

TURKISH MAINSTREAM PRESS COVERAGE OF GREECE – RELATED
NEWS IN YEARS 1994 – 2000

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ABSTRACT

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This study aims to answer the question of what is the main role of journalists in foreign news reporting, do they objectively inform the public as independent professionals or only serve to the national interest while they are reporting the Greece - related news? In other words, this study aims to reveal whether Turkish mainstream journalist repeat the official discourse which determines the national interest or they digress from the official discourse and form their own discourse in stead while they are reporting the Greece related news.

In order to achieve these goals the Greece related news published between 1994 and 2000 in three Turkish mainstream newspapers, namely Milliyet, Sabah, and Hürriyet, have been analyzed by using a method adapted from Teun Van Dijk's discourse analysis.

The study confirms that Turkish mainstream journalists are generally observed to prefer defending "national interest" defined by the elites to defending "public interest" which is a more civic concept when reporting Greece-related events between the years 1994 and 2000, and they were also tend to repeat the official discourse and abstained from digressing from it. Therefore, their discourse which is

repetition of the official Turkish foreign political discourse caused them not to keep critical stance on Turkish foreign policy.

Keywords: Greece - related news, Foreign News Reporting, Foreign News, News Discourse, Turkish mainstream press

ÖZ

TÜRK ANAAKIM BASININDA 1994 - 2000 YILLARI ARASINDA YUNANİSTAN HABERLERİNİN YER ALIŞI

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türk anaakım gazetecileri Yunanistan haberlerini aktarırken hangi rolü tercih etmişlerdir; Türk anaakım gazetecileri tarafsız olarak halkı aydınlatmayı mı seçiyorlar yoksa sadece ulusal çıkarı mı savunuyorlar, sorusuna cevap aramaktır. Diğer bir deyişle, bu çalışma, Türk anaakım gazetecileri Yunanistan haberlerini aktarırken ulusal çıkarı tanımlayan resmi söylemi mi tekrar ediyorlar yoksa resmi söylemin dışına çıkarak kendi söylemlerini oluşturabiliyorlar mı, sorusuna yanıt aramayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu amaçlara ulaşmak için, 1994 - 2000 yılları arasında Türk anaakım gazeteleri olarak Hürriyet Sabah ve Milliyet gazetelerinde yer alan Yunanistan haberleri Teun Van Dijk'ın söylem analizinden adepte edilen bir yöntemle analiz edilmiştir.

Bu çalışma Türk anaakım gazetecilerinin 1994 - 2000 yılları arasında Yunanistan haberlerini aktarırken genellikle yönetici elite tarafından tanımlanan "ulusal çıkar"ı savunmayı, daha sivil bir kavram olan "kamusal çıkar"ı savunmaya tercih ettiklerini göstermiştir. Ayrıca Türk anaakım gazetecilerinin Yunanistan haberlerini aktarırken resmi söylemin dışına çıkmak yerine, resmi söylemi tekrar ettikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu yüzden resmi söylemin tekrarı olan söylemleri nedeniyle Türk anaakım

gazetecileri 1994 -2000 yılları arasında Yunanistan haberlerini aktarıırken Türk dış politikasıyla ilgili eleştirel bir tavır alamamışlardır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yunanistan haberleri, dış haber yapımı, dış haber, haber söylemi, Türk anaakım basın

To my parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the year 2003, before the Iraq invasion began, Tony Blair and his communication chief Alastair Campbell issued two dossiers as legal cases of the invasion; which set up why Iraq under Saddam Hussein, was a threat – referred to Iraq had weapons of mass destruction that could be deployed within 45 minutes. Following the announcements of the dossiers, BBC started criticizing the contents of these dossiers. The most significant allegation has come from Andrew Gilligan, BBC Today's correspondents; who claimed that the first dossier was transformed the week before it was published to make it sexier. Following the Gilligan's criticism, Susan Watt's report for News Night on BBC2 also started allegation about the government's emphasis on the 45 minute claimed of governments by referencing the unnamed official senior assistant. BBC's allegations were answered by Alastair Campbell, who is responsible for the "sexed up" dossier; he insisted that BBC should apologize since suggesting the government had taken Britain to war on a false basis. In that time, English public learned from TV that, secret source of BBC, was the weapon expert Dr. David Kelly.

On 18th July Kelly found dead in his neighboring woodland. After the Dr David Kelly's death Tony Blair called an inquiry, headed by Lord Hutton. As a result of the inquiry, on 28 January 2004 Lord Hutton decided in his report that the governmental claims on the mass destruction weapons were based on a report that intelligence service believed was reliable and he also criticized defective editorial system at the BBC.¹ In order to defend the public interest, BBC hold its critical stance toward the government but its editorial structure have been criticized as "defective" by the British lord of law. However, 80 year history of BBC is full of examples indicating that in their publishing policy, public interest has the priority and their main aim is to

¹ To read the full article of David Wilby see:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/heritage/in_depth/pressure/hutton.shtml

provide true information for the public. One of the most well-known examples of this is that in World War II, when German radio announced that one British war aircraft was shot by Germans, BBC radio denied the news and announced that not one but two British war aircrafts crashed as a result of German attack.²

This study aims to answer the question of what is the main role of Turkish mainstream journalists in foreign news reporting, do they objectively inform the public as independent professionals or only serve to the “national interest” which is defined by elites? In other words, this study aims to reveal whether Turkish mainstream journalists repeat the official discourse which determines the national interest or they digress from the official discourse and form their own discourse in stead while they are reporting the Greece - related news. In other terms, how loyal Turkish main-stream journalists are to the official discourse or could they go beyond it while reporting the Greece - related news? Therefore, what happened between BBC and British government in 2004 is a crucial example for this study.

