



ART AS A MEANS OF PROPAGANDA: Accounting for a hierarchal set

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ABSTRACT

Art which is the description of the relation between the subject and object from an aesthetical point of view is used to create a classified society and then to protect the life principles of the dominant group-bourgeoisie- and to create symbolic set between the dominant class and other classes. Although this symbolic classification structure was harmed in the postmodern era, this determination is still valid. Besides it is used as means for propaganda, it also carries on its function of creating a set for classification. With the composing of popular culture and reproduction of artistic indicators, and with the loss of uniqueness, the use of artistic activities as a meta caused the deconstruction of its function as a set for classification. The astounding development of the propaganda means in the modern times led to the popularization of the art and in this process of popularization the nature of art also changed. Within this context and within the scope of this study, propaganda will be defined and the classification relations of art will be handled before this set causing nature of propaganda is studied.

Key Words:

Propaganda – Capitalism - Art - Hierarchal Set

I. - PROPAGANDA

A consentient activity which promotes a certain ideology via certain means (school, TV, prayer house, book...) to a crowd people and which by doing so, aims to shape the intellectual structure of the crowd or its

activation in accordance with the thought to sustain a constant generation of intellectualism is called “propaganda”.

Within the range of this definition includes almost all variety of communication and means ranging from political propaganda, commercial ads or artistic work to a chat in a coffee house. In Oxford dictionary defines propaganda as all the programs aiming to recruit for an ideology or a movement (Brown 1994:7). Turkish Language Institute defines it as “any kind of impact-delivered by oral, written or any other means of communication- aiming to spread any ideology or impression and to increase the number of its supporters” Meydan Larouse defines the concept as “an activity -achieved by written, oral or any other means- attempting to introduce and adopt a teaching, a system of thought, belief and etc. to others.

Although in philology propaganda is explained by using the words “spread, cultivate”, it has always been understood as “to conceal the facts, to distort it” (Özsoy 1998:6).

Another source defines propaganda the name given to all kind of systematic attempts to affect the beliefs, attitudes or activities of the individuals or groups- and thus the public opinions, by spreading true, distorted or untrue information via symbols (Bektaş 1996: 153).

In fact, every meta in the society spreads the basic patterns of the ideology and especially the uses that meta the contexts it is presents comprise the culture, each represents a propagandizing nature. However, other than this common meaning, the propaganda with its meaning we use today is the product of the 20th century. “The attempts to change people believes and understandings go back as early as to pre-historic ages and came into being immediately after the development of the language. The power to govern the crowds of people and persuade them about some matters without brute force stems from the language. The word propaganda is derived from the Latin word “propage”. This means “to plant saplings”. Firstly, it was used by the Roman Catholic Church in sociological sense and was understood as the spread of ideas. The origin of the word -which means the systematic spread of belief, value and ideas- goes back as early as XVII century and it originates from the name- *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Catholic Faith Propagation Community) - given to the missioner organization established by Vatican in 1622 to eradicate the transverse intellectual effects of Pope XV. Gregorius’ Protestant reform (Brown 1994:9). “Inculcation” constitutes the proponent nature of all kinds of propaganda. This nature of propaganda can be defined as “the endeavor to “vaccinate” a certain idea- right or wrong- to the target community. Scientific studies indicate that the most convenient period for inculcation is between the ages four and eight and that this trait lessens after the age eight. Being vulnerable to inclination is related to the acquisition of the language, which is communication. The emotional side of the same

situation is to submission to the authority of the parents (Brown 1994:11). Adler says that: The greatest deficiency of authoritative school of education is that the child being inspired the ideal of power and shown the appreciations related to the holding power (Russel 2004:11).

Since ancient times, all the states divert the communities they govern for the benefits of the privileged class and didn't just let them intellectually alone. We can speak of a composition of public opinion and shaping in every state. According to many philosophers a free public opinion is a product of a environment where ideas can spread freely. However, such an environment is only a utopia. As long as the state exists, ideology will exist and this ideology will only be the world of view of the dominant class.

