

# Yüzlük Ermeni yalanları!

1 ERK sonuçları için bir Ermeni yalanı...  
Yüzlük Ermeni yalanları!...  
Yüzlük Ermeni yalanları!...

# Ermeni maşalar

katliamının acısını daha unutmamış...  
asallara Ülkü Ocaklarından sert tepki g...

# Bu Danimarkalılar pek bi sahtekarmıs he aşım!

# ABD'den Ermeni kahpelığı

# Maçlı saldırıları sürüyor

ABD'deki Hizmetler...  
Maçlı saldırıları sürüyor...  
Maçlı saldırıları sürüyor...

# Yunan kustahlığı

Yunan kustahlığı...  
Yunan kustahlığı...  
Yunan kustahlığı...

# Ermeni tehdidi: Gecikme olursa protokol iptal

EREMENİ tehdidi: Gecikme olursa protokol iptal...  
EREMENİ tehdidi: Gecikme olursa protokol iptal...

# Susturun artık sunları!

Susturun artık sunları!...  
Susturun artık sunları!...

# ERMENİ İŞBİRLİKÇİLERİ RAHATSIZ

ERMENİ İŞBİRLİKÇİLERİ RAHATSIZ...  
ERMENİ İŞBİRLİKÇİLERİ RAHATSIZ...



# Camilerde Rum

Güney Kıbrıs'taki Türklere ait dini mekanlarda bulunan el yazması Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Sakalı Şerif gibi paha biçilmez eserlerin, Rumlar tarafından...

# RUM ÇİRKİNLİK BAYRAĞA SICRADI

Yakaladıkları PKK'lıları, halkın içinde infaz ettiler...  
RUM ÇİRKİNLİK BAYRAĞA SICRADI...  
RUM ÇİRKİNLİK BAYRAĞA SICRADI...

# İRAN ASIYOR BİZ BESLİYORUZ

Komşumuz, bölücülük yapıp toprağına göz diken ve askerine kursun sıkarak Kürt teröristleri "ibretli alem" olsun diye sokak ortasında astı...

# EREMENİYE BAKI

Kastamonu'da doğan Ermeni asıllı Avukat Keğam Karabetyan, "Bu ülke hepimizin kökeni değişik olan insanlar var ama bu ülkede yaşamak onur verici" dedi...

# Taraf'ın Ermeni yazarı Nişanyan'dan küstahlık!

ÜSAME KARAKIŞ / İSTANBUL  
Taraf gazetesinin Ermeni kökenli yazarlarından Sevan Nişanyan, 21 ve 22 Eylül tarihlerinde kaleme aldığı köşe yazılarında Müslümanların İslami...

# EREMENİLER YİNE İŞ BAŞINDA

EREMENİLER YİNE İŞ BAŞINDA...  
EREMENİLER YİNE İŞ BAŞINDA...

# EREMENİ VAHŞETİNE İNAT DIMDİK AYAKTA

ABD'de yalanları kabul etmemek için geldiği yeni stratejiyi uygulamaya koymaya başladığını belirtti. Ca...

# EREMENİLER YİNE İŞ BAŞINDA

EREMENİLER YİNE İŞ BAŞINDA...  
EREMENİLER YİNE İŞ BAŞINDA...

# EREMENİ VAHŞETİNE İNAT DIMDİK AYAKTA

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# EREMENİ VAHŞETİNE İNAT DIMDİK AYAKTA

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EREMENİ VAHŞETİNE İNAT DIMDİK AYAKTA...

# SEVİMLER BURADA BARTHO ÇILDIRDI!

SEVİMLER BURADA BARTHO ÇILDIRDI!...  
SEVİMLER BURADA BARTHO ÇILDIRDI!...

# KALLESLER MECLİS'TE

KALLESLER MECLİS'TE...  
KALLESLER MECLİS'TE...

# KOVUN BUNLARI

KOVUN BUNLARI...  
KOVUN BUNLARI...

# EREMENİ VAHŞETİNE İNAT DIMDİK AYAKTA

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EREMENİ VAHŞETİNE İNAT DIMDİK AYAKTA...

# APRIL 24 ARMENIAN GENOCIDE REMEMBRANCE DAY IN THE PRESS

1995 - 2015

# EREMENİ VAHŞETİNE İNAT DIMDİK AYAKTA

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**HRANT DİNK VAKFI**  
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Friedrich Naumann  
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**



**MYMEDIA**  
SEVEN COUNTRIES ONE IDEA

**APRIL 24 ARMENIAN  
GENOCIDE REMEMBRANCE  
DAY IN THE PRESS  
1995-2015**



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## INTRODUCTION

“Media Watch on Hate Speech” study, which has been conducted by Hrant Dink Foundation since 2009, aims to contributing to the struggle against racism and discrimination. Given the importance of civilian oversight on the media, which is one of the instruments for producing and reproducing racism, discrimination and othering, the specific goal of this study is to strengthen media’s respect for human rights and differences, draw attention to discriminatory language and hate speech against people and groups on the basis of certain identity characteristics and raise awareness. As part of the study carried out by the Foundation in order to achieve these goals, the national and local press are scanned, news reports and opinion columns that feature discriminatory, alienating and targeting discourse are determined, analyzed and brought to public attention through reports and the website [www.nefretsoylemi.org](http://www.nefretsoylemi.org). The content provided on the project’s website is also shared via social media accounts. The report is sent to non-governmental organizations, media outlets, occupational organizations of media and also published on our website.

Discriminatory discourse reports (special case analyses) were added to this systematic hate speech watch study as of 2013. Focusing on a specific issue within the four-month period, a different research method is determined and a discriminatory discourse analysis is carried out for each subject. The aim of this study is to analyze discourse that was formulated more subtly, conveying discriminatory or othering messages in a more implicit way.

Topics of reports that were published as part of media scan focused on discriminatory discourse so far are as follows: **Black Sea visit of the representatives of Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) and People’s Democratic Congress (HDK)** (January-April 2013)<sup>1</sup>, first week of the **Gezi Park events** (May-August 2013)<sup>2</sup>, Discriminatory language against Alawites (September-December 2013)<sup>3</sup>, **April 24 in the Media one year before the 100th year** (January-April 2014)<sup>4</sup>, **Discriminatory language against Jews following Israel’s Gaza operation** (May-August 2014)<sup>5</sup> and **discriminatory discourse against Syrian immigrants in print media** (September-December 2014).<sup>6</sup> Finally, a media scan that focuses on discriminatory discourse within the period from April 24, 1995 to 2015 was included in this seventh report, which covers the first quarter of 2015. In sum, this report contains data and analyses obtained by scanning the contents featured in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* newspapers during 21 years, from 1995 to 2015; the scanning was carried out based on April 24.

Hence, contents published only on April 24 and 25 in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* between 1995 and 2014 were analyzed. In 2015, relevant contents published in the same newspapers between

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<sup>1</sup> <http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/HSR-January-April-2013.pdf>, (last accessed: 03.10.2016)

<sup>2</sup> [http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/may-august2013\\_reportfinal.pdf](http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/may-august2013_reportfinal.pdf), (last accessed: 03.10.2016)

<sup>3</sup> [http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/september-decembe2013\\_hate\\_speech\\_report\\_final.pdf](http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/september-decembe2013_hate_speech_report_final.pdf), (last accessed: 01.10.2016)

<sup>4</sup> [http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/January-April2014\\_HateSpeechandDiscriminatoryDiscourseReport.pdf](http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/January-April2014_HateSpeechandDiscriminatoryDiscourseReport.pdf), (last accessed: 01.10.2016)

<sup>5</sup> <http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/May-Agust2014.pdf>, (last accessed: 03.10.2016)

<sup>6</sup> <http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/September-December2014Report.pdf>, (last accessed: 03.10.2016)

April 21 and 26 were analyzed. In these analyses, which were carried out after the examination of more than 400 items, you will find observations concerning the transformation in the publication policies of the newspapers, which change in parallel with the social, economic and political conditions in Turkey, in terms of Armenian Genocide within 21 years.

## **APRIL 24 ARMENIAN GENOCIDE COMMEMORATION DAY IN THE PRESS**

April 24, 1915 is regarded as the beginning of the Armenian Genocide; on that day, about 250 people consisting of notables and intellectuals of the Armenian society were arrested in Istanbul. Every year on April 24, commemoration events are held in many cities in the US and Europe, and especially in Armenia. Starting from 2000s, various events have been held for commemoration in Turkey in civil society.

It may be said that the print media in Turkey adopts different attitudes in accordance with the political agenda and overlooks some events while highlighting some others, thereby takes part in memory wars to a certain extent. In Turkey, where a century-old tradition of denial is maintained, it is almost impossible to talk about impartiality in print media regarding the Armenian Genocide, which is one of the most important examples of using past events as a political tool. On the other hand, it is not difficult to observe a new trend that started especially with the assassination of Hrant Dink, continued with the diplomatic initiative between Armenia and Turkey and finally reached a peak with the condolence message of Turkish prime minister. However, by 2015, attempts such as making the commemoration events of 100th Anniversary of Battles of Gallipoli coincide with the 100th year of the Genocide poses some questions about how this trend will end up.

In regard to the relationship between collective memory and the media, a primary question is about media's influence on the construction and reconstruction of the memory. Collective memory is the reconstruction of the past at the present moment. Print media undoubtedly has an important role in the way the disasters are conveyed and these events are reminded or made forgotten over time. Collective memory theoretician Maurice Halbwachs argues that the past is not stored in "some subterranean gallery of our thought" as "ready-made images" waiting to be recalled; on the contrary, it is reconstructed in the present time. According to Halbwachs, remembering the past means reinterpreting, shaping and constructing the past on the basis of the current social frameworks of the group to which one belongs. Halbwachs explains the relationship between print media and collective memory as the following: "When I talk about the historical events that happened throughout my life, I refer to newspapers (...); my memory is actually the memory of others".<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, translated by Francis J. Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter, New York: Harper and Row, 1980, p.75

Noam Chomsky, in his book titled as 'Media Control' where he explains the power of media, mentions the way media changes the perception of the society by keeping silent about certain topics through omitting and distorting events and provides examples from various places in the world. In this context, Yoram Peri clearly expresses media's role in her article on memory and media: "Consequently, media and, especially television, is increasingly determining the ritual calendar, which is a central factor in the determination of collective memory in modern societies."<sup>8</sup>

Many media studies show that conscious or unconscious preferences of journalists in their daily routines, the news they choose to report, the way they position and cover these reports have significant effects on the readers' perception of the world. "If we can understand how our past has been made meaningful in the media and how our political traditions, culture and identity have been transferred to us, only then we can understand how journalists use and reproduce the past."<sup>9</sup> In this respect, the media takes on a critical role in which subjects will be 'reminded', which ones will be 'made forgotten', and more importantly, how they will be 'covered'. In other words, memory and collective memory comes to be partly controlled by media. The relationship between collective memory and media can be summarized as follows: the media ideologically reconstructs the 'facts' in accordance with its ownership structure and political interests by way of routine practices of news production processes such as selection, exclusion and framing. In a sense, history is reproduced in the media. Interpretation of historical events in public memory is related to their use in print media rather than the personal experiences of those who experienced a particular event.

Containing the analysis of the print media that has played a significant role in the construction of the memory of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey, this report will seek answers to the following questions: **How does print media in Turkey interpret the Armenian Genocide? How has the narrative created by print media, one of the most important actors that guides public memory regarding the interpretation of the Armenian Genocide, changed between 1995 and 2015, the 21-year period in question?**

In this report, you will find data and analyses obtained by scanning the content published in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* between 1995 and 2015 based on April 24. The newspapers in question were determined in consideration of their capacity of reaching to different channels in the political sphere as well as other criteria of representation. This report aims to finding out what kind of a memory narrative the media has established and what kind of transformations and changes it went through depending on the changing social and political agenda during the period from 1995, 80th year of the Armenian Genocide, to its 100th year. Accordingly, contents published **only on April 24 and 25** in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* **between 1995 and 2014** were analyzed. **In 2015**, relevant content published in the same newspapers **between April 21 and 26** were analyzed. All quantitative data provided in the report cover items published only on April 24 and 25 in order to show the change over years consistently. Items published on other days included in the analysis in 2015 were used in the report only for illustrative purposes.

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<sup>8</sup> Yoram Peri, "The Media and Collective Memory of Yitzhak Rabin's Remembrance", *Journal of Communication*, Summer, 1999, 106-124, s.107.

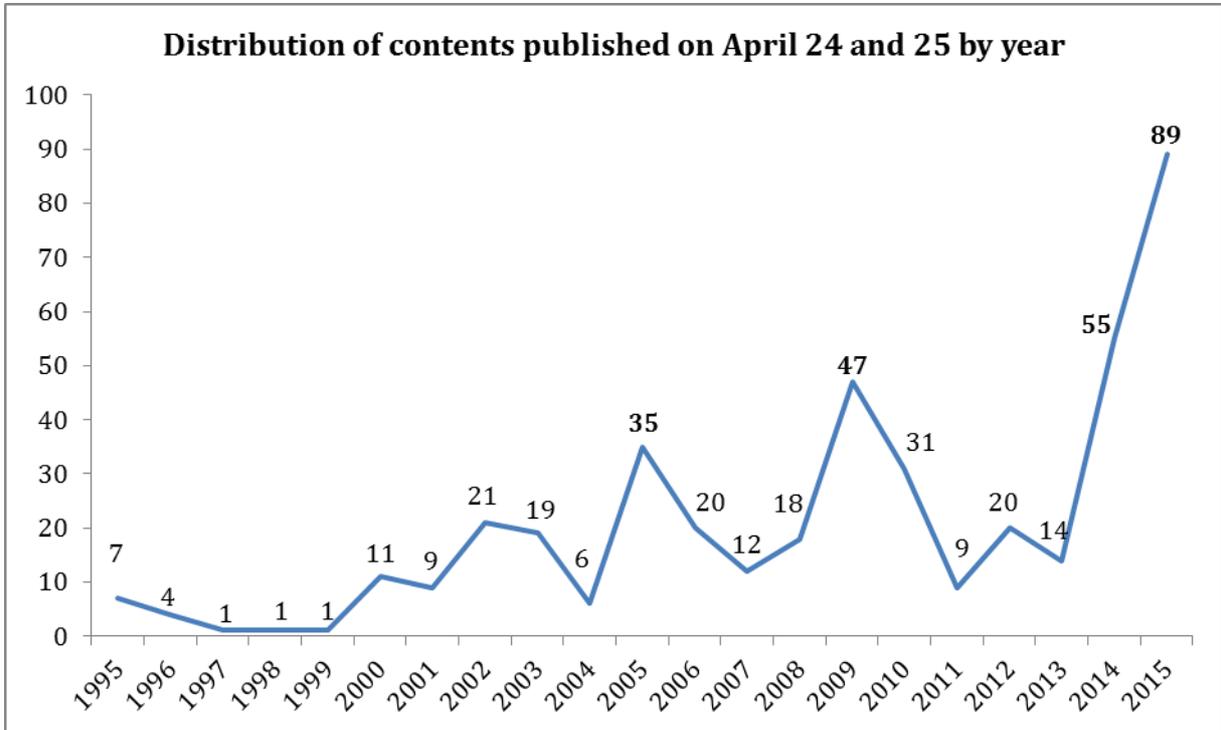
<sup>9</sup> Jill A. Edy, "Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory", *Journal of Communication*, Spring, 1999, 71-85, s.71.

