

E-ISSN: 3023-5731

Scala Journal of Money, Economics and Investment

# SCALA PARA, EKONOMİ VE YATIRIM

Cilt/Volume:03 - Sayı/Issue:01 - Haziran/June 2026

*Dergisi*

## **BİLİM KURULU BAŐKANI**

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Őükrü TekbaŐ

## **BİLİM KURULU ÜYELERİ**

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Emin Karaaslan

Prof. Dr. M. Asım Karaömerliođlu

Prof. Dr. Aziz Çelik

Prof. Dr. Evren Bolgün

Prof. Dr. Ömer Faruk Altunç

Prof. Dr. Eyüp SarıtaŐ

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Baha Karan

Prof. Dr. Sami Karacan

Prof. Dr. Celali Yılmaz

Prof. Dr. Ferit Serkan Öngel

## **YAYIN KURULU**

### **Sahibi**

Novel Scala Basılı Yayın A.Ş. Adına O. Hakan Feyyat

### **Danışma / Hakem Kurulu Başkanı**

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Emin Karaarslan

### **Sorumlu Yazışleri Müdürü**

Osman Şenkul

### **Editör**

Müge Okur

### **Art Direktör**

Kemal Okur

## **YAYIN KURULU ÜYELERİ**

Attila Köksal, CFA

Ali Perşembe

Prof. Dr. Evren Bolgün

Prof. Dr. Celali Yılmaz

Prof.Dr. Ulaş Başar Gezgin

Doç. Dr. Ferit Serkan Öngel

Dr. Kazım Kılınc

Fabrizio Casaretto

Abdurrahman Yıldırım

Ender Yılmaz

# Bir sol vardır sağdan içeri

**Prof. Dr. Mehmet Emin Karaarslan**

Solun ve solculuğun yoğun biçimde tartışılıp, sorgulandığı fakat sağın ve sağcılığın aynı derecede irdelenmediği ve eleştirilmediği bir dönemden daha geçiyoruz. Biri öteki cinsinden tanımlanan birkaç yüzyıllık, dinamik kavramlar söz konusu. Tanımlar da zaman içinde evriliyor, değişiyor; kavramların anlamının gerçek noktasını kaybetmesi rahatsız edici. Yüz yıl öncesinin liberali sağdaydı, liberal bugün solda duruyor. Milliyetçilik sağda, sosyalizm soldaydı, işçi sınıfı solda burjuva sınıfı sağda. Aradaki sınıflar ve kesimler için durum daha da karışıktı, değişik vektörlerin bileşenleri onları sağın veya solun daha çok uzlaşma ile belirlenmiş noktalarına yerleştirirdi, hala da öyle.

Daha dün Kuzey Amerika Serbest Ticaret Anlaşması NAFTA'ya karşı çıkan Amerikan işçi sınıfı mı soldaydı, yoksa bunda çıkarları olan Meksika işçi sınıfı mı? Çinli işçiler mi, yoksa Batı Avrupa'nın örgütlü işçileri mi daha solda? Rekabet sadece sermaye sınıfına özgü, onların arasında olup biten sektörel, ulusal ya da uluslararası bir olgu değil bugün. Yirmi yıl öncesine kadar hayal bile edemeyeceğimiz ucuzlukta Çin mallarını tüketen batılı toplumların tüketici sınıfları ile Çin'in üretici sınıfları yazılı çizili bir ittifak değilse bile, çıkar birliği içinde olmalı bugün. Global kapitalizm garip ittifaklar yaratıyor. Öte yanda demokrasinin ortak ideallerini, çoğulculuğu, taassuba karşı aydınlanmayı, hurafelere karşı bilimi, zulme karşı hukuku ve mazlumlar için adaleti savunup sağcı olmanız da pekâlâ mümkün. Bunlar da yeterli değil, sağı soldan ayırmak için; zamanın testinden geçmiş olması gereken, bugünden yarına değişmeyen ölçüler ve ayraçlar gerekli. Sağcılık ve solculuk hayata karşı bir duruş, sadece politik ve toplumsal bir duruş değil: bireysel ve insanın kendisiyle ve yakın çevresiyle girdiği ilişkiler açısından da tanımlanabilecek bir duruş. Hepimizin bir sağ bir de sol yanı var.

Bu ayrımın ilk farkına varan politik iktisat geleneğinin öncüsü Adam Smith'dir. Smith iki kitap yazar: "Ahlaki Düşünceler Kuramı" (Theory of Moral Sentiments, 1759) ve "Ulusların Zenginliği" (The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, 1776). İnsanın özüne ve toplumsal yaşama dair gözlediği iki temel karşıtlığı (dikotomi), ego ve sempatiyi, işler bu kitaplarında. Kişisel çıkar (self-interest) ve toplumsal çıkar (public interest, altruism) olarak da bakılabilir Smith'in problematiğine. İlk kitabı olan Ahlaki Düşünceler Kuramı'nın ilk bölümü "Sempatiye Dair" (of Sympathy) başlığını taşır. Sempati sadece fedakârlık, cömertlik, hayırseverlik değil, daha genelde diğer insanların bilincinde ve ayrımında olma ve toplumun üyeleri olarak onlar için kaygı duyma anlamlarını taşır. İnsan hariçten bir gözlemci olsa, ya da

kendini bir başkasının yerine koyabilse, ne düşünür ve nasıl davranırdı?

İnsanlara bu türden bir sosyal bilinç ve iyilikseverlik atfedince onlara, kendi davranış ve seçimlerinin başkalarını nasıl etkileyeceği ve bunun karşısında nasıl değerlendirilecekleri kaygı ve endişesini de yüklüyordu Smith. *Ulusların Zenginliği*'ni yazmadan önce ahlak felsefesi üzerine yazar. Klasik iktisat geleneğindeki hep ahlak felsefelerini ve normatif konumlarını açıkca ortaya koyup öyle ilerlemişlerdir. Politik iktisadın ruhsuzlaştırılması, “pozitif iktisat” teknisyenlerinin elinde piçleşmesi ve “business economics” haline gelmesi yakın tarihin bir ürünüdür. İkinci kitabı *Ulusların Zenginliği*'ni 20-25 yılda hazırlar Smith; sadece düzenlemesi 10 yılını alır. İşlediği konuların çerçevesi insandaki öteki eğilimdir: kişisel çıkar, bencillik (selfishness, self-interest). İnsanlar bencilce kendi çıkarlarının peşinde koşarken, hiç farkında olmadan ve ister istemez toplumun çıkarlarını da gözetmektedirler.

Üretim ve büyüme perspektifine verdiği önceliği göstermek üzere işbölümü ve uzmanlaşma ile başlar analizine: uzmanlaşma öncelikle üretimi artıracaktır. “Bırakınız yapsınlar, bırakınız geçsinler, dünya kendini idare eder” (Laissez faire, laissez passer) ile ifade edilen liberal düstur 400. (ca) sayfada gelir. Üretilenlerin değişmesi sorunu ikincildir. Smith'i piçleştiren ortodoks iktisat biteviye “laissez-faire” üzerinde durur. *Ahlaki Düşünceler Kuramı* diye bir kitap yazdığını ekonomi öğrencilerinin bile birçoğu bilmez. Smith, insanın toplumsal aktivitesi içinde kişisel çıkarın rolü için bir ortayolcu ve arabulucudur; egoyu sempatiyle, ‘sağ’ı ‘sol’ ile dengelemeye çalışır.

Düşünce tarihinde Smith'deki bu iki vurgulama Adam Smith Problemi veya Smith'in çift anlamlılığı (duality of Smith) olarak bilinir. İnsanlar özünde bencil midir değil midir tartışması farklı bir düzlemde daha önce de yapılmıştır, İnsanın doğası (the nature of human nature) örneğin Hristiyan geleneğe göre zaten ilk günahıtan başlayarak kötüdür. İnsanların doğuştan kötü ve bencil olan ruhları kilisenin ve Tanrı'nın yardımıyla, çalışma, ibadet, itiraf ve tövbe yoluyla belki kurtarabilir. Aydınlanmanın yolaçtığı iyimserlik ile, örneğin David Hume, ve diğer romantikler, insanın özünde iyi olduğunu, nötr, yansız, ne iyi ne kötü olarak doğduğunu, ancak daha sonra toplumdaki kötülüklerin etkisiyle yozlaşma ve bozulmaya açık hale geldiğini söylemişlerdir. Genetik farklılıkları, toplumsal kurumların etkisiyle insanlarda farklı eğilimlerin açığa çıkabileceğini söyleyenler de olmuştur. Sosyalist iyimserlik insanın değil 'kurumların doğası' üzerinde durmuş.

Smith'in yaşadığı dönemde hâkim inanış kişisel çıkar ve kamu çıkarının uzlaşmazlığı yönündedir. Eşit kayıplı kazanım toplumu (zero-sum society) varsayılınca bu inanış doğrudur: ben çok alırsam sana azı kalır. Kişisel ve toplumsal çıkarın çelişmesi Smith'in de kaygısıdır, ve bütün yaşamını kişisel çıkarları gözetmenin çoğu durumda toplumsal çıkara da hizmet ettiğini göstermek üzere harcamıştır. Meşhur “görünmeyen el” (invisible hand) metaforu Adam Smith'e aittir. Görünmeyen bir el toplumda işbirliğini sağlar. Kasap kendi ailesinin geçimini sağlamak için et kesip satarken topluma da gıda hizmeti sağlamaktadır. Üreticiler arası rekabet, en düşük fiyat ve üretici emeğinin karşılığı olan en düşük karla en yüksek kaliteyi sağlar. Böylece kişisel çıkar peşinde koşan bireyler topluma da dolayısıyla hizmet ederler.

Piyasa işleyişi ve rekabet, insandaki ego ve hırs (‘greed’: tamah), bir anlamda insanın sağ yanı,

üzerinde ekonomik bir kısıt oluşturur. Piyasa rekabeti -- görünmeyen el metaforu—işin sadece ve sadece bir boyutudur Smith için. Bugün ne yazık ki herkes onu bilir, onu konuşur. Servet edinme, biriktirme hırsı ve ego üzerindeki, çıkarıcılığın ve hırsın önüne geçen, onu dengeleyen ve toplumsal yarar lehine davranmaya zorlayan iki diğer öge vardır; üzerinde durduğu ve güvendiği.

Bunlar sağ üzerindeki, sosyal kısıtlardır: Birincisi tanrı korkusu, din ve ahlak kısıtıdır. O dönemin protestan ahlakı ve Kalvinizm'e göre servetin birikmesi sadece ve sadece yeniden yatırıma dönüşüyorsa kabul edilebilir; zevk-u sefa için harcanması günahdır. İkinci kısıt küçük kasaba ortamında yaşayan ve birbirlerini isimleriyle tanıyan insanların, yüz yüze baktıkları günlük yaşam ilişkileri ağında ifadesini bulan küçük ölçekli komün unsurudur. Smith'in döneminde dünya oldukça küçüktür. İnsanlar birbirini tanır. Kasabın et sattığı müşteri büyük olasılıkla aynı zamanda onun arkadaşıdır da. Dostlara kazık atılmaz. Anadolu'da, Ahi geleneğini yansıtan esnaf dayanışmasını konu alan lonca hikâyelerinde de vardır bu: "Komşusu aç yataken tok yatan bizden değildir."

Smith'in endişelendirmiş olduğu kazanma hırsı ve bunu dengeleyen argümanlara global kapitalizmin dünyasında yeniden bakarsak şunları gözleriz: Din kısıt olmaktan çıkmış, bireyci, maddeci ahlak, rasyonel tavır hâkim olmuştur (God is dead). Firma sahipleri (hisse senedi sahipleri) ile yönetici sınıf birbirinden ayrılmış, patron-işçi ilişkilerinin yüzyüzeliği büyük ölçüde kaybolmuştur. Hissedarlar neyin sahibi olduklarını bile bilmezler ve görmezler çoğu zaman (Veblen'deki 'absentee ownership' kavramı). İşçilerin ve müşterilerin durumu, kimliği vb. hisse senedi sahipleri için kaygı olmaktan çıkmıştır. Kendi işinin başındaki girişimci, yaratıcı, çalışkan, doğal olarak hırslı 18. Yüzyılın burjuva sınıfı yerine rantıye bir sınıf türemiştir. Smith'in dünyasından, serbest piyasa ve rekabetin zengin örneklerinden bugüne ne yazık ki fazla bir şey kalmamıştır. İktisat derslerinde bile tam rekabet piyasaları için örnek bulmakta zorluklar yaşanır. Bugün artık tekellerin, oligopollerin, kartellerin, dünyasındayız. Öyle ki tekellere eskisi gibi kötü gözle bakamıyoruz, yararları çok: Ar-Ge harcamalarının büyüklüğü gibi.

Bu yazının başlığı olan sağ/sol ayrımıyla Smith'in doğrudan bir ilgisi yok; Fransız devrimine olan tepki ve korku nedeniyle politik olarak liberal monarşisttir o, bugün sağcı diyebiliriz. Geliyoruz 20. Yüzyıla, Karl Polanyi'nin 1944'te yazdığı *Büyük Dönüşüm* adlı kitabına. Polanyi de sağ-sol kavramlarını kullanmıyor ama ben onun yaptığı analiz ve bahsettiği kavramların sağ ve solu ekonomi politik (ve psikolojik) olarak ayırtırmada temel alınabileceğini düşünüyorum.

Polanyi şöyle diyor: "Yüzyıl boyunca modern toplumun dinamiği çift yönlü bir hareket (double movement) tarafından yönetildi: Piyasa sürekli genişliyor, ama bu hareket aynı zamanda genişlemeyi belirli yönlerde kısıtlayan karşıt bir hareketle karşılanıyordu. Bu karşıt hareket toplumun korunması açısından hayati önem taşımakla birlikte, son tahlilde piyasanın kendi kurallarına göre işleyişiyle, dolayısıyla piyasa siteminin kendisiyle çelisiyordu." (K. Polanyi, *Büyük Dönüşüm*, 1986, Alan Yayıncılık, s.141) "Şimdi çift yönlü hareket dediğimiz olguya dönelim.

Bunlar toplum içinde her biri belirli kurumsal amaçlara yönelmiş belirli sosyal güçlerin

desteğinde, kendi belirli yöntemlerini kullanan iki düzenleyici ilke biçiminde karşımıza çıkıyorlar. Bunların ilki ekonomik liberalizm ilkesiydi; kendi kurallarına göre işleyen bir piyasanın kurulmasına yönelmişti, ticaret yapan sınıfların desteğinde *laissez faire* ve ticareti yöntemleri olarak kullanıyordu. İkincisi sosyal koruma ilkesiydi. İnsan ve doğanın, aynı zamanda da üretim düzeninin korunmasını amaçlıyor, piyasanın yıkıcı etkilerinden doğrudan doğruya zarar gören çeşitli grupların (özellikle çalışan sınıflar ve toprak sahipleri –ama yalnız onlar değil) desteğinden yararlanıyor ve yöntem olarak koruyucu yasama, kısıtlayıcı cemiyetler ve diğer müdahale araçlarını kullanıyordu.” (age. s.143)

Gündemin içinde kavramlar ne kadar karışmış ve yer değiştirmiş olursa olsun, ben tarihsel olarak da bugün de, sağ-sol ayrımını, Smith’de başka biçimde gördüğümüz, bu çift yönlü hareketin iki cephesine indiriyorum. Biraz daha açmaya çalışayım: Üretim insanın doğayla etkileşimidir. Eğer bu süreç *laissez-faire* ilkesine dayalı bir pazar sistemiyle yürütülecekse, insan da doğa da bu ilke etrafında bir ekseninde yerlerini almalıdır: yani onlar da arz ve talep yasalarına tâbi olmalı, diğer mallar gibi alınıp satılmalı ve diğer mallar gibi pazar için üretilmelidirler. Ticaret, pazar için üretim, endüstri devriminin ürünü değil, bildiğimiz tüm yazılı tarih boyunca hep olmuş.

İnsanın ve doğanın alınıp satılması da (kölecilik, ücretli işçilik, alınan borcun ödenememesi durumunda toprağını veya özgürlüğünü kaybedenler, vb.) değişik şekil ve boyut zenginliğinde tarihte hep olmuş. Bunların karşısında duran hareketler de olmuş, toplum bir organizma olarak kendi dokusunu koruma güdüsünü ve tepkisini geliştirmiş. Borçlarını ödeyemeyip köle durumuna düşen Atinalılara özgürlüklerini geri veren Solon kanunlarını hatırlayın. O halde endüstri devriminden bugüne farklı olan ne? Fark şurada: Daha önce hiç kimse kendi kendini düzenleyen piyasaları (self-regulating market) ve *laissez-faire* önermemiş.

Piyasa toplumun genel eklemlenmesi (cohesion) ve çatısı için araçlardan biri olmuş. Refah şüphesiz ki Endüstri Devrimi öncesinde de istenen bir şey ama o zamanlarda büyüme perspektifi yok, bunu sağlamak üzere toplumsal bir altüst oluş önerilmemiş. 18. Yüzyılın liberallerinde bile bu söylem yok. Toplumsal amaç stabilite, huzur ve güvenin sağlanması; ticaret ve üretim yapan sınıfların söylemi de bu huzurun mantığı içinde yer alıyor. Loncalar stabiliteye yönelik düzenlemeleri sağlamak için var. Batı Avrupa’da feodalite bir güvenlik sistemi. Örneğin, Çinli tüccarların dış ticarete girmeleri engellenmiş; yabancı kültürlerle bulaşmasınlar, yozlaşmasınlar istenmiş; barut havai fişegi için kullanılmış yalnızca; Osmanlı ticareti aşağılamış; tüccarın tüm birikimini kaybetmesi sadece bir söze bakmış; Hezarfen Ahmet Galata Kulesi’nden uçunca kelepçeyi vermiş. Oblomov’daki köylüler köylerine gelen ilk mektubu alınca uzun süre düşünüp açmamaya karar verirler çünkü mektuptaki haberin -iyi ya da kötü- yaratabileceği olası bir alt-üst oluş ve yer değiştirme göze alınmaz. Huzur, uyum, stabilite, toplumsal örgünün olabildiğince dengede tutulması perspektifi Endüstri Devrimi’yle birlikte değişiyor.

Liberalist slogan *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer* ile iktidar olan burjuvazi kendi kendini düzenleyen piyasaların inancını yerleştiriyor ve insanın özündeki o eğilimin, yukarıda bahsettiğim Adam Smith’i bile endişelendirmiş olan ego, kişisel çıkar ve servet edinme

güdüünün önündeki her türlü engeli yıkıyor. Bu insanın, ve toplumun, sağ yanındır. Dizginlerinden boşanınca, toplumsal kaygı, huzur, sempati dinlemeyen, her şeyi altüst edip, ‘durmayalım, düşeriz’i kural haline getiren sağ yan. Aynı zamanda çok da yaratıcı bir eğilim bu, insan yaratıcılığının sınırlarını zorluyor, açığa çıkarıyor.

Klasik iktisat geleneğinin son temsilcilerinden Avusturyalı Nobel ödüllü iktisatçı Joseph Schumpeter bu eğilime başka bir bağlamda "yaratıcı yıkıcılık" (creative destruction) adını vermiş. Bugünkü bolluk ve gönenci, maddi zenginliği bu eğilime, yani sağa, borçluyuz. Peki sol genel kategorisi altında toplanabilecek olan karşı hareket ne? En genelde bu karşı hareket, insanın ve doğanın kaderini mal fetişizmi altında piyasanın işleyişine bırakan ve sonuçta onların tahribine yol açabilen eğiliminin önündeki toplumsal kontrol mekanizmaları ve toplumsal dokunun kendini savunma güdülerinden oluşuyor.

Sol, piyasanın işleyişine müdahale etmek ve onu düzenlemekten tutun da piyasaya topyekün karşı olan her türden eğilimi içeriyor: sendikal hareket, çevreciler, işsizlikle mücadele derneği, barışsever bilimadamları birliği, düşkünler yurdu, yetimler vakfı, iflas etmiş işadamlarını kalkındırma cemiyeti, çıraklar birliği, fabianlar, tüketici hakları birliği, genç komünistler ve emekli memurlar cephesi, halkocakları, vb., aklınıza gelen tüm sosyal mesaj sahipleri soldadır. Gariptir, sol sadece insanları ve doğayı değil, aynı zamanda kapitalist işletmeleri de ‘kendi kendini düzenleyen’ piyasaların yıkıcı etkilerinden korumakta.

Örneğin kapitalizmin tarihi boyunca serbest ticaretin sembolü olan pamuklu kumaş sektöründeki üretici firmalar, ABD’de bile korumacı gümrüklerin, ihracat teşviklerinin, dolaylı ücret subvansiyonlarının sayesinde himaye edilerek yaratılabilmiş, ve bugün dahi, örneğin Türk tekstil ihracatına karşı, kotalarla korunmakta. Sol karşı hareket ekonomik yaşamda müdahaleciliği yaygınlaştırmış. Tüm çalışanlar için işsizlik, yurttaşlar için kapsayıcı sağlık sigortası, güçlü sendikalar, ve benzeri sosyal-refah devleti uygulamaları solun eseridir.