In societies which have oral tradition, the resembling of the individual attitudes was achieved with effects of the outer forces. The unity doesn't come out as a result of free and contemplated will of the individuals. In this period, supernatural things had great effect on human beings. The things that affected thought were the agreement and submission to these forces. In the illiterate societies, all the interaction is achieved via audio-visual means. The two most important devices those aiming to be effective on the opinions can use are the mythos and rituals. The convictions come into being with the symbolic actions being accepted intensively and unconsciously. The symbolic elements which ensures for social supervision are passed on to the individuals of the society and to the next generation via oral tradition (Özkök 1985:234).

In the antic era, the effect of the group maintains its intensity through social supervision. However, in this era humanity passed through a prominent phase and achieved its style. Although oral tradition has an important function in the regeneration of the symbolic environment, written media are also ready to share this function. Written sources and oral means have an effective function in the communication between individuals and generations. In this era, the first examples of militant propaganda were started to be seen. In holistic societies, small sub-groups seek ways to spread their own beliefs. The role of militant propaganda in the successful dissemination of Dionisos sect cannot be belittled. While the lands of Roman Empire provides convenient environment for the spread of Christianity, the lands also brought about a new appearance to the processing of the social supervision mechanism. While Christianity was spreading two large crowds of people, it employed not only symbolic elements but also the ability to make good speech. As that speech is not only a means of communication but also has a persuasive power has been realized since very earlier times (Özkök 1985:235).

In the ancient times the states were generally governed by the kings who claim that they received their authority from the God. And therefore the concepts such as the representation and wants of the people were not brought up (Bektaş 1996:13). The appearance of these concepts would be

anachronistic conflict, as such concepts came into being after the Renaissance era. In the Antic Greek sites, public area took place in “agora” just as religious, political and commercial life, however; only the privileged fortune owners could attend the debates over the public problems. In Rome, the “forum” was the places where public life took place just as it was in agora in the Antic Greek. Rome as the centre of a large empire established an efficient communication and transportation system and it could contact with various religions, cultures and political system to get news. On the other hand, the meetings of the senate were explained to the public in these forums. The art of speech (rhetoric) became an important means in creating public opinion (Bektaş 1996:16). With the decline of the Roman Empire, and the feudalism becoming widespread throughout Europe, the political impact of public opinion was almost completely disappeared. The Reform and the Renaissance movements played an important role in the abolishment of the impact of the Church on people’s behavior and attitudes and thus played a role in the reappearance of public opinion (Bektaş 1996:17).

In the bourgeois democratic states propaganda is not as obvious as it is in the totalitarian states. To the contrary, it is generally hidden in the emancipations. “Emancipation” is an abstract concept which is shaped by the system. The individual experience emancipations as much as the system lets. Most of the time, s/he abdicates its right of freedom in turn s/he gets such features as security, not having responsibility, feeling “strong” in the group. For example; in Turkish republic a party can advocate as much communism or theoretic structure as the system envisages. This is valid for all bourgeois democratic states. The system establishes some aspiration rooms within itself, which are, most of the time, the parties and unions. Again in our own country, the Turkish Communist Party (legal) was founded by Mustafa Kemal. In this way, the worker movements in Turkey were supervised. However, the classes which form the basic structure of the constitution, that is the ruling classes were not disturbed. The movements outside these freedom rooms are marginalized. In other words, they are called “the others”. Now let’s discuss the historical basis of this structure.

The birth of systematic and central propaganda was during the World War I. The World War I is the first total war the world. In this war of sharing, the oppressors had to drag the oppressed to the battle field. Therefore, the propaganda systems were improved. So many people were killed in this war that they had to recruit new people to replace them. Therefore, the people were shaped via such mass media as the cinema, the signboard, the newspaper, which are directly in their daily life, and the idea that their lives are under danger. George Orwell clearly states the thoughts “regenerating of abhorrence” in its novel “1984”.