Discriminatory language produced within the framework of April 24 Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day was examined by content analysis method supported by discourse analysis. All items concerning April 24 in the newspapers have been categorized firstly by their quantitative and qualitative data. As part of quantitative analysis, on which page, to what extent and how these news articles have been covered in these newspaper is documented. In terms qualitative analysis, the following titles are documented: how the events, victims and perpetrators were identified, whether the causes have been included, the values that we re-referred in the coverage, whether similar events were also mentioned and which demands were expressed. In sum, the ways in which April 24 reports were covered have been analyzed. Images accompanying the articles and reports were also categorized in order to be included in the analysis.

## FINDINGS

A total of **430** items have been found regarding April 24 Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day that were published only on April 24 and 25 in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* between 1995 and 2015.

During the 21 years in question, distribution of items by year exhibits a great variation. During this period, it was observed that the Genocide became a hot topic in some years, while it was mentioned in a few items in other years. Considering the distribution of items published on April 24 and 25 in the newspapers analyzed, an increase in number was seen in **2005**, 90th year of the Genocide, in **2009** when the protocol between Armenia and Turkey was signed, and in **2014** related to the condolence message issued by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, prime minister of the time. The most remarkable increase occurred in **2015**, 100th year of Genocide; the number of published items were almost twice as much than the previous years:



When we consider the distribution of items published on April 24 and 25 by newspaper, we also see a significant change in 2015. The number of items published in *Cumhuriyet* on April 24 and 25 during 20 years was 109 in total; however, this number rose to 54 in 2015. When the numbers in the table below are considered, a change concerning the issue stands out especially in the publishing policy of *Cumhuriyet*:

Number of contents published on April 24 and 25 about the topic			
	Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	Zaman
Years 1995-2014	109	136	96
2015	54	20	15

## APRIL 24 IN THE HEADLINES

Undoubtedly, print media, like other media tools, does not cover any event or phenomenon happening in the societies and in the world as other media tools. While media covers certain issues and topics constantly or more frequently compared to others, some issues are kept in the background or occasionally headlined. This has been conceptualized by Donald Shaw and Maxwell McCombs as “agenda setting”.<sup>10</sup> Bernard Cohen explains agenda setting as follows: “The press may not always be successful at telling people what to think, but it is surprisingly successful at telling people what they will think about.”<sup>11</sup> In other words, news covered by media become topics that people talk about and preoccupy themselves.

In this respect, years in which the Genocide was headlined set an example to agenda-setting intentions of the analyzed newspapers. It may be seen that there is a parallelism especially between the news items about the Armenian Genocide published on the mainstream media and national and international thresholds, although it is a matter of debate whether the political agenda affects the media’s agenda or vice versa. Accordingly, it may be seen that the issue was headlined by more newspapers on April 24 and 25 in the following years: 2005, 90th anniversary of the Genocide; 2009, when the Turkey-Armenia Protocol was signed; and 2014, when the condolence message by the president was issued. On the other hand, *Cumhuriyet* was the only newspaper that headlined Genocide on its 100th anniversary. Although *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* featured articles about Genocide on their first pages in their issues published between April 21 and 26 2015, these news articles were not on the headlines.

HEADLINES COVERING THE GENOCIDE IN CUMHURİYET, HÜRRİYET AND ZAMAN BETWEEN 1995 and 2015			
Year	Newspaper	Author / Reporter	Headline
2005	Hürriyet	Murat Bardakçı	İşte Kara Kaplı defterdeki gerçek [Here’s the Truth in the Black Book]
2007	Zaman	Selahattin Sevi	Ermeni Diasporası, işgal altındaki Yukarı Karabağ’a para yağdırıyor [Armenian Diaspora showers the occupied Upper Karabakh with Money]
2009	Cumhuriyet	Dış Haberler Servisi	Azerileri ikna için yoğun trafik [Heavy traffic to convince the Azeris]
2009	Hürriyet	Uğur Ergan	AÇILMADI, ARALANDI [It has been just slightly opened]
2010	Hürriyet	Tolga Tanış	ERİVAN’DA KÜST AHLİK [Insolence in Erivan]

<sup>10</sup> James Dearing, Everett Rogers, *Communication Concepts 6: Agenda-Setting*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996, s. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Bernard Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, aktaran MCCOMBS, Maxwell, SHAW, Donald, “The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media”, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1972, volume: 36, s. 120.

2014	Cumhuriyet	Duygu Güvenç, Utku Çakırözer	'Ermenistan'da karşılık bulmaz' ['It won't have any effect in Armenia']
2014	Hürriyet	Ankara - Hürriyet	9 DİLDE TARİHİ MESAJ [Historical Message in 9 Languages]
2015	Cumhuriyet	Cumhuriyet	Bir Daha Asla (Ermenice) [Never Again (in Armenian)]



The first headline article was published in *Hürriyet* on April 25, 2005 with the title "Here's the Truth in the Black Book". In this article that refers to "Black Deportation Book" containing notes of Talat Pasha who mapped out the deportation, it is documented that 924,158 Armenians were subjected to deportation. It is also stated that this document includes the information concerning how many Armenians were deported from which city. The newspaper (and Murat Bardakçı) emphasizes that the event in question is deportation rather than genocide and a special report next to the article features Talat Pasha's love to his wife, who was 21 years younger than him, and a photo; adding tabloid quality to the genocide/deportation debate and presenting Talat Pasha as "one of us".



The article titled “Armenian Diaspora showers the occupied Upper Karabakh with Money” was headlined in *Zaman* on April 24, 2007. In this article, we see that the topic was associated with the Karabakh war between Azerbaijan and Armenia on the occasion of April 24. The language of opposition is reproduced in this article by connecting two different historical events that must be addressed separately. In addition, Armenian diaspora is said to be “showering the occupied territories with money” and the enemies are extended to include the diaspora. In the caption of the image used for the article, it was claimed that mosques were burnt down and houses were destroyed. In this way, Turkey’s responsibility to face its own past is made irrelevant through Armenia’s current conflict with Azerbaijan.



It is possible to see a change in the language of ongoing enmity in 2009, when the diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey were established (Yerevan visit of the president of the time, Abdullah Gül) and in 2014, when the condolence message of Erdoğan was issued. This is important since it reveals that the periods of "softened" state discourse is reflected on the mainstream media. In this regard, we see that *Cumhuriyet* was published with "Heavy traffic to convince the Azeri" headline on April 24, 2009. In addition, the article titled "ARMENIAN ISSUE The truth has always been ignored" by Türkçaya Ataöv, which was attached to this headline, stands out since it is the first part of the article series which reproduces a language that features hostility against Armenians.





It is seen that *Hürriyet* featured “**Insolence in Erivan**” headline on April 25, 2010. The title of this story, which was a compilation of various commemoration events and protests that took place in Yerevan, targets and insults everyone who participated in these events, although it does not directly target the Armenian identity. The photo of a burning Turkish flag is used in the report, which is signed by foreign news desk, without specifying the location or photographer's name. Additionally, photo of the chained protesters wearing masks of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and U.S. President Obama, who refrains from using the word “Genocide”, is featured. In this way, it is emphasized that the Armenian ‘claims’ are not accepted by international public opinion as well and it is implied that ‘extreme-nationalists’ are the source of those claims. Expressions such as “hate speech was dominant in the events” and “there was also hate in Lebanon”, which are used in the summary and then repeated in the report, indicate that this news was chosen for producing a polarizing discourse.

The condolence message issued by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, prime minister of the time, became a main topic in the agenda in 2014. While the message’s coincidence with the 99th anniversary of the Genocide was regarded by some circles as a sincere attempt to face the events, some other circles considered it as a political step, a preemptive attempt.

# 9 DİLDE TARİHİ

23 NİSAN BAŞBAKANI GÖKER İNAN OLDU



Başbakanlık koltuğuna oturan #kokul öğrencisi Göker İnan, gazetecilerin "Twitter'i kullanıyor musunuz?" sorusuna, "Biliyorum ama kullanmıyorum. Allem izin vermiyor" deyince Başbakan Erdoğan'dan alkış aldı. İnan "Cumhurbaşkanı olmayı düşünüyor musunuz?" sorusuna "Bunu ben kalkınca gerçek başbakana sorsanız daha iyi olur" yanıtını verince Erdoğan, "Ama lafı geçiğine koydu" diye ekledi. >> 29

**"Çok beğendim"**  
Ertuğrul ÖZKÖK yazdı 29

**"Ortak acı"**  
Taha AKYOL yazdı 28

# MESAJ

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihinde ilk kez Başbakanlık, 1915 olaylarıyla ilgili resmi açıklama yaptı. Erdoğan, ölen Ermeniler için torunlarına taziye dileklerini sundu.

**2'Sİ ERMENİ LEHÇESİ** **ACILARIMIZA SU SERPTİ**

■ Erdoğan'ın İngilizce, Fransızca, Almanca, İspanyolca, Arapça, Rusça ile doğu ve batı Ermenice dillerinde de yayınlanan mesaj, tehcirin 99. yıldönümü olan 24 Nisan'ın bir gün öncesinde geldi. Mesajda, "Yaşanan hadiseler, hepimizin ortak acısıdır. Ermenilerin o dönemde yaşadıkları acıların hatıralarını anmalarını anlamak ve paylaşmak insanlık vazifesidir" denildi.

■ "Savaş esnasında, tehcir gibi gayriinsani sonuçlar doğuran hadiselerin yaşanmış olması, Türkler ile Ermeniler arasında duygudaşlık kurulmasına ve karşılıklı insani tutum ve davranışlar sergilenmesine engel olmamalıdır" diyen mesajı Ermeni Patrik genel vekili Ateşyan'ın yorumu, "Acılarımıza su serpti" oldu. ABD de tarihi dediği mesajı memnuniyetle karşıladı. >> 9'da

On April 24, *Hürriyet* was published with the headline "Historical Message in 9 Languages". Condolence message's coincidence with April 23 Children's Day led to the image of a fatherly Erdoğan smiling and caressing the cheeks of children to appear in the newspapers on the following day. The image used in this headline story also supports this image. Titles of columns by Ertuğrul Özkök and Taha Akyol ("I Really Liked It" and "Common Pain", respectively) are attached to the photo. It is stated that the condolence message is welcomed by the United States of America (USA) and especially by the Turkey's Armenian community. By quoting Vicar Patriarch Ateşyan's statement "It relieved our pain", it is emphasized that the condolence message created the intended effect. In this way, positive initiative atmosphere created by the message is affirmed and supported by the newspaper.



In the same year, *Cumhuriyet* supported the view that **"It won't have any effect in Armenia"** regarding the condolence message in its headline on April 25. The person who made this statement that was headlined as a quotation is not clearly explained in the article. Additionally, opinions of some people such as "EU ambassadors", "Western diplomats", "Turkish diplomat", "an EU ambassador", whose names are not specified, are put forward. It is reported that, according to the views of these unspecified people, Armenians will not give up on their 'genocide allegations' as hoped following the condolence message. Therefore, the view that the message was actually a political move of the prime ministry is brushed up. Finally, a photo from Armenia is featured next to the article given on page 12 as a continuation of the headline, where US President Obama's statement on April 24 Remembrance Day is given. A burning Turkish flag is seen in the photo. In the caption, it is stated that "the flag is burnt during a demonstration by a community which includes members of Dashnaktsutyun Party Youth Branch". In this respect, we can summarize article's depiction concerning the situation as follows: the prime minister offered a 'peace-making hand' as a political move in the face of 'genocide allegations' and Turkish flag is burnt in Armenia in return.

**Cumhuriyet**

CUMA 24 NİSAN 2015 90. YIL SAYI 32706 KURUCUSU YUNUS NADİ (1874-1945) BAŞYAZARLAR NADİR NADİ (1903-1991) İLHAM SELÇUK (1912-2005) İYATILIS TL. NOV. 07/08/ 1970/02. 2 TL

100 yıl önce bu topraklarda yaşanan ortak acının yasını tutuyoruz

# Այլևս երբեք\*

*'Bir daha asla'*

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde yaşanan felaketin acısı hâlâ taze. İnsan aklını, vicdanını, hak ve adalet duygusunu felç eden bu yarayla yüzleşme zamanı; bir daha asla olmasın diye!

**ACI ACI AĞLIYORUM**

1915'teki dünyayı seyrediyorum. Bütün insanlığa, politikalarına acı acı ağlıyorum. 2015 insanlığını seyrediyorum, ruhum inliyor içimde. Canım çekiliyor. Ülkemi seyrediyorum. Utanıyorum. Boğazım düğümleniyor. Sesimi koyveriyorum. Bağımdan dökülüyor gözyaşlarım.

**RAKEL DİNK**  
Sayfa 12'de

**Bir an...  
Bir anı...  
Bir anıt...**

2004 sonunda Erivan'da çekilen bu fotoğrafta Hrant Dink, 1915'te yitirilen anısına dikilen mezar taşlarının arasından yürüyordu. 3 yıl sonra, yitirdiklerimizin arasına o da katıldı. 24 Nisan'ın 100. yılını ve Hrant Dink'i, onun "23.5 Nisan" yazısından bir bölümle anıyoruz. -13'te

CAN DÜNDAR

Tehcir mi soykırım mı; iki isim iki görüş  
100 yıllık soru: 1915 nedir?  
SELİN ONGUN'un söyleşişi -18'de

İste Davutoğlu'nun zengin Ermenileri  
Yemek de yok odun da...  
KAYHAN AYHAN -12'de

Cumhuriyet Ermenistan'da  
'Unutmadım' sloganları  
CEYDA KARAN -10'da

İSİD korkusu, 'büyük felaket' dedirtti  
Obama geri adım attı  
İLHAN TANIR -19'da

Erdoğan: Askeri belgeleri de açarız -7'de

2	5	13	21	22	22
Milliyetçilik ve Soykırım IV	İster 'Soykırım' Deyin...	İki Ülkeye de Büyük Görev	100 Yıl Önce Yüz Yıl Sonra	23 Nisan, 24 Nisan, 25 Nisan	ABD ve Ermeniler
EMRE KONGAR	NURAY MERT	SEMİH İDİZ	ZEYNEP ORAL	ÖZGEN ACAR	MERİÇ VELİDEDEOĞLU

A year later, *Cumhuriyet*, published under the chief editorship of Can Dündar, brings the issue back to the headlines on the occasion of 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary. This article is particularly important for two reasons: among the analyzed newspapers, it was the only one that headlined this issue in 2015 and more importantly, the headline was in Armenian. This headline in Armenian that means "Never Again", which received many positive and negative reactions since it was a first in the history of *Cumhuriyet*, is accompanied by an article by Rakel Dink titled "I Cry Bitterly". A photo of Hrant Dink taken in front of the Genocide monument in Yerevan is featured in the background. The fact that other reports and columns on the same topic are announced on the first page next to the headline shows that the Remembrance Day was the primary agenda of the newspaper. In this regard, it can be said that *Cumhuriyet* took an open stance in terms facing history on the first page of its April 24, 2015 issue. On the other hand, as we will examine later in this report, it is found that columns and

news items published in the same issue feature some attitudes that are not even close to facing the past.

