

## AN ISLAMIC-CRITICAL VIEW ON POLITICAL SYSTEM OF TURKEY BETWEEN 1945-1960: JOURNAL OF SERDENGEÇTİ

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**Abstract:** The press undertook the mission of ‘working for national goods, and giving public the sense of revolution consciousness along with state ideology’ after Turkish Republic was founded. This obligation was observed and experienced strongly during İsmet İnönü period, who was also known as ‘National Chief’. One of the prohibitions imposed upon the press during İsmet İnönü, the second President of Turkish Republic, was ‘religious content’. Hence, Department of the Press responsible for press in that period sent instructions to papers and journals saying “every kind of historical, symbolic and commentary article, clauses and serials on religious issues are kindly asked to be finalized not later than three days.” This warning was recorded within Turkish Press History as an ‘official censor before publishing’. In such a political environment, Journal of Serdengeçti, which was started to be published by Osman Zeki Yüksel, was the first publication expressing Islamism in the history of Republic. Adopting ‘It is an evil without tongue who is silent in the face of injustice’ as a motto, Osman Zeki Yüksel wrote his name on Turkish Press History, publishing his thought in his journal against all the pressure of that period when, even saying Allah was forbidden. Not only every edition of Serdengeçti, published only 33 editions in 15 years, was censored before publishing, but it was also restrained from publishing, collected after publication, and Osman Yüksel was prisoned for years, exiled, and tortured after when he was prosecuted 92 times. The journal aimed to give an end pressures on religion by the government along with restrictions on religious life. Articles often focused on benefits of individual and social following of religious rules. In this study, Serdengeçti Magazine which published between the years of 1945-1960 was analyzed and extracts were obtained.

**Key Words:** Osman Zeki Yüksel, Serdengeçti Magazine, National Chief, Democratic Party, Politics

### INTRODUCTION

The most important period of Turkish press history after the Republic contains the developments occurred between 1945-1960. This period contains Republican Public Party as the single-party government, transition to multi-party system, Democratic Party government, and coup d’etat on 27th May. After the foundation of Republic the press undertook the mission of working for ‘national goods’ as well as giving public the sense

of revolution consciousness and state ideology (Akandere, 1998: 22). It is not wrong to say that press-government relationships were over-controlled and restricted at single-party period. Moreover, in this period newspapers not only were under pressure not to write what the government told them ‘not to write’, but also they did ‘write’ what the government told them to write (Koçak, 1996: 135). The owner of newspaper Vatan, Ahmet Emin Yalman stated about the period that “We

were often punished with not to have holidays from three up to ten days since we published articles that government did not like” (Yalman, 1997: 1122).

Being elected as a parliamentarian was used to reward the journalists that were close to the government according to their way of expressing governmental ideology. Some of the journalists representing that period’s press became parliamentarian and minister. There were 75 journalists at the Turkish Parliament between 1920-1957 (Gürkan: 1998, 79). In such an environment of press-government relationships, especially religious content were strictly censored on newspapers, moreover they were totally eliminated.

There was almost impossible to see any kind of news and articles by religious institutions and religious people. In 1945, however, there were some little religion-related news along with other issues and topics. Inspections showed clearly that the government did not like such news and articles. Hence, Department of Press prepared an instruction targetting the press after such news and articles published. The instruction warned the press saying “every kind of historical, symbolic and commentary article, clauses and serials on religious issues are kindly asked to be finalized not later than three days” mentioning articles, comments, hints, and wishes seen on newspapers (Akandere: 1998, 240). There can be seen plenty court orders because of reactionary propaganda at single-party period. The same attention was also paid at Democratic Party period (Yılmaz and Doğaner, 2012: 37).