The interwoven nature of information and propaganda, in bourgeois democratic states brings about a supernatural mythos which appears everywhere. Because propaganda the way to do propaganda ranges from

small hand brochures to all kind of social institutions spreading the ideologies that provides for the maintaining the rule of a certain class. For example; when the proposition that education system functions as the propaganda for the ideology of the ruling class is taken for granted, then the concept for getting knowledge will be meaningless. Because then the knowledge acquired during all the learning process will not be regarded as knowledge but as the product of propaganda.

In the democratic states, state based propaganda was carried on by the formal institutions which prefer to use such “soften” names “intelligence services” or “public education”. They avoid using the word “propaganda” as it is thought to be in conflict with democracy. The use of this word in the formal terminology of such one-part stated as Russia since 1917 and in Nazi German since 1933 caused the word being identified with these countries. In the Western democracies, the word “propaganda” was started to be identified with the debated word “totalitarian”, which was used to define basically fascist dictators till 1945 and to define Soviet Union and other communist states since 1917 (Clark 2004:12).

The history of modern propaganda is closely related with mass culture. “Mass culture” is hard to define just as the case with propaganda. On one hand it associates with the idea old-fashioned and oppressive masses, on the other hand; it expresses the mass production of image and messages via industrial methods. This culture is substantially a source of propaganda. There are no resistance focuses remaining as claimed by Hall or before him as Gramsci claimed. The remaining focuses of resistance were eviscerated or marginalized.

The making up of necessary illusions is as old as history. The brainwashing systems of the states vary in accordance with the oppression ability and activity supervision models. Today, among these systems, the capitalist democracy which relies on the direct intervention to free market which is envisaged to be necessary to “marginalize” the “public benefit” and to settle compatibility, is the most interesting one. The main aims of consent generation are the people who define themselves as “the more thoughtful members of the society”, “intellectuals” or “thought leaders”. One of the expert of Truman method said “Normal people are generally not interested in the details of a program. That is why, what the leaders of society think about the plan”; according to a scientific public opinion survey they are the ones who evokes the elite and mobilize the public (Chomsky 1999:79).

As we have already mentioned, one of the greatest deficiencies of authoritarian education is that it “vaccinates” the child the ideology of power and with this ideology the child has a new understanding of delight and that his being shown the delights related to the power. Just as the case with the shaping of the authoritarian education, many institutionalized and normal activity are also effective in the manipulation of the individual. The art becoming an object of consumption and its losing its avant-garde

feature, is relation with the all-day exploitation of the working class led to their artistic values not developing is related not to their feeling it but to the fulfillment of their need. The avant-garde feature of art not being enough widespread in any society, doesn't actually stem from the intellectually developed privileged pioneering the avant-garde movements-contrary to what the bourgeoisie philosophers think-, the exploitation of the working class, that is their not having a life-style to experience such an artistic discern. The mass of people who could not give up working started to have intellectual inadequacies and later these inadequacies were seen responsible for their social positions. According to Thorstein Veblen, the reason for people having different understanding of life and positions in the society is their different positions in the social production. Veblen talks about a depravity that is not inactive in the social production process since the beginning of civilization. The basic element of the collective senses before the modern times were the features of religion empowering the obedience of the people were internalized by the working class, and thus their position of this idle group became more certain- which is not so different today. In Karl Marx words, religion being opium for societies has lost its effectiveness to a certain extent due to the secular states propagandas to recreate the God in people's mind and this function was carried on by some other manipulative means. The elements of popular culture as new systems of belief are ready to compensate for this loss of the ruling powers. The market economy creating new idols creates the shamans of the modern society and understanding that the change formulation of art is used as a kind of opium arranges the rituals of the modern society. These rituals are such activities like vacations and hobbies and many other activities which are needed for the regeneration of energy needed for the maximum productivity are for ten thousands of people attending concerts, and the working class as the basic of the economic circle to relax and to carry on their function in the society

Veblen stated that working class started to lose their revolutionary potential in his article in 19th century and attributed these to the fact that their life conditions changed due to developing technology- even if their share in the social production remained the same. I wonder if Veblen would have had the same idea if he could have just directed his looks from the Europe in 1890s and stayed with the families of the children who work as an apprentice in a Istanbul or that of the children who are used as cheap workers for the famous shoe companies? The reason they are stickled to the system is not any development in their life conditions, but the liberty of labor, the advanced technology of the gendarmerie forces-which protect the ruling power (as Trotsky stated no revolution could be against the military)- and the education and religious institutions, and the art and the sense of art turning into a kind of opium via the propaganda the communication devices does.