## ÇANAKKALE MARTYRS' COMMEMORATION DAY AND GENOCIDE

One of the hot topics that were headlined in addition to the Genocide was the commemoration events of 100th anniversary of Dardanelles Campaign. Organized by Turkey as an international event, this ceremony was regarded as a 'strategic move' in the face of Genocide commemoration events held in Armenia. The participants of the ceremony hosted by President Erdoğan was compared to the participants of the Genocide commemoration ceremony in Yerevan in terms of number and level of representatives from foreign countries and the results was covered by media as if it was a football match. In this research, we found such reports.

**ÇANAKKALE KÖNÜKLARI**

Çanakkale Savaşları'nın 100. yılını anma etkinliklerine 21 ülkeden devlet başkanı düzeyinde katılım olması bekleniyor.

**TÖRENLER 23-25 NİSAN'DA**

Ankara anma törenleri için tüm ülkelere davet gönderdi. 70'i aşkın ülkeden 'katılacağız' bildirimini geldi. Törenlere 21 devlet başkanı, 2 parlamento başkanı, 3 cumhurbaşkanı yardımcısı, 5 başbakan ve 24 de bakanın katılacağı açıklandı.

**VATIKAN SON ANDA İPTAL**

Vatikan'dan bir bakanın gelmesi planlanırken, Papa Françesko'nun "soykırım" sözlerine gösterilen tepkilerin ardından katılmadan vazgeçildi. 23 Nisan'da İstanbul'da Başş Zirvesi, 24'ünde Çanakkale'de anma töreni, 25'inde şafak ayını düzenlenecek. » 24

**Erivan'a dört lider gidiyor**

Ermenistan'ın 1915 olaylarının 100. yıldönümü nedeniyle Erivan'da düzenlediği törenlere Rusya Devlet Başkanı Putin, Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Hollande, Kıbrıs (Rum) lideri Anastasiadis ve Sırbistan Cumhurbaşkanı Nikoliç'in katılacağı açıklandı. Törene 60 ülkeden başkan ya da cumhurbaşkanlarını temsilen parlamento heyetlerinin katılacağı bildirildi. » 41. sayfta

**Anma töreninde ev sahibi Erdoğan**

Çanakkale'deki anma töreninin ev sahipliğini Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan yapacak. İstanbul'daki Başş Zirvesi'nde Türkiye'yi Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu temsil edecek. » 24'te

**İngiltere Prens Charles**

**Azerbaycan Başş Aliyev**

**Slovenya Borut Pahor**

**Pakistan Navaz Sharif**

**Zeynep SAFAK**

**Nerdun HACIOĞLU**

Fotoğraf: Umut ÖZGAN/AA

Firstly, on April 22, 2015, the headline of *Hürriyet* concerns the presidents who will participate in the commemoration event in Turkey. On the other hand, another article titled "4 leaders are going to Erivan", which is placed right next to the headline, stands out. In both articles, the number and

names of the presidents who will attend or have been invited to the events are given. Although there is no direct comparison, one feels that there is a hidden political competition in these articles that are juxtaposed.

# ORAYA 2 BAŞKAN GİTTİ BİZE 20 TANE GELDİ

Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan,  
Ermenistan'daki anmayı  
kastederek, "Oraya iki başkan  
gitti, hamdolsun  
bize 20 tane devlet  
başkanı geldi" dedi.



## KANLI LEKELERİNİZİ TEMİZLEYİN

■ "Almanya'nın yol açtığı iki dünya savaşında yaşananlar ortada. Rusya'nın 1917'den beri kendi topraklarında hayatını kaybeden milyonlarca insan var. Fransa'nın kötü sicili tüm dünyanın malumu. Onları kanlı lekelerini temizlemeye davet ediyorum." » 20. sayfa

The effort to create a competition between the commemoration events in Armenia and Turkey was expressed most clearly in the quantitative data announced by Erdoğan. Erdoğan's statement **"Two presidents went there, 20 came to us"** was headlined by *Hürriyet* without quotation, presenting it in a way that affirms the competitive approach.

In 2015, scheduling the commemoration event of 100th anniversary of Dardanelles Campaign on the same day with April 24 Genocide Remembrance Day was discussed by creating a contrast between two events both in political scene and media. As seen in the report above, the comparison that the president made in terms of the world leaders participating in the two ceremonies paved the way for media to regard and report the event like a political game.

On the other hand, in the process of analyzing the news items published between 1995 and 2015 regarding the Armenian Genocide as part of this research, we found out that scheduling these ceremonies on the same day is not peculiar to 2015. During this research, we found that newspapers covered the commemoration events of the Armenian Genocide and Dardanelles Campaign on the same date in the previous years as well.



## dedeleri savaştı, torunları dost oldu

● 25 Nisan Anzak çıkarılmasının yıldönümünde Anzak Koyu'nda düzenlenecek Şafak Töreni'ne katılmak üzere Çanakkale'ye binlerce Avustralya ve Yeni Zelandalı turist geldi. 86 yıl önce dedeleri birbirine karşı savaşan Türk ve Anzak gençleri birlikte eğlendiler.

ÇANAKKALE (Cumhuriyet) - Çanakkale Savaşları 86. yıldönümünde anılıyor. 25 Nisan Anzak çıkarılmasının yıldönümünde Anzak Koyu'nda düzenlenecek Şafak Töreni'ne katılmak üzere Çanakkale'ye binlerce Avustralya ve Yeni Zelandalı turist geldi. Çanakkale'deki otellerin yataklarını kapattıklarını yeterli olmaması nedeniyle, gelen Anzakar Gelibolu Yarımadası'nda eşsiz konaklamaya başladılar. Gelibolu Yarımadası'ndaki ilk tören bugün saat 05.30'da gerçekleştirilecek. Anzak Koyu'ndaki Şafak Töreni'nde, savaşlarda can veren müahipler için dini tören yapılacak. Anzak töreninin ardından ayrı ayrı yapılacak. Anzak 86. yıldönümü için **Arkan Sa. 19. S. 3'te**

## ABD BAŞKANI GEORGE W. BUSH

### 'Soykırım'ı kullanmadı

● ABD Başkanı George W. Bush, 24 Nisan bildiriminde "soykırım" kelimesini kullanmadı. Bush, kendisinden önceki ABD başkanlarının yayımladığı "katliam" kelimesini bile kullanmadı. Bush, "Bugün tarihin en büyük trajedilerinden birinin anıldığı bir gün. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yıllarında yaklaşık 1.5 milyon Ermeni'nin zorla göç ettirildiği ve öldüğü tarih. Bugün her de Ermeni ailesi Amerikalılara ve yurtdışındaki Ermeni toplamlarına, kaybettiği pek çok masum yaşamını yasını tutmasına katılıyor" dedi. **11. Sayfa**

For instance, on April 25, 2001, *Cumhuriyet* published an article on Dardanelles Campaign remembrance day titled "their grandfathers fought against each other, but grandsons became friends" next to the article evaluating the statement made by the US President of the time, George W. Bush, in an article titled "He did not use the word Genocide" on the first page.



*Cumhuriyet* featured the Genocide commemoration speech made by US President Obama in its headline on April 25, 2009 and assessed the fact that US President Obama did not use the word 'genocide' as a diplomatic success. The image used for the news article titled "Gallipoli made us a nation" given right under the headline emphasizes the association of nation to heroism and facilitates establishing a contrast between commemorations of Dardanelles and Genocide in its

readers' minds.



On April 25, 2011, Hürriyet covered the commemoration events of the Genocide and Dardanelles Campaign by juxtaposing them on two different pages and creating a contrast once again. In the article titled “They burnt it with ceremony”, the photo of Turkish flag set on fire during the commemoration ceremony is featured with the following statement: “Thousands of Armenians set a large Turkish flag on fire in front of the so-called ‘genocide monument’ yesterday”. US President Obama’s statement on April 24 is given on the same page as a larger news item, and it is emphasized that Obama has not defined the event as “genocide” again this year. On the next page, the commemoration event held for Dardanelles Campaign is given with the title “A spirit that even commemorates its enemy”. Considering the placement of these two articles in the newspaper, we see an approach that creates enmity against all Armenians over a Turkish flag that was set on fire during the events in Armenia and that aggrandizes Turkey that continues to commemorate ‘even’ the soldiers of a country that it fought against 100 years ago.

## ARTICLE SERIES AND CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY

As stated in the beginning, April 24 and 25 issues of *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* were analyzed as part of this study. However, the following parts of article series were also included in the analysis in order to have a complete perspective. Full list of the article series that were found in the analyzed period is as follows:

Date	Newspaper	Author	Title
April 24, 25, 26, 27, 1995	Zaman	Prof. Dr. Bayram Kodaman	Ermeniler ve 24 Nisan 1915 (1)
			Ermeniler ve 24 Nisan 1915 (2)
			Ermeniler ve 24 Nisan 1915 (3)
			Ermeniler ve 24 Nisan 1915 (4)
April 24, 25, 2005	Hürriyet	Murat Bardakçı	TALAT PAŞA'NIN KARA KAPLI DEFTERİ
			İşte Kara Kaplı defterdeki gerçek
April 24, 25, 2006	Hürriyet	Murat Bardakçı	TALÂT PAŞA'NIN TEHCİR DEFTERİ
			Tehcirden geriye 41 bin ev kaldı
April 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 2006	Cumhuriyet	Prof. Dr. Türkkaya Ataöv	Ermeni belge sahtekârlıkları
			Yalanlarına Atatürk'ü de alet ettiler
			Andonian'ın sahte belgeleri
			Batı destekli Ermeni kıyım'
			Atatürk'e yakıştırılan uydurma demeçler
			Bir milyon dolara satın alınan duvar
April 24, 25, 2008	Cumhuriyet	Prof. Dr. Türkkaya Ataöv	Geçmişle yüzleşmek' ne demek?
			Geçmişle yüzleşmek' ne demek? -2-
April 24, 25, 2009	Cumhuriyet	Prof. Dr. Türkkaya Ataöv	ERMENİ SORUNU: Gerçekler hep göz ardı edildi
			Mahallelerde katliam
April 24, 25, 2010	Cumhuriyet	Şükrü M. Elekdağ	Tehcir askeri zorunluluk
			Hükümetten radikal kararlar

One of the most significant aspects of Armenian Genocide discussions in the print media is the war of documents in these article series. In this section, we will try to reveal the language and style used in such discussions. In this regard, our first example is the article series by Türkkaya Ataöv published in *Cumhuriyet* in 2006, 2008 and 2009.



The article series titled “Armenians’ Forgery of Documents” written for *Cumhuriyet* was announced on the first page on April 24 for the first time. Although the professor and scientist title of the author leads to an expectation of an academic discussion throughout the article series, the expression used already in the title of the series, which is not academically proper, insults the Armenian community and associates all Armenians with forgery.

The first part of the series published on April 25 is titled as “They even instrumentalized Atatürk for their lies”. In the very beginning of the text, it is stated that “For 90 years, Armenians have made up numerous documents and discourses to make the world believe their allegations” and in this way, a contrast between “us” and “them” is established.

The article defends the view that the Genocide is completely unreal by claiming that some photos and images, allegedly used as evidence for the Armenian Genocide, have been falsified.

'Civilians' are not mentioned in the article, following the attitude of the official history thesis. The fact that Anatolia has been cleared of Armenians is silently ignored. Enmity discourse is produced over the discussion of document by titling the subparts with the expressions like “There are more forgeries” and “Incredible knavery”. Other parts of the article series aim to prove that the provided documents are false and to deny the claim that Atatürk also accepted the Genocide.

In 2009, Türkkaya Ataöv wrote another article series titled “Armenian Threat and Deportation” for *Cumhuriyet* and the both parts of the series were given a whole page. The second part titled “**Massacre in the neighborhoods**”, which we will analyze in detail, provides an insight to Ataöv's representation of genocide, which is remarkably similar to the social and political attitude dominant at that time.

Starting from the beginning, the title of the series (“**Armenian Threat and Deportation**”) aims to legitimize genocide as a defensive measure against the intruder Armenians under conditions of war. The emphasis on the legitimization of the Genocide continues in the summary with the following statement: “Provided with weapons, military training, money, food and clothing by foreign countries, Armenians attacked Muslim neighborhoods, villages and towns and committed massacres.” This statement depicts all Armenians as armed; there is no distinction between armed and unarmed

Armenians. In the middle of the page, a large photo of armed Armenians is featured and there is a statement under the photo: "Armed attacks of Armenians with the support of various imperialist states led to massacres, blocked the routes of all three Turkish armies and made them dysfunctional." In addition, it is claimed that Armenians fighting against Turks had been wearing English uniforms and implied that they were supported by western states and rebelled against Turks thanks to this support. Assessing the page as a whole, it may easily be found out that the article is designed to create a picture with 'Armenians who stab the Turks in the back and deserved what they went through' and enmity discourse is produced.

