlhami Demirtaş, responsible for the Star International Primary and High School, welcomes us with some well-dressed pupils at the entrance of his school. We are in Cape Town. Demirtaş is a graduate in biology from the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara. He has been here for many years developing the school, which is close to the city center. It is midday and the classes are filled with children. More than 250 students attend the school. Almost half of them are girls. The majority are colored and of Asian origin. The teaching language here is both English and Afrikaans. In South Africa, you need to be able to speak at least two of the 11 official languages to be able to pass the university exam.

This was a most interesting journey into a project which would have been totally unthinkable 20 years ago. When we met the authorities in these countries, they had a clearly positive response to Turkish schools' presence. One South African told me that "these schools pose a great model before many other Islamic schools in our country. Here you find solid belief in modern science, eagerness to share universal values, respect for the 'other,' peaceful gaze at different cultures. We need it. We need it badly in a world which now does not look positively at Islam. I think when we see the long term positive effects of these schools, we will feel happy here."



PHOTO: İBRAHİM USTA



# Reporting from the country on two continents

The rule of law in Turkey applies to everyone, journalists as well. This means you must be able to understand the story and report it accurately. And this is if where bilingualism matters. Many foreign journalists I have met in Turkey do not understand Turkish, hence the very essence of their stories get lost in translation

OKAN UDO BASSEY

Turkey occupies a unique position between Europe and Asia. This geographic location has had a major influence on the history of Turkey and on the politics and culture of its people. At one time Turkey was the heart of the large Ottoman Empire that contained much of the Middle East, North Africa and southeastern Europe.

Since World War I Turkey has played a significant role in international politics. It controls one of the most vital seaways in Europe, the two sets of narrow straits that link the Black Sea with the Mediterranean.

In other words Turkey sits atop a unique convergence of three very different worlds: Europe, Asia and the Middle East, making it a nation rich in history, classical civilization and art. And Turkey, which is a predominantly Muslim country, started the accession process to the European Union on Oct. 3, 2005, with talks expected to finish in 10 to 15 years.

This means there can be no shortage of

news in Turkey. The reporter or journalist has many topics to write about, from domestic politics to diplomacy, Middle East culture and arts, the EU bid to ties with the US as well as relations with Africa, Central Asia, Asia, the Far East, the Pacific, Australia and Central and Latin America.

After decades of keeping the Arab and Muslim countries of the Middle East at arm's length, Turkey is trying to strengthen relations with its neighbors, while at the same time recasting itself as a regional mediator. Turkish officials say the new policy maximizes the benefit of the country's strategic position and historic ties in the Middle East, adding that it will help bring stability to the area.

The Turkish government recently offered to act as a kind of mediator between the EU and the Islamic world regarding the furor over the cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed published by a Danish newspaper. Turkey has also suggested that its ties to the EU and the US, combined with its improving relationship with Iran, could enable

Ankara to serve as a go-between in the diplomatic crisis over Tehran's nuclear program.

Turkey is a democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law -- that's what the Turkish Constitution stipulates. And this rule of law applies equally to the president, the prime minister, Turkish citizens and foreigners; in short, everyone living on Turkish soil.

The rule of law is also the same for journalists, whether you are from Africa, Europe, Asia, America or elsewhere. This means you must be able to understand the story and report it accurately. And this is where bilingualism matters. Many foreign journalists I have met in Turkey do not understand Turkish, hence the very essence of their stories get lost in translation. It means they report their stories through the eyes of the translator, not the stories as they should be. And at times they get into trouble for insulting Turkey or defamation of character because they do not understand the issue first hand. And to be frank and candid, no country likes being insulted or belittled.

Beşiktaş's French-Malian coach Jean

Tigana was always at loggerheads with the local sports media because they reported mostly what the reporter translated and very little of what Tigana actually said. The French coach at one time refused to attend pre and post-match press conferences. This, coupled with a string of dismal results toward the end of the season, made the Frenchman part ways with the Istanbul club, two weeks before the end of the season -- after two years at the helm.

I have been a journalist in Turkey since 1984 and have written many, many articles over the years, but have never gotten into trouble. This is because I went to university here and so understand the Turkish language and culture very well. I am not saying one has to be a graduate of a Turkish university in order to be qualified to report from Turkey. All I am saying is that a good or at least a fair understanding of Turkish is a big plus.

*\* Okan Udo Bassey is a veteran Nigerian-born Turkish journalist and is currently a managing editor at Today's Zaman*



## TURKISH NGOs MAKE UP FOR MEDIA AS THEY REACH OUT TO AFRICA

As far as editorial departments go, bad news sells and good news loses. That's a cold, hard reality of newsmen around the world. Don't get me wrong, everyone loves a heartwarming tale now and then, but carnage, bloodshed and scandal is what sells papers. All that matters in most of the corporate world is the bottom line. The Turkish media is no exception, apart from a very few like the Zaman Media Group, which includes Zaman daily, Today's Zaman, Aksiyon magazine, the Cihan news agency and several other periodicals.

So we see from time to time full-color photographs of mostly poor, starving African men, women and children, staring hollow-eyed from newsstands. These visuals are typically accompanied by woeful, hopeless, doomsday articles about war, political corruption, famine, disease, death and debt.

Other than disaster and catastrophe, there are few other instances in which Africa appears on the covers of mainstream periodicals and on the front pages of newspapers. The Turkish media may have followed the herd -- but the Turkish government and nongovernmental organizations haven't, and are exerting every effort to change that characterization and depiction of Africa. The ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party) government led by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has spearheaded this cause ever since it came to power on Nov. 3, 2002.

Erdoğan said during his four-day visit to South Africa in early March 2005 that Africa was an integral part of his administration's foreign policy, adding that Turkey had declared 2005 "The Year of Africa."

In November that same year Istanbul hosted the First International Turkish-African Congress. Speaking at the gathering's opening, Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül said that the Turkish and African people had deeply-rooted ties, both culturally and politically, going back to the Ottoman era. Gül also stressed that the Turkish government wanted to develop both cultural and economic relations with African countries. Ever since there have been numerous top-level visits and meetings between African and Turkish authorities.

Turkish NGOs had reached out to Africa long before the government. For many years now there have been Turkish schools in almost every nook and corner in Africa, offering sophisticated international education, thus setting a good example for Turkish-African relations.

Turkish businessmen have also jumped on the bandwagon, and have held many meetings with their African counterparts, culminating in many important projects.

The latest was the Second Turkey-Africa Trade Bridge summit in Istanbul last month, which opened with a speech by Foreign Trade Minister Kürşad Tüzmen calling for investments and joint ventures between the two sides.

African countries, rich in raw materials and manpower, invited Turkish entrepreneurs to invest in their countries. The summit, organized by the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), offered the opportunity to bargain and strike business deals to around 1,000 African and 1,600 Turkish businessmen. TUSKON Chairman Rızanur Meral released official estimates from the Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade that the total amount of agreements in the summit exceeded \$2 billion.

The Turkish media, more often than not, paints a negative picture of Africa. This image is what the current Turkish government as well as NGOs are striving to change.

PHOTO: KÜRŞAT BAYHAN



## Traveler's guide to Turkey

One part of Turkey lies within Europe, while the rest is geographically situated in western Asia, (also called the Middle East). Turkey also represents the former Ottoman Empire, and so many languages are spoken in this country, such as Greek, Armenian, Arabic, etc., but the official language is Turkish.

Travelers who come from Western Europe are not required to have a visa -- except those from the UK, Ireland, Austria, Spain, Italy, Belgium and Holland, who can purchase a tourist visa at the border gates. It is still possible to travel to Turkey by train from Europe, albeit not very practical. This is done by those who are driven by the romantic notion of traveling by train, perhaps even on the famous Orient Express. Arriving by plane is the fastest way to get to Turkey, and the most practical. Taxi services are widely available outside airports.

It is a delight to travel around Turkey by bus. The professional bus companies offer a clean comfortable seat with air-conditioning and a great crew. They also offer food and drink, in addition to rest stops at restaurants every couple of hours or so.

Visitors who plan to drive while visiting this country should be very careful while on

the road and should try as much as possible to obey all traffic signs and rules.


Turkey offers a great cuisine derived from Arabic and Mediterranean dishes. These dishes often contain lamb, which is a staple meat in Turkey. A lot of spices are also used in Turkish cooking. Turkish coffee is a very popular drink that must be sampled while visiting.

Travelers who are planning to go to Turkey during the winter can take advantage of the numerous ski centers available. Rafting and yachting are also popular activities there, perfect during the summer and fall season.



Tourists who want to absorb the culture and get better acquainted with Turkey's history can visit some famous landmarks such as Topkapı Palace, the Hagia Sofia Museum, Mt. Nemrut and the ancient City of Troy (Truva).

Turkey is also famous for its diverse wildlife, with many rare species protected by the government and numerous wildlife reserves and national parks.

The natural landscape of this country is a treasure best explored firsthand. A hiking trip is an excellent way to partake in this wonderful outdoors experience.




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# Harmonization packages fail to secure freedom of thought

Despite all the amendments made to various articles and laws in the Constitution over the years, Turkey is still facing criticism directed at its inability to comply with EU standards on human rights, particularly the freedoms of thought and speech.

Added to this, the still-existing great discretionary power of the judicial system is under pressure from secular circles purporting that 'bans strengthen democracy,' making it nearly impossible to implement recent amendments

MURAT AYDIN ANKARA

Turkey, which has been taking determined steps toward EU membership in recent years, has made important amendments to its constitution and laws. In order to change the legislation at odds with EU criteria, eight harmonization packages have been introduced since 2001. In these packages, which made a large number of changes in the direction of human rights, liberties and democratization, regulations that secure freedom of speech were prominent. However the problems in implementing the packages still persist, despite amendments envisaging the eradication of bans and limitations on freedom of thought. Although there is a relative decrease in their numbers, many journalists, writers and politicians are still sued and tried on charges related to thought crimes.

The most controversial articles of the old penal code, Articles 159 (now 301) and 312 (now 216), have been changed a couple of times in order to expand freedom of thought within the context of the EU harmonization packages. The notorious Article 8 of the Law on the Fight against Terrorism, which defines the crime of "engaging in propaganda against the state's indivisible integrity" was abrogated on grounds that it limited freedom of thought. The limitations on the liberties of establishing associations and foundations, and organizing demonstrations were softened. Political bans were reduced with the amendments to the Law on Political Parties and the Law on Judicial Records. The ban on broadcasts and education in Kurdish was also lifted.

## Article 301 changed four times

Despite all the changes made in the related laws to further consolidate the freedom of speech and thought, some lawsuits and unpleasant events have precipitated fiery debates. For instance the cases brought against Nobel Laureate Orhan Pamuk, writer Elif Şafak and Hrant Dink, the Turkish-Armenian journalist who was assassinated in January, on the charge of "insulting Turkishness," revealed that the amendments made to Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) were inadequate. Even though it was changed four times in three years, Article 301, the newer version of Article 159 of the old penal code, has continued to be an obstacle to freedom of thought. The new adjudication, "Stating one's opinions as criticism doesn't constitute guilt," did not prove sufficient to prevent the cases opened one after another. In addition the initiatives made toward eradicating or completely changing Article 301 remained fruitless when civil society organizations and the government failed to reach an agreement on a common text.

## Court did not execute 312 amendments

The older penal code's Article 312, which was one of the greatest obstacles before freedom of thought, was also changed twice in the process of harmonization with the European Union. It was rearranged into TCK Article 216. However the judicial system, which was determined to stick to its old habits, did not implement these changes - aimed at increasing freedom of thought - in its verdicts. In a case related to Article 312, the Supreme Court of Appeals first ruled that stating one's nonviolent thoughts could not be considered a crime. While this decision was assessed as a revolution in terms of human rights and freedom of thought, the court was forced by criticism from secular circles to change its interpretation in another ruling. This time it was defended that the bans on freedom of thought were strengthening democracy. The criterion of "obvious and close danger" that was added to the article did not change the appeals court's prohibitive interpretation.

The cancellation of the Armenian Conference, which had been scheduled to take place at Boğaziçi University in 2005, by a court ruling, and the recent raid on the weekly news magazine Nokta, which had published the now notorious in Turkey "coup diaries" of a former naval commander, were recorded by history as two negative examples of how the judicial system still approaches freedom of speech.

In order for freedom of speech not to be limited despite the new regulations, the related laws have to be redesigned as being inclusive of articles that are lucid and clear-cut enough to make it impossible for prohibitive interpretations to be made.

## Not just the laws

The problems surrounding freedom of speech stem not only from the limiting legislation and the prohibitive practices of members of the judicial system. The civil and military bureaucracy and certain segments of the media and society that don't tolerate opposing thoughts stand steadfast in support of the old restrictive ways. For instance Professor Atilla Yayla, who gave constructive criticism of Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, at a panel discussion, was declared a traitor in the headline of one newspaper. Portrayed as a target by the media and in some political circles, owing to a speech that included nothing but academic analyses, his right to teach was also suspended by his university's administration. Also, in a recently issued statement - assessed as a "memorandum" by many - on the Web site of the General Staff, discussing secularism was presented as a threat to the regime.

Finally, in a letter recently sent by Human Rights Watch (HRW) to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the concern over the limitations on freedom of speech in Turkey was expressed. The letter, sent by Holly Cartner, Europe and Central Asia director at HRW, drew attention to the hostile atmosphere against those asking critical questions on the "current situation" in Turkey that had developed as a result of journalists and writers being tried for stating their views.

In addition to the obligation to harmonize legal regulations in compliance with EU standards to allow people to express their views freely, the bureaucracy, the media and society need to get used to tolerating different views, and soon.

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# The journalistic opposition - Who rules: Media or politics?

The recent takeover of Sabah daily and the ATV television station provoked the question who rules over whom: Is the media a control mechanism for the three powers of parliamentary democracy, or is it the first power that any government would try to control?



Can the media be neutral? Does objectivity mean neutrality? Why are governments never happy with the media? Active journalists and academics spoke to Today's Zaman about the Justice and Development Party's record of media relations

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

These are all your duties. Beware if you fail to perform them! "If things go bad, media makes them even worse. Media is a negative catalyst," said Murat Yetkin, the Ankara representative of the Radikal daily, in a recent conference on media ethics. But were things going bad already, when certain newspapers started a lynch campaign against the anticipated presidential candidacy of Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan? Certainly not! Why then did some columnists undertake the duties of the political opposition? Shouldn't the media be impartial with regard to the presidential elections?

Professor Naci Bostanci, political scientist from Middle East Technical University (ODTÜ), claims that it needn't be. "Objectivity of the media is a fallacy. This is utterly illogical. Impartiality is an ideological claim and whoever makes this claim is attempting to create illusion," he says.

Professor Haluk Sahin, communications specialist and a columnist at Radikal newspaper, rejects the ideal of impartiality of the media as well. "Impartiality was a constitutional requirement at a time when radio and TV broadcasting was under a state monopoly, which was exerted by the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT). Thus, the time allocated to each political party would be measured with sensitivity and heated debates would be held in this respect. Now that the 'state-serving' era ended about 15 years ago, we are not in a 'private-serving' era. Radio and televisions other than TRT do not feel bound by impartiality; however, we can expect them to be objective and fair," Sahin comments.

According to Sahin, in the light of current economic and sociological facts, the mainstream media are not expected to be strongly partial since they do not want to hurt the feelings of the masses or of any political camp. "On the other hand," he says, "some stations with lesser audiences tend to be openly partial. As long as they are loyal to the criteria of fairness, this is not very risky. Let them say whatever they want to say. Let them express their differences. There is no need to worry as the audience is not bound to watch only them."

Samir Tayyar is an experienced journalist and Ankara representative of Star daily. He also believes that in seasons of presidential elections, media organizations adopt peculiar positions. "Provided that constitutional provisions are observed, all organizations, including the media, and all persons are entitled to declare their opinions. I find this democratically correct," Tayyar says. Apart from fairness, the media need not force the boundaries of the constitutional system, according to Tayyar. He regards the April 14 rally at Ankara's Tandoğan Square, as well as various rallies held across Turkey, as attempts that force constitutional limits. "The Parliament will decide who will be the future president in the final analysis. One can say that Tayyip Erdogan should not become president, but to say we will not allow him to become president would be wrong. Unfortunately, the groups who advocate the latter position have recently become louder," he explains.

Tayyar notes that there are a number of media organizations and columnists that advocate despotism for various purposes. He quotes Bekir Coşkun, columnist of Hürriyet daily, to have openly declared that the conditions for a military coup have already been on the grounds. Though he criticizes such columnists, Tayyar regards even this as a healthy process in which the real positions adopted by the players in the media organizations will be clarified. By means of "positions" he chooses not to use the terms of left or right as the legacy of the French Revolution, but democratic versus undemocratic instead.

Tayyar openly criticized the ads that the Cumhuriyet newspaper has been running and the remarks made by Tuncay Özkan, with his neo-nationalist rhetoric, as unacceptable. "Consider a journalist who climbs on top of a political campaign bus during a rally and tells the crowd to vote for the Republican People's Party (CHP) if they are leftists or for the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) if they are rightists. How can such a man claim to be a journalist? This is unacceptable," Tayyar says.

Suat Kılıç is the youngest deputy in Parliament and the second name in the Justice and Development Party's (AK Party) promotion and media relations group. Not surprisingly, he criticizes the media for failing to pay respect to the rights of the people. "To protect the republic is not a duty given specifically



Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan seen surrounded by journalists. Some newspapers started a lynch campaign against his anticipated presidential candidacy; some columnists assumed duties of political opposition.

to the media; it is also the duty of the Parliament, which will elect the president. If some marginal groups in media organizations become instruments of provocation, as if to entertain fancy ideas of vigilance, they will lose in the end," he warns.