Sosyalizm endüstri toplumunun bünyesinde yeşermiş bir sol eğilim, solun en ucu: ‘kendi kendini düzenleyen’ piyasa mekanizmasını iradi bir müdahaleyle demokratik bir toplumun olmazsa olmaz gereklerine tâbi kılma eğilimi. Çalışan sınıflar için çok doğal bir tercih gibi görünüyor. Öte yandan piyasalara müdahaleciliğin zenginleşip çeşitlenmesi devleti, ve onun bürokratik mekanizmasını giderek büyütmüş. Halbuki solun bir ucundaki komünizmin amacı sınıfların yok olmasıyla birlikte zaman içinde devletin sönmesidir. Piyasanın yerine ikame edilen merkezi planlama üssel bir hızla artan ve karmaşıklaşan mal çeşitlemesi problemini teknik olarak çöze bile, bu durum pratikte devletin ve bürokrasinin giderek büyümesini de getirmiştir. Bürokratlar Marx’a göre üretici bir sınıf değil.

Bugün sağ için seküler bir din haline dönüşen ekonomik liberalizmi ve *laissez-faire*’i uygulayabilecek en büyük güç, yani zor, devletin kendisidir. Başta *laissez faire*, ‘en çok sayıda insan için en büyük mutluluk’ sağlamaya yönelik bir araç olarak düşünülürken; sonradan araç amaca dönüşür. Devletin görevi toplumun refahını değil bizzatihi *laissez faire*’i sağlamaktır. Her piyasada bunu gözetlemeye çalışan devletin kaderi giderek büyümek olur. Ne sağ ne sol devleti gerçekten küçültmeye niyetli.

Doğu Avrupa ve SSCB deneyimi "herkesten yeteneğine göre, herkese ihtiyacı kadar" düşünüldüğünde, daha yıkılmadan önce bırakmıştı. 80'lerin sonunda yazan Galbraith'e göre bu sloganın tersini uygulama projesi bile başlamıştı: "Herkes için ihtiyacı kadar, herkese yeteneğine göre." Bir işçi bir spor araba ve bir yüzme havuzuna ihtiyacı olduğunu düşünüyor. Bunları elde etmek için çalışmak zorunda: ihtiyacı kadar çalışacak. Ne kadar zamanda ne kadar para kazanacak? Yeteneğine göre. Yeteneğine nasıl değer biçilecek? Basit, arz ve taleple. Ya bütün işçiler burjuva olmaya karar verirlerse ne olacak? Bütün işçiler spor araba ve yüzme havuzuna ihtiyaçları olduğunu düşünemeyecek; özellikle sağ yanları gelişmemiş olanlar. 90'lı yıllarda sağ/sol tanımlarının yer değiştirmesini işleyen "Soviet Paradox: Left is Right" isimli bir NYTimes makalesinin sonunda o dönemin Komünist Parti şefi Polozkov'un İzvestiya'ya verdiği demeçten bir alıntı hatırlarım: "Devran dönüyor, bugün solda duranlar yarın sağda olacaktır." SSCB'nin dağılmasında rol oynayan ve o zaman sol gibi görünen muhalefet sağdır aslında. Pastanın büyümesi için sağ tercihi yapan solcular paradoksaldır.

Bu yazıdaki sağ-sol ayrımı çıkar, çatışmasını yadsımıyor. Onu belki de en önemli araç olarak alıp değişik grupların değişik çıkarlara sahip olmasının ötesinde, aynı grup içinde gözlenen farklı eğilimleri de açıklamaya çalışıyor. Popüler kullanımdaki sağ-sol politik ayrımında zaman tutarlılığı yok, bu rahatsız edici: burjuvazi karşısında çelişen çıkarlara sahip işçi sınıfı, *ezilen sınıf* olarak solda, hakim sınıf burjuvazi ise sağdadır. İşçiler burjuvaziyi devirip onlar üzerinde hakimiyetlerini kurunca, politik olarak burjuvazinin ezilen sınıf olarak artık sol işçilerin sağ olması lazımdır. Ya da, ulus devletler öncesinde, feodalite altında ezilen sınıflardan biri olarak burjuvaziyi solda saymak gerekir, iktidara geldikten sonra sağda.

Karikatürize edersek, Spartaküs ve isyancı köleler soldur, köle sahipleri sağ; ilk Hristiyanlar soldur, Romalılar sağ. Aleviler soldur, Sünniler sağ. Fransız Devrimi sonrası oluşan modern çağa özgü bir ayrım olduğu için ben kriteri pazar karşısında alınan tavır ve duruş olarak alıyorum. Bu tavırdaki farkları bir tarafta ego, kişisel çıkar, servet edinme ve zenginleşme eğilimi diğer tarafta toplumun insanı ve doğayı bu eğilimin yıkıcı etkilerinden koruma ve onu kontrol etme, denetleme güdüsü olarak görüyorum. Bu ayrım sosyal sınıfları ve çıkar gruplarını boylamasına kesiyor, üzerinden geçiyor. Sağcı ve bunun bilincinde olan bir işçi rahatsız edici ama pekâlâ olası. GWB veya RTE'nin kendilerini çevrecinin daniskası olarak ilan etmeleri de çoğumuzu rahatsız ederdi. Gerçek şu ki, Doğu Bloku'nun 'sosyalist' işçileri 90'ların başında, rahatsız edici bir biçimde, planlama yerine serbest pazarlardan yana tercih yaptılar.

Ayrımın kabaca karşıt ekonomik çıkar gruplarına indirgenmesine karşıyım. Örneğin, ben balinaların avlanmasına karşı çıksam bundan ne çıkarım olabilir. Hiç balina görmediğim gibi, atalarımın kimse de görmemiştir. Sadece ve sadece doğa sevgisiyle hareket ediyor olabilirim. Bunlar bir yana, aslında, para kazanma hırsıyla hareket eden tamahkârlara ve üstelik de çok verimli Japon balıkçılara karşı çıkıyorum. Onların kısa zamanda çok kazanma ve büyüme saiklerine karşı çıkıyorum, çünkü bu doğanın kısmen tahrip edilmesi anlamına geliyor. Bu hırsın olmadığı bir dünyada balinaların korunmaya ihtiyacı yoktur. Yalnızca ekonomik ve sınıf çıkarları için sağcı ya da solcu olunmaz. Benim tanımında piyasaların kendi kendini düzenleyebileceğine, bunun toplum için en iyi sonuçları vereceğine, müdahale edilmemesi gerektiğine olan kör inanç sağ ucu, bu sürece inançsızlık sol ucu temsil ediyor.

Planlama yerine serbest piyasa, kamu sektörü firmaları yerine özel teşebbüs firmalarını görmek isteyen, 'artık-değer' sömürüsüne uğramak için can atmış olan dün Polonya ve Rus, bugün Çinli işçileri salt egemenler gözüyle, yani komünist partisinin gözüyle, bakmadıkları, sisteme muhalif durdukları için sol altında toplamak garip olurdu. Sol ezilenlerin yanında olmak değildir. Daha uzun bir dönemde ve perspektifte, solda görmeye alıştığımız ve solda görmemiz doğal olan bu insanların tarihin bu dönemecinde sağ yanları ağır basmaktadır.

Batı benzeri bir maddi refah ve zenginliğe onlar da sahip olmak istemektedirler, her türlü fiyatı ödeme pahasına. Kimsenin şüphesi olmasın, aynı insanlar uzun dönemde yine solda yer alacaklardır. Batıdaki emekçi sınıfların olgunlaşmış deneyimlerinden çıkarım yaparsak, spor araba ve yüzme havuzuna sahip olmak isteyen işçilerin çoğu bunun fırsat maliyetini öğrenince halk plajlarıyla ve toplu taşıma araçlarıyla yetinmenin daha az yıkıcı olduğuna karar verecektir. Yaptığım ayırım ve kavramlaştırma çabasında problem şurada başlıyor: 60 yılı aşkın reel sosyalizm deneyimi, piyasaları emirle düzenleyen planlama rejimi, doğanın ve insanın tahribinin önüne geçmek için yeterli çabayı gösterdi mi? Özellikle Stalin dönemi nesli için artık değer sömürsünden kurtulmak kendi başına yeterli miydi? Üretilenler toplumsal servet olarak birikse bile iş aynı, fabrika aynıken, sonuç aynı yabancılaşma olmayacak mıydı?

Ortodoks iktisat piyasalar çöktüğü zaman devlet müdahalesinin ve regülasyonun gerekli olduğunu kabul eder. Piyasa çeşitli nedenlerle çökebilir ki en başta rekabetin çöküşü gelir; tekelleşme, kartelleşme, iktisadi fesat, stratejik davranış, dışsallıklar (örneğin çevre kirliliği gibi maliyetini üreticinin değil de toplumun ödediği yan ürünler) istisna değil norm olmaya başladıkça kamu iktisadından daha sık bahsedeceğiz, sol daha sık devreye girecek, kaçamadığımız gibi muhtaç olacağız sol yanımıza ve solculara.

# Yabancılaşma Olgusu ve Kafka'nın Çaresizlik Sığınağı

Prof. Dr. F. Serkan Öngel

## Özet

Kafka'nın eserlerinde işlediği yabancılaşma olgusu, emekçinin kendi emeğini varlığına karşıt bir nesne olarak inşa ettiği bir süreçte, onu anlayabilmek açısından incelenmesi gereken bir konudur. Döneminin tümüyle modernleşme ve ilerleme felsefesinin etkisindeki yönelişine tepkili olması yaşadığı toplumla ilgili sorunlarla ilgilidir. Bu anlamıyla Kafka'yı yabancılaşmaya ve toplumsal gerçekliğe dikkat çekmeksizin anlamak mümkün değildir. Bu çalışma yabancılaşma kavramı üzerinden Kafka'nın eserlerini hazırlayan ekonomik iklimi anlamaya ve Kafka'nın sığındığı çaresizlik ile yabancılaşma olgusu arasında bağ kurmaya çalışmaktadır.

Franz Kafka, Yabancılaşma, Nihilizm, İlerleme Düşüncesi, Walter Benjamin

## Abstract

The phenomenon of alienation, explored in Kafka's works, is a subject that needs to be examined in order to understand the laborer's process of constructing their own labor as an opposing object to their existence. Kafka's reaction to the influence of the philosophy of modernization and progress of his time is related to the problems he encountered in his society. In this sense, it is not possible to understand Kafka without paying attention to alienation and social reality. This study aims to understand the economic climate that shaped Kafka's works through the concept of alienation and establish a connection between Kafka's refuge in helplessness and the phenomenon of alienation.

Franz Kafka, Alienation, Nihilism, Philosophy of Progress, Walter Benjamin"

## GİRİŞ

Franz Kafka, modern çağın en önemli yazarların biri olarak fazlasıyla tartışılmış ve eleştirilmiştir. Yaşadığı dönem dikkate alındığında çalkantılı bir dönemde eserlerini kaleme alan Kafka, aslında emekçinin kendi emeğine yabancılaşma sürecini çok iyi tanımlayabilmiş ve bu sürecin insan doğasında yarattığı tahribatı olanca detayı ve çıplaklığıyla anlatabilmiştir.

Ancak Kafka'ya yöneltilen eleştirilerin en temel nedeni onun hayatın gerçeklerini yakından hisseden bir yazar olarak kendisine çaresizliği bir barınak kabul etmesindedir. Kafka, toplumsal gerçeklerin yaratabileceği değişim dinamiklerini görmezden gelerek umutsuzluğun, çaresizliğin içinde bir bunaltı havasını eserlerinin temel omurgası haline getirmiştir.

Zayıf yanını yazınsal gücünün temel kaynağı olarak gören Kafka onu belirleyen yabancılık, dışlanmışlık, kendi kendine sürgün edilmişlik üzerinden kendisini tanımlar. Küçük burjuva olan ailesinin içinde kendisini yabancı hissetmekte, sigorta memuru olarak sürdürdüğü çalışma yaşamında bürokrasinin ağırlığını yoğunluğuyla yaşamaktadır.

Kafka'nın eserlerinde işlediği yabancılaşma olgusu onu anlayabilmek açısından incelenmesi gereken bir konudur. Döneminin tümüyle modernleşme ve ilerleme felsefesinin etkisindeki yönelişine tepkili olması yaşadığı toplumla ilgili sorunlarla ilgilidir. Bu anlamıyla Kafka'yı yabancılaşmaya ve toplumsal gerçekliğe dikkat çekmeksizin anlamak mümkün değildir. Bu çalışma yabancılaşma kavramı üzerinden Kafka'nın eserlerini hazırlayan ekonomik iklimi anlamaya ve Kafka'nın sığındığı çaresizlik ile yabancılaşma olgusu arasında bağ kurmaya çalışmaktadır.

## **Yabancılaşma ve Kafka**

Yabancılaşma kavramını ilk olarak kullanan Jean-Jacques Rousseau olsa da kavrama Hegel ve Genç Marx'ın getirdiği felsefi derinlik tartışmasız olarak kabul edilmektedir. Hegel ve Marx insanın yabancılaşma sürecini insanın çalışma ve üretim yüzünden doğadan ayrılmasıyla başlatırlar (Fisher 1995: 79-80). Kavramın en etkin biçimde tanımlandığı yer Kapital'dir. Marx, burada yabancılaşmayı, işçinin onu ücretli olmaya zorlayan, çalışma araçlarından yoksunluk nedeniyle emeğinin ürününe yabancı olması anlamında kullanmaktadır. Emeğinin sonucuna sahip olmadığı için, kendi ürettiği ürüne yabancıdır. Bu ürün kapitalistin elinde artık değer olarak kalır (Durand 2000:99).

İşte kapitalist sistemde yabancılaşmanın temelinde yatan şey emekçinin yaşamını sürdürebilmek için her gün çalışmak zorunda oluşu ve kendi üretim araçlarından yoksun olarak ürettiği ürüne yabancı kalışıdır.

*“Emeğin (ürettiği ürünün) işçiye dışsal olması, yani onun içsel doğasına ait olmaması; onun kendisini olumlamasına değil inkar etmesine neden olur. Kendini mutlu değil mutsuz hisseder, fiziksel ve zihinsel enerjisini özgürce geliştirmez ama bedenine ve zihnine zarar verir. Bu nedenle işçi varlığını yalnızca işinin dışında hisseder ve işinde de varlığını kendisinin dışında hisseder. Çalışmadığı zaman kendini evinde hisseder ve çalıştığı zaman kendini evinde hissetmez. Bu nedenle emeği gönüllü değil, zorlamadır; zorunlu emektir. Bu nedenle bir ihtiyacın tatmini değildir; yalnızca kendi dışındaki ihtiyaçları tatmin etmek için bir araçtır....Dışsal emek, insanın kendini yabancılaştırdığı emek, kendini feda etme eylemidir” (Marx 1997:71)*

En nihayetinde işçi için emeğin dışsal karakteri, onun kendisine değil başkasına ait olması gerçeğinde ortaya çıkar. Kendisinin ürünü sermayenin bir parçası olarak, onun metalaşma sürecinin bir parçasıdır. Emekçi, yaratıcı ve özgür bir üretim sürecinin dışında kalmakta, kendisine biçilen işbölümünün sonucunda kendisini giderek daha değersiz ve önemsiz olarak hissedebilmektedir.

Fischer, Franz Kafka'nın bu süreci kendinden önceki sanatçıların hepsinden daha çok duyumsadığına dikkat çekmektedir: *“Franz Kafka, bir konuşması sırasında Janaouch'a “Taylorizm” hakkında şöyle der: “Yalnız çalışmayı değil, her şeyden önce onun bir ögesi olan insanı bozar ve aşağı görür Taylorizm. Bu ölçüde taylorlaştırılmış bir hayat, özlenen zenginlik ve kazancı değil ancak açlığı ve yoksulluğu getiren bir beladır. İşte ilerleme sana (Fisher 1995: 82). Kafka'dan aktarılan bu alıntı onun kapitalist sisteme ve yabancılaşma*

olgusuna yönelik rahatsızlığının açık ifadesidir. Ancak bu rahatsızlık bir karamsarlıkla çevrelenmiştir. O da insanın artık yaşayan bir varlık olmadığını bir nesne, bir şey olduğunu düşünmektedir.

Ancak bu tespit onu nihilizme sürüklemektedir. Kafka'nın etrafında yapılan tartışmaların temel eksenini onun bu yaklaşımı belirlemektedir. Benjamin'in ilerleme üzerine yürüttüğü tartışmada iradeye biçtiği olumlu role Kafka'da rastlamak mümkün değildir.

Kafka, modern düşüncenin ve umudun olanaklarına karşı çıkar. Ona göre bunlar uzun süredir kayıp olan bir oyundur. Onun "savaşı" sadece zaman için geçerli değildir. Ne zamanın muhafazakâr kötümser eleştirisi anlamında ne de zamanın sözde ilerici devrimci eleştirisi anlamında bir "zaman eleştirme" değildir. Kendisini daha ziyade, "olumsuz niteliklerini" güçlü bir şekilde özümlediği herkes tarafından eleştirilen bu zamanın bir "temsilcisi" olarak hisseder (Emrich vd. 1977:374).

Lukacs, yenilikçi edebiyatın en önde gelen isimlerinden biri olarak gördüğü Kafka'nın çaresizlik havası ve bulantının ağır bastığı ve anlaşılabilir korkular karşısındaki insanı yansıtan eserleriyle bu akımın en tipik örneği olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. **“Kafka'nın boğuntusu yenilikçi akıma özgü yaşantının da kendisidir”** (Lukacs 1986:43).

Lukacs (1986:46) yenilikçi edebiyata dair şöyle demektedir;

*“Yenilikçi edebiyatta insan dünyasının, dolayısıyla da insanın kendisinin yıkılması ideolojik amaçla örtüşmektedir. Bu durum çağın temel yaşantısı sayılan boğuntu varlığa atılmışlığın bu yan ürünü duygu kaynağını yıkmakta olan bir toplumun yaşantısında bulur. Fakat etkilerini insan dünyasının yıkılışını yansıtarak sağlar.”*

Lukacs, Kafka'yı olağanüstü anlatım gücüne, eşsiz duyarlılığına rağmen, gerçekçi sanatın özü olan özelle genel arasındaki kaynaşmayı sağlayamamasından ötürü eleştirmektedir. Onu Franz Kafka ile Thomas Mann arasında tercih yapmaya iten de böyle bir hareket noktasıdır.

Lukacs'ın Kafka karşısında Mann'ı tercih etmektedir. Bunda yanlış bir dünya görüşü ile yazılan bir eserin değerinden kaybedeceğine olan inancı belirleyici olmaktadır. Ancak bunu yeterli görmemekte eleştirilerini sanatsal değeri düşük toplumsal gerçekçi eserlere de çevirmektedir (Moran 1995:82-84).

### **Walter Benjamin, İlerleme Fikri ve Stratejik Kötümserlik**

Kafka'nın ilerleme düşüncesine yönelik yaklaşımına yukarıda değinmiştik. Onun yaşadığı boğuntu ve karamsarlık Benjamin'i intihara sürükleyen Hitler'in çizimleri altında ezilen Avrupa'dan çok daha öncedir. Benjaminle, Kafka'yı ortaklaştıran şey ikisinin de ilerleme fikrine biçilen olumlu misyona karşı çıkmalarıdır. Benjamin'in “Tarih Üzerine Tezler”de tarih meleği benzetmesi yaptığı IX. Tez ilerleme fikrine dair eşsiz bir metindir (Benjamin 1995:37):

*“... Tarihin meleği böyle gözükmektedir. Yüzünü geçmişe çevirmiştir. Bizim olaylar zinciri gördüğümüz noktada, o tek bir felaket görür, yıkıntıları birbiri üstüne yığıp, onun ayakları dibine fırlatan bir felaket. Melek büyük bir olasılıkla orada kalmak, ölüleri diriltmek, parçalanmış olanı yeniden bir araya getirmek ister. Ama cennetten esen bir fırtına kanatlarına dolanmıştır ve bu fırtına öylesine güçlüdür ki, melek artık*

*kanatlarını kapayamaz. Fırtına onu sürekli olarak sırtını dönmüş olduğu geleceğe doğru sürükler; önündeki yıkıntı yığını ise göğe doğru yükselmektedir. Bizim ilerleme diye adlandırdığımız, işte bu fırtınadır.”*

İlerleme misyonuna biçilen rolle kötümserlik ikisinin de ortak yanındır. Ancak Benjamin kötümserliği stratejik olarak seçmektedir. Ve irrasyonel düşünceye kaynaklık eden “feda kültürünün” temel dayanaklarından birini oluşturan hiçciliğe prim vermemektedir.

Tek tek bireylerin kendi yoksunluklarını ve yaşam karşısında üretim süreçlerindeki yaşadıkları parçalanmayı aşabildikleri tek kanal kendilerinden çok daha üstün bir güçle özdeşleşmek noktasında belirlenmiş, Faşizm böyle bir atmosferin arasında umutsuzluk ve yoksunluktan beslenerek kara gölgesiyle bütün bir dünyanın üzerine kabus gibi çökmüştür.