Previously, it has been agreed that the independent press plays essential role of composing alternative views for efficiency of democracy. In liberal democratic countries, as the existence of rational choice the press is expected to convey “objective” information to the public. As Mc Nair (2003:21) claims that in ideal - type of democratic societies, media must inform citizens about what is happening around them and also provide a platform for public discourse facilitating the formation of public opinion. In its ideal form, the journalists as the media professionals are expected to be objective professionals who recognized their social responsibilities of making the public aware of the “truths”. In the international arena, social responsibilities of journalists are emphasized in UNESCO’s Mac Bride Report of *Many Voices One World* (1980) under the Norms of *Professional Conduct* title as:

There is general recognition of the fact that journalists have responsibilities not only vis a vis their own convictions but also towards the public. Summarily four kinds of responsibilities may be defined (a)contractual

² Information based on Cıvaoglu Güneri, *Medya ve Aktütün*, Milliyet (17.10.2008)

responsibility in relations to the media and their internal organizations, (b) social responsibilities entailing obligations towards public opinion and society as a whole, (c) responsibility or liability deriving from the obligations to comply with the law, (d) responsibilities towards the international community relating to respect universal values.³

However, there is a widely shared view which says that journalists are faced many obstacles in fulfilling their social responsibilities, for Tehranian (2002:67) these obstacles should be defined under three conditions which are: the overdevelopment of ethical codes, weakness of structural pluralism and the governmental dominance of news

But in foreign news reporting journalist are faced with double sided burned; on one hand they have “national interests” which defined by elites on the other hand they are expected to act as objective professionals who convey the truths to the public. The problem of journalist’s role perception arises between being server to the “national interest” and being objective professional. Nosssek (2004:350) argues that journalists and editors have two distinct frames regarding foreign news coverage –a national frame and a professional frame.

This study aims to deal with the problem of a journalist’s preference of the “truth” instead of national interest, which media researchers intensively discussed after the conflict between BBC and the British government in 2004. As a result, the study has chosen to analyze how Greece- related news are reported in the three Turkish mainstream newspapers namely; Sabah, Hürriyet and Milliyet since Turkey often faces various conflicts in its foreign policy with Greece.

In the framework of the study, Greece- related news in Turkish mainstream newspaper in years 1994 -2000 will be selected as data to provide an understanding of Turkish mainstream journalist’s role perception while reporting the foreign affairs issues. During 1990s, role perception of journalists changed by some particular events caused a controversial discussion. For example, in Kardak/Imia Crisis - the

³ *Many Voices One World*, p241, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org>.

case study later to be discussed -, Greek channel Antenna broadcasted planting of the Greek Flag live. A quick reply came from Turkish newspaper, Hurriyet. Journalits from Hurriyet settled the islets with a helicopter and took down the Greek flag, then planted a Turkish Flag instead, later on published the event on the news under the headline of ‘We Planted a Flag’ (28.01.1996). Again, in the 12 mile crisis – another case to be explained later on-, reporters from Milliyet, according to the news under the “Islands are Arsenal” (15.01.1994), Milliyet journalists inspected Aegean Islands from sea, land and air, claiming to reveal that the islands were militarized. It should be noted that Milliyet journalists left their journalism identities behind and gave detailed reports on armed vehicles and ammunition like seventy tanks and one hundred and ten arsenals...

The second chapter of the study will include the brief historical overview of Turkish - Greek relations in years 1923- 2000 and the main bilateral issues between two states in order to understand the Turkish - Greek relations. The third chapter will provide a theoretical framework on the relationship between media and foreign policy. The fourth chapter will include the findings of the discourse analysis of Greece - related news in Turkish mainstream newspapers in years between 1994 and 2000.

It should be noted that among many other studies, Ayşe Inal’s (1992) unpublished PhD thesis of “An analysis of Turkish Daily Press: event selection, text construction and news production” served as a major source for this study.

1.1 Research Methodology

In order to understand the role perception of the Turkish mainstream journalist while reporting the Greece related news in year between 1994 and 2000, it is essential to understand how the Greece - related news are framed and constructed when being written in news form in Turkish mainstream press. For this purpose Van Dijk’s (1988) discourse analysis model is adapted to this study.

According to Teun Van Dijk (1991:108) the recent studies on media messages mostly focus on the context of news, such as practical socio-cultural or ideological constraints on news production but there is a little effort to analyze the details of news and the relationship between text and context of news. With his discourse analysis he tries to produce explicit and systematic description of units of language use, which is called “discourse”. This description has two main dimensions which are textual dimension, as the account for the structures of discourse at various levels of description, and the contextual dimensions which relate these structural descriptions to various properties of context such as cognitive process and representations as socio cultural factors (Dijk, 1988:24).

In order to understand the discourse analysis of Teun Van Dijk (1988), the definition of “ideology” and how he makes connection between “discourse” and “ideology” should be discussed. Van Dijk(1995a:17,18) defines ideology as basic frameworks for organizing the social cognitions shared by the members of group, which function as the interface between the cognitive representation and processes underlying discourse and action acquired by the members of groups so ideology represents the values and norms, tasks of the groups.

“In other words ideologies are localized between the societal structures and the structures of the minds of social members. They allow social actors to translate their social properties (identity, goal, position, etc.) into the knowledge and beliefs that make up concrete models of their everyday life experiences, that is, the mental representations of their actions and discourse. Indirectly (viz., through attitudes and knowledge) therefore, ideologies control how people plan and understand their social practices and hence also the structures of text and talk” (Dijk, 1995a:21).

Dijk (1991:118) also states that in order to say that this news report is “ideological”; it is necessary to reveal that the meaning and structures of the text is constructed by the model of the reporter and also based on the general social cognitive schema which is monitored by group based ideologies.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1991:119) the discourse analysis does not only analyze the text but also analyze the cognitive representations and the strategies used in the production of the text. In order to understand the relationship between cognitive representations and discourse, Dijk refers the concept of “model”:

“Models are mental representations of events and actions, or situations people engage in or which they read about and also represents the beliefs (knowledge and opinions) people have about their everyday lives and defines what we usually call people’s experiences. The set of these models are unique and personal and controlled by the biographical experiences of social actors. On the other hand they are also socially controlled, that is influenced by the general social cognitions members share with other members of their group.” (Dijk, 1995a:19)

Moreover, Dijk (1995a:20) argues that personal and social information of social actors are held in these models which control how people act, talk, write and understand. For Dijk (1995b:34) detailed analysis of dominant media discourse provides insight into the models which influence the development of new attitudes and ideologies.

Additionally, when there is a conflict of interest discourse express the position, interests or other properties of the group, “events are interpreted opposed ways, such representations are often articulated along on “us versus them” dimension, in which speakers of the one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms and other groups in negative terms” (Dijk, 1995a:22). In this perspective, it is possible to say that in the international conflicts where the “national interests” of the states are in the conflict, citizen of one state tends to present their nation in positive term and the other nation in negative terms.

Van Dijk’s discourse analysis based on distinction between macro and micro - structures of the news text. The macro structural analysis deals with the “semantic” of the news texts and the micro- structural analysis deals with the “syntactic” of the news text. Firstly, the macro- structural analysis is divided into two main categories, namely; thematic and schematic analyses. The thematic analysis conveys topic,

headline, sub-headline, spot and lead, and the schematic analyses refers to the organizational structure of the news schema.