## Media has the power, but who uses it?

Media translates actual reality to knowledge, and this knowledge can be biased, manipulated or even distorted. This gives the media, or the "lords of the media," the power to represent the world in a way dissimilar to the actual world. Governments, political parties, religious communities, economic establishments, all know this power of the media and want it under their own control.

Professor Bostanci claims that the media campaign in this current presidential election is but another case of this fight for control. "There are two factions concerning the presidential elections: one group has the microphone while the other group has the power. The group that has the power derived their power from the people in compliance with the rules of the system. Those who have the microphone are trying to use all the possibilities that the microphone will give them to acquire the political opportunities they long for. This is because if you do not have the power to be influential, you will want to use all the possibilities of the microphone to create an effective milieu in manipulating those who have the power."

This may sound puzzling. Professor Bostanci elaborates on the issue: "When there is a shift toward political attributes, this means that the speaker is trying to replace the political power s/he has lost

with the power of words. And attributes are mostly employed in wars. They are used to encourage soldiers or to produce professional influence."

According to him there is a distinction between the media and politics as in between the ideal and the real. The ideal: the media should be an objective bridge between political power and the people in conveying the acts of political power to the people, while at the same transmitting the requests of the people to the political power.

"However, you cannot always have the perfect media," says Bostanci. "Investors are not interested in newspapers only. If as a businessman I have established a newspaper, I would be more pleased if my newspaper supported my interests rather than pursuing an objective publishing policy. The media business requires high capital investment. Idealism or amateurism would not be sufficient in supporting an impartial line of publishing. For this reason, Turkish realities take the media out of the idealist scale, making it a part of power. Here, when I say power, I refer to political power and the elites in Turkey, as in the case of bureaucratic elites."

Tayyar does not think that the relationship between the media and political power goes one way. "Nor is this mutual interaction specific to this period," he says. "I have worked for the Milliyet daily for nine years and I have gone through these troubles in almost every period. I saw it at Milliyet and at Sabah when the ruling parties were different. As long as close connections between the media and political power are not severed, this mutual interaction will continue to exist. This is not a problem that is related to the current state of affairs in Turkey. In Turkey, between politicians and journalists we see a reciprocal corruption at work."

Tayyar believes if the state's intervention in the economy is minimized, the media will be more independent. He believes that the state's absolute control on tenders forces media owners to engage in a close relationship with governmental figures.

Professor Bostanci does not think that this current government is meddling with the media. "Such interference would not be proper," he says. "This would cast a shadow on the power it has. However, those who have the microphone should know that the rules of the game apply to everyone."

Kılıç of the AK Party is understandably of the same idea. "We do not employ accreditation in our relations. We believe that newspapers and TV stations should comply with constitutional provisions, secularism and the rule of law. We will pay visits to all TV stations and newspapers in this context. We will not sever our relations. Their equity compositions do not bother us. The relation of interests between politics and the media is an issue that should relate to the media, not to politics," he says.

He is of course aware of the criticism the AK Party government received for the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund's (TMSF) seizure of the Sabah daily and ATV. "If a newspaper or a TV station fails to file declarations about its employees or employs them without insurance, is the government not expected to step in? If those who criticize the ruling party are also tax evaders, then is the ruling party not expected to call them to account for their acts? In this case, criticism directed at the political powers becomes a channel for violating the laws, do they not?"

Professor Sahin may well understand the legal pretext used in the seizure of Sabah and ATV but regards such measures as abnormal for a

contemporary democracy. Kılıç on the other hand says if the AK Party, as the ruling party, had intentions of silencing the media opposition, they would do it in connection with the Cumhuriyet daily "as the ads it has been running directly aim at the unitary structure of the state as well as unity and integrity among social groups in Turkey."

Professor Sahin complains that the AK Party is not receptive of media criticism and reacts very harshly to even the simplest forms of ridicule. According to him, by referring any and all affronts to court, the prime minister is exerting a kind of control on the media. "Contrary to the Özal and Demirel eras, you do not see programs that parody [Prime Minister] Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Despite the EU process, the level of criticism which the media direct to the government has been on the decrease for the last five years. I advise Erdogan, who refers every affront to court but insists that he is democratic, to follow the example of Blair and Bush considering their attitudes toward British and US TV stations. I am sure he will be surprised to see their reactions," comments Sahin. According to him, in this presidential election campaign, the problem the media face is not impartiality but attempted manipulation, superficiality and lack of knowledge.

Friday newspapers reported that President Ahmet Necdet Sezer commented on the state of the Turkish media. "The Turkish media are bad; it is leading Turkey to a bad situation. You all know how your news items are distorted," he said. The rich Turkish dictionary of proverbs has an entry that depicts the situation of the Turkish media: "Neither in the eyes of Jesus nor in the eyes of Moses could I find favor."



## AT THE BEGINNING OF A DIGITAL REVOLUTION

Journalism began when reliable information was scarce. As newspaper publishing and distribution advanced in the 19th century, editors had to supply a demand for accuracy, as well as for speed and entertainment. The collective effort to be trusted came to be the distinguishing mark of journalism.

Printing technology made journalism an oligarchy. A few people gathered, sifted and distributed what they defined as news and hoped that many people would buy it and know more of the world as a result.

Four changes turned the scarcity of public information into today's glut: the invention of the telegraph in the 19th century, radio and television, digital technology such as email, and finally the Internet. Digital communications not only increased the amount of easily reached information but collapsed the hierarchy of the previous two centuries and upended traditional publishing. Anyone can now publish their thoughts, movies, books, bomb recipes or poetry to a global audience at little or no cost.

Against this background, "citizen journalism" means different things to different citizens. As a movement in media politics, citizen journalists would like to dethrone "mainstream media," derisively labeled as MSM, arguing that the claims made by journalists for the trustworthiness of their work are a con trick.

Bloggers have vastly increased the transparency



**GEORGE BROCK**

of the established media by exposing errors, puncturing posturing and acting as gossip platforms for opinion that would otherwise not circulate so far so fast. These are not all citizens, in the sense of being outside media organizations; many are journalists and many of their sources are journalists.

This poses a very fundamental question: if anyone can be a journalist, what defines journalism?

Whatever the era and technology, journalism must surely involve an organized, persistent attempt to show what is happening, to reduce or eliminate doubt about what is the true account. That is likely to involve plural competition; enduring truth is most often established by iteration. The attempt to get at the truth may fail or may fail to be credible. It may involve opinion and analysis as well as reportage so that the truth is understood in depth and significance. It will involve judgments under pressure about veracity, insight, the public interest, and selection; we call this inexact science "editing." Good editing accumulates trust; failure drains credibility away.

But anyone looking at the history of journalism will also notice that the organizations and institutions that do it are regularly being turned upside down -- by competition, by technology change and simple changes in public taste. So if you visit the newsroom of my newspaper *The Times* today, you will see online journalists sitting side by side with those working for the print edition. Their aim to report the world as best they can hasn't been changed; they now reach their readers in different ways. And because we are at the beginning of a digital revolution and not at the end, the way in which we mix print, podcast, video and still pictures keeps changing.

The texture of the news and opinion people now consume alters: more varied, less formal. The way in which people sample and use news and opinion is changing; they dip in and out of news all day. They can tailor emails and feeds to their taste.

The strength of print journalism is not its technology. Its power lies in accumulated trust. As new sources of news and information have grown from the giant digital providers like Yahoo!, Google and Wikipedia, you can see those organizations wrestling with new, digital forms of old problems. How do we ensure that our users can rely on what we say or carry? In the end, the standard by which all media -- old and new -- are judged is the same.

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## WHERE IS THE MEDIA IN POLITICS?

It's impossible to answer this question with one sentence, because stances and attitudes differ across publication and broadcast identities. Therefore there are publications and broadcasts that overlap, as well as styles contradicting one another. It would be beneficial to make some determinations, particularly these days with the ballot box at the top of the agenda.

Let's begin with an obsolete understanding of journalism: There are newspapers that try to stand on their feet supported by their ideological *idées fixes*. This type of newspaper (and of course TV stations, magazines, Web sites, etc.) starts off with the fallacy of dividing the world into two, traitors and heroes. The partisanship engaged in on this path far from reflects reality. These types of publications and broadcasts feed on conflict, anger, hatred and even violence. There were a large number of examples of this type of journalism in the past; every ideology had its own clear-cut and trenchant publication. They would report everything through a single dimension and would always hide the other side of the coin. It's hard to do that these days as the multitude of news sources has put an end to the monopoly on information flow. The partisan publications give themselves away not through news reports, but through commentaries. Can you imagine: there are 30 columnists in a newspaper, they all write from the same angle, choir-like, and they speak in unison.

According to those who try to carry out journalism with ideological obsessions, politics is classified under two categories: friendly and enemy parties. It's as if the friends were absolved from fault, wrongdoing and injustice. Those declared as enemies, on the other hand, are labeled sellouts, informers and traitors under any condition. The footsteps of fascism are heard from behind the veil of this type of approach, whatever sort of ideological cover they may hide behind. They don't care a whit about whether the social peace is at stake, or society is being divided into factions. The headlines are written to fan the flames of the fight; visual materials are abused to further deepen the gap. There is nothing wrong with lying or slander, according to this mindset -- which has sacrificed its reasoning for the sake of the taboos of its ideology. That's why they engage in all sorts of unimaginable manipulations and attempt to pressurize people. Democracy, freedom of thought, etc., have no value at all, according to representatives of the policy of fear.

And there are the clandestine supporters of the publications and broadcasts made under ideological *idées fixes*. They don't openly and roughly engage in their propaganda. They always view the events through a narrow perspective. Through their publications and broadcasts interspersed with implications, signs and threats, they wish to deepen fears. They sometimes speak of democracy, pluralism and "participationism." However what they are talking of here is the wind: You never know which way it will blow. When the wind changes, values such as democracy, liberalism, polyphony and participationism are immediately shelved. That moment is when the secret solidarity is divulged, and this is what matters. In fact there is no good or bad, or your or our type of fascism. The imposition of a certain worldview using any sort of power (particularly that of the state or its institutions), thereby forcing everyone to conform to stereotypes, is called nothing but fascism all across the world. Those who remain quiet in the face of one of its colors, tones or elements, have indeed yielded to the whole of it and can never be called liberal, yet the media's *raison d'être* is perpetuating democratic rights and ensuring that supervision is exercised.

It's normal for newspapers to have a certain thought, *ide*, ideology and social movement in their backgrounds. There is nothing wrong with this. Some publication or broadcast organs may well want to be the voice of a political party, and there is nothing wrong with this, either. The political parties which think that they are not given enough coverage in the media may want to make themselves heard by the masses, and they may also want to establish their own media corporations. This can also be appreciated. People would, in

such a case, know who has kinship with which party and to what degree, and they would judge the credibility of their news reports and commentaries accordingly.

### Psychological war in the guise of journalism

This is problematic: A media organ purporting to possess political independence cannot take upon itself the task of political engineering, thus it doesn't attempt to manipulate the people, who anticipate insightful analysis from them, for the sake of politics. Nor do they produce publications that will give rise to anxiety simply for the sake of sparking regime crises. The rules of political competition are already defined. Everyone reveals their opinion to the people and asks for support. The people reflect their preferences at the ballot box. And in the meantime there may be those who want to violate the democratic rules and restrain society's political will with the help of fears and illusions. Here is where the critical examination of the media begins. Frankly speaking, no excuse is sound enough to legitimize anti-democratic ways, whatever the reason. However if the media try to prove this wrong and aggravates social discrimination through lies and misinformation, we may have to pay a heavy price.

Our recent political history is full of bitter memories. The media is always there among those responsible for every nightmare of our history of democracy. When history, trying those days, shouts, "Defendant, rise!" it will be impossible for the press to stay back and act as if it did nothing evil. Unfortunately the media have always sought a place close to the sources of power. It clung to excuses to make a confession when the public will re-emerged; however, it was too late: Turkey had long become the slave of its fears and had already squandered the future of its children.

As a matter of fact you can defend some values without becoming the media organ of any political party. You can stand straight and tall without being involved in political cooperation, if democratic expansions, fundamental rights and liberties are vital for you. And it is not as difficult to stand by democracy, liberties and fundamental rights as many think. Whoever comments on it and in whatever way, what matters is adopting a democratic stance. And therein lies the essential duty of the press. Trying to put people's free will under restraint and to this end covering lies and misinformation, inviting crises, scaring society with gangs or catering to this benefits neither journalism nor humanity. Even if psychological warfare is conducted with journalism via small tricks, twisting and distortion, frightening and setting people against one another cannot be the types of attitude any person who loves this nation would condescend to adopt.

Elections come and go; what remain are the notes jotted down during the democracy examination. Today you have to put forward liberal and democratic tenets. Today parties should be able to see that you stand at an equal distance to everyone. Those seeing themselves as being distant from you should know that the distance caused by some upsetting events doesn't stem from your political partiality but from their remoteness to democracy. Standing at an equal distance to everyone cannot be achieved through constant motion. Calling people to democracy by standing behind certain fundamental principles is the result of a democratic stance, not partisanship.

The general elections are looming on the horizon. During this time scenarios aimed at putting people off the ballot box may be staged, as in the past. And this is the media's democracy test. Ridding ourselves of a democracy exercised under guardianship goes by way of the media's independence and polyphony. We shouldn't even take into account those media organs that are incorrigibly politicized and that impose their ideological *idées fixes* on others. The important thing is the obligation on the part of the media that stands or endeavors to stand in the middle to continue being just and fair. A tough test awaits them; the pain of social and political engineering is surfacing in the form of global wounds. In addition, this nation no longer wants shadows to be cast across its own will, and it is not wrong in this wish...



## A BRIGHT FUTURE AHEAD FOR INTERNET MEDIA IN TURKEY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

According to Sahin, newspaper readership in Turkey has remained below its sociological capacity. While there is a continual rise in circulation rate, it is taking place in the form of making up for the previous gap. The "backwardness" of the media sector in Turkey is now turning into an advantage in Turkey in that sense, he claims.

Sahin notes that there is still not a seriously competitive atmosphere within the Internet media in Turkey. "The Internet media here is made up of the revised versions of the news reports copied from some newspapers and of gossip. Those who can make a powerful start, like Gazeteport.com did, can maybe change this course. We still don't have serious news sites that provide readers with real information as they do in the US," he continues. He is positive that the future lies with the Internet, explaining that the new generation doesn't read hard-copy newspapers but instead follows events online, adding: "The decreasing newspaper readership is a global problem. Reading newspapers is viewed as something done by old people, the socioeconomic elite or certain groups. Nor do we have those groups that read newspapers. Nobody can say that the current generation of 20 to 30-year-olds reads newspaper as much as the previous generation. The newspaper will perpetuate its physical being for another 30 to 40 years. Newspapers and news reports will never cease to be in vogue, but people will cease to buy hardcopy newspapers. Thus the newspapers printed in printing houses will disappear and only addicts, so to say, will continue to print their newspaper. While journalism will change in form, journalism will live on. Just as the paper newspaper is considered the real one today, in 40 years the real newspaper will be the electronic one."

Ragıp Duran from Galatasaray University's Faculty of Communication states that the printed press in Turkey is following a similar course to that of circulation rate and confidence. He analyzes the approach of a Western reader to newspapers and the Internet with that of a Turkish reader: "Since a citizenship consciousness hasn't developed here, the reader doesn't claim his newspaper. Our reader sends to the newspaper either his poems or a complaint about the sewer that exploded in his neighborhood. This is done because of the lack of other mechanisms, whereas in the West the articles sent to newspapers can be an analysis of that country. Some of them even engage in media-literacy more sensitively

than some columnists in Turkey. Therefore the newspapers in the West publish their readers' opinions and criticisms. When we look at the Internet media, we see that the power that exists in the print media is also present here. We are not against this power, but the Internet media should be helping those whose voices can't be heard in newspapers and on TV stations. There were media criticism programs on stations owned by major media outlets up until a few years ago; however the independence of the media no longer exists since it couldn't withstand that criticism. We are in an atmosphere where criticism is not tolerated or legitimate. However media criticism is on the Internet, even though it is not as high a quality as it is on TV stations. The media criticisms engaged in on TV stations in Western Europe and the US have started appearing on the Internet here."

Duran also complains of irresponsible criticism in the guise of freedom of expression. He notes that he sees extremely racist, discriminatory and violent reader comments below news reports and columns published on the Internet, and that this is done in the name of democracy. It is really wrong to present these base comments to readers as genuine contributions or e-democracy, he remarks, adding: "If these criticisms and insults were to be published by the print media, they would definitely be categorized as crimes, and prosecutors would even bring lawsuits. The publications could even be suspended or permanently closed. The comments are written mostly with code names and are centered mostly on the headscarf or the Kurdish issue. It is quite easy to come across such comments." He adds that he is against the US type of freedom of expression and that there are public rules in Europe that define what is an insult and what is racism. "The Internet should not have a false freedom. Its users should obey the public rules," he stresses.

He also touches on the low level of Internet usage in Turkey compared to the US. "Of its 270-million-strong population, 220 million [people in the US] are Internet users. When we compare it to the situation in Turkey, we see that it is a service easily accessible for every citizen. In Turkey we have 5 to 8 million users, which is really low in comparison to the whole of the population, estimated at 65 to 70 million. This number is evidence that the Internet in Turkey is still reached only by a relatively elite segment of society. According to the UN Development Report the Internet is seen as

a property of the northern hemisphere and gains an incredible value in the southern hemisphere. Since Turkey is close to the southern hemisphere, the Internet is still very precious [there]," he notes.