Benjamin, umut için barınak arar kendine, galiplerle mağlupların, muzaffer olanla yenilmişin aynı tarih anlayışını, aynı akli paylaşamayacakları düşüncesinden hareket eder. Tarih ezilenler açısından bir yıkıntı bir enkazdır ona göre. Kültür denilen sürekliliğin altında hep bir barbarlık vardır. Umut ancak bir alt üst oluşla mümkündür. Tarih tüm çıplaklığıyla ezilenlerin gözlerinin önüne serildiğinde kurtuluş mümkün olacaktır.

Benjamin, yakın bir süreçte yaşanacak zaferlere ihtiyaç duymaya gerek kalmayacak kadar uzun sürecek, karanlık karşısında zayıflamayacak kadar zorluklara hazırlanmış bir umut arıyordu. Bu umut geleceğe yönelik bir iyimserlik için stratejik bir kötümserliği gerektiriyordu (Oskay 2000:146).

Kafka içinse yaşama dair bir umut yoktur. O bu sistemin içinde Değişim romanında Gregor Samsa'nın yaşadığı yabancılaşmanın, sıkışmışlığın, anlamsızlığın ve bulantının ortasındadır. Çaresizlik ruh hâlini belirleyen en temel etmendir. Ancak bu onun eserlerinin derinliğine, ayrıntıların gözler önüne olağanüstü serilişine gölge düşürmez. Kafka, bu anlamıyla yaşamı en gerçek noktalarından kavramakta ve teşhir etmektedir. Onda bir arayış ve bu durumdan çıkış çabası da vardır. Yazma eylemi onun çıkış arayışında bulduğu en somut zemindir.

Kafka zamanının en radikal nihilisti olmasına rağmen, nihilizmin kurbanı olan, onun sözcüsü haline gelen edebi nihilistlerden değildir. Nihilizmin maskesini düşürerek onunla sürekli savaşıyor, köklerini ortaya çıkararak eleştirel bir gözlemci anlamında böyledir. "Radikal" kelimesinin anlamı budur. "Ben sonum ya da başlangıcım" ifadesi onun konumunu tam olarak ifade eder. O bir sondur, çünkü geçmişten gelen tüm tesellileri reddeder, bunların dini ya da sosyal devrimci teselliler ve umutlar olması önemli değildir. Hiçlik onun kendi "unsuru" dur ve zamanının olumsuz unsurlarını güçlü bir şekilde temsil eder (Emrich vd. 1977:378).

Kafka, güncesinde yazma eyleminin onun için ne kadar büyük bir öneminin olduğunu anlatmaktadır. “Yargı” adlı öyküyü bir oturupta gece saat on’dan ertesi gün altı’ya dek yazdığından bahsetmektedir.

*“Yalnızca böyle gerçekleştirilir yazma eylemi, ancak böylesi bir uyum içinde, beden ve ruhun tam bir açılımla. Hep dupduru gözler. Yazı yazmayla birlikte bir çok duygular taşınır gelir...” (Kafka 1995:52-53).*

Kafka için böylesine bir kaçış ve arayıştır yazdıkları. Yazacak olmanın verdiği sevinçten bahseder güncesinde.

Fischer, Kafka'ya yönelik "*yalnız karanlık, yalnız arayan, yalnız nihilist ve sürekli umutsuz biri*" tanımlamalarına karşı çıkmakta böyle bir yaklaşımın onun kişiliğini çarpıtmak anlamına geldiğini iddia etmektedir. Ona göre Kafka "*geçmişe bakan, içinde yaşadığı zamanı ancak geçmişe, donmuş görüntülerin ve nesnelere toplamına, anıların yıkıntılardan oluşma yığına gömülerek gerçekliğe dönüştürebilen insanla, geleceği düşleyen, şimdiye geleceğin başlangıcı, henüz biçimlendirilmemiş bir olanaklar dağarcığı diye duyumsayan insan arasındaki çizginin orta yerindedir*" (Fischer 1998:55)

Yabancılaşmayı kendinden önce kimsenin yapmadığı kadar iyi betimleyen Kafka'nın eserlerinde yarattığı atmosfer Kafka'ya yönelik Fischer'in karşı çıktığı eleştirilerin tümüyle haksız olmadığını göstermektedir. Çözumsuzlük onun eserlerinde hakimdir ve çıkış umudu gözükmemektedir. Ancak bir olumsuzluğu tüm çıplaklığıyla gösterebilmek niyet ne olursa olsun önemlidir.

Walter Benjamin'in Brecht ile yaptığı konuşmalarda, Brecht'in Kafka konusundaki yaklaşımı çok açıktır. Brecht Kafka'nın bir hayalci olarak ne olduğunu anlamaksızın geleceği görmüş olduğunu belirtmekte ve onun tek sorununun bir örgütlenme sorunu olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. O, Kafka'nın öngörülerindeki doğruluğunun eğri bir adamın, bir düşçünün doğruluğu olduğunu düşünmektedir (Benjamin 1984:131).

Brecht, Kafka'yı derin olmasına, tasvirlerinin iyi olmasına rağmen, yetersiz görmekte, arka planının olmaması nedeniyle ona kendini yakın hissetmemektedir (Benjamin 1984:133).

## SONUÇ

Kafka, insana ve onun doğasına yabancı bir dünyada yaşamının zorluklarından kurtulmak ve zayıf yönünün telafisi olarak gördüğü yazma eylemine sığınmak noktasında verdiği eserleriyle gerçekliğin olağanüstü bir yansısını inşa etmiştir. Onun geleceğe dair umudunun olmayışı, mutluluğu kendi zihinsel üretiminde arayışı, eserlerinin ana kaynaklığını üreten umutsuzluk, çaresizlik ve bulantıya zemin hazırlamıştır.

Yaşanılan gerçekliği görüp, umutsuzluğa sığınması, onun özellikle marksist yazarlar tarafından eleştirilmesine neden olmuştur. Çaresini göstermeksizin olumsuzlukların sahnesini kurmak bir karabasan halini almış olan yaşantının içinde daha fazla yıkıma yol açmaktadır.

Burjuva ideologlarınca öne sürülen ve kutsanan değişmezlik kavramı yaşamın gerçeklerinden daha çok var olan statükonun devamına yönelik bir kurgudur. Kafka burada ikili bir rol oynamaktadır. Bir taraftan sunulan boş hayallerin içinden gerçekliği teşhir etmekle insanların değişime ihtiyacının altını çizmekte diğer yandan ise çözumsuzlüğü ve umutsuluğu yansıtarak burjuva düşünüş tarzına hizmet etmektedir.

Bir yazarı büyük kılan onun sadece dünya görüşü olamaz. Özellikle bir edebiyatçıya biçilen şey tek başına bir fikri düşüncenin takipçiliğini yapmak olmamalıdır.

Sonuç olarak Kafka, dünya yazının en önemli eserlerini verirken, yaşadığı çağın yarattığı yabancılaşmayı son derece iyi bir şekilde yansıtabilmiştir. Onu güçlü kılan en önemli unsurdur da budur. Ancak yaşadığı dönemin ruhunu yansıtırken, kendisini bu durumun içine hapsedmiştir.

## KAYNAKÇA

- Benjamin , Walter “Brecht’i Anlamak”, Metis Yayınları, Nisan 1984, İstanbul, Çev: Haluk Barışcan, Güven Işısağ
- Benjamin, Walter “Pasajlar”, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, Nisan 1995, İstanbul, Çev:Ahmet Cemal
- Durand, Jean-Pierre (2000) Marx’ın Sosyolojisi, Birikim Yayınları, 2000, İstanbul, Çev: Ömer Laçiner
- Emrich, W., Langebartel, W. W., & Zuk, I. (1977). Franz Kafka and Literary Nihilism. *Journal of Modern Literature*, 6(3), 366–379. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3831181>
- Fischer, Ernst (1995) Sanatın Gerekliliği, Payel Yayınları, Haziran 1995, İstanbul, Çev. Cevat Çapan
- Fischer, Ernst (1998) Franz Kafka, Bilim Felsefe Sanat Yayınları, 1998, İstanbul, Çev:Ahmet Cemal
- Kafka, Franz “Kafka’nın Güncesi”, Düşün Yayıncılık,1995, İstanbul, çev. Mazhar Candan
- Karl, Marx (1977) Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Fifth revised edition 1977, Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- Lukacs, Georg (1986) Çağdaş Gerçekçiliğin Anlamı, Payel Yayınları, Nisan 1986, İstanbul, Çev. Cevat Çapan
- Moran, Berna “Edebiyat Kuramları ve Eleştiri”, Cem Yayınevi, Kasım 1994
- Oskay, Ünsal “Tek Kişilik Haçlı Seferleri”, İnkılap Yayınevi, 2000, İstanbul

# Bir geleneğin kökeni: 1 Mayıs nasıl doğdu veya doğru bilinen yanlış!<sup>1</sup>

**Prof. Dr. Aziz Çelik<sup>2</sup>**

ORCID: 0000-0002-7088-9090

Emek tarihi, düzeltilmesine rağmen ısrarla direnen ve tekrarlanan yanlışlarla doludur. Bunlardan biri de 1 Mayıs'ın kökenine ilişkindir. 1 Mayıs denince akla genellikle 3 Mayıs 1886 günü Chicago Samanpazarı (Haymarket) meydanında grevcilerin üzerine polis tarafından açılan ateş sonucunda 4 işçinin ölümü ve arkasından yaşanan trajik gelişmeler; hukuksuz yargılamalar ve idam edilen işçiler/sendikacılar gelir. 1 Mayıs, Samanpazarı trajedisi ile ilişkilendirilir. Türkiye'de sendikalar, sol partiler ve konuyla ilgili yazıp çizenler yıllardır 1 Mayıs'ın kökenlerini Samanpazarı trajedisi olarak anlatıyor.

2022 1 Mayıs'ı sırasında da bu gelenek değişmedi. 1 Mayıs'ın kökenine ilişkin hatalı ve yanlış bilgiler yeniden dolaşıma girdi. İnternet ve sosyal medya vasıtasıyla bu hatalı bilgiler daha da hızlı yayıldı. 2022'de 1 Mayıs'a ilişkin hatalı bilgilerin birinin mecrası hayli ilginçti. Sosyal medya ve internetteki hatalı bilgilerin düzeltilmesini amaçlayan platformlardan biri olan *Doğruluk Payı* 1 Mayıs ile ilgili hazırladığı haberde ve Twitter'daki bilgi zincirinde 1 Mayıs'ın kökenine ilişkin hatalı bilgileri paylaştı. 1 Mayıs'ın kökeninin Samanpazarı olayları olduğunu

---

<sup>1</sup> Bu makale Emek Araştırma Dergisi'nin 21. sayısında (2022) yayımlanmıştır. Makale yazarın izniyle tıpkı basım olarak yayımlanmaktadır.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr. Kocaeli Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, Çalışma Ekonomisi ve Endüstri İlişkileri Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi, azizcelik@gmail.com

iddia etti.<sup>3</sup> Kayda değer bir diğer hata ise *#Tarih* dergisinde yer alan 1 Mayıs'ın tarihçesine ilişkin yazıda yer aldı: "(...) Samanpazarı Meydanı'nda yaşanan katliamda ölenlerin ve sonrasında asılan işçilerin anısına, Amerikan işçi sınıfı hareketi 1 Mayıs'ı işçi bayramı olarak kutlamaya başlıyor. Üstelik 2. Enternasyonal'de bunu uluslararası bir bayram olarak öneriyorlar ve kabul ediliyor." <sup>4</sup>

Oysa gerçek oldukça farklı. Chicago Samanpazarı trajedisinin bildiğimiz anlamda 1 Mayıs bayramı/geleneği ile ilişkisi yok. Örneğin Nail Satlıgan ve Sungur Savran Samanpazarı olaylarının 100. yılında yayımlanan yazılarında (1986) Samanpazarı olayları ile 1 Mayıs'ın iki ayrı konu olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Daha sonra Yıldırım Koç (1995) bu iddiaya ilk kez net biçimde itiraz eden bir yazı kaleme aldı. Ardından 2004 yılında Zafer Aydın ile bir yazı dizisi hazırladık (Çelik ve Aydın, 2004) ve Samanpazarı trajedisi ile 1 Mayıs geleneğinin bağı olmadığını yazdık. 1 Mayıs'ın köklerini Chicago Samanpazarı olayları (1886) ile başlatan hatalı iddialar üstüne daha sonra da çok sayıda yazı yazdım. Ancak 1 Mayıs'ın kökenine ilişkin hatalı değerlendirmelerin halen devam ettiği gözleniyor. Bu nedenle 1 Mayıs geleneğinin kökenine ilişkin ısrarla tekrarlanan "doğru bilinen bir yanlışa" bir kez daha değinmek kaçınılmaz oldu.

Emek tarihi yazınında düzeltilmelerine rağmen direnen hatalı bilgiler çoktur. Bunlardan en bilineni 1871'de İstanbul'da kurulan Am(e)leperver Cemiyetinin ilk işçi örgütü olduğu iddiasıdır. Lütfi Erişçi'nin bir değerlendirmesinden hareketle bu cemiyet yıllarca ilk işçi örgütü/sendikası kabul edildi. On yıllar önce Oya Sencer (Baydar) Am(e)leperver Cemiyetinin bir hayırsever cemiyeti olduğu ortaya koysa da "ilk işçi örgütü" iddiası yıllarca yazıldı, çizildi. Giderek azalsa da bu iddiaya hala rastlanıyor. Bir başka hatalı/yanlış iddia ise tarihte ilk toplu iş sözleşmesinin 1766 yılında Kütahya'da imzalandığına ilişkindir. Böyle olmadığı ortaya konulmuş olmasına rağmen bu anakronik iddia da halen dile getirilmeye devam ediliyor.<sup>5</sup>

### **Uzun Çalışma Sürelerinin Düşürülmesi Mücadelesi**

Fabrikalardaki ağır çalışma koşulları, uzun çalışma saatleri, düşük ücretler; kadın ve çocuk emeğinin yoğun biçimde kullanılması sanayi devrimi sonrasında karakteristik özelliği

<sup>3</sup> Doğruluk Payı platformunun konuya ilişkin bilgi zinciri: <https://twitter.com/dogrulukpayicom/status/1520426661820481537> (Erişim 1 Mayıs 2022).

Doğruluk Payı'nın konuya ilişkin haberi: <https://www.dogrulukpayi.com/zaman-tuneli/dunden-bugune-turkiye-de-1-mayis> (Erişim: 1 Mayıs 2022).

Doğruluk Payı: Yaptığım uyarılar üzerine söz konusu haberdeki hatalı bilgileri düzeltti. <https://twitter.com/EmeginHalleri/status/1520633168226832385> (Erişim: 2 Mayıs 2022)

<sup>4</sup> Bu yazı *#Tarih* dergisinin Mayıs 2022 tarihli 91. sayısında yer aldı (s. 86-87).

<sup>5</sup> Bu iddianın geçersizliğine ilişkin şu makaleye bakılabilir: Çaycı, Emin ve Çelik Aziz (2020), Kütahya Fincancılar Belgeleri Tarihteki İlk Toplu İş Sözleşmeleri mi? Çalışma ve Toplum, sayı 65 (2), ss. 791-814.

olduğunu biliniyor. Robert Owen, çocukların o dönemde tekstil fabrikalarına altı yaşında işe başlatıldıklarını, bazen beş yaşında da çalıştırıldıklarını, çalışma süresinin kışın ve yazın yasal olarak sınırsız olduğunu, genellikle on dört saat, bazen on beş saat hatta para canlısı ve insanlık dışı işverenler tarafından on altı saate kadar uzatıldığını yazmaktadır (Owen, 1995: 95-102).

Çalışma sürelerinin düşürülmesinin neredeyse bütün bir 19. Yüzyılı kapsayan uzun bir tarihi vardır. İngiltere’de 1802’de kabul edilen ilk *Fabrika (İş) Yasası (Factory Act)* sadece çocukları kapsıyordu. Yetişkin işçiler bu yasanın dışında tutuldu. Bu yasa ile tekstil fabrikalarında çocuk işçilerin çalışma süreleri 12 saat ile sınırlandırıldı fakat uygulamada bu kural işlemedi. Çünkü hiç bir denetçi atanmadı. 1833 tarihli *Fabrika Yasası* ile dokuz yaşından küçük çocukların tekstil fabrikalarında çalışmaları yasaklandı. 9-13 yaş arası çocukların günlük çalışma süresi ise günde 9 saat ve haftada 48 saat ile sınırlandı. 14-18 yaş arası çocuklar günde 12, haftada 69 saat çalıştırılabilecekti. Bu dönemde müfettişler görevlendirildi ancak müfettiş sayısı son derece sınırlı olduğu için müfettiş başına 2700 fabrika ve 250 bin işçi düşüyordu (Townson, 1994). 1847’de çıkarılan bir *On Saat Yasası* ile kadın ve genç işçilerin tekstil sektöründeki günlük çalışma süreleri on saat ile sınırlandırıldı. Bu yasa yetişkin erkek işçileri kapsamıyordu.

1830’ların ortasından 1848’e kadar İngiltere’de sosyal muhalefete damgasını vuran ve başlangıçta bir genel oy hareketi olan *Chartism* daha sonra bir sosyal içeriğe kavuştu. Chartistler 1840’lı yıllarda sekiz saatlik iş günü, çocukların çalıştırılmasının yasaklanması ve emekçilerin maddi koşullarının iyileştirilmesi gibi talepleri genel oy hakkı talebi ile birlikte savunmaya başladılar (Sarica, 1980).

1848 Fransız Anayasası, bir yandan seçme ve seçilme hakkını güvence altına alırken diğer yandan ise 20. yüzyılın sosyal devlet anlayışının dayandığı ilkeleri ilk kez hükme bağlandı. 1848 devriminde önemli rolleri olan işçiler “sosyal cumhuriyet” ilanını, çalışma sürelerinin azaltılmasını ve çalışma hakkının tanınmasını istiyordu. 1848 devrimi ile kurulan geçici hükümet işçilerin talebi olan “çalışma hakkını” tanıdı, iş saatleri Paris’te on saate, Paris dışında 11 saate indirildi. Ancak 1848 Devrimi yenilince çalışanların taleplerinin uygulanması mümkün olmadı.

### **Sekiz Saatlik İş Günü Hareketi**

1850’li yıllarda ABD ve İngiltere’de günlük çalışma süresini 10 saate indiren yasalar kabul edildi. Ancak işçiler 24 saat olan günün 8 saatini çalışmak, 8 saatini uyumak, 8 saatini de dinlenerek ve eğlenerek geçirmek istiyorlardı. 1860’lı yıllarda ABD’de günlük çalışma süresini 8 saate indirmeyi amaçlayan örgütlenmelere gidildi, dernekler kuruldu ve grevler, gösteriler

yapıldı. Düşük ücrete ve uzun iş gününe karşı sürdürülen bu mücadele, 1. Enternasyonal'in 1866 yılında toplanan kongresinde günlük yasal çalışma süresinin 8 saat olması talebinin kabul edilmesiyle uluslararası bir boyut kazandı.

ABD Kongresi 1868'de kamu sektöründe 8 saatlik iş gününü benimsedi. Ancak bu uygulama özel sektör işyerleri için geçerli değildi. 8 saatlik işgünü mücadelesi 1880'lerde ivme kazanmaya başladı. Ancak düzenlenen grevler ve gösteriler güvenlik güçleri tarafından zor kullanılarak bastırılmaya başlandı. 1884-1886 yılları arasında ABD'de, Japonya'da, Fransa'da, Rusya'da 8 Saatlik iş günü talebiyle grevler yapıldı.

“Sekiz saat çalışma, sekiz saat dinlenme, sekiz saat canımız ne isterse”: ABD işçi hareketi 1884'ten 1886'nın mayıs ayına kadar bütün eylemlerinde bu sloganı kullanıyordu. Her şey 1884 yılında ABD işçi sınıfının *Emeğin Şövalyeleri* dışındaki ikinci örgütü olan American Federation of Labor (AFL-Amerikan İşçi Federasyonu) ulusal kongresinde (o dönemki adıyla FOTLU)<sup>6</sup> 1 Mayıs 1886'dan itibaren işçilerin artık sekiz saatten fazla çalışmayı kabul etmeyeceği yolunda bir karar alındığında başladı (Gallin, 1986; Satlıgan ve Savran, 1986) AFL (FOTLU) 1884'te 8 saatlik işgünü talebiyle 1 Mayıs 1886 tarihinde ABD çapında kampanya ve gösteriler düzenleme kararı aldı. *Emeğin Şövalyeleri* Sekiz Saatlik İş Günü hareketini desteklemedi. Ancak örgütün Chicago'daki yöneticileri kampanyaya katıldı. Sosyalistler de kampanyaya katıldı. Başlangıçta 8 saatlik iş günü talebini reformist bulan anarşistler de sonunda kampanyada yer aldı (Gallin, 1986).