## **The Research’s Purpose And Importance**

With the emergence of the press, it’s freedom is always on agenda because the press, including to inform the public,, offers to individuals who will take information and news as directly and nderictly about political issues, challenges and problems. From the emergence of the press has been wanted to be kept under control by the political authority at all times. In addition to that, from time to time the media organizations have trid to take its influence the political power. This atmosphere that has had relationship with the press and the power, has provided the press freedom and the problem of the censorship. For years, the press freedom and the censorship has been the most debated issues inthe media world. In today’s media organizations’ free movement depends to be passed through specific relations with the political power. The journal of Serdengeçti, which is discussed the scope of this works is an example out of all these poses. This journal represents the establishment of a free press as its own character in the Turkish media with public proadcasting policy in their relations with the Turkish media. As the basic assumption of this study, criticism of religious content intended to the power has been demonstrated as an indicator of this situation.

## **Method**

In this study, Journal of Serdengeçti’s religious criticism to political power and its implicatons have been examined. In this context, the first Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti, publishing Journal of Serdengeçti, is handled as his life, ideas and struggle. Then Serdengeçti Journal, the subject of this study, was discussed as technically and contently.

Lastly, the religious content articles, forming the basis of the problematic discourse of this study, was analyzed and reviewed with rhetoric method.

### Scope And Limitations

Because the scope of this study is the Journal of Serdengeçti, this magazine's the number 33, published between the years of 1946-1962, was also examined. The study is limited with religious content writing to the political power in verifying journals.

## 1. OSMAN YÜKSEL SERDENGEÇTİ'S LIFE AND PERSONALITY

He was born in 26 July 1917, and died in 10 November 1982 from Parkinson's disease. His real name was Osman Zeki, and surname Yüksel. He was known with famous Serdengeçti Magazine he published, and his articles signed with Serdengeçti. Family members of Osman Yüksel were highly educated, inheriting his old and deep past life. One of those members was one upon a time's Religious Chief Ahmet Hamdi Akseki, and other was and old mufti, Sir Hacı Salih. Osman Yüksel's family was one of rooted families, raised scholars of Akseki (Yılmaz: 2001,19).

His birth occurred almost at the end of the first World War, Osman Yüksel added his school classes to Islamic education at home, trying to enhance his knowledge through reading both native and foreign writers (Üzmez, 2001: 76). He himself tells that his childhood passed with the tension of National Struggle (Serdengeçti, 2000: 6-7). He enrolled for Philosophy Department at Ankara Faculty of Language History and Geography in 1940. His ungraduation life ended up with disappointment, since it was not the education system

and teachers he dreamt of before. Witnessing that people were humiliated for their beliefs, their historical and basics undermined, and students pushed toward a materialist environment, pushed away from their own values, Osman Yüksel told he overcame this situation by tying up with his civilisational values.

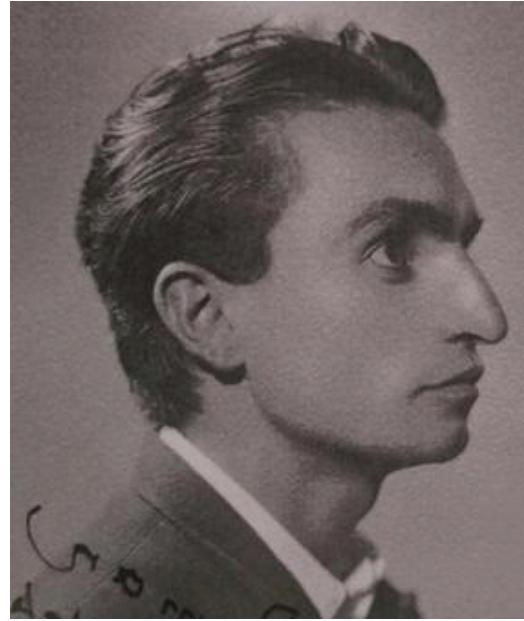


Image 1: Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti

Osman Yüksel decided to publish "Serdengeçti" Magazine in Ankara, to convey public the injustice and to 'stop' them. The Magazine, as told by Osman Yüksel, "was the magazine of people running to the God, Nation, and Motherland". After publishing the magazine, his name turned into Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti, which was also appreciated by public. In practice, this surname was pretty appropriate for Osman Yüksel, approaching events with the motto "It is an evil who is silent against injustice". Every volume of Serdengeçti Magazine was censored before publishing, blocked from publishing, collected



the middle of arena, to fight against every kind of evil. They were inspired by the God, national love, and motherland love (Serdengeçti, 1947a: 2).