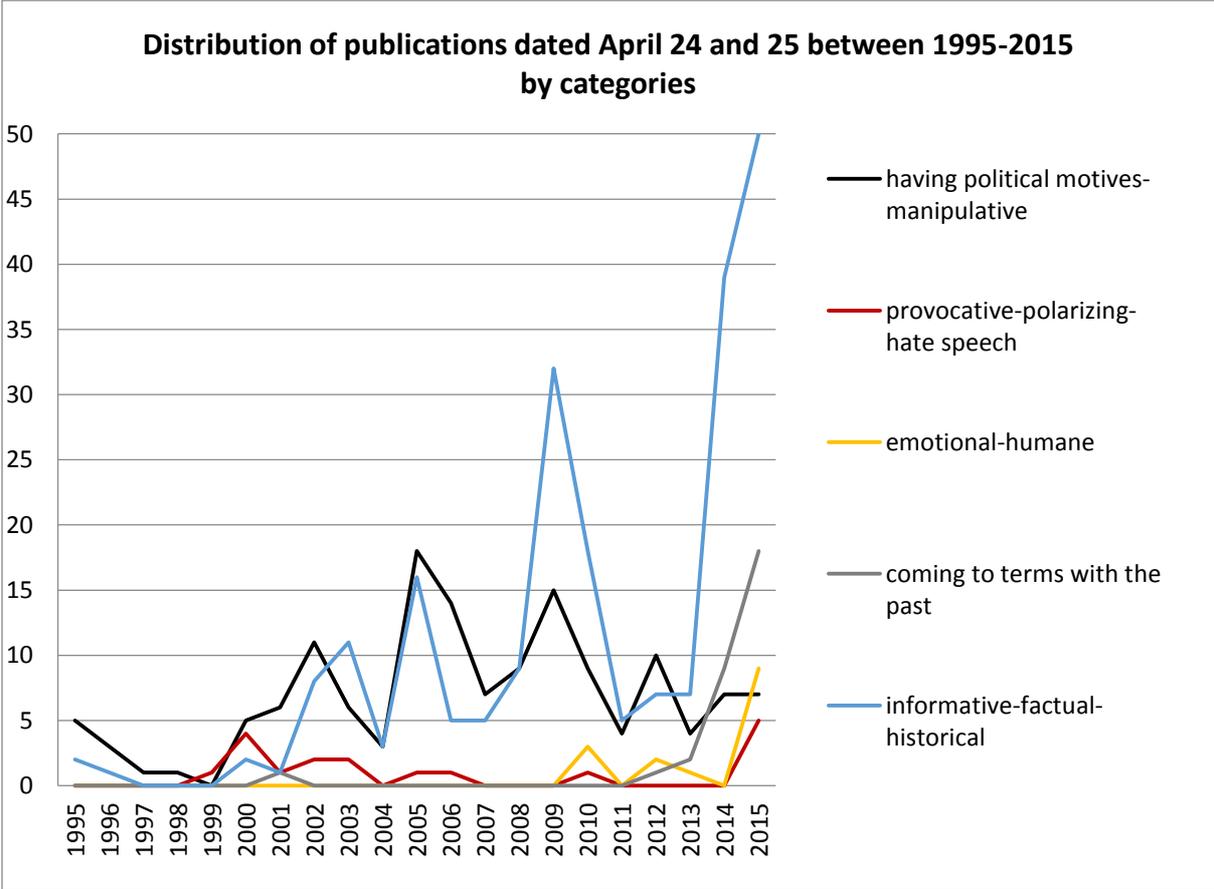
The second article series that we will analyze is Prof. Dr. Bayram Kodaman's article series titled "**Armenians and April 24, 1915**" written for *Zaman* in 1995. In this series, two sides are positioned in opposition: a huge Armenian community trying to prove the Genocide and Turks defending their rights in the face of this attempt. The history of the Armenian community, who was living in peace with the Turks during the Ottoman Empire, is told in the beginning of this article series consisting of four parts. Following parts deal with the foreign players who caused a fit between Armenians and Turks, who had been living like "sisters and brothers" for centuries. In the summary of the third part, it is stated that "Ottoman state forced its citizens who fought against the Ottomans, and thus betrayed the state and the nation, to migrate to other regions." The text leaves out the distinction between armed and unarmed people and Armenians are presented as a community which rebelled against a legitimate state. Finally, by stating that "April 24, 1915 is the day when their opportunity to rebel against a legitimate government and to massacre Muslims was taken away from them", it is suggested that what Armenians really should do is not to commemorate the Genocide, but to contemplate on who were the ones that made them enemies of Turks.

## **GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ITEMS ON THE GENOCIDE**

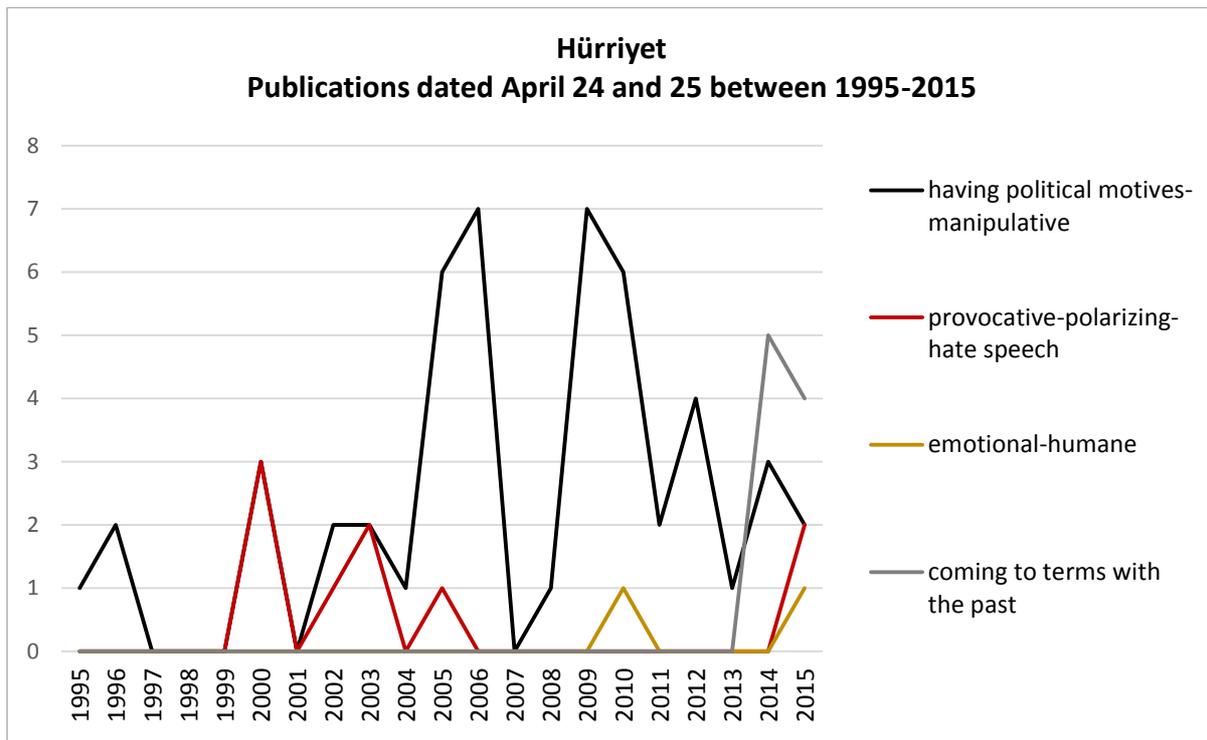
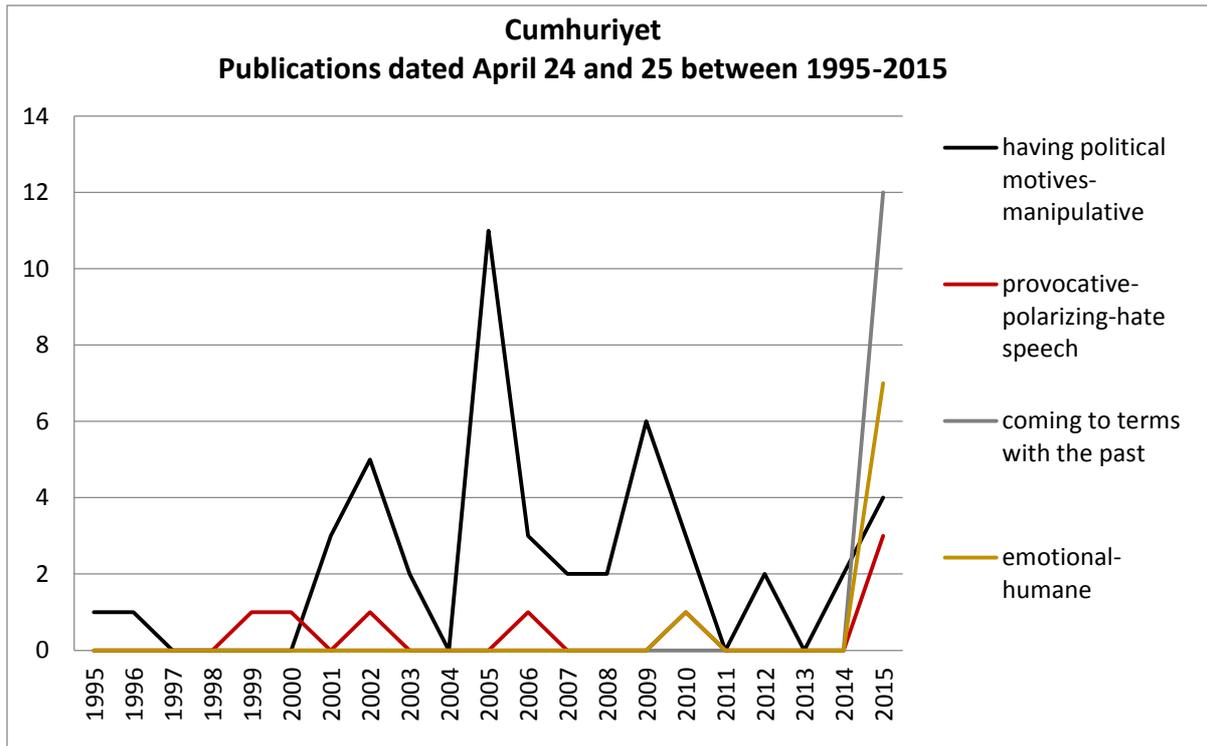
As part of this research, which aims to analyze news reports and articles about April 24 Armenian Genocide remembrance day published in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Zaman* on April 24 and 25 between 1995 and 2014, and on April 21-26 in 2015, the obtained data is evaluated under five categories: **1) informative-factual-historical, 2) having political motives-manipulative, 3) provocative-polarizing-hate speech, 4) emotional-humane, 5) coming to terms with the past.**

282 items that cover only the Five Ws and One H (5W1H) of the news without adopting a specific approach have been categorized as informative-factual-historical in the entire study. 165 items were determined as having political motives-manipulative. 23 articles were found in the category provocative-polarizing-hate speech. Finally, 17 items were included in the category of emotional-humane, while 39 items were determined to discuss coming to terms with the past.

When we considered the change in the distribution of the publications by category over the years, the increase of the items in 'informative-factual-historical' category in 2015 stood out in the first place. Concordantly, it is found that the number of items in 'coming to terms with the past' category started to increase after 2013. On the other hand, it was found that items in 'having political motives-manipulative' categories continued to be produced. Finally, items considered under category 'provocative-polarizing-hate speech' also increased in 2015.



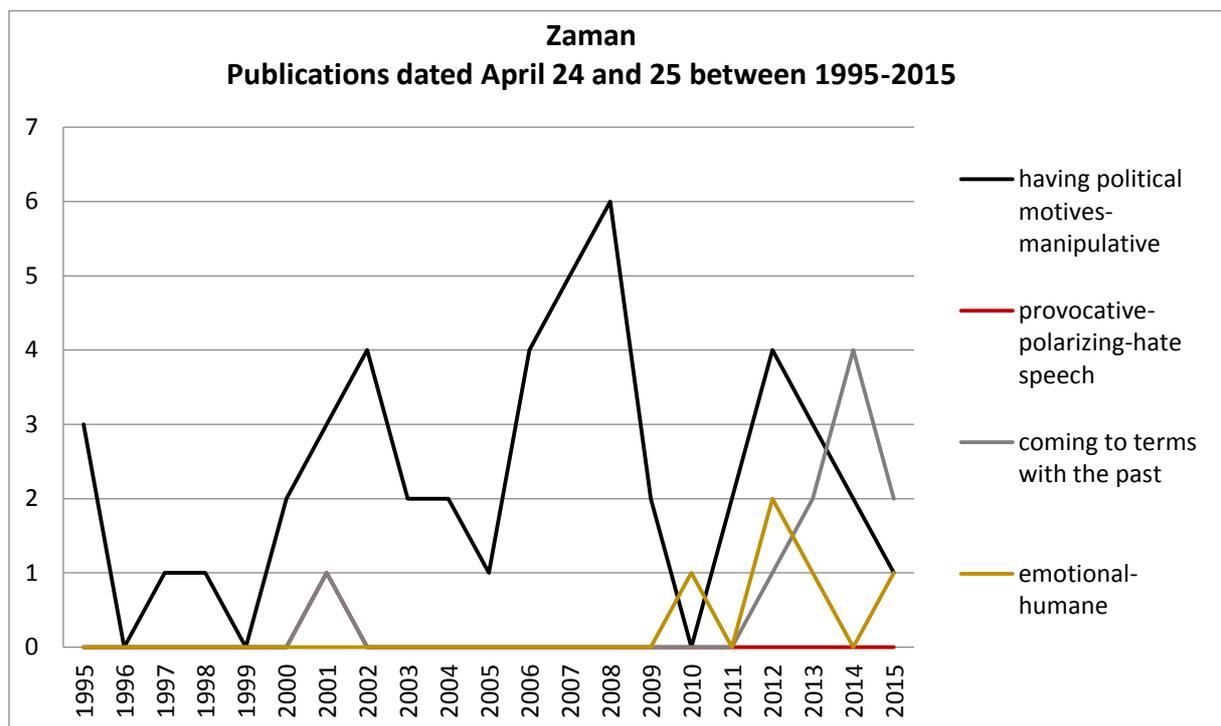
In order to show the change in analyzed newspapers' attitudes toward April 24 Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day, the distribution of articles and columns published in each newspaper only on April 24 and 25 by these categories was observed. Firstly, the 'informative-factual-historical' category was left out and the other four categories were charted on the ground that they would present newspapers' attitudes better in terms of the quality and number of the items:



When we analyzed the charts of *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet*, two main findings stood out regarding the Armenian Genocide in 2015. First, items under the categories of emotional-humane and coming to terms with the past-social responsibility, which we started to see in recent years, increased in 2015 and, as might be expected, the number of items qualified as having a political motive-manipulative

have relatively decreased. However, despite this improvement, it was seen that items qualified as provocative-polarizing-hate speech have not decreased but, on the contrary, increased in these newspapers.

In general, publishing policy of *Cumhuriyet* was found to be quite different in the 100th year of the Armenian Genocide compared to previous years. In comparison to other newspapers, *Cumhuriyet* might be the one featuring totally opposing items next to each other in the most striking way: it includes the ones that emphasizes coming to terms with the past and also the ones that are engaged with the denial of the Genocide. In this regard, it was found that many columnists continued to write polarizing or provocative articles occasionally. When it comes to *Hürriyet* and *Zaman*, it is possible to mention a general publishing policy and a common voice which is reflected in the columns as well.



It was found that items in the categories of **emotional-humane and coming to terms with the past-social responsibility** have increased in *Zaman* over the years, while items which **have political motives and are manipulative** have decreased. It was also observed that items in the category of **provocative-polarizing-hate speech** have not been common (only 1 item in 2001).