Today, what crowds of people regard as art- every kind of activity which ensures the reproduction of fruitful-happy imbeciles- are the activities which

justify all the features of merchant regality, which prevent the questioning of the plundering culture of the society, and which ensure for their internalization these features. In this context, as art spreads in the society, it became the supporter of revolution and the exploitation of the dominants and people by others. However, this so-called art which ensures the production of fruitful-happy imbeciles is just the new formulation of art.

II. - ART WEARING A PROPOGANDIST STRUCTURE

I think, in the western civilization, the things that compose one of the screaming and unique lines of art are the passion and the desire of its creator and increasingly its audience to have the object.

Levi-Strauss

The emergence of nation states required that bourgeoisie fight against all kinds of concepts that might cause people living within certain boundaries to question their co-existence. In this context, individuals are to be detached from the classification realities and be the members of a nation. This situation which is an upper-structural output of Fordist production style has lost its value together with the post-fordist structuralism. The great advances in computer and transportation sector let the consumption and the composition of identity freer and destroyed the borders of the identity composition pool which is limited by the national features -in the nation states era, and religious features- in the era before the modern times. The individual since his/her childhood have been watching Japanese cartoons, drinking Coca-cola and can consume the identity amalgams which compose the meta of national companies. However, these identity amalgams are not of course composed in an equal way in all identities, they are composed in a grindstone which leads to cultural imperialism via the communication devices of dominant cultures and thus to gradual extinction of the other cultures by imposing them silence. However, the concept which is called as the dominant culture is no longer the concept of the society's own. In much more shorter period of time than the period of time needed for the composition of the concepts of a society the concepts of capitalist production emerged and moreover these concepts didn't come into being from the ground but transformed themselves and disguised in the appearances. Human being who was first detached from the nature, later s/he detached from his/her labor and s/he further detached from the traditional and religious patterns which came into being in the course of history and which couldn't compose as strong an anomy as the one today because of the slow pace of change-though these patterns lead to alienation to a certain extent, is going towards a radial time in which the concepts of time and place become abstract in their mind. The expression " Radial Time" is used for a structure which is based on the substantial increase in cooperation, and thus in the occasions in

which people had to trust- which is in fact distrust- and the post-modern beliefs which emerged as a result of the corruption of such religions as reiki, zen Buddhism etc. This basic structure can be easily seen with the transformation and popularization of art is regarded.

Art relies on the society in which it grows and reflects the dynamics of the society. Before modernity every class had their own view of art. The music of the social class are different as much as their life styles. Moreover, even if these types of music which emerged from the same needs of the society are similar to each other, they live within the environment they are born and are listened in the social universe to which they belong. Each social group created their own social group (Wicke 2006:9). However, just as in the creation of the nation concept, early capitalism had to abrogate the differentiations and to promote affinity for a common life-style so that commercial relations can perfectly develop on its own basics. Fordist production style creates affinity. The concept of “popularity” is a commercial organization field for capitalism. In the first steps of market relation, art’s obligation to appeal to crowds of people stems from this basic structure. Besides, the crowds getting tired after hours of work prefer to consume not to the educational aspect of art- as education doesn’t relax people, to the contrary it requires more energy- but to consume it’s entertaining and pleasuring aspect. Gratification, lust, entertainment and other tastes are not the invention made through art. However, this aspect of art taking a great place in our society, its being very common and thus being suitably called popular began with the bourgeois climbing up in the 18th century (Wicke 2006:8). Furthermore, the problem is not the hierarchal composition between entertainment and education. Because the fact that the quotas on the feeling of gratification were established by the devices of the ruling power and that the gratification principle is not in the same cluster with the ruling power, can be investigated at various points of history of civilization. All the civilizations are the enemy of gratification. However, especially the people’s realizing this situation as in the case with the 68 “flower children”, or with Marcuse or La Fargue’ evaluating the principle of gratification for the purpose of the economic basics and developments of capitalism and rather than attempting for a revolution are also of the nature increasing the tyranny on the oppressed ones. The principle of gratification is not realized with the free satisfaction of the basic instincts, but it is of the nature which sustains the capitalist relations via activation of meta consumption. In this context, being against to gratification -just as in the religions with Calvinist feature – would be joining the “death organizers”, the term Nietsche used to define ecclesiastics. All the civilization is structured by the caste system these “death organizers” establish consciously or unconsciously and elevating this with an obscurantist attitude would be against enlightenment. However, the aim is not to eradicate enlightenment but to make its grounds more egalitarian and reproducing it.