Serdengeçti Magazine arranged its relationship with the Government according to national values in 33 volumes. The magazine expressed nation's opinions against the Government in one-party period, represented by CHP, at the risk of getting closed, being filed, and being prisoned. In the period of Democratic Party, improvements seen on the magazine were supported in the context of implementation of religious rules in both individual and social life, as well as freedom of expression, although negative actions on religious issues were criticised severely. In the article entitled "What we expect from this Assembly" written for deputies, it was mentioned that deputies are representatives of the nation saying "So you owe us your existence here. You should account to us, not to ones who clap for a 27 years-old dark dictatorship not related to Muslim-Turkish people even a bit" (Serdengeçti, 1951: 13).

### 3. ISLAMIC CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENTS IN SERDENGECİ MAGAZINE

Serdengeçti Magazine was broadcasted mainly for criticizing the one-party rule's oppression on religious sentiment. Naturally, in every issue government's restrictions on religious practices were criticized and harmful effects of not obeying religious ethic were expressed. In an article written by Salim Zeki, the expressions about Kur'an-I Kerim reflects the obvious opposition to the government's policy: "The most righteous speech is reduced to silence; the most valuable book is thrown away. This is the cause of our disaster." (Serdengeçti, 1947b: 6) In the journal there are

also Sokrates's and Platon's and other Western philosophes' thoughts about the God and Truth (Serdengeçti, 1949b: 7). An article, written by a priest named Laura VecchioVeglieri, was presented with the title: "A Foreigner's View of Islam". In the article, Islam was discussed in a manner that is radically different from the supporters of laicism in Turkey (Serdengeçti, 1947b: 5). Also there were articles about intellectuals that were converted to Islam. In these articles their stories were issued in a relation with the moral collapse of the West. The need for new *mescits* and *camis* is another issue that is discussed in the journal. It was stated that people are praying in the streets. Government was criticized not doing anything about this. And rich Muslims were encouraged to build *mescits* and *camis*. Sufism was another regular issue in the journal. Mevlana's *Rubais* and *Mesnevi* was the main source of the articles about Sufism.

By the 14<sup>th</sup> issue, articles about Bediüzzaman Said Nursi were seen. These articles included information about the life and trial and the defense of him. This content was forbidden by the government and caused banning of the journal. The newly opened *Imam Hatip* schools appeared in the journal largely. The articles gave general information about them and discussed the problems. Journal expressed the need for increasing the number of schools. Government was called for duty instead of leaving this responsibility to the people. In the journal there were harsh criticisms towards the *Diyanet* members and the clerks working on religious issues. "The general scene of the religious institutions and their personnel in our country: the head of the *Diyanet* directorate trembles in front of the government. The *imams*

who get 100 *lira*—price of a basket of eggs- for religious service with their torn shoes and dresses, pray for the government of the republic (Serdengeçti, 1957b: 15). However, the *imams* with their beards, moustaches and outfit are still a source of amusement for cartoonists and journalists.”

On 13<sup>th</sup> April 1950, Serdengeçti journal which was published by Osman Yüksel had a supplement called “How They Ruined a Generation?” It said, “A person or a group ruin a generation and destroy a nation. Their punishment is to govern. Mothers and fathers, read this book carefully. Read, how they spoil your children, how they ruined that you built, how they turned your children from the right way and made them pray for false gods. Read, why your children don’t obey you, who caused this dissension. You will find all answers in this book. Mothers and fathers they ruined future of your children. Dear youth, you didn’t die, you were killed. Youngsters are in the grip of the lust. Attention to the whore at the left, she is adding fuel to the flames. Here is the scene of our poor generation.” Also in the journal it was claimed that using hat is a non-Muslim tradition and existence of God is denied at schools. Because of these expressions the journal is banned (B.C.A, 030.18.01. 122.36.4. Add: 52-162).