## EXAMPLES BY CATEGORIES

### - Having political motives – manipulative

When the main themes of the articles in this category are analyzed, the initial finding is that the majority of these articles deal with discussions on recognition/denial of the Genocide. Especially, the way the US president will define the event stands out as one of the hot topics in these discussions. Almost every year, the US presidents' choice of word is covered as a political victory against Armenia and especially the Armenian Diaspora living in the US. It is found that such articles were often

featured in all three newspapers since 2000. A list of examples is given in the table below in order to give an idea about the frequency of such items:

25.04.2001	Cumhuriyet	Başkan Bush 'Soykırım' demedi
25.04.2002	Cumhuriyet	Bush 'soykırım' yerine 'katliam' dedi
25.04.2007	Cumhuriyet	24 Nisan açıklaması Bush 'soykırım' demedi
25.04.2009	Cumhuriyet	'Soykırım' demedi ama...
25.04.2013	Cumhuriyet	Obama: Büyük felaket
25.04.2000	Hürriyet	Bush soykırım demedi
25.04.2009	Hürriyet	SOYKIRIM' DEMEDİ MEDS YEGHERN* DEDİ /
25.04.2009	Hürriyet	Obama'nın golü skoru belirledi
24.04.2010	Hürriyet	Gözler bugün Obama'nın yapacağı 24 Nisan konuşmasında
24.04.2011	Hürriyet	Obama 'Büyük felaket' dedi
25.04.2011	Hürriyet	Bir Soykırım demedi
25.04.2012	Hürriyet	Obama'dan diyasporaya seçim yatırımı yok
25.04.2014	Hürriyet	Yine 'meds yeghern' dedi
25.04.2002	Zaman	ABD Başkanı Bush, 'soykırım' yerine 'katliam' dedi
24.04.2005	Zaman	Edelman: Başkan Bush 'soykırım' demeyecek
25.04.2007	Zaman	George Bush, bu yıl da 'soykırım' demedi
25.04.2008	Zaman	Bush bu sene de 'soykırım' demedi
24.04.2009	Zaman	Barack Obama, bugün o kelimeyi kullanır mı ?
25.04.2009	Zaman	Obama, 24 Nisan mesajında bir tek 'soykırım' demedi
25.04.2012	Zaman	Obama 'soykırım' demedi
25.04.2013	Zaman	Obama 'soykırım' demedi Ermeni Lobisi durgun
25.04.2014	Zaman	Soykırım' demedi



In 2009, when the protocol was signed between Armenia and Turkey, a news article titled “Obama’s goal determined the score” published in *Hürriyet* on April 25, which reports the way the protocol was covered by world media. The title of this article, which is a compilation of news items from popular newspapers published in various countries, degrades the issue into a political struggle for power. The title also defines the fact that Obama has not used the word ‘genocide’ in his statement as a goal scored against the Armenians, referring to a football game played between national teams on September 2008, which was the symbolic start to the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Furthermore, it is observed that Karabakh question between Armenia and Azerbaijan is also instrumentalized to facilitate covering April 24 commemorations in a manipulative way.

The commentary titled “Azeri-Russian convergence in Karabakh question” published in *Cumhuriyet* in 2001, the headline “Armenian Diaspora showers the occupied Upper Karabakh with money” published in *Zaman* in 2007, the article titled “Azeri properties were plundered in Karabakh” published in *Zaman* in 2007 and the article titled “Busy traffic to convince the Azeri” published in *Cumhuriyet* in 2009 are the examples to this instrumentalization. Some of these news items and articles do not include any direct links to the Armenian Genocide commemoration events, but publishing these items on April 24 and 25 indicate a specific preference. Especially “Armenian Diaspora showers the occupied Upper Karabakh with money” headline shows, such items create a language that discredits and alienates Armenian diaspora, Armenia and Armenian people as a whole.

#### - **Provocative – polarizing – hate speech**

13 items that were published in the analyzed newspapers on April 24 and 25 between 1995 and 2015 have been considered in this category. In 2015, between April 21 and 26, 10 items were found to be published in the same newspapers (*Cumhuriyet* 7, *Hürriyet* 3). This increase in 2015 is parallel to the increase of items in 'coming to terms with the past' and 'emotional-humane' categories and it can be interpreted in two ways: defenders of the state tradition might be trying to maintain their positions or the newspaper and especially columnists carry on with their rooted judgments. Especially the fact that all 10 items found in 2015 were produced in the columns supports this interpretation.

One of the most remarkable examples are articles by Emin Çölaşan titled “Our so-called genocide(!)”, “Armenian Genocide!”, “Armenian incident!!!”, which were published in *Cumhuriyet* in 2002, 2003 and 2005, respectively. The most outstanding characteristic of these articles was that he almost said the same things in all three articles. He writes the following statement almost in the same way in all articles: “...there is no such thing as genocide. If there was, would there be a single Armenian in Istanbul or in Anatolia left after 1915?” However, the reason why these articles are considered in the category ‘provocative-polarizing-hate speech’ is that they target the whole Armenian community and portray Armenians as enemies. Then again, expressions such as “Armenian lies”, “Armenian clamors”, “Armenian genocide jangles”, “Armenian vixen” carry the issue far away from a political, historical and even humane discussion and produce hate speech against Armenians. In addition, the distinction between us (Turks) and them (Armenians) that dominates all three articles contributes to strengthening of this discourse. Finally, the statement “You betrayed, you rebelled a thousand times over the years, you cooperated with the enemy in the World War I and stabbed your own army in

the back and now you cry and play for sympathy!” that legitimizes what happened to Armenians in 1915 is included in Çölaşan’s column.



Another example in this category is a news article titled “Armenians set Turkish flag on fire”, published in *Cumhuriyet* in 2000. This statement used in the title of this article, which provides information about Genocide protests in Athens, is considered under the hate speech category, since it means to blame all Armenians. Although the article reports that some Armenians in Turkey criticized the protest, the expressions used in the article regard all Armenians as responsible for the ‘burnt Turkish flag’ and portray them as enemies.



The article titled “A slap of common sense to the Armenians’ published in *Zaman* on April 25, 2001 was considered in this category due to its title. The article regards the fact that the US President Bush did not use the words massacre or genocide during his speech as a political victory, and defines the whole Armenian community as an enemy to the Republic of Turkey and targets them using genocide discussions.

As stated in the beginning, in 2015, a remarkable increase was seen in the number of items in this category and one of the first findings that stood out was that all of these items were found in columns. Therefore, we once again realized that columns, in which the players who have a part in agenda-setting express their personal opinions, are more open for producing hate speech compared to the news articles which try to stay relatively neutral.

One of the most clear examples to this category from 2015 is the article titled “We are fed up with Armenians” published in the column of Yalçın Bayer in *Hürriyet*. Yalçın Bayer directly cites the article titled “We are fed up with Armenians” by Prof. Dr. Atilla Çetin without making any significant additions or interventions in his column dated April 22. The article starts with the statement “We are really fed up with the unruliness of Armenians that they exhibit each year before and after April 24” and insults Armenians on the very first sentence. The article also targets people who carry out research on Genocide with this statement: “Dear intellectuals, press members, academics adoring Armenians, ‘naive researchers’ etc., please put our national interests and our state’s dignity first.”

Türkiye  
dik durmazsa  
boyun eğerse  
daha çok böyle  
'darbeler' alır

# Ermeniler gına getirdi

YETER SÖZ MİLLETİN

Yalçın  
BAYER



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HER yıl 24 Ni-  
san öncesinde,  
ve sonrasında,  
Ermenilerin dünya  
çapında yaptıkları  
azgınlıklar doğrusu gına  
getirdi. Aradan yüz yıl  
geçmiş hâlâ 1915 olay-  
ları... Kesilmiş, mağdur  
edilmiş ve sürülmüş bir  
millet ve bunu yapan  
zalım Türkler masalı...

Arkadaş, işin gerçeği  
kusa ve öz şu:

Avrupa devletlerinin  
kışkırttığı, silahlandırdığı Ermeni  
çeteleri ve onların Anadolu'da  
Türklerle ve Kürtlere yaptığı zulüm-  
ler ve katliamlar vb... Türkler de  
kendilerini korumak için müdafaa-  
ya geçtiler.

Ey aydınlar, basın mensupları,  
Ermeni hayranı akademisyenler,  
'saf araştırmacılar' vs. önce ulusal  
 çıkarlarımızı ve devletin onurunu  
düşüncün. Çatışmalardan her iki ta-  
rafta -haklı veya haksız- ölenler de  
katledilenler de oldu. Yani kısaca  
Ermeni de Türk'ü katletti, kesti;  
Türk de Ermeni'yi katletti, kesti.

Ermenilerin en  
büyük hatası ş-  
dur, hiçbir devlet,  
savaş halinde iken,  
düşmanla işbirliği  
yapan, yaşadığı ül-  
keyi arkadan vuran  
tebaasını affetmez.  
O bir haindir...  
Ve cezasını görür.  
Ermeniler maalesef  
Ruslarla işbirliği  
yapıp, Osmanlıya  
arkadan vurdular.  
Bunu hiçbir devlet  
başışlamaz. Kendini  
savınmaya geçer.  
Şapkalın öntümüze koyalım ve iyi  
tefekür edelim.

Sürgün; Osmanlı devletlerinin  
çok eski bir yönetim sistemidir.  
Türk aşiret ve oymakları da zaman  
zaman çeşitli yerlere sürgün  
edildiler. Mecburi göçe zorlandılar  
(tehcir).

1915'te Ermeniler eski bir  
devlet iskânı siyaseti gereği başka  
yerlere göç etmek zorunda bira-  
kıldılar. Bu arada organizasyon ve  
teknik imkânsızlıklardan bazı nahos

ve insani olmayan olumsuzluklar  
yaşandı. Ölümler, salgın hastalıklar  
vb. Kadın, kız, çocuk, yaşlı gibi...  
Ermenilere, Türk toplumu insani  
duyarlılık gösterdi, insani yardım  
elini uzattı. Birçok Ermeni kızı Türk  
gençleri ile evlendirildi. Komşu  
Ermeni aileleri korundu.  
Bu konuda yüzlerce belge var.  
Bir de bizdeki yöneticilerin ilâde  
bir ortaya atıkları konu var; 'Gelin  
arşivleri açalım, tarihçiler incelesin'  
efendim...

## TÜRK ARŞİVLERİ AÇIK

Türk arşivleri zaten açık.  
Birçok da yayın yapıldı.  
Siz (100 ciltlik) bir külliyat  
yayınlanmaz Türk'tin haklı  
davasını ispatlayan... Ne  
**Ermenistan** ne **Avrupa**,  
**Amerika** inanmaz, itibar  
etmez. Bu boş hayali  
bırakın. **Ermenistan** lobi  
faaliyetlerinde 'süper' dir.  
Bir de Hıristiyan gay-  
retini, dayanışmasını  
unutmayın.

Osmanlı döneminde  
1915 olayları ve Ermeni  
mezalimi hakkında

Osmanlıca fotografik kitaplar  
çıkarıldı; isteyen baksın... **Türkiye**  
dik durmazsa, Avrupa kapılann-  
da, **Avrupa Birliği** ne gireceğim  
diye boyun eğerse daha çok böyle  
darbeler alır. Dik ve sebatlı duran  
onurlu **Türkiye**'ye kimse zorlama  
ile baskı ile tarihi gerçeğe aykırı  
gömelek giydiremez.

Ermenilerin bir derdi de, toprak  
ve tazminat koparmak. Bunu  
çocuklar bile biliyor. Türkiye'nin  
büyük tarihçileri neredeler?

Prof. Dr. Atilla ÇETİN

**GÜNÜN  
SÖZÜ**  
"Halk sahtekâ-  
ra, hürsıza o  
kadar alışmış ki  
Kılıçdaroğlu na-  
muslu ve dürüst  
olduğu için onun  
söylediklerine  
inanamıyorlar."  
**Rüstem  
BATUM**

Defining Armenians as "traitors", the author emphasizes that Armenians deserved what they went through with this statement: "The biggest mistake made by Armenians is the following: no state would ever forgive its people who cooperated with the enemy during the time of war and stabbed their country in the back. They are traitors... And traitors are punished as they deserve."

Such discourse portrays Armenians as nemesis against Turks and the state, and targets them. At the end of the article, reparation demands and territorial claims of Armenians are restated; thereby the idea that turns Armenians into enemies is made concrete.

Cüneyt Arcayürek article titled "Remedy..." published in *Cumhuriyet* on April 22, 2015 is another example to this category.



## Care...

**K**ılıçdaroğlu'nun tek başına CHP  
iktidarının hükümet programı ola-  
rak nitelediği seçim beyanname-  
sindeki ekonomik vaatler AKP yetkililerin-  
ce amansız eleştirilerek bombardımanı ile kar-  
şılaştı.

Başbakan AD'nin hayal dediği vaatleri  
rakamlarla eleştiren Maliye Bakanı **Mehmet  
Şimşek** bu vaatler bütçeye 200 mil-  
yar daha açık ekleyecek diyor.

Oysa kaynağı da çareyi de sade bir va-  
tandaş bile biliyor.

Büyük devlet saptamasıyla AKP iktida-  
rının har vurup harman savurduğu paralannın  
tasarruf edilebilmesiyle 8 milyon emek-  
liye iki bayramda birer maaş ikramiye neden  
verilmesin?

17 milyon dolayındaki yoksul kitenin  
güncel yaşamına kısıtlı ölçüde de olsa çare-  
ler neden uygulanmasın?

Asgari ücretin 1500 liraya çıkarılması,  
kredi borcu faizlerinin yüzde 80'i neden  
silinmesin?

\*\*\*

Kimi ekonomi uzmanlarının sütunlara  
yansıyan saptamalarında CHP'nin ekono-  
mik vaatlerinin karşılığını bulmak olanaklı.

Büyük devlet cakası yapma uğruna  
Beştepe'de inşa ettirdiği saraya sarfedilen  
5 milyar, hiç gereği yokken Saraylı'nın  
emrine dilediği gibi harcaması için verilen  
2,5 milyar örtülü ödenek, Suriyeli mülteci-  
lere 5 milyar dolar, Libya'daki alacaklara 7  
milyar dolar...

\*\*\*

Neymiş bu israfın nedeni efendim:  
AKP öylesine Müslümanmış ki, dünya-  
nın neresinde olursa olsun Müslümanların  
maddi ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya koşmayı  
Müslümanlığın zorunlu görevi saymış!  
Ama ülkedeki yoksul Müslümanların,

emeklinin, işçinin, köylünün maddi zor-  
luklarını nedense karşılamaya gerek gör-  
müyor.

Neden mi? Ülkeyi bir baştan öteki baş-  
sa refah içinde yaşayan insanların ülkesi-  
ne döndürdüğü palavrasına kendisinin  
de inanması nedeniyle...

\*\*\*

Kılıçdaroğlu'nun açıkladığı şu çarpıcı  
rakamlar; Başbakan Yardımcısı **Bülent  
Arınç**'in açıkladığı israf politikası, Bay  
**RTE**'nin, Allah'ın içinden çıkarması sağla-  
yacağına açıkladığı ekonomik krizin gerçek  
nedeni değil mi?