Stripping the meaning of its content occurs through internal dynamics of the capitalistic culture. The process of emptying out the content can be attributed to profusion of merchandise. In no period has merchandise been exchanged so extensively in the history of the world and never has human production been so inundated by merchandise. Merchandise affects the meaning of culture because, in a semiotic sense, it adds a new one to the total of meaning. Meaning inflation at the same time brings along a process of disinformation. This process of disinformation destroys both human consciousness and the ability to fix assigning meaning to existing truth, because as Voloshinov/Bakhtin stated, human consciousness is material: Signs emerge only during the process of interaction between one individual consciousness and the other. The individual consciousness itself consists of signs. Consciousness becomes consciousness only after it is filled with ideological (semiotic) content and as its product only during the process of social interaction (Volashinov, 2002; 51).

When it is considered that consciousness is dependent on external signs, it can be better appreciated to what extent spread of visual culture and the level of development of reproducibility of photograph can affect humankind. Firstly, there is a need to highlight inflation of icons that emerges as a result of the icons sent by the most widespread of the mass media, i.e. television, and transformation of newspapers from being written to media to visual ones. The icon limits imagination extremely and is much stronger in terms of monopoly of power during the process of conveying information. Indeed, the power of cinema as tool of propaganda arises here. While literature allows for a far larger choice of activities in terms of imagination, visual media are more restrictive in this regard. When it is considered even from this perspective, the “speech” issued by the humankind characterized by the dominance of visual culture will get weaker and lose some of its ability to assign meaning.

In such an environment, interpretative processes of artistic signs will diversify and indeed the meaning loads borne by these signs will get weaker as they get mixed up with products of popular culture. Art will turn into “kitsch” within the popular culture industry. In order to increase propensity to consume, these products will act both as merchandise themselves and as complementary to other merchandise. Generally, there is a close relationship between the official and conscious beliefs of a class or a group and the cultural products connected with them: Sometimes, they are indirect relationships within certain content; these relationships can be observed usually within the framework of the beliefs, relationships, perspectives and values by which the subject legitimized and normalized their characteristic choices. (Williams 1993:26)

Michel Foucault’s structuring of power is another example for the process of devoicing meaning of its content. It is necessary to examine the transformation of art into a propaganda machine together with the transformation of the structure of power in a Marxist context into its form

in a Foucaultian context. Michel Foucault deviates from Marxist theories regarding the structural transformation of power and the structure of power. According to the Marxist theory, power is an external element. It has its own tools and implements transformation of the subject using these tools. According to Foucault's theory of bio-power, this transformation takes place thanks to internal mechanisms as well as external ones. However, as Karl Marx stated in his "The German Ideology", the fact that the ideas of the dominant class are the dominant ideas of the society can not be isolated from the fact that power gains functionality through internal mechanisms and this is irreversible. In his work entitled "The German Ideology", Marx summarizes this situation as follows:

