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İSTANBUL 29 MAYIS ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ÇEVİRİBİLİM ANABİLİM DALI

ATATURK: THE REBIRTH OF A NATION ADLI ESERİN TÜRKÇEYE
ÇEVİRİLERİ ÜZERİNE BETİMLEYİCİ BİR İNCELEME

A DESCRIPTIVE RESEARCH ON THE TURKISH TRANSLATIONS OF
ATATURK: THE REBIRTH OF A NATION

(YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ)

Sena SİNARER

Tez Danışmanı
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Nilüfer ALİMEN

Eş Danışman
Doç. Dr. Senem ÖNER BULUT

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SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

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Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Nilüfer ALİMEN
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi
(Tez Danışmanı ve Sınav Komisyonu
Başkanı)

Doç. Dr. Senem ÖNER BULUT
İstanbul Arel Üniversitesi
(Eş Danışman)

Prof. Dr. Işın ÖNER
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Banu KARADAĞ
Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Sinan Okan ÇAVUŞ
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi

BEYAN

Bu tezin yazılmasında bilimsel ahlak kurallarını uyulduğunu, başkalarının eserlerinden yararlanılması durumunda bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunulduğunu, kullanılan verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapılmadığını, tezin herhangi bir kısmının bu üniversite veya başka bir üniversitede başka bir tez çalışması olarak sunulmadığını beyan ederim.

Sena SİNARER

15.06.2021

ÖZ

***Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* Adlı Eserin Türkçeye Çevirileri Üzerine Betimleyici Bir İnceleme**

Bu tezin amacı, Lord Kinross'un Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu adlı eserinin (KM), 1965 yılı tefrika halindeki ilk erek metnini (EM1), 1966 yılında eksiksiz olarak basılan ikinci erek metnini (EM2) ve 1988 yılı yeniden baskı halinde basılan üçüncü erek metnini (EM3) incelemektir. Betimleyici teorik çerçeve kapsamında, bu üç çeviriden “diktatörlük”, “din”, “Türk Siyasal hayatı” ile ilgili seçilen örnekler, kaynak metin ve üç çeviri arasındaki eşdeğerlilik ilişkilerinin dinamikleri ve çeviriler üzerindeki tarihsel, sosyo-kültürel ve siyasi bağlamın etkileri temel alınarak analiz edilmiştir. “Diktatörlük” kavramının kullanımı ile ilgili olarak seçilen örneklerdeki çevirilerin analiz sonuçları, KM ve EM1 arasındaki eşdeğerlilik ilişkisinin kabul edilebilirlik kutbuna, KM ile EM2 ve EM3 arasındaki ilişkinin ise yeterlilik kutbuna daha yakın olduğunu göstermiştir. İkinci kategori çerçevesinde, “din” kavramının kullanımı ile ilgili olarak, KM ve EM1 arasında kabul edilebilirlik kutbuna daha yakın bir ilişki mevcut iken, KM ve EM2 arasındaki eş değ erlilik ilişkisi ise yeterlilik ve kabul edilebilirlik kutuplarının tam ortasında konumlandırılmaktadır. KM ve EM3 arasındaki eşdeğerlilik ilişkisi ise diğ er bir taraftan iki kutbun ortasında konumlandırılmakta ancak EM3, EM2 ile karşılaştırıldığında kabul edilebilirlik kutbuna yaklaşmaktadır. Üçüncü kategori olarak “Türk Siyasal hayatı” ile ilgili olarak seçilen örneklerin analiz sonuçları KM ve EM1 arasındaki eşdeğerlilik ilişkisinin kabul edilebilirlik kutbuna daha yakın olduğunu, KM ile EM2 ve EM3 arasındaki ilişkinin ise yeterlilik kutbuna daha yakın olduğunu göstermektedir. Ancak, bu sonuçlar söz konusu iki kutbun bir ikili karşıtlık oluşturduğu anlamına gelmemektedir ve sadece tezde ele alınan üç kategori bağlamında incelenen örnekler için geçerlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Çeviri Normları, Yeterlilik, Kabul edilebilirlik, Eşdeğerlilik, Tefrika, Yeniden Baskı

ABSTRACT

A Descriptive Research on the Turkish Translations of *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation*

The aim of this thesis is to examine the three Turkish translations of the source text (ST) titled *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* written by Lord Kinross: the first target text (TT1), in serialized form in 1965 the second target text (TT2) in full form in 1966 and the third target text (TT3) in reprint form in 1988. Within a descriptive theoretical framework, selected examples from the three translations related to “dictatorship”, “religion” and the “Turkish political scene” have been analyzed with a focus on the dynamics of the equivalence relationships between the source text and the three translations and on the impact of the historical, socio-cultural, and political context on the translations. The results of the analysis of the translations of the examples concerning the use of the term “dictatorship” have shown that the equivalence relationship between ST and TT1 is closer to the acceptability pole while the equivalence relationship between ST and TT2 and TT3 is closer to the adequacy pole. In terms of the second category which is related to the use of the term “religion”, an equivalence relationship closer to the acceptability pole exists between ST and TT1 while the equivalence relationship between ST and TT2 is situated in the middle of the adequacy and acceptability poles. The equivalence relationship between ST and TT3, on the other hand, is situated also in the middle of the two poles, but closer to the acceptability pole compared to TT2. The results of the analysis concerning the examples related to the “Turkish political scene” as the third category have shown that an equivalence relationship closer to the acceptability pole exists between ST and TT1 while an equivalence relationship closer to adequacy exists between ST and TT2 and TT3. However, these results do not suggest a binary opposition between the two poles and that they are obtained only for the analysis of selected examples of the three categories.

Key Words

Translation Norms, Adequacy, Acceptability, Equivalence, Serialization, Reprint

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A Descriptive Research on the Turkish Translations of *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation*

INTRODUCTION

With descriptive translation studies, translation studies gained a new dimension as an empirical descriptive discipline as of the late 1970s (Baker 2008, 189). The concept “norm” which was introduced by Gideon Toury (1995) made it possible to study translation behaviour focusing on “what translation behavior consists of” instead of “what it should consist of” (Baker 2008, 190). The concept “norm” provides a “descriptive category” to make verifiable statements about the types of translation behavior (Baker 2008, 190). Additionally, in terms of observing regularity in translation behaviour, any relation between a source and a target text can be investigated with the concept “equivalence” which Toury defines as having two poles: “adequacy” and “acceptability” (Toury 1995, 64). Analysis of adherence to source text norms or target culture enables researchers to examine translation behaviour (64).

In relation to translation behavior, translators who adhere to prevalent norms do not mostly prefer to deviate from normative behaviors. Conversely, the ones who show deviant behaviour can be negatively sanctioned (Toury 1995, 170). Therefore there is always the possibility that their translations either get negative feedback or translators pay prices for their deviance (Toury 1995, 170). As to the translator’s deviant behaviours, André Lefevere introduces the concept “patronage” in the book titled *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Frame* (1992). Patrons, who are persons or institutions, also demand from translators that they adapt the text in conformity with the dominant ideology and poetics (15). The aim here is to provide acceptability in the eyes of the target reader (15).

In the light of the theoretical frame mentioned above and in relation to the concepts “norm”, “equivalence” and “patronage”, the present thesis aims to analyze the three Turkish translations of *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation*, which are the first and partial translation in serialized form, the second but the first full translation in book form and the reprinted version in book form published in 1965, 1966, 1988 respectively. Through the descriptive analysis of the selected examples from three translations, translation behaviour of the translators will be

described in relation to the concepts “norm” and “equivalence”. Additionally in relation to the concept “patronage”, the publishing policies of the publishing houses will be discussed.

The information on the publishing houses, the translators and the publication dates can be presented in a chronological order as follows:

- 1) *Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* translated by Murat Belge was a serialized partial translation published by *Milliyet* newspaper between November 10, 1965 and April 25, 1966.
- 2) *Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* translated by Nihal Yeğınobalı and Ayhan Tezel (the pseudonym of Necdet Sander) was the first full translation published by Sander Publishing House in 1966 in two volumes.
- 3) *Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* published by Altın Kitaplar Publishing House was the reprinted version of the 1966 edition and the work translated by Necdet Sander in 1966 was reprinted in 1988 in single volume.

The descriptive analysis will focus on the selected examples related to “dictatorship”, “religion” and the “Turkish political scene”. These emerged as problematic categories about which translators made different decisions and employed translation strategies accordingly. Based on these categories, selected examples will be analyzed with a focus on adequacy and acceptability. In addition, both the practises of the professionals such as translators, researchers, critics and the agents of patronage will be discussed.

The thesis aims to answer the following questions:

1. What kind of an equivalence relationship exists between the source text and the three translations under scrutiny?
2. Do the translation strategies manifest regularity in the three translations?
3. How does the historical, socio-cultural and political circumstances affect the translation strategies employed during the production and publication of the three translations?

The first target text *Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* is the first translation published in 1965 in serialized form by Murat Belge on *Milliyet*. The second target text *Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* translated by Nihal Yeğınobalı and Ayhan Tezel in

1966 was published by Sander Publishing House. The third target text *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* translated by Necdet Sander was published by Altın Kitaplar Publishing House in 1988 as the first reprint. These are the three target texts which will be included in the thesis. Among all the 10 reprints in book form of Sander Publishing House only the 1966 translation will be included into the descriptive analysis since the 1967 edition is almost as identical¹ as the 1966 translation even though the translator's name is only given as Ayhan Tezel in 1967 in two volumes instead of Nihal Yeğınobalı. Moreover, as of 1967, all the reprints were published with the name Ayhan Tezel until 1981.

In terms of drawing the limits of the thesis, the plagiarized translation published in 1967 by Sander Publishing House will not be included in the thesis considering that it includes plagiarism. Therefore the other reprints in book form published by Sander Publishing House will not be included in the study due to their being plagiarized versions of the 1966 translation.

The thesis consists of four chapters and a conclusion. General remarks, objectives, research questions and limitations are presented in Introduction. Chapter 1 is devoted to the theoretical framework of the thesis with a focus on “norms”, “equivalence” and “patronage”. Chapter 2 discusses the political scene in Turkey in the 1960s and 1980s. Both constitutional changes resulted from the coups 1960 and 1980 and authority changes resulted from military interventions will be discussed to draw a picture of the political agenda during the time periods in which the translations were produced. Chapter 3 focuses on information on the source text and the target texts. Chapter 4 presents the descriptive analysis of the case under scrutiny. Conclusions will be presented in Conclusion.

¹ For more detailed information, see the footnote 53 in Chapter 4. The 1966 translation was compared with the 1967 edition on a checking tool: Abbyy Fine Reader. As to qualitative evidence, some translation strategies such as division of coordinated clauses, the addition of anaphoric reference(s), the use of extending/reducing words and/or phrases, the position change of inverted sentences were included in the comparison analysis to reveal plagiarism. The reason for calling the 1967 translation a reprint rather than a retranslation is that all the chapters except for the first are almost identical with the 1966 translation. However, the name Nihal Yeğınobalı was omitted from all the reprints by Sander as of 1967. The analysis of the selected pages in the comparative study are not given in the present thesis since such an analysis is beyond the scope of the thesis.

1.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: NORMS AND PATRONAGE

In the book titled *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995), with reference to James S. Holmes, Gideon Toury states that translation studies should be regarded as “an autonomous discipline” of an empirical nature. (cf. Toury, 1995, 16). Quoting from Holmes, Toury also underlines that translation studies have two aims: “to describe a particular phenomenon in the world of our experience and to establish general principles” (cf. Toury, 16). On the basis of these aims, Toury claims that a descriptive analysis should be made on translation products and this analysis should establish “explanatory and predictive principles” (16). According to him, norms serve as explanatory tools in terms of interpreting translations and the conscious decisions made by the translators as well as offering theoretical explanations (60).

Toury states that translation is performed in a particular cultural environment to meet certain needs (19). In such a cultural environment, translators are expected to operate foremost in the culture that they translate (19). Thus, he opens the doors to both the examination of the nature of norms in a socio-cultural context and the analysis of translational norms. In terms of understanding the nature and function of norms, Toury presents a definition as to the concept of norm as follows:

“Norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what would count as right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance ‘instructions’ appropriate for and applicable to concrete situations” (61-62).

Within the definition given above, Toury states that norms can be utilized in the assessment of a certain behavioral model (62). To him, since norms are active and effective, one can understand the regulatory of behavior of norms in “recurrent conditions of the same type” (62). Therefore, norms play an active role in the determination of borders like what is “wrong or true”, “adequate or inadequate”, “tolerated or forbidden” in a certain behavioral condition (62).

Similarly, Christina Schäffner (1999), in the book entitled *Translation and Norms*, explains the functions of the norms as standards and models deployed in order to have “appropriate behavioral products” (5). In this way, it is possible to say that individuals follow the norms to regulate their social interactions and provide social order as to tolerated or prohibited behaviors. As to this point, Toury states that norms are instructions to specify what

is permitted or forbidden “in a certain behavioral dimension” and these instructions guide “persons-in-the-culture” (1995, 33). According to Toury, norms might allow different types of behaviour on the condition that the selection among them are “nonrandom” (62). Quoting from Wexler, Toury draws attention to the role of norms which regulate behaviour:

“The existence of norms is sine qua non in instances of labeling and regulating; without a norm, all deviations are meaningless and become cases of free variation” (Wexler qtd. in Toury, 1995, 62).

According to Toury, translation is acquired within a certain cultural environment (19). In a socio-cultural environment, translation can be subject to hard constraints related to language and textual traditions (61). These constraints can be related to even the cognitive apparatus of the translator (61). Since the cognitive apparatus of the translator may be shaped by socio-cultural factors, translators might use different strategies for different audiences in accordance with socio-cultural constraints (61). According to him, socio-cultural norms that are constraints are described depending on a scale between two poles: rules are stronger, rule based and objective while idiosyncrasies are subjective and weaker (61). Between these poles, there is a vast ground called norms which includes intersubjective parameters graded according to conditions (61). The borders between the constraints can be variable and some of them can be binding within a heterogeneous group (61). To him, depending on time, rises and declines can be experienced for each type of behavior (61). It means that arbitrary decisions can be more normative, binding and get more validity within time (61). So, it is possible to say that these shifts will determine new borders for behavioral routines, and they are redescribed.

Theo Hermans approaches the same question by adding two more concepts: convention and decree (1996, 29). He draws a line starting from convention on one hand to decree on the opposite (32). Between them, norms and rules follow the second and the third rank respectively in the continuum (32). Although convention and decree show a difference as compared to Toury’s approach; norms here have “binding character” as in the case of Toury’s norms (32). Hermans states that what is common in these four elements including “convention – norm – rule – decree” is the development of an observable regularity (32). To Hermans, within these four-stage-process, norms have a vital role in constituting social interaction in terms of the socialization of the community (32). These are approved behaviors that have a regulatory function like rules and conventions and have a position as a mediator

between an individual's preferences and collective ones as well as providing stability (26). Therefore, Hermans states that norms are "prescriptive rules" that control the behaviors of members of community in terms of how they should behave in a given situation (30). From this perspective, it could be said that norms have a position like laws both for social adaptation and stability.

On the other hand, an intriguing question is "what happens if translators deviate from the approved norms?". Toury presents probable answers to this question by mentioning that when translators deviate from norms, this can result in sanctions, penalties or positive results rarely (1995, 64). Toury argues that in a particular society, what is "appropriate or not", "wrong or right", "adequate or inadequate", "tolerated or forbidden" is defined through norms though behavior may not comply with the prevailing norms (62). Hermans claims that "noncompliance with a norm does not usually result in drastic sanctions just as non-compliance with a norm does not invalidate the norm" (1996, 31). In relation to "non-compliance with a norm", Toury states that norms can include sanctions. While some sanctions can be "negative" and "punitive", others can be "rewarding". Therefore, norms can serve as a "yardstick" (1995, 62).

Since each society has specified values and behavioral routines, it is possible to say that norms might vary from one culture to another. Even if Toury states that deviation from social norms might not be a problem for the continuity of that norm, he reminds that there might be some prices for the deviators (62):

[...] any deviation from 'normative' modes of behaviour is liable to be negatively sanctioned, if only by detracting from the product's acceptability, as a translation, or even as a TL text. At least, the risk is always there. Most translators, in most situations, regard this price as too high and are quite reluctant to pay it, and therefore the overall tendency is normally to adhere to prevalent norms (170).

Generally speaking, norms have a nature that is binding, and rule based, and they also have a strong relation with values. Toury defines norms as the "translations of values" or "ideas shared by the members of a community" (62). Hermans states that norms serve as a mediator between "individual's intentions and actions and collective values and preferences" (1996, 26). Similarly, Schäffner emphasizes that values are inside norms and conventions (1999, 6).

The other point related to norms is power relations and the agents shaping power structures. What is adequate or inadequate, good or bad, wrong or true are determined by norm enforcers but, within a certain period time, changing of previous norms can be experienced. Hermans states that in a social context, agents can have the power to serve their own interests either collectively or individually (1996, 27). Power structures can involve political and economic power, which require the agents to make decisions or choose probable actions (28). If necessary, sanctions can be practiced against non-compliance (32):

If A has an obligation towards B, it follows that B has a certain claim on A. This 'claim' means that B has the power to impose a norm on A and invoke sanctions in case of non-compliance by A, if B chooses to use that power. As in the case of the modalities of normative force, the modalities of normative control involve not only a set of clearly defined relations in which B controls A (expressed below as $B > A$), so that A has certain, mutually recognized obligations towards B to behave in a certain manner on certain occasions, but also a more uncertain area, where A is more or less immune from B and vice versa (35).

As stated above, it can be said that the defined relations between A and B is complex and show changes that result in both certainty and uncertainty in certain occasions (35).

Another point to be considered is change of norms. According to Hermans, translators try to have a position in the system either by complying with dominant norms or deviating from them. Moreover, translators can violate norms subverting them (1996, 7). According to Toury, norms can change in time. Translators either follow “dated norms” or show deviant behaviour as changes of norms happen (1995, 70). Toury also adds that age differences can affect the change of norms, which means a novice translator can follow dated norms due to avoiding taking risks in the early years of their career (70). Although an experienced translator might follow “mainstream norms”, s/he also can show deviant behaviour in time (70).

On the other hand, Schäffner also questions whether there are specific or general norms changing depending on the related translation activity and states that there is not any indication that refers to a specific norm for each translation activity (1998, 8). Hermans claims that in a sociocultural hierarchical order, the point to stress here is when new values, ideologies and structures come out, competition and patronage show themselves and following this, the norms and rules of translation can change as well (1996, 40).

1.1 Translational Norms

As Toury explains, socio-cultural dimension has a considerable place in understanding constraints of translation environment and, due to socio-cultural factors, translation is subjected to different levels of constraints (1995, 61). These constraints can vary depending on the source text, systemic differences between the languages and the cognition of translator. Moreover, cognition itself is affected by socio-cultural factors (61). As a result of socio-cultural constraints, translators perform different strategies for different audiences during the act of translation (61).

Toury also emphasizes that socio-cultural constraints mentioned above include two extremes. On one side of the scale, there are rules and on the other side there are idiosyncracies. On this scale, between these two poles, there exists “intersubjective factors” named as norms. Some of them are strong and “rule-like” as others can be weaker and idiosyncratic (61). However, the borderlines between the constraints are relative, which means one type of behaviour within a heterogeneous group can be more binding in another group (61). As a result of this, Toury states that translation becomes multi-dimensional and translators’ behaviors can not be expected to be fully systematic (74). Toury explains the nature of translator’s behaviors as follows:

“Consistency in translational behavior is thus a graded notion which is neither nil (i.e., total erraticness) nor 1 (i.e., absolute regularity).” (74)

Defining translation as a kind of activity carried out between at least two languages and two cultures, Toury emphasizes that there are “norm-systems” in source and target texts (63). According to him, translation has a position as a text in a certain language and certain culture and also a position as a representation in a certain language and culture (63). He states that these two conditions result from the changing distance between source and target texts. He also emphasizes that there are certain “regularities” of translation behaviors even though translators do not make an explanation about their deviations from norms (63). Instead, the people in the culture can offer explanations about the deviations of the translator (63).

Toury classifies norms into three categories:

Initial Norms	Preliminary Norms	Operational Norms
Adequacy	Translation policy	Matricial norms
Acceptability	Directness of translation	Textual-linguistic norms

As the first category, initial norms are related to translator's decisions, which enables one to analyze whether translation adheres to source text norms or target culture norms. These decisions are taken prior to the translation process (63). Therefore, it can be said initial norms are used to describe source and target relations before translation is produced.

In relation to source and target relations, Toury also emphasizes that equivalence has a considerable importance in studying norms (68). He defines equivalence as “a relation found to have characterized translation under a specified set of circumstances rather than a single relationship” (68). Focusing on relations between source and target text, he explains equivalence as a two-pole concept. On the one hand, adequacy and on the other hand, acceptability. When a translation is closer to source system norms, translation is “adequate” and if it is closer to target system norms, translation becomes “acceptable” (64). However, Toury, also adds that there can be shifts even in the most “adequacy-oriented translation” (64).