CHP lideri israfı rakamlarla kanıtıyor.  
1923-2002 yılları arasında gelip geçen  
57 hükümetin harcadığı toplam kaynak  
779 milyar dolar.

12 yılda AKP hükümetlerinin toplam  
harcadığı para 1 trilyon 869 milyar dolar!  
Soru: 12 yılda yeni bir Atatürk barajı  
mi, Keban mı, İSDEMİR mi yapıldı?

\*\*\*

Ana muhalefet henüz dış politikada-  
ki yanlış yaklaşımlar nedeniyle Türkiye'nin  
gücünden ne ölçüde israf ettiğinin hesabını  
sormadı.

Bugüne dek RTE'nin ve şimdi de AD'nin  
tavizkâr Ermeni soykırımı politikasının gi-  
derek dünya ölçeğinde başımıza örülen  
tuzaklardan nasıl kurtulacağımızı da he-  
saplamış değil.

AD yayımladığı son mesajda "**Birinci  
Dünya Savaşı**'nda yaşananları anıyor, ha-  
yatını kaybeden masum Osmanlı Ermeni-  
lerini saygıyla andığını" söylüyor ama...

....Ermeniler tarafından öldürülen binler-  
ce Osmanlı Türklerinden söz etmeyerek  
Ermenistan'a dostluk elini uzatıyor.

Oysa Ermeni soykırımı kabule yakın  
adamlarla dünya Ermenileri Türkiye'nin  
dostluk elini sıkmaya niyetli görünmüyor-  
lar.

Soykırımı kabul ettiğimiz gün Ermeni  
soykırım dayatmalarının arkası gelecek.

\*\*\*

Tazminat ve de toprak... Ağrı'yı, Kars'ı  
belki de Van'ı isteyecekler.

Bu sorunda dost yok yanımızda.

Baksanıza Alman hükümeti de yakın ta-  
rihte yaptıkları 7 milyon Yahudi soykırımı-  
na sözde Ermeni soykırımının örnek oldu-  
ğunu söylemeye başladılar.

Hayirlara vesile olmayacak gelişmeler...

Cüneyt Arcayürek criticizes Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, stating that the “concessive policies” implemented against the Armenian Genocide puts Turkey in a difficult position. He gives the condolence message issued by Erdoğan in 2014 as an example to these concessions. He goes on to defend the view that such concessions would lead to the recognition of the Genocide and then lead to territorial demands: “Reparations and territory... They will demand Ağrı, Kars and maybe even Van.” He ends his article by saying “We do not have any friends in this issue” in a tone way that portraying Armenians as enemies.

- **Emotional - humane**

The first examples considered in ‘emotional-humane’ category were found in 2010 for the first time. Columns titled **“Seeing the Human behind the Issue”** by Ali Sirmen published in *Cumhuriyet*; **“Today is April 24!”** by Hadi Uluengin published in *Hürriyet*; and the interview of Nuriye Akman titled **“I remembered September 6-7 when I heard about the Cage”** published in *Zaman* are the first examples from 2010.

# Paravon Dede'nin hikâyesi hepimizin

Paravon Dede'nin iç burkan hikâyesi, geçtiğimiz yüzyıl bu topraklarda yaşanan, yankısını bugünlere ve geleceğe taşıyan pek çok acıklı hikâyeden biri. Günün anlamına uygun olarak bir Ermeni hikâyesi bu. Ama aynı anda Türkleri, Kürtleri ve bambaşka kimlikler taşıyanları da kapsıyor. Belki ortak noktası "mazlumiyet" denilebilir. Zalim olmamış, zorbalık yapmamış ama haksız yere zulüm görmüş farklı kimliklerden gelen milyonlarca kişinin acısını yansıtan... Bir türlü bitmeyen, tamamlanamayan bir hikâye. İç içe geçmiş öyküleriyle, yarım kalmış vedalarıyla, bizden insanlık adına tanıklığımızı istiyor. Belki sadece bunu.

Artık biliyoruz çünkü, bizde iz bırakan küçük hikâyelerimizin diğer ucu, özellikle son yüz elli yıldır bu topraklarda yaşanan o acı yüklü toplumsal tarihimizi, yani büyük hikâyemizi fazlasıyla yansıtır.

Geçtiğimiz yıl asırlık ömrünü tamamlayarak ahirete geçen 1914 Yozgat, Burunkışla doğumlu Paravon Gökbaş, arkadaşım Nayat Karaköse'nin babasının dayısı. Ona doğum tarihi sorulduğunda suskun kalmış, "kara gün sonunda" dermiş hep. Tehcir günlerinde annesi, kardeşleri ve diğer akrabaları birlikte yuvasını bırakarak yollara düşmüş. Babası, Ermeni ailelerin pek çoğunun erkekleri gibi o vakit Osmanlı ordusunda savasta. Daha somut söylemek gerekirse Sankamış'ta.

Ve yine Sarıkamış askerlerinin pek çoğu gibi bir daha ondan haber alınamayacak. Donarak ölmüş olabilir, Rusya'ya sığınmış da olabilir. Başta anne olmak üzere, kimse öğrenemiyor bir daha.

Yola düşeli birkaç gün olduğunda, "katletme emri" almış bir asker onları kısıyor, sıraya diziyor öldürmek için. Fakat Paravon Dede, bir yaşının verdiği bütün içgüdüsel imkânları zorlayarak unutulmaz bir çığlık atıyor. Bunun üzerine asker merhamet ederek, "Bunu yapamayacağım, derhal gözümün önünden kaybolun." diyor.

Paravon Dede ve ailesi bir süre Anadolu'da sürüldendikten sonra köye geri dönmeyi başıyorlar. Sonraki yıllarda annesi oğlunu birkaç kez Beyrut'a yaz kampına yollamaya kalkıyor fakat her seferinde ondan ayrı kalmaya dayanamayacağını fark ederek, oğlucugunu yanında



Leyla İpekçi

**Geçtiğimiz yıl asırlık ömrünü tamamlayarak ahirete geçen 1914 Yozgat, Burunkışla doğumlu Paravon Gökbaş, arkadaşım Nayat Karaköse'nin babasının dayısı. Ona doğum tarihi sorulduğunda suskun kalmış, "kara gün sonunda" dermiş hep. Tehcir**

tutuyor.

1933'te yeni bir sürgün kararıyla Burunkışla köyündeki hayatlarını bir gece içinde terk etmeleri gerekiyor. Bu, artık 19 yaşındaki Paravon Dede'nin belleğinde tehcir günlerine nazaran çok daha şiddetli yer edecek. Fakat o çocuklarına ve torunlarına hep başından geçen 'iyi şey'leri anlatacak ilerde. Mesela kendilerine merhamet eden asker gibi, bir de hancı var.

Yozgat'tan onlarla birlikte aile başı bir dökük ile esek sırtında yollara düşen kırk Ermeni aile daha vardır. İstanbul'da Patrığın araya girmesiyle, onları Samatya'ya götürecek olan trenle bineceklerdir. Fakat Sungurlu'da treni kaçırınca caresizlik içinde, soğuktan donmamak için bir hana sığınır. Han tıklım tıklım doludur. Onların bu sefil hallerini gören hancı, diğer kalanlara şöyle seslenir: "Allahınuz peygamberinizi seviyorsanız çıkın, misafirlerim var!" Bunun üzerine onlara yer açılır ve orada kalırlar.

Haydarpaşa'ya, oradan da Samatya'ya cileli bir yolculuktan sonra vardıklarında ilk altı aylarını geçirmek üzere bir okula yerleşirler. Sonraki yıllarda Paravon Dede çinçilikle uğraşır. Diğer aileler de Samatya'da kalıyor, dayanışıyorlar. Okulun lise olması için Paravon Dede defalarca Ankara'ya gidiyor, sonunda resmi yetkilileri ikna ederek hayatlarını kurtaran bu okulu hem yeniden onarıyorlar, taşlarını yapıyorlar, hem de lise statüsü kazandırıyorlar. Yönetim kuruluna alınıyor Paravon Dede. Okul, bugün de eğitimine devam eden Sahakyan Lisesi. Samatya'da onu sadece Ermeniler değil, Türklerle Kürtler de ağabey diyerek sayıp seviyorlar.

Paravon Dede'nin ailesinin genç kuşaklarına anlatacağı 'iyi şey'ler olmaya devam ediyor bu arada: Burunkışla köyünden bir gecede sürgüne giderken ana ve evlerini teslim ettikleri aga, bu malları satarak kendilerini Samatya'da bulur ve parayı onlara teslim eder mesela! Kötü hikâyeleri ise hiç anlatmıyor Nayat'ın dedesi. "Kin tohumları düşmesin" diyor. Hayatı boyunca düşkünlüğü, parasızlık misafir etmiş, tıpkı hancının kendilerini misafir ettiği gibi. Bunu hiç unutmamış.

Paravon Dede'nin kardeşi, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda yurt dışında şehit düşünce getirilip İzmir'e götürülüyor. Fakat tıpkı bir zamarlar annesinin onu Beyrut'a yollamaya razı olmaması gibi, kardeşinin kemiklerinin uzaklarda kalmasına razı gelemiyor. Belki babasının da aynı bilinmezlikler içinde sonsuzluğa yollanmış olmasından. Belki Ermenilerin dünyanın çeşitli coğrafyalara dağılarak memleketlerinden uzakta ölmüş olmasından... Kardeşinin kemiklerini yanına Samatya'ya getirmek istiyor.

Ve bir gece mezarlığa girerek kemikleri çıkarmaya çalışırken yakalanıyor. Gözaltında kalıyor, ama sonunda kemikleri getirmeyi başlıyor! Ah diyorum Nayat'a, ah! Bugün hâlâ kayıp kemiklerin gayri resmi tarihinden kişisel hikâyelerimizi damıtmakla meşgulüz. Ama artık toprağın altındaki acılı 'büyük hikâye'nin hepimize bakan yüzüne aşınayız en azından. [ipekci@zaman.com.tr](mailto:ipekci@zaman.com.tr)

**günlerinde annesi, kardeşleri ve diğer akrabalarıyla birlikte yuvasını bırakarak yollara düşmüş...**

An article by Leyla İpekçi titled "The Story of Grandfather Paravon is Our Story", which was published in *Zaman* in 2012, has also been one of the most remarkable examples. İpekçi does not use the expression Genocide throughout the article, but her feeling of "disaster" is so strong that the "common pain" theme is not considered as a tool for political manipulation. "Marking the meaning of the day, this is an Armenian story. However, it also includes Turks, Kurds and other identities at

the same time. It might be said that their common ground is 'suffering'. The pain of millions of people with various identities, who had not been cruel, never bullied anyone but had suffered undeservedly." Based on these words, it might be said that the article does not deal with the Genocide as a subject of political struggle, but highlights personal stories and offers a new language regarding the subject. "We are still engaged in extracting our personal stories from the unofficial history of lost bones. However, we are at least familiar with the face of the painful 'great story' under the soil that is looking at us." These words show that this article highlights the humane aspect of the event and gets us closer to face the past.

The number of items in the emotional-humane category was increased in 2015, 100th year of Genocide, regarding the newspapers and dates examined.

# 'Kimseye ihtiyacımız yok, biz bize yeteriz'

Erivan'daki 1915'in 100. yıldönümü törenlerinde diasporanın mesajı açık

**O**hannes ve Sossy Demirciyan dünyanın öte ucundan, Arizona'dan Erivan'a gelmişler. Ohannes ane tarafından memleketim. İzmirli. Baba tarafı Adapazarlı.



"Türkiye'yi biliyor musunuz" diye sorunca önce Türkçe olarak "Biraz" diyor, sonra eğilerek bir sır verircesine fısıldıyor: "Aramızda kalsın bu Ermenistan'a ilk gelişim. Artık gelecek sefere Türkiye'ye."

60'lı yaşlarda. Babası 6 yaşındayken 1915'te İzmir limanından kaçanlardan. Büyükbabası Adapazarı'nda öldürülmüş. Büyükmcası Osmanlı ordusunda doktormuş. İsmi Aram Demirciyan. Kudüs'e gönderilmiş, İngilizlerle çarpışıp esir düşmüş. "Biz Türkleri severiz" diyor Ohannes: "Aclarımızı tanısanz hiçbir şey kaybetmeyeceksiniz."

Eşi Sossy Harputlu. Ailesi Halep'e kaçanlardan. Onun da büyükannesinin babası doktormuş. Takukhi Hekimyan. Uzak köylerde tedaviye gittiği Türkler tarafından çok sevilmiş. "O kadar iyilikleri olmuş ki onlara dokunmamışlar" diye anlatıyor. Ama gördüklerine dayanamayıp Halep'e gitmişler. Aile oradan Lübnan'a geçmiş. Sossy "Ben orada doğdum. 1978'e kadar Lübnan'daydık. Ama bu kez iç savaş başladı. Los Angeles'a gittik. Soykrım olmasaydı ne kadar farklı olurdu diye düşünürüm. Hayatımızı sarsan onca değişikliği yaşamazdık" diye ekliyor.

Ohannes atlıyor: "Kardeş (bu kelimeyi Türkçe söylüyor) olduğumuzda her şey farklı olur. Buraları cennet yaparız. Kimse bize dikte edemez. Neden Fransızların, Amerikalıların elinde oyuncak olalım, insaflarına kalalım. Üçüncü taraflara niye ihtiyaç duyalım." O 'üçüncü taraflardan' bazıları Erivan'a bakan tepedeki



**Törene Putin, Hollande, Güney Kıbrıs ve Sırbistan liderleri katıldı. Ohannes (solda) "Aclarımızı tanısanz hiçbir şey kaybetmeyeceksiniz" diyor.**

ri resmi törenlerde yerlerini aldılar. 100. yıl anmasının sembolü "unutmabeni çiçeklerinden oluşan çelenklere sarı karanfilleri koydular. Saygı duruşunda bulunup konuşmalar yaptılar.

Ermenistan Cumhurbaşkanı Serj Sarkisyan yağmur altında konuklarına Erivan'a gelerek "insanlık değerlerini" vurguladıkları için teşekkür etti. "Soykrımın tanınması insan bilincinin ve adaletin nefret ve hoşgörüsüzlük karşısındaki zaferidir" dedi.

Müze'yi de gezen Putin, Ermeni halkının acısını paylaştıklarını söyledi. "Etnik kimliklere göre toplu katliamların gerekçesi

Rusofobi gibi akımların sonuçlarını düşünmeliyiz" sözleriyle atıf yaptı. Hollande ise "100'üncü yılında soykrımın tanınmanın bir barış eylemi olduğunu" söyledi. "İnkârın yeni katliamları getireceğini" belirtip, "Türkiye bu meselede mühim kelimeleri kullandı. Ortak kederin ortak kader olması için başka kelimelerin de kullanılması bekleniyor" dedi.