"The ideas of the dominant class have been the dominant ideas throughout all ages; in other words, the class that is the dominant material power of the society is at the same time the dominant mental power. The class that possesses the material means of production have at the same time the mental means of production at their disposal; they are so intermingled that the ideas of those who were not provided with means of production are dependent on this dominant class. Dominant ideas are no more than ideological expression of dominant material relationships; dominant ideas are material dominant relationships perceived as ideas, so they are the expression of relationships that make a class dominant; in other words, these ideas are the ideas of its domination. The individuals who make up the dominant class possess a consciousness besides other things and consequently think; as long as these individuals continue their domination as a class and determine the historical era in all of its breadth, these individuals naturally are dominant as much as their class and they are dominant as thinkers and producers of ideas besides other things; they also regulate the production and spread of the ideas of their era, so their ideas are the dominant ideas of their era" (Marx 2000:75).

However, the way the ideas of the dominant class dominate has changed, the world has been inundated by an inflation of merchandise and the process of the transformation of the by the relationship between human and merchandise has accelerated. This has gradually depoliticized art and turned it into a means of escape that keeps individuals from their existential problems and the process their holding on to the system. The ruling power supports this domesticated art at all points and for all classes in its own structural transformation and eases the severity of the pressure it applies on disobedient art in contrast with its past practices. Here, it is necessary to look at Michel Foucault's concept of power in order to clarify the issue at hand:

"When I say power, I do not mean power as a total of institutions and apparatuses that ensure allegiance of citizens in certain state. What I understand from the term power is not a modality of citizenship that bears the form of regulations in contrast to violence, either. Nor is it a system of hegemony exerted by one component or group over another group whose

impact is felt by the whole of the social structure. An analysis made on the basis of the concept of power should not, as its initial data, deal with the sovereignty of the state, the form of the law or the integral unity of hegemony; they will likely be the final forms of power. According to this, it should be so understood that power is above all the multitude of power relationships that are inherent in the area they are applied and establish their own organization; in other words, understanding the movement that transforms, reinforces and reverses these relationships through struggles and conflicts; understanding the supports which these power relationships find in one another as a chain or system, or in contrast as differences and contrasts that differentiate them from one another; and finally, understanding the strategies whose base lines or institutional transparency emerge in the state apparatuses, in the formulation of laws and social hegemony-the power relationships in question become effective in these strategies. It is inappropriate to seek the point of view which attempts to make the conditions of power, or at least cooperation, understandable to its most peripheral effects and use its mechanisms as understandability chart for the social field in a single central, focal point from which derived forms will ramify. What reactivates power situations but always local and unstable power situations with their inequalities is the unstable ground of power relations. Power is omnipresent: But, this does not stem from its possessing the privilege of clustering everything under its insurmountable roof but rather stems from the fact that it breeds at every moment and every point, or to put it differently at every link between one point and another. Power is ubiquitous; it is everywhere not because it encompasses everything but it comes from all directions” (Foucault 2003:72).

While according to Marxist theories, power possesses a chain of practices spreading from top to bottom, Foucault’s version does not have this. Power has permeated each point and every component that makes up the society. In this context, the signs and speech circulating in the society are agents of power and the fact that visual culture expands and the society transforms in a sense into a planet of virtual icons that transforms and restricts thinking and hence art. Foucault’s theory differs from Marxist theories in functionality and activity-because for Foucault, power is passive-but conforms to them in terms of transforming the subject. The fact that art thoroughly becomes an agent of power should be considered within the framework of power theory as was suggested by Foucault.

In the earlier capitalist period, popular art was efficient in the spread of elitist patterns. Aristocratic presuppositions like “Contemptible gratifications are for contemptible people” were destroyed not by the people themselves but by another group of exploitative group to create their own exploitation focuses at certain points composing the structure of the society and for recapitalization. Thus, the integrity of a popular culture to be consumed by crowds of people was achieved. Thus, whole popular merchandise that large masses of people can be made to consume is formed. However, the value-plus system that has been collected through

their sale returns to the sovereigns by virtue of their nature. What the sovereign calls art is the production of an ideological image and never before in history has this production been turned into a propaganda machine. There is no doubt that our age prefers description to object, copy to original, representation to reality and form to content... The one single thing that is sacred for our age is illusion and the only thing that is not sacred is reality. Moreover, as reality decreases and illusion increases, the value of what is sacred in the eye of our age increases so that the ultimate limit of illusion for this age is at the same time the ultimate limit of the sacred. The whole life of communities which modern conditions of production dominate is considered a monumental conglomeration of performances. Everything that is indirectly experienced has disappeared while leaving a mere representation in its place (Debord 1996:13).