1 Mayıs 1886 günü ABD'de 10'dan fazla kentte 350 bin dolayında işçinin katıldığı gösteriler yapıldı. Chicago'daki 1 Mayıs gösterilerine 80 bin kişi katıldı. Chicago'da yapılan gösterilerde hiçbir olay yaşanmadı. *The New York Times*, 1 Mayıs 1886 gösterilerini “8 Saat Hareketi Chicago'da, İşçiler Yürüdü, Nutuklar dinledi ancak hiçbir şiddet girişimi olmadı” başlığıyla veriyordu (*The New York Times*, 2 Mayıs 1886). 1 Mayıs Chicago'da barışçıl bir biçimde kutlandı (Gallin, 1986). Zaman zaman gündeme gelen 1 Mayıs 1886'da Chicago'da göstericilere polisin saldırdığı iddiası gerçek değildir. 1 Mayıs 1886 gösterileri ABD çapında sakin gerçekleşmişti. Bu gösterilerde olay çıkmadı, ölen de olmadı.

Chicago sekiz-saatlik iş günü hareketinin arı kovanı olmuştu; ülke tarihinin o güne değin en büyük işçi gösterisi Chicago 1 Mayıs 1886 gösterisi olmuştu. Ancak ABD'li tarihçi Rayback'e

---

<sup>6</sup> 1886'da AFL adını alacak işçi örgütünün o tarihteki adı Örgütlü Meslek ve İşçi Birlikleri Federasyonudur (Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (FOTLU)).

göre bu yükselişin yaratabileceği potansiyeller *Mc Cormick* fabrikası ve *Haymarket* (*Samanpazarı*) meydanı olaylarıyla tahrip edilecektir (1966: 166).

### **Samanpazarı Trajedisi (1886)**

Chicago'da Kurulu *Mc Cormick* tarım makineleri fabrikasında (daha sonra *International Harvester* adını alacak) işçiler şubat ayında beri sekiz saatlik işgünü kampanyası ile alakası olmayan nedenlerle grevdeydi (Gallin, 1986). 3 Mayıs 1886 günü işveren, anarşist sendikacıların öncülük ettiği grevi grev kırıcılar kiralayarak kırmak istedi. Grevci işçiler, grev kırıcıları fabrikaya sokmak istemedi. Grevcilerin üzerine polis tarafından açılan ateş sonucunda dört işçi öldü (Gallin'e göre altı işçi öldü) (1986). Anarşistler bu saldırıyı protesto etmek için 4 Mayıs 1886 günü Chicago *Samanpazarı* meydanında bir protesto gösterisi düzenlendi. Olaysız biçimde süren gösteri polis tarafından dağıtılmak istenirken kimin tarafından atıldığı bugün bile hâlâ belirlenemeyen bir bomba polis şefinin ölmesine ve çok sayıda polisin yaralanmasına yol açtı. Bu sırada polisin göstericiler üzerine açtığı ateş sonucunda ise yaklaşık 10 kişi öldü 50 kişi ise yaralandı (Gallin, 1986; Rayback, 1966: 166).

*Samanpazarı* olayları bahane edilerek ABD çapında anti-sendikal bir histeri körüklendi. Bu anti-sendikal kampanya sekiz saatlik işgünü kampanyasını gölgeledi ve başarısızlığa uğrattı. Atılan bomba bahane edilerek sekiz anarşist işçi/sendikacı tutuklandı. Hukuksuz biçimde cereyan eden yargılama sırasında tutuklanan sendikacıların polislere atılan bomba ile bağlantılı olduklarına dair ne bir kanıt ne de bir tanık bulunabildi. Ancak yaratılan işçi ve sendika düşmanı hava nedeniyle jüri zanlıları suçlu kabul etti. Sekiz anarşist sendikacının yedisi idama mahkûm edildi. Beşinin cezaları onaylandı ve ikisinin cezaları müebbet hapse çevrildi. İdamı onaylananlardan *Louis Lingg* tutulduğu cezaevinde intihar etti. Diğer dört sendikacı *Albert Parsons*, *August Spies*, *Adolph Fischer* ve *George Engel* ise 11 Kasım 1887 tarihinde asılarak idam edildi.

İdamların üzerinden altı yıl geçtikten sonra hapiste bulunan üç sendikacı yeni seçilen liberal eyalet valisi *John Peter Altgeld* tarafından 1893 yılında koşulsuz olarak affedildi. *Bombayı kimin attığı* tam olarak hiçbir zaman kesin olarak anlaşılamadı ancak daha sonra *bombayı bir ajan provokatörün atmış olacağı* yönünde güçlü iddialar ortaya çıktı.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Ayrıntılar için: *Satlıgan, Nail ve Sungur Savran* (1986), "Mayıs 1886: Şikago *Samanpazarı*", 11. Tez, Sayı 3, ss.244-248; *Gallin* (1986).

Samanpazarı olayları Amerikan işçi hareketinde bir dönüm noktası ve gerilemenin başlangıcı olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Rayback, 1966); Satlıgan ve Savran 1986). 1 Mayıs'ın kökeninin Chicago Samanpazarı trajedisi olduğu yönünde -özellikle Türkiye'de- yaygın bir kanaat olmasına rağmen Samanpazarı olaylarının doğrudan 1 Mayıs ile bağlantısı yoktur. İdamların sebebi Sekiz Saatlik İşgünü kampanyası değildir. 1 Mayıs kampanyası Samanpazarı trajedisinin gölgesinde kalmıştır.

3-4 Mayıs 1886 Chicago Samanpazarı olayları ve sonrasındaki hukuksuz yargılanma ve idamlar şüphesiz emek tarihi açısından özel bir yere sahiptir ve bu olaylarda yaşamını yitiren ve idam edilen işçilerin ve sendikacıların unutulmaması ve anılarının yaşatılması son derece önemli ve gereklidir. Ancak emek tarihindeki taşların aslına uygun yerleştirilmesi de büyük önem arz etmektedir. Hobsbawm'ın vurguladığı gibi 1 Mayıs'ı Samanpazarı şehitlerini anma günü olarak gelenekselleştirmek isteyenler anarşistler olmuştur (2009). Oysa 8 Saatlik İşgünü hareketi ve 1 Mayıs geleneğini anarşist köklere sahip değildir.

## **2. Enternasyonal ve 1 Mayıs Geleneğinin Doğuşu**

Amerikan İşçi Federasyonu (AFL) 1888 Aralık ayında St. Louis'de yaptığı kongrede sekiz saatlik işgünü için bir kampanya başlatma kararı aldı. Kampanya 1 Mayıs 1890'da bir genel grevle tamamlanacaktı. Ancak bu kampanya istenen sonucu vermedi (Rayback, 1966: 195, Gallin, 1986).

Hobsbawm'a göre 1 Mayıs'ın asıl çıkış noktasına ilişkin taraflar arasında bir tartışma yoktur. 1 Mayıs Bayramı, Temmuz 1889'da Paris'te toplanan İkinci Enternasyonal Kongresinde kabul edilmiş bir karardır (2009). Kongrede kabul edilen önerge işçilerin sekiz saatlik işgünü talebini kamu otoritelerine duyurmak için bütün ülkelerde ve şehirlerde önceden belirlen aynı günde uluslararası bir gösteri yapma çağırısıydı. AFL daha önce bu tür bir gösterinin 1 Mayıs 1890'da yapılmasını kararlaştırdığı için AFL'nin bu kararına atıfta bulunularak sekiz saatlik işgünü için 1 Mayıs 1890'da bütün dünyada uluslararası gösteriler düzenlenmesi kararı benimsendi. İkinci Enternasyonal'in 1 Mayıs için aldığı karar sekiz saatlik iş günü ile ilgilidir ve AFL'nin kararına atıf yapmaktadır. Kararda Chicago Samanpazarı trajedisinden söz edilmez.<sup>8</sup>

Öte yandan bu karar bir kereye mahsus bir gösteri için alınmıştır. Düzenli yıllık bir gösteriden, kararda tekrarlanacak özel bir işçi gününden veya emek bayramından söz edilmez (Hobsbawm, 2009, 145). Rosa Luxemburg, "Kimse bu kutlamanın daha sonraki yıllarda da

<sup>8</sup> 2. Enternasyonal'in 1 Mayıs Kararı için bakınız:

[https://www.marxists.org/history/international/social-democracy/1889/marxists-congress/saturday\\_pm.htm#mai](https://www.marxists.org/history/international/social-democracy/1889/marxists-congress/saturday_pm.htm#mai)

tekrarlanmasından söz etmedi. Doğal olarak, kimse, bu düşüncenin bir şimşegin çakışı gibi başarı kazanacağını ve işçi sınıfı tarafından kısa zamanda benimseneceğini önceden göremezdi. Bununla birlikte, 1 Mayıs'ın her yıl kutlanacak sürekli bir kurum haline getirilmesinin gerekliliğini herkesin kavraması ve hissetmesi için, 1 Mayıs'ın yalnızca bir kez kutlanması yeterli oldu” diye yazmaktadır (1894).

1 Mayıs'ın hızla yükselmesi ve gelenekselleşmesi 1 Mayıs 1890 gösterilerinin başarısının sonucu olmuştur. İkinci Enternasyonalin çağrısı üzerine yapılan 1 Mayıs 1890 gösterileri görkemli olur. Londra'daki 1 Mayıs gösterisine yarım milyon işçi katılır. *New York Times*, 1890 1 Mayıs gösterilerini “Emeğin İmdat Çığı, İşçiler 8 Saat İçin Yürüdü, Hiçbir Olay çıkmadı” başlığı ile birinci sayfadan veriyordu (The New York Times, 5 Mayıs, 1890). Hobsbawm'a göre ilk 1 Mayıs Bayramı birçok ülkede emeğin gücünün ve özgüveninin artmasıyla aynı zamana denk gelmişti (2009: 146).

İlk gösterilerin beklenmedik başarısı göz önüne alındığında bir yenileme istediğinin gündeme gelmesi kaçınılmazdı. Bu konuda artan talepler sonucunda İkinci Enternasyonel'in 1891 Brüksel Kongresinde 1 Mayıs gösterilerinin her yıl tekrarlanması karar altına alındı (Hobsbawm, 2009). İkinci Enternasyonel 1891 Brüksel Kongresinde 1 Mayıs'ı uluslararası işçi günü olarak resmen ilan etti (Gallin, 1986; Marxist.org, 2022). Bu karardan önce 1 Mayıs resmi bir gün değildi. Bu tarihten itibaren uluslararası işçi günü haline geldi.

1 Mayıs daha sonraki yıllarda da işçi sınıfının sekiz saatlik iş günü için eylem günü olmaya devam etti. Ancak 1 Mayıs gösterileri egemen çevreler için bir huzursuzluk ve tedirginlik kaynağı olmaya devam etti. 1892 1 Mayıs'ında pek çok yerde gösteri düzenlenmesine izin verilmedi. Londra'da 300-500 bin kişinin 1 Mayıs gösterilerine katıldığını bildiren *New York Times*'ın birinci sayfasından kullandığı başlığı oldukça ilginçti “1 Mayıs Alarmı Yersiz”. Gazete, 1 Mayıs gösterilerini “geniş katılımlı ama düzenli işçi gösteriler” olarak niteliyor ve küçük sorunlar dışında 1 Mayıs gösterilerinin olaysız geçtiğini vurguluyordu (The New York Times, 2 Mayıs, 1892). 1 Mayıs sadece 1890'larda değil 2000'li yıllarda da yersiz alarmlara konu olmaya devam edecekti. 1893 gösterileri Avrupa'nın pek çok kentinde yapıldı. *New York Times*, 1893 gösterilerini, “Herkes sekiz saatlik iş günü istiyor, Avrupa çapında büyük gösteri” başlığı ile veriyordu (The New York Times, 2 Mayıs 1893).

1 Mayıs geleneği böyle doğdu. Rosa Luxemburg “1 Mayıs'ın Kökenleri nedir” başlıklı çok bilinen yazısında süreci bu şekilde anlatmakta ve Samanpazarı trajedisinden söz etmemektedir (1894). Eric Hobsbawm “Bir Tatilin Doğuşu: 1 Mayıs” adlı çok önemli makalesinde 1 Mayıs'ın

doğuşunu 8 saatlik işgünü hareketinin sonucu olarak ve 2. Enternasyonal tarafından alınan kararla bağlantılı olarak anlatır ve anarşistlerin 1 Mayıs'ı 1886 Chicago şehitlerini anma günü olarak görmeyi tercih ettiklerini yazmaktadır (2009). (Hobsbawm'ın bu makalesinin Türkiye'de sendikacılar, sendikal aktivistler, uzmanlar ve araştırmacılar tarafından okunmasını ve yaygınlaşması çok yararlı olacaktır). Görüldüğü gibi 1 Mayıs'ı sekiz saatlik işgünü ve tatil günü mücadelesinden ziyade Samanpazarı katliamı ile bağlantılı gösterme çabası sosyalistlere değil anarşistlere aittir. 1 Mayıs İkinci Enternasyonal'in 1889 Paris Kongresinde bir kerelik bir gösteri olarak karar altına alınmış ancak 1890 gösterilerinin başarılı olması üzerine 1891 Brüksel kongresinde her yıl 1 Mayıs'ta kutlanacak bir işçi günü olarak kabul edilmiştir.

### **Sekiz Saatlik İşgününün Kazanılması**

Sekiz saatlik işgününün kazanılmasında ve yaygınlaşmasında en önemli adımlardan biri Rusya'daki 1917 Ekim Devrimi oldu. Devrimin hemen ardından Sovyet hükümeti sekiz saatlik iş günü kararnamesini yayımladı. Ekim Devrimi öncesinde Yeni Zelanda ve Uruguay'da bu yönde adımlar atılsa da Rusya'da 8 saatlik işgünün kabulünün etkisi çok daha büyük oldu. Ekim Devrimi ile sekiz saatlik işgününün kabulü Batı dünyasında da bu yönde adımları hızlandırdı.

1919 Versailles Barış Antlaşması ile Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü'nün (ILO) kurulması ve çalışma hayatına ilişkin bir dizi ilke kararlaştırıldı. Versailles ile benimsenen dokuz temel ilkenin arasında, "sekiz saatlik işgünü ve 48 saatlik çalışma ve en az 24 saatlik haftalık tatilin uygulanması. Bu tatilin olabilen her yerde pazar günü olması" hedefleri de yer aldı. Böylece işçi hareketinin yüzyıllık mücadelesi uluslararası düzeyde teyit edilmiş oldu.

Sekiz saatlik işgünü 20 yüzyıl boyunca pek çok ülkede kabul edildi. Çalışma saatleri pek çok ülkede kısaldı. 20. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru haftalık çalışma süresi bazı ülkelere 35 saate kadar indirildi. 1870'lerde yıllık 3000 saatin üzerindeki yıllık çalışma süresi 2000'li yıllarda ortalama olarak 1600-1700 saat civarına geriledi. Ancak çalışma saatleri konusunda eşitsizlik ve ağır, yıpratıcı çalışma koşulları devam ediyor. İşçiler çalışarak ölmeye devam ediyor.

Hollanda'da işçiler yıllık ortalama 1381 saat çalışırken, ABD'de 1777, Güney Kore'de 2187 saat çalışıyor. Koreli işçi Hollandalı işçiye göre 800 saat daha fazla çalışıyor. Aynı şekilde güvencesiz ve sendikasız işçiler daha fazla çalışıyor. 1 Mayıs'ın doğuşuna yol açan çalışma sürelerinin kısaltılması hedefi emekçiler için hala yaşamsal bir hedef. Bu yüzden de 1 Mayıs'ın tarihsel köklerinin ve 1 Mayıs geleneğinin doğru şekilde bilinmesi önemli.

Umarım bu yazının Türkiye’de 1 Mayıs’ın köklerine ve 1 Mayıs geleneğine ilişkin hatalı değerlendirmelerin azalmasına bir yararı olur.

## Kaynaklar

2. Enternasyonal 1989 Paris Kongresinde alınan 1 Mayıs Kararı [https://www.marxists.org/history/international/social-democracy/1889/marxists-congress/saturday\\_pm.htm#mai](https://www.marxists.org/history/international/social-democracy/1889/marxists-congress/saturday_pm.htm#mai) (3 Mayıs 2022).
- Çelik, A. ve Z. Aydın (2004) "1 Mayıs: Gelenekten Geleceğe", *Cumhuriyet*, 1-3 Mayıs 2004.
- Gallin, D. (1986) *May Day Its Origins*, Geneva: International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations.
- Hobsbawm, E. (2009) "Bir tatilin Doğuşu: 1 Mayıs" Çeviren: Işıtan Gündüz, Sıradışı İnsanlar içinde, İstanbul: Yordam.
- İşeri, E. (2012) "1 Mayıs'ın kökeni ve sık tekrarlanan yanlışlar" <https://sendika.org/2012/04/1-mayisin-kokeni-ve-sik-tekrarlanan-yanlislar-ergun-iseri-66126/> (3 Mayıs 2022).
- Koç, Y. (1995) "1 Mayıs'ın Kaynağına İlişkin Yanlışlar", *Türk-İş* dergisi, Temmuz 1995.
- Luxemburg, R. (1894), "1 Mayıs'ın Kökleri nedir?" <https://www.marxists.org/turkce/luxemburg/1890s/1894.htm> (3 Mayıs 2022).
- Marxist.org (2022) "Congresses of Social Democracy", <https://www.marxists.org/glossary/events/c/congress-si.htm> (15 Mayıs 2022).
- Owen, R. (1995) *Yeni Toplum Görüşü*, Derleyen ve Çeviren: Doğan Şahiner, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları
- Rayback, Joseph G. (1966) *A History of American Labor*, Expanded and Updated, New York: The Free Press.
- Sarıca, M. (1980) *Siyasal Tarih*, İstanbul: Filiz Kitabevi.
- Satlıgan, Nail ve Sungur Savran (1986) "Mayıs 1986: Şikago Samanpazarı", *11. Tez*, Sayı 3, ss.244-248.
- The New York Times, 2 Mayıs 1886, 5 Mayıs 1890 ve 2 Mayıs 1892 tarihli sayıları (dijital edisyondan sağlanmıştır).
- Townson, D. (1994) *Dictionary of Modern History 1789-1945*, London: Penguin Books.

# What Might a Buddhist IMF Look Like?<sup>9</sup>

**Prof.Dr. Ulaş Başar Gezgin**

## **Abstract**

In this article review, an article on the Buddhist economic approach is discussed and the approach is criticised mainly on the basis of ambiguity, superficiality, reinstating ‘the rational man’, non-plurality of ethics, clash of human beings and nature etc.

**Keywords:** Buddhist economics, ethics, and rationality.

Buddhist economics rejects the neoclassical model of rational and self-interested man. People can be rational only if they have gone through a process of reflection. In Buddhist economics, self-interest refers not only to the individual but also to society and nature. The paper criticises the measurement of economic performance only by GDP and economic growth. According to Buddhist economics, quality of life should also be considered instead of maximisation of consumption only. The paper preaches sustainable development. The study presents 3 communities that supposedly practise Buddhist economics in Southern Thailand. However, the cases are loosely related to the Buddhist principles presented. They rather resemble communitarian practices such as kibbutz. This poses doubt on the usefulness and originality of Buddhist economics.

A plethora of critiques can be directed to the idea of Buddhist economics and Prayukvong (2005) in particular:

- The paper does not mention the difficulties and irrationality of applying a doctrine dating back to 2,500 years ago which can't have a good fit with contemporary life.
- The paper says that Buddhist economics focuses on ethics and quality of life, but there is no room for a plurality of ethics and quality of life. Different views of ethics are not addressed and the fact that quality of life is subjective is ignored.
- The Buddhist economics idea is only applied to win-win games, as everybody in the community wins, but other game situations are not considered. Likewise, though it is clear that Buddhist economics holds ecological sensitivities, it is not clear what should be done when human needs and nature protection are in conflict.

---

<sup>9</sup> This is the review paper for the following article:

Prayukvong, W. (2005) "A Buddhist Economic Approach to the Development of Community Enterprises: a case study from southern Thailand," Cambridge Journal of Economics, 29(6), 1171-1185.

- How it can be applied to non-Buddhist people, communities and societies is not clear. Emphasising that it is a 'Buddhist' idea may alienate people of other religions and atheists. The term 'Buddhist economics' may imply a religiously colonialist understanding. If the main idea is a focus on ethics in economic behaviour, the term 'Buddhist economics' is a misnomer. It may be replaced by 'ethonomics' or 'ethinomics'.

- There exist many versions of Buddhism. The paper does not specify whether the idea of Buddhist economics is common to all sects (cf. Gezgin, 2007).

- The paper bases the whole idea of the Buddhist economic community on self-sacrifice and altruism. Even the following is asked: "Are monetary incentives really able to increase the number of altruistic leaders or not? If not, what can be done instead?" (p.1173). The paper does not diagnose the problem correctly: Profit maximisation is the main motive in market societies, and in many countries, there are government bodies and NGOs that are not pursuing profits. The paper does not discuss whether there is a categorical and irreducible difference between these two and Buddhist economic practices.

- While the paper rejects the rational man model, it reinstates another rational man who acquired Buddhist wisdom. The paper mentions Daniel Kahneman and Vernon Smith in one single sentence superficially and the reinstated rationality is not discussed on the basis of Nobel laureates' 'systematic irrationality' argument. Likewise, Amartya Sen is mentioned in another single sentence for the lack of ethics in economic models, but Sen's ideas are not linked to Buddhist economic models. These and others give the impression that the Buddhist economic model is based on a superficial understanding of contemporary economics.