The religious understanding of government is usually criticized in the journal. It is stated that government only remembers this country is a Muslim country when it is Eid al-Adha (*KurbanBayramı*) or Eidul-Fitr (*RamazanBayramı*): “Government see Islam is only collecting sheep skin and *fitre*. The nonbelievers say everything changes, so does god. For them gods are also born, live and die. They hold the laicism strongly

although it was only a polite way of expressing anti-religious thoughts. They see laicism as a universal rule and use it as a shield. Representatives should represent the people. They must do what the people want. Hey, you unbelievers believe the god. Hamdullah Suphi kind of people were once *seminare*’s as tombstones. They made vehement speeches in *Türk Ocakları*. But they admit their fault. They feel the anxiety of the people about this issue. They are late and they wasted their lives. You are young and lively now. This nation has expectations from you.” (Serdengeçti, 1948: 4-5).

In his article “Throne of Unbelievers” signed as Serdengeçti, he stresses that the single party mentality running on for years, is against religious and national values. In the article it’s written that, “In the parliament, two mads gave the call to prayer. Time to be up against the religion. Hardware stores of CHP at the hands of Boss Yalçın, pins and door hinges are shouting all together. ‘There is reactionary! A new Menemen incident.’ With this blind excuse, all honourable men in the country, just like it happened at Menemen incident, to be collected and sent to gallows.” Addressing to parliament members of the party in power clamouring about reactionary, “Let them look away to the first parliament. Let them remember the days that the ceiling of the parliament was resounded by verses from Koran and hadithes. It’s asked, “Let them think once about the Mawlid read under Hacı Bayram-ı Veli’s green flag at the Hacı Bayram Mosque and dropping tears with Mustafa Kemal! Was it the religion and faith ardour which saved this country and this nation or the six arrows of CHP?” (Serdengeçti, 1949a: 3-4).

At the magazine's humour page "Absurd Realities", in the article with the title "The Story of Six Arrows" written for six arrows, the symbol of CHP, it was written as below (Serdengeçti, 1949b:14):

What did they do to beautiful principles!...

- **Nationalism:** The speech told at the ceremonies! Swearing and cursing to our past. Shouting "We did", "We created", "We are clinging around it"... The chorus which didn't end for 25 years!

- **Statism:** A strange kind of administration scaring by making even the salt into a monopoly.

- **Laicism:** Open and formal hostility against religion and holy things. Excommunication of the soul who made the National War.

- **Republicanism:** Replacement of palace with residence... Placing "chiefzade" instead of "shahzade".

- **Revolutionism:** Closing the Green Shrine, opening the blue counter. Changing the the words like chance, fortune and surprise with the new ones. Imprisoning Fatih at his own city. In contrast, building new mighty Monuments-Tombs. Replacement of al-Fatiha with a five minutes of silence.

- **Populism:** The name of the horrific cliff between the people and the party.

- **Differences:**

People give, he takes. / People believe, he doesn't. / People are in the mosque, he is outside (At the funeral ceremonies) / People keep silent, he tells. / People obey, he orders. / If one of the people commits a crime, goes to jail. / He is the judge

everywhere, not the convict. / People look, he eats. / Prayer at the people, hypocrisy at him. / People is improper, he is proper.

Here, it's declared that CHP has no concern about his own principles and people because of these nine reasons.

In the article written with the title "Hereafter Serdengeçti", the attitude which will be taken hereafter about the magazine's relations with politics was revealed: "You know, Serdengeçti started a merciless struggle alone with the peerless and matchless support firstly from God and then from our readers. He started a holy jihad against bad wills and evil forces. He exposed hidden sides of everything, disgraced the blackguards. He placed dynamits under the bases of unbelievers' throne. We leaked out, with all its horror, the bloodless murders which were committed and the traumas in the young breasts caused by immorals and Godlesses in all education institutions from primary school to university. We took the 25 years revenge of Muslim Turkish nation whose holy things were treaded under feet.