Neil Postman calls the society formed by this power “technopolis”. Now, the perception structure of individuals who are under the influence of this power has become different. Postman states this change in the perception structure in the following terms: Real or imaginary, nearly no phenomenon can surprise us for long because we do not possess a comprehensive and consistent picture that will make the phenomenon that will surprise us seem an unacceptable conflict. (Postman 2006:73) Not having a comprehensive and a consistent means being vulnerable to propaganda and increases the power of those who dominate the technocratic civilization over people. A place that is close to the center of Technopolis is an industry that is licensed to use all existing symbols in order to maximize their commercial interests and consumes consumers’ souls. (Postman 2006:193) Now, the work of art has become merchandise in Technopolis and, as Benjamin stated, has lost its “aura” since it is subject to assembly line. “In the past, the purpose of a work of art was to declare to the world what it was and make a final judgment. This quality of a work of art has disappeared today. This process of becoming a thing has turned Works of art into merchandise; moreover, it has reduced their consumption into a series of haphazard, irregular emotions disconnected from our true intentions and goals. (Horkheimer 1998:193) Among the fundamental reasons behind the reduction of the work of art to this state are the work’s going beyond being a handicraft and becoming subject to the conditions of mass production, it is being subjected to market conditions and the perceiving mass’s possessing a consciousness violated by works of culture industry.

III. - CONCLUSION

Today, both the effects of mass communication means on crowds of people and their propaganda power have changed the form and power of propaganda to an extent that has never seen in the course of history. It is thanks to the propaganda power of these means of communication that the meta consumption-which is the central pillar of postfordism- has reached to such great extent and continues to expand. Human being has never been

under such a heavy siege of meta. This wall of meta surrounding human has changed his character and reached to a threatening extent. In this period of change, arts feature making human being's intellectual aspect, revolutionary structure was revolved towards a conservative structure protecting the status quo and regenerating and offering the basic indicators of the system.

Descartes saying "I think therefore I exist" or Jean Paul Sartre saying "I say "No" because I am a human being" has turned into such expressions:

"I consume because I am a human being, I consume therefore I exist"

Today, the consumption propaganda causing the speedy consumption is itself shaped as a political propaganda and is also supported by art. Art in the form it is accepted in the society and this situation of common art-understanding indicates that it has wriggled out of its avant-garde features.

The new press and media industry force- "which organizes the market of spiritual values"- the "producers" in the field of art and intellect to work according to such criteria as "success", "attracting attention" and "selling out". One of the names to be given as example of this situation is French enlightenment opponent Victor Hugo, who is on the one hand is among one of "the first artists giving their works massive names" on the other hand he- after his "successful" artistic and political life- points human beings as a crowds of "customers" or "voters" who can be brought together through such concepts as "secularism", progressiveness and democracy ; however, he thinks he needs to regard himself as different from the crowds of people.

In Walter Benjamin's bitter words, just as he told about art's being a set, the crowds of people gathered together under this new flag are reshaped and the modernist -who, in fact, individualize and distinguish only themselves reshape the meaning of their social existence via this understanding of art- actually draw a borderline between their individualized selves and the crowds of people.

"Every solid entity vaporizes!" Karl Marx's wonderful metaphor in the manifesto about the results of capitalist structure- which states that all past values would extinct- holds the central point of the issue. "In such a time when we lose our ability to be individual and all our intellectuality and when even the number of the words we use are becoming more and more limited and thus we start to speak using only certain expressions and when our ability to produce new values is milled among the wheel gears and reshape, it is necessary to repeat it once more:

"Every solid entity vaporizes!"

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