- There are many quality-of-life indices such as Human Development Index and Genuine Progress Indicator, but the paper ignores them and instead, a non-empirical idea (Gross National Happiness) is proposed. Likewise, the paper states that the priority of Buddhist economic communities is 'the needs of the society'. This is self-contradictory, non-empirical and ambiguous. Buddhist communities presented in the paper are making profits for the families involved, so it is unclear how profits are spent for 'the needs of the society' except the families involved.

- A simple psychological formula characterising Buddhist economics is proposed elsewhere (Puntasen, B.E. 2545) :

Happiness= Wealth --> increase (European-American way)  
Desire --> decrease (Buddhism)

Thus, the simple formula says that the Buddhist solution for happiness is decreasing desire rather than increasing wealth. For one thing, the concepts in Buddhist economics are always elusive in application. Secondly, decreasing desire for an industrial policy would lead to total deindustrialization. Then, a relevant question may be "What might a Buddhist IMF look like?"

## References

Gezgin, U. B. (2007). Budaci tutumbilim (iktisat) ve toplumsal baris [Buddhist economics and social peace]. Izinsiz Gosteri, 137 (April 2007).  
[http://izinsizgosteri.net/asalsayi137/ulas.basar.gezgin\\_137.html](http://izinsizgosteri.net/asalsayi137/ulas.basar.gezgin_137.html)

Puntasen, A. (2545). ๖๐ปีนายอภิชาต (Hoksippinayapiçay). Bangkok: Bangatigan.

**From Hermes, The Messenger Of The Gods, To The Social Media**

# NEWS AND NEWS AGENCY JOURNALISM

**Accuracy, Objectivity, Righteousness, Newness, Novelty, Momentousness,  
Clarity, Responsibility, Incredulity, 5W1H&SoWhat**

## **Osman Şenkul**

Hermes is the great messenger of the gods in Greek mythology and a guide to the Underworld. Mercury, who was considered the son of Jupiter in Roman religion, is commonly identified with Hermes, the fleet-footed messenger of the gods, where his name was given to the planet lost close to the Sun.

Hermes was born on Mount Kyllini in Arcadia as the son of Zeus and Maia. He was the father of Pan, Hermaphroditus, Tyche, Abderus, Autolykus and Angelia. As an Olympian God, he is also the patron of boundaries and of the travelers who cross them, of shepherds and cowherds, of the cunning of thieves, of orators and wit, of literature and poets, of athletics and sports, of weights and measures, of invention and of commerce in general.

In the Roman adaptation of the Greek religion, Hermes was identified with the Roman god Mercury, who, though inherited from the Etruscans, developed many similar characteristics, such as being the patron of commerce and known as Thot in the Egypt mythology and Idris in the Islam mythology. His "journalism" (messenger) was the basic fact that made Hermes the shared value of all mythos.

His speed, he needs for accurate intercommunication of the gods, was given by the God of gods Zeus himself, as well as his symbols, including the tortoise, the rooster, the winged sandals, the winged hat, and the caduceus; so, even his specifications were all differ from each other in all mythos he appears in, his accurate reporting was the basic shared value.

The Homeric hymn to Hermes invokes him as the one "of many shifts (polytropos), blandly cunning, a robber, a cattle driver, a bringer of dreams, a watcher by night, a thief at the gates, one who was soon to show forth wonderful deeds among the deathless gods.

He protects and takes care of all the travelers, miscreants, harlots, old crones and thieves that pray to him or cross his path. He is athletic and is always looking out for runners, or any athletes with injuries who need his help.

Hermes is a messenger from the gods to humans, sharing this role with Iris. An interpreter who bridges the boundaries with strangers is a hermeneus. Hermes' name is the root of the word "hermeneutics", the study and theory of interpretation. In Greek a lucky find was a hermaion. Hermes delivered messages from Olympus to the mortal world.

He wears shoes with wings on them and uses them to fly freely between the mortal and immortal world. Hermes was the second youngest of the Olympian gods, being born before Dionysus.

Hermes, as an inventor of fire, is a parallel of the Titan, Prometheus. In addition to the lyre, Hermes was believed to have invented many types of racing and the sports of wrestling and boxing, and therefore was a patron of athletes.

Hermes also served as a psychopomp, or an escort for the dead to help them find their way to the afterlife, known as the Underworld in the Greek myths. In many Greek myths, Hermes was depicted as the only god besides Hades, Persephone, Hecate, and Thanatos who could enter and leave the Underworld without hindrance.

Hermes is more shrewd and superior than all other gods, with his intelligence and talents; as well as convincing and well-spoken, the characteristic which also makes him the god of speechmakers. Hermes often helped travelers have a safe and easy journey. Many Greeks would sacrifice to Hermes before any trip.

His sculptures named "Herme" which were erected along the roads were the milestones of the primeval era, which were busts of god and round or quadrilateral pedestals with phallus symbols.

Hermes is also the messenger between terrestrial and subterranean, leads the souls of the decedent to the underworld of Hades. Carrying the sleep and the dreams sent by Zeus to the people is also the mission of Hermes, which he carries out with the baton he received from Apollon.

Three goddesses laid claim to the apple--Aphrodite, Hera and Athena. Zeus was asked to mediate and he commanded Hermes to lead the three goddesses to Paris of Troy to decide the issue. The three goddesses appearing before the shepherd prince, each offering him gifts for favour. Hermes rescues Odysseus from Kalypso and kills Argos, at the behest of Zeus, who was assigned by Hera to take the control of Io, the girlfriend of the God of the gods and husband of Hera.

The sum and the substance of it, Hermes, as a messenger (journalist), is a person of many parts; because, even in the ancient era, the social groups that developed these mythological stories, primarily reflected their needs for news in these stories and on top of that, they associated some superiorities, primarily accuracy and speed, to the messenger.

Journalism, imputed to the gods in the ancient era, went deep inside the cells of the society, from the top to the bottom, towards today; over the social division of labour, differentiation, complexification, development of economic organization and accelerated progress of technology. Today, survival of the journalism became dependent to the protection of us, the journalists, which is sweeping via the social medya, as one of the main products of the digital technology. Undoubtedly that, the quickest and result oriented way of protecting journalism is, doing journalism by respecting the news itself.

# **BIRTH OF NEWS AGENCIES**

## **(AFP, AP, Reuters)**

The need for the news agencies erupted in the early 19th century; when, the news coverage of the newspapers expanded from local scale to national and international, over, increasingly rising the number of newspapers published specifically in Europe and North America and circulation evolved from local to regional, from regional to international.

News coverage of goings-on of a city or its suburbs was no longer satisfying for the newspaper readers; besides the city or the country they live in, they were getting more curious about the neighbouring countries or even about the goings-on at the other side of the world. The surge of the migration from Europe to continental America, ongoing wars and clashes around the world, particularly in Europe and Asia and gradually globalizing economic relations were the locomotives of this development.

However, the invention of the telegram and the installation of wide networks of telegram throughout Europe and North America, known as the centres of news, were the main accelerators of the establishment and rapid development of news agencies.

The nation formation era, triggered by the 1789 French Revolution, led to intensive migration waves and displacements; tens and hundreds of thousands of people were taking to the roads and leaving homelands, to change countries or even continents. The impact of the French Revolution, national overlay and sovereignty movements and the ongoing war and tensions throughout the old continent were instigating the mass migrations.

These migration waves created a significant demand for news; friends and relatives of the migrants were thirsty for any information about goings-on over there and the migrants were wondering very much about goings-on in their homelands.

On the other hand, the raw material demand and the international and overseas trade soared parallel to the rapid development of the mechanized industry. During the 18th and 19th centuries, known as the boom era of colonialism, the raw material demand of the fast developing textile and machinery sectors were also covered over the same ways.

The climatic conditions in India were now wandering in London, Amsterdam. More importantly, arrival of a product into the ports, its volume and accordingly the price set, were the items most wanted to be learned in the continental Europe and in the United Kingdom, known as the cradle of industry.

These developments forced journalism to overflow from regional and national levels. But, on the one hand, the insufficient number of readers depending on the low literacy rates and the low advertisement income due to the weakness of the advertising sector, prevented newspapers from opening their offices to collect news outside the region and countries where they were located.

In spite of this, newspapers were increasingly in need of news streams outside the center and were trying to meet it in several ways. One of these ways was to get and publish the information on goings on in the other countries and the price movements from the traders who used to move goods between cities and the countries. The number of the news done through this way was gradually increasing, most of which were later understood that were depending on false and misguided information.

Another way of collecting news from across borders was getting in touch with adventurous travelers; so much so that a traveler visiting the city could not be shared by the newspapers. However, the breadth of the imagination of the travelers, caused all kinds of information to be exaggerated and pushed the news away from reality, destroying credibility and reliability of the news, betraying the readers' trust.

In addition, these two paths were nothing but journalism, with no specific order, no period; however, it was necessary to ensure the desired, sought, regular and reliable news flow. The newspapers later on started to wait for a second trader coming from the same area to verify the information they received from the previous merchant.

These conditions created the demand for the news agencies. There was a strong demand for "reliable" institutions, which would bring news from, battlefields, remote ports, other countries, where the newspapers were not able to reach and open offices. Most of the newspapers were ready to pay for respectable, newsworthy information.

The first step on this issue came from Charles-Louis Havas in Paris, who was doing translation and advertising business at his office he had established in 1832. Charles-Louis Havas, who had started translation business from the rest of European languages into French, presciently setting business on rising demand for translation related to the developing international relations, was also in very close relations with the newspapers.

Charles-Louis Havas established Agence Havas in 1835, just three years after he had established Bureau Havas; the first news agency in history was born. "Agence Havas" established by Charles-Louis Havas, became the first real news agency ever. Agence Havas has attracted great attention in a very short time; all Paris based newspapers subscribed to Agence Havas.

The interest Havas received from the newspapers affected others in a very short time and several little news agencies established repeatedly, all had news sources in different regions and countries. Charles-Louis Havas has found a remedy to this segmentation of the news agencies in a short time; he also formed the first ever "news pool" in history. The news from these tiny news agencies were gathered in the Havas center in Paris and distributed to the newspapers.

Charles-Louis Havas enhanced the relation among the news agencies further and transformed the Agence Havas into a "cooperative agency" in 1840. From then on, Agence Havas started filing news to the newspapers from all around France Empire lands, Balkans and South America where migration was still going on.

Agence Havas set up a telegram network in France in 1845, as a revolutionary step in agency journalism. After establishing the telegram network, the number of subscribers of Agence Havas soared. None of the newspapers would tolerate being behind the competitors, after the telegram network was established, which accelerated filing news from remote regions of the country. A news would be deleted even at the publishing stage, if it appeared on another newspaper on the same day.

According to a contract signed with a regional newspaper in those days, the annual subscription fee for 1,800-line telegram news on a daily basis, was 10 thousand French francs. Daily wage of an unskilled worker was "1 frank" in the first half of the 19th century; which was at equal purchasing power of today's 13-15 dollars, according to the historical data. Accordingly, we can say that the annual subscription fee of Agence Havas was at around 130 - 150 thousand dollars.

The big telegram network step, led Agence Havas to rapidly improve and grow. The relation between two institutions established by Charles-Louis Havas, Bureau Havas ve Agence Havas, lasted until 1919. Organic bonds between a news agency and an advertising company was not sustainable any more; they separated.

Agence Havas kept its new identity until 1944, when its current name was given. Agence Havas staff had to go underground in 1940, when German army invaded Paris and a significant part of France. A century old news agency was forced to operate secretly. In 1944, after the Nazi Germany was defeated and withdrew from France, Agence Havas came back to normal life as "Agence France Presse (AFP)" and joined the big international news agencies, AP, Reuters and TASS.

Agence Havas of Charles-Louis Havas formed a basis for another big news agency's establishment; Paul Julius Reuter was one of the contributors of the "news pool" of Agence Havas. Reuter, a former bank clerk who in 1847 became a partner in Reuter and Stargardt, a Berlin based book-publishing firm. The firm distributed radical pamphlets at the beginning of the Revolutions of 1848, which may have brought official scrutiny on Reuter.

Later that year he left for Paris, where he worked for a short time as a translator, just like Charles-Louis Havas, while contributing to the "news pool" of Agence Havas. In 1849 he initiated a prototype news service, using electric telegraphy as well as carrier pigeons in his network.

Reuter, later on, started working in Amsterdam, keeping the Agency's center in Paris. Amsterdam was one of the busiest ports in the north-west of the continental Europe, just like it is today. The raw materials arrived Amsterdam by cargo ships from Asia, Africa, mostly to be used in various sectors, were being transferred to industrial centers in the continental Europe hinterlands.

An important commodities market was set up in Amsterdam, where the prices of products arriving at the port were set on the quality and total volume arrived at the docks; which were at top importance for the industrial regions in the continental Europe. The most important job

of those days was delivering this information as soon as possible and accurately; Reuter was doing this job.

Paul Julius Reuter, was not only delivering to hinterlands of the continental Europe; he was delivering them to the other side of the English Channel, to the United Kingdom where the industry erupted and developed, as well. The information Reuter compiled from the docks and the commodity market were attracting more demand in the United Kingdom than the continental Europe, since the industrialisation on the Island was much more developed.

Reuter, with a great long-sightedness, closed out his business in Paris and moved to London in 1851. Upon moving to England, he launched Reuter's Telegram Company two years later, as the inauguration of today's Reuters. The company was concerned with commercial news service at its inception and had headquarters in London serving banks, brokerage houses, and leading business firms.

The agency expanded steadily, and in 1858 its first newspaper client, the London Morning Advertiser, subscribed. Newspapers bulked ever larger in the Reuters clientele thereafter. The value of Reuters to newspapers lay not only in the financial news it provided but in its ability to be the first to report on stories of international importance, as in 1865 (April 14th) when the service broke the news of the assassination of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln hours before its competitors.

A new invention of Reuters, after using carrier pigeons in his network, supported the Agency coming to the forefront in the competition. Especially after 1855, when Royal Victoria Dock in London was started operations, the tiny but very effective tactic, implemented at the reporting between North America and the United Kingdom, carried Reuters well ahead in the competition.

The tiny tactic was; a Reuters reporter gets on the transatlantic departing from London and when the giant ship approaches the dock on the other side of the Atlantic, in New York, he dictates the most important news to the reporter waiting for him on the dock via mechanical megaphone, which was then used commonly on board of the ships. The reporter, after taking notes of the important news, rushes to the office and files the news to the subscribers by using a telegram network.

The significant point of this method was using encryption while dictating the important news to the reporter on the dock, to prevent the competitors from getting and delivering it before Reuters; the encryption was changed in certain periods, to prevent the underserving from getting the valuable information.

In addition to this, there was always a second reporter on the dock. The reporter onboard throws a small package of written news to the land, when the transatlantic gets closer to the dock, close to the second Reuters reporter standing by, who immediately takes it to the office.

Reuters became one of the first news agencies to use computers to transmit financial data overseas in the 1960s, and in 1973 the Agency began making computer-terminal displays of foreign exchange rates available to clients. The Agency subsequently afforded the capacity

to make electronic transactions over its network in 1981 and went on to develop a wide array of electronic trading and brokerage services.

Paul Julius Reuter, who had a great contribution to agency journalism and independent journalism, passed away on February 25 in 1899, on the eve of the 20th Century. Reuters journalism went on after his death until 1925 as a family-run business. Reuters, starting the operations on the Paris-Amsterdam-London axis and later expanding to a new continent with the New York office, grew rapidly. When WW1 started in the early 20th Century, Reuters had significant contributions to the development of war journalism, by establishing a very wide network with hundreds of reporters, spreading all around the world. Reuters was the main news source for all of the world to monitor the going on in many countries.

London based the Press Association (PA), an organization representing the provincial press of Great Britain, acquired a majority interest in Reuters in 1925 and full ownership some years later. In 1941 the PA sold half of Reuters to the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, representing Britain's national press, and in 1947 co-ownership was extended to associations representing the daily newspapers of Australia and New Zealand.

Reuters had become one of the world's major news agencies, supplying both text and images to newspapers, other news agencies, and radio and television broadcasters. Directly or through national news agencies, it provided service to most countries, reaching virtually all the world's leading newspapers and many thousands of smaller ones.

In 1984 Reuters became a publicly listed company on the London Stock Exchange (LSE) and also on the NASDAQ. In 2008 it merged with Canadian electronic publisher Thomson Corporation to form Thomson Reuters, though in its reporting capacity the company was still commonly referred to as Reuters. The unified company withdrew from both the LSE and the NASDAQ in 2009 and became listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange and the New York Stock Exchange. In addition to maintaining its traditional news-agency business, Thomson Reuters is now a major provider of financial information, both historical and current, to businesses, governments, and individuals worldwide.

US-based the Associated Press (AP) was another major news agency established and developed in the same period of the 19th Century with Agence France Presse (AFP) and Reuters. AP was established also under the "cooperative approach" just like AFP. The precipitating cause of the AP's establishment was the war between Mexico and the United States, which broke out in 1846. New York-based four daily newspapers joined their forces under a cooperative, to ensure steady news flow from the war zone. The cooperative expanded in 1848 and the number of participant newspapers of the cooperative rose to six.

The cooperative named itself the "New York Associated Press" in 1856, on the 10th anniversary of the establishment. The newspapers pooled their efforts to finance a telegraphic relay of foreign news brought by ships to Boston, the first U.S. port of call for westbound transatlantic ships. By 1856 the cooperative had taken the name New York Associated Press.

The AP sold its service to various regional newspaper groups, and pressure from the regional customers forced changes in its control. Midwestern newspaper publishers formed

the Western Associated Press in 1862, and in 1892 it broke from the New York Associated Press and was incorporated separately in Illinois as the Associated Press. All new news agencies around the US were being established under the same method, in cooperative forms, just as the previous ones. All of the cooperatives formed news agencies at the turn of the new century; in 1900 the regional organizations merged and the modern AP was incorporated.

In 1967 the AP partnered with the U.S. financial information and publishing firm Dow Jones & Co., Inc., to launch the AP–Dow Jones Economic Report, which transmitted business, economic, and financial news across the globe. As computers began to replace typewriters for many tasks—including writing, editing, and archiving—the AP launched a series of new technological initiatives, including DataStream in 1972, a high-speed news-transmission service; LaserPhoto in 1976, which enabled transmission of the first laser-scanned photographs; the “electronic darkroom” in 1979, which electronically cropped, formatted, and transmitted photos; and LaserPhoto II in 1982, the first satellite colour-photograph network.

For many years the AP had leased more than 644,000 kilometres of telephone wire to carry its transmissions, but its use of radio teleprinters—begun in 1952—began mitigating the need for leased wires, a trend that increasing employment of satellite transmissions carried on as subscribers installed appropriate antennas. The AP continued to diversify, launching a series of new ventures including Associated Press Television in 1994, which later renamed Associated Press Television News (APTN), a London-based global video news service the WIRE in 1996, an online news service providing continuously updated audio, photos, text, and video.

The news agencies, like AFP, AP and Reuters, which give news services to tens of thousands of newspapers, TV and radio stations and millions of internet news sites, published style books and handbooks of journalism which all became the universal standard style guide for news writing. These prominent news agencies constitutively adopted these basic principles, known as the constitution of journalism, for their staff tightly coupled to in their worldwide operations.

I would like to point out that, the principles and the styles you will read, learn and practice via this book comes from the constitutions of AFP, AP and Reuters, developed and implemented and updated in the light of developments, since the beginning of the 20th century and from my own journalism experience of 35 years, 16 years of which in Reuters.

## **NEWS AND COMMUNICATION AS A VITAL NECESSITY**

Human beings were in need of communication to prevent themselves from falling prey on the Carnivora when they were vegetarians or enhancing the mass hunting parties to fruitful levels after starting to eat meat and developed various methods to meet the need to communicate.

As we witness with many species at the present times, the primates that progenitors of human beings, prevent themselves from falling preys on upon certain communication methods with using sounds and gestures that only the members of the clan can understand or they can do hunting parties to fruitful levels enough to feed the increasing population.

Need for the communication grew, developed on both horizontal and vertical dimensions and got more complicated on the evolution of the interindividual relations to social and intersocietal levels, depending upon passing on to the permanent settlement system.

The unidimensional communication necessity of the individual arising from his or her contradiction with nature became multilateral on the evolving of the contradiction and contradiction based struggle to social layers.

The actions of communications later were carried on with various types of tools related to the social developments, which were only done by sounds and gestures previously. Systemic tools, like instruments (drum, tam-tam, pipe etc.) sounds, symbols made by tools (stone, cloth, twig, mound of soil, animal organs etc.) and smoke were added to the sounds and gestures.

The communication actions were carried on commensurately related to various types of social relations, like invading a land or protecting it from invasion, declaring war or issuing a call for peace; however, all of these actions were non-superposable with the news flow methods of the contemporary journalism, although all of these actions were news based communications.