By stimulating the people's conscience which is hesitant and lets the things go, we refreshed its faith and defended against evils. The movement coming from the people overthrew the throne of unbelievers in the end. National will was revealed. We didn't serve any parties or human beings. We didn't follow any interest. We only discharged the order of God. Today, we are the travellers of the same path. We are not the man of any party or human being. We are trying to be the man of the nation and the holy cause.

Today's rulership is not the old one anymore. It came to power by people's vote. It's legitimate. Our attitude for a legitimate will and a illegitimate rulership will differ naturally. But this doesn't mean that we will give approval and applaud all actions of the government. On the contrary, if a party which comes to power with people's will carries on an action against people's will and interest, this means, to put it mildly, betrayal of nation. If we see any action like this from the new government, we will stand against DP, as we stood against CHP before. We will serve as a strong bridge between the government and the one who is governed, between the state and the nation. But they who are not honest, can not pass from our bridge. The biggest enemy of the country is untruthful mentality. Adulation, hypocrisy, dishonesty, robbery, prostitution, imitating, statelessness, disloyalty, Bolshevism... We started a merciless struggle against those. We will continue our struggle (Serdengeçti, 1950: 15).

In the article with the title "The Critics of Article 163" written by Selçuk Koroğlu, first critique against DP was featured. The critique was about Article 163, which was brought to parliament during CHP period, now more oppressive paragraphs were added: "Some atheists of DP which came to power promising freedom of religion and conscience, proposed this article which is against laicism, Islam, human being, conscience and everything with more oppressive conditions. Fortunately, this action didn't slip the attention of some members of parliament like Konya MP Fahri Ağaoğlu. This caused many denials, whereon Menderes had to go with the file. We hope this article which impedes consciences, faiths and holy feelings doesn't ever come back and be

eliminated. Muslim Turkish nation who brought Democratic Party into power with his own will, wants this (Serdengeçti, 1952: 6).

In the article with the title "How the Atheists of People's Party Wanted to Devastate Our Religion" written by Eşref Edip, the bans on religion during CHP era and their practice have been told. This article which was written by referring to expression by Kasım Gülek, who is called as one of the leaders of Populists, telling about DP: "They called us atheists, but did their foreheads ever touched the ground prostrating?" In the article, it's claimed that People's party made propoganda to gain their power and influence again.

In the poem with the title "CHP, You Don't Become" written by Durdu Yoksul (Serdengeçti, 1952: 14);

"Don't fumble CHP / You cannot be companion to Turkish nation / You were hated by Islam for thirty years / Even the time passes, you cannot be desirable."

In the article with the title "The City without the place for worship meets up with it" signed by Serdengeçti, it's told that DP General Secretary and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes will build a mosque in Ankara Yenişehir, "In the end, CHP government collapsed with the 1950 elections. Government of new, fresh and live powers came to administration. I must confess that the new government is the government of massive movements, roads, bridges, dams, villages and peasants. In a country where the 80% of the population is peasant, directing all efforts to villages and peasants is something to be happy. DP government who visited the villages with

jeeps to listen to complaints of our peasants left us alone in the cities on subjects like religious publication, freedom of press, insuring judges and election law. We came to a situation which we cannot do anything. Unfortunately, we will remember those two years between 1950-1952 yearning. Actually DP treated much more tolerant comparing to CHP about the issues on freedom of religion and conscience (Serdengeçti, 1957a: 3).

### CONCLUSION

Perception of religion during single-part ruling was different from Muslim-Turkish people's thoughts. One of the most distinguished indicators of this situation was the censor and restriction on religious content. Hence in single party period, as a result of these censor and restrictions, publications about Islam religion was very few. In such a restricted environment, Serdengeçti Magazine, starting its publication life with the mottoes "The magazine of people that run to the God, the nation and the motherland" and "worships the God- favors the nation", never compromised from its publication policy despite all the pressure. Beyond this, the magazine criticised the ruler party's pressure on religion.