In relation to equivalence, Toury also focuses on “the extent of equivalence” (68). Here what is mentioned is “functional-relational equivalence” which means “a set of relationships which are found to distinguish appropriate from inappropriate modes of translation for the culture in question” (93). Toury explains the concept of “equivalence” as follows:

The apparent contradiction between the traditional concept of equivalence and the limited model into which a translation has just been claimed to be moulded can only be resolved by postulating that the type and extent of equivalence actually exhibited by a translation vis-à-vis its source are determined by norms. (1995, 68)

According to Toury, translation can show a tendency either towards source culture norms or target culture norms (64). Therefore, it is not realistic to expect a full regularity of translation behaviour (64). Instead, there might be a compromise between two extremes (64). Toury defines this proximity as a compromise of union:

“Actual translation decisions (the results of which the researcher would confront) will necessarily involve some ad hoc combination of or compromise between the two extremes implied by initial norm.” (64)

Be that as it may, a translation will never be either adequate or acceptable. Rather, it will represent a blend of both. This is to say, no translation can reveal a zero amount of either adequacy or acceptability, no more than it can be 100% acceptable or 100% adequate (Toury, 2012, 70).

Toury also states that norms can be expected to govern not only translation decisions prior to translation activity but also in each stage of translation act (1995, 65). Preliminary norms, like initial norms, include translator’s decisions prior to the translation process and these norms are related to translation policy and directness of translation (65). According to Toury, translation policy involves the choice of the text types and the import of a text into a certain language and culture in a certain time (65). Directness of translation includes “the threshold of tolerance” to the translations made from other languages (65). That means translation is either made from the source text itself or from other translations of the source text.

As the last category, Toury focuses on operational norms, which involve the decisions made during the act of translation. One of them is matricial norms which are related to the distribution of “linguistic material, textual make up, verbal formulation” in translation (66). Matricial norms are expected to govern the degree of “fullness of translation”, “textual segmentation” and “the actual distribution” of texts. Thus, interventions such as “additions, omissions, reductions, changes of location, and manipulations in textual segmentation” are determined by matricial norms (66). However, Toury also emphasizes that one can not be completely sure about the decisions made as to matricial norms since these norms have a nature of being “descriptive-bound” (66).

Textual linguistic norms are related to the choice of material in the target text. He also adds that textual linguistic norms might be “general” or “particular” according to “the text type” and/or “mode of translation” (66). He emphasizes that operational norms might serve as a descriptive model to analyze whether a target text is closer to the pole of adequacy or that of acceptability or compromises between the two poles (66).

1.2 System: Patronage

Patronage which is a concept introduced by André Lefevere in the book titled *Translation Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Frame* refers to “the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder reading, writing, and rewriting of literature” (1992, 15). According to Lefevere, patronage which includes “the persons and groups of persons such as religious body, political party, social class, royal court, publishers, media, newspapers, magazines and newspapers” focuses on the ideology of literature than its poetics (16).

In Lefevere’s view, patrons are expected to regulate the relationship between a literary system and other systems (15). Lefevere explains the function of patronage as follows:

“[...] patronage is usually more interested in the ideology of literature than in its poetics and it could be said that the patron “delegates authority” to the professional where poetics is concerned” (15).

Defining professionals as the first control factor within the literary system, Lefevere states that the first group members who are professionals are translators, critics and reviewers, academics, and teachers. In his view, professionals generally repress certain works of literature which are opposed to dominant poetics and ideology. Therefore, there can be conditions where a writer might try to oppose the dominant ideology and poetics while a translator can adapt the text to make it acceptable for a certain poetics and ideology (15).

On the other hand, Lefevere states that the second control factor is patronage. The members of the second control factor are patrons such as publishers, the media, religious body, a political party, social class, royal court or institutions who try to regulate the relationship between the literary system and other systems (15). Lefevere further emphasizes the function of patronage as follows:

“What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produce discourse” (15).

As can be understood from the statement above, patronage is not only related to its repressive force. Instead, patrons might also regulate discourse (15).

According to Lefevere, professionals who are close to the dominant ideology of patrons can apply some interventions like rewriting and/or censoring the work of literature (15). Patrons believe in professionals in terms of their regulation of the literary system in conformity with patrons' own ideology. Lefevere explains patronage's confidence on professionals as follows:

In thus smoothing out contradiction, closing the text, criticism becomes the accomplice of ideology. Having created a canon of acceptable texts, criticism then provides them with acceptable interpretations, thus effectively censoring away elements in them which come into collision with the dominant ideology" (16).

On the other hand, Lefevere emphasizes three elements in the patronage structure. These are ideological, economical and status-related components (16). In Lefevere's view, ideological component is related to constraints concerning the selection and development of a work of literature. Lefevere emphasizes that the concept ideology mentioned here is not restricted to the "political sphere". He clearly states that "ideology would seem to be that grillwork of form, convention, and belief which orders our actions" (16). He explains that the concept "ideology" can be shaped in conformity with patronage expectations as follows:

Chaucer's contemporary, John Gower, was his own patron, at least in this respect, being "an independent country gentleman, whose means allowed him to write in Latin, French and English" (Bennett 1, 6). Yet he was not independent on ideological level: he wrote a final passage praising the King. Some years later, the poet found it expedient to omit this passage, and to insert a new preface, praising Henry IV" (16).

As for the economical component, Lefevere expresses that this component is related to patron's financial support to professionals. Patrons give writers and rewriters a pension or appoints them to some office. In addition, patrons also pay royalties for the sales of books or give professionals a position as teachers or reviewers (16).

The last component is status-related. In Lefevere's view, professionals can access to higher status by joining a "certain support group and its lifestyle" (16). Thus, it can be said that professionals might join groups supported by publishing houses and expect to get higher status (16).

In the light the three components mentioned above, Levefere states that patronage has both differentiated and undifferentiated nature (17). To him, patronage is undifferentiated when its three components including ideology, economy and status are presented by one and the same person (17). Patronage is differentiated “when economic success is relatively independent of ideological factors” and economic success is also independent from the professional’s status (17). In the system including undifferentiated patronage, the patrons try to preserve both “the stability of the social system” and the literary product is promoted within the system in conformity with their own expectations since the power is based on the patronage (17). He also emphasizes that when other literature products called “dissident” are produced in the system, it will be difficult for them to “get published by official channels” or they “will be relegated to the status of low or popular literature” (17).

Thus, it can be concluded that translator’s own ideology is expected to conform with the patron’s ideology. However, it could be possible to say that a translator might choose to leave her/his own imprints on the literary product even if it is in conflict with the patron’s ideology. In this case, there can occur some risks such as not being able to publish a literary product or the product can lose its status within the system. Conversely s/he might choose to adapt the product to the patron’s expectations. In both cases, translation is not isolated from ideology.

1.3 Censorship

In the article titled “The New Censorship: Censorship by Translation in the Soviet Union” Marianna Tax Choldin defines censorship as an action in terms of the preservation of the target culture:

“A censor [...] is an officer or official charged with scrutinizing communications to intercept, suppress, or delete material harmful to his country’s or organization’s interests.” (1986, 346)

As stated above, it can be understood that censorial acts seem as protective against any possible threat in a target culture. In the article titled “Assessing Boundaries: Censorship Translation” by Francesca Billiani, definition of censorship is given as follows:

“Censorship is a form of manipulative rewriting of discourses by one agent or structure over another agent or structure, aiming at filtering the stream of information from one source to another.” (2007, 3)

Defining censorship as a form of manipulative rewriting, Billiani emphasizes censorship’s repressive function (3). According to the author, censorship can operate in the cross-cultural communication in different guises by blocking, manipulating and controlling the literary product (3).

In Billian’s view, censorship functions as a “filter” in cross-cultural communication since it is expected to “withhold” information from the dominated group on behalf of the dominant sector of society (4). Billiani also adds that censorship operates in line with the expectations of the “dominant body” over the “dominated one” (4).

The function of censorship is also drawn attention to by Toury as follows:

“Censorship can also be activated during the act of translation itself though, inasmuch as the translator has internalized the norms pertinent to the target culture, and uses them as a monitoring device.” (1995, 285)

Billiani emphasizes two kinds of censorship. These can be individual or institutional censorship and “the level of textual manipulation” can be determined by “readers’ social position and tastes” (2007, 9). According to the author, a translator who manipulates a text practices censorship. The aim here is to make the literary product “acceptable and ready for public dissemination” (10).

Billiani also points out that institutional censorship has been mostly practiced for moral acceptability of the texts as well as “political and ideological spheres” (2008, 29). Additionally, Billiani emphasizes that the profile of the author or the identity of the translator can be effective in practicing institutional censorship (30). Institutional censorship can also be practiced due to the content of literary work. Therefore, the stories including political issues might also be subject to censorship due to their “perilous and immoral examples of antisocial behaviour” (30). Billiani refers to Rundle and Van Streen and emphasizes institutional censorship’s preventive mission as follows:

In these contexts, censorship functioned as a preventive measure which worked effectively because of the relevant regimes’ ability to recruit the publishing industry

and bring it in line with the political order. Translations were rarely sequestered, because the publishers themselves preempted censorship by guaranteeing their acceptability” (Billiani, 2008).

Other type of censorship is individual (31). According to Billiani, translators can also be “selfcensors” and apply censorship individually (31). Billiani also emphasizes that selfcensorship can be public or private (31). In her view, the main point to question is whether selfcensorship is a conscious or unconscious, voluntary or involuntary, visible or invisible act (31). Billiani clearly states that the selfcensors’ acts might result from their effort to conform to political regime restrictions (31).

In the light of the approaches stated above, it could be said that institutional or individual practices of censorship result from the aim of meeting dominant ideological expectations in a certain culture. Therefore, it could also be concluded that translators, editors or individual and institutional entities who practice censorship might aim to gain acceptability in a certain target culture and system.

Applying institutional and/or individual interventions, patrons and/or translators can censor the language used in a translation to get approval from the target community. In order to understand the interventions of censors, the strategies used during the translation process need to be examined.

In the article titled “Examining Self-Censorship Zola’s *Nana* in English Translation” (2007), Siobhan Brownlie studies taboo words and topics. According to the author, “toning-down”, or “euphemism” is one of the strategies that translators use for being acceptable and for selling their books without banning (209). These involve toning-down offensive language and sensual descriptions (210):

There are various techniques by which language in these semantic domains is avoided or toned down. Toning down also applies to coarse language and expletives, and there is an avoidance of the use of ‘God’ and ‘Jesus’ in expletives” (210).

Omission is the second strategy which is related to the exclusion of the words, phrases and/or textual units. Brownlie emphasizes that omission is a strategy used not only for omitting single words, phrases or “large chunk of text” but also references related to sensual

descriptions and offensive language (210). As the third strategy, substitution is used (212) through which deviant words and/or phrases are replaced with non-deviant ones.



2. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE IN TURKEY

In this chapter, the political scene in Turkey is briefly explained by focusing specifically on the 1960s and the 1980s in order to provide a historical background considering that these periods included political turmoils, coups and changes in the constitution and that providing information on the conditions under which the target texts were produced would be helpful to understand the case studied in the thesis.

2.1 The political scene in Turkey in the 1960s

With the movement of modernization and democratization as of 1923, Turkey had been experiencing a gradual development in terms of creating a vision of democratic and modern Turkey. Undergoing a gradual transformation from one-party rule to multi party rule, Turkey adopted one party system between 1923-1946, dual party system between 1946-1960 and multi-party system between 1961 and 1980 respectively (Zürcher, 2004, 5).

In the book *Turkey A Modern History* (2004) Erik J. Zürcher explains the democratization process of Turkey between 1950 and 1980 as two periods. One is the rule of the Democrat Party, the other one is the second Turkish Republic (2004, 2). However, these periods were also the dates of military interventions which Zürcher defines as “troubled” (2).

The dual-party system consists of Democrat Party (DP) and Republican People’s Party (RPP). In the book *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey* (1991) Metin Heper², the founder and honorary member of the Turkish Academy of Sciences and Board Member of the Scientific and Technological Research Institute of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), emphasizes that DP and RPP had separate views related to the principles of Kemalism (1991, 101). Heper states that Kemalism was not integrated into the party programme by Mustafa Kemal himself and it was placed in the programme in 1935 and the constitution of the Republic in 1937 (52). Defining this transition as “the introduction of democracy”, Heper emphasizes that Turkey recognized both the existence of democracy and integrated democratic understanding into social, political, economic and cultural life despite the one-party rule in 1925s (101).

² For detailed information see https://tubitak.gov.tr/tubitak_content_files/MetinHeper.pdf. (accessed January 5, 2021)

As for the 1950s, a new assembly and cabinet entered to the Turkish political arena with the election victory of the DP. These were the representatives who had background in commerce or law and they lacked bureaucratic and/or military background inherited from the old regime (Zürcher, 2004, 221). Regarding itself as the representative of popular will, DP practiced absolute power and legitimacy (221). According to DP, this was essential for democracy and economic growth perspective and Kemalism was redefined with the new statist policy of DP, which relied on the liberal free-market economy (222). However, it conflicted with Kemalist principle which supports statist, self-sufficient economy policy (222). As a result of DP's supporting large-scale American aid, suspending railways, use of subsidies, applying to cheap credit investments for a short-term growth, the party encountered with inflation and deterioration of economy due to its increasing foreign loans as of 1955 (221-226).

As of 1956, following the above-mentioned DP authoritarian policies, DP also redefined press law provisions and increased much more government control by putting restrictive provisions (Zürcher, 2004, 223). DP also prohibited the political activities organized by the academicians (223). Additionally, the press under governmental censorship could not report the riots experienced on those days (240). It could be interpreted that these sanctions were not only limited with the political life, namely it penetrated into every aspect of life.

As well as political life, press organs also experienced this chaotic process. In the article "A CDA Approach to the Translations of Taboos in Literary Texts within the Historical and Socio-Political Turkish Context", Funda İşbuğa Erel states that newspapers were banned due to their subversive comments and the chief representative of Press and Publication were under the supervision of the government (2008, 66). To illustrate this, Sabiha Sertel, a writer and journalist, was litigated due to her article criticizing the pressure on the writers, publishers, and translators (2008, 66).

In the book *The Making of Modern Turkey* (1993), Feroz Ahmad states that the economic losses triggered the violent events such as the demonstrations of university students and the society centered political activities (1993, 114). Applying strict precautions, DP had

the activists arrested and martial law was imposed in some provinces in response to violence incidences (114).

Calling itself as the National Unity Committee (NUC), the junta tried to restore the “corrupted” order and proposed a new constitution with a commission filled with academics (Ahmad, 1993, 129). As a result of negotiations with Onar Commission and the Constituent Assembly with RPP supporters, a new constitution, dated July 9, 1961 was put into practice (129). The constitution provided freedom of thought, expression and publication (129). The 1961 Constitution is regarded as a “radical departure from its predecessor” as explained by Ahmad below:

[...] the new institutions were the explicit guarantees of freedom of thought, expression, association and publication, as well as other civil liberties, contained in the new document. In addition, it promised social and economic rights, with provisions both for the right of the State to plan economic development so as to achieve social justice, and the right of the individual to the ownership and inheritance of property, and the freedom of work and enterprise” (1993, 129).

Based on Ahmad’s view, it can be concluded that the liberal developments on social, economy and political order and press and in parliamentary system were observed more positively.

On the other hand, in the book *II. Mahmut’tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi* (2003), Hıfzı Topuz states that Law of Measures dated March 5, 1962 brought some sanctions related to some newspapers and columnists (2003, 237). The closure of *Öncü* newspaper, the trial processes of Aziz Nesin who wrote columns in *Tanin* newspaper and of İhsan Ada who was the chief editor of the *Tanin* newspaper were some of the sanctions. In addition, in the political weekly magazine *Ortam*, Nevzat Kaynak mentions the interventions of pressure groups performing a supervision over the government as follows:

“1961 anayasasıyla beraber bazı organlar ve baskı grupları getirilmiştir. Bu organların ve grupların görevleri, hükümetleri kontrol etmek, anayasa dışına taşan davranışlarında onları frenlemektir” (1971, 15).

[“With the 1961 Constitution, some organs and pressure groups were put into effect. The position of such organs and pressure groups is to monitor the governments and restrain them if they violate the Constitution.”]³

³ All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

Topuz adds that there were some regulations in terms of the prohibition of censorship, the emergence of press release, the establishment of Press Announcement Agency dated January 2, 1961, the abolition of the article 34 which means the right to prove the truth of an allegation (2003, 237). Here are the amendments related to some of the articles:

ARTICLE 15- The **privacy** of the individual's life **shall not be violated**⁴. The exceptions required as a result of legal proceedings shall be reserved.

ARTICLE 19 – Every individual is entitled to follow **freely** the dictates of his conscience, to chose (sic.) his own **religious faith** and to have his own **opinions**.

ARTICLE 20 – Every individual is entitled to have his own opinion and to think freely. He is free to **express his thoughts** and opinions singly or collectively, through word of mouth, in writings through to disclose his thoughts and opinions.

ARTICLE 22 – The press is free and shall **not be subjected to censorship**. The State shall adopt the measures to assure the freedom of the press, and the obtainment of information.

Freedom of press and the obtainment of information can be **restricted by the law** only in order to safeguard national security, or public morality, to prevent attacks on the dignity, honor and rights of individuals, to prevent instigations to commit crimes, and to assure proper implementation of judicial functions.

The **newspaper and periodicals** published in Turkey can be **closed down** only by court judgment, in the event of conviction for offenses provided in article 57.

(Sadık Balkan, Ahmet E. Uysal, Kemal H. Karpat, 1961, 6-7)

As seen from the articles above, it can be said that the government takes the necessary measures on the condition that freedom of press and freedom of speech are violated.

In relation to sanctions, in the article “1961-1973 yılları arasında Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ile Yasaklanan Yayınlar” (“The Publications Prohibited in the Direction of the Cabinet’s Decision between 1961-1973”) (2006), Mustafa Yılmaz and Yasemin Doğaner state that the period was also full of some restrictions such as putting news reporters on trial, the prohibition of access to certain foreign publications and their translations into the country due to a variety of reasons (2006, 251, 299). The authors also emphasize that this obstacle results from the contents of the import books including “communist propaganda”, “ethnic-based

⁴ All the emphases in the articles of the constitution are mine.

propaganda”, “insult to Turkishness”, “publications destructive to the relationship with neighbouring states”, “publications against the statesman and missionary work and religious propaganda” (247).

On the other hand, in relation to the works insulting Turkishness and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, it should be stated that, the Turkish law 5816 “Law Concerning Crimes Committed Against Atatürk” (“Atatürk Aleyhine İşlenen Suçlar Hakkında Kanun”) put into effect in the period of Menderes’ government brings punishments on behalf of protecting of Atatürk’s memory. The related provisions dated July 25, 1951⁵ are as follows:

ARTICLE 1- Anyone who publicly insults or defames the memory of Atatürk shall be sentenced to one up to three years imprisonment.

ARTICLE 2- Of (sic.) offences described in Article 1 are committed publically, by two or more persons or through the press, the sentence will be increased by half⁶.

Based on these articles, it could be concluded that Atatürk’s memory was guaranteed under the provisions in case of any threat. Similarly, Yılmaz and Doğaner state that the number of publications such as insulting statesmen, Turkishness and opposing the unity of the Turkish state gradually declined both in Menderes’ period and in the early of 1970s. (Yılmaz and Doğaner, 2006, 271).

In relation to the sanctions practiced on political journals in 1960s, the journal *Yön*⁷ which includes a counter-ideology discourse on Kemalism was closed down with the judiciary decision dated July 5, 1963 (Kemal Barış Tıǧlı⁸, 2005, 36). However, in the 77th issue of *Yön* published on June 5, 1963, Bahri Savcı wrote a column “Karşı İhtilal Akımı” (“Counter-Revolution Movement”) and this caused the journal to be closed down by the

⁵ For more information, see <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.5816.pdf>. (accessed January 20, 2021).

⁶ For more information about the translation of the Turkish law 5816 “Law Concerning Crimes Committed Against Atatürk” see <http://melaproject.org/sites/default/files/2019-06/Ataturk%20Aleyhine%20Islenen%20Suclar%20Hakkinda%20Kanun.pdf> (accessed April 9, 2021).

⁷ For more information, see https://tustav.org/yayinlar/sureli_yayinlar/yon/Y%C3%B6n%20Dergisi%20-%20C-2%20-%20Sayi%20-%2020075.pdf. (accessed January 20, 2021)

⁸ For more information about the closing down of newspapers and journals, see <https://dspace.ankara.edu.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12575/28674/3037.pdf?sequence=1> (accessed January 20, 2021)

Ankara martial law commander, General Cemal Tural (36). Similarly, in the 75th issue of *Yön* published on May 23, 1963, Cemal Hüsnü Taray wrote another column “Kim Sorumlu?”⁹ (“Who Is Responsible?”) and this had also caused the journal *Yön* to receive a warning before it was closed down (36).

To summarize, it is possible to conclude that the 1961 Constitution was regulated in terms of civil and social rights and brought some restrictions added to the constitution when there was a possible threat towards the national security, as in the case of the article 22 of 1961. As a result of the articles guaranteeing freedom of speech and press, prohibiting censorship as of 1961, a real process of democratization started in social and political life¹⁰ (İşbuğa-Erel, 2008, 66).

2.2 The political scene in Turkey in the 1980s

The period full of more liberal practices as to political, social, cultural life, the new Turkey of 1961 witnessed various import works and their translations including Western thought and literature. It can be said that there was a shift from depoliticized position to politicised one with the 1961 Constitution following the coup in 1960 and the strict force of 1950s on the press release was terminated through the 1961 Constitution. However, the political tensions, societal changes occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s led to an “explosive situation” (Ahmad, 1993, 144). Due to some conditions such as high inflation, the rise of unemployment, failing to meet the expectations increasing with industrial revolution, lots of workers participated in unions initiating militant actions (144).