The communication actions, we state here, were only involving the communications done via the communication tools, rather than producing the news itself. There were no journalists around; the communication done was nothing more than transferring functional information to the needer or needers of the entire information; until the year BC 59.

This date is regarded as the beginning of journalism that we can describe as the resultant of news gathering, processing and delivering via printed or non-printed methods. The Acta Diurna is said to have first appeared in 59 BC during the Roman Republic. The Roman Acta Diurna (translated from Latin to mean 'Daily Acts' or 'Daily Public Records') were the daily public notices that were posted in certain public places around the ancient city of Rome. These notices kept the ancient inhabitants of Rome up to date with current events. They contained various forms of news, ranging from the official to entertainment, and even astrological readings.

"Roman emperor conquered new lands", "Five new ways to use your fish paste", "When do the stars say you will marry?" "Viae militaries expand our reach to foreign lands." These may have been some of the headlines you would read in the Roman Acta Diurna – the daily notices many call the precursor to the modern daily newspaper.

In the beginning, the Acta Diurna, which were known also as the Acta Populi or Acta Publica, was carved on stone or metal. As the Acta Diurna were meant to reach a public audience, they were placed at public places, such as the forum, the markets, or the thermal baths.

Initially, these notices reported 'serious' news of importance to the Roman populace, such as the results of legal proceedings, and the outcomes of trials.

As time went by, the range of topics reported by the Acta Diurna increased as well. The contents of the Roman notices began to include public announcements, such as military victories, and the price of grain. Apart from these, the Acta Diurna also included other pieces of noteworthy information, such as notable births, marriages, and deaths, as well as news about gladiatorial combats and other games that were being held in the city. The Acta Diurna even included a gossip column, which often contained the latest amorous adventures of Rome's rich and famous.

By the time of the 1st century BC, the Acta Diurna was no longer carved on stone or metal. Instead, they were hand-written, most likely on sheets of papyrus. They continued to be posted in public places, and after a couple of days, were taken down to be archived. Unfortunately, papyrus is not the most durable of materials, and no intact copy of the Acta Diurna is known to have survived till the present day. The second word of Acta Diurna means "paper" in Latin, which eventually evolved to "journal" in English. Acta Diurna, meaning "paper" as a whole in English, is also used for "newspaper" at the present time.

While these were happening in the West, the first example in the East occurred about 800 years later in China. The first newspaper in the East had been launched during the Tang Dynasty which was in power between 618 BC and 907 BC. Even though it has occurred about 800 years after its predecessor in the West, the first-ever Chinese newspaper was more of an official gazette of the Empire.

The Chinese Empire decided to publish a "palace newspaper" to inform the public officials throughout the country about all of the developments in state affairs. The official gazette of the Chinese Empire, named Bao, sustained its publishing life until 1911 with different names and forms when Qing Dynasty left the rulership. This newspaper of China, which had been published more than 1,100 years, still has the world title of the longest-lived newspaper.

If we leave these processors aside, the first modern newspaper, the Relation, was launched in 1605 by Johann Carolus in Antwerp. Carolus started publishing the German version of the same newspaper, Avisa Relation Oder Zeitung in 1609. After this newspaper, which had been publishing only in Continental Europe with an irregular period, The Weekly Newes (Newes: Newes was used for news in old English) was launched in the United Kingdom in 1622.

If we do not take the first example, the wall newspaper in Ancient Rome, into consideration, the first modern newspaper, like today's examples which are published and circulated on a daily basis, The Daily Courant had been launched in 1702 in the United Kingdom. Edward and Elizabeth Mallet began publishing the Daily Courant on March 11, 1702, the world's first daily newspaper which continued publication for 30 years.

The newscasting, which had been carried on for almost two thousand years on papers, from the beginning, until the 19th Century, when radio waves were generated and used as the carriers, has been conducted on various channels. Radio, television and finally with the internet, newscasting spread to a base of almost unlimited range.

Numerous news portals on the internet, joined the thousands of newspapers, radio stations and television channels operating worldwide; thereby, the name of the sector evolved to "media" from "press" it was before.

The continuous development of digital technology, while diversifying the channels to access the news, made it extremely easy as well. The price of the news fell and almost became free, due to the rising supply, just like any product, related to the development of digital technology, which had been bought only from certain dealers with a certain price.

Consequently, the advertisements began to be the boss, dominant over the news, which was dependent on the news before. The win-win based relations that emerge in various sectors occurred in the media sector; the editorial independence gave way to the relations based on operational profitability.

The development of digital technology created serious concussion in the media sector while breaking fresh ground and development in most sectors; organised and independent journalism evolved into a new era that required special efforts to carry on. Economic sanctions joined the pressure-restriction-censorship trio that of the same age with journalism.

Despite all these developments, reporting-based journalism succeeded in keeping its strength; especially because of the unprincipled, discourse-based way of communication carried on via social media, the need for real journalism moved up to the top places of the list of requirements.

Social media reporting has been creating bigger problems with each passing day with its confirmation straitened character, which rose with a rapid climbing and created huge pressure on real reporting with the power provided by digital technology.

The social media news, which is almost all made by the ones with no journalism or reporting skills, getting started losing favour and evolving to rumour from real news, increasingly harming individuals, social relations and common interests.

The confirmation straitened character of the news coming out from the social media staged the interest to real news reporting again and billions of followers of social media headed towards news and reporters, to confirm any development they learn from the social media.

Digital technology, which previously promoted social media and became the source of the impacts that cheapening, trivialising, discrediting the news and journalism, this time started to do positive influence on the news by easing access to it.

The people of the digital era, who used to ask everything to Google, instead of asking the books or the experts, started to access the news and news reporters to examine and confirm the social media expressions and rumours, on the same platform.

The follower-carrier readers of the social media became the carriers of the news at the same time; they have taken to carrying and delivering the confirmed social media rumours as to

their own duty. Carrying and delivering news on social media rumours became of equal importance with delivering the rumour itself on the same platforms. The active users of the social media were as conscientious as news reporters about the social media rumours, before delivering their confirmed versions on social media platforms.

Restoration of honor of the news was also provided by the platforms that disgraced it. Almost all individuals set to become reporters with the support of new digital technology, the social media supported by the digital technology set to be transformed to news platforms.

It is yet impossible to consider a new era of journalism without digital technology; new journalism should be interiorized and carried on regarding the realities of digital transformation, avoiding deviating from the basic principles.

- News in the new era should be faster and juicier than ever.
- News in the new era should be clearer and more interesting than ever.
- News in the new era should be shorter and more comprehensible than ever.
- News in the new era should be more updated and fair than ever.
- News in the new era should be more objective and genuine than ever.

# NEWS

News should have the characteristics of; accuracy, objectivity, righteousness, newness, novelty, momentousness, clarity, responsibility, incredulity. Besides all these, there are also codes of conduct that the journalists should abide by and show ultimate attention while doing news; which is as follows:

A journalist;

- Always holds accuracy as the basic value,
- Always corrects an error openly,
- Always anchors in balance and freedom from bias,
- Always lays bare a conflict of interest to a manager,
- Always respects the privacy of individuals,
- Always protects news sources from the authorities,
- Always avoids putting own opinion in a news story,
- Never fabricates or plagiarizes,
- Never makes any engineering changes on still or moving images,
- Never pays for a story and never accepts a bribe.

## ACCURACY

Accuracy is the entire heart of the job a journalist does. Getting and doing the news first is the main duty of the journalist, but it is above all her/his job to get it right. Accuracy, as well as balance, always takes precedence over speed. A journalist should make more endeavour to give the right news than to get the news before anyone else.

Accuracy never can be victimized in favour of speed, which also means that principles of confirmation would never be sacrificed for speed. Journalists fall back in competition when not at enough speed, but lose all their reputation when they are not accurate. Recovering in the competition would be possible by making an extra effort; but, gaining back the reputation may require much more time and effort; sometimes the error may be so big that gaining the reputation back may be impossible.

Therefore, reporters should revise the developments, data numbers, names, dates and even the spelling at least twice, before submitting the news.

We would not forget that even a misspelt tiny word could change the content of the news like changing the positive to negative or negative to positive, or could make it diametrically opposite to its original form as well. For the accuracy of the news, it is better to have confirmation from more than one source, subject to the conditions.

"The news can not be submitted unless it is investigated or its accuracy is ensured if an investigation is possible under the journalism principles," says the Professional Principles of Press of Turkey's Press Council.

- The news should be submitted accurately to public opinion due to its social function.
- The action or the expression subject to the news must be based upon accurate data.
- Just because of all these reasons, accuracy is the absolute must of the basic principles of the news.
- The realities of the action or the expression can not be removed from the news, because they are inbuilt of it.
- The accuracy of the news requires a connexion between the wording and the action or the expression.
- Accuracy of the news concurrently is righteousness to the reader, audience or watcher.
- A reporter has to avoid using exaggerated determiners like; confessed, spoke venomously, most (big, expensive, small), extraordinary.

A journalist takes great care in the supporting components of the accuracy principle of the news:

- 1 - Corrections
- 2 - Sourcing
- 3 - Quotes

- 4 - Reflecting the reality
- 5 - Datelines and bylines
- 6 - Attribution
- 7 - Reporting rumours

## **1 - Corrections**

A journalist must be transparent about errors she/he has made and correct them promptly and clearly, whether in a story, a caption, a graphic or a script. Journalists do not make corrections, concealing ways or hide them in subsequent leads or stories.

## **2 - Sourcing**

Accuracy also requires honesty in sourcing. The reputation of the journalists for accuracy and freedom from bias is based on the credibility of our sources and just because of this, a journalist or a camera is always the best source on a witnessed event. A named source is always preferable to an unnamed source; anonymous sources are considered the weakest sources. Journalists should never deliberately mislead in their sourcing, quote a source saying one thing on the record and something contradictory on background, or cite sources in the plural when we have only one.

Regarding sourcing, we may rely on some points for the implementation as follows:

- The priority of the journalists should be using named sources wherever possible; the journalists press and insist on their sources to speak openly, on the record.
- Journalists can use unnamed sources where necessary when they provide information of public interest that is not available on the record, with never forgetting that they themselves alone are responsible for the accuracy of the information given in the news.
- When talking to sources, journalists should always make sure that the basic principles are clear on the entire interview, where also notes should be taken and the interview is recorded.
- Journalists should cross-check information wherever possible without ignoring the basic principle that stating "two or more sources are better than one."
- While taking and using information from unnamed sources, journalists weigh the source's track record, position and motive, use common sense and if it sounds wrong, check further.
- A journalist must talk to sources on all sides of a deal, dispute, negotiation or conflict.
- Journalists should be honest in sourcing and in obtaining information by giving as much context and detail as they can about sources, whether named or anonymous, to authenticate the information they provide.
- Journalists should clearly mention the unknown facts of a news story and they should be explicit about what you don't know.

- If the information given by a source, a trusted one related to her/his previous records, would be considered credible and can be used in the news story; but, never ignoring the principle that single-source stories are subject to a special authorisation procedure.
- If asked on legitimate editorial grounds, journalists are expected to disclose their sources to their supervisors in the agency, which does not mean disclosing the anonymous source. Both the reporters and supervisors should continue protecting the confidentiality of sources.
- When doing initiative reporting, journalists should try to disprove as well as prove their stories; because accuracy always comes first. Again we have to remember that; it is better to be late than wrong. Before pushing the button, think about how you would withstand a challenge or a denial.
- Journalists should know their sources well; they do not deal with willy nilly sources; they can perceive the difference between a reliable source and an imposter. Sources can provide information by whatever means available - telephone, in person, email, instant messaging, text message. But be aware that any communication can be interfered with.

### **Anonymous sources**

Journalists have to protect their sources who want to keep being anonymous and they have many methods to do this. One of the methods is pluralizing the single source, just mentioning a source, with the quote like, "...according to the sources who declined to be named..." On the other hand, a journalist must be sincere on this method also, just like at every line of the news; the reader should not be misdirected. If a diversion like this leads to a misleading impact, a different method should be used to protect the anonymity of the source.

Essentially, a detail like pluralisation of the source, which creates an impression that development is known by more than one source, which actually is known by only one source, would exaggerate the impact (or awareness) of the development subject to the news. Even though it seems to be a tiny detail, journalists should not use this method because of their respect for their own news.

On the other hand, when making news on development with more than one side, journalists should try to get in contact with all sides and get their remarks, as a basic principle. If there is a side that could not be able to reach and get remarks from, the reason for this situation should be mentioned in the news like; "declined to talk" or "could not be reached." If you have an anonymous source, in this case, you should mention its side in the news; if the anonymous source is not representing any of the sides, then this position should also be mentioned openly in the news.

At many media outlets, the sources that want to stay anonymous are mentioned with the description of "according to the sources who declined to be named." It is possible to make this description to a certain extent; but, we can not be content with just mentioning this in a news story that has a strong impact on markets, local or global politics or diplomatic developments. Journalists should customize the anonymous source with special descriptions like; "a source close to the acquisition of X company" or "a source from X Foreign Ministry" or "a source from the decision making body of X party" and so on.

## Dealing with sources

The relations of journalists with their sources should be balanced; the relation with sources should not reach to a level of harming the journalism principles. A relation at the chumminess level prevents it to be a "journalist - source relation." In other words, journalists can not have "journalist - news source relations" with the ones with whom they have an inseparable relation. Relatives and close friends can not be named news sources for a journalist; a journalist can not any news sourced by a relative or close friend. This does not mean that a journalist can not make news related to the information she/he gets from a relative or a close friend. If the information given by relatives or close friends is worth doing news, it means that it is necessary to be confirmed and to be sourced; the news can be done after the information is confirmed and sourced by a reliable source.

Another complex case at the relations with the sources may occur at the publishing stage of the news. Some sources, before or after speaking, ask the journalists if they would be able to check the final version of the news before being submitted.

If this question is asked before the interview, it does not matter even the news to be done is very important, the journalists should give the answer, "According to the principles of journalism, no one, even the source of the news, can see the final version of the news before it is submitted; no news is in need of confirmation by its own source."

When a news source talks to a journalist, it means that she/he trusts the journalist, which means that, the source also trusts the news the journalist expected to make on the information to be given. The journalists have to describe the professional sensitivity in detail to the source; if it is described the source that, the journalism principles are not just for the sake of having principles, they have been set on a very long journalism experience and cases, the reporter-source relation would also continue.

In some cases, sources from listed companies may call even at a very short time before the submission of the news and ask to see the final versions of the quotations as a condition for submission, even if no warnings had been done before or after the interview. These types of demands from the listed companies may be considered, because of strict inspection conditions they are subject to.

A journalist would never reject such a demand coming from a listed company; the answer should be something like, "we will discuss the subject at the newsroom and get back to you about the editorial decision." Immediately after this reply, the reporter should discuss the case with the news editor and have a decision to be notified of the source.

Especially, with the market moving news like in this case, because of the commitments of the listed companies to the stock exchange or capital markets board, as an exception, not all of the news story, but the final versions of the quotations can be sent to the company.

The journalist can give a certain time to the company for the reply, as a condition. The final versions of the quotations can be sent to the company with a warning note, like, "You may

find the related parts of the news attached; please send your reply not later than 15:30. If we will not receive your reply until this time, we will have to submit the news."

The editorial team should implement this timing; or else, the journalist and the company she/he is working for may be held responsible for any market movement, on account of the fact that being committed an insider trading crime.

When journalists use the statements or comments of anonymous sources, they also should not let them exploit themselves, by using truculent language, foundationless rumour or insult others by hiding behind the anonymity. The journalists should be very careful about the language when writing a story on the facts they get from the anonymous sources, even the information they get from them is very important.

We have to make tiny distinctions on the language when writing the story on the information we get from the anonymous source, even its wording is overall libellous, opprobrious or accusatory. We have to focus on the main idea of the news, by leaving the original transgressive language aside. Using the transgressive language of the anonymous source in the story would only make us disreputable, while the anonymous source would benefit from our loss of reputation.

This would also convert the news story into partiality and make it a tool of unjustifiable offence against the indictee. To avoid getting in a jam, we have to set our news stories only on facts, never base them on rumours. If our anonymous source insists on using libellous, opprobrious or accusatory language and having them used in the news story, then we have to suggest her/him speak on the record.

When working on a story, journalists get in touch with sources close to the subject "as journalists" not "as" anyone else; they should identify themselves as a journalist and establish on what basis they are talking, in person, by phone, by fax or by e-mail, etc. When a source talks to you being aware that you are a journalist, she/he knows that the relationship is developing on the record.

If the journalist realises that the source thinks he is talking off-the-record; it is the journalist's responsibility to remind the source that the conversation is developing on the record. The journalist must be sure her/his source is also clear and comfortable about the basis on which the information is given.

The journalist must also make clear the circumstances in which the source is speaking e.g. "said in a statement", "told reporters in answer to questions", "told in a telephone interview" or "told a briefing for journalists" (including if the source is anonymous). Do not use passive sourcing as in "it was announced" or "it was learned".

### **Avoiding Manipulation**

Journalists test the reliability of their sources at only one story in some cases; but it takes months, over a number of news stories done during this period. Regardless of who the person is - a close relative, a friend or someone incidentally met during a news hunt - every source who talks to a reporter has a motive.

For example;

- A member of a political party or a group may aim at wearing away at the rivals,
- A member of a civil society organization may aim at restraining the authority to expand the basis of the rights and freedom,
- An employee of a company who is spying for a rival company may be acting counter the entire company she or he is working for,
- An employee of a big company may be trying to mould public opinion for the benefit of the company,
- A personal investor may aim at acquiring illegally to hit pay dirt,
- Someone working at an institutional investor may be aiming at receiving a bonus from the company, by misleading the public opinion to increase the undeserved gains of the company,
- Someone close to the government (a high-ranking official, soldier, expert, party member) may aim at misleading the public opinion, to gloss over a bad performance of the authority.

We may give more examples about this case; journalists may work with much more news sources with various motivations, related to their expertise fields like sports, finance, politics, diplomacy, etc. For example, an official bothered by the behaviour of the chief may be a source for a journalist.

A journalist should try to identify that motive and the "spin" that comes with the information, and weigh it against other information she-he has obtained, generally known background and her/his own common sense to work out the real story.

The journalist's own suspicious mind is one of the best defences against being manipulated. The best way is just talking to sources on all sides of the subject, which may be a business deal or a political dispute or even a diplomatic negotiation.

For a journalist; two sources are always better than one; with this motivation, a journalist seeks at least one source from each side and gives the greatest weight to sources that have provided accurate and balanced information before and not misled her/him previously.

The common experiences of the journalists gained over time show that permanent civil servants or diplomats are often more reliable than political employees with an agenda.

On the other hand, journalists should be wary even of trusted sources, never forgetting that a banker's bonus may depend on how favourable a deal he or she can negotiate.

Journalists listen for what is not said as hard as they listen to what is said. Sometimes newsmakers disclose a key change in position when they stop saying something they had talked about openly before. It is better to work on the case and learn the subject in detail.

A journalist who understands the topic and is up-to-date on the news is less vulnerable to manipulation. Check the background of the source as well, particularly if it is a new or unfamiliar source.

Play devil's advocate when interviewing. When doing initiative reporting, try to disprove as well as prove your story. Look for knowledgeable, independent third parties to help gauge the reliability of the information.

In mergers and acquisitions, that could be a banker who knows the sector but is not involved in the deal. In politics and diplomacy, it could be a think-tank analyst or a third-country diplomat.

The journalist may not be aware of the driving force behind the motivation or the source may tell the reason to the journalist openly. The common experiences of the journalists gained over time show that the journalists do not know the real motivation of the source, in many cases.

Well then, would the journalist say, "There must be a motivation here" and leave off doing the news? Certainly not. There is a lot of great news in journalism history based on anonymous sources, like the Watergate, a great success of journalism.

Many famous journalists have done their greatest news over investigations on the information they had got from their anonymous sources and most of them received very important awards.

But, at the same time, doing news based on anonymous sources is a high-powered job. A journalist should balancedly compare the information provided by an anonymous source and obtained it openly and always reserve a counterweight to use along with the anonymous source's position. The strongest support of the journalist, in this case, is her/his incredulity powered by professional experience.

Incredulity is the strongest shield that protects the journalist from manipulation and the shield gets its strength from the second source principle. A journalist should always refer to a second source when doing an investigative story; two sources are always better than one, especially at least one source from both sides is better than all.

In similar cases, journalists prioritize reliable sources that had never given false information before, based on their experiences. Careful journalists never settle with the information provided by others, wonder and investigate the information that is not provided or told them; journalists should always place the same importance on the information that not provided them with the information provided.

The most important preparation a journalist should do to avoid manipulation is doing her/his homework thoroughly; doing her/his best to do preliminary preparation for the news is always a strong shield for a journalist against manipulation.

The best method to do preliminary preparation for the news is gathering background information, searching and reading new developments on the subject. After having full knowledge of the subject, it would be very difficult to manipulate the journalist for both on the record or anonymous sources.

The behaviour of the journalist to the source is important, in the case that the journalist recognises the manipulation. Keeping tabs on and gathering the most data about the developments would be better than telling her/his fault to her/his face.

A journalist facing contradictory information can solve the problem and finalise the investigation by reaching background information via talking with independent third parties.