Similar with the fixed conventional schema of classical poetry discourse, Van Dijk (1988:52) tries to establish a set of news discourse categories and formulates the rules for their ordering. As macro structural characteristics of the news text, the news schema simply refers the organizations of the topics in the news report. The categories which forms the news schema, should be ordered as; headline and lead (in the summary), main events and consequences (in the episode), context and history (in background category), verbal reactions and conclusions (in the comments category) which express the information by using top-down strategy of hierarchical order means that the most important information is expressed first and the less important one is expressed in the last category of the news schema. In the frame of hierarchical order it should be noted that the headline is the first category which presents the most important information to the reader. Moreover, the lead and headline together summarize the news texts and express the main topic of the news. (Dijk, 1988:53) The summary category is followed by the main events in context and their background. Dijk argues that (1988:54) the differences between the context and history section is context main event in other or previous news item but history section can not be the main event in news items that have appeared recently.

Another important category of the news schema is comments section which consists of two sub - categories namely verbal reaction and conclusion categories. Since, journalists used to follow the standard procedure of asking comments of the participants or prominent political leaders, the verbal reaction category is the specific news schema category which signaled by the names and the roles of news participants and direct or indirect quotes of verbal utterances (Dijk, 1988:55, 56). Another sub-category of the comment category is conclusion which consists of evaluation and the expectation; “evaluations features evaluative opinions about the actual news events and the expectations formulates possible political or other consequences of the actual events and situation” (Dijk, 1988:56).

The second phase of the Van Dijk's discourse analysis is based on the micro-structural characteristics of the news texts which are the lexical choice of the reporter, the news syntax, local coherence and rhetoric of the news. Van Dijk finds the syntactical features (characteristics) of the news sentences like transactional structures, word orders, propositions, active- passive forms, propositions as the significant of the ideological nature of the news.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1995a:24) points out ideological monitored opinions about responsibility for socially positive or negative acts may be differently expressed in different syntactical forms. In this study, the syntax of the sentences in the news texts are analyzed in terms of the grammatical structures they used while quoting the main news actors' comments, i.e., it is determined whose comments are reported using "reported speech" and whose comments are written using "direct speech". Teun Van Dijk (via personal communication on internet) argues that "obviously, in indirect quotes, journalists have more freedom to manipulate the way discourse is reported than in direct quotes".⁴

As the micro structural characteristics of the news, the lexical choices of journalists reflect the textual preference of him or her. According to Dijk, (1991:115-116) textual preference of the journalist in the many words which are alternatives for saying same thing reflects the evaluations and the opinions of him or her. The rhetoric of the news is another important phase of the micro structural analysis. For Dijk (1995a:29) "specific rhetorical structures of discourse, such as surface structure repetition (rhyme, alliterations) or semantic figures such as metaphors may be a function of ideological control when information about them is emphasized".

For the aim of narrowing down the study, the seven events which should be defined as important milestone in the early history of Turkish - Greek relations are selected. Such specific events with in the chronologic order are:

⁴ To clarify the methodological problem of this study, I sent an personal email to Teun Van Dijk and asked whether usage of the "reported speech" is a sign of journalistic manipulation, he answered my question via email and offered many sources on my question.

1. Greek's Attempts for Prospecting for oil in Aegean Sea, January 5, 1994
2. Kardak/Imia Crisis- December 25, 1995
3. S300 Missiles Crisis –August 28, 1997
4. Abdullah Öcalan's Detention –February 16, 1999
5. (As a result of Papandreou and Ismail Cem's peaceful diplomatic attempts)
Diplomatic letter from Papandreou to Ismail Cem –June 25, 1999
6. Marmara Earthquake –August 17, 1999
7. Papandreou's visit to Turkey –January 19, 2000

The selection of these events are done after the literature review on early Greek-Turkey relations and also the frequency of the news is considered by using the news searching programs in internet. The Turkish words: YUNAN and YUNANISTAN (Greek and Greece) were entered as keywords when searching for the frequency of the Greece-related news in Turkish mainstream newspapers.

The study aims to find out journalist's role perception when they are reporting Greece –related news by focusing on the news texts in mainstream newspapers. Therefore columns, photographs will be excluded from the analysis. The three Turkish mainstream newspapers are chosen for this analysis are Sabah, Hürriyet and Milliyet. The underlying reasons for choosing these newspapers are their general characteristics which fit to the definition of “mainstream press” as their political position should be defined as “in the center” and their circulation scores are all high. (The quantitative data from Turkish Press Declaration Organization shows that these newspapers hold a place in the category of five newspapers which has highest circulation scores in Turkey in year between 1994 -2000)⁵ Furthermore, Noam Chomsky (1997) with his speech of “*What makes mainstream media, mainstream*” also mentions that mainstream press gets its power from its large reader group and

⁵ See the Appendix 1; Table.

also it is a part of big company and it says what the news is to the other small alternative press .⁶

Moreover, the discourse analysis of these three newspapers conveys one month of news circulation of selected newspapers which starts with the stated dates of selected events. The number of analyzed Greece- related news texts in Hürriyet newspaper is two hundred and eighteen, the number of Greece – related analyzed news text in Sabah newspaper is one hundred and sixteen and there are also two hundred Greece- related news text analyzed for this study in Milliyet newspaper. As it is mentioned before, the methodology of the study is adapted from the Van Dijk discourse analysis method. For this study some phases of Van Dijk discourse analysis are selected and some phases are excluded. Firstly, the selected phases of the discourse analysis of the study, should be categorized in two main groups; macro structural and micro structural characteristics of the news texts; as the macro structural characteristics of the news text, the headlines and schematic structure are selected to analyzed and as micro structural characteristics of the news texts, the syntactic features of the news texts and the lexical choices of the journalist are selected as the phases of the discourse analysis of the study.

⁶ Chomsky N, What makes mainstream media mainstream, speech in Z-Media Institute ,1997

CHAPTER 2

AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND TURKISH –GREEK RELATIONS

2.1 Turkish -Greek Relations

Turks and Greeks shared the same geographical area for a millennium, but their coexistence in that space does not seem to have resulted in a positive memory of a mutual experience (Evin, 2005:5).