IMD President Hadi Özsık claims that the recent growth of hardcopy newspapers in Turkey is due to the Internet media. Özsık says that when Web sites started making regular, independent and transparent publications, newspapers started pulling themselves together and paying more attention to their journalism. He remarks that the Internet media is pulling the traditional media along with it. "Even the Web sites of newspapers are following us. When we first started entering reader-ship comments onto our sites, the official sites of some newspapers despised us. However the development compelled them to listen to their readers. And when the Internet media started making great headway, they began to provide last-minute news, and even set apart columns for readership comments in their newspapers. There are still a great number of people in Turkey who wait for the newspapers or TV stations in order to access information. It is the financially underprivileged segment of society that cannot access the Internet," he states. He goes on to say that there are three to four major media groups in Turkey and that it is extremely difficult to create a legitimate Internet media without acknowledging those major groups.

Dr. Şeref Ögüz, an author on information technology, believes that the Internet media in Turkey is still going through a period of development. There are a more-or-less sufficient number of newspapers in the country; 25 national and around 2,400 local newspapers, he says, but notes that the number of readers is insufficient.

He sums up the situation in Turkey: "While the Internet media in the West imports readers from the print media, it is not a contradiction for the same thing not to happen in Turkey, since the rate of those with access to the Internet is 24 percent, including those using their mobile phones to reach it. In the West, where the circulation rates of hardcopy newspapers are dropping, 55 percent of people use the Internet. This indicates that Internet users in Turkey are increasing and that the number will soon become saturated. When it reaches saturation, namely, when it reaches 50 percent, hardcopy newspapers will start losing their readers gradually and thus will have to make changes in their publications."



# Diverse people unite!

The South African ambassador to Ankara is optimistic for the future of Turkish-South African relations. He is particularly impressed with the Southeast Anatolia Project, where new dams and irrigation programs have improved the living standards of a depressed region of Turkey



PHOTOS: MONTER COBAN



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

We visit the ambassador in his rather humble office. Mr. Ambassador is in his fourth year in Ankara and will be returning home in December. His tenure in Ankara has already been extended once, hence he is both knowledgeable about Turkey and quite sure that there won't be another extension. Ambassador Mngqikana exudes the peaceful presence of an elderly patriarchal figure, but as his memories about Apartheid surface he grows and grows; he becomes a nation in one man, with all its fears, hopes and angers.

**Mr. Ambassador, don't you feel like an ambassador to a distant country? Where is Turkey for a South African?** Globalization minimized the idea, or the significance, of distances. Modern technology has made it easier to meet and discuss. The situation between SA and Turkey is one of ignorance of our respective potentials of exchange, be it cultural or economic -- or even political, for that matter. This is a problem we both take as our duty to address. One of the objectives of our mission here is to go out and meet the people. I have been to Kayseri, Samsun and Bursa. These are remote cities which once were thought not that important. We should go to these areas and address businesspeople there. In fact we've had some success in Bursa. They sent a delegation to SA following our visit. There we engaged in a dialogue with the local businessmen; a lot of questions were asked and we gave answers. And then we put them in contact with South African companies. So in that sense I am trying to bring down a part of this ignorance. Now it is equally problematic with the South Africans, which I think should be addressed by the Turkish mission in SA to make South Africans understand the possibilities in Turkey. Last week (May 8-9) there was this conference by the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUKSON) in Istanbul (the Second Turkey-Africa Trade Bridge Summit). For the first time there was a big delegation of 35 business people from SA, which we hope will be a start.

**Isn't there a Muslim community in SA? Why the mutual ignorance?**

The Muslim community of SA was part of the slaves brought to SA in the 17th century, before colonialism. Of course SA had radical changes from the Dutch colonial power to the British. The Muslim community, which came mainly from Java and the Indonesian islands, still retained some roots within their origins. But since they have been a part of the South African social and political structure, their relations with other Muslim countries is limited. They are very active in politics and social issues. They are quite vocal about that. The mayor of Cape Town is Muslim, and he is part of the government structure. He is the chairman of the governing party in the Western Cape Province.

**Perhaps SA was closed to the world because of the Apartheid period...**

It has been so. We also advocated SA's isolation, actually. It was part of a tactic so that the ruling white elite supremacists wouldn't have the comfort of being in the world while discriminating internally. In a way that also affected the mobility of the black people: This is a consequence of the struggle; you have to lose something in the process.

**Do you have any problem with religious discrimination?** No, no! If we had that we would have had serious problems in the country, given the racial problem. That would be an exclusive cocktail. Freedom of religion is enshrined in our constitution.

**We thought that you had rid yourselves of the racial problem.** No, it is not so. It will take time, I am afraid. I must confess

that is one of our major problems, actually. We cannot talk of a completely non-racial society yet. We are aspiring toward that. Nelson Mandela spent 27 years in prison. But he was one of the pivotal people for reconciliation between the enemies that were fighting. This was one of the basic principles of the African National Congress (ANC) and the government. If we cannot, then it means disaster. It will have international repercussions. SA has a responsibility to succeed.

**Is it true that some of the white people in SA are still the 'landlords' of the country?**

Oh yes! That is one of our problems. The economic cake is not evenly distributed. An economist talks about SA and makes an analogy of SA as a double-decker bus. At the top, there is a group and at the bottom there is another group. The top group is the white elite, with a few blacks there who have made economic benefits even from the change to freedom. The bottom of the bus is only blacks. Now those blacks cannot go up. And this situation is not sustainable, it spells disaster.

The economic power is mainly concentrated in white hands. Now our government is trying to say that we cannot let this continue. We have this Black Economic Empowerment project, by which the government is demanding that there should be an inflow of blacks into the mainstream economy. So they have put certain incentives that white people form partnerships with blacks and work together, so that the blacks can enhance their situation 10 years after freedom. There is an increase of black entrepreneurs and businesspeople, which you wouldn't have had 10 years ago, but these are people who made some kind of profit from the change of the society to a democratic one. The rest of our people are not there.

The South African economy has grown very well in the past five years. The problem is the people that have benefited are not the ordinary people. The government is trying to cope with this problem. One of the criticisms of businessmen is that we lack skills. The economy is growing fast, but we lack skills. So the government has issued 35,000 work permits to mobilize external skills to go and work in SA. We've also had a few students here in Turkey. We hope these students will acquire certain skills.

**Do you have memories of Apartheid? What were you doing then?** I have very bad memories, actually. I was in prison in 1963 to 1964 because I belonged to an illegal organization, the ANC. And so I spent a year in jail. I saw how the blacks were treated in jail. I was not tortured myself. But the way that they were treated made me feel that I should fight against this. I was one of the few Africans who had been to university. But because of my political involvement I was not allowed to continue my studies. Then I got arrested for illegal underground activities. You can't imagine how being denied opportunities because of the color of my skin made me feel.

I have seen some white Afrikaners that treat black Afrikaners like dead bodies, beat them up and do anything [to them]. I remember one time seeing a black being beaten, and he said thank you [to the white man]. This reduced people to a position of not even knowing who they are, that they are human beings. But today I am a part of the reconciliation structure. When I see some of these racist scenes I get very agitated. We are trying to build a non-racial country, and some other people are busy destroying it. Some of the white South Afrikaners are ungrateful that there is a hand of friendship that the Africans have extended. They don't want to take that. Now if you say this, they say, "Why do you tell us something that happened 10 years ago?" But it has been 300 years of continuous suppression of black people. They are complaining about 10 years of being reminded about what they did!

This sort of thing makes Africans angry. We are trying to befriend you; we are trying to forget the past and you are busy undoing that! Take our national days, for example. They (white people) don't participate in them -- it's just blacks!

**Do they have a fear of reverse discrimination?**

No, we are trying to reach them. The community is trying to build a non-racial society, but they want to keep their privileges. When you ask to take away the privileges, they say that it is reverse racism. They want to keep everything. Look at the land issue. There must be a division of land so that the black people can have land also. Eighty percent of the land is owned by whites. That is unfair when 80 percent of the population is black. But they don't want to sell, they intentionally inflate the prices. That is an explosive situation. People want to use the Zimbabwe example. Some of the black agitators say: "Zimbabwe did something good. Why don't you do the same thing?" But we cannot allow that kind of thing. Now the government is pressurizing the white land owners.

**When you are walking in the streets in Turkey, do you feel different?**

Listen, the color issue is peculiar to Africa and probably to America. I have not experienced any hostility in Turkey. On the contrary, places like Kayseri reminded me of countryside in SA. The ordinary people, through their emotions, you feel yourself a part of them. In fact one of them in Bursa calls me "my uncle." I was rather impressed with the hospitality you get in the Turkish countryside. We have the same values in SA. I don't believe that certain traditional values are not relevant to today's society.

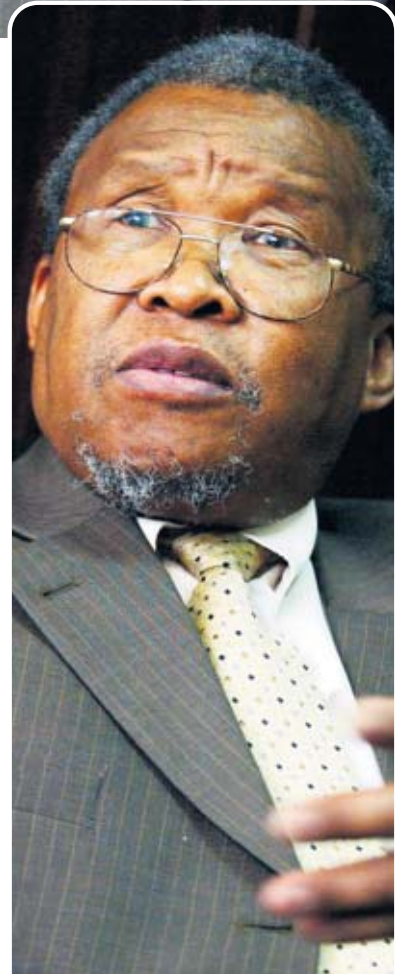
**Is there anything that you have seen in Turkey and liked it so much that you said 'We should have this in my country'?**

When I came here, we were taken to the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP), and I was impressed with the program. I even recommended to a department in the Foreign Affairs [Ministry] to send people from depressed areas to come and learn how Turkey is trying to solve the issue of depressed areas. The involvement of women in the GAP area with weaving carpets and lots of other minor things is impressing. I think we need a GAP in my country.

Also the cleanliness here strikes me. I don't know whether Turks have environmental consciousness or not. But clearly there is a difference here. In my country some people just throw things out without any regard for others. You find plastic bags thrown around. It makes an ugly scene; it kills tourism.

**What about tourism between Turkey and SA?**

This is one of the areas we are trying to explore. We are trying to bring some of the South African tourism companies here. With the resumption of direct flights from Turkish Airlines, in September, it will increase. That is a good signal for the tourism strategy. Turkey has one of the best tourist industries in the world. We can learn a lot from the Turkish experience.



South Africa is trying to create a country undivided by race, but problems persist. The economy and land ownership is dominated by white people, yet many do not even join the national day celebrations of the country. "They don't want to lose their privileges. If you ask them to give up their privileges they call it reverse discrimination," says the South African ambassador

## Bilateral trade relations

Turkey is SA's largest trade and investment partner in Central and Eastern Europe, including the Russian Federation. According to Turkish trade statistics, total bilateral trade for 2006 amounted to almost \$2.4 billion, roughly three-to-one in SA's favor. Total trade for 2006 increased by 52 percent over 2005, with South African exports to Turkey showing an increase of 42 percent during the same period.

Bilateral trade statistics *					
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
SA EXPORTS	0.207	0.328	1.003	1.258	1.791
SA IMPORTS	0.850	0.121	0.190	0.316	0.598
TOTAL TRADE	0.292	0.449	1.193	1.574	2.389
TRADE SURPLUS	0.122	0.207	0.813	0.942	1.193

\* \$ billion





## GROWTH Africa in best economic shape in decades

Africa is in its best economic shape in decades thanks to better management and a booming demand for commodities, the president of the African Development Bank said on May 9. Donald Kaberuka said the region's economies last year grew at an average of 5.5 percent as a result of improved peace and stability, better terms of trade, more responsible economic governance and a better business climate. "Today Africa is better poised for economic prosperity and better governance than it has been for decades," Kaberuka said at the bank's annual meeting in China's commercial hub of Shanghai. "The last six years represent the longest period of sustained economic growth on the continent since independence, even in countries which are not richly endowed in natural resources," he said.

Massive demand, much of it from China, for Africa's oil, gas, minerals and timber has sent prices skyrocketing, causing a windfall for states with abundant resources. Lower debt ratios and a flood of remittances from Africans working abroad are also driving growth, Kaberuka said. With 31 nations growing at faster rates than the increase in their populations, Kaberuka predicted growth to strengthen this year at above 6.5 percent. "Africa stands at a point today where several countries have a fair chance of following in Asia's footsteps," Kaberuka said. However, he warned also that millions of Africans still lived in countries whose economies were "stagnating, contracting or barely keeping up with population," beset by state fragility, violent conflict and policy setbacks. *Shanghai AP*

## Second year of reaping Africa strategy fruit

Turkey is reinforcing its historical and geographical ties with the African continent with as much momentum as it is with Europe by the second trade bridge, constructed solely by the hands of private entrepreneurs.

Although the African Strategy prepared a fertile ground for boosting trade with African nations, it was of no use without private sector initiatives. The Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), aware of the need to boost trade, invited 500 African businessmen to Turkey to improve commercial relations last year. Ministers, bureaucrats and representatives of the largest companies of 33 African countries had meetings with their Turkish counterparts in Istanbul and major cities of Anatolia to discuss busi-

ness opportunities and establish commercial ties with nearly 2,000 businessmen. The summit lasted two days and was noted in the records as one of the most important strategic steps taken by Turkey toward Africa.

The success at the first summit paved the way for a larger organization, giving way to the second Turkey-Africa Trade Bridge summit in Istanbul in May. TUSKON's summit offered opportunities to bargain and strike business deals to around 1,000 businessmen from 40 African countries and 1,600 Turkish businessmen. TUSKON Chairman Rızanur Meral, evaluating the summit, said the total amount of agreements made during the summit would exceed \$2 billion, almost four times higher than initially planned. *İbrahim Türkmen Istanbul*

SUMMIT

# TÜZMEN: TRADE VOLUME WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES WILL EXCEED \$14 BILLION

Turkey has deep historical roots in its relations with Africa, thanks to its old Ottoman past, which ruled the northern part of the continent for more than 400 years. The Turks had to give up these lands after their occupation by the colonial powers of Europe, vying for more raw materials to stir the wheels of their wealth starting from the mid-1800s, thus leaving thousands of martyrs behind them.

The relations between the new Turkish Republic and Africa, however, have been conducted at a lower magnitude -- both economically and politically. Commercial relations with Africa, a continent comprising of 53 countries with a total population of approximately 1 billion, have not been adequately developed despite its high potential. One reason was that the central and southern parts of the continent had always been terra incognita for the Turks. Establishing commercial relations, on the other hand, was not so possible since these countries were already under the hegemony of the European countries. Neither was it profitable because Africa was, and largely still is, synonymous with distress, poverty and infertility.

However, things have changed significantly, especially in the last few years. Turkey has been revising its approach to Africa, which was fallacious in some ways as long as it disregarded the Africans and left them to their own fate, and it started deliberate attempts to vitalize long-neglected ties. The "African Strategy" was one huge leap forward taken on this way, and it has proven successful so far.

State Minister for Foreign Trade Kürsâd Tüzmen of the incumbent Justice and Development Party (AK Party) is an important figure in the new picture where Turks and Africans stand hand in hand. He was the person who devised the African Strategy, or by its exact name, "The Strategy of Developing Economic Relationships with Africa," and he has worked extraordinarily to improve relations in every aspect. Declaring 2005 the "Year of Africa" was also another important move, and it was enough to encourage Turkish businessmen to stretch their hands to their African counterparts to establish trade bridges.

Turkey aims to carry its trade figures to much higher levels through building and enhancing trade capabilities in Africa. Tüzmen said several weeks ago in a press release in which he was applauding the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON) for the second Turkey-Africa Trade Bridge Summit.

He noted that during the first three years of the implementation of the African Strategy, Turkey's trade volume with the continent practically doubled from \$5 billion in 2003 to \$10 billion in 2005. As of 2006, this figure reached \$11.9 billion, in other words, Turkey had only a 2.2 percent share of the total trade volume of Africa. Yet again it is expected to increase by 20 percent in 2007, to exceed \$14 billion. Turkey's exports to Africa were \$2.1 billion in 2003, increasing to \$3 billion in 2004 and to \$3.6 billion in 2005. On the other hand, its imports were \$3.3 billion in 2003. But they rose to \$4.8 billion in 2004 and to \$6 billion in 2005.

Tüzmen affirmed that if Africa could gain an additional 1 percent of global trade, this would deliver seven times more income every year than the continent currently receives in aid. "It is also evident that if we can further transform the structure of African exports from primary products to semi-finished or finished goods, then revenue will be higher," he added. "We knew that if we were to boost our trade with African countries, first we would have to embark upon new 'trade-creating mechanisms' that would increase the purchasing power of our partners in Africa," Tüzmen said.

The African Strategy sketched by the Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade in accordance with Tüzmen's orders came into effect in 2003. In the context of the strategy, certain target countries were designated considering such factors as the po-



PHOTO: İBRAHİM YAVUZ

litical stability, economic situation, volume and regime of foreign trade, natural resources, growth potential, strategic location and regional integration processes. It studied African nations by categorizing them as the North African countries and Sub-Saharan countries. Country-specific and region-based studies were initiated on North African and Sub-Saharan countries under the strategy.