### **3 - Quotes**

Care must be taken to ensure that the tone of the translation is equivalent to the tone of the original. Beware of translating quotes in newspaper pickups back into the original language of the source.

If a French politician gives an interview to an American newspaper, it is almost certain that the translation back into French will be wrong and in some cases, the quote could be very different. In such cases, the fewer quotes and the more reported speech, the better.

The quotes of the people speaking in the news are written between quotation marks. It is important to give all quotes (the wording within the quotation marks) as it is said, to avoid negative impacts on the credibility of the news. The journalist should take care of the following principles, for the sake of credibility:

- Quotes are sacrosanct. They must never be altered other than to delete a redundant word or clause, and then only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote in any way.
- Selective use of quotes can be unbalanced.
- Be sure that the quotes you use are representative of what the speaker is saying and that you describe body language (a smile or a wink) that may affect the sense of what is being reported.
- When quoting an individual, always give the context or circumstances of the quote.
- It is not our job to make people look good by cleaning up inelegant turns of phrase, nor is it our job to expose them to ridicule by running such quotes. In most cases, this dilemma can be resolved by paraphrase and reported speech.
- Correcting a grammatical error in a quote may be valid, but rewording an entire phrase is not.

- When translating quotes from one language into another, we should do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness.
- Quotes translated to any language should not be retranslated back to the original language. It is a journalist's duty to find the original statement to use in the news and if it is not possible to obtain the original version, better not to use it.

#### **4 - Reflecting the reality**

Accuracy means that our images and stories must reflect reality. It can be tempting for journalists to "hype" or sensationalise material, skewing the reality of the situation or misleading the reader or viewer into assumptions and impressions that are wrong and potentially harmful.

For example, a "flood" of immigrants, may in reality be a relatively small number of people just as a "surge" in a stock price may be a quite modest rise. Stopping to think, and to discuss, how we use words leads to more precise journalism and also minimises the potential for harm.

Similarly, no actions in visual journalism should be taken that add to or detract from the reality of images. In some circumstances, this may constitute fabrication and can cause serious damage to our reputation. Such actions may lead to disciplinary measures, including dismissal.

#### **5 - Datelines and bylines**

Accuracy is paramount in our use of datelines and bylines; like "Istanbul, May 1". Readers assume that the byline shows the writer was at the dateline. We should byline stories only from datelines where the writer (or the reporter being written up on a desk) was present. Using the "byline" and the "dateline" at the very beginning of the story shows the great importance of the "datelines and bylines" in a story.

We may only use datelines where we have staff or freelancers on the spot from text, photos or TV and we are getting information from them on the ground. When we use the dateline of a place, we tell our subscribers or readers that, we have someone there reporting for us; we tell every second or third party receiver, "We have a correspondent (or a freelancer) at the scene."

Reporters or freelancers who have contributed to a report should be included in an additional reporting line at the end of the story, giving their name and location.

If we write a story in the office, on something going on in a remote city or even in another country, we have to mention at the dateline, the place where the office is; not the place where the event is actually happening. Mentioning the place where the event is actually going on at the time, at the dateline, means that we have someone reporting at the scene; if we do not have someone there, we can not mention the place at the dateline.

If we have someone else contributing the story in a different place, we have to mention her/him in the story, including the place from where she/he is contributing.

A media outlet, like a news agency, a newspaper, a TV or a radio station, would be telling the subscribers, readers or watchers that, they are getting the story directly from their contributors (correspondent, freelancer) at the scene; not doing the story in the office via phone or by means of other communication tools. This information is crucial for the reader, watcher or the subscriber, to know that she/he is getting the story directly from the venue.

If the source that submitting the story is a news agency; it is very important for the subscribers to know if the story would be streaming from the same source. This shows that the story would be updated when necessary. A guarantee for the subscribers that the news flow from the venue to be continued means that they could easily plan the publication or the broadcast streaming.

If the subscribers do not get the guarantee of the news flow from the venue, they would turn to alternative news sources for their publication or broadcast streaming planning. To deal the subject from a different approach: It would be a very big risk for our reputation, if we use the dateline like "Kathmandu, May 1" instead of using Istanbul or another city of another country, the place of our office, where we write the story using the internet, newspapers, TV stations, phone or social media; because, the expectations of the subscribers who see the "Kathmandu" dateline would be higher and do their planning on the streaming due to this knowledge. This would be misleading for the subscribers on their planning or for the readers who assume that they are getting the news from the venue.

Some readers would be intemperately proud of their newspapers by just dreaming, "Oh, my newspaper feared no sacrifice and has sent a correspondent to the scene to get the news directly" or would feel resentment by thinking, "Only just two days ago, the chief editor was intimating for financial support from the readers, by referring financial difficulties in the editorial."

If we approach the case from the technical side: Let's assume that the war breaks out between Afghanistan and Pakistan and the agency sends a team to the scene; the agency or another type of media outlet, should use the dateline of the place where the office is, until the team arrives. The kick-off of the team does not mean that they arrived at the scene; so if we use the dateline of the venue before the team's arrival, all inconveniences we mentioned above apply.

We may continue to use the dateline of the venue within 24 hours time after the team departs from the scene; because, the background information and other tools of the story that we use in the news would be originally our material. This period would be considered as one month if it is a feature or an analysis done by interviews on the scene; we may use the dateline of the place within one month, while submitting, publishing or broadcasting the feature or analysis.

## **6 - Attribution**

Accuracy means proper attribution to the source of material that is not ours, whether in a story, a photograph or video. The readers and the public in general, rely on us to be honest about where the material has originated. It allows them to assess the reliability.

It is insufficient simply to label a video or a photograph as a "handout". We should clearly identify the source - for example, "World Wild Fund, Military Video or Police Photo".

Similarly, it is essential for transparency that material we did not gather ourselves is clearly attributed in stories to the source, including when that source is a rival organisation. Failure to do so may open us to charges of plagiarism.

## **7 - Reporting rumours**

Journalists should report the facts, not rumours. Subscribers, readers, TV watchers, radio listeners rely on us to differentiate between fact and rumour and journalists' reputation rest partly on that.

There are times when rumours affect the political arena, create social conflict, move financial markets and we have a duty to tell subscribers, readers, watchers or listeners why all these are happening and to try to track down the rumour - to verify it or knock it down.

There may be exceptional circumstances where political developments cause social conflicts or when a market is moving rapidly and violently that we move a story before being able to verify or knock down the rumour. It is our duty to emphasize that the market moving or political arena shaking or social conflict creating case is just a rumour at every stage of the news and at its updates.

The crucial point here is, investigating the background of the rumour; in other words, the journalist should collect the information about the source of the news, before doing the story.

The journalist should necessarily confirm that the rumour is spreading out and affecting the politics, society or the market, just like doing in all her/his news coverages.

So, at least to avoid joining the rumour-mongers, we have to confirm the background information of the rumour and what's the big idea, by at least two sources, before doing the story.

We have to try to find out if the rumour is derived from a real development or not, by doing an in-depth analysis of the information we collect. After the initial work on collecting information and its analysis, we have to try to contact the speakers of all sides of the matter to get the direct statement to write the story.

If they decline to make any statements, then we have to state in the story that, "the official/authority declined to speak/give information" and add its reason for moving the market, creating social conflict, in the lead.

Consequently, a rumour, as is evident from its name, because it is unconfirmed information, can not be the main subject of the news; but, as it creates social conflict or moves the market, it can be an element of the news.

A journalist should first do the news of the extraordinary move of the market or the social conflict itself and mention the rumour in this regard. It is the journalist's duty to mention if the rumour is confirmed or not, as an element of the news.

## **OBJECTIVITY**

Another important element, just like accuracy, is objectivity, which means it is the journalist's duty to write or tell the subject of the news as it is. A journalist can only go off the objectivity when writing commentary or feature; even a feature contains news in it, it is not taken as a news story, since it also reflects the comments and perceptions of the writer.

While writing the news, the journalist should avoid imputations and accusing or vindicating perceptions. A journalist must avoid using words like "disgusting" or "traitor" while writing the news, even if the subject is disgusting or the words like "hero" or "wonderful" in adverse conditions. Journalists can only use characterization words when the sources from all sides of the experts mention them.

Objectivity requires justice at the same time; it is an obligation to approach equally to all sides of the news. Recognising all sides equally is one of the basic principles of journalism. A journalist is forced to contact all sides of the subject of the news.

Some subjects to consider in the preparation process of the objective news are as follows:

- 1 - Take no side, tell all sides
- 2 - Discriminatory language and stereotypes
- 3 - Reporting on the media outlet you work for
- 4 - Political and Community Activity
- 5 - Equal Opportunity in the Newsroom
- 6 - Diversity in the Newsroom
- 7 - Going live

### **1 - Take no side, tell all sides**

As journalists, we never identify with any side in an issue, a conflict or a dispute. Our text and visual stories need to reflect all sides, not just one. This leads to better journalism because it requires us to stop at each stage of newsgathering and ask ourselves "What do I know?" and "What do I need to know?"

In reporting a competition dispute, for example, it should be obvious that both companies must be given an opportunity to state their position. Similarly in a political dispute or military

conflict, there are always at least two sides to consider and we risk being perceived as biased if we fail to give adequate space to the various parties.

Allegations should not be portrayed as fact; charges should not be conveyed as a sign of guilt. We have a duty of fairness to give the subjects of such stories the opportunity to put their side.

We must also be on guard against bias in our choice of words, as stated above. Words like "claimed" or "according to" can suggest we doubt what is being said. Words like "fears" or "hopes" might suggest we are taking sides.

Verbs like rebut or refute (which means to disprove) or like fail (as in failed to comment) can imply an editorial judgment and are best avoided. Thinking about language can only improve our writing and our journalism.

## **2 - Discriminatory language and stereotypes**

Journalists must avoid inappropriate references to gender, ethnicity, religion, culture, appearance, age and sexual orientation; we have to decide if it is a story or not when it relies on such references. A journalist must be sensitive to unconscious stereotyping and dated assumptions.

It is the journalist's duty to decide if it is really novel that the person in the news is black, blonde, female, overweight or gay. If we decide that it is relevant; then we have to decide, if the fact belong in the lead or should be woven in lower down.

The language we use in the news should be neutral and natural. When referring to professional groups, plural expressions such as executives and journalists are preferable to gender-specific tags that imply the exclusion of women.

## **3 - Reporting on the agency you work for**

A journalist must take extreme care to avoid any hint of bias when reporting on the agency she/he works for, ensuring that reports are factually based.

When reporting on the agency or its subsidiaries, it must be stated that these are the group companies.

At least one official should be quoted, when reporting on the agency or its subsidiaries and anonymous sources should never be used with such news.

## **4 - Political activity and voting rights**

A journalist does not give support, directly or indirectly, to any political party or group nor does it take sides in national or international conflicts or disputes.

In keeping with this policy, you must not identify the name of the agency with any political party or group or any one side in such conflicts or disputes. Displays of political affiliation or support for partisan causes have no place in the newsrooms.

No member of editorial, whether a journalist or support worker, may wear campaign buttons, badges or items of clothing bearing political slogans on the job, nor bring posters, pamphlets and other political material to the workplace to distribute or display.

A journalist votes at the general or local elections; but never give a sign of her/his political view or name etc. of the party she/he votes for, even at the off times, outside work.

Every journalist should be keenly sensitive to the risk that their activities outside work may open their impartiality to questioning or create a perception of bias.

### **5 - Equal opportunity in the newsroom**

All journalists in the newsroom should be treated fairly, regardless of gender, ethnic, national or religious background, age, disability, marital status, parental status or sexual orientation.

All journalists in the newsroom should be determined solely on their skills, abilities and other requirements which are relevant to the job.

They are journalists who are aware that diversity enriches what they do and there is a place for everyone in the discussion and the exchange of ideas that lead to the best journalism.

### **6 - Diversity in the newsroom**

While politics has no place in the newsrooms, diversity does; they are again journalists who recognise, value and encourage a diverse employment mix.

In addition to gender and ethnic origin, a wide range of backgrounds in terms of experience and knowledge as part of its recruitment and employee development policies.

Diversity enriches journalism and there is always a place for everyone in the discussion and the exchange of ideas that lead to the best journalism.

### **7 - Going live**

Agency reporters are generally asked to go live by the TV or radio subscribers while reporting at the scene. First of all, the reporter should go live with the coordination of her/his newsroom.

The reporter should refer to her/his newsroom about a going live demand from a subscriber, before accepting or rejecting the demand. The decision about the going live demand, whether it is positive or negative, should be delivered to the subscriber under the principles of the agency.

Any mistake or benightedness during the live broadcasting or radio transmission is always linked to the agency, not to the reporter; therefore, the reporter should prepare before going live.

## **NEWNESS**

Action or discourse that the news is based on should be new or in other words up to date. For example, a traffic accident has been new, the protest march has been newly organized or the murder has been newly committed.

Especially in today's world, when the internet media is developing rapidly, even an event or an action that happened just a day before can be considered as losing its newsworthiness. A press conference, press release, conference or a seminar, forming a base for the news, should be newly organised,

Apart from these, a previously mentioned saying, a committed murder, an organized robbery, a given bribe, a polluted stream etc. information may also become known newly. In this case, the action/rhetoric can be subject to the news, because the cover has been newly removed.

## **NOVELTY**

Ordinary developments, discourses are usually not news; ordinary developments can only be news because of the interesting aspects they have. It should be noted here that, the changes in the areas of interest of individuals and societies can change the quality of the quirkiness that was once subject to news and it could no longer be subject to the news.

For example, bikini, designed by Parisian designer Louis Réard in 1946, attracted attention when spread all over the world, was great news then. The beach apparel, a Parisian designer named after the Bikini Atoll, where the first nuclear bomb experiments were conducted, now can only be subject to news when new models are designed or with the fashion models that carry them.

The interesting subjects of the global culture which are getting beyond the geographical borders are getting standardised, especially under the dominance of the internet. While a development that was worth news in a country was not attractive for another country's society once, we may now witness much global news on the same subject.

The migrant problem, which was only subject to news only in the Aegean and Mediterranean countries, now is one of the global top news almost every day.

“When a dog bites a man, that is not news, because it happens so often. But if a man bites a dog, that is news” is the best sentence that describes the novelty of the news, noted by John Bogart in 1880, then city editor at The New York Sun.

## **MOMENTOUSNESS**

The news, the basic product of journalism, is primarily important for the journalists; in other words, journalists report the important developments and discourses.

The most important product of the profession can not be based on unremarkable developments and discourses. The developments and discourses subject to the news should bear qualification of social interest.

The development of discourse that contributes to a change in the political, economical or cultural life and a new development in the social life is important and subject to the news. Momentousness is the priority in this case, novelty is not required. However, the news can have both momentousness and novelty together.

For example, the resignation of a politician over corruption is important in Japan but it has no novelty, while it is very important and has novelty in Turkey.

Someone's death in a traffic accident is common in Turkey and mostly not a subject to important news, if the victim or the driver is not a famous person; a traffic accident can only be important news when the number of victims passes over 10 in Turkey, while the traffic accident is important news in Sweden, Switzerland, Luxemburg even with just one victim.

## **CLARITY**

The news should be written with clear language; the one who reads, watches or listens to the news should understand what she/he read, watched or listened to. The most important principle here is, using short and laconic sentences. A reporter should use daily words in the news, rather than using long and inverted sentences.

If a term, an abbreviation or a pseudonym is used while writing news, the meaning should be explained clearly with the first mention.

The information and its tie with the news should be given directly throughout the text. When we give a development on economics in the news based on politics, we should clearly notify its ties with the main subject that the news is based on.

We should give additional information in the news if it supports the main idea; it is not proper to give additional information that overshadows the main subject of the news, stuff in with a lot of information that can push the main subject into the background or add comments of people or organisations that are not the expert of the subject that makes it clumsy.

## **RESPONSIBILITY**

Defining the "responsibility" principle as "professional responsibility" would be more meaningful. A journalist should never forget that she/he is responsible primarily to the media outlet she/he is working for, to the society, she/he is a member of or to humanity in general while doing a news story on a development or a discourse.

The journalist should consider the effects of the news, primarily to the media outlet she/he is working for, to the society she/he is a member of or to humanity in general while doing a news story on an event, a development or a discourse.

Considering here is not related to the decision whether to do the news; but, related to its possible effect on the society, when published or broadcasted. For this reason, the reporter should consider the relationship between the main subject of the news and the sensitive issues of society or humanity.

## **RIGHTEOUSNESS**

Righteousness, first of all is a matter of conscience, which requires the journalists to adhere to the highest ethical standards of their profession and to the values of journalism.

A journalist has to account to the court of conscience first of all, on the news she/he has done, before the readers, watchers, law, rules and the sides of the matter.

The righteousness principle means being stick to the ethical principles of journalism on a maximum level. All journalists have a responsibility to ensure that the reputation of journalism as a profession, its high standing with whomever they come into contact with.

As a journalist, you are expected to accept certain responsibilities, adhere to acceptable professional standards in matters of personal conduct and exhibit a high degree of personal integrity at all times.

When operating outside her/his home country, a journalist must also have due regard for all relevant local legislation and regulations and act with appropriate respect for local culture and custom.

The journalist should stick to personal righteousness more than to professional standards. A reporter should also obey the laws and rules of the country where he works as well as respect the culture and the local tradition.

The righteousness principle of reporting can be detailed under the following subtitles:

- 1 - Acting within the law,
- 2 - Identifying ourselves as journalists,

- 3 - Reporting from the internet,
- 4 - Dealing with the sources,
- 5 - Dealing with the subscribers,
- 6 - Dealing with the authorities,
- 7 - Reporting the incidents.

### **1 - Acting within the law**

We pay regard to the legality of the methods we use to gather the elements related to the news while reporting on an action or a discourse; we pay high attention to every step we put forward during our investigation on a legal basis. Some of the actions we should avoid while reporting are:

- Stealing data and documents,
- Accessing buildings and landed properties without permission,
- Eavesdropping
- Wiretapping and recording
- Hacking
- Breaking the password of an internet site,
- Other illegal actions.

The reporters should not access the elements of the news with illegal and tricky methods. We have to introduce ourselves as journalists and mention the media outlet we work for openly, while working on the details and elements of the news.

We should never introduce ourselves as a police officer, a curious citizen, a constable or someone working for a corporation respected by the local officials, to access critical information on the news we work on.

### **3 - Reporting from the internet**

Reporting from the internet is almost as widespread as the field reporting at present conditions. We have to stick to all methods and rules we apply on the field reporting while collecting data, documents, photographs, videos etc. from the internet.

We behave accordingly to the most important principles of reporting, like using and identifying sources and doing confirmation while reporting from the internet, just like we do while reporting from the field; we do not use unaccredited information from the internet.

### **4 - Dealing with the sources,**

We never decline professional manners and fair shake at our relations with the sources. We should be very cautious with the presents or journey - entertainment advantages that are provided by our sources.

However, we may have very close relations with our sources and even make friends with them, we should also effortfully exclude all these types of relations from the news process.

The right perception against such close friendships with the sources is to pay the costs of the news related journeys set by the sources.

If our relations with a source are at the stages of being beloved ones, close friends, relatives, we have to inform our editors of the situation.

## **5 - Dealing with the subscribers**

Many of our subscribers are often also our news sources or the subjects of the news we report. Our relationship with them should be governed by the professional behaviours required of journalists.

It is essential in our dealings with subscribers that we should be courteous, helpful and attentive when they approach us with concerns or questions about our news service or about specific reports.

We should avoid misrepresenting ourselves to subscribers, avoid defaming our competitors and avoid encouraging subscribers to clarify information about them.

## **6 - Dealing with the authorities**

Any requests for published or unpublished content, like videotapes, copies of stories, photographs or journalists' notes or other background materials, from police, security forces, tribunals and the like or from lawyers or individuals involved in civil or criminal court proceedings should be referred to a senior editor who should alert the legal department.

We do not voluntarily hand over published or unpublished material to authorities, since we have a duty to report the truth, to challenge censorship and seek ways of breaking news of major public interest.

If the materials, like we mentioned above, are handed out to us by such authorities, we have to mention how we obtained them clearly, to stick to our independence and keep our respect to our readers or subscribers.

## **7 - Reporting the incidents**

The reporting of serious incidents involving harm or risk to staff, significant problems with stories or images, hoaxes and allegations of improper behaviour is an important part of our job.

As reporters when we become aware of any such incident, we must report it to our managers. The reporting of such incidents is essential to keep our managers up to date on the developments on the matter.

A report from one part of the world - on an attempted hoax, for example - can also provide an important tip-off to managers in another part of the world.

On the other hand, we have to concentrate on minimizing all potential risks that might harm people around, while reporting in the field.

The people who contribute to us while reporting incidents may face some risks regarding the effects of our news, even their lives could be at risk. We, as the reporters, should take care of the contributing people, by clearing them off the risks. A reporter should behave honest, neutral, determined, responsible and modest to the people subject to the news.

### **LEARNED THAT, UNKNOWN, THE INFORMATION RECEIVED ETC.**

Sourcing is one of the basic elements of the news; journalists should report the facts, not rumours and base it on at least a source or more. For this purpose, all verbs related to the source are based on a particular source; the verbs like learned that unknown, the information received, can not be used without a particular subject.