As Evin (2005:5) points out, Turks and Greeks were living in the shared geographical area for a long time. Today, their states as Turkey and Greece are situated on the two sides of Aegean but it is the fact that, this neighborliness has never been the ground of harmony in the bilateral relations of two states. The factors that have created this sense of difference between Greece and Turkey could be explained with several reasons. The first reason, explained by Clogg (1991:12) is related to a debate between history and geography. According to Clogg, history prevails itself over geography in any case of Greek - Turkish conflict. So the negative historical experiences of two people, affects the Turkish Greek relations more than the geographical situations of their states. The historical fact that, modern Greece was established struggling against the Turks under the Ottoman Empire and also the Republic of Turkey was established after the War of Independence in which there had been struggles against the Greeks created the negative memory in the minds of two nations.

On the other hand, Veremis (2001:42) argues that the tension between Greece and Turkey is implicit in their perception of each other. He also states that “most Greek

identify Turkey with Ottoman legacy that they have learned to reject, while those in Turkey who believed in its European orientation are confronted with a stumbling block placed in their path by a former subject of their fallen empire”(Veremis,2001:42). Therefore, mistrust and fear shaped the Turkish Greek relations, thus, two people perceive themselves as threat, and Greece and Turkey are arming themselves beyond their means or at the expense of well being of their populations to counter each other’s military might (Gündüz, 2001:83).

In order to have comprehensive look to the relations of Greece and Turkey, firstly it would be useful to provide a brief account of historical background of Turkish-Greek relations in years 1923-2000, and next the main bilateral disputes are going to be analyzed.

2.2 Brief Historical Overview of Turkish Greek - Relations in Years 1923 -2000

The origin of the disputes between Turkish and Greek people, is based on 1800s during when Ottoman Empire’s downfall. The nationalism movement which spread out after the French Revolution (1789) affected the Greeks who were one of the minorities under the Ottoman domination and as a result of this Greeks declared their independence in 1830. According to Kurubas (2002:3,4) the new republic of Greece was established only by the support of third parties and he also states that Greeks are not the first minority group who rebelled against the Ottoman domination but they are the first to gain their independence from Ottoman Empire. After declaring their independence, they pioneered other Balkan nations who were struggling for their independence against the Ottoman Empire.

After the World War I, Ottoman Empire concluded the treaty Of Sévres which provided Greece, to occupy Western Anatolia. But according to Aksu (2001:12); this occupation provided Turkish people to establish their independent Turkish State with a national consciousness.

The relations between new Republic of Turkey, which was founded after the War of Independence, and Greece, have started with Lausanne Treaty. During Lausanne negotiations, the two states have taken decisions on many issues like; the determination of the Thrace boundary, Aegean Disputes and Minority Exchange. According to Kurubaş (2002:4) the first era of the relations with Greece reflects a kind of rivalry based relationship, he also states that the problems that stem from the application of the principals of Lausanne Treaty have negatively affected the relations between the two states.

During 1930s the relations of the two countries have gained a new perspective. The negative atmosphere which arose from the application of the principals of Lausanne Treaty gave its place to the era of *détente*. As a result of the successful diplomatic initiatives of Atatürk and Venizelos, the two nations who were in war a few years ago, now left behind the long standing conflicts of their past and succeeded in having common steps under the frame of cooperation. The most important indicators of the harmony in the bilateral relations of two states are; Turkish-Greek Cordial Agreement and the Balkan Pact (1934) which the two countries concluded with Yugoslavia and Romania.

During World War II, the relationship between Greece and Turkey had no major change. But in the post war era the two countries continued to have common diplomatic steps. These common steps should be exemplified as economic and military support of USA under the name of “Truman Doctrine” and later two states became allies in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1952.

In the second half of the 1950s, the Cyprus crisis disturbed the harmony in the Turkish Greeks relations. Furthermore, Turkey and Greece became parties to the 1955 London negotiations. In 1960, Turkey, Greece and England also became guarantor states of Republic of Cyprus which was established with the Zurich and London Treaties. This international role of Greece and Turkey has caused the Cyprus issue to become a problem which would affect the relations between the two countries during the following years. As a matter of fact, Turkey tried to enforce her

right to be a guarantor state and interfere with the activities in Cyprus in 1964, but this attempt was prevented by USA.

1974 was a very intense period for Turkish and Greek relations. With the effect of the military invasion of Turkey to Cyprus in 1974, the two countries came to the brink of war. Turkish invasion of Cyprus, which Turkey claims that it was the result of her right to be guarantor state on the establishment of the republic of Cyprus, has been determinant of Greece's definition of the Cyprus issue till today. According to Greece, the Cyprus issue which was just a simple governmental issue until 1960 has become a complicated international problem with the intervention of Turkey in 1974.⁷

In 1980, the military coup in Turkey reduced the interest in foreign policy as a result of domestic conflicts within the nation. During this period, Turkey lifted the veto on integration of Greece in NATO's military structure. Aksu (2001.18) argues that Turkey was criticized because of lifting the veto on Greece's integration in military structure of NATO since it was seen as a loss of a great trump for Turkish foreign politics.

In 1984 and 1987, two crises have increased the tension between two states. First crisis of 1984, broke out when Greece claimed that during the Turkish military exercise in the Aegean, the Greek ship was shot by the Turkish ship and for that reason, Greece has also withdrew the Greek Ambassador from Ankara.

Other crisis of 1987, which brought again two states to the brink of war, broke out when Greece invalidated the declaration of Bern, which negotiates the two countries on the issue of territorial waters and allowed the oil explorations in the Aegean Sea. "This crisis pointed to need for a continuous dialogue, and for confidence – building measures in order to create a climate conducive for resolution of their mutual

⁷ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Cyprus/In+Brief/>
accessed on 10.10.2008

problems” (Coufoudakis, 1991:50). For the aim of creating this conducive climate, Ozal and Papandreou met in Davos, Switzerland. After Davos meeting, the rapprochement between Turkey and Greece continued by Turgut Özal’s visit to Athens. Moreover, Turgut Ozal was the first prime minister who visited Athens in the past thirty five years.

Furthermore, due to the health problems, Papandreou couldn’t return the visit of Ozal and “the need of both prime minister to be particularly sensitive to their respective electorates in an election year clearly to some degree inhibited their freedom of maneuver thus the Davos process have expired only in year 1989”(Clogg, 1991:22).

For Turkish Greek relations, 1990s was a very important period of time since the infrequent events have led to the transformation in the relations of two states. On one hand, at the beginning of this period, it is possible to observe that several issues which sometimes brought two states to the brink of war increased the tensions. On the other hand it is possible to observe that long standing era of rapprochement has started at the end of the same period.