African countries have had to struggle with political instability and regional disputes along with rampant poverty, weaknesses in and deprivation of human capital, physical infrastructure and superstruc-

ture. However, a comparatively stable continent has emerged, especially in the course of the last few decades, and the economic activities that have been put off and the demand which has been low for so long have been stirred. Many expect that such activities will accelerate in the coming years. Tüzmen was saying in the same press release that Turkey, with its vision -- fair trade through free trade -- is the most appropriate country to help the African countries break the vicious circle of poverty and develop the economic and commercial relations of African countries worldwide. The geographical proximity between

Turkey and Africa and Turkey's historical ties with certain African countries are crucial factors to the development of economic and commercial relations.

Turkish investments, which were virtually nonexistent a few years ago, reached \$600 million last year. This amount is not as much as it should be both in terms of value and regional diversity, but of course it is better than nothing. Some businesspeople involved in trade relations with Africa, on the other hand, point out that the relations have gained momentum in a very short period of time, indicating that Turkey will soon become a major player among investors in Africa.

## GOALS The main objectives of the African Strategy

- To diminish poverty by investing in African countries through increasing the economic activities and creating more value added in those domestic economies.
  - To increase Turkey's share in the total trade volume of African countries up to 3 percent in three years. (Turkey's share in the total trade volume of Africa - \$567 billion in 2005 - is 2.1 percent.)
  - To open the way for Turkey's small and medium-sized enterprises so they can gain access to regional countries.
  - To make joint investments with the relevant countries in Africa in order to increase the competitive power of Turkey in certain sectors.
  - To transfer technology from Turkey to the region's countries.
  - To raise the share of Turkish construction, consultancy and engineering firms in African markets.
- Key instruments of the strategy:
- To initiate regular dialogue by creating a Joint Economic Commission (JEC) or high-level economic negotiation and decision-making mechanisms
  - To rapidly conclude the basic agreements that will constitute the legal framework of Turkey's relations with African countries
  - To establish preferential trade arrangements and free trade agreements with African countries in line with Turkey's obligations toward the EU and other international liabilities
  - To provide African countries with technical assistance in the preparation and implementation of laws regarding trade policy instruments in parallel to international practices
  - To support the membership efforts of African countries with regard to the WTO
  - To create comfortable conditions for holding introductory activities such as fairs, exhibitions, buyers' missions and trade missions more often
  - To establish new commercial counselor offices in African countries
  - To help Turkish technical consulting firms structure themselves in the target countries and to promote the creation of new projects in African countries by these firms via donations and loans offered under agreeable terms
  - To strengthen the activities of Turkish banks in African countries
  - To provide African countries with technical assistance and educational support in the fields in which Turkey is experienced
  - To create an overall awareness on the economic and commercial potential between Turkish and African business environments





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# ZAMAN MEDIA GROUP

Turkey's leading newspaper Zaman belongs to the Zaman Media Group, which also includes an English-language daily newspaper (Today's Zaman), a news agency (Cihan), a weekly newsmagazine (Aksiyon) and a publishing house (Zaman Kitap)



## New building new vision

Shortly after its establishment in Ankara, Zaman moved its headquarters to Istanbul, the commercial center of Turkey. Not long after it settled into new headquarters, the rapidly growing newspaper outgrew its allocated space and moved to its current location in late 2005. Designed with 21st century journalism in mind, the new headquarters reflects the paper's vision and the transformation it has gone through in its remarkable young life. Constructed in a strategic location, a few minutes' driving distance from Atatürk International Airport, the 2,000-square-meter headquarters supports state-of-the-art facilities for its employees. As supporting services for its staff of 500, the building contains cafes, meeting rooms and fitness centers. Our new building receives a greater number of visitors on a daily basis than many museums in Istanbul. Soon after relocating to Turkey's media hub, Zaman made it its priority to establish its own print facilities. In addition to the Istanbul and Ankara printing plants, Zaman set up a third printing facility in Erzurum, followed by plants in Izmir, Trabzon and Adana.



## Modern press, modern infrastructure

Zaman started its publishing adventure in the second half of the '80s in a rather humble office. It has focused the utmost attention on its printing facilities since it moved its headquarters to Istanbul. While the paper was initially limited to printing early editions for technical reasons, it established its own printing facilities in subsequent years.

In time the increase in circulation and rising number of supplements brought with it an increase in the number of printing facilities and a modernization of printing techniques. Aiming to provide newspapers of equal quality to all its readers, Zaman has given full weight to infrastructure investments. Today the paper supports six state-of-the-art printing facilities in Turkey's major metropolitan areas. Hourly, 75,000 newspapers can be printed at these facilities, which are equipped with advanced technology, administered by automated controls and fully regulated by remote-controlled consoles.



## Zaman Daily: excellence in print journalism

A dream that started with a handful of passionate amateurs in the attic of a small, old building in Ankara two decades ago has grown into Turkey's number-one daily newspaper, transformed in almost every way but name: Zaman.

Established in 1986 along with its parent company, Feza Publications Inc., Zaman has in a short time become the most widely read and respected conservative newspaper in Turkey, with a daily circulation of nearly 700,000. In 20 short years Zaman has become a trademark, with branch offices around the globe, supporting international editions in Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Germany, Romania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Turkmenistan and the US. Special international editions are printed in the languages of the countries in which they are published. News bureaus and representatives support headquarters in Ashgabat, Baku, Brussels, Bucharest, Frankfurt, Jerusalem, Moscow, New York and Washington, D.C.

As an independent daily newspaper, Zaman is recognized for its in-depth, objective and balanced news coverage. It has won numerous national and international awards, especially for its modern page layout and contributions to intercultural relations through its international editions.

In addition to Zaman daily, Zaman Media Group owns a leading weekly news magazine, Aksiyon (Action); a news agency, Cihan; and an English-language daily newspaper, Today's Zaman.

### A newspaper for a global readership

As of May 2007, 36 daily newspapers were being published and circulated in Turkey, reaching approximately 5 million readers. With a circulation of over 700,000, Zaman is Turkey's most-read newspaper, with a circulation/readership ratio of 2.7 (number of readers for one copy). At a time when the Internet and cable news threaten print journalism, Zaman has been bucking the trend with its subscription strategy and has been broadening its readership and circulation.

In addition, Zaman is an international paper in the truest sense of the word, published in six regions of Turkey and in 10 countries, reaching readers in Turkish and foreign languages. For instance, Zaman Macedonia is a trilingual newspaper reaching three communities: Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish. Total international circulation is approximately 900,000. The European edition is published in Germany and is distributed throughout Europe.

### CIRCULATION RACE\*

ZAMAN .....	707,566
POSTA .....	611,006
HÜRRIYET .....	554,528
SABAH .....	452,060
MILLİYET .....	226,806

\* Based on data between May 14, 2007 and May 20, 2007

## 7 days, 7 supplements

We reach different groups of readers through a variety of supplements. **ZAMAN PAZAR:** This supplement features special topics and remarkable events of the week from every angle. Music, cinema, history and striking interviews... For a delightful start to Sunday.



**SPORVİZYON:** Supplement on sports. The lowdown on all areas of sports as well as analytical sports news. Information on amateur branches and fair-play issues.

**ÂLEM:** A culture magazine addressing the family. Love, sharing, children's education, healthcare news, specialist views and news and special topics on life itself.

**ARKADAŞIM:** Kids' magazine. Stories, tales, poetry, cartoons and numerous games for elementary school children.

**KİTAP ZAMANI:** Literary supplement.

Reviews from select writers. A window opening up to the world of publishing.

**SEKTÖREEL:** Weekly supplement on business. Detailed news and specialists' views on the sector selected for the week.

**CUMAERTESİ:** Saturday supplement. Stories of people and cities. New excitement and new places to discover. Favorite venues. Shopping guide.

**Today's Zaman:** With its extensive news coverage and original commentaries that speak to the facts of Turkey, Today's Zaman intends to be a bridge between the world and Turkey and between Turks and foreigners living in Turkey. Inaugurated on Jan. 16, 2007, the English language daily fills the vacuum that has existed in Turkish journalism for decades, catering to the English-speaking world. It is designed, inter alia, to provide objective news for English-speaking readers with a desire to read more about Turkey and world news as related to Turkey and the Middle East.

The paper includes national news, international news, business, politics, culture and society, commentaries and cartoons. Its Web site ([www.todayzaman.com](http://www.todayzaman.com)) provides links to general information on Turkish culture, tourism and weather. The paper not only reports news from

## Sister organizations

Ankara, Turkey's capital, although it has extensive coverage on diplomacy, politics and economics; its perspective is not limited to this. It also includes elements that facilitate the lives of expatriates living in Turkey and items about city life.

Well-known foreign correspondents who have for years been working in Turkey for important media organizations such as CNN, Le Monde and The Wall Street Journal also make an important contribution to Today's Zaman. They include Andrew Finkel, Hugh Pope and Nicole Pope. The news crews of Zaman and the Cihan news agency in Turkey and abroad contribute special news.

The paper is published six days a week in color.

hubs for those who want to monitor political, economic and social trends in Turkey.

**Cihan news agency:** The Cihan news agency, which started operations on Jan. 1, 1994, continues to supply written, photo and video news via satellite and Internet 24 hours a day. With a total of 520 staff members working in 81 provinces and 284 counties in Turkey, Cihan has the necessary infrastructure and technical know-how to provide a fast news feed from all corners of Turkey. Cihan also has strong international coverage with correspondents and offices in 80 countries.

**Zaman Kitap:** Established in 2001, Zaman Kitap has now created a high quality library made up of the works of prominent intellectuals and academics of Turkey. The publishing house stays away from the superficial, eschewing ephemeral and transient topics.



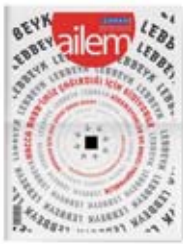




Award of Excellence



Silver



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence

SND 2006



Works by Zaman's visual designers and illustrators received a great deal of interest during the program that included conferences and seminars.

# ZAMAN DAILY CROWNS 20TH ANNIVERSARY WITH 20 AWARDS FOR DESIGN

After recently celebrating its first 20 years in print, Zaman newspaper has once again confirmed its value to readers by being honored with 20 design awards from the US.

Zaman, which has come to the point of competing with itself in design achievements in Turkey, broke its record at the 28th Best of Newspaper Design competition organized by the Society for News Design (SND) and Syracuse University in New York.

Competing with the world's best newspapers, Zaman left behind giants such as the Financial Times, Herald Tribune, The Telegraph, The Observer, The Washington Post, Frankfurter Allgemeine and The Wall Street Journal. Participating in the annual design competition since 2002, Zaman added 20 more awards this year to its earlier 18. The competition -- often called the "Oscars of Newspaper Design" -- was attended by 394 newspapers from 46 countries with 13,862 entries.

The awards taken home by Zaman number one silver and 19 awards of excellence in the following categories: illustration, 10; front page, one; magazine cover for Ailem magazine, one; and additional edition categories: SektörReel cover, one; comment page, three; Kürsü page, four.

The designers awarded by the SND are Art Director Fevzi Yazıcı, Design Coordinator Mustafa Sağlam, Designer Nurettin Aslantas, Designer Babür Boysal, Illustrator Cem Kızıltug, Illustrator Osman Turhan, Designer Seyitullah Öztürk, Designer Murat Akkus, Designer Semsi Acikgöz and Designer Betül Tanrikulu.

Art Director Fevzi Yazıcı said that with this recognition Zaman newspaper, which has always



attributed major importance to the paper's look and feel, has received the reward for the money it invested. Stressing that the achievements reached have increased tenfold the paper's eagerness to become the best, Yazıcı added, "Adding these awards to the notice of our readers and those leading the sector are an additional boost to our efforts to provide even better service. It particularly made us happy that the number of awards we were given went from five to 20."

Yazıcı said that Zaman readers always followed and appreciated good design and that the success they reached belonged also to the readers. "These awards are our present to Zaman's readers and Turkey," Yazıcı said, and added that by the message given by readers they understood that readers saw design not only as an esthetic element but also through the perspective of functionality.

"That's what we aim for in our work. That is, these awards are the result of the search for a comfortable, readable, striking and attractive newspaper that makes the reader perceive the message correctly without making concessions in esthetic values. As the prerequisites of a good

design, the ingredients of a news report -- photographs, the text and graphics -- should not mix with the ads, just the opposite, they must highlight one another. It is a must for the elements forming a page to have an organized harmony among one another," Yazıcı noted.

Zaman launched a seminar program titled "SW 1H 1D Newspaper Designing Days" last year on the basis of the awards it had been given in the international arena. The seminar aimed to endow designers of the future with key information on how to achieve outstanding performance. The seminar, which will be held for the second time this year, unites the concepts of newspaper and design and presents the students with a rich content.

### Members from 52 countries

With a varying and changing readership in the age of the Internet, newspapers need to evolve in all areas -- and in design in particular. The SND, which was established with the aim of meeting this changing need for improvement, is located in the US. With its 2,500 members from 52 countries, it works for the improvement of journalism and runs activities in areas of competition, education and publication.

The SND awards the most successful designs produced in the sector and publishes them annually as a reference book. You can view Zaman's award-winning pages on <http://www.snd.org/competitions/content28.lass> or by typing Turkey in the "country" section, or Zaman in the "publication" section.

Zaman is preparing an exhibition of these designs and others which will also be available online at Zaman's Web site [www.zaman.com.tr](http://www.zaman.com.tr)

Zaman is the sister newspaper of Today's Zaman.



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence



Award of Excellence

PHOTO: ALI HANCI/ASLAN TURK



## CHANGING TIMES

If you live in Istanbul you can hardly fail to have noticed the changes of the last five years. They're there all around you, after all, in the leveled pavements, the improvements to public transport and the glittering new shopping malls. In a village like Göreme the changes may not be so dramatic, but still they are visible in the new traffic lights, the new bridges across the storm channels and the flashy new computer system installed in the post office.

But of course just as people grouse about the changes in Istanbul, so they grouse about those in Göreme too. When we first heard that our overhead electricity cables were being taken down, we all gave three cheers -- only to find our cheers turning to groans when we realized that now every single doorway would have to have an ugly steel box beside it to facilitate meter-reading. Of course it's great to have improved street lighting



CAVE LIFE  
**PAT YALE**

so that we don't fall down potholes in the dark -- but did it really have to come in the form of soaring motorway-style lamp-posts that black out the stars? As for the dumbbell-shaped paving stones that have replaced the old cobbles... well, of

course they're easier to walk on and of course they keep the mud down, but really they are just so ugly...

The other day while I was drinking tea at a neighbor's it also dawned on me what profound changes were taking place below the surface. The women were caught up in a heated argument and it was the exact same argument that I remembered from my own younger days. Some of them had grown-up children and wanted to go out to work. However other women were complaining about the risk of latchkey kids coming home to empty houses and getting into trouble. Voices were also raised against the general principle of women working outside the home, although these, I noted with interest, were relatively muted.

Of course I'd known at a subconscious level what was happening. Last year my favorite neighbor had begged me to help her find

work. Her three sons were growing up, she said, and they pestered her endlessly for clothes, books and shoes. On a personal level she was going mad with boredom stuck at home all day, not to mention the excess weight she was accumulating from lack of exercise.

I duly approached a local hotelier on her behalf. "It's so interesting, Pat," he said. "A few years ago none of the husbands would have allowed their wives to go out to work. I had to go to Nevşehir to find cleaners."

My neighbor comes from a particularly conservative family so for her to take a job outside the home was a very big step. That was 12 months ago, and this year her friends are falling over each other in the rush for work. In an astonishingly short space of time economic necessity seems to have transformed the completely unthinkable into the norm.

SOMETIMES THE BEST DISCOVERIES ARE FOUND WHERE YOU LEAST EXPECT THEM



CULTURAL CORNER  
**CHARLOTTE McPHERSON**

## TWO DAYS VERY GOOD, TWO WEEKS BETTER, TWO YEARS NOT

Have you noticed that when you are a little baffled by something in a foreign land or by the behavior of a foreigner, you tend to put it all down to national character? Alistair Cooke, a veteran correspondent for the BBC who spent many decades on assignment in the US writes, "I have come to think that a strong belief in national character is the first refuge of the anxious".

Cooke's assignment was to enable the British people to understand Americans better. Today's Zaman's goal is to help those who really need to understand Turkey. I think by many of the letters I receive that also it is helping many Turks who live abroad gain an understanding of foreigners.

When asked the main differences between reporting the America of the 1980s and the America of 30 years earlier, Alistair Cooke replied: "The job is always the same: to say, or write, what you see and hear and relate it to what you know of the country's traditional behavior."

Let's consider Turkey: What is meant by traditional behavior? What do we mean by the national character? Can we pin it down so easily? I am always aware that although generalizations are helpful they are just that, a generalization, and cannot describe everyone in a country.

After all Turkish culture is rich and complicated -- a distinct blend. Turkey is a fascinating country that has attracted many travelers. Over the centuries the land of Asia Minor, heart of the great multicultural Ottoman Empire and now the Republic of Turkey, experienced waves of migrations, in which one civilization displaced another. Each left a unique and glorious cultural heritage which was to influence the future.

Turkey is a land of contrast that has a mixture of Oriental mystery and romance and ultramodern city life, deep-rooted religious faith and determined secularism, as well as a fierce national pride and openness to foreign ideas.