When the reporter obtains real information that is worth being news-based; the source of the information, data or document should be openly indicated in the news and verbs without subject should never be used while sourcing.

One of the verbs with no subject that is often used in the news is "information learned." When the reporter does not want to disclose her/his source, start the sentence regarding the source with the wording "according to the information learned." But, a sentence starting with such wording is never accepted in the news; with the wording like in the example, it is not clear the information, the data or the document is obtained from whom and where by whom.

If the reporter needs to keep the source of the information, data or document anonymous, she/he should indicate in the news is based on "the information obtained from an official declined to be named" and should underline that the information is obtained directly by the reporter herself/himself.

If the crucial information of the news is obtained from a third party, a person or an institution, instead of the original source, this flow of information should be mentioned in the news clearly; like, "Someone close to the sufferer student, who declined to be named, said there were at least three attackers, according to the student."

### **It is not clear who did it, how it was done, why it was done and where it was done**

Another challenge that reporters face is the difficulties they experience while stating the reasons for the event that the news is based on; a sentence like, "It is known who the robber is or the robbers are..." is not a suitable sentence to be used in the news.

This sentence shows that the one who does not know, who the robber is or the robbers are, is the reporter herself/himself; meaning that, the one who is unaware of the incident is the reporter in person, in other words. In fact, it is the reporter's duty to investigate, find out "what, where, why, how, when and who" involved the incident and report the news.

Accordingly, since it is the duty of the reporter in person, to investigate and find out all elements of the incident and write the news if there is a development that could be reported as news, she/he has no right to mention "I do not know" in the news.

If the reporter is working on the news based on a robbery, the people or the institutions that have the information on the incident are the police and judicial authorities; so it is the reporter's duty to get in contact with the authorities and collect the necessary information on the incident.

So, only the authorities are the ones who do not know who the robber or robbers are. If the reporter states in the news like, "the robbers are unknown" means, she/he did not get in contact with the authorities and collect the necessary information on the incident; in other words, it means that the reporter did not perform her/his duties properly.

The reporter should get all information, including, who, when, where, how did the robbery and what (accordingly why) is stolen, from the police, the judicial authorities and the officials of the bank or the company that the incident happened and do the news.

If any of the elements of the news are missing in the information collected, the reporter should ask the particular question and get the answer. The answer given by the related officials or the authorities may include the wording, "The identities of the robber or the robbers not clear yet."

In such cases, the related sentence to be written in the news should be like, "The police said the robber or robbers are not clear yet and added that the investigation on the incident was ongoing."

### **"According to the latest information"**

The information on a development the reporters get is the latest information for the moment; but even within the time until the news is written and submitted, the information got may not be the information of the latest developments anymore. It is better not to use wordings like "according to the latest information" in the news, for not to face such unwanted situations.

If we are reporting an incident (like an armed conflagration, fight, contest etc.) and writing the latest information we get, we should use sentences like, "according to the information at 09:30 GMT" or "according to the information given by the hospital officials at midnight."

A sentence like this is accordingly giving the information to the editors and readers that the incident is going on and we are on it, while it also underlines that the information we are giving may not be the final information for the moment; which also means that we are not misleading the editors and the readers.

### **"At least xx killed" or "at least xx wounded"**

Another crucial principle that we have to stick is about reporting on the number of dead or/and wounded. A sentence like, "32 people killed and 27 people wounded after the earthquake occurred in the small hours" would not be the right sentence. "At least 32 people

killed and 27 people hospitalised according to the initial findings, after the earthquake occurred in the small hours" should be the right sentence we need to use in such cases.

The information we gather, until the moment we write the news on the incidents like earthquakes, armed conflagration, bombing that cause mass killings and woundings, is never the exact and the latest information. There may be dead bodies that the police or the paramedics could not reach yet or some people among the seriously wounded may die shortly after the news is written and submitted.

Therefore, "at least" is the essential wording for the reporters for such cases. The wording, "at least" in the news indicates that the impacts of the incidents are going on, "it" was the latest situation when the news was submitted and the information given in the news might change according to the ongoing developments, and the editors are informed that the news would be updated due to possible developments.

**".... paramedics, hospital officials, police, local authorities, governorship..."**

The reporter should give the source of the information on such situations, just like in all news she/he does. Although the information on the number of killed or wounded is given by the paramedics and hospital officials, the police may also give the information about the number of killed and wounded with other information about the incident.

The statement on the number of killed and wounded may be done by the local authorities or the governorship, in some cases. Sometimes, especially in cases like earthquakes, public authorities may fail to gather information on killed and wounded; the non-governmental organisations or the aid groups may access such information directly. In any case, the reporter may give an important detail on the incident by mentioning the source she/he gets the information from.

### **Background information, context and concept**

The prior readers of the agency reporter are the editors; the editors working for a wide platform of media, including TV channels, news portals, newspapers, radio stations. The agency reporters strive to give the additional and background information, context and concept as much as possible, that the editors utilise when publishing or broadcasting the news, with all essential elements of the news they write.

An agency reporter should not consider any information as "over the intellectual levels of the ordinary readers", which would be a wrong approach to the case; because the news submitted is primarily received by the editors, the mediators between the reporters' news and the readers or watchers. The editors are the ones who cook and serve the content of the news, the background information, context and concept in it to the readers, the watchers and the listeners.

The editors would consider all the additional information like the background elements, context and concept in line with the intellectual levels of their followers while editing the agency news since they know the readers or the watchers of the media outlet they work

closely with. Accordingly, the news agency reporter writes reach the final reader, watcher or listener at the level she/he can understand.

If the level of the background information or the context and concept added to the news is over the intellectual level of the reader, watcher or listener, the editor would simplify it or completely remove it from the news. If the same news is proper for the reader, watcher or listener of another media outlet, the editor would submit or broadcast the news completely with its elements.

If we consider the opposite case; the news with no background information or context and concept may provide convenience for the editor working for the media outlet in the first case; but, the editor working for the media outlet in the second case, would make additional effort to raise the news to her/his reader, watcher, listener, or just delete it due to intensive news flow.

For this reason, agency reporters should prepare the news knowledge intensively, including all elements of the news with background or context and concept, instead of submitting it deficiently. The level of the publication or broadcasting, can not be determined like "our reader can not understand this" or "the level of this information is over the intellectual level of our reader" when it is reporting or publication in general. The media outlets should always raise the publication level over the readers' level to do their duty to support social progress.

## **5W1H & So What**

Agency news gets straight to the point and has all the main elements - including background, context, concept and human interest as well as some colour. The basic structure of the news is universal; Who? What? When? Where? Why? How? So What? Answers of these basic journalistic questions need to be clear to the reader from the first sentence.

The story should be written so it is self-contained, no matter where the reader stops or the sub-editor makes the cut. Generally, the "inverted pyramid" approach works with leads too, with the most important, newest elements presented first, followed by the supporting details, such as the source.

The news should contain all elements together; if any of the elements is missing, the news itself is deficient and none of us would like to make deficient news. First of all, the news with a missing element would not be submitted by the editor of the agency. If the news with a missing element is mistakenly submitted by the editor at the news agency, it would most probably not be published by the subscriber, due to its missing element or elements; so, it is the duty of the agency reporter to write the news with including all of its essential elements, before passing it to the editors.

Additionally, the editors of the news outlets or the readers would also seek the answer to the question: So what? The reporter should also make sure the story answers the "so what" question. The answer to the question "so what" is the element that reveals the reason why the story is written for. The "why" in the 5W1H seeks the reason of the development or the

incident that the story is based on, while the "why" of the "so what" question is related to seeks for the general reason that the story is written for.

A development or an incident is worth a news story just because it answers "Who?" or "What?" or "When?" or "Where?" or "Why?" or "How?" and "So What?" We decide to make any development or incident news, because we can answer two, three, four, five or six of all questions. Agency reporters are obliged to give the answer to the "so what" question in the news, in other words, gives them the knowledge of the "goings-on in this regard."

The news should contain all related information to the basic elements and more importantly, all the information needs to be mentioned in the first two paragraphs. The news needs to be clear to be understood beginning from the first paragraph; so, if the editor trims the news when publishing, due to lack of enough space or any other reason related to time, the reader should be able to understand its main idea from the beginning paragraph.

Even if the news takes place with its original length, the reader may not have enough time to read all of it; so it should give the main idea to the reader who has a very short time just enough to read the first sentence.

This situation comes into prominence especially because of the rapidly growing media platform in the internet era; most people do not want to take the time longer than a few minutes for the news. The first two paragraphs of a news story are crucial; the agency reporter should tell the editor or directly the reader immediately what has happened and why it's important. If you haven't told the story in the first two paragraphs it's too late.

A news portal-reader will often read no further than the first paragraph of a newspaper may well trim the story to two paragraphs to make it fit a news-in-brief column. An online service will put just those first two paragraphs on its main page. A bored or confused reader is unlikely to read on. If we haven't told the story, straight away, we may as well have missed it. For this reason, if we want our news to be read and understood by more people, we have to pay more attention to summarize all information in the first sentence of the news. The lead, or first paragraph, is the key. If you get the lead right, the rest will follow.

We have to reward the readers who keep patience until the end of the second paragraph; so after giving the concentrated information in the first paragraph, the award should be in the second paragraph fed with broader descriptions.

If you cover a scheduled news event (meeting, congress, demonstration, marching, celebration, data release etc.) it means that your news has competitors; the editor would easily delete your news, instead of trying to find out the main idea in your story and prefer the competitor's news where it is easier to access the main idea of the news event.

The information you add to the news is also valuable for the personal development of the readers. The additional information added to the news would also prevent them from fast consuming the news. For a scheduled news event, make sure you know what's expected and what the risks and implications might be if expectations fall short, or are exceeded. For a scheduled event, preparation should start well before the actual news or announcement.

This could involve pre-writing of the context, either as a "curtain-raiser" or of material to slot into the story when the time comes.

### **Purifying the news from mistakes-errors-uncertainties**

It is the reporter's duty to check the story in detail, even under heavy time pressure, just before sending it to the desk. The main idea here is to purify the story from mistakes-errors-uncertainties. Many corrections can be prevented by checking simple things. Here are some tips to keep errors down before you send your story to the desk:

- Ask yourself: Does the story say what it's meant to say? Is it clear and unambiguous?
- Make sure the story answers the "so what" question.
- Does it spell out the risks for those exposed to the new development and does it include the context?
- Is the human element highlighted?
- Ensure the story is balanced, fair and neutral; watch for phrases that might suggest we are taking sides (e.g. "fears" or "hopes").
- Be careful with words like "claimed" and phrases such as "according to" which suggest we doubt what is being said.
- Make sure sourcing is clear and precise.
- Is it simple and easily understandable?
- Are the verbs in the active voice rather than the passive?
- Confirm the day of the week and the date.
- Check all the numbers.
- Do all the components add up to the total?
- Do individual percentages add up to 100?
- Double-check the period covered, conversions, whether the figure is up or down.
- Watch for confusion between millions and billions.
- Make sure that there are no misplaced decimal points.
- Make sure there is a quote to back up a contentious lead.
- Ensure the story gives full company names, full and proper titles.
- Check that website addresses mentioned in the story actually work.
- Does the story make clear how we got the information?
- Ensure information in the story agrees with the headline.
- Check for legal dangers and balance.
- Does the story cast a slur on the good name of an individual, company or organisation?
- Does it expose anyone to ridicule, hatred or contempt?
- Is the story balanced and fair?
- Ensure tabular material carries tabular formatting in the header field.
- Any wording that contains accusation or humiliation?
- Any wording or quotes that may cause ethics or legal problems?

### **Names and verbs "in" adverbs and adjectives "out"**

When we check the news, we have to ensure that we placed every element in the news in proper forms that we planned to; in other words, "does the news give what it intends to?" or "is the news clear and in focus?"

The priority of the reporter should be using nouns and verbs, rather than using adverbs and adjectives. It is better to use simple everyday nouns and active present tense verbs but to avoid slang and jargon. Injecting colour into copy with strong verbs and facts is always better than using adjectives. If you use more than two adjectives before a single noun then rewrite the sentence. Avoid adjectives that imply judgment. When using an adjective and a noun together as an adjective, or when using an adjective and the past participle of a verb together adjectivally, hyphenate them.

A reporter should always avoid the passive voice. It is longer and clumsier than the active voice and often confuses the reader. Write, "the judge sentenced them all to prison" rather than "all of them were sentenced in prison by the judge." The active voice allows you to push on with the rest of the story. The passive voice is unavoidable when the subject of an action is the main point of the story. Use short words instead of long; use the active voice, not passive; use present tense and avoid unfamiliar abbreviations.

Another fact that must be checked is, using proper human interest wordings; checking whether human perspectives are varied and diverse in the news. Every news we write, basing on deep oceans or on the development of the microorganisms in deep rain forests must have a human perspective.

Being fast - writing at speed

The most important basic principle in reporting is speed, after accuracy; it is unacceptable to file an accurate story after others. Journalists are focused on being faster than others to file a story, as the main journalism reflex; most of the effort is used to be faster. Every reporter has their own methods and mechanisms to apply to be faster in writing and filing stories.

These mechanisms include; taking and storification the notes faster, always having the most easily used laptop or notebook aside under all conditions or having significant news templates ready to accelerate writing the news. Besides every journalist's own methods and mechanisms developed by self experiences, there are general rules and methods that are proven by the general experiences, like the following ones:

- Preparations before a scheduled event.
- Preparing the background information.
- Investigating the related accusation in the previous news.
- Information and expectations on possible developments.
- Checking the technical structure.

A reporter should make good preparation before covering a scheduled event; like reading previous news on the subject and taking notes, preparing useful templates, learning and taking notes on the technical terms and information.

## **Notes, background information and expectations on the news**

Background information to be used in the news may be prepared in paragraph forms before the event and inserting them to the pre-planned places in the news would make the reporter's job easier and speed up the news writing process.

Learning and taking notes on technical terms before the scheduled event matters to make things easier and gain speed as well as reinforces the news. For this purpose, searching and determining at least 5 to 10 technical terms related to the subject would be a good preparation; the terms should be used in the first and second paragraphs, to make the story more attractive to encourage the editor and the reader to read furthermore.

The reporter needs to search previous news stories on the subject and gather unconfirmed information or accusations. The goal of this search should be to find out the most confirmed information and accusations on the subject. This gives the advantage of stressing the information or accusations that they need to be confirmed, which also would enrich the news.

Readers/watchers give big importance to the expectations on a development which is subject to the news. The reporter would search and take notes about the expectations on the development which is subject to the news to be written, and use them in the news, which also would make it attractive.

Checking the technical structure before a scheduled event is also at big importance; all equipment to be used for writing and recording, while covering the news out of the office, must be operatable. All picture and video cameras, laptops, voice recorders need to be fully charged; none of this equipment leaves you in the lurch.

## **Draft headline, strong headline, interesting headline, plain headline**

If you can write the headline, you can write the lead. If you can write the lead you can write the story. Give headlines the attention they deserve. Too many are dull and fail to do their job - which is to catch attention and draw the reader into the story. Headlines must be sharp and informative. Use short words and an active verb and avoid unfamiliar abbreviations.

Preparing a headline before a possible development would also help writing the news easier and faster which also support it to be clearer and understandable. The important fact here is preparing a strong headline; finding a strong headline needs a good investigation on the subject to find out the angle which would attract the public attention most.

The headline of the news is at least as important as the first and second paragraphs; a headline as short as it can be and should include the most information it can and clear enough to be understood easily. Never forget that the headline is taken as the retail display of the news; a word or even a character would be too much for a good headline. The display of the news should be plain enough, instead of being flowery, as the real retail displays.

Never use passive voice in the headline or never write the headline in reported speech; focus on giving the information directly and clearly in the headline. It is the agency reporter's duty to give the subject directly and clearly via the headline. Arousing curiosity, using jokes, gags or comments in the headline is not the agency reporter's business. It is the editor's job to use such techniques while editing the agency reporter's news for the media outlet she/he is working for, like a newspaper, TV or radio channel or a news portal.

It is crucial to support all the thesis, developments and details given in the first and second paragraph, with additional information and further details in the third or fourth paragraph; the news should not be left unsupported. This support should be; a quote directly from the source, a written or verbal quote from an official (police, government, company, NGO speaker), a quote from an eyewitness,

### **Technical knowledge - technical information**

If the story you are working on contains technical knowledge, information, we have to explain technical terms unless your story is uniquely for a specialist audience that understands them and includes context to explain the significance of the story. We have to search the meanings of the technical terms and other technical details and customise the material to a form that could be used in the news. The technical subject may be on an analysis of the oil price movements or on a military balance of the sides of a conflict going on somewhere else in a remote country.

The reporter should do the preparation work including searching out the previous news and comments about the subjects in detail, considering most recent developments on the subject she/he is dealing with; while taking notes on the technical terms and complement words that to be used in the news. The news containing a number of technical terms always need descriptions for the words that are not common; the descriptions need to be placed with the first use of the technical term.

### **JOURNALIST AS AN INDIVIDUAL**

Journalists do have responsibilities besides their professional lives, as individuals. Journalists have special responsibilities at their relations with their main product, news while taking special responsibilities in their private lives, in accordance with their profession. Reporters have responsibilities for their personal investment, while all reporters should be incredulous related to their profession.

### **RESPONSIBILITY OF JOURNALISTS AS PERSONAL INVESTORS**

The journalists have the right of doing personal investments, like everyone else; journalists may reserve a certain part of their income for investment and invest it any investment tool she/he likes. But, they have a special responsibility in this area, since they can access any information before anyone else. Journalists should not use the information or data, they gather in their professional activities, for unfair profits and should never leave doubt on such

profits behind. For this purpose, the dos and don'ts of journalists who have personal investments are as follows:

- Before a journalist reports on a company in which she/he or her/his family has any kind of shareholding or other financial interest she/he must notify the interest to her/his manager.
- A journalist must not deal in securities of any company, or in any other investment, about which she/he has reported in the previous month of time.
- If a journalist is regarded as a specialist in a particular area of business or industry, she/he must notify her/his manager of any financial interest she/he may have in that area or industry.
- Journalists must not buy or sell, either directly or through nominees or agents, securities about which they have written recently or about which they intend to write in the near future. To avoid loopholes, no time period is specified. The test is whether the editorial activity might continue to have an impact on the securities.
- Journalists must not take part in short-term trading of any kind. To this end, journalists must hold investments for a minimum period of thirty days.
- Should a journalist wish to repurchase an investment she/he has just sold, a minimum period of thirty days must pass first. Any exceptions should be for family hardship reasons only and must be notified to and approved by the regional corporate counsel and regional managing editor.
- Correspondents and editors who regularly cover or direct coverage of specific securities or sectors must not own those securities, including sector-specific mutual funds. This does not include funds that track a broad market index.
- A journalist, who is assigned as the editor or the manager of a group of reporters that covers financial news, needs to sell all her/his personal investment portfolio and close her/his investment account. The journalist should also keep the related document/statement indicating the sales and closure of the investment tools and account, to be able to present when asked for.

## **INCREDULITY**

Journalists are incredulous, just as much as they are curious. Everything we do as journalists have to be independent, free from bias and executed with the utmost integrity.

When operating outside of your home country, you must also have due regard for all relevant local legislation and regulations and act with appropriate respect for local culture and custom.

Every source who talks to a reporter has a motive; the reporter should try to identify that motive and the "spin" that comes with the information, and weighs it against other information she/he has obtained, generally known background and her/his own common sense to work out the real story. The reporter's own suspicious mind is one of the best defences against being convinced. The best way to avoid being convinced is to ask the exact question to oneself; "Why did they hand this document (testimonial, data) to me?"

The document handed out to the reporter may be subject to strong news and it should be used to do a news story. The thing is, applying all crucial principles of journalism is essential while doing the news, just as she/he does with any other news, including good sourcing and double-checking. Objectivity and freedom from bias gain more importance in such cases. While doing such news, we have to be more attentive to using restrained language and the content than any other regular news we always do. All news should have quotes from all sides, but we have to be more careful with this principle on such news.

Reporters are not obliged to share the details of their sources with the editors or with other members of the editorial desk, The editors do also work with this understanding; both parties do always work with the awareness that they can access the information about the sources whenever needed.

Confidence forms the basis of the job, at all stages of the news done, edited and submitted in the relations between the reporter and the editor. The reporter may give all details of her/his source openly in the news or keep the anonymity of her/his source in line with the journalism principles, in certain cases.

However, when making news on a document, data or testimony obtained by a confident source or a source not fully confirmed, the reporter is obliged to inform the editor about the case, including the situation of the source. The editor should be informed that the document, data or the testimony that was used as the main base for the news was handed over by a source, not revealed by the reporter after her/his own investigations.

Such an approach to the news process creates additional support for the document or data found by the reporter, as well as stimulates the editor to use additional data or documents and to give more attention than a routine job to keep the balance in the news.

More important than all, when at least no other members of the editorial are informed how the document, data or testimony was obtained before the news is submitted would also help to avoid suspicion of manipulation in cases of any conflict situation.