The year 1993, when Andreas Papandreou again became prime minister, has led the transformation in the Turkish Greek relations. However, when, in the same year Greece and republic of Cyprus have signed the joint defense pack. This pact has increased Turkey’s concern since it provided Greece to increase her military force in the eastern Mediterranean.

In 1995, Greece declared her territorial limit as 12 nautical miles with the ratification of the UNCLOS. Contrary to this declaration on 8 June 1995 Turkish parliament announced that if Greece exercises the 12 mile territorial limit this will constitute a *casus belli* by Republic of Turkey. Another reason for the increase in tension between Greece and Turkey was the Kardak/Imia Crisis.

Kardak/Imia islets, which are situated between the Greek island Kalolymnos and Turkish mainland Bodrum, had been only one of the ordinary islets among many Aegean islets until the Turkish freighter named Figen Akat found and run aground on December 25, 1995. The problem arises due to the sovereignty of these rocks again. Simply; Turkish crew of Figen Akat denied the help of Greece and insisted that this region is in the Turkish territorial waters. Against the Turkish Crew, Greece government insisted that Turkish freighter was in her national territorial waters and gave diplomatic note to Turkey. This event caused the Kardak/Imia crisis which brought the two states to the brink of war. Finally, European parliament announced the decision which says that; Kardak/Imia is a part of Dodecanese islands of Greece.

It is interesting to note the media's role on this crisis. Especially, the Greek TV channel named Anthenna broadcasted the flag ceremony in Kardak/Imia live and Hürriyet journalists who came to Kardak/Imia by helicopter for the aim of ripping the Greek flag. It has been acknowledged by many people in two countries that Hürriyet and Anthenna channel's irresponsible publishing policy disturbed the diplomatic attempts for relaxing the tension between two states. As Aksu (2001:106) points that Kardak/Imia crisis was important, because it drew attention to the sovereignty problem of many islands in the Aegean. In addition to this, this crisis also support the argument that; it is very easy for two states to be brought to the brink of war.

For the aim of easing, the tension between Turkey and Greece, the Madrid Declaration in 1997, plays an affective role since its main goal was to establish the mutual respect for sovereignty rights of two states. According to Sönmezoğlu (2000:296) it is not possible to define Madrid Declaration as a negotiation between two states since it was only having one step back of two states from their critical positions on the bilateral disputes. The Madrid Declaration was unable to create long standing harmony in the bilateral relations of Greece and Turkey.

Another crisis in between Turkey and Greece, arose in 1997 when Greece announced that Russian made S-300 missiles will be deployed in Cyprus, depending on the principles of Joint Defense Pack between Greece and Republic of Cyprus. Following

Greece's announcement, Turkey declared that if the deployment would continue, Turkey would give an appropriate reaction, since these missiles would threaten her airspace and territory. After that announcement, Turkish aircrafts have made a military exercise on Turkish republic Of Northern Cyprus.⁸ On this military exercise, General Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu, head of Army states that: "This exercise has been a warning to those who could make miscalculation."⁹ The tension which was triggered by the S-300 missiles kept on in the beginning of the year 1998, until 28 December 1998, when Glafcos Clerides, President of Republic of Cyprus, announced that the Russian made S-300 missiles would not be deployed in the Cyprus.¹⁰

A year after the announcement, defense minister of Cyprus, Ioannis Khrisostims, Russian defense minister Marshal Igor Serggeyev and Greek Defense ministry delegation met in Moscow-Russia. As a consequence of this meeting, delegations have taken the decision about the deployment of the S-300 missiles on the Crete in Greece.¹¹

In February 1999, there had been crucial occasion in Turkey. The leader of PKK, Abdullah Öcalan was arrested in Nairobi, Kenya where he was given shelter in the Greek embassy. This arrestment was announced to whole world with the press conference of Bülent Ecevit, Prime minister of Turkey. Abdullah Öcalan's arrestment was announced by Bülent Ecevit in the press conference as: "He was captured in the wake of an intense and silent pursuit which we carried out in various countries, on various contents."¹² Following his arrestment, confessions of Abdullah

⁸ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/115244.stm>
Accessed on 03.07.2008

⁹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/22997.stm>
Accessed on 03.07.2008

¹⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/244426.stm>
Accessed on 03.07.2008

¹¹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/279764.stm>
Accessed on 03.07.2008

¹² <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/280554.stm>
Accessed on 03.07.2008

Öcalan has increased the tension between Greece and Turkey since he confessed that the organization of PKK was funded by Greek churches.¹³

Abdullah Öcalan's confessions on PKK's funding by Greek Church was sharply refused by the Greek Orthodox Church and head of the Church, Archbishop Christodoulos, stated in his interview with BBC that : "It is a provocative and embarrassing revelation for the Greek Government and the church, which has been quick to deny any connections with the PKK."¹⁴ Öcalan's confessions about the Greece's support for the PKK, again increased the tension between Turkey and Greece, in order to reduce the tension between two states, Ismail Cem and Andreas Papandreou had initiated a process of dialogue. The first attempt of this process was Cem's letter, in which he called Papandreou for the cooperation on the issue of terrorism in May, 1999. Cem explained in his letter as:

Therefore, suggest that Turkey and Greece conclude an agreement to combat terrorism. Resolution of this issue would permit us to approach our known differences with greater confidence. The substance of this agreement may be inspired by accords we have already signed with some of our other neighbors, but is should also be specific to the nature of the problem as it affects our relations. We have some further ideas in this respect which we are ready to share with you.¹⁵

After a month, Papandreou replied the Cem's letter in which he mentioned that with the issue of terrorism, the cooperation between two states should be on many other issues, and Papandreou explained these issues in his letter as: "In parallel, we could also envisage resuming dialogue on issues, may of which we have attempted to deal with in the past. Cooperation in several fields of mutual interest such as culture,

¹³ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/286849.stm>
Accessed on 09.08.2008

¹⁴ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/286849.stm>
Accessed on 09.08.2008

¹⁵ See Ismail Cem's letter from- <http://www.turkishgreek.org/>
Accessed on .11.08.2008

tourism, environment, crime, economic cooperation and ecological problems should be amongst the topics of our talks.”¹⁶