From the 1970 onwards, there was an atmosphere filled with chaotic incidents and reactions (İşbuğa-Erel, 2008, 67). In the encyclopedia *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*¹¹ (*Encyclopedia of Turkey in the Republican Period*) (1995), Yıldızhan Yayla explains the period of military interventions and its reflections on political and social rights in the article “Sansür” (“Censorship”) (1983, 956). According to Yayla, the events which appeared in the post-1971 period reached a level threatening the unity of state and the

⁹ For more information, see https://tustav.org/yayinlar/sureli_yayinlar/yon/Y%C3%B6n%20Dergisi%20-%20C-2%20-%20Sayi%20-%200075.pdf (accessed January 20, 2021)

¹⁰ For more information, see *Cumhuriyetin 75 yılı, (75th Anniversary of the Republic)*. 1999, 480-481

¹¹ For more information, see https://turuz.com/storage/Turkologi-3-2020/7945-04-Cumhuriyet_Donemi_Turkiye_Ansiklopedisi-Yuzyil_Biterken-02-1995-289s.pdf. (accessed January 20, 2021)

understanding of liberal, democratic state of law (956). Yayla also states that there were some changes in the 1961 Constitution related to the law numbered 1488, which was announced in 1971, and these changes consist of the restrictions in the name of protecting state unity and security since the security was under threat (956). Martial law was announced; however, it was not enough to terminate the chaotic process (956).

When the date was 1980, General Kenan Evren announced the military takeover on the radio and television and emphasized that due to economic breakdown, violence and social divisions within the society, the armed forces had to take over the state administration in order to preserve the unity of the country and provide rights and freedom of the people based on law and order (Ahmad, 1993, 181).

On the other hand, National Security Council (NSC) set by the armed forces under the supervision of Kenan Evren abolished the 1961 Constitution, closed down all the political parties, suspended all professional organizations and practiced harsh sanctions over the press. (Ahmad, 1993, 182-184). As a result of all of these substantial changes, a new constitution was announced: the 1982 Constitution (182-184).

According to the 1982 Constitution, the press had to conform to the government's verdicts, which force the press to be monotype (Ahmad, 1993, 187). Contrary to the 1961 Constitution except for some fundamental rights such as publication, release of journals or newspapers, there were some restrictions added to the 1982 Constitution¹² as follows:

ARTICLE 13- Fundamental rights and freedoms may be **restricted by law**¹³, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, with the aim of safeguarding the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, national sovereignty, the Republic, national security, public order, general peace, the public interest, public morals and public health, and also for specific reasons set forth in the relevant articles of the Constitution.

ARTICLE 26- The exercise of the **freedom of expression** may be **restricted** for the purposes of national security, public order, public safety, safeguarding the basic characteristics of the Republic and the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, preventing crime, punishing offenders.

¹² For more information about the official translation of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey dated 7 November 1982, see <https://www.anayasa.gov.tr/en/legislation/turkish-constitution/> (accessed January 6, 2021)

¹³ All the emphases in the articles of the constitution are mine

ARTICLE 28- Anyone who writes any news or articles which **threaten the internal or external security** of the State or the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, which tend to incite offence, riot or insurrection, or which refer to classified state secrets or has them printed, and anyone who prints or transmits such news or articles to others for the purposes above, shall be held **responsible under the law** relevant to these offences.

Periodical and non-periodical publications may be **seized by a decision of a judge** in cases of ongoing investigation or prosecution of crimes specified by law; or by order of the competent authority explicitly designated by law, in situations where delay may constitute a prejudice with respect to the protection of the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, national security, public order or public morals and for the prevention of crime.

ARTICLE 29- To publish a periodical it shall suffice to submit the information and documents prescribed by law to the competent authority designated by law. If the information and documents submitted are found to be **in contravention of law**, the competent authority shall apply to the appropriate court for **suspension of publication**.

Some fundamental provisions remaining same with the 1961 Constitution are as follows:

ARTICLE 20- Everyone has the right to demand respect for his/her **private and family life**. Privacy of private or family life shall not be violated.

ARTICLE 24- **No one** shall be allowed to **exploit or abuse** religion or **religious feelings**, or things held sacred by religion, in any manner whatsoever, for the purpose of personal or political interest or influence, or for even partially basing the fundamental, social, economic, political, and legal order of the State on religious tenets.

ARTICLE 26- The exercise of the **freedom of expression may be restricted** for the purposes of national security, public order, public safety, safeguarding the basic characteristics of the Republic and the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, **preventing crime, punishing offenders**.

ARTICLE 28- The press is **free**, and shall **not be censored**. [...] The State shall **take the necessary measures** to ensure freedom of the press and information.

In these provisions given above, it is clearly stated that the amended provisions of the 1982 Constitution are related to the freedom of thought, press, publications and the state has the right to intervene on the condition that there is a risk towards the unity of state and security.

The other issue on the 1982 Constitution is about the implementation of public censorship when any printed work includes a threat to the unity of nation (Alpay Kabacalı, 1990, 966). In the encyclopedia *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopedia of Turkey in Republican Era)* (1995), Alpay Kabacalı¹⁴ published an article “Türkiye’de Basın Sansürü” (“Press Censorship in Turkey”) and explained the censorial acts experienced in Turkey from the middle of 1800s to the end of 1980s (1990, 959-966). Kabacalı states that some subversive publications threatening the unity of state were under the supervision of judicial power (966). Kabacalı also emphasizes that some amendments were implemented in Press Law in 1983 and the amended paragraph of the 31st article was as follows:

Article 31- The entry or distribution into Turkey of works published in a foreign country that contradict the indivisible unity of the state with its territory and nation, national hegemony, the existence of the Republic, national security, public order, general law and order, the common good, general morality or health can be outlawed by a decision of the Council of Ministers¹⁵.

Based on the articles, it could be said that the cabinet had the right to collect and/or ban publications when the works conflicted with the unity of state and general security. Even if the press is under the supervision of the Cabinet and it complies with the provisions determined by the judicial organ, it could be observed that when any threat occurs towards state unity, press censorship can also be practiced.

On the other hand, censorship is an issue discussed more within an international frame, namely in the research field of UNESCO. Kabacalı emphasizes that UNESCO’s policy supporting “the free flow of ideas” indicates that this issue is also discussed in the international arena (1990, 966). As a matter of fact, Kabacalı also states that the concept “censorship”, including both public and individual censorship, is one of the multi-dimensional issues both in national and international frame (966).

In addition to all the sanctions mentioned above, the closing down of newspapers is also one of the harsh sanctions practiced in 1980s. It is clear that the 1980s was also a period of restrictions on the intellectual elites of the period, universities, political organizations and

¹⁴ For more information about Alpay Kabacalı, see <http://www.turkishculture.org/whoiswho/literature/alpay-kabacali-1190.htm> (accessed January 21, 2021)

¹⁵ For the translation of the the amended paragraph of the 31st article, see <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a8560.html> (accessed April 7, 2021).

newspapers. In relation to this, many of the journalists, authors, translators and artists were prosecuted in trial and received punishment¹⁶.

It could be concluded that both the closure of newspapers, the trial of the intellectual elites, reporters, authors, and the amendments on the 31st article illustrate the chaotic process experienced in the pre-1960 and post-1960s in Turkey.



¹⁶For more information, see <https://docplayer.biz.tr/3051608-T-c-milli-egitim-bakanligi-megep-mesleki-egitim-ve-ogretim-sisteminin-guclendirilmesi-projesi-gazetecilik-turk-basininin-dogusu-ve-gelisimi.html> (p.59) (accessed January 21, 2021)

3. SOURCE AND TARGET TEXTS

3.1 Lord Kinross

The author of the text scrutinized in this thesis is Patrick Kinross (1904 - 1976), also known as Lord Kinross. He is an English historian and author. He started to work as a journalist in a number of journals after obtaining his degree at Balliol College (Kinross, 1964, 431). He worked as a press counsellor at the British Embassy in Cairo until 1947 (431). After he had been positioned to write the biography of Atatürk by the British Embassy in Cairo, he launched some interviews by obtaining documents in the Presidential Archives at Ankara (9). As a result of his five-year examinations, in 1960, he completed the book entitled *Atatürk: The Rebirth of A Nation* by summarizing and compiling the information he obtained during his stay in Turkey (10). However he had the copyright of the book in 1964 (433). During his writing process, Kinross contacted many people who knew Atatürk and witnessed to the War of Independence with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk such as İsmet İnönü, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Refet Bele (Refet Pasha), Rauf Orbay, Tevfik Rüştü, Falih Rıfkı, Halide Edip Adıvar, Kılıç Ali, Yakup Kadri, Afet İnan, Fuat Bolca, Kazım Özalp, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir¹⁷ (9). Prior to his death in 1976, he had just completed the last work related to the Ottoman Empire (432). All the works¹⁸ are listed below:

<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>The Works</u>
1949	<i>The Ruthless Innocent</i>
1951	<i>The Orphaned Realm Journeys in Cyprus</i>
1954	<i>Within the Taurus: A Journey in Asiatic Turkey</i> <i>The Century of the Common Peer</i>
1956	<i>Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey</i>
1958	<i>The Candid Eye</i>
1960	<i>Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation</i>
1961	<i>The Innocents at Home</i>

¹⁷ For more information about the people who knew Atatürk, see Appendix 1.

¹⁸For more information about Lord Kinross, see Appendix 2 and see also <https://www.biyografi.info/kisi/lord-kinross>. (accessed January 6, 2021).

1965	<i>Atatürk: A Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey</i> ¹⁹
1966	<i>Portrait of Egypt</i>
1967	<i>Portrait of Greece</i> <i>Windsor Years: The Life of Edward, as Prince of Wales, King, and Duke of Windsor</i>
1968	<i>Between Two Seas: The Creation of the Suez Canal</i>
1977	<i>Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire</i>

3.2 Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation

Completing *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* in five years, Kinross interviewed many bureaucrats and people who had a close contact with Atatürk (Kinross, 1964,10). Kinross wrote the pre and post-period of the Republic in three parts titled “The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire”, “The War of Independence”, “The Rise of Turkish Republic” and added Atatürk’s social and political life. Including 60 chapters and 3 parts within a single volume in 546 pages²⁰, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* also involves parts such as acknowledgements, maps, preface, epilogue, selected bibliography, chronology and index (4-6). The book was completed by Kinross and Mina Urgan contributed to the final version in 1964 (10). As well as being published in the United States of America, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* was reprinted three times in a year after it was published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in United Kingdom.²¹ Translated into different languages such as German, French, Italian and Spanish, Finnish, the book got many acclaims from different scholars and authors in Europe²². One of the positive evaluations, Arnold J. Toynbee, a British historian, expressed his admiration about Kinross’ work as follows:

Atatürk hakkında bugüne kadar birçok biyografi çıkmıştır; zira Atatürk gerçekten çekici bir konudur. Fakat bu son biyografi, bütün ötekilerin üstüne yükselmektedir. Hayranlık uyandıran büyüleyici bir kitap bu... Atatürk’ün güçlü dehası sayesinde, Türk milletinin yeniden doğuşu, bir sanat eseri için dev bir kaynaktır. Lord Kinross,

¹⁹ The work is the same as the source text *Atatürk: The Rebirth of A Nation*. It was checked by myself after comparing the work with *Atatürk: The Rebirth of A Nation*. The copy of the work was obtained from İSAM library.

²⁰ The version in my study is the e-book downloaded from internet. The number of pages can be different in book form.

²¹ For more information, see Appendix 3.

²² For more information, see Appendix 3.

böyle bir konunun bir yazara verebileceği bütün imkanları sonuna kadar kullanmaktadır. Konuyu gerektiği gibi işleyebilmek için yazarın hem Atatürk'ün kişiliğini çizmesi, hem de sürükleyici bir dille yazabilmesi gerekiyordu. Lord Kinross her iki işin de üstesinden gelebilmiştir (Milliyet, November 09, 1965, 5).

[Lots of biographical work about Atatürk have been published, because Atatürk is an intriguing topic indeed. However, this latest biography rises above its predecessors. In other words, it is a book which is admired greatly, and it is mesmerizing. Thanks to the great genius of Atatürk, *The Rebirth of a Nation* is a giant source for an artwork. Lord Kinross makes use of all the possibilities such a topic would offer. In order to explore the topic, the author was required to portray Atatürk's character and to write in a fluent style. Lord Kinross could handle both²³.]

As seen in Toynbee's book review published on *Milliyet*, the book was also acclaimed by an English historian.

3.3 *Milliyet* as the Patron

Following the first translation by Murat Belge who is a prolific translator, author, columnist and academic, the work *Atatürk: Bir Milletten Yeniden Doğuşu* was published in *Milliyet* on November 10, 1965. Published on the fifth page of *Milliyet*, the target text was presented partially with summarized parts until April 25, 1966.²⁴ *Milliyet* underlines its intervention, which includes the omission of some parts. In this regard, it is possible to say that *Milliyet* intervened in the first target text. The process related to *Milliyet*'s intervention is described as follows:

Milliyet bütün dünyada takdir toplayan Lord Kinross'un kitabını çok uzun olduğu için Türk okurları bakımından çok bilinen ve cazip olacağını sanmadığımız kısımlarını çıkararak yayınlamaktadır. Bununla birlikte Milliyet'te yayınlanacak **bölümleri eserin üçte ikisine yaklaşmaktadır**. Lord Kinross'la birlikte çalışmış olan Prof. Mina Urgan eserin derlenip, kısaltılmasına nezaret etmiştir. Eseri son yıllarda Faulkner, Russel ve Joyce'dan yaptığı çevirilerle geniş ilgi toplayan Murat Belge dilimize çevirmiştir” (*Milliyet*, November 09, 1965, 5), (emphasis mine).

[*Milliyet* publishes the book by Lord Kinross, which is acclaimed all around the world, by omitting some parts well known by the Turkish readers as it is too long and the omitted parts would not be appealing for them because the book is very long. However, the parts to be published in *Milliyet* include almost **the two thirds** of the book. Prof. Mina Urgan, who had studied together with Lord Kinross, supervised the translation to be summarized and compiled. It is translated by Murat Belge who received a great deal of attention with his translations of Faulkner, Russel and Joyce²⁵.] (emphasis mine).

²³ For further information about Toynbee's review, see Appendix 2.

²⁴ For more information, see Appendix 4.

3.3.1 Murat Belge as the First Translator

The source text *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* got various positive feedbacks²⁶ all over the world. In the Turkish media, the first translation of *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* was published by Murat Belge in *Milliyet*.

Murat Belge obtained his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the Department of English Language and Literature in the Faculty of Letters at Istanbul University. He was one of the founders of the journals *Halkın Dostları* (1975) and *Birikim* (1975). He received the title of Associate Professorship in 1980 and Professorship in 1997. He wrote for many magazines such as *Halkın Dostları*, *Birikim*, *Yeni Dergi*, *Yeni Gündem*, *Milliyet Sanat* and *Papirüs*. His columns were published in newspapers such as *Demokrat*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Radikal*. Belge's translation *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* was published from November 10, 1965 to April 25, 1966 on the fifth page of *Milliyet* with serialized numbers.

3.3.2 Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu as the First Target Text

Belge's translation *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* was published in serialized form from November 10, 1965 to April 25, 1966 on the fifth page of *Milliyet*. Including the partial translation of the original work, the first target text involves summaries which offer the readers the summary of the previously published parts. Therefore, the readers are provided with an opportunity to remember the details explained in the previous day.

The parts such as preface, footnote, acknowledgements, chronology, references, index and map are not given in the serialized form. The epilogue by Lord Kinross is only given in the target text on the fifth page of the newspaper dated April 25, 1966. Instead, some footnotes of the source text are integrated into the text as if these are not footnotes. In addition, some of them are also given in the parentheses within the text.

The contents of the source text including 3 parts with 60 chapters are not given identically in the target text. Headings and sub-headings are added into the target text²⁷. Some of the sub-

²⁶ As soon as the source text was released in 1964, there was a big demand for its being translated in Turkey as well. In the USA, the source text entered into the list of the most preferred 10 books. The European critics regard it "the work that defines Atatürk best" (Atatürk'ü en iyi anlatan eser) (*Milliyet*, November 09, 1965, 1). See also Appendix 2.

headings are taken from the dialogues in the source text, while some of them are the ones added by the translator²⁸. Some of the sentences taken from the text are given as headlines in bold fonts in the newspaper. It can be assumed that *Milliyet* did so to catch the attention of potential readers.

The target text sparked controversy among the columnists of *Milliyet*²⁹, which was related to the term “dictator”³⁰ attributed to Atatürk in the source text. Defining “dictatorship” as a single person authority rather than a despotic intervention, Kinross uses the term for Atatürk’s political power (1964, 12). Kinross defines dictatorship as Atatürk’s use of control power in a democratic way. Kinross explains dictatorship in the preface of the source text as follows:

“He differed from the **dictators** of his age in two significant respects: his foreign policy was based not on expansion but on retraction of frontiers; his home policy on the foundation of a political system which could survive his own time.” (1964, 12), (emphasis mine).

Additionally, Kinross explains that dictatorship that he attributed to Atatürk is related to his understanding of democracy. However, Kinross also emphasizes that Atatürk did not adopt dictatorship in theory as follows:

“His was a **dictatorship based on democratic forms**, within a legal and constitutional framework which he scrupulously observed.” (1964, 326), (emphasis mine).

“Kemal still **disapproved of dictatorship** in theory, and it was his genuine desire to create a system which would outlast him and evolve, to the benefit of his country, into a replica of a Western-style democracy.” (1964, 334)

Considering the term “dictatorship”, Refik Erduran³¹, who was one of the columnists in *Milliyet*, expressed his thoughts on the term “dictatorship” as follows:

²⁷ For more information about the headlines and subheadings of the 1965 target text, see Appendix 5.

²⁸ For more information about the subheadings added by the translator, see Appendix 5.

²⁹ For more information, see Appendix 6.

³⁰ In *Le Petit Prince (The Little Prince)*, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry also uses the term “dictator” to describe Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. For discussions on translators’ decisions in the translations of *Le Petit Prince* into Turkish, see Neydim 2005 and Karadağ 2006.

³¹ For more information, see https://www.turkedebiyati.org/yazarlar/refik_erduran.html (accessed January 5, 2021).

Lord Kinross’un “**Atatürk**” tefrikasını izliyor musunuz? Sonuna, en üzücü bölümüne geldi: Atatürk’ün ölümünden önceki haftalar anlatılıyor. O günlerin hikayesini okurken insanın dikkatini en çok çeken noktalardan biri şu: **diktatör sayılan Atatürk**, devrin yabancı gözlemcileri tarafından “**diktatörün elinde oyuncak**” olduğu söylenen Millet Meclisine **hiç de o gözle bakmıyor**. Ömrünün sonuna yaklaştığını kesinlikle bildiği o günlerde bile, Meclisin açılışında konuşma görevine çok büyük önem veriyor. Dolmabahçe’deki ölüm döşeğinde komaya girip çıktığı ikide bir de karnından su aldırıldığı, ayağa kalkacak gücü olmadığı halde hekimlere isyan ederek “Meclisin açılış nutkunu vermeye Ankara’ya gideceğim” diye tutturuyor. Birinci komadan çıktıktan sonra Bakanlardan raporlar alarak bu konuşma için hazırlanıyor; bir de taslak yazdırıyor. Büyük Millet Meclisinde konuşurken ayakta durur gibi görünüp arkasına yaslanmasına imkan veren bir özel kürsü kuruluyor ³² (*Milliyet* April 24, 1966, 2), (emphases mine).

[Are you following **the serialized translation** of Lord Kinross titled “*Atatürk*”? Now comes the most saddening part: It narrates the weeks prior to Atatürk’s death. One of the most striking points, while reading the story of those days, is that Atatürk who is **called a dictator does not consider** the National Assembly, which is said to be a “**puppet in the hands of the dictator**” by the foreign observers of the era, **in that way**. Even in those days, when he definitely knew that he was approaching the end of his life, he attaches great importance to his speech at the opening of the Assembly. On his deathbed in Dolmabahçe, although he gets into a coma and has water removed from his body and he has barely enough strength to stand by, he revolts against the physicians, saying that “I’m going to Ankara to give the opening speech of the Assembly.” After getting out from the first coma, he prepares himself for this speech by receiving reports from the Ministeries and having a draft drawn up. A special tribune is set up that allows him to rest on his back while speaking in the Grand National Assembly] (emphases mine).

From the statement above, it is possible to say that dictatorship is interpreted in two ways: one of them is related to democratic interventions of a single person while the other one is related to despotic interventions of a single person in state governance. Refik Erduran interprets the term “dictatorship” in conformity with the second one.

On the other hand, Tarık Dursun³³, who was one of the columnists in *Milliyet*³⁴, presents his comments in his column “Düpedüz” as follows:

Kinross’a göre, Atatürk devrinin diktatörlerinden biriydi. Yani diktatördü ama nasıl bir diktatör? “Dış politikası sınırları genişletmek yerine, daraltmak esasına, iç politikası ise kendi ölümünden sonra da ayakta kalabilecek bir siyasal sistem kurmak düşüncesine dayanan soyundan (*Milliyet*, August 18, 1966, 2).

³² For more information about Refik Erduran, see Appendix 6.

³³ For more information, see <http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/tarik-dursun> (accessed January 5, 2021).

³⁴ For more information about the column of Tarık Dursun, see Appendix 1.

[According to Kinross, Atatürk was one of the dictators of his time. He was a dictator, but what kind of a dictator? Of a kind who based his foreign policy on narrowing his country's borders rather than expanding them and his domestic policy on the idea of establishing a political system that would survive even after his death.]