Whether you are a visitor writing a postcard home about an event you have seen, someone giving orientation to a new foreigner here or a foreign correspondent, then you are an interpreter of the subject matter, and must avoid the trap Alistair Cooke describes of putting everything down to "national character." We must be aware of our changing view of the country where we live, visit or are assigned to.

I am always slightly amused by the foreigner whom I come across who has been here a year or so and thinks he knows everything and completely understands the culture and thought. I smile to myself as I hear them make a grand pronouncement such as, "Turks go to the mosque five times a day" (well some do, some don't), or "We should play arabesque music at our school fete as that is what the Turks like" (I go to Turkish school fetes that have the boom boxes blaring out the latest Kylie Minogue hit), or even "Turks do not like flavored coffees" (really? So why are there at least four Starbucks, not to count Gloria Jeans, Coffee World, etc., along Bagdat Caddesi?). I normally keep my thoughts to myself so as not to embarrass the person trying to impress their friends. But hey, even some of my Turkish friends admit they do not understand some of the behavior of other Turks!

When visitors come to a country they come with set preconceptions. This can influence us too. I am tired of hearing visitors say "It's so green! I didn't expect to see trees. I thought it would be desert and eastern." Those Fry's Turkish Delight adverts in the UK ("full of Caramel promise...") have a lot to answer for!

The danger of being in a country for a medium length of time is that you think you know fully what is going on, and think you understand the psyche. As you stay longer you realize you weren't the expert you thought you were!

I was once at a cocktail party at a consulate and was chatting with another guest who was trying to spot which of the others were spies. He whispered to me that the country in question moved spies round regularly. The first few years no one would believe a word of the report, as the spy was wet behind the ears and didn't understand what they saw. The next few years were fruitful. But after a certain point the spy would so identify with the new host country that their reports would become less useful again, as they had become too sympathetic and understanding to the new culture and less on the look out for their own country's interests!

As the pope said to the earnest visitor who wondered how long he ought to stay in Rome to know it well: "Two days, very good. Two weeks, better. Two years, not long enough."



# INTENTIONALLY LOST

We took a taxi to the Edirnekapi neighborhood and started our search from there. Wandering the streets we stopped to marvel at the artistry of the wooden houses, some in extreme states of disrepair, others still housing families.

KATHY HAMILTON ISTANBUL

Our neighbors are always commenting on the number of guests we have coming and going. Every month we have at least one friend arriving from overseas. Fortunately most have been here numerous times, so I don't have to take them on the usual tourist routes. An upside to always having guests is that it forces me to get out and explore the city so that there are new places to show the returnees.

Recently Michele, a friend of a friend from Morocco, came to Istanbul to attend a meeting. Her only free day was a Sunday, so a trip to the bazaars was not in the cards. Over lunch she told me of a monastery a friend of hers had come across on a side street near the Chora Church. I had never heard of it, but suggested we just wander around that neighborhood and ask. Perhaps someone would know about it. If not at least we'd be out on a nice sunny day, exploring a part of town guaranteed to be virtually tourist-free.

We took a taxi to the Edirnekapi neighborhood and started our search from there. Wandering the streets we stopped to marvel at the artistry of the wooden houses, some in extreme states of disrepair, others still housing families. I asked a sinit seller if he knew of a very small Christian church in the area. Thinking for a moment, he said: "There is a place down at the end of this street. Maybe it's a church. It has a cross on it. A family lives there." Following his directions we dodged a street football game and found a large blue iron gate topped by a cross. Knocking, the door was opened by an old man who introduced himself as Yorgi.

Guiding us past his family's house in the courtyard, we unlocked the small church, welcoming us inside. As we admired the many old icons, he explained that there were only about 20 congregants left who regularly attended services and on important religious days they usually had about 40 people. "We have an ayazma (spring) too, but I think most people have forgotten about it now," he added wistfully. We asked to see the sacred spring and Yorgi led us out of the church and opened the door to another building in the courtyard. "This spring cures eye ailments," he said, gesturing us down a steep flight of stone steps. At the bottom of the stairs was a tiny chapel and a row of taps to drink the water from. The spring itself could be seen through a small glass opening. Washing our eyes, we made our own personal prayers for healing, and for the little church. Emerging again into the sun-

light, Yorgi's wife presented us with springs of fresh mint from their garden. They thanked us for coming to visit, saying very few tourists had ever come to their door, but they would always be welcome there. Asking Yorgi about other churches in the area, he said he thought there were 20 or so very small ones nearby, but he wasn't sure of how to give directions to find them. With thanks, we headed down the street, still in search of the monastery that Yorgi didn't know about. "Do you know where we're going?" Michele asked. "Or even where we are?" I told her that I had a vague idea of where we were, and was sure that if we kept walking in the direction we were heading, we should eventually find a main street and a taxi. Reassured, we kept on.

Continuing our ramble we stopped and asked a shop-keeper if he knew of a monastery nearby. He hadn't heard of one, but he came out into the street and pointed out several old buildings with Hebrew lettering on them, explaining that this had at one time been a Jewish neighborhood. "But," he said, "They have moved to other places. There is a synagogue near here, but I think it is closed most of the time. I think there is a Christian building down that street, and then turn right. Ask when you turn and maybe someone there will know," he said as he wished us luck on our search. Following his directions, we dodged yet another football game in the street and stopped at a small store, repeating our request.

"Ah, there is a church around the corner," the owner replied, "I don't think it is a monastery. It's Armenian, but maybe they know." Rounding the corner we found an open gate in a wall with a cross on top. Entering we were greeted by a family having tea in the courtyard. When asked, they too had no idea about this mystery monastery. But they did have an ayazma that we could visit. "This church is new, but it was built on an ancient site," the young man who showed us to the spring explained. "There are many holy springs in this neighborhood, but people have forgotten about most of them. This one heals many illnesses, so be sure to take a bottle of water with you when you go," he added as he waved us down winding stone steps.

Emerging from the spring a few minutes later, bottles of water in hand, we bid the family in the courtyard goodbye and left. Puzzling over the monastery that Michele's friend had stumbled across and no one seemed to know about, we took a right and were suddenly at the Golden Horn. Taking this as a sign that our journey was over, at least for the day, we hailed taxis, Michele to her hotel and me to home. Even though we didn't find what we had set out looking for, we made other interesting discoveries. Sometimes getting lost and just wandering pays off.



# The poets of İstanbul

Book after book of excellent poetry about Turkey is being published by English-speaking poets, many of them living in and writing about İstanbul. This is not the first time that İstanbul has inspired an outpouring of poetry by English-speaking foreigners, either resident or passing through.

*"Ferries now glide in and out  
Of blinding fog with two lights, grim,  
Ablaze on each black, dreaming mast."  
Soul here sails the what-has-been ...*

Sidney Wade, American poet

HUGH POPE İSTANBUL

With its opulent layers of history, an east that overlaps with the west and an intimate kaleidoscope of life filling its cities, Turkey has always inspired its own poets. Now the country is seeing one more benefit from opening itself up to the outside world in recent decades. Book after book of excellent poetry about Turkey is being published by English-speaking poets, many of them living in and writing about İstanbul.

The genie of John Ash conjures up secret longings from dead Byzantine emperors and lessons in love from a fruitless wait for a carpenter. There is the delectable fluidity of Sidney Wade, the wry melancholy of Mel Kenne and James Wilde's punching savagery of war. Just some other full-length publications include the theatre of the streets observed with Daniel Pendergrass, gay odes from Edward Foster and monastic meditations by George Messo.

This is not the first time that İstanbul has inspired an outpouring of poetry by English-speaking foreigners, either resident or passing through. A similar flourishing accompanied a period of liberalization in the 1960s, stimulated by the interaction of expatriate and Turkish intellectuals who congregated at Robert College, then an American-run university. It found its expression in The Golden Horn, an annual literary review that stayed in print throughout that decade.

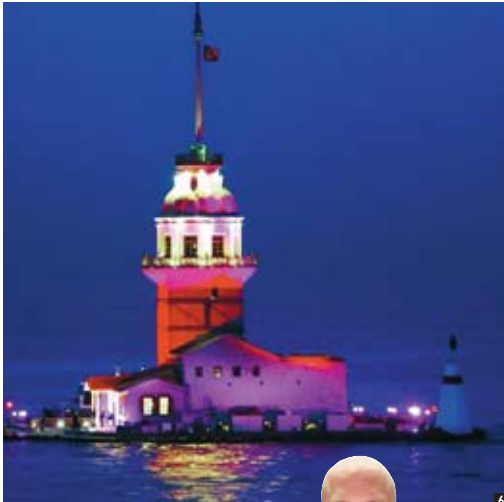
"Two of our poets, Richard Eberhart and Richard Wilbur, won both the Bollingen and Pulitzer prizes," says American John Freely, who was the editor of The Golden Horn. He went on to become a prolific author of histories and English-speaking İstanbul's grand old man of letters. Freely's favorite poet is the late James Lovett, whose work evokes the smells and street cries of the city's pre-mass migration era. Lovett writes, for instance, of an equinox when the autumn run of lüfer, or blue fish, from the Black Sea down the Bosphorus was so bounteous that the fish took a wrong turn and boiled up in a silvery churning under the Galata Bridge. İstanbul workers pulled lines and fishhooks out of their "hungry wallets" -- there were almost no rods before the 1990s -- snagged their harvest and took it home wrapped in newspaper.

*While their housewives huddled in negligés,  
Peering down from sunless balconies,  
Wait till the coals in their red-hot braziers  
Also turn a little blue.*

"Lovett evokes an İstanbul that's now lost for ever," says Freely, the father of Maureen Freely, translator of Nobel Prize-winning Orhan Pamuk and one of several non-Turkish fiction writers who are also experimenting with Turkish themes. "The foreign poets knew the Turkish poets and the Turkish poets knew them. They wrote for each other," he adds. "The city is too big for that now. But what's been written, then and now, is a rich and unmined seam."

\*\*\*\*

John Ash, the doyen of today's İstanbul poets, arrived in 1996 after 11 years in New York and teaching assignments elsewhere in the United States. From the English city of Manchester, his mind is as sharp and unforgetting as a razor. Now 58, he has quietly won numerous awards from a steady stream



1) When Mel Kenne arrived in 1993, he plunged into Turkish poetry. 2) George Messo. 3) Everyday scenes in İstanbul also inspire Sidney Wade. She feels İstanbul is the center of the world. 4) John Ash, the doyen of today's İstanbul poets, arrived in 1996. 5) Galata Tower. 6) Maiden Tower. 7) Daniel Pendergrass.

of work. Ash was described in 2004 by a reviewer in the leading U.S. magazine Poetry as someone who "could be the best English poet of his generation."

Ash writes in his flat in a backstreet 19th century building not far from the Galata Tower, spinning out poems his spider-web long-hand. Ancient ruins angrily protest at being dug out, patched up and stared at by ignorant crowds. Byzantine emperors have their brains dashed out by soap dishes. A neighbor's Ramadan fast is recorded in metal shutters crashing to the pavement at dusk and soft footfalls from the floor above before dawn. As for fixing leaks:

*O Plumbers of Asia,  
it is your lyrical and improvisatory  
compositions that most delight me,  
filled with the sadness of flooded basements.*

Everyday scenes also inspire Sidney Wade, a professor of English at Florida University. She lived in İstanbul for two years a decade ago and now re-

turns at least one week a year because the she feels it is the center of the world. "It offers material for new discovery, but provides a comfortable base for these discoveries," the 55-year-old poet says. "It's schizophrenic. It's many layered. There are tensions about its place in the world, east or west, it has never been anchored. That's what we poets like."

When Mel Kenne arrived in 1993, he plunged into Turkish poetry. He was jealous of and inspired by the sweeping flexibility of the Turkish language compared to the black-and-white rigors of English. "When I came here I found my writing took off with a new energy, a new direction," he says. He now feels liberated, no longer culture-bound, no longer even an American poet:

*I can't write about my dead  
father's cardigan (he never owned one.)  
Or the family's Thanksgiving get-together.  
Thanks, though.*

The burly 60-year-old Texan now teaches at Kadir

Has University, as John Ash does, and lives in a high walk-up flat overlooking the Golden Horn. Reflecting the growing interest in Turkey, Kenne and another expatriate poet, Jeffrey Kahrs, edited a supplement on Turkish and expatriate poetry last year in the Atlanta Review, a mid-sized U.S. poetry magazine.

A new publication bringing together poets in Turkey with others in the region is the Near East Review, started at Ankara's Bilkent University by George Messo. The 38-year-old English teacher, married to a Turk, often writes about Trabzon and the Black Sea Coast. In one he murmurs to himself, lying on his back waiting in vain for a lone fig to fall "through seven centuries" into his mouth in an Ottoman sultan's garden:

*But your shoes are soaked and your overcoat smells of dog.  
History will not let you in.*

His next project is a book-length poem about life in an Ankara apartment block. "Turkish cities are so in-your-face ... I don't think I'd have ever felt able to write about an English city in this way," he says. "Ankara has a reputation for ugliness, and as a poet I find that enormously liberating."

Daniel Pendergrass, now living in Dubai, learned of the new interest in Turkey in the Arab world when he sent a few verses to an Algerian-owned magazine. The publisher requested the full manuscript and printed the volume forthwith. Less sure-footed than professionals like Ash and Wade, the Alabama-born English teacher has a keen eye nevertheless. A fist-waving anti-American demonstration suddenly unfolds in front of the secret agents, pigeons and himself on Beyazit Square. Just as quickly, though, the crowd rounds on a new "usurper," a police helicopter, and Pendergrass joins in.

*I clipped the wings of my lofty indifference  
And warned to the crime of outrageous happiness.*

\*\*\*\*

Who knows if these books will achieve recognition as an "İstanbul School," or whether their verses will simply merge with the work of Turkish poets. The poetry often reflects its common origin in the history and life of İstanbul, and some of the poets meet and edit each other's work. Most juggle work teaching English -- in two cases in the Persian Gulf -- or copywriting. One at least regularly runs out of money, forcing him to shut off his heating and to take loans from friends. Others are independently wealthy, and one lives in a house that is in itself a rich museum of eastern art.

Helping hands are rare. A couple of poets were lucky to find the patronage of a literary-minded Turkish banker, who helped to find publishers and informal scholarships - generous advances in cash passed over restaurant tables in white envelopes, like purses of gold from a benevolent mediaeval prince.

Still, the number of poets is growing as Turkey's booming private education sector sucks in more and more young English teachers with a literary bent.

At the same time, Tony Frazer, editor of poetry publishers Shearsman Books in England, senses a new global literary interest in Turkey. More and more foreigners are visiting and becoming fascinated with İstanbul, he notes, along with Turkish exhibitions abroad, new non-fiction books on the country, the debate about Turkey's possible place in the European Union, and an increased sensitivity to the Islamic world in general.

Not everything in his post box fills him with delight, of course. "There's far too much of the what-I-did-on-my-holidays kind of poem, and not enough real insight," he says. "But there is something in the air. And poets have always been good at sniffing such things out."





sonnel, was the department responsible for psychological movement activities. There are claims that a department under this name remains in the military.

Psychological movement is a product of the "psychological warfare" concept, created during the ideological competition of the Cold War. During that period psychological warfare was deemed more important than armed competition, thus institutions and policies to foster it were created. All political activity targeted to warn the public and build awareness of the "Soviet threat" was conducted under the umbrella of psychological movement. Today psychological movement is used to continue military control of politics. There are two agents for the job: media organizations and controlled nongovernmental organizations. In theory psychological movement, the vehicle for military control, has two fronts. On one front trust of democratic institutions and players is hampered, on the other front there is an emphasis on public safety. The rationalization is that democracy allows self-motivated politicians to harm the country and public. It creates a liberal, undisciplined and disorderly public, which subsequently increases threats and danger. There is growing need for a hierarchic and disciplined administration to resolve safety issues in the country and prevent politicians from harming the country. Psychological movement intervenes to plant these claims and to direct the public to accept and believe these claims. Media organizations are the most useful vehicles to maintain such an environment.

**Media ethics**

Democracy must represent a united body of all political actors and the public. A one-party system can not employ democracy. In democracy it is an indispensable right of media organizations to receive and report news as well as to criticize. However the situation in Turkey is not quite like this. Although Turkish media organizations have a code of ethics that is similar to those in Western democracies, the code is usually only referred to when a party is subject to accusations during a debate.

Another debatable issue is "last-minute" journalism on TV news reports. TV stations release final or definitive accounts to their viewers before compiling all of the information or while the data is still under speculation. Often those who are identified as an assassin or a criminal are released by the court. Incorrect information immediately after an event paves the way for stereotypes and misinformation to sink in further in our minds. Even after the truth is revealed, the scars of the initial incorrect information remain. The most frightening aspect of "last-minute" news reports is the broadcast of grotesque and violent images over and over again. The images of scattered body parts and people screaming in pain with blood all over their face have become a central part of last-minute reporting.

It is very easy for the simplest political subject to become the basis of a system and regime debate in Turkey. Once again the media is the agent that narrows the compromising opportunities for the public and creates a conflicting political atmosphere. Take, for example, the advertisements of a bathing suit company broadcast last week. Although the Istanbul Municipality denied the claims, there were rumors that the company could not display its adverts on large billboards in the city. The case directly prompted heated debates on laicism, not on commercialism and freedom of expression. The bathing suit company got what it wanted, but the media, which reported on the case, managed to increase concerns about the regime.

Turkey has entered into an election period. The majority of the public believes there will be unpleasant images in the media and that the media will not stop abusing its power. For example, in Turkey it is illegal to publish opinion polls for a certain period before the elections, as it is in most European countries. Despite the ban, in the last elections the most popular newspapers printed the results of a public opinion poll that could have influenced the public's decisions. Claims that the main opposition transferred millions of dollars to a TV station have yet to be denied. It is very likely that similar corruptions will occur in the coming general elections.