In year 1999, there had been a great tragedy of disaster in Adapazari in Turkey, at 3.00 pm an earthquake, measuring 7.8 Richter scale occurred, thousands of people died, thousands were injured.¹⁷ In these bad days, the Turkish victims of earthquake faced with the help of Greek saving team of EMAK, who were sent to assist their Turkish encounters. Together with the official aid the Greek people also organized to collect humanitarian aid for the Turkish victims. Additionally, Greek TV station SKAI teamed up with Turkish TV channel TGRT to conduct joint live broadcasting after Marmara earthquake. Just a few days after Marmara earthquake, earthquake news came from Athens. In 7 September 1999, earthquake with 5.6 Richter scale occurred in Athens. At this time, the Greek victims of earthquake faced with the Turkish saving team of AKUT who sent for the assisting their Greek encounters. The earthquakes in Adapazari and than in Athens created the sprit of solidarity and cooperation. Regarding the effects of earthquakes on the peaceful era, Heraclides (2002:34) suggests four reasons which are:

- Mass media effects of giving the feeling of compassion
- The common mental anguish against the invincible power of nature
- Achieving the sympathy of others
- Desire of escaping from the deserving belief of extreme nationalism

The cooperative atmosphere in Turkish and Greek relations which occurred in 1999, led to the development of a new era of *détente*. To justify the stability of the peaceful period, it is very important to mention about the Helsinki Summit in October 13, 1999, when the Greece lifted her veto on Turkish candidacy state position of Turkey for full E.U membership. With this support on October 13, 1999 EU Council officially accepted Turkey as one of the candidate states for full membership.

¹⁶ See G.Papandreou's letter from- <http://www.turkishgreek.org/>
Accessed on 11.08.2008

¹⁷ <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9908/17/turkey.quake.07/index.html>
Accessed on 09.06.2008

This positive atmosphere which was rooted in 1999 continued in 2000 and further developed a mutual atmosphere of peace and reconciliation. Moreover the nine agreements, which were signed by Turkey in January 2000 in Ankara and by Greece in February 2000 in Athens, should be defined as sign of the rapprochement between two states. As Heraclides (2002:46) notes that these nine agreements which were on; tourism, maritime transport, science and technology, and culture, crime, especially terrorism and drug smuggling, illegal migration are very important since they are the first agreements that provide organizational and legal framework on simple political issues to Turkey and Greece in terms of diplomatic relations.

2.3 Disputes between Turkey and Greece

Turkish Greek relations are dominated by a wide variety of conflicts including; Aegean disputes, Issue of Minorities and also the Cyprus issue, in order to have comprehensive look to Turkish - Greek relations it would be useful to understand the main disputes between Turkey and Greece.

2.3.1 Aegean Dispute

Aegean dispute between Turkey and Greece generally stems from determination of the sovereignty rights in the Aegean. If the period of Greek-Turkish relations after 1974 is analyzed, it is easily seen that the Aegean dispute have been the subject matters of numerous talks, negotiations, agreements and also conflicts and crises between the two coastal states. The name of the dispute is sometimes referred to as problem, clash or crisis but what never changes with the Aegean dispute is; its means of settlements are still undefined by two parties.

Geographically, the Aegean is connected through the straits of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus to the Black Sea, while the island of Crete can be

taken as marking its boundary on the south.¹⁸ Moreover it is dominated by many islands and some of them have important populations like Lesbos and Rhodos. Due to the above characteristic of the Aegean Sea, both Turkey and Greece has vital national interests on their sovereignty rights in it. As Bahçelli (1990:129) argues: “the essence of the Aegean dispute is the overlapping Greek-Turkish national interests in the area” and he also adds that the “Greek view the Aegean as a Greek sea dotted with over 2,000 islands that (with two exceptions in northern Aegean) are Greek. On the other hand, Turks consider that; as an Aegean nation, Turkey is entitled to an equitable share of resources in the Aegean” (Bahçelli, 1990:129).

The existing Aegean disputes have some times brought two states to the brink of war, for instance; the 1973 and 1984 crises are delivered from the continental shelf issue and a recent crises; 1999 Kardak/Imia was also delivered from the problem of unnamed islets and islands in the Aegean Sea. On the Aegean dispute, there are two main differences in the perspectives of the states. These differences are seen in the definitions of the dispute itself and in the proposing of solutions to resolve the dispute.

On the Greek side, the continental shelf dispute is accepted as the genuine dispute in the Aegean but on the Turkish side there are many other disputes which are officially accepted together with the continental shelf issue, namely; the breadth of territorial waters, the delimitation of the Aegean Continental shelf, Demilitarization of the eastern Aegean islands, Air space related problems and islands, islets and rocks in the Aegean.¹⁹ From the Greek perspective, these disputes are defined as the claims of Turkish side and Turkey considers that the disputes that are not accepted by Greek

¹⁸ <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9003839>
Accessed on 13.06.2008

¹⁹ http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Regions/EuropeanCountries/EUCountries/Greece/GreeceLinks/Turkeys_Views_Regarding_The_Settlement.htm
Accessed on 06.06.2008

side have become an undeniable fact which is already acknowledged by the international community.²⁰

Meanwhile, the settlement concerns of Turkey and Greece on the Aegean dispute are also very different from each other. On the one hand, Turkey claims that bilateral talks and mutual negotiations are the only means of settlement and Turkish officials also underline the principles of bilateral agreements to support their settlement concerns. On the other hand, Greece refuses to conduct a dialogue with Turkey and underlines the principles of international agreements to support her settlement concerns.

It is very hard to separate the Greek Turkish relations concerning the Aegean dispute from other disputes between two states. Mostly, the arguments claim that all the improvements between Athens and Ankara have political effects over the Aegean dispute. In order to understand the Greek Turkish relations, the bilateral problems in the Aegean should be analyzed. The Aegean dispute is compromised of many issues. These issues are continental shelf issue, the Limit of territorial Sea and Airspace Control. In the following part these issues will be discussed.