From the statement above, it could be understood that Dursun interprets dictatorship in conformity with the viewpoint of Kinross. However, Dursun also states that it is not possible for Turks to be unbiased about Atatürk and evaluate him like a European, because Atatürk is regarded to have an untouchable value by Turks (*Milliyet*, August 18, 1966, 2). Dursun also adds that Kinross focuses on faithfulness to facts and authenticity of the documents (2). As seen above, the two quotations including Erduran's and Dursun's columns interpret the term "dictatorship" with two separate perspectives. Therefore, in the light of all of these interpretations, a comparative case study will be offered in the next chapter to understand whether the term "dictatorship" is rendered in the three target texts in conformity with Kinross' understanding of dictatorship or not.

3.4 Sander Publishing House as the Patron

Sander Publishing House was active in the years between 1964 and 1988 under the supervision of Necdet Sander.³⁵ Following the death of Sander in 1983, his son Fikret Sander took over his father's position.³⁶ Offering the publications in Sander bookstore, Necdet Sander opened different agencies in İstiklal and Galatasaray and then in Osmanbey district in 1969.³⁷

Sander Publishing House published the Turkish translation of *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* in 1966, stating that the translators are Nihal Yeğinobalı and Ayhan Tezel³⁸. Doğan Hızlan³⁹, who is a columnist in *Hürriyet*, states that Sander Publishing House adopted uncensorship policy in translation and Necdet Sander published even the translations of prohibited publications in Turkey⁴⁰. Necdet Sander was prosecuted during the martial law in

³⁵ For more information about Necdet Sander, see Appendix 7.

³⁶ For more information about Necdet Sander's death, see Appendix 8. see also Appendix 7 for Fikret Sander.

³⁷ For more information about Sander Publishing House, see Appendix 7.

³⁸ For more information about the conversation made with Necdet Sander, see Appendix 9.

³⁹ For more information about Doğan Hızlan, see <https://www.biyografya.com/biyografi/6558> (accessed January 23, 2021).

⁴⁰ For more information about Sander Publishing House's uncensorship policy in translation see Appendix 10.

1973 due to its selling banned books and released in the same year⁴¹. In addition, experiencing financial problems, Sander Publishing House made a press-release about the tax auditing process due to the publishing expenditures in *Cumhuriyet*⁴². Following the death of Necdet Sander in 1983, the publishing house had to sell the imported books and translated works as a result of devaluating campaigns⁴³. Fikret Sander directed Sander Publishing House until it was closed down in 1988.

3.4.1 Necdet Sander (Ayhan Tezel) as the Translator and the Patron

Necdet Sander, a translator, a psychologist and the founder of Sander Publishing House, translated many famous authors' works such as *Little Prince*, *Le Defi American*, *Progress*, *Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom* and *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation*. Sander also used the pseudonym "Ayhan Tezel" for the work titled *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* in the first edition published in 1966 (*Cumhuriyet* July 25, 1983, 4). The pseudonym is explained as follows:

Necdet Sander, J. Servan Schreiber'in "America Meydan Okuyor", Andrei Saharov'un "Sovyet Rusya'da Düşünce Özgürlüğü ve Barış İçinde Yanyana Yaşama", Lord Kinross'un "Atatürk" adlı kitaplarını (bu sonuncuyu Ayhan Tezel takma adıyla) çevirdi (*Cumhuriyet*, July 25, 1983, 4), (emphases mine).

[Necdet Sander translated the books *Le Defi American* written by Jean Jacques Servan Schreiber, *Progress*, *Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom*⁴⁴ written by Andrei D Saharov and *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* written by Lord Kinross (with the pseudonym titled Ayhan Tezel)]⁴⁵ (emphases mine).

The name Ayhan Tezel, which is a pseudonym of Necdet Sander (*Cumhuriyet* July 25, 1983, 4), is stated in all the reprints of the target text from Sander Publishing House until 1981. The pseudonymous identity of Ayhan Tezel becomes Necdet Sander as of 1981:

<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Translator/s</u>	<u>Publishing House</u>
1966 (as two separate volumes)	Nihal Yeğinobalı Ayhan Tezel (in the	Sander

⁴¹ For more information about the prosecution process of Necdet Sander during the 1973 martial law, see Appendix 11 and 12.

⁴² For more information about the press-release of Sander Publishing House, see Appendix 13.

⁴³ For more information about the closing-down of Sander Publishing House see Appendix 14.

⁴⁴ For more information, see https://www.worldcat.org/title/sovyet-rusyada-dusunce-ozgurlugu-ve-bars-icinde-yanyana-yasama/oclc/62337528&referer=brief_results (accessed January 23, 2021).

⁴⁵ The translation is my own. For detailed information about Necdet Sander, see Appendix 8.

	2nd volume)	
1967 (as two separate volumes)	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1969 (as two separate volumes)	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1970	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1972	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1973	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1976	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1978	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1980	Ayhan Tezel	Sander
1981⁴⁶	Necdet Sander	Sander
1984	Necdet Sander	Sander

Following the date 1984, which refers to the last reprint of *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation*, Sander Publishing House had to reduce the prices of the publications and was closed down due to financial reasons.⁴⁷ Then, Altın Kitaplar Publishing House got the copyright in 1988 and published its reprinted versions.

3.4.2 Nihal Yeğinoğlu as the Translator in Sander Publishing House

Zeynep Nihal Yeğinoğlu, a Turkish writer and a translator lived between 1927 and 2020. Studying literature in New York, Yeğinoğlu published her first translated work *Allah'ın Bahçesi*, which was written by R. Hichens, in 1946. Her translations and writings were published in the journals *Hafta*, *100 Roman*, *Yıldız*, *Hayat* and *Akbaba*. Using the pseudonym Vincent Ewing for the pseudo-translation *Genç Kızlar*, Yeğinoğlu published it as an uncensored translation in 1950 and it was reprinted for many years⁴⁸. The works such as *Mazi Kalbimde Yaradır* (1987), *Sitem* (1998) and *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* (1999) were among her literary works.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ It is the reprinted form of the 1967 edition and the only difference is the name of Necdet Sander. Infact he uses a pseudonym named Ayhan Tezel. For more information, see 3.4.1 of the 3th chapter.

⁴⁷ For more information about the background of the closing down of Sander Publishing House, see Appendix 14.

⁴⁸ For a detailed and pioneering study on Yeğinoğlu's pseudo translations, see Bengi-Öner 1990, 1999.

⁴⁹ For more information about Nihal Yeğinoğlu see: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/bir-cumhuriyet-cocugu-38767888> (accessed January 5, 2021).

Translating *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* written by Kinross, Yeğınobalı became the first translator who published it in book form. After the partial translation of Kinross' work was published in serial form by Murat Belge in 1965, Sander Publishing House released the second target text in 1966. Adding the names Nihal Yeğınobalı and Ayhan Tezel as translators on the first volume of the book cover, Sander Publishing House did not add the name Nihal Yeğınobalı to the second volume. The target text released in 1966 was reprinted in the following years without adding the name Nihal Yeğınobalı. In relation to this point, there is a press release which verifies the translator of the second target text released in 1966 as Nihal Yeğınobalı as follows:

Lord Kinross'un Atatürk adlı eserinin neşir hakkının Necdet Sander'e verilmesini temin eden anlaşmada **tercümenin tarafımdan yapılması** kati şart olarak kabul edilmiştir. Anlaşmaya uyulmadığından yayın Karşıyaka Asliye Hukuk Mahkemesinin 3/9/1966 gün 216/116 sayılı kararı ile durdurulmuştur. Daha önce piyasaya sürülmüş bulunan kitapların toplanmasına tevessül olunmaması gösterdiğimiz müsamaha neticesidir (*Cumhuriyet*, December 7, 1966, 5) (emphasis mine).

[In the agreement that provided the copyright of Lord Kinross's work titled *Atatürk* to be given to Necdet Sander, it was accepted that the work titled *Atatürk* written by Lord Kinross **was translated by me** as a strict condition. Since this agreement was not complied with, the publication was suspended with the the court decision of Karşıyaka Civil Court of First Instance, dated September 3, 1966, numbered 216/116. It is the result of our tolerance that the translations that have been previously put on the market were not collected]⁵⁰ (emphasis mine).

As stated above, it is clear that in the agreement made between Necdet Sander and Nihal Yeğınobalı, Sander had only the copyright, whereas Yeğınobalı was expected to translate the work.

3.4.3 Atatürk: Bir Milletin Yeniden Doğuşu as the Second Target Text

Following the first partial translation of the source text, the second but the first full translation *Atatürk: Bir Milletin Yeniden Doğuşu* published by Sander Publishing House was translated into Turkish by Nihal Yeğınobalı and Ayhan Tezel in book form in 1966. However, in the second volume, only the name Ayhan Tezel is given. The second target text includes 33 chapters and two parts in the first volume and 27 chapters and two parts in the second volume. It is 806 pages in total. The second target text also involves parts such as acknowledgements,

⁵⁰ For the press-release of Nihal Yeğınobalı released in *Milliyet*, see Appendix 15.

maps, preface, epilogue, selected bibliography, chronology and index. These are the same titles when compared to the source text.⁵¹

3.4.4 Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu as the First Reprint

The 1967 edition *Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* was published in two volumes in 1967 by Sander Publishing House. It is identical with the previous translation in 1966 in terms of the front-back covers and other paratextual elements such as acknowledgements, maps, preface, epilogue, selected bibliography, chronology and index. Additionally, the number and the name of chapters are identical with the second translation in 1966. However, the name of the translator is only mentioned as Ayhan Tezel in the two volumes.⁵²

Not mentioning the name Nihal Yeğınobalı in this edition, Sander Publishing House does not give any information about whether this one is a retranslation or a reprint. However, after the first chapters in 1966 and 1967 were compared, it was observed that the 1967 text is the same as the 1966 one except for the minor changes taken from the first chapters. In the first chapters of both texts, there are some differences on lexical level, however the rest of the chapters are identical in both texts. According to the results of the analysis made in the thesis, it could be said that the 1967 edition can not be a retranslated version of the 1966 one. Instead, it could be said that 1967 edition is the reprinted version of the 1966 translation.⁵³ However, in terms of the limits of the study, the analysis will not be included into this thesis study.

⁵¹ For more information about the contents, see Appendix 16.

⁵² For more information about the inner cover pages of the 1966 and 1967 translations, see Appendix 17.

⁵³ The first five pages taken from 1st 30th and 58th chapters were compared on a comparing tool: Abbyy Fine Reader 15. Then, some translation strategies observed in translation such as the division of coordinated clauses, the addition of anaphoric reference(s), the use of extending/reducing words and/or phrases, the position change of inverted sentences were examined to present more qualitative results by comparing the 1966 edition with the 1967 edition. During the analysis, these strategies are taken from the Tübitak Project “*Plagiarism in Translation*” directed Prof Dr. Mehmet Şahin together with Asst. Prof. Dr. Derya Duman and Sabri Gürses in 2015. The results of the analysis indicated that only the 1st chapters of 1966 and 1967 editions include minor changes in lexical level. The 30th and 58th chapters are identical. Therefore it could be said that the 1967 edition is the plagiarized version of 1966 edition translated by Nihal Yeğınobalı. However in terms of the borders of the thesis, plagiarism observed in the 1967 edition will not be included into the this study.

3.5 Altın Kitaplar Publishing House as the Patron

Altın Kitaplar Publishing House was founded in 1959 and it publishes a wide variety of books including “best-sellers, fiction and non-fiction, children’s books, illustrated children’s books, school textbooks, auxillary school textbooks, dictionaries and atlases”.⁵⁴

In the book entitled *Kapılar: Çeviri Tarihine Yaklaşımlar (Doors: Approaches to Translation History)* (2005), studying the publishing policy of Altın Kitaplar Publishing House, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar analyzes three Turkish translations including *Rüzgâr Gibi Geçti (Gone With the Wind)* translated by Nermin Türkmen in 1958, *Drina Köprüsü (Na Drini cuprija)*⁵⁵ translated by Hasan Ali Ediz and Nuriye Müstakimoğlu in 1962 and *İki Şehrin Hikâyesi (A Tale of Two Cities)* translated by Gönül Süveren in 1966 (2005, 137). Gürçağlar also includes the 1971 reprint of *Drina Köprüsü* translated by the same translators in the analysis (142). As a result of the analysis conducted on the three translations, Gürçağlar claims that both translators and the publishing house do not implement a consistent and planned strategy on translation in the late 1950s and early 1960s (137). Similarly, another translated work *Çatı (Flowers in the Attic)* firstly translated by Füsün Doruker in 1980 was published in reprinted form in 2004 (161). Gürçağlar states that when compared with the source text, there are omissions in the 2014 edition of the reprinted translation. In addition, substitutions and shifts are detected among the titles of the chapters (161).

Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu which brought one of the highest mass circulations to Sander Publishing House was published in reprinted form in 1988 after Altın Kitaplar Publishing House got the copyright. However, no explanation is provided regarding the policy of publication by Altın Kitaplar Publishing House.

3.5.1 Necdet Sander as the Translator in Altın Kitaplar Publishing House

Following the death of Necdet Sander in 1983 and the closing-down of Sander Publishing House in 1988, Altın Kitaplar Publishing House got the copyrights of the translation *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* in 1988. Publishing the reprinted version of the 1967 edition, Altın Kitaplar Publishing House stated the translator’s name as Necdet Sander on the cover page

⁵⁴ For more information, see <http://turkyaybir.org.tr/en/uye/altin-kitaplar-publishing-co/#.YA4na5Mzbs1>. (accessed January 23, 2021).

⁵⁵ The Serbian novel *Na Drini cuprija (The Bridge on the Drina)* was written by Ivo Andrić in 1945.

rather than Ayhan Tezel. The publishing house also practiced some censorial interventions on the 1988 reprint. This issue on censorship will be discussed in the following chapter of the thesis after the comparative analysis of the 1966, 1967 and 1988 editions is presented. Here all the reprints published by Altın Kitaplar Publishing House are listed as follows:

<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Translator</u>	<u>Publishing House</u>
1988	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
1990	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
1994	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2002	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2004	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2005	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2006	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2007	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2010	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2011	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2012	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2017	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar
2018	Necdet Sander	Altın Kitaplar

As stated above, the reprinted versions of the book *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* was published from 1988 to 2018 13th times.

3.5.2 Atatürk: Bir Milletin Yeniden Doğuşu as the First Censorial Reprint

The first reprint from Altın Kitaplar Publishing House was published in 1988 by Necdet Sander. Following the closure of Sander Publishing House, Altın Kitaplar Publishing House got the copyright of the translated work and published it as the 1988 reprint. However, this reprint published by Altın Kitaplar Publishing House includes some omissions in some chapters. The fact that the 1988 reprint includes some censorial parts might be only associated with Altın Kitaplar Publishing House since Necdet Sander was not alive in that date.⁵⁶ To

⁵⁶ For more information about the comparative analysis on the 1st translation in 1965, 2nd translation in 1966 and 1st reprint in 1988, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

what extent censorship was practiced in the 1988 reprint will be presented in the following chapter.

3.6 Atatürk: *Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* within the Context of Serialized Translation

Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation written by Lord Kinross was presented to the Turkish readers in serialized, retranslated and reprinted forms in different time periods. This work was firstly translated in *Milliyet* in a serialized form in 1965.

Saliha Paker states that the tradition of serialized translation dates back to the Tanzimat period. According to Paker, translations in serialized forms firstly appeared in the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (*Interpreter of Conditions*) (2008, 557). In relation to this, Şinasi who was the chief editor of *Tasvir-i Efkar* (*Illustration of Ideas*) published his translations in this newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar* (557). Paker states that this simplification policy is adopted in both literary and non-literary translations published in newspapers and periodicals to communicate more easily with their readers (557).

In another article titled “Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Polysystem” (1986) Paker states that serialized translations have a function to introduce “new concepts, terms and styles”, which contributes to “the growth of Turkish vocabulary and the development of simplified prose” (75). Additionally, in the doctoral thesis titled “Translation and Westernization in Turkey: From the 1840s to the 1980s (1999), with reference to Saliha Paker, Özlem Berk also states that acceptable translations, instead of adequate ones, became in the forefront due to some reasons such as the linguistic complexities, the need of a journalistic prose in translations and the goal of increasing the expectancy of readers (cf. Berk, 1999: 78).

In relation to serialized translations, in the book *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: Garptan Tercümeler* (1940) (*European Literature and Us: Translations from West*) İsmail Habib Sevük⁵⁷ draws attention to the existence of abridged and/or summarized translations which are made from another abridged target text or a complete source text and defines such translations published in newspapers as “deficit translations” (1940, 80). Additionally, Sevük

⁵⁷ See <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sevuk-ismail-habip> (accessed January 22, 2021).

underlines the need of full translations without any omission over the translated work and emphasizes that translating by summarizing and/or shortening the parts of the work that would not be of the interest to the Turkish readers is an obstacle to full Europeanization (6-7).

In the light of all the information stated above, it could be said that due to the necessity of a complete translation, incomplete or partial translations are expected to be fully translated. Since summarized and partial translations are offered to the readers in periodical publications, readers might expect to access the full versions of serialized translations. Therefore, such an expectation might be met with the publication of the translations in book form.

In the light of the information given above, it could be concluded that since the target text *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* is in partial form in *Milliyet*, there was a need for full translation and *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* published in full form in 1966 by Sander Publishing House made up for this deficiency.

3.7 Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu within the Context of Retranslation

Following the first partial translation of the source text, the second but the first full translation *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* was published by Sander Publishing House. Published in full form *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* is a retranslated text.

Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar defines retranslation as “[..] the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text itself” (2008, 233). According to Tahir-Gürçağlar, Antoine Berman firstly uses the concept “retranslation” in the French journal *Palimpsestes* (cf. Gürçağlar, 2008, 233) and in this article Berman also emphasizes that translation is an “incomplete act” unless it is completed through retranslations (cf. Gürçağlar, 233). With reference to Berman, Gürçağlar underlines that the kind of completion Berman emphasized is associated with a translation getting closer to the source text and “representing the encounter between the translator and the language of the original” (234). According to her, Berman also emphasizes that first translations experience “a failure that makes itself felt both as an “incapacity” and a “resistance” to translate” (234).

Other translation scholars Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki present a definition for the same concept “retranslation” in the book entitled *Handbook of Translation Studies* (2010)

and “retranslation” is defined as “second or later translation of a single source text into the same target language” (294). Similarly, Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva defines retranslation as “a subsequent translation of a text, or part of text, carried out after the initial translation which introduced this text to the same target language” (2003, 2).

The other point related to retranslation is the issue of “ageing”. In relation to the ageing of translations, with reference to Berman, Gürçağlar states that originals always remain young whereas translations might age in a period of time (cf, Gürçağlar, 234). However, according to Gürçağlar, Berman also states that not all translations have an old nature and translations resisting against time and endurance of source text might be regarded as “great translations” (234).

In the light of these interpretations, it could be thought that the second target text *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* published by Sander Publishing House is a need for the Turkish target reader because the first translation in serialized form is an “incomplete act”. In addition, the target text published in 1966 was not retranslated until Lord Kinross died in 1973.

3.8 Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu within the Context of Reprint

The first reprint *Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu* was published from 1967 to 1984 by Sander Publishing House. After Altın Kitaplar Publishing House obtained the copyright of the source text, the target text dated 1967 was reprinted by Altın Kitaplar Publishing House from 1988 to 2018⁵⁸. However, in the 1988 edition, censorial acts were observed in the target text.⁵⁹

In relation to the concept “reprinting”, in the article entitled “Reprocessing Texts the Fine Line between Retranslating and Revising” (2010), Outi Palaposki and Kaisa Koskinen mention this concept and the differences between reprinting, revising and retranslation (2010, 29-49). According to Palaposki and Koskinen, reprints can be interpreted in many ways. According to the authors, one of the possibilities that publishers prefer reprinting is related to “the different profiles of the publishers at different times” (34). Young publishing houses might direct their interest to retranslation since they do not have “stocks to recycle” whereas

⁵⁸ For more information, see 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 of the 3rd chapter.

⁵⁹ The censorial acts in the 1988 reprint will be explained in the 4th chapter.

older ones might focus on reprinting due to their lack of stocks (34). In this case, a publishing house might want to “keep a stock of works available for the readers” (34). Therefore, the choice of reprinting might be explained with publishers’ stock need for the possible readers. The other reason is cost. In the article titled “Retranslation in the Age of Digital Reproduction” (2003), Koskinen and Paloposki emphasize that reprinting is mostly preferred due to its cost and it reduces publishing costs compared to retranslation (30).

The other factor is related to “homage”. According to Koskinen and Paloposki, reprinted form is one of the ways of “paying homage to the past” (31). Additionally, it might be regarded as “goodwill gestures” when earlier translations are reprinted (31). The last factor might be related to minor editorial interventions. In the article titled “Multiple-entry visa to travelling theory: Retranslations of Literary and Cultural Theories” (2003) Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva mentions the restoring function of retranslations when something is lost in previous translations (3). Compared to the function of retranslation, it could be thought that reprints are the editions including minor changes on target texts.