For the sake of a healthy democracy, all we can do is trust that the public is immune to media manipulation. A very popular anecdote suggests the public's immunization card may be up to date. A short, Eastern Black Sea man called Temel was resting on the beach with newspaper pages covering his body. His friends asked him what he was doing, and Temel responded: "They say the media makes everything appear bigger than it is. Well, I am trying to make myself seem taller."

# MEDIA MAKES EVERYTHING SEEM BIGGER THAN IT IS

**MÜMTAZ'ER TÜRKÖME**

The Turkish media has low credibility among the public, with anecdotes about media manipulation mere symptoms of the problem. The reason the media has such low credibility is related to its history; it hasn't received the highest grade on its report cards in the past.

The military intervention on Feb. 28, 1997 is known as a period in which a series of operations were held -- almost always referred to as the "Feb. 28 process." A junta, which included a few high-level officers, led this process. Today everyone knows that the process was supported by media manipulation. The government was toppled not by direct or indirect military intervention, but by newspaper headlines. The Hürriyet newspaper meticulously cherry-picked only a few words from the second military chief's speech and headlined the phrase, "We will use arms if necessary."

However the general had used those words to explain

that the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) was responsible for protecting the country with arms when necessary. The general's statement was manipulated into being an armed threat toward the government, and ultimately the government was rendered impotent. The True Path Party (DYP) deputies resigned and the coalition government lost its majority representation.

During the same period, democratic journalists who opposed armed intervention were subject to cruel allegations. Statements of terrorists were changed and opposition journalists were convicted of cooperating with or of accepting bribes from a terror organization. Many journalists not only lost their prestige, but also lost their jobs because of baseless allegations. It was later revealed that some media organizations had cooperated with the officers and had launched smear campaigns against their own colleagues.

The coup was labeled a "post modern coup" because there was no direct armed intervention. The process had

been characterized by the words of a then very popular general who said, "This time the unarmed forces will do it." The league of "unarmed forces" -- reminiscent of the Turkish military's official name, the "armed forces" -- included media organizations in particular. In other words the process of military intervention in Turkey was held via media operations.

**Public diplomacy**

The phrase "public diplomacy," which was taken from US propaganda literature, is today taken very seriously by the military. But instead of the seemingly innocent phrase "public diplomacy," the TSK prefers to use the words "psychological movement," a term that became popular during the Cold War. Psychological movement is the term used for military operations intended to influence public opinion. The Public Relations Desk, removed when the National Security Council (MGK) was opened to non-military per-

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## THE WEST'S TURKEY DILEMMA: LAICIST OR DEMOCRATIC?

Following the protest rally in Ankara on April 14, it has become obvious that the West, at least the Western media is so much confused about Turkey.

Most groups that participated in the rally were those that have been disturbed by Turkey's accelerating democratization process. Several spokesmen delivered anti-Western speeches. The meeting was intended to damage the AK Party and its leader, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, despite the fact that Erdogan has been the most ambitious Turkish politician to improve Turkey's standards during its EU bid in the last four years. Ironically, the event was applauded by many members of the Western media.

It is certain that this conflicting stance of the West will have a profound influence on Turkish politics as well as Turkey's relations with the West. The dilemma in the West's view of Turkey is hidden in the answer of the following question: Which is better, a democratic Turkey that is in peace both with her identity and with the world, or an authoritarian/laicist Turkey which is in conflict with her own values and is isolated from the world?

According to a traditional view that is often repeated in studies on Turkey in the West, in particular by Professor Bernard Lewis, Turkey has come a long way in development and modernization because of the military's enforcement of laicist policies. This view holds that these laicist policies have also been the basis for good relations between Turkey and the West and that if the military-controlled laicist policies were eroded in Turkey, then



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Turkey's relations with the West would come to an end and her current democratic structure would collapse. This view legitimizes continuing western support for military intervention on Turkish democracy. Because this anti-democratic moves are seen as if they prevent Turkey from getting off track. This thesis that developed overseas has been translated into a local language and consumed with pleasure by Kemalist elite as well. As a result, this ideology or paradigm has become a strong basis to legitimize lack of democracy or any attempt to hamper democracy in Turkey.

So it's quite understandable for people both in Turkey and abroad with such a perspective on Turkey to applaud Ankara rally. For them, the meeting was an opportunity for those who don't want Turkey to move towards Islam to speak out. Some of the media described April 14 as a day of a historical national awakening against an 'Islamist surge'. Hence, they were not much concerned about the third worldst ideological speeches delivered during the rally. Looking at the event from this point of view, many neglected the fact that the meeting was organized by an association headed by a retired general,

whose name has been associated with coup attempts just 3 years ago.

There are implicit ideological prejudices and obvious distortions in the assessments based on this view. You will understand what I'm saying when you read the following statement: "According to public opinion studies, 'the majority' of Turkish public believes that if the president is from the AK Party, then they will try to make Turkey another Iran or Taliban-like Afghanistan (Kommersant, April 16)." Or when the Spanish newspaper El Pais quoted an officer as saying, "If Erdogan becomes president, we will go back 100 years."

Even an America-supported Persian radio station, Radio Ferda described the event in Ankara as the biggest protest rally in Turkey in recent years against 'radical Islam', while Erdogan himself has become the target of neo-nationalists with claims that his moderate Islamic attitude is in deed an 'American project'.

While most news stations described the rally as a laicist protest against Islam, few explained which circles had planned the rally or which marginal groups supported it. Nor did they report that many political parties that are also sensitive for democracy or secularism, along with hundreds of unions and NGOs, refused to participate in the rally.

However, recent developments have proven that an Islamophobic analysis of Turkey that places democracy on the back burner should be changed. For example, today the democratic reforms are being carried out by a political party that has also been recognized with its conservative roots. The same party is also determined to improve Turkey's

democratic stability through EU membership.

The conservative middle classes that some circles fear due to their Muslim identity are the most crucial social factor in Turkey's current democratization and opening up to the world. Moreover, many surveys reveal that the majority of the Turkish people accepts democracy and doesn't see any conflict between Islam and democracy. And that they have no problem with principle of laicism as long as it is interpreted as a guarantor of freedom of religion.

In contrast, the political groups that pioneered in modernization in the past and were perceived as the vanguard of a modern Turkey in the West, have become reactionary forces that are solely concerned with protecting the status quo. If we pay little attention to private or public meetings of these groups, we can hear their quasi-fascist tone irrespective of their leftist, Islamist or nationalist backgrounds. In fact, recently a new paradigm has blossomed amongst some politicians and scholars in the West, who realize that perhaps the trouble behind Turkey's economic and political problems is not Islam or traditional values of Turkish society but a disguised anti-democratic structure. However the protest rally showed us that this new view remains foreign to many in the Western media. It would be good if they could also see that the problem in Turkey is not between Islam and laicism or democracy, but it is between the status quo and democracy.

I feel the Hrnt Dink murder and the gruesome slaying in Malatya were prompted by some dark circles in order to destroy that new paradigm. I pray their vicious plans will fail.



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## DEMOCRATS VS ANTI-DEMOCRATS

"Two Turkeys" has been a definition used, particularly by the foreign media, since the April 14 demonstration in Ankara's Tandoğan Square.

According to this definition, the hundreds of thousands that converged on the square made it crystal clear that there were now two Turkeys with different lifestyles, political understandings and worldviews. That is, the Turkish nation was divided right down the middle due to the policies pursued by the Justice and Development Party (AK Party), and those who felt that their secular and modern lifestyles were under threat took to the streets and expressed their reactions to the other Turkey, which they "otherized" at the top of their lungs.

In news reports and analyses published or broadcast, a claim is being put forward that the current political team, whose roots are claimed by some to be based in Islam -- although they now have a different political understanding and agenda -- is threatening secularism, the "cement" of Turkey, and thus secularism is under threat. So how befitting is this definition and approach for the reality in Turkey?

I should note that the definition "Two Turkeys" is correct. And this situation is not only true for us today; it extends back to the first years of the republic. The only difference between today and the past is that the two Turkeys now are more closely knitted, only physically though, in their common living areas, and they are seen together more often. I should also note with great care that it would not be tantamount to separatism to call either this external division or this appearance "Two Turkeys," since such a definition would only be a socio-political determination that is virtually impossible to deny. We should not be afraid of such a realistic determination.

In fact, the "Two Turkeys," or possibly even more Turkeys, have always existed in Turkey. However, until recently there was only a certain segment of society that claimed all social, political, cultural and economic power and therefore occupied a far greater place in the notorious "public area" than it deserved, and as a result only that segment of the society was predominantly visible.

What was really misleading was the reflection of that appearance. And what was missing was the sight of the "other Turkey" on the stage. So what has really changed in the scene is that both Turkeys are now in plain sight. I agree with the determination that there are "Two Turkeys." However, the naming of these two Turkeys is not at all befitting the reality in Turkey; this is obvious because these two Turkeys cannot be described as either secular versus anti-secular, modern versus Islamist or republican versus democrat. The best term to describe the pieces that make these two Turkeys is democrats versus anti-democrats.

At this point to which we have arrived, the Turkish nation doesn't have any problems with secularism, modernism or republicanism. Turkey's people favor a secularism that has universal qualities, a real modernism and a real republicanism. Furthermore, they vitally need these, as they don't exist in Turkey within universal norms. And this demand is above all made by the morally conservative, politically progressive religious segments of society.

But, in addition, this repressed segment has been harboring grudges against efforts to empty these terms -- which is against democracy's tenets and against a certain minority's attempt to make them into a means to tyrannize the majority.

What is opposed is a skewed understanding of secularism that dauntlessly purports to possess the right to interfere in the religious preferences of individuals, to push everything religious out of the social sphere and to deprive hundreds of thousands of their most fundamental right to education only because of their religious preference, as a result of which they decide to dress in a certain way.

What is also opposed is the imposition of a monolithic modernism at a time when post-modernism, where individual preferences and differences are prioritized, is the dominant element and a despotic understanding of modernism that cannot stand lifestyles other than the one that could be categorized as that single type.

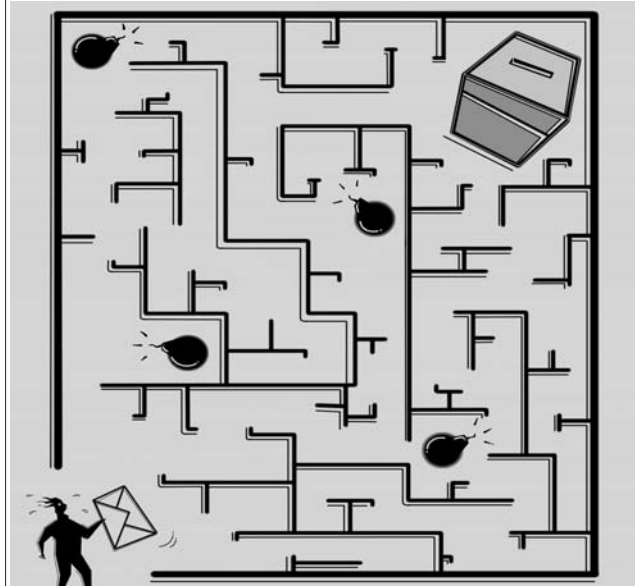
And moreover, what is opposed is the crooked elitist, Jacobin and oligarchic republicanism that overlooks people's expectations and preferences and insults their will.

Briefly, the "two Turkeys" in Turkey are actually two camps: One camp has democrats who support secularism, modernism and republicanism, which is the soul of democracy; and the anti-democrats. The anti-democrats empty concepts like secularism and republicanism, which everyone needs like air and water to formalize the co-habitation and peaceful coexistence that preserves differences, and isolate them from democracy to exploit them as a means for repression and subversion. What is really opposed is this attempt to turn these vital concepts into a crooked means to perpetrate the above-mentioned atrocities.

The reality in Turkey today is not secularism and the republic being under threat. Just the opposite -- the thing whose existence is threatened by much paranoia is democracy itself, just as has befallen us four times during the brief history of our young democracy.

## NO COMMENT

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## THE SENSELESS JOY OF SELF-DESTRUCTION



**YAVUZ BAYDAR**  
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"Turkey's attempt to consolidate a liberal democracy in a predominantly Islamic country has reached a turning point," wrote The Washington Post in an editorial Tuesday. Or you could see it as my colleague Cengiz Candar (daily Referans) sees it: "Turkey went back 10 years on midnight between April 27 and 28."

First of all, as we live in deep turmoil, let me pass on a reminder to all those who have taken it too lightly: All the things Turkey has been going through ever since the murder of Hrnt Dink, the chain of events that has brought Turkey to this "turning point," is mainly the result of the EU rather deliberately letting Turkey down on its accession negotiations.

There were many of us, and a lot of wise observers, that had easily foreseen that.

As The Independent wrote in its editorial Tuesday: "The prospect of EU membership has been an important element in Turkish politics because it offers something to both sides of the divide. It would mean more rights for those, for example, who wear headscarves, while also guaranteeing the fundamental Western freedoms held dear by the secularists. Turkey's EU ambitions, however, have been fading fast. With sentiment against Turkish membership hardening in France, Germany and Austria, there is a backlash among secular Turks who feel they are destined never to join the group."

It is certain some within the EU are feeling joy over having created a pretext for declaring Turkey now invalid as a prospective member. It is the senseless joy of self-destruction, unfortunately.

But the EU certainly is not alone in this major mismanagement.

Would we be in a crisis of the same intensity had the military refrained from its undemocratic "virtual intervention" in the middle of the night, spreading fear and uncertainty? Obviously not.

Whatever triggered the military to rush in for a "pre-emptive strike" is open to endless speculation. But one thing is clear: The declaration, with the content of a severe and arrogant warning, not only put a halt on the maturity process of Turkey's developing democracy but also cast a dark shadow over its institutions such as the political parties, Parliament and the top court. It has also undermined the respect abroad for Turkey as a functioning democracy, damaging the reputation of its foreign secretary.

It is apparent there is also a rather widely shared, senseless joy of self-destruction, based on the military intervention, declaring "it was necessary."

At the same time, part of the blame is on the AK Party, whose leadership was unable to grasp the sensitivities of the secular citizens behind the curtain of harsh and mainly anti-democratic rhetoric of the organizers of the mass rallies.

As The New York Times points out: "While the generals' threats are out of line, the fears of Turkey's secularists are real and understandable. Turkish citizens, particularly Turkish women, enjoy legal rights, intellectual freedoms and economic opportunities that are regrettably rare elsewhere in the Muslim world."

The AK Party should not give way to the senseless joy of self-destruction for those within itself. It will cause polarization and create pretexts for those who crave a violent confrontation.

What now, then?

As early elections seem inevitable, I agree with the last two points the Daily Telegraph put forward Tuesday: "States ought not to be in the business of telling their citizens how to dress. ... If generals want to get involved in politics, they should resign their commissions and stand for election."

A court verdict may come to mean that Abdullah Gül will no longer be eligible during the current process. However, to disperse disbelief in democracy, the military must now stop damaging the democratic process, accept that democracy has to grow by itself with rights and wrongs and must focus on its real duties.

And let us conclude with the wisdom expressed by The Independent: "Once the immediate crisis is over, both Turkey and the EU must work harder to make Ankara's membership negotiations work. The past few days have shown that there is no palatable alternative."



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## İSTANBUL 2010, CITY OF KITSCH?

"A bridge is a bridge is a bridge," one of my aesthetically unchallenged friends told me when I asked her why I felt uncomfortable at the jube box illuminations along every inch of Istanbul's first Bosphorus Bridge. They blink and flicker colors from green to pink, and do just about everything except flash "Vacancies -- Bates Motel." I know there are those who are cheered by this multi-hued addition to the city, but I can't help but think that ending up as a bit of party decoration seems an undignified fate for a structure that symbolized back in 1973 the 50-year-old republic's embrace of modernity. Few bits of tensile steel can have so shaped the destiny of a city than this link between Europe and Asia. The bridge's elegant profile, 1,074 meters of road suspended from V-shaped hangers along a single span, became the instant cliché of a contemporary Turkey linking East to West, Muslim to Christian, tradition to future.

Perhaps it is fanciful to imagine that today's Turkey, trying desperately to bridge the gap between its own internal divisions, is a little embarrassed by these former pretensions and only too relieved to turn this bold symbol of progress into a bit of eye candy.

I am reminded of taking a friend to the miraculous Rüstem Paşa Mosque in Eminönü, an elegant structure sitting on top of 16th-century arched shops. Visitors were rare in those days and one of the lads from the Koran course in the courtyard outside kindly unlocked the door. The friend, an architectural historian of international fame, was suitably impressed at the sight of every inch of wall covered with the finest İznik tiles from the finest period. Then the boy proudly turned on an enormous plastic replica of a mosque candle and candelabra (samdan) by the mihrab that twinkled with all unselfconsciousness of an artificial Christmas tree. I have to say I was less shocked than my learned friend. It's easy to see how a schoolboy could tire of so much good taste and seek refuge in bit of kitsch.

The plastic candlestick has long since disappeared, and I guess it's always possible to switch off the lights on the bridge to restore it to its steely grey self. Of course another reason for wanting to jolly up the bridge is that both it and the traffic it produces have become synonymous with misery. In the planning literature, the bridge along with its increasing sclerotic arteries of feeder roads have acquired a dubious sort of fame as textbook examples of transportation infrastructure generating the very traffic problems they were meant to resolve. Almost as soon as the ceremonial ribbon was cut it opened up the Asian side of the city to development. What used to be a summer retreat of villages along the Asian shores of the Sea of Marmara became a single conurbation, densely packed with commuters.