This was why the magazine was closed, articles were censored, and the owner Osman Yüksel was filed many times ending up with prison. Serdengeçti Magazine maintained its single-party-ruling-period-publication policy during multi-party transition and Democratic Party. The magazine assessed the approach of ruler parties toward religion along with their implications in this scope, and never stepped back from criticizing them with the viewpoint of "the God" and "the nation". Serdengeçti Magazine, with such

qualities, have a special place in both Turkish political history and press history.

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## 1945-1960 TÜRKİYESİ'NDE POLİTİK SİSTEME İSLAMİ ELEŞTİREL BAKIŞ: SERDENGEÇTİ DERGİSİ

**Özet:** Basın ve iktidar aynı demokratik toplumsal sistemin iki önemli aktörü olarak sürekli karşılıklı bir ilişki içerisindedir. Basının, siyasi, içtimai ve ahlaki sorumluluğunun olduğu konusunda genel kanaat söz konusudur. Basın, başta sosyal, siyasal ve ekonomik konular ana ekseninde olmak üzere toplumların gündelik yaşamını yansıtmanın yanında halkın sorunlarını farklı bağlamlarda gündeme taşıyan ideolojik bir araçtır. Halkın şikâyetlerini dile getiren, yolsuzlukları açıklayan basın eleştirel duruşundan dolayı iktidarların karşısında görülür. Bu yüzden tarih boyunca siyasi otoriteler basını kontrol altında tutmak istemişler ve bunu da önemli ölçüde başarmışlardır. Siyasi iktidarlar kontrol altında tutamadıkları basın kuruluşlarına ise doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak sansür uygulamaktadırlar. Basına verilen desteğin kesilmesiyle başlayan sansür süreci yayın organının kapatılmasına, sahibi ve yazarlarının tutuklanmasına ve hatta öldürülmelerine kadar gitmektedir. Bunun tam tersi durumlar da söz konusu olmaktadır. Basının siyasal iktidarları etkisi altına aldığı, onları kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda yönlendirdiği örnekler de mevcuttur. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun ardından da basın-iktidar ilişkileri bu yönde evrilmiştir. Dönemin siyasal iktidarı tarafından basına, 'ulusal çıkarlar'a hizmet etmek, devrimlerin bilincini ve resmi ideolojiyi halka benimsetmek gibi görevler yüklenmiştir. Bu durum basının, iktidara dönük eleştirel yayın yapmaktan öte, istenilen şekilde yayın yapmakla görevlendirildiğinin göstergesidir. Çok partili hayata geçiş ve ardından Demokrat Parti döneminde önemli kazanımlar elde eden basın kuruluşları, ilerleyen yıllarla birlikte iktidarı kontrol etmenin bir aracı olarak kullanılmıştır. Her iki durumda da basının demokratik bir sınavdan geçemediğini söylemek mümkündür. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ikinci Cumhurbaşkanı olan Milli Şef İsmet İnönü'nün tek parti döneminde basına getirilen yasaklar arasında 'dini içerik'li yayınlar yer almıştır. Nitekim dönemin basın yayından sorumlu resmi kurumu olan Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü tarafından gazete ve dergilere gönderilen talimatta, "bundan sonra dinler mevzuu üzerine gerek tarihi, gerek temsili ve gerek mütalaa kabilinden olan her türlü makale, bend, fıkra ve tefrikaların en çok üç gün zarfında nihayetlendirilmesi ehemmiyetle rica olunur" uyarısında bulunulmuştur. Gazete ve dergilere yapılan bu uyarı 'yayın öncesi resmi sansür' olarak Türk basın tarihine geçmiştir. Böyle bir siyasi ortamda Osman Zeki Yüksel tarafından yayımlanmaya başlayan Serdengeçti Dergisi, Cumhuriyet tarihinde ilk defa İslami yayın çizgisine sahip basın kuruluşu olma özelliğini taşımaktadır. "Haksızlık karşısında susan dilsiz şeytandır" anlayışını kendisi için prensip olarak gören Osman Zeki Yüksel, 'Allah' demenin yasak olduğu Millî Şef döneminde ortaya koyduğu düşüncesi ve bütün baskılara rağmen bu düşüncesini kendisiyle özdeşleşen Serdengeçti dergisinde yayımlayarak Türk basın tarihinde yerini almıştır. 