On the other hand, censorship is another practice that can be used in reprints as well as retranslations. In the article titled “Assessing Boundaries - Censorship and Translation an Introduction” (2007), Francesca Billiani defines censorship as a manipulative discourse practiced to “filter the stream of information” (3). The level of textual manipulation both in institutional and individual censorship is mostly determined by the tastes and social positions of the readers (9). According to Billiani, censorship is not practiced to ban the texts for public access but rather to make them appropriate and ready for public dissemination (10). This might be explained as a precaution taken by either the translator or the publishing house to omit subversive potential and/or tone it down. Therefore, it could be said that censorial interventions observed in reprints and retranslations are primarily related to public interests, which would be regarded as acceptability by the target culture.

In the light of the discussions presented above, it could be said the reprinted translations by Sander Publishing House are released to keep stocks available for the customers and for financial reasons. In an interview Necdet Sander states that *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* is the first edition of Sander in 1966 and the mass circulation of the work

is 20.000⁶⁰. Thus, it might be possible to conclude that the aim of Sander Publishing House was to increase their stocks due to the mass circulation of the work. In addition, Sander Publishing House experienced financial difficulties such as paper and cash deficit and had to reprint only old publications instead of new ones as in.⁶¹ In relation to this, it could be said that Sander Publishing House reprinted only mass-circulated books in case it might gain profit until it closes down. On the other hand, *Atatürk: Bir Milletın Yeniden Doğuşu* reprinted by Altın Kitaplar Publishing House from 1988 to 2018 is not retranslated by another translator.



⁶⁰ For more information about the conversation with Necdet Sander, see Appendix 9.

⁶¹ For more information, see Appendix 14.

4. CASE STUDY

Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation, written by Lord Kinross in 1964, and its three translations including the serialized translation in 1965, the first full translation in 1966 and the reprint one in 1988 will be analyzed in the present chapter. Selected examples related to “dictatorship”, “religion” and the “Turkish political scene” from the three translations will be described with a focus on acceptability and adequacy.

4.1 Analysis of the Translations in terms of “Dictatorship”, “Religion” and the “Turkish Political Scene”

In this section, selected examples related to the term “dictatorship”, “religion” and the “Turkish political scene” will be analysed by comparing the source text and its three Turkish translations.

4.1.1 Examples Related to the Term “Dictatorship”

[Example 1]

ST: “Of all the **dictatorial**⁶² régimes that of Turkey had been alone in basing itself on a policy not of expansion but of retraction.” (Kinross, 1964, 341)

TT1: “Bütün **tek parti** rejimleri içinde yalnız Türkiye genişleme yerine daralma esaslarına göre kurulmuştu.” (*Milliyet*, April 07, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Bütün **diktatörlük** rejimleri içinde, yalnız Türk rejimi, genişleme değil de, daralma siyasetine dayanıyordu.” (Tezel, 1966, 691).

TT3: “Bütün **diktatörlük** rejimleri içinde, yalnız Türk rejimi, genişleme değil de, daralma siyasetine dayanıyordu.” (Sander, 1988, 623)

In the preface of the source text, the author explains that he uses the term “dictatorship” in a positive way within Atatürk’s democratic understanding. The author claims that Atatürk’s governing system and the dictatorial attitude resulting from the historical conditions of the period are indeed his democratic interventions (Kinross, 1964, 326) as explained in the previous chapter. In addition to that, Kinross states that Atatürk followed a separate policy from the dictators of his age both in foreign policy and domestically (Kinross, 1964, 12). In relation to this term in ST, it is seen that Murat Belge did not preserve the term “dictatorship” and replaced it with the term “tek parti” (single-party). It

⁶² All the emphases are mine.

is possible to say that Belge used the term “tek parti” (single-party) to emphasize party power in the governing system because the term “dictatorial regimes” refer to single person’s rule. Therefore, Belge used euphemism to avoid emphasizing single person’s authority in the governing system. In TT2, Tezel and Yeğınobalı preserve the term “dictatorship” by translating it as “diktatörlük”. Similarly, in the TT3 the term “dictatorship” is translated literally.

[Example 2]

ST: “The Gazi, who had discarded military uniform to become a civilian **dictator**, had no great respect for the Duce, whom he saw as a civilian strutting about in uniform like an actor pretending to be a soldier.” (Kinross, 1964, 342)

TT1: “Sivil bir **tek adam** olmak için üniformasını çıkarmış olan Gazi, Duçe’yi pek saymıyordu.” (*Milliyet*, April 08, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Sivil bir **diktatör** olmak için üniformasını çıkarmış olan Gazi, Duçe’yi, asker rolüne çıkmış bir aktör gibi, asker üniforması giyip caka satan bir sivil olarak görüyor, ona karşı hiç saygı beslemiyordu.” (Tezel, 1966, 692)

TT3: “Sivil bir **diktatör** olmak için üniformasını çıkarmış olan Gazi, Duçe’yi, asker rolüne çıkmış bir aktör gibi, asker üniforması giyip caka satan bir sivil olarak görüyor, ona karşı hiç saygı beslemiyordu.” (Sander, 1988, 624)

In this example, Kinross regards Atatürk as a dictator who aimed to be a civilian single man and states that he removed his military uniform for the sake of this aim. However, in TT1, Belge uses “tek adam” (single man) for the term “dictator” in ST. The reason for such a decision might be that Belge tries to make a differentiation between “single man” and “dictator”. Therefore, it can be said that dictatorship is euphemized into Turkish as “tek adam” who did not have a military uniform that military power dictators have. In TT2, Tezel and Yeğınobalı preserve the term “dictatorship” without any censorship in the ST, which is also the case in TT3.

[Example 3]

ST: “What was new, and what Turkey must now manifest to her neighbours, was the existence in the world of a **one-party ‘dictatorship’** which, unlike those of Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin, was essentially pacific, nourishing no territorial or political ambitions at any other country’s expense.” (Kinross, 1964, 341)

TT1: “Yeni olan ve Türkiye’nin komşularına göstermesi gereken şey, Hitler, Mussolini ve Stalin’inkilere hiç benzemeyen, barışçı, başka bir memleketin zararına toprak istemeyen ya da politik emeller beslemeyen bir **tek parti rejiminin** dünyada bulunabileceğiydi.” (*Milliyet*, April 07, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Yeni olan ve şimdi Türkiye’nin komşularına göstermesi gereken şey, dünyada Hitler, Mussolini ve Stalin’in diktatörlüklerinden büsbütün ayrı, barışa içtenlikle inanan, başka bir ülkeye karşı hem siyaset hem de toprak bakımından hiçbir art niyet beslemeyen **bir parti diktatörlüğünün** bulunuşuydu.” (Tezel, 1966, 690)

TT3: “Yeni olan ve şimdi Türkiye’nin komşularına göstermesi gereken şey, dünyada Hitler, Mussolini ve Stalin’in diktatörlüklerinden büsbütün ayrı, barışa içtenlikle inanan, başka bir ülkeye karşı hem siyaset hem de toprak bakımından hiçbir art niyet beslemeyen **bir parti diktatörlüğünün** bulunuşuydu.” (Sander, 1988, 622)

In the third example, Kinross uses the term “one-party dictatorship”. In TT1, Belge translates the term “one-party dictatorship” as “tek parti rejimi” (single-party regime) changing “dictatorship” into “regime”. In TT2, Tezel and Yeğınobalı literally translate the term as “bir parti diktatörlüğü” (one-party dictatorship) and the same expression is also used in TT3.

[Example 4]

ST: “For the next three months Kemal was thus **military dictator.**” (Kinross, 1964, 209)

TT1: “Ama, milli egemenlik ilkelerine karşı duyduğu saygı yüzünden bu **yetkinin** kendisine yalnız üç aylık süre için verilmesini istedi.” (*Milliyet*, January 30, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Böylece, Mustafa Kemal üç aylık bir süre için **askeri diktatör** oluyordu.” (Tezel, 1966, 417)

TT3: Böylece, Mustafa Kemal üç aylık bir süre için **askeri diktatör** oluyordu (Sander, 1988, 376)

In the fourth example, Kinross uses the term “military dictator”. In TT1, Belge euphemizes the word “dictator” as “yetki” (authority). The term “military dictatorship” is retained as “askeri diktatörlük” both in TT2 and TT3.

[Example 5]

ST: “Since his assumption of **dictatorial** powers and his smothering of the opposition, his old friends appeared seldom at the table.” (Kinross, 1964, 317)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, March 22, 1966, 5).

TT2: “Eline **diktatörce** yetkiler geçirip muhalefeti sindirdiğinden beri eski arkadaşları sofrasına pek uğramaz olmuşlardı.” (Tezel, 1966, 643)

TT3: “Eline **diktatörce** yetkiler geçirip muhalefeti sindirdiğinden beri eski arkadaşları sofrasına pek uğramaz olmuşlardı.” (Sander, 1988, 581)

In this example, Kinross claims that Atatürk enjoyed dictatorial powers against opposition and his old friends were not content with this situation. In this example from ST, the term “dictatorship” might be said to have a negative connotation. This sentence is totally omitted in TT1. In TT2 and TT3, on the other hand, “dictatorial powers” is retained and translated into Turkish as “diktatörce yetkiler” (dictatorial powers).

[Example 6]

ST: ‘It was the people that I was afraid of.’ Thus did Kemal, in a remark to a friend, seek to justify afterwards the liquidation of his opponents and his assumption of supreme **dictatorial** powers. It was the people, he was forever telling them, who had saved Turkey. Yet ironically it was for fear of them that he now pursued a policy contrary to all his professed democratic principles.” (Kinross, 1964, 324)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, March 26, 1966, 5).

TT2: “Mustafa Kemal, muhaliflerini ortadan kaldırmasının ve **diktatörlüğe** kaymasının nedenlerini sonradan bir arkadaşına açıklarken, “Halktan çekiniyorum,” demişti. Halka, her zaman, Türkiye’yi kurtaranın onlar olduğunu söylüyordu. Ama, ne tuhaftır ki, şimdi halktan çekindiği için, öne sürdüğü bütün demokrasi ilkelerine aykırı bir siyaset gütmeye başlamıştı.” (Tezel, 1966, 657)

TT3: “Mustafa Kemal, muhaliflerini ortadan kaldırmasının ve **diktatörlüğe** kaymasının nedenlerini sonradan bir arkadaşına açıklarken, “Halktan çekiniyorum,” demişti. Halka, her zaman, Türkiye’yi kurtaranın onlar olduğunu söylüyordu. Ama, ne tuhaftır ki, şimdi halktan çekindiği için, öne sürdüğü bütün demokrasi ilkelerine aykırı bir siyaset gütmeye başlamıştı.” (Sander, 1988, 594)

The sentence is totally omitted in TT1 by Belge possibly for its negative connotations. However, the sentence is fully translated in TT2 and TT3 where the term “dictatorship” is retained.

[Example 7]

ST: “Paradoxically Kemal had become a **dictator** not in order to obtain power but after he had done so already.” (Kinross, 1964, 324)

TT1: “Mustafa Kemal iktidarı ele geçirmek için değil de geçirdikten sonra **tek adam** olmuştu.” (*Milliyet*, March 26, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Gariptir ki, Mustafa Kemal, iktidarı ele geçirmek için değil, geçirdikten sonra **diktatörleşmişti.**” (Tezel, 1964, 657)

TT3: “Gariptir ki, Mustafa Kemal, iktidarı ele geçirmek için değil, geçirdikten sonra **diktatörleşmişti.**” (Sander, 1988, 594)

In this example, Kinross claims that Atatürk became dictator after he seized the power and his aim indeed is not to practice dictatorship at first. In TT1, Belge euphemizes the term “dictatorship” as “tek adam” (single man). In TT2 and TT3, the term “dictatorship” is retained.

[Example 8]

ST: “The Young Turks, giving it a new brief lease of life, had lapsed from parliamentary democracy into a **dictatorial triumvirate** at a time of crisis when the foreigner was threatening the Empire from every side, and when a parliamentary Opposition had showed signs of endangering the unity of the country. But Kemal had surmounted these very obstacles; he had no need for a **dictatorship – for the triumvirate which, with Ismet as his reliable factotum,** he had now set up. Extraordinary measures might have been necessary to deal with such local outbursts as the Kurdish rebellion and the subsequent hat riots. But there was no need to extend these over the whole country, and above all no need to use them for the suppression of a parliamentary Opposition of an essentially moderate kind.” (Kinross, 1964, 324)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, March 26, 1966, 5).

TT2: “Bunu kısa bir süre için yeniden canlandıran Jön Türkler, yabancıların imparatorluğu her yönden kuşatması ve muhalefetin Meclis’te ülkenin bütünlüğünü sarsacak şekilde davranması üzerine, parlamenter bir demokrasiden **diktatörce bir “triumvira”**ya kaymışlardı. Ama Gazi, bütün bu engelleri atlatmıştı; şimdi yanında **her işini gören** yardımcısı **İsmet Paşa ile, Jön Türkler’in kurduğu triumvira gibi bir diktatörlüğe** ihtiyacı yoktu. Şeyh Sait Ayaklanması ve sonraki şapka isyanları gibi bölgesel nitelikte başkaldırmalara karşı, olağanüstü önlemler gerekli olabilirdi ama, bu önlemleri bütün ülkeye yaymak gereksizdi. Zaten ılımlı bir eğilim taşıyan muhalefeti ortadan kaldırmak için bunlardan yararlanmak yersizdi.” (Tezel, 1966, 358)

TT3: “Bunu kısa bir süre için yeniden canlandıran Jön Türkler, yabancıların imparatorluğu her yönden kuşatması ve muhalefetin Meclis’te ülkenin bütünlüğünü sarsacak şekilde davranması üzerine, parlamenter bir demokrasiden **diktatörce bir “triumvira”**ya kaymışlardı. Ama Gazi, bütün bu engelleri atlatmıştı; şimdi yanında **her işini gören** yardımcısı **İsmet Paşa ile, Jön Türkler’in kurduğu triumvira gibi bir diktatörlüğe** ihtiyacı yoktu. Şeyh Sait Ayaklanması ve sonraki şapka isyanları gibi bölgesel nitelikte başkaldırmalara karşı, olağanüstü önlemler gerekli olabilirdi ama, bu önlemleri bütün ülkeye yaymak gereksizdi. Zaten ılımlı bir eğilim taşıyan muhalefeti ortadan kaldırmak için bunlardan yararlanmak yersizdi.” (Sander, 1988, 595)

In this example, Kinross claims that The Young Turks and İsmet Pasha lapsed from parliamentary democracy to the policy “dictatorial triumvirate” due to the foreigners’ threatening interventions on the empire and the opponents’ attitudes towards the assembly. In TT1, Belge omits the whole paragraph. Such an omission might be related to the negative connotations of the term “dictatorial triumvirate”. In TT2 and TT3, the sentence was fully translated and the term “dictatorial triumvirate” was rendered as “diktatörce bir triumvira”.

[Example 9]

ST: “His was a **dictatorship** based on democratic forms, within a legal and constitutional framework which he scrupulously observed.” (Kinross, 1964, 326)

TT1: “Onun **yönetimi** demokratik esaslara dayanıyor, dikkatle riayet ettiği adalet ve anayasa çerçevesi içinde kalıyordu.” (*Milliyet*, March 27, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Gazi’nin **diktatörlüğü**, bağlı kalmaya son derece dikkat ettiği Anayasa ve hukuk çerçevesi içerisinde, demokratik şekillere dayanan bir diktatörlüktü.” (Tezel, 1966, 661-662)

TT3: “Gazi’nin **diktatörlüğü**, bağlı kalmaya son derece dikkat ettiği Anayasa ve hukuk çerçevesi içerisinde, demokratik şekillere dayanan bir diktatörlüktü.” (Sander, 1988, 597)

In this example, in the ST, Kinross states that dictatorship of Atatürk was in conformity with democratic forms and he abided by legal and constitutional framework. Creating a positive connotation for the term “dictatorship”, Kinross distinguishes Atatürk’s dictatorship from other types of dictatorships. In TT1, Belge uses euphemism strategy by rendering “dictatorship” as “yönetim” (rule) although Kinross claims that Atatürk’s governing system relies on a dictatorship based on democratic forms. The term “dictatorship” is retained in TT2 and TT3, which is consistent with the case in previous examples.

[Example 10]

ST: “Psychologically, Kemal’s emergence as a ‘**hanging dictator**’ was rooted in two other factors. The first was an obsessive suspicion of all who had spurned and obstructed him. The iron had been entering deeper into his soul from his fatherless lone-wolf childhood onwards; his cold-shouldering by the members of the Committee of Union and Progress, as a young man who knew that he knew better than they; the obstruction of his military career by rivals jealous of his worth and success. All these rebuffs had built up in his imagination a host of powerful enemies who still aspired to drag him down from his pinnacle. Such was the legacy of a past fraught with frustration and nourishing restless revengeful hates; **such the reason, in particular, for the execution of Javid, which not only antagonized Western opinion, but deprived Turkey of a shrewd financial counsellor.**” (Kinross, 1964, 325)

TT1: “Psikolojik bakımdan, Mustafa Kemal’in **tek adam** olmasında iki başka faktör vardı. Birincisi ona engel olanlara ve karşı koyanlara duyduğu sabit şüpheydi. Çocukluğunda geçirdiği yalnızlık günlerinden beri bu acı içine çökmüştü; onlardan daha iyi bildiğini bilen bir genç adamken İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası üyelerinin ona karşı soğuk davranmaları; onun değer ve başarısını kıskanan rakiplerinin askerlik mesleğinde de ilerlemesine engel olmaları Mustafa Kemal’i derinden etkilemişti. **The rest part is omitted.**” (Milliyet, March 26, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Psikolojik bakımdan, Mustafa Kemal’in **darağacı** metodlarına başvurmak zorunda kalması, iki ayrı köke dayanıyordu. Birincisi kendisini hep küçük görmüş ve yoluna dikilmiş olanlara karşı duyduğu, sabit düşünce halini almış bir kuşku idi. Babasız, kimsesiz geçen çocukluğundan, onlardan daha iyi bildiği halde gençliğinde İttihatçılardan gördüğü soğuk davranışa, değerini ve başarılarını kıskanan rakiplerinin meslekteki ilerleyişini engellemelerine rağmen gittikçe daha derin bir şekilde saplanıp durmuştu. Bütün bu ters davranışlar onda kendisini hala yükseldiği mevkiden aşağıya, yere indirmeye çalışan bir sürü düşman hayali yaratmıştı. İstediklerini yapamamanın verdiği üzüntüyle dolmuş ve insanı rahatsız eden kin ve intikam duygularıyla beslenmiş bir geçmişin mirasıydı bu; **yine bu, Cavit’in asılmasının başlıca nedeni idi. Oysa Cavit’in idamı yalnız Batı kamuoyunu ayaklandırmakla kalmamış, Türkiye’yi kurnaz bir maliye uzmanından da etmişti.**” (Tezel, 1966, 659-660)

TT3: Omitted (Sander, 1988, 517).

In the example above, Kinross claims that Atatürk practiced “hanging dictatorship” against the opponents because of his “obsessive suspicion” of them. In TT1, Belge renders “hanging dictator” as “tek adam” (single man). Interestingly, “hanging dictatorship” was not retained in also TT2 where it was rendered as “darağacı yöntemleri” (scaffold methods). Even more interestingly, the whole paragraph is totally omitted in TT3, which is in contrast to the case in previous examples described above. In the same paragraph, Kinross claims that the execution of Cavid was a problem both for Turkey and Europe due to his international status and competence as a financial counsellor. In the TT1, the part related to the execution of Cavid is omitted. In TT2, it is preserved without any omission.