2.3.1.1 Continental Shelf Issue

On November 1973, State Turkish Petroleum Company was officially permitted to explore oil in the west of Greek islands and started oil exploration in the Aegean, the Greece insisted that the State Turkish Petroleum Company was conducting oil exploration beyond its territorial waters but on the other hand, Turkish side claimed that since 1930 there had been many oil explorations beyond her territorial waters which was conducted by Greece. This event caused the emergence of the continental shelf issue between Greece and Turkey.²¹ The continental shelf of coastal state is

²⁰<http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Turkey/In+Brief/>
Accessed on 06.06.2008

²¹See the Appendix.2 Turkish official news paper of November 1,1973,the map of TPAO oil concessions .

defined by United Nations Convention of the Law of Sea with the article 76 which says that:

The continental shelf of a coastal State comprises the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas that extend beyond its territorial sea throughout the natural prolongation of its land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin, or to a distance of 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured where the outer edge of the continental margin does not extend up to that distance.²²

On the continental shelf issue, two parties of the issue have different perspectives relating the different principles. As Bahçeli (1990: 131) argues that “from the beginning of the dispute Greek government took the position that in accordance with the international law” but Turkey underlined the principle of equity and the special characteristics of Aegean sea(as semi enclosed sea) as the starting point for Turkey’s views.

Moreover, Greece considers that the islands are fully entitled to continental shelf of their own and supported her claim by making reference to principles of 1958 Geneva Convention and 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and also the decision of 1969 International Court on the delimitation of the North Sea Continental Shelf.²³

According to the Turkish perspective, the continental shelf (CS) dispute stems from the absence of a delimitation agreement effected between the two countries. It has a bearing on the overall equilibrium of rights and interests in the Aegean. For the means of settlement, Turkish officials address the principles of 1976 the Bern Agreement which states with its article number six that the two parties undertake to

²² http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/closindx.htm
Accessed on 09.06.2008

²³ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Turkey/Turkish+claims/Greek+Territorial+Waters+-+National+Airspace/WATERS+AIR+SPACE.htm>
Accessed on 05.07.2008

refrain from any initiative or act concerning the Aegean continental shelf that might trouble the negotiations.²⁴

The Bern Agreement provides a balance between the two parties of continental shelf dispute but this balance is not long standing.²⁵ After 1980, the balanced atmosphere gave its place to the conflict again, since Greece started the oil exploration in the Aegean Sea as opposite to the Bern Agreement. On this conflict in March 1987, Aksu (2001:83) argues that, when two countries suggested that they will not permit any oil exploration in the international seas, the risk of war between two states has delayed and he also adds that with the two parties will be decided upon by the International Court of Justice if they do not resolve the conflict with mutual talks. During the Helsinki Summit (1999) it was decided on the continental issue that; if the two states will not be able to find any means of settlement by the mutual talks until 2004, the two states will litigate to the international court of justice, is underlined the positive attitudes of the two states on the means of settlement of continental shelf dispute.

2.3.1.2 The Limit of Territorial Sea

According to the United Nations Conventions on the Law of Sea, the territorial waters are defined as:

The sovereignty of a coastal State extends, beyond its land territory and internal waters and, in the case of an archipelagic State, its archipelagic waters, to an adjacent belt of sea, described as the territorial sea.²⁶

²⁴ http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Regions/EuropeanCountries/EUCountries/Greece/GreeceLinks/The_Delimitation_of_the_Aegean_Continental_Shelf.htm
Accessed on 05.07.2008

²⁵ <http://www.turkishgreek.org/bern.htm>
Accessed on 03.07.2008

²⁶ http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/closindx.htm
Accessed on 01.08.2008

The dispute between Greek and Turkey over delimitation of the territorial water delivered in 1964 when Turkey declared the extension of her limits of territorial waters in Aegean from 3 mile to 6 miles. The territorial Waters Law of 1964 introduced that limits of territorial waters in Black Sea and in the Mediterranean were fixed at 12 miles but in the Aegean the limit of territorial waters is declared as 6 miles. In 1970's territorial waters dispute rose again since Greece declared her territorial limits as 12 miles.

Turkey officially argues that Greece and Turkey presently exercise 6 miles breadth of territorial waters in the Aegean Sea and she also insisted that Greece's extension of territorial waters beyond the present 6 miles in the Aegean will have most in equitable implications since Aegean is a semi enclosed sea and dotted by many islets and islands²⁷ As Evin(2005:11) states; if Greece was to expand its territorial waters to 12 miles, it would acquire sovereignty rights over 71.5 percent of the Aegean Sea, while the proportion of international waters would decrease to 19.7 percent and he also notes that in the event of 12 mile limit Turkish territorial waters in the Aegean would merely increase to 8.8 percent of the Aegean Sea. Moreover, Turkey argues that the limits of territorial waters should only be determined by the joint of two coastal states with the principle of equal distance from both two coastal states. From the Greek point of view, Greece has the right to extend her territorial waters to 12 miles which is provided by UNCLOS III, which states in Article 3 that:

Breadth of the Territorial Sea:

Every State has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to a limit not exceeding 12 nautical miles, measured from baselines determined in accordance with this Convention.²⁸

²⁷http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Regions/EuropeanCountries/EUCountries/Greece/GreeceLinks/Territorial_Waters.htm
Accessed on 20.008.2008

²⁸ http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/closindx.htm

Moreover, Greece also insisted that Turkey already exercises this right in Black Sea and Mediterranean.²⁹ Due to the reason mentioned above, Greece argues that the 12 mile border in the Aegean Sea is what Turkey should put into practice.

2.3.1.3 Air Space Control

The conflict over the airspace control between Turkey and Greece did not rise up until the 1974 Cyprus Crisis, when the security problem over the national airspaces occurred. The air space dispute over Turkey and Greece conveys two different issues, which are; the Greece's delimitation of airspace to 10 miles and the responsibility on the Flight Information Region.

In 1931, Greece declared with a decree 10 nautical miles of national airspace. Turkey, on the contrary, argues that this claim is illegal according to the rules of international law and consequently, the airspace between Greece's 6 nautical miles territorial waters and Greece's extension of 10 nautical miles national airspace is part of the international airspace.³⁰

Greece, on the other hand, argues that in 1931, when the Presidential Decree was applied the 10 nautical mile regime has been force and this was included in the Aeronautical Information Handbook that was published in accordance with Annex 15 of the Chicago Convention by the competent Civil Aviation Authorities³¹

²⁹ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Turkey/Turkish+claims/Greek+Territorial+Waters+-+National+Airspace/WATERS+AIR+SPACE.htm>
Accessed on 18.08.2008

³⁰ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Turkey/Turkish+claims/Greek+Territorial+Waters+-+National+Airspace/WATERS+AIR+SPACE.htm>
Accessed on 12.08.2008

³¹ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Turkey/Turkish+claims/Greek+Territorial+Waters+-+National+Airspace/WATERS+AIR+SPACE.htm>
Accessed on 13.08.2008

It should be noted that, the delimitation of the national airspace issue is also related with the issue of delimitation of the territorial sea because, the UNCLOS III, defines the sovereignty rights of coastal state as an exercise of the airspace over the territorial sea.³²

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which is set by The Chicago Convention in 1944, is aiming to protect the security of the civil aviation in the world. To achieve this goal, the organization divided the airspace of the countries into the flight information regions (FIR) and delegated the responsibility to the selected countries.