15 yılda sadece 33 sayı çıkabilen Serdengeçti dergisinin her sayısı 'yayın öncesi sansür'e uğramış, yayımlanması engellenmiş, çıktıktan sonra toplatılmış ve Osman Yüksel hakkında 92 kez dava açılıp, 8 defa mahkûm edilerek yıllarca hapis hanelerde kalmış, sürgüne gönderilmiş ve işkenceye maruz kalmıştır. Serdengeçti dergisinin ilk sayısından itibaren logosunun altında yer alan "Allah'a, millete, vatana koşanların dergisi" sloganı da çizgisini net bir şekilde ortaya koymuştur. Derginin çıkış amaçlarının başında iktidar tarafından dine yönelik baskılara son verilmesi, dini hayata ilişkin kısıtlamaların kaldırılması yer almıştır. Ayrıca bireysel ve toplumsal hayatta dini kurallara uyulmasının getireceği faydalar da sık sık yazılara konu edilmiştir. Ayrıca çok partili hayata geçiş ve Demokrat Parti döneminde de ortaya koyduğu bu siyasi anlayışı devam ettiren Serdengeçti Dergisi, Türkiye'de İslami düşünce ve fikirlerin ortaya koyulması bakımından ilk yayın organlarından birisi olmuştur. İslami çizgisinin yanında Serdengeçti dergisinde resmi ve özel olmak üzere hiçbir şekilde herhangi bir ilana ya da reklama yer verilmemiş, bütün geliri satışından elde edilmiştir. Hem basının özgürlüğü, hem de basının asli görevi olan kamu çıkarlarını gütmesi bakımından Türkiye'de basına yönelik baskıların en yoğun olduğu tek parti döneminde yayın hayatına başlayan Serdengeçti Dergisi'nin iktidarlara dönük ortaya koyduğu yayın politikası, özgür bir basın duruşu olarak gösterilebilir ve incelenmeye değer özellikler taşımaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında Osman Yüksel'in mücadelesi ekseninde hayatı ve Serdengeçti dergisinin siyasal iktidarlara dönük dini temelde ortaya koyduğu yayın döneminin toplumsal ve siyasi hayatı göz önüne alınarak örneklerle incelenmiştir. 1947-1962 yılları arasında üç siyasal iktidar (CHP, DP ve CHP-AP Koalisyonu) döneminde yayımlanan Serdengeçti Dergisi'nin

33 sayısında yer alan dini temalı eleştirel yazılar seçilmiş ve bu metinler incelenerek derginin ortaya koyduğu duruş tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Serdengeçti Dergisi'nin en önemli çıkış amaçlarından birisi de mevcut tek parti zihniyetinin dine yönelik baskılarına son verilmesinin öncüsü olmaktır. Bunun doğal bir sonucu olarak da her sayıda dini hayata yönelik kısıtlamalar eleştirilmekle birlikte, toplumsal hayatta dini kurallara uyulmamasının zararları da çeşitli şekillerde ifade edilmektedir. Serdengeçti Dergisi'nin yukarıda ifade edilen değerlendirmeler doğrultusunda incelenmesi sonucu şu tespitleri yapmak mümkündür: Serdengeçti Dergisi, geçmişte olduğu gibi günümüzde de başta siyasal iktidarlar olmak üzere, ekonomik güç odakları ve belli çevrelerin etkisi altında kalan basın sektörü temsilcilerinin özgür gazetecilik için örnek alacakları bir yayının hüviyeti taşımaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Osman Zeki Yüksel, Serdengeçti Dergisi, Ulusal Şef, Demokrat Parti, Siyaset