4.1.2. Examples Related to the Term “Religion”

[Example 1]

ST: “The second impulse behind his drastic actions was a fear of what he did not understand – **the forces of religion**. Agnosticism was born in him early and grew in him with time – through reaction against **his mother’s devoutness**; through his secular education and his reading of the rationalist philosophers; through his horror, as a young man, at the **Arab fanaticism** of Damascus and his growing awareness of its hold, in a different degree, on his country as a whole; finally, through his open proscription and condemnation to death by the powers of Islam, followed by a ‘holy war’ against him which he all but lost. **In his rationalism** he understood little of the

spiritual concept of Islam, which represented an inner need for the mass of his people and which a mere social philosophy, however enlightened, could not easily replace. He saw it as mere superstition of a dark and primitive kind. But he did not underrate its force. It was a secret weapon liable to be used against him by the peasants and the ‘priests’ who controlled them, a ‘hidden hand’ wider in its reach and stronger in its grip than that of any mere rival political party. He understood little – whatever he might say in his speeches – of the social and political principles of Islam as the Prophet had seen them, and as the liberal reformers of the past century had been striving to regenerate them. For Kemal, **Islam and civilization** were a **contradiction in terms**. ‘If only,’ he once said of the Turks, with a flash of cynical insight, ‘we could make them Christians!’ (Kinross, 1964, 325)

TT1: “İkincisi anlayamadığı **dini hurafelerden** duyduğu çekingenlikti. Annesinin **sofuluğuna** karşı duyduğu tepki; gördüğü laik eğitim ve okuduğu akılcı filozoflar; genç bir adamken Şam’da gördüğü **Arap taassubu** karşısında duyduğu dehşet ve bu taassubun başka bir şekilde kendi memleketini de etkilediğini anlaması; sonunda Şeyhülislam tarafından idama mahkûm edilmesi ve arkasından güçlkle kazandığı “kutsal savaşın” Milliyetçilere karşı açılması; bütün bunlar zaten doğuştan içinde olan laik duyguları arttırmıştı. **Asker görüşüyle** dinin ruhi kavramını pek anlayamıyordu. Ama halkın çoğunluğunun buna ihtiyacı vardı ve ne kadar aydın olursa olsun, bir toplum felsefesinin bunun yerini alması kolay değildi. Mustafa Kemal **bunun** önemini küçümsemedi. Din, köylülerin ve onları idare eden imamların ona karşı kullanabilecekleri bir gizli silah herhangi bir rakip politika partisinininkinden çok daha ileri uzanabilecek ve çok daha kuvvetli bir “gizli el” di. **Mustafa Kemal’e göre sadece dine dayanan bir idare uygar olamazdı.**” (Milliyet, March 26, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Şiddetli davranışlarının ardındaki ikinci neden, aklının ermediği bir şeyden, **dinsel kuvvetlerden** korkması idi. İnsan aklının ‘Mutlak’ı kavramaya yetmeyeceği yolundaki düşüncesi, önce annesinin **kör inancına** karşı bir tepki olarak doğmuş; laik bir eğitim gördüğü ve akılcı filozofları okuduğu sıralarda gelişmiş; gençliğinde Şam’da **Arap yobazlığını** ve daha sonra bu yobazlığın memleketinin tümü üzerine derece derece yayılmış olan gücünü gördüğü zaman kapıldığı dehşetle büyümüş; en sonda İslam yetkilileri tarafından kanun dışı ilan edilişi, ölüm cezasına çarptırılışı ve bunu izleyen ve neredeyse kendisini yenik düşürecek olan bir kutsal savaşla uğraşmak zorunda kalışı bu düşünceyi onda iyice yerleştirmişti. **Kendi akılcılığı** ile Müslümanlığın manevi kavramının büyük halk yığınlarının derin bir ihtiyacını karşıladığını pek anlayamıyordu. Sadece toplumcu olan herhangi bir felsefe, ne kadar aydınlık olursa olsun, onun yerini tutamazdı. Mustafa Kemal ise bunu **ancak ilkel ve karanlık bir batıl inanç gibi görüyor**; lakin gücünü de küçümsemedi. Bu, köylülerle onları etki altında tutan hocalar tarafından kendisine karşı yöneltilebilecek bir silah ve herhangi bir muhalif partiden daha güçlü etkisi daha geniş bir ‘gizli el’ di. Söylevlerinde ne derse desin, Peygamber’in tasarlamış olduğu ve geçen yüzyılda liberal ıslahatçıların tekrar canlandırmayı düşündükleri sosyal ve politik ilkelerden pek bir şey anlamıyordu. **Gazi’nin gözünde, Müslümanlık ve uygarlık koşulları birbirleriyle çelişen iki ayrı şeydi.**” (Tezel and Yeğinobalı, 1966, 660)

TT3: Omitted (Sander, 1988, 661).

In the example above, Kinross claims that forceful actions of Atatürk results from his hesitations related to religion. In the example above, it is claimed that Atatürk reacted against his mother's "devoutness" and "Arap fanaticism of Damascus". Kinross also asserts that the forces of religion are against Atatürk's rationalism because he regards them as a "supersitition" being "dark" and "primitive". In such context it could be said that Kinross claims that there is a conflict between the forces of religion and his rationalist view. In TT1, the term "forces of religion" was euphemized by Belge as "dini hurafe" (religious superstition). It could be said that Belge tries to tone down of the term "forces of religion" by implying that Atatürk was against religious supersitions, not the forces of religion. The term is retained both in TT2 and TT3.

In the source text, Kinross claims that "Islam and civilization were a contradiction in terms". In TT1, Belge euphemizes this statement as "sadece dine dayanan bir idare uygar olamazdı" (a governing system only relies on Islam can not be civilized). In TT2, the same statement is rendered literally. However, the whole paragraph is fully omitted in TT3.

[Example 2]

ST: "Mustafa was introduced with the usual religious ceremony into the school of Fatima Mollah Kadın. On the morning of my admission [**he later recalled with some irony**], I was festively attired by my mother in a white dress and a gold-threaded scarf, wound turbanwise around my head; in my hand I carried a gilded bough." (Kinross, 1964, 17)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, November 12, 1965)

TT2: "Mustafa, göreneğe uygun dini törenlerle, Fatma Molla Kadın Mektebi'ne gönderildi. Sonradan bu olayı biraz **alaylı** bir şekilde şöyle anlatacaktı: "Okula gideceğim günün sabahı annem bana beyaz bir bayramlık elbise giydirdi, başıma da tel işlemeli bir sarık sardı." (Tezel, 1966, 27)

TT3: "Mustafa, göreneğe uygun dini törenlerle, Fatma Molla Kadın Mektebi'ne gönderildi. Sonradan bunu Mustafa **şöyle** anlatır: "Okula gideceğim sabah annem bana beyaz bir entari giydirmiş, başıma da sırma işlemeli bir sarık sararak süslemişti." (Sander, 1988, 19)

In this example, Kinross claims that Atatürk ironically told a story about the religious ceremony held in his school. In TT1, Belge omits the whole sentence. In TT2, the expression "recalled with some irony" was rendered as "alaycı" (ironical). In TT3, on the other hand, the expression is neutralized as "şöyle anlatılırdı" (recalled in this way).

[Example 3]

ST: “On seeing him the Gazi started to growl insults at **Islam**. The hoja deftly removed his turban, dived into the crowd, and escaped. But Kemal, before proceeding, ordered the imprisonment of the local governor, and instructed that the town of Ushak be bombarded and razed to the ground the next day. Next day, when the order was submitted to him for confirmation, he shame facedly cancelled it.” (Kinross, 1964, 344)

TT1: “Gazinin kızdığını görünce hoca sarığı çıkarıp, savuştu.” **The rest part is omitted** (*Milliyet*, April 09, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Gazi onu görünce **yobazlara** karşı söylenmeye başladı. Adam hemen sarığını çıkardı, kalabalığa karışarak ortadan kayboldu. Lakin Gazi, tekrar yola çıkmadan önce Uşak valisinin hapse atılmasını ve şehrin ertesi sabah bombardıman edilip yıkılmasını söyledi. Ertesi gün bu emir, tekit etmesi için kendine gösterilince, büyük bir pişmanlık duyarak, geri aldı.” (Tezel, 1966, 697)

TT3: “Gazi onu görünce **yobazlara** karşı söylenmeye başladı. Adam hemen sarığını çıkardı, kalabalığa karışarak ortadan kayboldu. Lakin Gazi, tekrar yola çıkmadan önce Uşak valisinin hapse atılmasını ve şehrin ertesi sabah bombardıman edilip yıkılmasını söyledi. Ertesi gün bu emir, tekit etmesi için kendine gösterilince, büyük bir pişmanlık duyarak, geri aldı.” (Sander, 1988, 628)

In the example, Kinross claims that Atatürk insults Islam and gives an order for the hodja’s imprisonment, but he cancels this order the following day. In TT1, the term “Islam” is omitted from the first sentence and the rest of the paragraph is also omitted. In TT2 and TT3, the term “yobaz” (fanatic) is preferred instead of “Islam”, which implies that the translators decided to underline that Atatürk was against fanaticism, not Islam itself.

[Example 4] Author Footnote

ST: “The cleavage in his musical tastes emerged in Istanbul, where he once had two orchestras, one Turkish and one European, brought to the Park Hotel. He listened with constant interruptions, commanding one to stop and the other to play in turn. Finally, **as the raki took effect, he lost patience** and rose to leave the restaurant, saying, ‘Now if you like you can both play together.’ **Another evening, incensed by the sound of the muezzin from a mosque opposite, which clashed with the dance-band, he ordered its minaret to be felled – one of those orders which was countermanded next morning.**” (Kinross, 1964, 349)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, April 12, 1966, 5).

TT2: “Gazi’nin musiki zevkinin iki dallı olması, bir gün İstanbul’da şu şekilde kendini gösterdi: Park Otel’e biri Batı öbürü Doğu müziği çalan iki orkestra çağırılmıştı. Bunları iki de bir çaldıklarını yarıda keserek dinliyor, birini susturuyor, ötekini

başlatıyordu. En sonunda, yemeğini bitirince, **bu oyundan canı sıkılmış olacak ki**, gitmek için ayağa kalktı ve “Şimdi isterseniz ikiniz birden çalın,” diyerek lokantadan ayrıldı.” (Tezel, 1966, 707)

TT3: “Gazi’nin musiki zevkinin iki dallı olması, bir gün İstanbul’da şu şekilde kendini gösterdi: Park Otel’e biri Batı öbürü Doğu müziği çalan iki orkestra çağırtmıştı. Bunları iki de bir çaldıklarını yarıda keserek dinliyor, birini susturuyor, ötekini başlatıyordu. En sonunda, yemeğini bitirince, **bu oyundan canı sıkılmış olacak ki**, gitmek için ayağa kalktı ve “Şimdi isterseniz ikiniz birden çalın,” diyerek lokantadan ayrıldı.” (Sander, 1988, 551)

In the footnote, Kinross claims that Atatürk was in a restaurant in which there were two orchestras playing both Turkish and European music and he drank the raki. According to Kinross, since the orchestras interrupted each other, Atatürk wanted to leave there. In the same paragraph, Kinross claims that Atatürk went to the same place another evening and this time he heard the sound of muezzin from a mosque and then he ordered “its minaret to be felled” and this order was “countermanded next morning”. This paragraph is totally omitted in TT1. In TT2 and TT3, the source text statement “as the raki took effect” was euphemized as “canı sıkılmış olacak ki” (got bored) and “the raki” is omitted.

4.1.3 Examples Related to the “Turkish Political Scene”

[Example 1]

ST: “Clearly, Kemal realized, the moment had come to dissolve his **recalcitrant** Parliament.” (Kinross, 1964, 274)

TT1: “Gazi **düzensiz** Meclis’ini dağıtmanın artık sırası geldiğini açıkça görüyordu.” (*Milliyet*, March 02, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Mustafa Kemal, bu **kendisine kafa tutan Meclisi** dağıtmanın zamanının geldiğini anladı.” (Tezel, 1966, 436)

TT3: “Mustafa Kemal, bu **kendisine kafa tutan Meclisi** dağıtmanın zamanının geldiğini anladı.” (Sander, 1988, 501)

In the example above, Kinross claims that Atatürk intended to dissolve the parliament because it was “recalcitrant”. In TT1, Belge euphemizes the term “recalcitrant” into Turkish as “düzensiz” (systemless) possibly with the aim of removing negative connotations. In TT2 and TT3, the word “recalcitrant” is translated as “kafa tutan”, which is a literal translation in this context.

[Example 2]

ST: “This time ‘**the backwoodsmen from Angora**’ had come to the conference table better prepared than before.” (Kinross, 1964, 277)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, March 05, 1966, 5).

TT2: “‘**Ankara yabanisi**’ bu sefer Konferansa daha iyi hazırlanarak gelmişti.” (Tezel, 1966, 564)

TT3: “‘**Ankara yabanisi**’ bu sefer Konferansa daha iyi hazırlanarak gelmişti.” (Sander, 1988, 508)

In ST, Kinross defines the members of the assembly as “the backwoodsmen” from Angora who are the people far away from civilization. In TT1, the whole sentence is omitted. The expression was literally translated in TT2 and TT3 as “Ankara yabanisi” (the backwoodsmen from Ankara).

[Example 3]

ST: “For all this it was a soberer body than the first Parliament, younger, more level-headed and aspiring to live up to Kemal’s definition of it as an ‘Assembly of Intellectuals’. The **wilder backwoodsmen** were no longer in their places, to be devil serious discussion, and the balance had been redressed by a group of writers, journalists and professional men, maturer in mind and with some comprehension of Western ideas.” (Kinross, 1964, 285)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, March 08, 1966, 5).

TT2: Bütün bunlara karşın, bu meclis, birincisine göre daha akli başında bir kuruluştı. Daha genç, daha seviyeli ve Mustafa Kemal’in dediği gibi bir “Aydınlar Meclisi” olmaya daha hevesliydi. Ciddi tartışmaların tadını kaçırın o **yobazlar** bu mecliste yoktu artık; yerlerini daha olgun kafalı, Batı düşüncelerini daha iyi kavramış, yazar, gazeteci ve meslek adamlarından kurulu gruplar almıştı (Tezel, 1966, 578).

TT3: “Bütün bunlara karşın, bu meclis, birincisine göre daha akli başında bir kuruluştı. Daha genç, daha seviyeli ve Mustafa Kemal’in dediği gibi bir “Aydınlar Meclisi” olmaya daha hevesliydi. Ciddi tartışmaların tadını kaçırın o **yobazlar** bu mecliste yoktu artık; yerlerini daha olgun kafalı, Batı düşüncelerini daha iyi kavramış, yazar, gazeteci ve meslek adamlarından kurulu gruplar almıştı.” (Sander, 1988, 521)

In the example above, Kinross claims that the backwoodsmen were no longer in the new Assembly. The whole sentence is totally omitted in TT1. In TT2 and TT3, on the other hand, “the wilder backwoodsmen” is rendered as “yobazlar” (fanatics).

[Example 4]

ST: “With the Assembly now safely dissolved, the time had come for ‘**little Ismet**’ to return to Lausanne.” (Kinross, 1964, 277)

TT1: “Artık Meclis dağıtıldığına göre **İsmet’in** Lozan’a dönme zamanı gelmişti.” (*Milliyet*, March 04, 1966, 5)

TT2: “Şimdi Meclis de feshedilmiş olduğuna göre ‘**İsmetçik**’ Lozan’a dönebilirdi.” (Tezel, 1966, 564)

TT3: “Şimdi Meclis de feshedilmiş olduğuna göre ‘**İsmetçik**’ Lozan’a dönebilirdi.” (Sander, 1988, 508)

In this example, Kinross describes the process of the dissolution of the assembly and refers to “Ismet Pasha”, who was responsible from signing of the Lausanne Treaty, as “little Ismet”. In TT1, the derogatory effect of “little” is neutralized and “little Ismet” is rendered as “Ismet” only. In TT2 and TT3, “little Ismet” is rendered as “İsmetçik”, adding the Turkish suffix “-cik” to create a belittling effect.

[Example 5]

ST: “He implied support by him of the Caliph, declaiming, ‘If at any time the Caliph takes it into his head to interfere with the destiny of this country, we shall not fail to execute him!’” (Kinross, 1964, 287)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, March 09, 1966, 5).

TT2: “İsmet Paşa, onun halifeden gördüğü desteği ima ederek: “Tarihin herhangi bir devrinde, bir halife, zihninden bu memleketin mukadderatına karışmak arzusunu geçirirse, o kafayı behemehal koparacağız!” dedi.” (Tezel, 1966, 584)

TT3: “İsmet Paşa, onun halifeden gördüğü desteği ima ederek: “Tarihin herhangi bir devrinde, bir halife, zihninden bu memleketin mukadderatına karışmak arzusunu geçirirse, o kafayı behemehal koparacağız!” dedi.” (Sander, 1988, 526)

In this example, Kinross explains that Ismet pasha had a dialogue with Rauf about he could employ strict sanctions such as execution if the Caliph interferes with the state affairs. In the ST, the pronoun “him” refers to “Rauf” (Kinross, 1964, 287). This sentence is totally omitted in TT1 while literally translated in TT2 and TT3.

[Example 6]

ST: **“But the main fault was in essence Kemal’s.** Unlike his previous adventures, that of a licensed Opposition had been inadequately thought out and prepared in advance. Instead of being allowed to grow organically, as the Republic itself had done – or had been made to seem to do – it had been abruptly, even capriciously launched upon an unsuspecting country. Such shock tactics as had served well enough for the abolition of the fez were inappropriate to so radical an operation as the introduction of parliamentary democracy, so soon after its deliberate suppression. Kemal had rejected the two-party system five years before, at a time when the momentum of the Revolution and the calibre of his Opposition leaders might have carried it through. He had tried to reimpose it when the momentum had waned, at a time, not of military and political victory, but of social and economic depression. Only two factors could have given substance to the democratic form which he had thus failed to achieve: his own willingness to subscribe to it wholeheartedly and readiness to relinquish some degree of his own power; and the capacity of the Turkish people, retarded as they had been by centuries of autocratic rule, to adapt themselves to so adult and responsible a system. Neither of these factors existed.” (Kinross, 1964, 337)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, April 05, 1966, 5).

TT2: **“Ama asıl yanlışlığı, Mustafa Kemal yapmıştı.** Bundan önce giriştiklerinin aksine, bu “ruhsatlı muhalefet” macerasını baştan yeteri kadar düşünerek hazırlamamıştı. Cumhuriyet düşüncesi gibi içten içe gelişmiş ya da öyle olmuş gibi gösterilmişti. Oysa bu, böyle bir şeyi hiç beklemeyen ülkenin karşısına birdenbire, adeta bir kapris sonucu atılıvermişti. Fesin kaldırılması gibi hallerde çok yararlı olan bu çeşit ani taktikler, parlamenter bir demokrasi kurmak gibi köklü işlere pek uygun düşmüyordu, hele bu demokrasinin yasaklanması üzerinden henüz bu kadar az zaman geçmiş olursa. Mustafa Kemal, çift parti sistemine daha beş yıl önce, henüz Devrim’in hızı ve muhalefet liderlerinin kişiliği bunu yürütmeye elverişliiyken, karşı koymuştu. Şimdi tam hızı kesilmeye başladığı, siyasi ve askeri zaferin yerini ekonomik bir krize bıraktığı bir sırada, yeniden kurmaya kalkıyordu. Bu demokrasi denemesi, ancak şu koşullarda başarıya ulaşabilirdi: Birincisi, kendisinin de bu işe bütün kalbiyle atılması ve elindeki yetkilerden bir kısmından vazgeçmeye razı olması; ikincisi de yüzlerce yıllık keyfi yönetim yüzünden geri kalmış olan Türk halkının, böyle olgunluk ve sorumluluk isteyen bir sistemi içselleştirebilmeye olan yatkınlığı. Bu iki koşulun ikisi de ortada yoktu.” (Tezel, 1966, 683-684)

TT3: **“Ama asıl yanlışlığı, Mustafa Kemal yapmıştı.** Bundan önce giriştiklerinin aksine, bu “ruhsatlı muhalefet” macerasını baştan yeteri kadar düşünerek hazırlamamıştı. Cumhuriyet düşüncesi gibi içten içe gelişmiş ya da öyle olmuş gibi gösterilmişti. Oysa bu, böyle bir şeyi hiç beklemeyen ülkenin karşısına birdenbire, adeta bir kapris sonucu atılıvermişti. Fesin kaldırılması gibi hallerde çok yararlı olan bu çeşit ani taktikler, parlamenter bir demokrasi kurmak gibi köklü işlere pek uygun düşmüyordu, hele bu demokrasinin yasaklanması üzerinden henüz bu kadar az zaman geçmiş olursa. Mustafa Kemal, çift parti sistemine daha beş yıl önce, henüz Devrim’in hızı ve muhalefet liderlerinin kişiliği bunu yürütmeye elverişliiyken, karşı koymuştu. Şimdi tam hızı kesilmeye başladığı, siyasi ve askeri zaferin yerini ekonomik bir krize bıraktığı bir sırada, yeniden kurmaya kalkıyordu. Bu demokrasi denemesi, ancak şu koşullarda başarıya ulaşabilirdi: Birincisi, kendisinin de bu işe bütün kalbiyle atılması

ve elindeki yetkilerden bir kısmından vazgeçmeye razı olması; ikincisi de yüzlerce yıllık keyfi yönetim yüzünden geri kalmış olan Türk halkının, böyle olgunluk ve sorumluluk isteyen bir sistemi içselleştirebilmeye olan yatkınlığı. Bu iki koşulun ikisi de ortada yoktu.” (Sander, 1988, 616)

In the example above, Kinross claims that Atatürk made a mistake related to multi-party forms due to his inadequate preparation. According to Kinross, because he did not think on democracy forms enough, he rejected even two-party system and made a mistake. This paragraph is totally omitted in TT1 while literally translated in TT2 and TT3.

[Example 7] Author Footnote

ST: 1 “It was a moment at which Javid, **one of the few Turks with an international status in the world of finance**, might have been helpful, had Kemal chosen to admit him to the fold instead of executing him. Javid had offered his services to the Nationalists at the time of the Sivas Congress, but Kemal had rejected them.”¹(Kinross, 1964: 333)

TT1: Omitted (*Milliyet*, March 30, 1966, 5)

TT2: 1 “**Maliyeci Cavit**, asılmamış olsaydı, bu dönemde yararı dokunabilirdi. Cavit, Sivas Kongresi sırasında hizmet teklifinde bulunmuştu ama Gazi bu teklifi geri çevirmişti.” (Tezel and Yeğınobalı, 1966, 674)

TT3: 1 “**Maliyeci Cavit**, asılmamış olsaydı, bu dönemde yararı dokunabilirdi. Cavit, Sivas Kongresi sırasında hizmet teklifinde bulunmuştu ama Gazi bu teklifi geri çevirmişti.” (Sander, 1988, 526)

In the selected footnote, according to Kinross, Cavid was a significant Turk who had an international status in finance. Kinross claims that his execution prevented further progress at that time. This footnote was totally omitted in TT1. In TT2 and TT3, the status of Cavid is neutralized through the omission of the expression “one of the few Turks with an international status in the world of finance”.