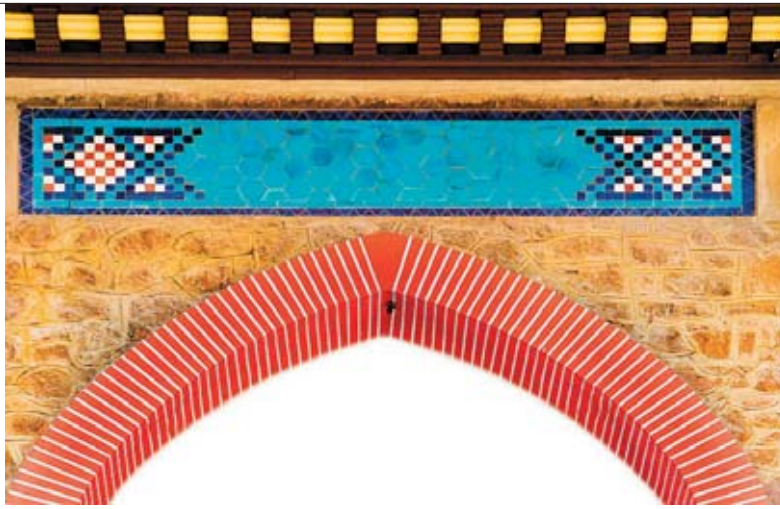
The first bridge spawned a second bridge. Yet even before the second bridge was completed, it opened the shores half way up the Bosphorus along with its Asian hinterland to speculative development. These were the very areas that should have been providing the city with the green spaces and water catchments it so desperately requires. And of course it brought little respite and so now a second bridge appears to be gestating a third. The prime minister himself, despite his experience as Istanbul mayor, is pushing for the project. He has stated publicly that tunnels under the Bosphorus are insufficient and that only another bridge will ease the strain.

It is slowly dawning that the answer to motorists' frustration is not to build more roads, but to get them out of their cars altogether. I guess one solution is to keep them off the bridge looking at the lights rather than on the bridge looking at the exhaust fumes in front. But it is not the best answer. I can only hope that Istanbul will recover its cultural confidence in time to be display itself to the rest of Europe in 2010. Part of that confidence is finding bold and stylish solutions to its problems, not concealing them behind a bank of blinking lights.









# TURKEY

## THROUGH THE EYE OF THE LENS

ARTICLE & PHOTOS BY HELEN BETTS

They say every picture is worth a thousand words; if that bit of homespun wisdom is true, then without doubt Turkey is an endless library of volumes, a veritable feast of opportunity offered the camera. For photographers, whether point-and-shoot or professional, tourist or local, the entire country is one giant photo opportunity.

Looking over my years of photographing Turkey, I find I've learned so much about the country and its people while committing it to image. Some of my most memorable experiences are contained in individual pictures -- fleeting moments of human contact, an acquaintance made that will outlast its parties; the delight of finding a hidden gem within the confines of the city or in the vastness of the Anatolian countryside; the satisfaction after countless attempts of a unique capture of a familiar sight; the pleasure of informing the rest of the world through images on the beauty that is Turkey.

I can go anywhere in this country and stumble across something literally begging to pose for my amateur lens. The urban environment presents a photograph at every turn, compelling the outsider to shoot what appears to locals to be the most mundane of scenes -- a window set in a crumbling building; a wall embedded with broken porcelain or evil eye charms; a door bearing the ravages of time; an apartment building with electrical cords running seemingly nowhere; a horse-and-buggy competing with the hazards of automobile traffic; the grace of a minaret floating above the chaos below; the striking vista of Turkish flags and images of Atatürk gracing buildings on national holidays; the waterways, the cityscapes, the historical landmarks, the hustle and bustle of daily life. Outside

the city limits photos of a different kind present themselves. The years of history residing in the ancient ruins at every turn; fields of sunflowers seeking the sunlight; majestic mountains boasting snow-covered peaks even in summer; Ottoman bridges in the middle of nowhere; quaint villages offering a tableau of the ordinary; moonscapes and landscapes providing the extraordinary; marine vistas created for a postcard... The opportunities are endless, and at every turn lies an unexpected picture waiting to be captured.

The people of Turkey themselves represent a photographic treasure trove in and of themselves. Browsing through my images, I recall the countless people who've been the subject of my lens, both in the city and out: simitci carrying their treats on their heads; vegetable vendors hawking their fresh produce; ramazan concessionaires with their mouth-watering specialties -- all of them willing to pause for a moment in their busy day to indulge my desire for a shot. Then there are the ladies having fun on exercise equipment every morning, headscarves flying in the breeze; shoeshine boys haunting public venues hoping to find a dusty subject; young boys dressed like little kings to mark their sunnet, or circumcision; total strangers stopping me on the street asking to have their picture taken...

I'm reminded of the gentleman I saw every day on my way to work sitting by an ATM machine, posing for a portrait; of the women in Ankara's old city who befriended me, at first hesitant but later demanding to have their pictures taken in return for some copies; of the little boy in Cappadocia who ran down the hill shouting "Hallooo", his pet goat in tow, for a shot of the two of them; of the woman transporting wood by donkey, posing for numerous shots with the promise that I'd send prints; of the fishmongers hammering it up for me with their nautical wares; of the deliveryman stopping me on the street asking for a picture and later wanting one taken with his wife and child; of the people going about their daily lives, displaying a kaleidoscope of color and humanity -- it's all there for the lens, waiting to be captured and rendered timeless in an image.

Photographers of the world -- whether armchair or pro -- your opportunity awaits you in Turkey. Be sure to come armed with ample film or storage capacity. What you capture here will be more than images to send friends, publish in print or display on a Web site; they will be the memory of a lifetime.

The author's most recent images on Turkey are located at <http://www.phase.com/helenpb>, with older pictures at <http://community.webshots.com/user/helenpb>





**1 Nicky HAYDEN**  
 Honda: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 30 July 1981  
 Place of Birth: Ovensboro (USA)  
 First GP: JPN '03  
 World Titles: 1

**6 Makoto TAMADA**  
 Yamaha: Dunlop  
 Date of Birth: 4 November 1976  
 Place of Birth: Ehime (JPN)  
 First GP: JPN '03 (JPN '98 in 250)  
 Starts: 66 (65 in MotoGP, 1 in 250)

**14 Randy DE PUNIET**  
 Kawasaki: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 14 February 1981  
 Place of Birth: Massons Lafayette (FRA)  
 First GP: SPA '06 (JPN '01 in 250, FRA '98 in 125)

**24 Toni ELIAS**  
 Honda: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 26 March 1983  
 Place of Birth: Marresa (SPA)  
 First GP: SPA '05 (JPN '02 in 250, SPA '99 in 125)

**33 Marco MELANDRI**  
 Honda: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 7 August 1982  
 Place of Birth: Ravenna (ITA)  
 First GP: JPN '03 (RSA '00 in 250, CZE '97 in 125)  
 World Titles: '02 in 250

**56 Shinya NAKANO**  
 Kawasaki: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 10 October 1977  
 Place of Birth: Oiba (JPN)  
 First GP: JPN '01 (JPN '98 in 250)

**4 Alex BARROS**  
 Ducati: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 19 October 1970  
 Place of Birth: Sao Paulo (Brazil)  
 First GP: SPA '86 (BRA '88 in 250, SPA '86 in 125)  
 Wins: 7

**7 Carlos CHECA**  
 Honda: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 15 October 1972  
 Place of Birth: Sant Fruits (SPA)  
 First GP: GER '95 (RSM '93 in 250, EUR '93 in 125)

**19 Olivier JACQUE**  
 Kawasaki: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 29 August 1973  
 Place of Birth: Villeneuve (FRA)  
 First GP: JPN '01 (AUS '95 in 250)  
 World Titles: 2000 in 250

**26 Daniel PEDROSA**  
 Honda: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 29 September 1985  
 Place of Birth: Sabadell (SPA)  
 First GP: SPA '06 (RSA '04 in 250, JPN '01 in 125)

**46 Valentino ROSSI**  
 Yamaha: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 16 February 1979  
 Place of Birth: Urbino (ITA)  
 First GP: RSA '00 (JPN '98 in 250, MAL '96 in 125)

**65 Loris CAPIROSSI**  
 Ducati: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 4 April 1973  
 Place of Birth: Bologna (ITA)  
 First GP: AUS '95 (JPN '92 in 250, JPN '90 in 125)

**5 Colin EDWARDS**  
 Yamaha: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 27 February 1974  
 Place of Birth: Houston (USA)  
 First GP: JPN '03

**10 Kenny ROBERTS**  
 KR212V: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 25 July 1973  
 Place of Birth: Mountain View (USA)  
 First GP: JPN '96 (USA '93 in 250)  
 World Titles: 2000

**21 John HOPKINS**  
 Suzuki: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 22 May 1983  
 Place of Birth: Ramona (USA)  
 First GP: JPN '02

**27 Casey STONER**  
 Honda: Michelin  
 Date of Birth: 16 October 1985  
 Place of Birth: Kurr-Kurr (AUS)  
 First GP: SPA '06 (JPN '02 in 250, GER '01 in 125)

**50 Sylvain GUINTOLI**  
 Yamaha: Dunlop  
 Date of Birth: 24 June 1982  
 Place of Birth: Montélimar (France)  
 First GP: CZE '02 (JPN '01 in 250)

**66 Alex HOFMANN**  
 Ducati: Bridgestone  
 Date of Birth: 25 May 1990  
 Place of Birth: Mindheim (GER)  
 First GP: CAT '02 (JPN '98 in 250, GER '97 in 125)

# Istanbul MotoGP future still shrouded in mystery

The enchanting city of Istanbul opened its gates to the MotoGP World Championship for the third time on April 20 -- as the new 800cc era entered a third chapter -- shrouded in mystery. Dorna Chairman Carmelo Ezpeleta said no decision has yet been made on the future of Istanbul's MotoGP date, after reports in Turkey that the April race would be the last at the circuit.

"We have the contract with the Turkish Federation for more than this year, but it depends on what the situation is here," Ezpeleta said in Istanbul.

"We always have contracts to continue, but we never push people to make contracts they don't want. They say the circuit is very expensive to rent right now. Now the circuit is managed by Bernie Ecclestone, then they rent the circuit from Bernie. We will make a decision when we make the calendar," he added.

**Australian Stoner wins in Istanbul**  
 Australia's Casey Stoner blew away his rivals to win the Turkish MotoGP race on Sunday, April 22, to take the overall lead in the championship.

Spaniard Toni Elias finished second for Honda, edging out Stoner's Ducati teammate Loris Capirossi of Italy who finished more than eight seconds behind the winner. Stoner, who led for most of the race and finished 6.2 seconds ahead of Elias, capitalized on a first

lap error by five-time Italian world champion Valentino Rossi, who began on pole.

The former champion rode wide into the grass on a turn early on, re-entering the race in fifth place. He finished tenth after recovering to second place. "It was a little strange because I managed to get past Valentino quite early, from then on I didn't make any mistakes," Stoner told a news conference.

Ducati's strong finish in Istanbul puts the team in first place after the third race of the season. Rossi, who won at the second race of the season in Jerez, is second overall with 51 points, 10 behind Stoner.

While the first lap saw Rossi riding off the blacktop and into the green, Colin Edwards and Dani Pedrosa, second and third on the starting grid, walked off the track after a tangle took them out of the race in the first lap. Italy's Andrea Dovizioso put Honda at the top of the podium in the 250cc grand prix, coming from third in the last kilometer to elbow out Spanish Aprilia teammates Jorge Lorenzo and Alvaro Bautista.

Bautista took third place in his third race on a 250cc motorcycle, crossing the line 0.318 seconds behind Dovizioso. Italy's Simone Corsi claimed his first victory in the 125cc race, edging out Joan Olive of Spain in the final turn to claim his first career victory in the class. *Istanbul Today's Zaman*



## CHAMPIONS IN LAST 20 YEARS

YEAR	DRIVER	TEAMS
1986	Eddie Lawson	Yamaha
1987	Wayne Gardner	Honda
1988	Eddie Lawson	Honda
1989	Eddie Lawson	Honda
1990	Wayne Rainey	Yamaha
1991	Wayne Rainey	Yamaha
1992	Wayne Rainey	Yamaha
1993	Kevin Schwantz	Suzuki
1994	Mick Doohan	Honda
1995	Mick Doohan	Honda
1996	Mick Doohan	Honda
1997	Mick Doohan	Honda
1998	Mick Doohan	Honda
1999	Alex Criville	Honda
2000	Kenny Roberts	Suzuki
2001	Valentino Rossi	Honda
2002	Valentino Rossi	Honda
2003	Valentino Rossi	Honda
2004	Valentino Rossi	Yamaha
2005	Valentino Rossi	Yamaha
2006	Nicky Hayden	Honda

## Current standings

Position	Name	Nat	Bike	Points
1.	Casey Stoner	(Australia)	Ducati	102
2.	Valentino Rossi	(Italy)	Yamaha	81
3.	Dani Pedrosa	(Spain)	Honda	62
4.	Marco Melandri	(Italy)	Honda	61
5.	Chris Vermeulen	(Australia)	Suzuki	55
6.	John Hopkins	(US)	Suzuki	48
7.	Loris Capirossi	(Italy)	Ducati	38
8.	Toni Elias	(Spain)	Honda	35
9.	Colin Edwards	(US)	Yamaha	35
10.	Alex Hofmann	(Germany)	Ducati	30
11.	Nicky Hayden	(US)	Honda	30
12.	Alex Barros	(Brazil)	Ducati	27
13.	Carlos Checa	(Spain)	Honda	20
14.	Randy de Puniert	(France)	Kawasaki	19
15.	Shinya Nakano	(Japan)	Honda	15
16.	Sylvain Guintoli	(France)	Yamaha	12
17.	Makoto Tamada	(Japan)	Yamaha	11
18.	Fonsi Nieto	(Spain)	Kawasaki	5
19.	Olivier Jacque	(France)	Kawasaki	4
20.	Kenny Roberts Jr.	(US)	KR212V	4

## 2007 MotoGP constructors' championship (after round 5 of 18)

Position	Constructor	Points
1.	DUCATI	102
2.	HONDA	89
3.	YAMAHA	81
4.	SUZUKI	71
5.	KAWASAKI	28
6.	KR212V	4

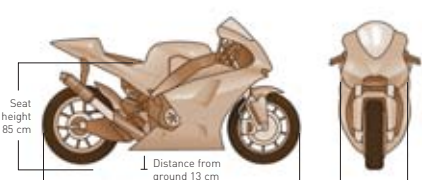


### Speed and safety

The bikes can go up to 335 km/h. Safety is always at the forefront in motorcycle racing. However, it's not realistic to say that accidents do not happen. The last fatal accident in a MotoGP race took place three years ago in Japan. There have been several accidents in this sport over the years, resulting in serious injuries.

### Bends

Bends are seen as the most important stage in the race. Drivers go through curves, tilting their bikes at a 65-degree angle.



### The outfit

The drivers' outfits are made from kangaroo leather. The zip-up coveralls are very light and resistant, providing ease during the race. The back padding provides safety and is aerodynamic. The padding on the knees and arms of the overall contain Teflon and plastic materials. In case of a fall, the Teflon allows the driver to be dragged for long distances without injuries, also protecting the coveralls in the process.

### The helmet

Helmets are very important since the racer's head is the most crucial part of the body to protect in the advent of a fall. The greatest difference in the MotoGP helmets -- which are made of materials that include carbon fiber -- and Formula One helmets is that the front region is much larger. It is designed to give the drivers a more panoramic view of their surroundings. The helmets are light and do not alter in shape even after sustaining hard blows.





TURKISH SOCCER OPENS UP TO AFRICA

# Unforgettable African stars in Turkey

OKAN UDO BASSEY | ISTANBUL

Ankara side Gençlerbirliği was one of the first Turkish soccer clubs active in the African market several years ago and since then its Chairman İlhan Cavcav has made a successful practice of buying little-known African players and selling them later on at serious prices. Time has shown how sensible and lucrative this business is as many Turkish clubs have since followed in Cavcav's footsteps.

Turkey has maintained its attraction for African players. Many players, some famous and some obscure, have played and are still playing in the Turkish leagues. Naturally they prefer performing in the topflight, namely the Türkcell Super League, but a few have played in the lower divisions. So many African players have come and gone, but some have made their mark on Turkish soccer and some are still doing so.

## Augustine Azuka (Jay-Jay) Okocha

Jay Jay Okocha's success at the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta persuaded Fenerbahçe, where fellow Nigerian Uche Okechukwu played center-half, to extricate him (at a cost of 1 million pounds) from troubled and relegated Eintracht Frankfurt in 1996-97. But the Fenerbahçe Yellow Canaries' inconsistent form, coupled with managerial changes and a crisis in the boardroom, meant that despite the considerable efforts of Okocha (16 goals from his midfield position, among them a hat-trick against Antalyaspor), they never got close enough to spit venom at Galatasaray. After making history by becoming the first team to beat Manchester United in a European match at Old Trafford, they stood on the brink of the quarterfinals, but Juventus was too strong for them and they just missed out. In 1997-98 Fenerbahçe was excellent defensively, but while Okocha had a fine season in midfield and in front of goal, tantalizing the Turkish crowds with the tricks he was later to exhibit at the World Cup, the team's all-round shortage of goals was a major concern, and the Canaries could not cope with Galatasaray's form. In the UEFA Cup, they disappointingly went out in the first round against Romanian side Steaua Bucharest. In 1998-99 Okocha became the most expensive African player ever when French outfit Paris SG bought him from Fenerbahçe for \$17 million, but his first season in France was quite disappointing, despite an incredible goal in his debut game against Bordeaux. He later moved to English Premier League side Bolton Wanderers in June 2002 on a free transfer.