ABD'yi Hazine Bakanı Jacob Lew başkanlığında bir heyetin temsil ettiği törenin ardından tıpkı önceki gün başlayan anmalarda olduğu gibi binlerce insan ellerinde çiçeklerle anta akın etti. Lübnan. Mısır. Gürcistan bav-

## Aznavour: Hoş geldiniz, tekrar bekleniyorsunuz

Ermenistan'ın başkenti Erivan'daki 100. yıldönümü törenlerinin konuklarından birisi de Türkiye'de de yakından tanıyan Ermeni asıllı Fransız şarkıcı, oyun yazarı ve diplomat Charles Aznavour'du. Törenleri izleyen Türk gazeteciler grubu olarak rastladık kendisine. Önce "Ermeni misiniz?" diye sordu. Türk olduğumuzu belirtince, önce "Türk insanıyla sorununuz yok. Sorunumuz Ankara'yla" dedi. Ardından ekledi: "Hoşgeldiniz, tekrar bekleniyorsunuz".

şî Jennette'in anneleri İstanbul, babaları Halep kökenli. 1915'te Fransa'ya kaçmışlar. "Türklerle sorunumuz yok ama başımıza gelenleri tanımlarını istiyoruz" dediler.

Fotoğraf çektiren Mikhalian ailesi de Paris'ten gelmişti. Marie ve kız kardeşi Valerie'nin büyükbabaları Tekirdağlı. "Rodosto" diye vurguladı Marie. Ailesi büyükbabasının bir tekneye koyup Fransa'ya göndermiş. Kalanlardan haber çıkmamış. Türkiye'den geldiğimi öğrenince gözyaşlarıyla bana sarıldı. "Türkiye insanına mesajını" sorunca elimden defterimi kapıp ken-

An article by Ceyda Karan published in *Cumhuriyet* on April 25, 2015 might be considered as one of the most remarkable examples in this category even with its title. Highlighted with “Cumhuriyet is in Erivan” note, the article is titled as “This place would be a paradise if only we could be brothers and sisters” on the first page. Ohannes and Sossy Demirciyan, who came from Arizona to Yerevan for commemorating the Genocide, are covered in this article and especially people’s stories of 1915 are highlighted. In the beginning of the article, Karan’s statement “Both Ohannes and my mother is from İzmir. His father’s side is from Adapazarı” helps the reader to identify themselves with the protagonist, and then family stories of these people are told. “Ohannes tells: ‘Everything will be different when we become brothers (he says this word in Turkish). We will turn this place into a paradise. Nobody can dictate anything to us. Why would we ever become toys in the hands of the French or Americans and leave ourselves to their mercy? Why would we ever need third parties?’” With such statements, diplomatic struggles are left aside and humane and emotional aspect of the issue is emphasized.

Visits and speeches of the presidents and representatives of various states, which are mentioned as third parties, are briefly told in the article and then the article ends with the words of the French Armenians who have come from Paris to attend the commemoration ceremony: “He/she hugged me in tears when he/she found out that I am from Turkey. When I asked about his/her ‘message to the people in Turkey’, he/she grabbed my notebook and wrote the following: ‘I haven’t forgotten and I have a demand. I do not forget. I have a dream, which is peace. Respect history. We must recognize the past for a better future. Peace and love.’ He/she drew a flower on bottom.” Emphasizing the humane aspect of the issue with such expressions and aims to evoke different emotions than a diplomatic victory or defeat, this article paves the way for coming to terms with the past.

#### - **Coming to terms with the past**

Only 14 contents were found in the category of ‘coming to terms with the past’, which were published in the three newspapers in question between 1995 and 2014 on April 24 and 25. However, this number rose to 18 in 2015, regarding April 24 and 25 issues of the newspapers. In the issues published between April 21 and 26, a total of 25 articles were found in this category.

An example to this category is articles by Etyen Mahçupyan titled “**1915: What can Turkey do?**” which were published in *Zaman* in two parts on April 24 and 25, 2013. It was observed that all articles published in 2014 in the category of ‘coming to terms with the past’ were associated with the condolence message issued in the same year.

Ahmet Insel



## Ermeni Soykırımıyla Yüzleşme Medeniliğin Gereğidir

Osmanlı Ermenilerinin bir soykırım boyutunda felakete maruz kalmalarına yol açan, İttihat ve Terakki hükümetinin başlattığı tehcirin üzerinden yüz yıl geçti. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti hükümetleri, bir yüz yıl boyunca bunun sonuçlarını tamamlayan bir etnik-dinsel temizlik politikasını bazen açık, çoğu zaman üstü örtük biçimde sürdürdü. Bu anlamda, Ermeni tehcirinin soykırım boyutlarındaki sonuçları Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin temel politikalarından biri ve milli kimliğin kurucu niteliklerinden biri oldu.

Bu etnik temizlik politikasının savaş koşullarında hayata geçirilmiş olması, işlenmiş olan "insaniğe ve medeniyete karşı suç"u hafifletmiyor. Daha sonra uluslararası hukuk literatürüne girecek olan bu kavram, dünyada ilk kez

Bu suçlar nedeniyle idam edilen Boğazlıyan Kaymakamı, TBMM'nin 14 Ekim 1922'de aldığı bir kararla "Millî Şehit" kabul edildi. Ailesine Emlak-ı Metruke'den ev verildi, tüm çocuklarına aylık bağlandı. İsmi daha sonra Boğazlıyan'da bir mahalleye ve bir okula verildi. Mülkiyeliler Birliği, 1973'te Kemal Bey'in kabrini anıtmezar olarak düzenleyip ziyarete açtılar.

Raymond Kevorkian'ın kitabı, tehcir kararlarının nasıl alındığını ve her kasabada, her kentte nasıl uygulandığını detaylı biçimde anlatıyor. 1160 sayfalık bu son derece önemli çalışmada, tehcir kararını uygulayan yerel yöneticilerin, Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa'nın yerel sorumlularının ve kirliliği gördükleri insanların, kimisi cinayetlere karışan, çoğu ise işin müsadere kısmıyla

Osmanlı Ermenilerinin tehcir edilmeye başlanması ve silâsiyle kullanıldı. 1919'da İstanbul'da yargılanan tehcir suçlularına Osmanlı mahkemelerinin yönelttiği suç, mal gaspı, ırza tecavüz, hunharca insan öldürme gibi ağır suçlardı. Örneğin Boğazlıyan Kaymakamı Kemal'e yönelik Yozgat mahkemesi, işlenmiş suçları etraflı biçimde aktardıktan sonra, "Hissiyat-ı insaniye ve medeniyete ile her ne şekilde olursa olsun bağdaşmayan ve İslamın huzurunda keba'ir cinayattan (büyük suçlardan) sayılan öldürme çeşitlerine, çapulculuğa ve yağmalara sebebiyet vermiş" olduğunu şahitler ve delillerle kesinleştiğine hükmetmişti.

Kararda Kemal Bey'in, bütün Müslümanların Ermeni milletine karşı katliamda bulunmalarını doğal ve gerekli gördüğünün anlaşıldığı belirtiliyordu. Nitekim sanık da savunmasında, "Ermeniler Türk halkının ve Müslümanlık dininin iç düşmanlarıydı; Ermeni siyasi partileri ayrılıkçıydı" demişti. Halbuki bölgede görevli Yozgat ordu komutanı mahkemedeki ifadesinde İttihat ve Terakki'nin bölgeye yolladığı kişilerin "hayali bir Ermeni komitasının varlığını ihbar" ettiklerini, bunun üzerine silah araması emri geldiğini ve aramalarda sadece aramaları yapan kişilerin "yerleştirdiği" silahların bulunduğunu belirtmişti (Raymon Kevorkian, Ermeni Soykırımı, İletişim Yayınları, 712-713). Ne kadar tanıdık ifadeler ve eylemler değil mi?

İlgilenen yerel eşiğtan insanların ve bu insanlık dışı uygulamalara karşı çıkanların ne yaptıkları anlaşılıyor ve isimleri veriliyor.

Kevorkian her vilayetteki tehcir uygulamalarını ayrı bir bölümde inceliyor. Örneğin Erzurum'da tehcir kararının uygulanması için 18-21 Nisan 1915 arasında valilikte toplanan 120 kişi arasında üç görüş ortaya çıktığını aktarıyor. Üçte biri tehcirin sınır bölgelerinde yaşayan Ermenilerle sınırlı tutulmasını, 20 kişi Ermenilerin rahat bırakılması, yansı ise "bütün Ermenilerin yok edilmesini" talep etmiş. Birkaç hafta sonra uygulanmasına başlanan politika üçüncü grubun taleplerine uygun olacaktır. Sadece İstanbul'da, İttihat ve Terakki Genel Merkezi'nde değil, Osmanlı toplumunun içinde de korku, kıskançlık, dinsel kin ve mala göz koyma nedenleriyle bu kitlesel katliamın suç ortağı olmaya hazır bir kesim olduğu açık. Ama bunu hep devlet akları bir biçimde yönlendirdi.

Bugün Ermeni soykırımıyla yüzleşmek, Türkiye toplumunu inkarcılığın vicdani yükünden, bunun yarattığı medenilik eksiğinden ve sadece kendi acılarının mutlaklaştırılmasından beslenen kutsal mazlumiyet psikopatolojisinin yıkıcı tezahürlerinden kurtulmasından olmazsa olmaz adımlardan biridir. Türkiye'de bu adım toplum devlet aklının tahakkümünden kurtulmasıyla mümkün olacak.

Ahmet Insel's article titled "Being civilized requires confronting the Armenian Genocide" published in *Cumhuriyet* on April 24, 2015 points out the most critical aspects of the debate concerning the reality of the Genocide in *Cumhuriyet*. Insel starts with invalidating the distinction between genocide and deportation with the following statement: "It has been a hundred years since the deportation started by the Union and Progress government, which made Ottoman Armenians subjected to a disaster in a genocidal scale." This is significant, because these two concepts are usually used in opposition to each other. There is an ongoing debate between the ones who claim that the event was deportation and the ones who claim that it was genocide. However, Insel states that these two concepts do not exclude each other; rather they complement each other.

Insel also refers to Raymond Kevorkian's "Armenian Genocide", which is one of the most comprehensive studies on the Genocide, and emphasizes that the Genocide was not ended in 1915. He highlights that the practices carried out during the Genocide continued through the following years of the Republic and that the responsibility cannot be pinned on Union and Progress Party alone.

The last paragraph of the article makes an explicit call for confronting the past, and it is especially important since it explains the meaning of confrontation for Turkey: “Today, confronting the Armenian Genocide is an essential step for Turkish society in order to be freed from burden of denialism on the conscience, the lack of civilization caused by this burden and the destructive manifestations of psychopathology of sacred sufferer that is nourished by the absolutization of only one’s own pain. In Turkey, this step will become possible, once the society gets rid of the domination of state mentality.”

Sevgi Akarçesme



## Sözde soykırım demek çare değil...

Türkiye’de bazı konularda sağlıklı tartışma yapmak zordur. Başörtüsü, içki, Atatürk ya da kısmen aşılma da Kürt meselesi gibi. En makul seslerin bile indoktrinasyon etkisinden çıkamadığını görüyorsunuz bu konular gündeme geldiğinde. Bizimki kadar bölünmüş bir toplumu birleştiren yegane tabu ise Ermeni meselesi.

‘1915’te ne oldu?’ sorusuna milli ve siyasi hislerden bağımsız olarak cevap aramaya çalışan çok kimse yok gibi.

Ortalama bir Türk büyürken zaten bu konuda resmî tezlerin ötesinde bir şey duymuyor. Eger yurtdışına çıkarırsanız bizde ‘sözde’ diyerek geçiştirilmeye çalışılan tarihi yaranın derinliğini fark ediyor, bu meseleyle yüzleşmek gerektiğini anlıyorsunuz.

1915’in bir insani bir de siyasi boyutu var. Türkiye, İttihatçıların günahlarının bedelini ödeme korkusuyla bu meselenin içeride tartışılmasını hep ertelemiş. 3T, yani tanıma, tazminat ve toprak talepleri birbirini takip eder düşüncesiyle konu açıkça tartışılmamış. Bir zamanlar bu topraklarda yaşayan yüz binlerce Ermeni gündeme getirildiğinde, karşısına Ermeni çetelerin kattığı Türkler konulmuş, Balkanlar’dan pespeşe savaşlar boyunca çıkanları, yerlerini yurtlarını terk eden insanların anlatılmış. Önce masum diplomatlarımızı katleden ASALA terörüne bakın denmiş. Tüm bu itirazlarda haklılık payı var. Ne var ki bir hatanın karşısına diğeri koymak, toptan bir reddetme içinde olmak soruna çare olmuyor. Her sene 24 Nisan, Türk Dışişleri’nin ve toplumun karşısına bir kâbus olarak çıkıyor.

Bugün Maraş’a, Kayseri’ye, Sivas’a gittiğinizde Ermeni mahallesi olarak gösterilen yerlerde yaşayan ve çoğu kendi halindeki komşularımıza ne oldu sorusuna vicdanları tatmin eden bir cevap vermiyor ‘sözde’ demek. Tehcir, yani zorunlu göç, denen şeyin aslında insanların ölüme göndermek olduğu gerçe-

**‘1915’te ne oldu?’ sorusuna milli ve siyasi hislerden bağımsız olarak cevap aramaya çalışan çok kimse yok gibi.**

gini değiştirmiyor. O günün şartlarında kadın-çocuk demeden mesela Sivas’tan Suriye’ye yürütülen insanların Osmanlı vatandaşları olduğunu akıldan tutmak ve devletin kendi vatandaşına zulmettiğini kabul etmek bir insanlık borcu. 1915’in insan hikâyelerini dinlediğinizde olanların Birleşmiş Milletler’in ‘bir etnik ya da dini grubu kısmen ya da tamamen yok etmeye yönelik girişimler’ olarak tanımladığı soykırıma yaklaştığını görseniz de

bu konuda çalışan Baskın Oran’a göre, Naziler’deki gibi bir ‘niyet’ söz konusu değil. O nedenle en uygun tanım Anadolu’da dendiği gibi ‘Ermeni kıyımı.’ Bu insanları acıları görmek, özür dilemek, bazı jestler yapmak Türkiye’nin üstündeki baskıyı azaltıcı etki yapabilir. Sürekli bir inkâr hali sadece yabancı parlamentolardaki girişimleri artırıyor. Osmanlı yönetimini darbe yaparak ele geçiren İttihat ve Terakki’nin hatalarını bugün tüm Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşları üstlenmek ve taşımak zorunda değil.

Hiçbir devlet soykırım gibi bir yükü taşımak istemez. O nedenle Joost Lagendijk’in da isabetli bir şekilde yazdığı gibi Türkiye’ye illa soykırımı tanı baskısı yapılması aslında ters tepen bir politika. Acıların tanındığı, bu tabunun konuşulmaya başlandığı bir iklim oluşturulmalı önce. Türkiye kamuoyunun rahatlaması açısından ASALA terörü de uluslararası platformlarda ısrarla kınanmalı.