4.2 Discussion

In the light of the above descriptive analysis of the translation of the sentences including the term “dictatorship”, it can be concluded that Murat Belge deployed strategies such as euphemism, substitution and censorship. In all the examples analysed, it is observed that Belge refrains from translating the term “dictatorship” and sometimes even omits the sentences including the term. Instead, he either tones down the terms “dictatorship” and

“dictator” by using “tek parti” (single party) and “tek adam” (single man) or practices censorship by omitting the whole sentence which contains these expressions. Moreover, in one of the examples, Belge tries to neutralize the term “dictatorship” by using “yetki” (authority) and therefore deploys substitution strategy to avoid using this term. The translation decisions made by Belge indicate that Belge does not agree with Kinross’ perspective on the term “dictatorship”. Even if Kinross claims that Atatürk practiced dictatorship democratically to create a system to survive (Kinross, 1964, 12), it is clear that Belge does not act with such an understanding. There could be many reasons behind this decision. One possible reason might be that Belge approaches the understanding of “dictatorship” as a despotic intervention practiced by a single person. Therefore, it might be argued that Belge thinks that the term “dictatorship” would create a wrong impression about Atatürk’s governing policy and/or prevent acceptability of the translation in terms of the target reader. Another possibility is that Belge wants to be in conformity with Atatürk’s perspective on dictatorship. Indeed, Kinross states that Atatürk did not adopt “dictatorship” in theory (334). In conformity with Atatürk’s perspective on dictatorship, it can be said that Belge avoids using the term “dictatorship” and he does not accept dictatorship as a democratic form in a governing system. Therefore, it might be said that Belge acts accordingly with Atatürk’s perspective and his opinions as a translator are in conflict with Kinross’ opinions about “dictatorship”

The analysis of the translation of the sentences including the term “dictatorship” in the translation by Ayhan Tezel and Nihal Yeğinoğlu illustrates that they do not deploy strategies such as euphemism, substitution or censorship in TT2. Instead, Tezel and Yeğinoğlu translate the terms “dictatorship” and “dictator” literally. Such a decision might depend on two reasons. The first reason might be that Tezel and Yeğinoğlu evaluate the understanding of “dictatorship” as a democratic intervention of a single authority which is the case in Kinross’ text. The second one might be related to the consensus of both translators and Sander concerning uncensored translation policy. In the first possibility, Tezel and Yeğinoğlu think that Atatürk had to practice dictatorship due to the conditions of that time. In this case, it might be that Tezel and Yeğinoğlu want to indicate that Atatürk had to practice dictatorship in practice not in theory. Therefore, the translators did not refrain from literally translating the term “dictatorship” by emphasizing the conditions of that time. Therefore, they might be thinking that the term “dictatorship” does not create a negative connotation in this specific context. In only one example, Tezel and Yeğinoğlu deploy euphemism strategy by using “darağacı metotları” (scaffold methods) for the term “hanging dictator” in ST. This might be

associated with the term's obvious derogatory meaning. Therefore, it might be argued that Tezel and Yeğınobalı do not prefer to translate such a derogatory term attributed to Atatürk.

As for the translation of the sentences including the term “dictatorship”, it can be said that Necdet Sander makes translation decisions similar to the ones in TT2. Sander does not practice censorship concerning the term “dictatorship”, which is also the case in TT2. This might be associated with the same translation policy observed in TT2.

As for the translation of the sentences including the term “religion”, Murat Belge applied translation strategies such as euphemism, substitution and censorship in TT1. In all the examples analyzed, Belge does not prefer to translate the parts related to “religion” literally. The reason for such a decision might be that Belge does not agree with Kinross' perspective because Kinross claims that Atatürk's rationalism is in conflict with the forces of religion. Instead Belge either tones down the term “forces of religion” by using “dini hurafe” (religious superstition) or practice censorship through omission. The first possibility might have resulted from Belge's effort to emphasize that Atatürk's reaction concerned religious superstitions. Therefore, it might be argued that Belge deploys euphemism by replacing the term “Islam” with “yobaz” (fanatic) to emphasize that Atatürk was against only fanaticism, not Islam itself. The second possibility might be related to the aim of preventing possible misunderstandings about Atatürk's perspective on religion in the eyes of the target reader. Thus, it might be said that Belge aims to remove so-called anti-Islam interventions attributed to Atatürk in the source text from the translation and to emphasize that Atatürk's reaction concerned fanaticism, not Islam.

As for the translation of the sentences including the term “religion”, Ayhan Tezel and Nihal Yeğınobalı adopt two incompatible translation strategies that co-exist: literal translation and substitution. While they adopt literal translation in some of the examples shown in the analysis section, they substitute the term “Islam” with the term “yobaz” (fanatic), which might be claimed that the translators want to underline that Atatürk was against fanaticism, not Islam itself and which is similar to the case in TT1. In this context, it can be argued that the translators do not agree with Kinross' opinions concerning Atatürk's attitude towards religion.

As for the translation of the sentences including the term “religion”, translation strategies such as omission and neutralization are adopted in TT3 more often in comparison to TT2. For instance, while the claim “Islam and civilization were a contradiction in terms” is literally translated in TT2, it is omitted in TT3.

The analysis of the translation of the sentences related to the “Turkish political scene” has shown that Belge deploys translation strategies such as euphemism and censorship. In the examples analyzed, Belge either tones down the terms such as “recalcitrant” and “little İsmet” by using “düzensiz” (systemless) and “İsmet” or practice censorship on some of the expressions by Kinross. It can be argued that by applying euphemism, Belge aims to show that Atatürk was against unsystematic practices of the members of the assembly. It can further be argued that by practicing censorship, Belge, who does not agree with Kinross’ views, aims to remove derogatory terms attributed to the members of the assembly.

As for the translation of the sentences related to the “Turkish political scene”, the translators of TT2 and TT3 are observed to apply the same strategy: literal translation. It might be argued that by translating terms such as “recalcitrant”, “the backwoodsmen from Angora” and “wilder backwoodsmen” in a literal manner, the translators of TT2 and TT3 aim to emphasize the incompetence and disordered actions of the members of the assembly.

In this section, the sentences taken from ST were compared with three TTs within three categories. In the first category, ST and three TTs were compared in terms of the examples related to the term “dictatorship”, in the second category, the examples in ST were compared with three TTs in the light of the term “religion”, in the third category, the examples in ST were compared with three TTs in the light of the “Turkish political scene”.

According to the results of the analysis of the translations of the examples which are related to the use of the term “dictatorship”, it might be argued that the translator of TT1 practices certain interventions such as omission, neutralization or euphemism and does not comply with the norms of the source text. Therefore, it can be said that TT1 adheres to target culture norms and the equivalence relationship between ST and TT1 is closer to the acceptability pole. On the other hand, the translators of TT2 and TT3 prefer to literally translate the sentences including the terms “dictatorship” and comply with the norms of the source text. Therefore, it can be said that TT2 and TT3 adhere to source text norms and the

equivalence relationship between ST and TT2 and TT3 is closer to the adequacy pole in terms of the first category.

The results of the analysis of the translations of the examples which are related to the use of the term “religion”, it might be argued that the translator of TT1 practices such as omission, substitution or euphemism and does not comply with the norms of the source text. Therefore, it can be said that TT1 adheres to target culture norms and the equivalence relationship between ST and TT1 is closer to the acceptability pole.

The results of the analysis related to the second category has shown that the translators of TT2 adopt two incompatible translation strategies, literal translation and substitution, that co-exist and adhere to both source text norms and target culture norms at the same time. Thus, the equivalence relationship between ST and TT2 is situated in the middle. The equivalence relationship between ST and TT3, where the translator adopts translation strategies such as omission and neutralization more often in comparison to TT2, can be argued to be also in the middle of the adequacy pole and acceptability pole, but closer to the acceptability pole compared to TT2.

The results of the analysis of the translations of the examples which are related to the “Turkish political scene” has shown that the translator of TT1 makes certain interventions such as omission and euphemism and thus does not comply with the norms of the source text. Therefore, an equivalence relationship closer to the acceptability pole exists between ST and TT1. According to the results of the analysis of the examples related to the third category, literal translation is used both in TT2 and TT3 and thus an equivalence relationship which is closer to adequacy is produced between ST and TT2 and TT3.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the three Turkish translations of *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* written by Lord Kinross in 1964, and its three translations including the serialized translation in 1966, the first full translation in 1966 and the reprint one in 1988 have been examined in relation to the relationship of equivalence. Selected examples from the three translations related to “dictatorship”, “religion” and the “Turkish political scene” have been described and analyzed with a focus on acceptability and adequacy.

The results of the analysis of the translations of the examples concerning the use of the term “dictatorship” have shown that the translator of TT1 makes interventions such as omission, neutralization or euphemism and does not comply with the source text norms. Thus, it has been argued that TT1 adheres to target culture norms and the equivalence relationship between ST and TT1 is closer to the acceptability pole. On the other hand, it has been observed that the translators of TT2 and TT3 prefer to translate the sentences including the terms “dictatorship” literally complying with the norms of the source text. Therefore, the equivalence relationship between ST and TT2 and TT3 has been argued to be closer to the adequacy pole in terms of the first category.

In terms of the second category which is related to the use of the term “religion, the results of the analysis have shown that the translator of TT1 resorts to omission, substitution or euphemism and does not comply with the source text norms and that an equivalence relationship closer to the acceptability pole exists between ST and TT1. The results related to the same category have shown that the translators of TT2 adopt two incompatible translation strategies, literal translation and substitution, that co-exist. The translators adhere to both source text norms and target culture norms and the equivalence relationship between ST and TT2 is situated in the middle of these poles. On the other hand, the equivalence relationship between ST and TT3, where translation strategies such as omission and neutralization are adopted more often in comparison to TT2, has been argued to be also in the middle of the two poles, but closer to the acceptability pole compared to TT2.

The results of the analysis of the translations of the examples related to the “Turkish political scene” as the third category have shown that the translator of TT1 consistently makes interventions such as omission and euphemism and does not comply with the source text

norms, which results in an equivalence relationship closer to the acceptability pole. The results of the analysis of the examples related to the same category, on the other hand, have shown that literal translation is used both in TT2 and TT3, resulting in an equivalence relationship which is closer to adequacy between ST and TT2 and TT3.

In relation to (un)censorial acts observed in the three target texts, the interventions of the patrons who are the members of periodical publications and publishing houses have also been discussed in terms of the role they played in shaping translations with reference to the concept “patronage” (Lefevere, 1992). In this way, the publishing policies of *Milliyet* and Sander Publishing House have been tried to be examined benefiting from both the press-release of *Milliyet* about Murat Belge’s translation, and the interviews made with the patron Necdet Sander. Moreover, the column of Doğan Hızlan, who is a column writer from *Hürriyet*, was helpful in understanding the publication policy of Sander Publishing House. In the columns titled Kemal Tahir, Necdet Sander ve İsmet Bozdağ (Kemal Tahir, Necdet Sander and İsmet Bozdağ) (2018) and Seçici Yayıncı: Necdet Sander (A Selective Publisher: Necdet Sander) (2021), expressing his opinions about Necdet Sander, Doğan Hızlan emphasizes that Necdet Sander was always in search of publishing authentic works. In the first column dated 2018, Hızlan states that Sander published the original works that were banned even abroad due to the legal facts. Moreover, in the second column dated 2021, Hızlan draws his attention to Sander’s publishing policy that aims to publish both the original and translated works without practicing censorship.

In addition to all of these, the Turkish political scene in the 1960s and 1980s was also discussed in the thesis to draw a political portrait of the periods in which the target texts were translated. Also, the viewpoints towards (un)censorship of the 1961 and 1982 Constitutions and additional articles drafted in the name of preserving the nation’s security and union have been analyzed. However, these results do not suggest a binary opposition⁶³ between the two poles and that they are obtained only for the analysis of selected examples of the three categories.

⁶³ As Bengi-Öner underlines, the binary opposition between adequacy and acceptability is not an absolute one (2001, 100-101).

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APPENDIX 1

Tarık Dursun's column published in *Milliyet* (August 18, 1966, 2)

Gazeteci, yazar ve «Lord» Kinross; kitabının başına aldığı «teşekkürler» bölümüne, o kadar çok sayıda ve o kadar çok çeşitte insan adı sayıyor ki; okur, ister istemez çalışma gücüne daha başlangıçta güven duyuyor. O bölümde adları anılanların arasında bugün yaşayanlar da var, ölmüşler de; anıları bilinenler de var, bilinmeyenler de...

Lord Kinross, her yere girmiş, her yere gitmiş, herkesle görüşmüş. Titiz bir belgecinin izleyeceği bütün yolları tutmuş; Atatürk'ün biyografisini bilinenlerle hiç bilinmeyenler arasındaki tezgâhta sıkı sıkıya dokumaya çalışmış.

Ama niçin saklamalı, Kinross'un kitabı yine de öyle pek yeni ve pek bilinmeyen değildir.

“**B** AŞLANGIÇta Kinross, Atatürk'ü şöyle tanımlıyor: «Mustafa Kemal, sonraki adıyla Kenial Atatürk, yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısını olağanüstü kişiliğiyle etkilemiş büyük bir asker ve devlet adamıydı. Onu devrinin diktatörlerinden ayıran iki önemli nokta vardı...»

Kinross'a göre, Atatürk devrinin diktatörlerinden biriydi; yani diktatördü ama nasıl bir diktatör? «Dış politikası smurları genişletmek yerine daraltmak esasına; iç politikası ise kendi ölümünden sonra da avakta kalabilecek bir siyasal sistem kurmak düşüncesine dayanan» soyundan...

ATATÜRK konusunda Türklerin yan tutmaması, kişiliği ve serüvenleri üzerine bir batılı gibi eğilip bakması mümkün değildir. Çünkü Türkiye için de, Türkler için de Atatürk «büyüktür» ve «dokunulmaz»dır.

Yazar Lord Kinross kitabı «Atatürk - Bir Milleti Yeniden Doğuşunda bu türde bir kavı götürüyor. Bütün çabası; perçemlere «sadakat» ve belgelerin uygunluğunu gözetimdir.

O zaman Atatürk'ün kişiliği, belirgin çizgiyi sürdüren «normal» bir insanın kişiliğine rahatlıkla iniyor ve «olağanüstü» yerine «olağan» bir; çocuk, delikanlı, öğrenci, subay, politikaya özenli Atatürk, kitap boyunca kendini baştan kabulendirip sonuna kadar —yer yer roman kahramanlarına da benzeyerek— gidiyor.

SİYASETE atılma tutkusunu, Atatürk'te genç yaşların tutkusudur. Bütün gerçekleştirmesi yolunda her şeyi göze alıyor, çevresine devşirdiği genç arkadaşlarıyla gizli derneklesmeler yapıyor; direnme ve savaşın bazıları süyun yüzünde bazıları altında sürdürüyor. Askerlik hizmeti dolayısıyla batayı, doğuyu ve sonraları asıl anayurt edineceği Anadolu'yu yakından görün tanıyor.

Dönem, koca bir imparatorluktan yavaş çökmeğe doğru kızılsinin dönemidir. Genç subaylar, ordunun karışımını tek kurtarıcı diye görmektedirler. Binbaş: Enver, çok geçmeden sahnede görünür; Abdülhamid'e karşı Binbaş: Niyazi ile birlikte «dağa çıkar». Direnme başlar, ve sürdürülür. O günlerde Mustafa Kemal'in bu işlerde «önemli bir rolü yoktur.» Enver'e si-

nirlenmekte, gödişte «memleket» zararı dokunacağına inanmaktadır. Dedigi de uzun bir süre sonra çıkar. Jön Türkler Devrimi imparatorluğun çökmesini önleyeceği yerde, tersine hızlandırır.

ASKER Mustafa Kemal cepheden cepheye «sürülür.» Sürülür, çünkü siyaseti rakiplerince «tehlikeli» değildir. Ama giderek duruma «hakim» olacak ve Türkiye'nin paylaşılmasından hemen sonra «kurtarıcı» olarak ortaya çıkan her şeyin üstesinden gelecektir.

Kinross'un kitabı bütün bu olayları bir roman anlatımı içinde verir. İnsan Mustafa Kemal'in her çeşit davranışları büyültüç altına alınmadan gerçekçi bir açıyla yansıtılır. Birinci cilt, Londra Konferansı'na kadar gelmektedir.

Çevircilerin kitaptaki dil orta kırattır: ne asırı, ne geri. Fakat iki çevirci tam bir dil birliğine de varmış değildir: hürriyet'in yanı sıra özgürlük, sebep'in yanında neden, taarruz ve hücum'la saldırı, güvence emniyet, savaş'la muharebe, v.s. birbirinin ardı sıra rahatlıkla kullanılmaktadır.

APPENDIX 2

1) Arnold J. Tornbee's review published in Milliyet (November 9,1965, 5)

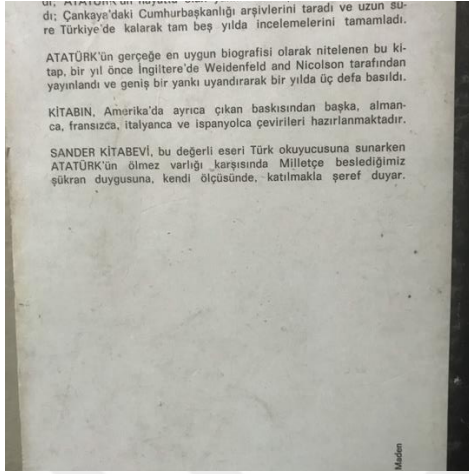


2) The News related to the biography and the work of Lord Kinross published in Milliyet (November 9,1965, 5)



APPENDIX 3

The back cover of the 1966 target text published by Sander Publishing House



APPENDIX 4

The summary part taken from the 1965 translation published in *Milliyet* (November 10, 1965)



APPENDIX 5

The parts of “headings and subheadings” in the 1965 translation published in *Milliyet* (November 10, 11 1965)



APPENDIX 6

Refik Erduran's column published in *Milliyet* (April 24, 1966, 2)

Müvekkile dilekçe

LORD Kinross'un «Atatürk» tefrikasını izliyor musunuz?

Sonuna, en üzücü bölümüne geldi: Atatürk'ün ölümünden önceki haftalar anlatılıyor.

O günlerin hikâyesini okurken insanın dikkatini en çok çeken noktalardan biri şu: diktatör sayılan Atatürk, devrin yabancı gözlemlerleri tarafından «diktatörün elinde oyuncak» olduğu söylenen Millet Meclisine hiç de o gözle bakmıyor.

Omrünün sonunun yaklaştığını kesinlikle bildiği günlerde bile, Meclisin açılışında konuşma görevine çok büyük önem veriyor. Dolma-bahçe'deki ölüm düşüncesinde komaya girip çıktığı, ikide birde karısından su aldırıldığı, ayağa kalkacak gücü olmadığı halde, hekimlere isyan ederek «Meclisin açılış nutkunu vermeğe Ankara'ya gideceğim» diye tutturuyor.

Birinci komadan çıktıktan sonra Bakanlardan raporlar alarak bu konuşma için hazırlanıyor; bir de taslak yazdırıyor. Büyük Millet Meclisinde konuşurken ayakta durur gibi görünüp arkasına yaslanmasına imkân veren bir özel kürsü kuruluyor.

Bunları okurken, Atatürk'ün o kadar değer verdiği Meclisin bugünkü durumunu düşünüp kederlenmek mümkün mü?

Bu durum yalnız üzücü değil, aynı zamanda tehlikeli. Dürüst basın aylardır Meclisin çalır hale getirilmesinin lüzumunu belirtiyor, bunun kimseyi küçük düşürmeden, kimseye kabul edilmez fedakârlıklar yüklemekten, mantık yoluyla gerçekleştirilmesinin yollarını gösteriyor.

En güzel yollardan biri bir Ordinaryüs Profesörümüz tarafından teklif edilip *Milliyet*'de desteklendi: bilim adamlarına bir çözüm hazırlatmak.

İktidar bu teklifi de akıl almaz bir rahatlık ve fütursuzlukla reddetti. Şimdi, kısa mütareke sona erer ermez, anlamsız bir rejim buhranına doğru tekrar yelken açacak. Bile bile, inatla, taammüden yapılacak bu...

Yok mu çıkmazdan kurtulmanın bir çaresi? Yok mu iktidarı akıl yoluna sokabilecek bir kimse?

Bize, var.

Bugün halkın yargıçlığı önünde yapılmakta olan büyük duruşmada bir taraf kendi savunmasını kendi yapıyor. Öteki taraf ise asıl dâvâci değil, vekil. Asıl dâvâci geride durmuş, fısıltılar ve kaş göz işaretleriyle vekile direktif vermeğe çalışıyor.

Amma işler onun hiç beklemediği bir yön-

DÜPEDÜZ

Refik Erduran

de gelişti. Hem beceriksiz, hem de «nhde ve-fasız» çıktı vekil. Çoğu zaman geridekinin işaretlerini görmeyen, fısıltılarını duymazdan geliyor; belki de dâvâyı kendi özel hesaplarına göre yürütmeğe çalışıyor. Üstelik acemilik yüzünden her gün yeni bir hicir çuvalını herbat etmekte. Yargıç önünde silahlı tokatlı kavga çıkarıp salondan dışarı atılması ihtimali var.

Bu durumda çekışmeyi kör düşüşü olmak-tan çıkarp yine düzen içinde yürütülen bir duruşma haline getirmek asıl dâvâcuya düşer. Kendini temsil edenlerin kulağını bükme-li, sözünü dinlemedikleri takdirde onları vekâ-leiten azlettğini açığa vuracağını belirtmelidir.

Kafalarının dikine gitmekte direnirlerse müna'zebetsiz avukatların gerçekten azledilme-leri de herkesin (hattâ kendilerinin) hayrına olur. O zaman tarafların anlaşmaları imkânı e belirir.