Okocha is currently playing in the Qatar league for Qatar SC, a move that was completed in July 2006. He is nicknamed "Jay Jay" for his entertaining and flamboyant style of play. While at Bolton his fans wore t-shirts that bore the legend "Jay Jay -- so good they named him twice." Jay Jay also holds Turkish citizenship, with his Turkish name being Muhammed Yavuz. He was a member of the FIFA 100, a list of the 125 greatest living footballers selected by Pele in conjunction with FIFA's centenary celebrations. He was nominated BBC African Footballer of the Year in 2004 and 2005.



Okocha



Uche



Amokachi



Moshoeu

## Uche Alozie Okechukwu

Uche was a part of the Nigeria national team squad for the 1992 African Cup of Nations, where Nigeria reached the semifinals. He was chased at Danish club Brøndby by İstanbul club Fenerbahçe for half a year, until he was bought in on an 8 million Danish krone transfer deal in November 1993. He represented Nigeria at the 1994 African Cup of Nations, which they went on to win, beating Zambia 2-1 in the final. He was a great part of Nigeria's first FIFA World Cup participation, when he was called up for the 1994 FIFA World Cup, and played full time in Nigeria's four games before elimination.

At Fenerbahçe Uche formed a defensive duo with former Brøndby defender Jes Høgh, when the club won its first Türkcell Super League championship in seven years in the 1995-96 season. He was named Nigeria's national team captain on several occasions between 1996 and 1998, and was a part of the Nigerian team which won the gold medal at the 1996 Summer Olympics. He also took part in the 1998 FIFA World Cup and ended his national team career when Nigeria was eliminated from the tournament. He played a further four seasons with Fenerbahçe and won the 2001 Türkcell Super League. In 2002 he left Fenerbahçe after nine seasons and 191 league games for the club. He then moved to İstanbulspor where he ended his career. Uche is a Turkish citizen with the Turkish name Deniz Uygur and is still living in İstanbul.

## Daniel Owefin Amokachi

Daniel Owefin Amokachi, nicknamed "the Black Bull," played many international matches for Nigeria and was part of the team that participated in the 1994 FIFA World Cup and 1998 FIFA World Cup and won the 1994 African Nations Cup. He also helped win the Olympic gold medal in 1996.

While playing for the Ranchers Bees in Nigeria, Amokachi was discovered by then-Nigerian national team coach Clemens Westerhof, who brought the talented player to the 1990 African Nations Cup, and soon



Youla



Geremi



Musisi

Amokachi moved to play for Club Brugge in Belgium. Performing well in Belgium and at the 1994 World Cup, English Premiership side Everton became interested in Amokachi and signed him for a fee of 3 million pounds (\$4.7 million). He went on to win the FA Cup with Everton in 1995, famously scoring two goals in the semifinal. He appeared in the final only briefly, late on, as a substitute but is remembered fondly for his beret wearing celebrations.

He stayed at Everton until 1996, never really making the impact hoped, and was sold to Besiktas for 1.75 million pounds. Unfortunately for Amokachi his career went very much downhill after his move to Turkey. He sustained an injury just ahead of the 1998 FIFA World Cup, played one game, but struggled with knee problems thereafter. After leaving Besiktas in 1999, his playing career more or less ended.

Amokachi now manages Nigerian side Nasawara United. In April 2007 he quit his role as assistant coach of the Nigerian national side. He is now a qualified lawyer, having studied in America, and keeps an apartment in New York City.

## Ike Shorunmu

Former Nigerian keeper Ike Shorunmu -- who played in the 2002 World Cup finals in Japan and South Korea -- was acquired by İstanbul club Besiktas in 1999 for \$2.4 million and played for two seasons before being released at the end of 2000-01 because he spent too much time with the national Nigerian team. Shorunmu joined Swiss side FC Lucern in 2001-02 before returning to Turkey the following year where he played for three seasons -- 2002-05.

## John Leshiba Moshoeu

Nicknamed "Shoes," Soweto-born Moshoeu played for a several clubs, including Kaizer Chiefs, Kocaelispor (Turkey), Gençlerbirliği (Turkey), Fenerbahçe (Turkey) and Bursaspor (Turkey). He represented South Africa 73 times and was a member of the South African team at the 1998 FIFA World Cup.

## Geremi Sorele Njitap Fotos

Usually known simply as Geremi, he is a Cameroonian player currently with Chelsea in the English Premier League. Geremi was part of the gold medal-winning Cameroon team at the 2000 Summer Olympics. He also represented Cameroon at the 2002 World Cup and the 2004 and 2006 African Nations Cups. Geremi started his soccer career with his local team, Racing Bafoussam in Cameroon (1994-1996). Then he moved to Paraguay with Cerro Porteno (1996-1997). From Paraguay Geremi came to Turkey and played for Gençlerbirliği (1997-1999). Then when Welsh coach John Toshack left Besiktas to return to Real Madrid, his first signing was Geremi. He was on a one-year loan with Middlesbrough before being brought to Chelsea by then Blues manager Claudio Ranieri after Chelsea agreed on a 6 million pound deal.

## Souleymane Youla

Hugely promising Guinean forward Souleymane Youla left Belgium, after a frustrating season on loan from Lokeren to Anderlecht, in search of regular soccer at surprise Turkish Cup winner Gençlerbirliği in 2001. During the 2005-06 season he was contracted to Besiktas, but was sent on loan to French side Metz at the end of the season. He later signed with French giants Lille. Youla was part of the Guinean 2004 African Nations Cup team that finished second in its group in the first round of competition. The team progressed to the quarterfinals, where it lost to Mali.

## Steve Komphela

South Africa's Komphela played first at Gaziantepspor from 1993-1996 and then the following season joined Canakkale Dardanelspor, where he ended his soccer career. He was liked so much in Turkey that he became an indispensable name on television shows. "Black people consider Turkey their second home," he once said.

## Majid Musisi Mukibi

Musisi is regarded by many as Uganda's best soccer player of all time. He was sold in 1995 by French side Rennes to the Turkish top-flight club Bursaspor and later to Canakkale Dardanelspor for a transfer fee of \$1 million, making a record in the transfer market for the most expensive Ugandan export. In the 1996 season, he was voted Best Foreign Player of the Year in the Turkish League. After playing in Turkey he had a spell playing for Da Nang in Vietnam. In 2001, the hit man made a U-turn to his dear hometown club, SC Villa, after Dardanelspor was relegated to a lower division. He guided SC Villa to the East African Hexed trophy and a Super League title. In 2002, he relocated to London before joining Uganda's Ggaba United where he ended his career. Musisi passed away on Dec. 13, 2005 on the way to Nsambya Hospital from Kamukoya Christian Caring Center where he was undergoing treatment for a long-term illness. He is fondly remembered in Turkey for introducing the trademark "crocodile dance" to Bursaspor.

# Some famous players currently plying their trade in Turkey

## Rigobert Song Bahanag (Galatasaray)

A key player for Cameroon for over a decade, Song has played in the 1994, 1998 and 2002 World Cups. He has been capped over 100 times for his country, and is their most capped player. Prior to joining Galatasaray in 2004, Song played for Metz, Salernitana, Liverpool, West Ham, Cologne and RC Lens. Recently, in the 2006 African Cup of Nations, Rigobert became the most capped player in Cameroon history and has made up



until now 103 international appearances. In the 2006 African Cup of Nations Song broke the record for the greatest number of matches played at the CAF African Cup of Nations. Nowadays, Rigobert plays for Galatasaray and captains his national side. Currently he is struggling to find a place in the team after an argument with Galatasaray's Belgian coach Eric Gerets during a Super League game at Gaziantep. Although Song apologized for the incident both publicly and privately, Gerets has shown no sign of forgiving him, angered that Song openly challenged his authority. Rigobert is also the uncle of fellow star Alexandre Song who plays for Arsenal and is now on loan to Charlton Athletic. Rigobert Song is married to Esther and they are living in İstanbul at the moment.



## Isaac Promise (Gençlerbirliği)

Isaac is a product of the Pepsi Soccer Academy in Nigeria. He was the skipper in the World Youth Championship in Holland, where the Flying Eagles won the silver medal. In 2005, he was linked with Dutch club Feyenoord and French outfit Auxerre, but eventually signed a three-year deal with Turkish Super League side Gençlerbirliği.



## Ibrahim Yattara (Trabzonspor)

Striker Yattara began his career in Guinea with the San Garedi team. He moved on to Atletico Coleah, another Guinean club before embarking on his career in Europe. He joined Antwerp FC in Belgium in 2001 and plays primarily upfront in the right flank. Yattara, who joined Trabzonspor in 2003, is married and has two children.

## Stephen Appiah (Fenerbahçe)

Born in Accra, Ghana, Appiah began his career at local club Hearts of Oak in 1995 at the age of 16. In 1997 the combative player moved abroad to join Italian club Udinese Calcio in the Serie A championship. In 2000 a transfer to Parma was jeopardized by viral hepatitis, but Appiah overcame the illness to move to Parma in the summer of 2000. The Ghanaian was on the fringe of becoming a regular at the Ennio Tardini Stadium, and the club thought it would aid his development to spend the 2002-03 season on loan at Brescia Calcio. A first-team regular for Brescia, Appiah scored seven times in 31 games. This alerted defending then-Serie A champion Juventus to his talents. Juventus paid Parma 2 million euros, in summer 2003, to secure Appiah's services on loan, with an option of a permanent 6 million euro transfer in 2004. He went on to enjoy a solid first season for Juventus at the Delle Alpi Stadium, playing 30 Serie A games, appearing in the Coppa Italia final, won by Lazio over two legs, and making his debut in the UEFA Champions League. Although Appiah lost his place in the team to Manuele Basti early in his second season, he played 18 Serie A games as Juventus won the domestic title for the 28th time. In July 2005 he was transferred from Juventus to Fenerbahçe for 8 million euros. Since last year Appiah has been attracting interest from clubs like Arsenal and Scottish champion Glasgow Celtic.





# TODAY'S ZAMAN



**Peppered with historical significance**  
 Known in Sanskrit as pippali, meaning berry, pepper is one of the mainstays of Turkish kitchens. During the Middle Ages in Europe, pepper was a rare and valuable commodity. It was often included as part of a dowry, used to pay rent and even to bribe officials. The hot taste comes from a resin in the peppercorns called chavicine.

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## SCENTS FROM THE İSTANBUL'S SPICE BAZAAR

KATHY HAMILTON ISTANBUL

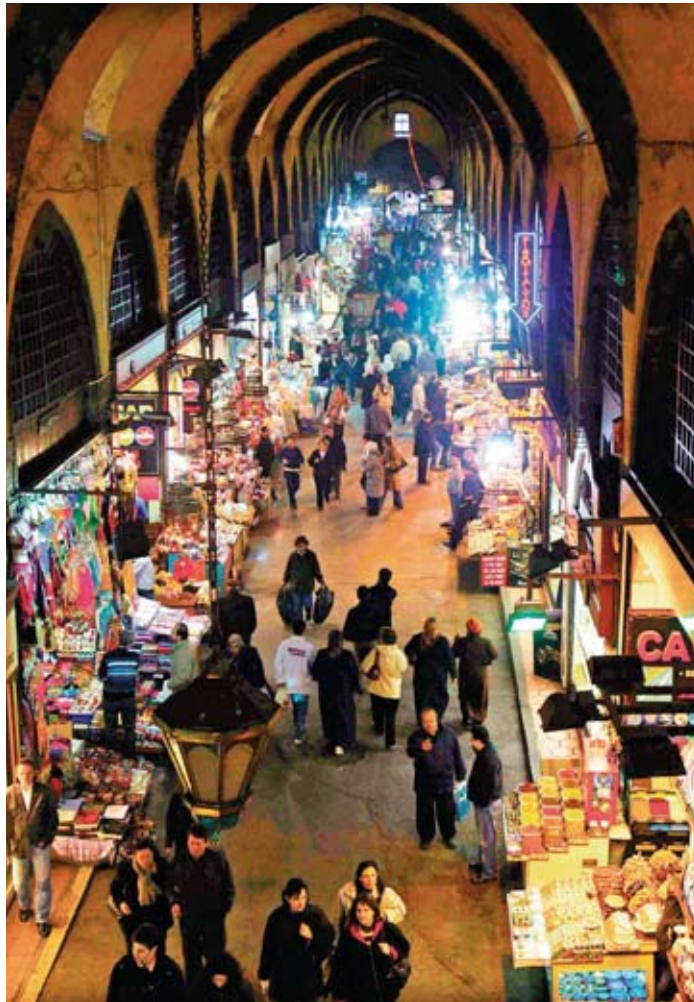
Spices have played an important role in the evolution of Turkish cooking over the centuries. As the Ottoman Empire spread, it absorbed many aspects of cuisines spanning three continents. The introduction of new spices played a crucial role in the evolution of Turkish cooking, as well as contributing to the medical knowledge of the time. For centuries herbs and spices from across the globe were sold in Istanbul's Msir Carsisi. Today, locals still head to the bazaar for culinary as well as medicinal needs.

Alluring aromas tantalize the senses even before setting foot inside of Msir Carsi, also known as the Egyptian or Spice Bazaar. One of the busiest markets in Istanbul, the structure itself was built as part of the Yeni Cami complex in the 1660's with rents from the shops supporting charitable activities including a hospital, school and baths. First known as the Valide Carsi after Valide Sultan Turhan, the mother of Mehmet IV, the market originally traded in tin, coffee and spices. At that time, spices were shipped to Istanbul from Asia via Egypt, hence the name Egyptian Bazaar. Price and quality of goods was strongly enforced by professional guilds that oversaw all professions. The guilds required that knowledge be passed on not just by reading, but by hands-on experience. Apprentices were tested before they could move on to the rank of Assistant, and then, finally, on to the level of Master.

The bazaar served as the pharmacy for the Ottoman Empire and it was here that medical knowledge was collected from all three continents the empire spanned. The bazaar served as the gathering point for herbs and spices, which were then made into remedies and distributed across the empire. Each shop in the bazaar carried a sign indicating what part of the body and which ailments the owners specialized in. Common prescriptions included not just drugs and herbal mixtures, but aromatherapy in the form of herbal baths, steam inhalation and scented oil massage.

While now not in as great a demand as previously, remedies can be still be bought at the bazaar. Third generation aktar (herb seller) Adnan Kalmaz explains, "I have great respect for modern science and medicine. But, in the libraries we still have the recipes for the old remedies, but we don't use them much anymore. In Anatolia we have over 9,000 varieties of herbs growing wild. But we're not making as good of use of them as we could. We're just sitting on top of a huge treasure and not using it. We come from the earth and will go back there, so we should stay in close contact with it as much as possible. An aktar will only recommend proven remedies, all made with non-poisonous herbs. If a pregnant woman comes to us we won't sell her anything at all, though, just in case there might be an adverse reaction. And for children we only use well-known mixtures."

Almost every shop in the bazaar will have a stock of pekmez, molasses syrup. "The production of pekmez goes back thousands of years," explains Kalmaz. "It can be made from many different things, mulberries, apricots and apples for example. But, the most popular and easiest to find is made from grapes." Considered to be an excellent tonic for many ailments, it is thought to be particularly good for boosting the immune and circulation systems, as well as for easing symptoms of bronchitis and asthma. Kalmaz highly recommends eating a soup spoon of it mixed with yogurt every morning.



PHOTOS © DRIVIAN YAVUZ

### Worth its weight in gold, Saffron

At times more expensive than gold, the dye of choice for the colorful robes of Buddhist monks and a critical ingredient of symbolic and iconic dishes across the Mediterranean, these three tiny trumpet-like stigma of the crocus flower have made an indelible mark on cuisine and culture. In addition to adding to the taste, aroma and color of dishes, they all possess many medicinal qualities. Used for centuries around the world, they are all found in a variety of Turkish food.

"Pomegranate, saffron, cinnamon, the ingredients of love," is the groom's toast in the Song of Solomon. Harvested from the stigma of the crocus, saffron was included in the repertoire of the palace kitchens for hundreds of years. The world's most expensive spice by weight, it has a slightly bitter taste and contains a carotenoid dye that gives food a distinctive golden hue. Dating back to Sumerian times, it has many uses as a dye, flavor enhancer and medicine. Hippocrates recommended it for digestion, colic, bronchitis and insomnia. It is rumored that Cleopatra added a quarter cup of saffron to her bath for its reputed cosmetic and aphrodisiac properties.

Safranbolu, in Kastamonu Province, is reputed to produce one of world's top quality saffron from the purplish flowers grown through-



out the area. In Turkish cuisine it is used for soups, chicken, tea and desserts. In addition, it is used as a dye, producing a rich color.

Adnan Kalmaz, a 3rd generation aktar, or herb seller in the Spice Bazaar, explains, "Every Turkish cook book contains recipes using saffron. It is considered to be a spice that brings joy, so at many weddings Zerde, a rice pudding made with saffron, is served to guarantee a happy marriage. It is also made if an important guest arrives."

Kalmaz cautions to always buy saffron in strands, not as a powder. When using it in cooking he explains, "For rice you can add 2 or 3 threads to the boiling water to impart the color, aroma and taste. Or, alternatively, you can soak the threads in a glass of hot water for a few minutes and then add the water to any dish."

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