Memleketi Anadolu olan ve hâlâ dedelerinden öğrendikleri o şiveyle konuşan Ermenilerin köylerine ziyaretleri, Türk komşularıyla birlikte ağlamaları bile bir başlangıç olabilir. Türkiye böyle yapıcı tavırlar sergilerse, ABD soykırım diyecek mi demeyecek mi tarzı papatya falları önemini de yitirir.

Yok saymaya devam ettikçe her 24 Nisan aynı noktada takılmaya devam edeceğiz. Yok saymaya devam ettikçe her 24 Nisan aynı noktada takılmaya devam edeceğiz. [sakarcesme@zaman.com.tr](mailto:sakarcesme@zaman.com.tr)

One of the remarkable examples in *Zaman* was the column by Sevgi Akarçesme titled “Call it the so-called genocide is not a solution...” The author highlights the word “so-called” starting from the title and contributes to confronting the past. Author’s statement “It seems that there is nobody who seeks for an answer to the question of ‘What happened in 1915?’ independently of national and

political emotions”, which is also highlighted on the page, points out the fact that Genocide became a taboo in Turkey and cannot be discussed decently.

Akarçeşme also point out the drawbacks of handling the issue on the basis of diplomatic dispute. The author defends the view that the issue should be discusses in a more humane aspect: “When hundreds of thousands of Armenians who once lived in this land was mentioned, Turks killed by Armenian gangs were brought up in turn and the story of our people who were deported from the Balkans and left their homelands in successive wars had been told. Look at ASALA terror that killed our diplomats, they said. These objections are somewhat just. However, responding a mistake with another and being in total denial is not a solution.”

Finally, she goes on to say, “Even the visits of Armenians, whose hometown is Anatolia and who still speak with the accent they learned from their grandfathers, to their hometowns and their crying together with their Turkish neighbors might be a start” and points out that confronting the past will be enhanced by increasing the contact between the peoples.



## Sınırın açılması çok şeyi değiştirir

Ermenistan Cumhurbaşkanı Serj Sargisyan 1915 olaylarının 100'üncü yıldönümünde bütün dünya basını içinde tek özel ve kapsamlı röportajı Hürriyet'e verdi.

### ÖNKOŞULSUZ UZLAŞI SÜRECİ

Sargisyan “Sınırın açılması çok şeyi değiştirir. Öncelikle, belli bir güven ortamı oluşturur, iki tarafın da çıkarına olacak ticari bağların tesisine zemin sağlar. 100'üncü yıldönümünü anarken, Türkiye'ye ilişkilerin tesisine, Ermeni ve Türk halkları arasında önkoşulsuz uzlaşma sürecine başlamaya hazır olduğumuzu ilan ediyoruz” dedi. » 18

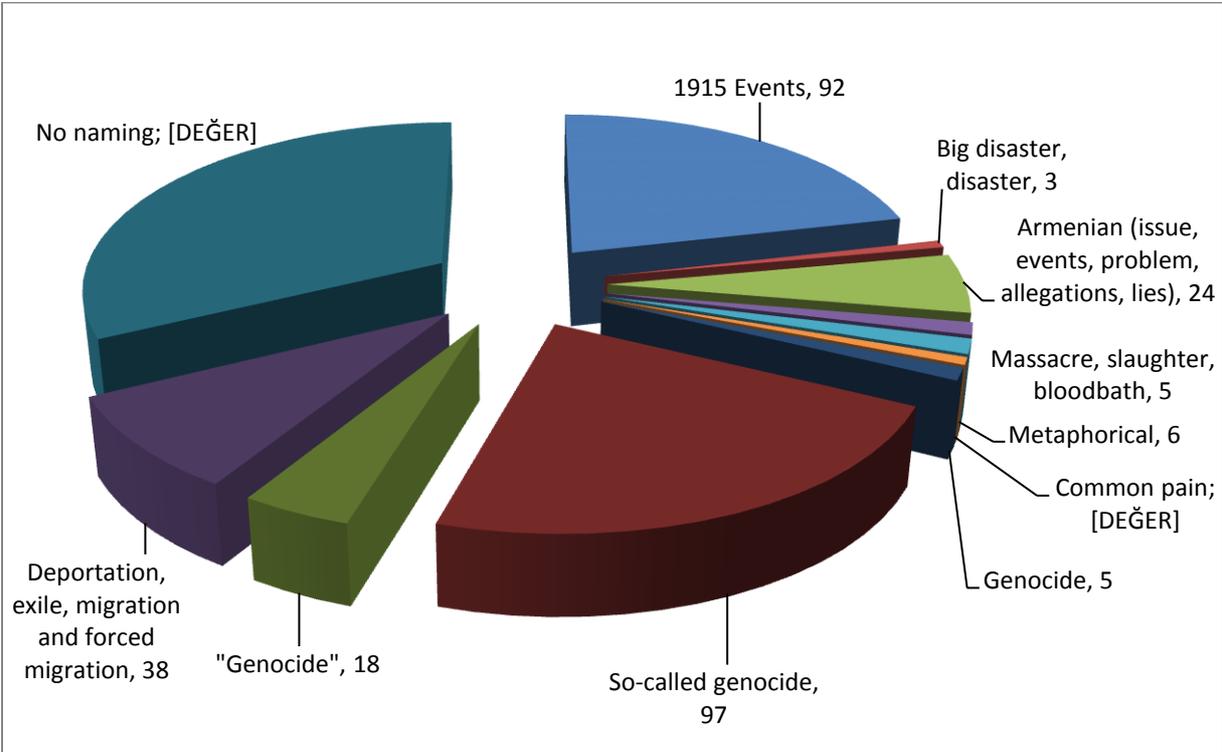
Cansu Çamlıbel's interview with the Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan, which was published in *Cumhuriyet* April 24, 2015 is of the examples to 'coming to terms with the past' category, since it emphasizes a message for reconciliation even in its title: “Opening the borders would change many things.” Sargisyan's statement “We are ready to start a reconciliation process without preconditions” is highlighted on the first page of the newspaper. The full interview is featured on page 18 with “Opening the border would create trust” title. The way the interview is presented emphasizes the

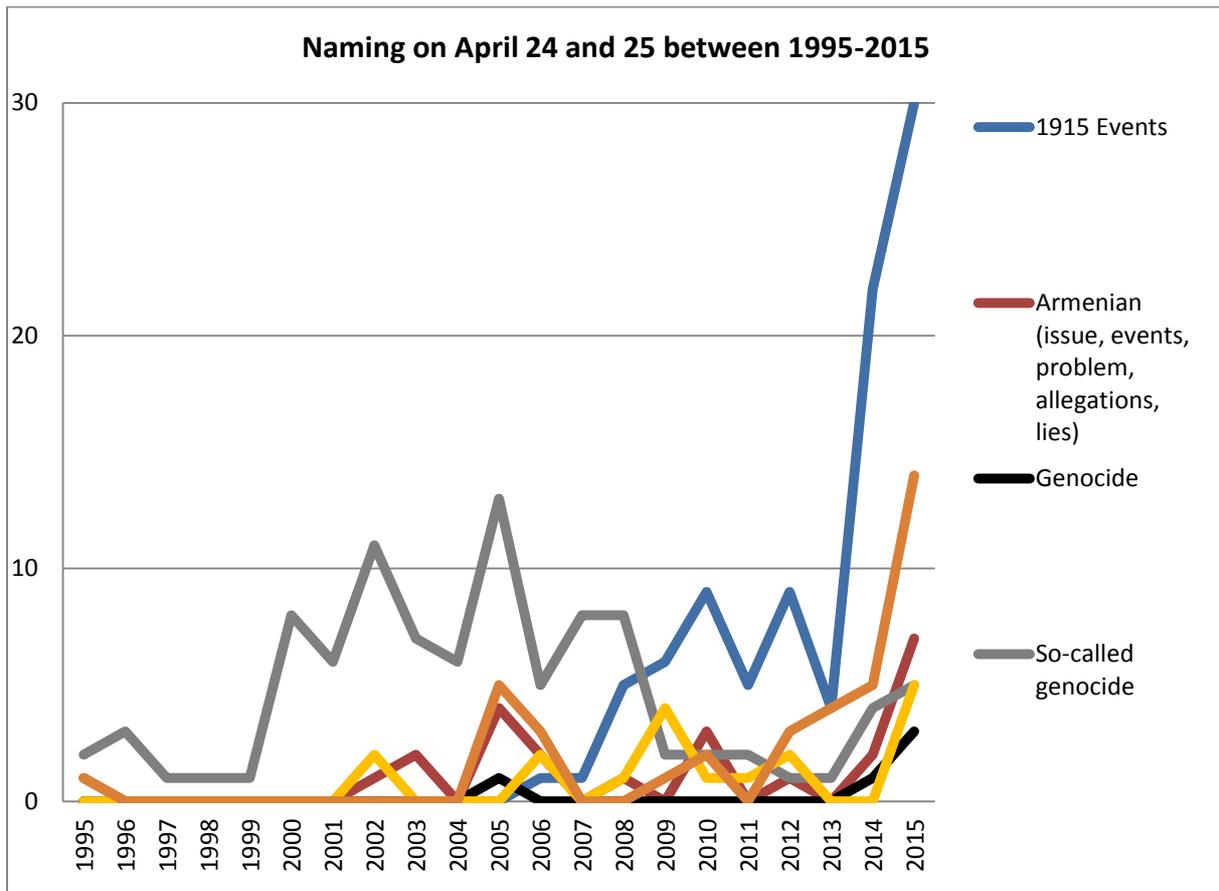
lack of diplomatic relations and the issue of closed border. In addition, Sargsyan’s emphasis on the necessity of making a distinction between Turkish people and state is repeated and highlighted by the author. In this respect, it is clearly seen that this article uses a language that facilitates confrontation with the past.

**APRIL 24 AS A NAMING PROBLEM**

How the social traumas such as the Armenian Genocide that leave a mark in memories are named and how the perpetrators, victims and third parties are mentioned and remembered are very significant in terms of confronting the past.

When we considered how the event is named in 430 items published in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* on April 24 and 25 between 1995 and 2015, we saw that 139 of them did not use any name. “So-called genocide” was found in 97 items and “1915 events” was found 92 items. It was seen that the expressions “deportation, exile, migration and forced migration” were used in 38 items, and the expression Armenian (issue, events, question, allegations, lies)” were used in 24 items. It was found out that the word genocide was used in quotation marks in 18 items in order to refrain from defining the event as genocide (“genocide”). A 2-day research revealed that the word genocide was used only 5 times in 21 years. Distribution of all names is seen in the graph below:





Considering the changes in naming in these three newspapers, it might be said that some definitions have replaced each other over the years and the attitude toward the issue got softer. However, it can be seen that this softening is caused by the fact that vague expressions are started to be used more frequently. For example, as the chart suggests, the expression “so-called genocide” had been commonly used especially in the 2000s and it was replaced with “1915 events” in late 2000s, which might be claimed to be more vague and ‘neutral’. Using the word genocide in quotation marks was another method used in the same period though not that frequently. The word genocide itself was almost never used in these newspapers until 2015.

Considering the distribution of the issue of naming by newspapers, following findings are obtained: In *Cumhuriyet*, use of “so-called genocide” is considerably decreased in 2015 compared to the previous 20 years and there is an increase in the use of “genocide”, which is the greatest increase compared to other two newspapers analyzed. However, use of the word genocide in quotation marks is increased unlike other newspapers. It might be said that the expression “so-called genocide”, which was seen in the newspapers quite often in the past years, was largely replaced with the expressions “Armenian issue” and “deportation” or started to be used with quotation marks in accordance with the change in the publishing policy of the newspapers.

On the other hand, in *Zaman*, the expression “so-called genocide”, which is a manifestation of denial, had been used in 1/3 of the items in the past 20 years, while it was not used in any item in 2015. In

2015, *Zaman* predominantly preferred to use “1915 events” or “deportation” instead of “so-called genocide”.

As for *Hürriyet*, it was observed that the use of the expression “so-called genocide” decreased by a third and the expression “1915 events” considerably increased compared to other newspapers. On the other hand, *Hürriyet* continued to refrain from using the expression “genocide” in the 100th anniversary.

The way the victims and perpetrators are named is as significant as the naming of the event. In the scan carried out in this regard, it was found that no victims had been named in 392 of 430 items that is in 91% of them, published on April 24 and 25 in three newspapers for 21 years. It was seen that the victim was named as Armenians in 24 of the remaining 38 items. 1 item defined the victim as Ottoman Armenians. In 14 contents, either Turks were also defined as victims along with Armenians or it was said that the real victims were Turks and Muslims.

When we look at how the victim is named in the 100th anniversary of the Genocide, we see a significant increase. As a result of examining 185 items published in *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Zaman* between April 21 and 26, 2015, it was found that the victim was not named at all in 2/5 of the items. In 2015, 65 articles defining the victims as Armenians were published in the newspapers analyzed. In these 65 articles, mostly only “Armenians” and occasionally “Armenians, Syriacs and Rûms” were defined as victims. In only 5 items, the real victims were claimed to be Turks and Muslims or both Turks and Armenians. *Cumhuriyet* was the newspaper which named the victim as Armenians in most cases with 40 articles. However, it should be noted that *Cumhuriyet* had not named the victim in many cases in the previous years and maintained this attitude until 2014.

When we analyzed how the perpetrator was defined, it was seen that a perpetrator was specified in only 28 of 430 items. Showing that no perpetrator was specified in 93% of all items, this striking result demonstrates the fact that the newspapers mostly described 1915 as a natural event without any perpetrators, as if it was a disaster which happened by itself. On the other hand, the real perpetrator was defined as the “Armenians” in 14 of 28 items. It was also found that the victims were defined as “Turks and Muslims” in most of these articles. When other items specifying the perpetrator (13) were considered, we mostly found items defining it as the “Unionists” and/or “Ottoman Empire”.

It might be said that 2015 was a milestone for the Turkish press in terms of naming the victim and specifying it as Armenians. Undoubtedly, this change in attitude might be seen as a large step for confronting the past. Nevertheless, while a context that recognizes the victim has developed after 100 years, the question of who was the perpetrator is still evaded. The perpetrators were not named in 90% of the items published between 1995 and 2014 and there was no change in 2015. Unionists were named as the perpetrators only in 10 contents and as the Ottoman Empire in 4 contents in 2015.

## **OVERVIEW**

Scanning the April 24 and 25 issues of *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* between 1995 and 2015 showed that the number of items about the Genocide such as news articles, columns, images, etc. increased in 2005, 90<sup>th</sup> year of the Armenian Genocide; in 2009 when the relations between Armenia





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## Links

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