İstanbul'un bir sayfiyesinde hatıralarıyla baş-başa yaşamakta olan eski devlet adamı acaba bu konuda ne düşünmektedir? Tarihî sorumluluğunu ne oereceye kadar hissediyor acaba?

Lord Kinross'un anlatığına göre Atatürk ilk komadan çıkmca karşısında Başvekil Celâl Bayar'ı bulmuş. Ona sormuş «Bana ne oldu?» diye.

Bugün de dünyaya dönebilse herhalde aynı şeyi sorar.

Sağlık durumu nihayet o kadar kötülemiş ki otomobilden Meclis kürsüsüne kadar bile yürüyemeyeceğini anlayıp Ankara'ya gitmekten vazgeçmiş. Ondan sonrasını Lord Kinross şöyle anlatıyor:

«Söylevi Mecliste Bayar okuyacaktı. Ata-türk Başbakanını sabahlığıyla kabul ve söylevi başından sonuna kadar dinlemekte ısrar etti. Her zamanki gibi aklı başındaydı... Bayar'a bazı paragrafları tekrarlattırdı, yanlışları dü-zeltti, başını ve sonunu yeniden yazdırdı. So-nuna şu kelimeleri ekledi:

— Büyük Millet Meclisine giriştikleri her işte başarılar dilerim.

Bunlar herkesin önünde söylenen son söz-leri oldu.»

Herşeyi unutmuş görünenler, bâri Ata-türk'ün son resmi sözlerini hatırlasalar...

APPENDIX 7

The news related to the closure of Sander Publishing House published in *Cumhuriyet* (April, 13 2017, 18)



APPENDIX 10

The part taken from Doğan Hızlan's column published in *Hürriyet* (May 24, 2018)

Yurtdışında bile sansürlenlen kitapları Türkiye'de sansürsüz yayımlayan bir kitapçı ve yayıncıydı Necdet Sander...

Necdet Sander'i (1914-1983) hiçbir kitapçada bulamadığımız yabancı dildeki kitapları ithal eden aydın, bilgili bir kitapçı olarak tanıdım. Tünel'de Hıdıryal Palas'ın girişinde bir teşhir yeri açmıştı. Rus yazarları, sol edebiyatın kuramsal kitaplarını burada bulabilirdik. Progressive Publishers adlı yayınevinin pelür kâğıdı incelginde idi kitapları. Yazar Şükufe Nihal'in oğlu olan Necdet Sander, Fransızcadan çeviriler de yapardı. Saint-Exupéry'nin 'Küçük Prenses' kitabı ilk aklıma gelenlerden birisidir. Yayınevinin listesinde bulunan kitapların başlıca özelliği sansürsüz olmalarıydı. Kendi ülkelerinde bile basılamayan kitaplar, seçkin bir alıcı kitlesi oluşturmuştu.

APPENDIX 11

The news related to the trial process of Necdet Sander published in *Cumhuriyet* (February 21, 1973, 1-7)



APPENDIX 12

The news related to the acquittal of Necdet Sander published in *Cumhuriyet* (September 12, 1973,1-7)

30 yayınevi

(Baştarafı 1. sayfada)

Duruşma yargıcı Hâkim Kıdemli Yüzbaşı Bahri Yağcı, dün kü duruşmada beraat kararını şöyle tutanağa geçirtmiştir:

«İddianame gereğince isnat edilen 1402 sayılı kanunun 16. maddesini ihlal etmek suçunun gerek olayın oluş şekli, gerekse dosya münderecaatı ve gerekse Askeri Yargıtay 2. Dairesinin 14 Nisan 1973 gün ve 1973/144-143 esas karar sayılı ilâmı muvacehesinde İstanbul Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığının 28 Nisan 1971 gün ve 1971/5 bildirisinin muhteva bakımından yasak yayımların listesini kapsamaması aynı zamanda da yasaklanmış basılmış eserlerin teslim edileceği makam, yer ve süresi ile maliyet bedellerinin ödenme şekil ve şartlarının gösterilmemiş olması karşısında sanıkların beraatine, T.C.K.'nın 36 ve C.M.U.K.'nın 392 maddesi uyarınca yasaklanmamış kitapların iadesine, diğerlerinin müsaderesine karar verilmiştir.»

Beraat edenler şunlardır:

M. Kemal Sallı, A. İhsan Manavoğlu, Ahmet Bülent Haberra, Remzi Artuğ, Selâhattin Kuyucu, Erdoğan Çakın, Cahit İmer, Ramazan Yaşar, Mahmut Aydın Emeg, Muhittin Yılmaz, Garabet Akaneren, Necdet Sander, Sami Sarı, Mustafa Polat, Mustafa Kılıç, Hayk Minoyan, Çiğdem Özgüden, Sencer Öztunalı, Koç Ali Gazeteci, Adnan Marmara, Cahit Dumrul, Kemal Karatekin, Zeki Öztürk, İsmet Bodur, Doğan Hızlan, Süreyya Kıvılcım, Gürel Uğurlu, Kemal Ağaoğlu.

30 yayınevi ve kitabevi sahibi beraat etti

Istanbul 3 Numaralı Sıkıyönetim Mahkemesi, Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığının 5 numaralı bildirisiyle yasaklanmış kitapları yayımlamak ve satmaktan sanık olarak yargılanan 30 yayınevi ve kitabevi sahibi hakkında dün beraat kararı vermiştir.

(Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 3 de)

APPENDIX 13

The press-release of Sander Publishing House published in *Cumhuriyet* (March 18, 1978, 4)

**Sander
Kitabevi'nin
açıklaması**

Sander Kitabecisi, Maliye ekip-
lerinin denetimleri konusundak
haberle ilgili bir açıklama gön-
dermiştir.

Açıklama şöyledir:

Gazeteniz 11 mart 1978 tarih
li 19259 sayılı nüshasında birinci
sayfada (İstanbul'da denetim e-
kipleri 81 kapatma cezası uygu-
ladı) ana başlığı altında başla-
yıp, sayfa dokuz sütun 6'da sür-
dürülen haberde, Kitabevimizi
doğrudan doğruya ilgilendiren
aşağıdaki satırlar yer almıştır:

Fahiş fiyatla oto yedek parça-
sı satan müesseseler hakkında
da yasal işlemler yapan Beşiktaş
ekibi, Sander Kitabevi hakkın-
daki bir ihbarı da değerlendiri-
miştir.

Vitrin camına «Devalüasyon
nedeniyle mal mukabili ithal etti-
ğimiz kitap fiyatlarına % 30
zam yapmak zorundayız. Özür
dileriz» pankartını asan kitabe-
vi hakkında zabıt tutulmuştur.
Kitabevinin söz konusu yabancı
kitapları devalüasyon kararının
açıklanmasından önce mi yoksa
sonra mı ithal ettiğinin araştırıl-
ması için defterlere el konmuş-
tur.

Bu yazıda Kitabevimiz fahiş fi-
yatla mal satanlarla aynı cümle
içinde zikredilerek okuyanın zih-
ninde bizim de fahiş fiyatla mal
sattığımız düşüncesini körükle-
yen bir ifade kullanılmıştır.

Oysa Kitabevimiz pankartımız-
da belirtildiği gibi, geçen yıl için-
de ithal edilip bedeli Merkez Ban-
kasına esasen ödenmiş ve bü-
yük kısmı eski fiyatla zaten satıl-
mış olan mal bedelleri üzerin-
den şimdi istenen % 30 devalü-
asyon farkını müşteriye vansıta-
maktan ve bu konuda kendilerini
baştan uyarmaktan başka bir
şey yapmış değildir.

Nitekim bu konuda bilgi alma-
ya gelen Belediye İktisat Müdür-
lüğü ve Maliye Ekipleri bu dav-
ranışımızı yerinde görerek her-
hangi bir itirazda bulunmamış-
lardır. (Defterlere el koymak) gi-
bi bir eylem kesinlikle söz konu-
su olmamıştır.

Bu açıklamamızın gazetenizin
aynı sayfa ve sütunlarında ya-
yınlanmasına müsaadenizi saygı-
larımızla rica ederim.

APPENDIX 14

The conversation made with the personnel of Sander Publishing House published in *Cumhuriyet* (April 13, 2017, 18)

Sander tarihe karışıyor...

30 yıllık yayınevi, başlattığı indirimli satışlar bitince, kapısına kilit vuracak

Yayıncı Necdet Sander'in 1983'teki ölümünden sonra önemli kaybetmeye başladı ve 1985'te kapandı.

bir İstanbul kitabı bastır. 1964'te, okuduğu Galatasaray Lisesi'nin karşısında bir kitabevi açan Necdet Sander, burada ciddi ve sürekli bir yayın çalışmasına başladı. Yayınevi bu dönemde Lord Kinross'un en doğru, en gerçekçi biyografisini yazdığı Atatürk-Bir Milletin Yeniden Doğuşu isimli eserini Ayhan Tezel çevirisi ile basar. Sander Yayınları kitabevi içinde çalışan Allegra Mitranı, Tati Galmırdı ve Etra Elbeyli gibi kaliteli çalışanların gayretleri, çeviri kadrosu yöneticisi Nuran Yavuz'un isabetli seçkileri ile pek çok önemli kitap Türkiye'ye kazandırılmıştır. J. J. Servan Schreiber'in Amerika Meydan Okuyor, Felix Greene'nin Vietnam Vietnam, Dido Sotiri'nin Bizim Benden Selam Saygı Anadolu'ya, İsmail Kadare'nin Ölü Ordunun Generali gibi çeviri kitapları yayımlanmıştır. Türk yazarları arasında Kemal Tahir'in Esir Şehir kitapları, Mahmut Makal'ın Bizim Köy, Oktay Akbal'ın İstinye Suları ve Yüzü Korkusu, Can Yücel'in Sevgi Divanı, Rauf Mutluay'ın Pas Demiri Yiyor, Necati Cumali'nin Ceylan Ağacı, Nihat Sam Ökür'in Abdülhamit Dışerkin, Salâh Bursalı'nın Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu, Mithat Cemal Kuntay'ın Uç İstanbul, Melih Cevdet Anday'ın Teknenin Ölümü gibi önemli yapıtları bastırır.

Tati Galmırdı'nın ifadesine göre Necdet Sander'in ticari olarak bastırdığı tek kitap Love Story (Aşk Hikâyesi). Filminin gösterime girdiği ve "çok satanlar" arasında yer aldığı için Sander Yayınları tarafından yayınlanan bu kitabın yanında bir "Love Story" mendil satışları sunulmuş.

Rauf Mutluay, Hilmi Yavuz, Necati Cumali, Melih Cevdet Anday, Oktay Akbal, Rıza Sanca, Fevzi Tuna, Bülent Özer,

Dr. Turhan Bozkurt, Azra Erhat, Füzulan, Atıf Yılmaz, Murat Sanca, Şakir Eczacıbaşı, Kazım Arsan, Atıf Yılmaz, İsmail Cem, Vedat Türkel gibi aydın ve yazarların bulunduğu Sander Kitabevi, Necdet Sander'in 1983'teki ölümünden sonra yavaş yavaş önemini kaybetmeye başlamış, şirketin yaşadığı sıkıntılar nedeniyle Fikret Sander'in sağlığının bozulup ömesiyle son nokta konmuştur.

VEFAT

M. NECDET SANDER

22.7.1985 tarihinde İstanbul'da vefat eden M. Necdet Sander'in vefatı üzerine İstanbul'da düzenlenen törenle 23.7.1985 tarihinde İstanbul'da toprağa verildi.

GÜÇLÜ YAZARLAR...

Sander Kitabevi'nin başardığı ilklerden biri de Latin Amerika edebiyatını en güçlü yazarlarından Gabriel García Márquez'in ünlü yapıtı Yüzyıllık Yalnızlık'ı Seçkin Ciliçoğlu (Selvi) çevirisiyle yayımlaması. Türk okuru bu sayede ilk kez Latin Amerika edebiyatı ile tanışma fırsatı yakaladı.

Azra Erhat ve A. Kadir'in şiirsel olarak çevirdiği İlyada ve Odysseia'nın ikinci baskıları da Sander'den çıkar.

Sander Yayınları'nın başardığı bir başka ilk de Antoine de Saint-Exupéry'nin Küçük Prenses isimli eserini, yazının orijinal suluboya resimleriyle renkli ve tipkbasım olarak Türkiye'ye kazandırması. Necdet Sander tarafından çevrilen bu eser Türkçe'de kaliteli baskısıyla halen önemini koruyor. 1987 sonunda vitrinine "Ölüm nedeniyle yüzde 30 indirimli Yeri-Yaban-Kitap ve Kırtasiye" afişi asılan Sander Kitabevi, bu malzemelerin tükenmesiyle 1988'de faaliyetine son verir. Nur Nivren'in (Güneş Gazetesi, 28.12.1987), Allegra Mitranı'nın (Şalom Gazetesi, 25 Ekim 1995), müdavimlerinden Selçuk Altun'un (Kitap-lik, 1999) ve "Necdet Sander Konuşuyor" (Cumhuriyet, 30 Mart 1972) yazılan Sander Kitabevi'nin tarihine ışık tutan kaynaklar.

Sander tarihe karışıyor...

30 yıllık yayınevi, başlattığı indirimli satışlar bitince, kapısına kilit vuracak

Yayıncı Necdet Sander'in 1983'teki ölümünden sonra önemli kaybetmeye başladı ve 1985'te kapandı.

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VEFAT

M. NECDET SANDER

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GÜÇLÜ YAZARLAR...

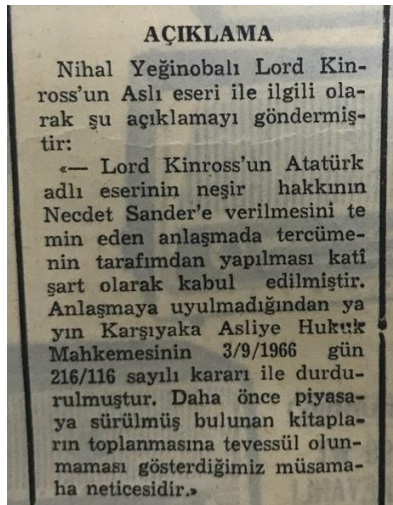
Sander Kitabevi'nin başardığı ilklerden biri de Latin Amerika edebiyatını en güçlü yazarlarından Gabriel García Márquez'in ünlü yapıtı Yüzyıllık Yalnızlık'ı Seçkin Ciliçoğlu (Selvi) çevirisiyle yayımlaması. Türk okuru bu sayede ilk kez Latin Amerika edebiyatı ile tanışma fırsatı yakaladı.

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APPENDIX 15

The press-release of Nihal Yeğınobalı published by *Cumhuriyet* (December 7, 1966, 5)



APPENDIX 16

- 1) The “contents” of the 1966 target text published in two volumes by Sander Publishing House

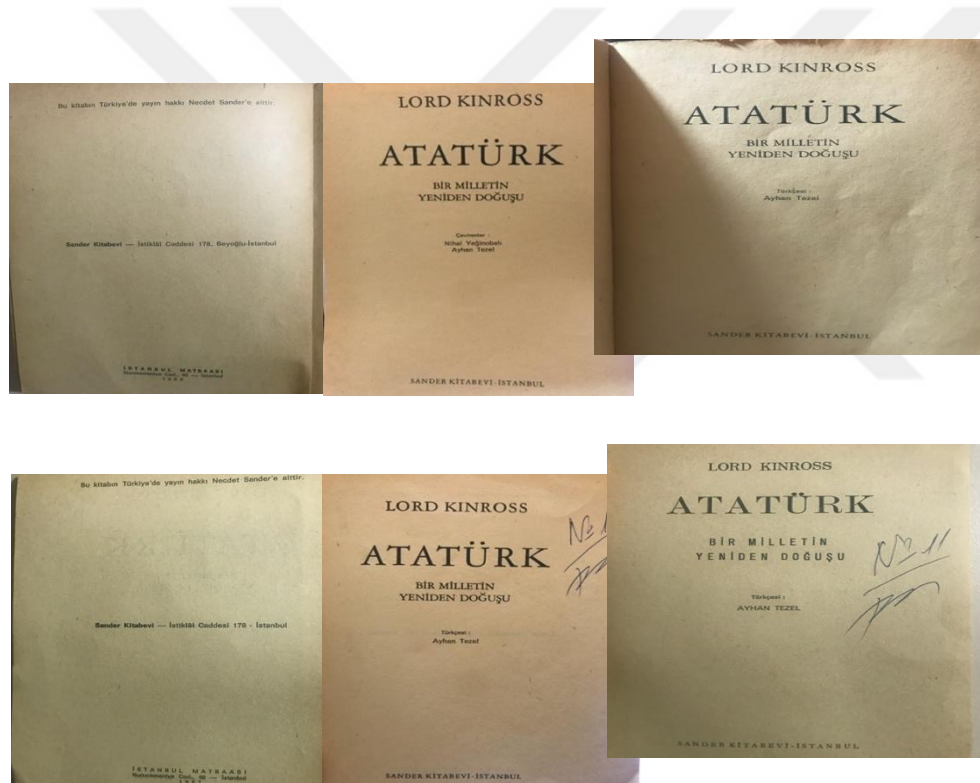
İÇİNDEKİLER		İÇİNDEKİLER		İÇİNDEKİLER	
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2 Bir Sakarya Epik	30	20 Savaşın Başlangıcı	259	41 Gökaklı Baharı	505
3 Kiri Harekâtı	45	21 Erzurum Kongresi	275	42 Sultan'ın Konağı	521
4 İki Türk'ün Düşüğü	50	22 Sivas Kongresi	289	43 Lüzak Çiraklığı	541
5 Kiri Harekâtı	55	23 Damat Ferit'in İttifakı	299	44 Lüzak Antlaşması'nın İmzası	556
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7 Bir Türk'ün Savaş	85	25 Müttefikler Meclisi Başarı	315	ÜÇÜNCÜ KISIM	
8 Sakarya Harekâtı	90	26 Okla Arasında Anadolu'ya Geçiş	326	TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİNİN DOĞUŞ VE	
9 Sakarya Günü	104	27 Ankara'da Meclis Toplanıyor	334	YÜKSELİŞİ	
		28 İki Savaş	346	45 Cumhuriyet'in Harekâtı	579
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		30 Türk-Rus Antlaşması	369	47 Türk'ün Farkı	591
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		32 Birinci İttifak Savaş	388	49 Müttefiklerin Çöküşü	614
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				51 Kalkınma Olayı	632
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				53 İttifak'ın Düşüğü	657
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55 Demokrasi Denemeleri	672				
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- 2) The “contents” of the 1964 source text published in two volumes by Phoenix

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Illustrations		
Maps		
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Chapter 2. The Education of an Officer	Chapter 21. The Erzurum Congress	Chapter 46. Abolition of the Caliphate
Chapter 3. Service in the Field	Chapter 22. The Sivas Congress	Chapter 47. The Progressive Party
Chapter 4. The Young Turk Revolution	Chapter 23. Fall of the Sultan's Government	Chapter 48. The Kurdish Revolt
Chapter 5. The Committee Revolution	Chapter 24. Move to Ankara	Chapter 49. The Mosul Settlement
Chapter 6. The Ministerial Staff Officer	Chapter 25. The Allies' Raid on Gallipoli	Chapter 50. Revolution in Baghdad
Chapter 7. The Tripolitanian War	Chapter 26. The Treaty of Amiens	Chapter 51. Assassination of Mustafa
Chapter 8. The Balkan Wars	Chapter 27. Parliament in Ankara	Chapter 52. Trials for Treason
Chapter 9. A Front in Sofia	Chapter 28. The Civil War	Chapter 53. Reform in Istanbul
Chapter 10. The First World War	Chapter 29. The Greek Invasion	Chapter 54. Reform of the Alphabet
Chapter 11. The Gallipoli Landings	Chapter 30. The Taurus-Basran Treaty	Chapter 55. Experiment in Democracy
Chapter 12. A Turkish Victory	Chapter 31. End of the Irregulars	Chapter 56. Turkey's Place in the World
Chapter 13. The Eastern Front	Chapter 32. The First Battle of İnönü	Chapter 57. A New Language and History
Chapter 14. A Visit to Germany	Chapter 33. The London Conference	Chapter 58. Father of the Turks
Chapter 15. The Turkish Defeat	Chapter 34. Fall of Eskişehir	Chapter 59. A Serious Illness
Chapter 16. The Armistice	Chapter 35. The Battle of the Sakarya	Chapter 60. Death of Atatürk
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APPENDIX 17

The inner cover pages of the 1966 and 1967 target texts published in two volumes by Sander Publishing House



ÖZGEÇMİŞ			
Adı, Soyadı	Sena		SİNARER
Doğum Yeri ve Yılı			
Bildiği Yabancı Diller	İngilizce		Almanca
ve Düzeyi	(ileri)		(başlangıç)
Eğitim Durumu	Başlama - Bitirme Yılı		Kurum Adı
Lise	2000	2004	Manisa Yabancı Dil Ağırlıklı Lise
Lisans	2007	2011	İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi
Yüksek Lisans	2017	2021	İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi
Doktora	-	-	-
Çalıştığı Kurum/lar	Başlama - Ayrılma Yılı		Çalışılan Kurumun Adı
1.	2017	-	İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi
2.	2013	2017	Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi
Üye Olduğu Bilimsel ve Mesleki Kuruluşlar	-		
Katıldığı Proje ve Toplantılar	-		
Yayınlar:	-		
Diğer:	-		
İletişim (e-posta):			
		Tarih İmza Adı Soyadı	15/06/2021 Sena SİNARER