For the Aegean - airspace, the Greece is declared as the responsible country by the ICAO; this means that, the aircraft must give its own flight information to Greece when it uses the Aegean airspace. In order to leave the Aegean airspace, Turkish airplanes must use the flight region which is determined by ICAO and under the control of Greece.

In accordance with the regulations of ICAO, Turkish airplanes should inform the center in Greece, but the problem arises in this point since Turkey insists that only civil airplanes are amenable to inform the center in Greece and so the military airplanes are not obliged to give the details of flight information to the center in Greece. Opposite to Turkey, Greece insists that all airplanes, including the military airplanes, are obliged to inform the center in Greece when they use the flight region which is under the control of Greece.

However, the problem still persists between the two countries in a sense that Turkey demands modification of the Aegean FIR responsibilities on the grounds of equity and national security, and complains of Greece for using FIR responsibility as the

³² http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/closindx.htm
Accessed on 07.07.2008

sovereignty rights on the Aegean region. The next issue that will be revealed is the Cyprus Issue.

2.4 Cyprus Issue

Cyprus, which is often referred to as the Cyprus Issue, is the third largest Mediterranean island, lies 40 miles south of Turkey and 480 miles southeast of mainland Greece and has been a ground of conflict between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriot communities. The Cyprus issue is not only a regional territory problem between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots but it is also an international problem that many countries concern on. Firstly, the Cyprus issue is monitored by the three guarantor states (which was defined in 1960 Treaty of Guarantee) namely, United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece. Secondly, since these three states are allies of NATO, U.S.A and other allies of NATO also are concerned with the issue.

After 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the Cyprus issue also became a bilateral problem between Greece and Turkey. As Sezer (1991:121) states; “It may never be thoroughly possible to disentangle the Cyprus conflict from Greek – Turkish conflict vice versa.” Besides their international role of guarantor state status, the stability and security of the Eastern Mediterranean, ethnic and religious ties between the Greece and Greek Cypriots and Turkey and Turkish Cypriots (as motherlands) the Cyprus problem plays an effective role on the Greek- Turkish relations. Before engaging in the details of Cyprus Issue, it would be useful to provide brief account of the historical background of Cyprus.

From 1887 to the Second World War, Cyprus was under the rule of British Empire. After the Second World War, the impact of *enosis*, a movement for the goal of unification of Cyprus with Greece, increased in the island. When the *enosis* movement started to become a threat for the Turkish Cypriots, they started to organize with the leading of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, under the name of T.M.T. (Turkish Resistance Organizations). At that time, Turkey was monitoring the developments in the island, concomitant with the T.M.T.’s movements; there had been many

demonstrations against the *enosis* in Ankara. After all these developments in the island, Zurich and London Agreements (1960) had been basis of three treaties namely; Treaty of Alliance, Treaty of Guarantee and Treaty of Establishment. After agreeing on these treaties, the new state was declared as Republic of Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus has on one side two communities namely; Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots and, on the other side, three guarantor states; Greece, Turkey and Britain.

There were only 15 years past from the declaration of new republic of Cyprus, when the Greek junta decided to unify the island with Greece. The *enosis* again caused a chaos between two communities in the island. Enforcing her right of being a guarantor state, Turkey made a military invasion to Cyprus in 1974. Following the Turkish invasion, Turkish federal state of Cyprus was announced in 1975. Furthermore, in 1983, Turkish federal state declared its independence, as Turkish Republic Of Northern Cyprus. It should be noted that TRNC, was only recognized by Turkey. Now in Cyprus there are two communities namely; Turkish Cypriots who are Muslim and speak Turkish and Greek Cypriots who are orthodox and speak Greek. Since 1974, these two communities haven't succeeded to produce a solution for the problem about how the sovereignty is going to be shared between them.³³

In the years between 1974 and 1990 United Nations have attempted to mediate the inter-communal talks between the leaders of two communities as; between Denktas-Makarious (1975-1977), Denktas - Kyprianu(1977-1988), Denktas - Vasiliu(1988-1993). It is important to note that these inter - communal talks between leaders of two communities failed to find resolution for the Cyprus issue.

Moreover in 1990s, the Cyprus issue became an important subject on the United Nation's agenda. Accordingly, in 1991 United Nations Security Council decelerated the article- 716 which states that; two communities in the island should have the right

³³ For Historical overview Of Cyprus see:Dodd H.C.(1999),Cyprus The Need For New Perspectives,Eothen Press,England

of determining their own destiny.³⁴ Sönmezoğlu (2000:298) points out that this article is an indicator of the viewpoints of international society on the Cyprus issue. Furthermore, in 1992 United Nations suggested the “Ghali set of ideas”. For the aim of discussing on the this set of ideas, leaders of two communities have met in New York and decided to return home for consultation but the United Nation’s plan of Ghali set of ideas also failed with the intransigence of two leaders. Following the Ghali set of ideas, United Nations suggested a new plan for the resolution of the Cyprus issue, namely; the Annan Plan.

According to Annan plan, the two constituent states will have competences that they will sovereignly exercise in all areas outside the competencies of the federal government as stated in the Constitution .Besides the election of Presidential Council from a single list –which carries an integrative element – both constitute states will hold their own separate elections in all areas .They are expected to cooperate only after their separate elections in accordance with the consociational model ,the Annan plan provides proportional representation for the two ethnic communities in all political offices and in the allocation of civil service position and public funds”(Sözen, 2006:49).

Sözen (2006:18) states that; “if one closely analyzes the history of the Cyprus negotiations one can see that Annan plan is a natural end and product that evolved from the important milestones, principles and the agreements that the two sides had during the past four decades of negotiations”. Özersay (2006: 64) argues that the Annan plan was a kind of document amending of 1960s Accords. To support his arguments, he suggests that the plan suggests the consent which could only be obtained by the will of the two states namely; ROC and TRNC as 1960 Accords did and the terminology in plan and 1960 Accords are similar because instead of using the term communities, two sides are defined as Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in the text of the plan as in the 1960 Accords.

In April 2004, the Annan Plan was presented to the referenda in both sides of Cyprus. The results of the referenda showed that the majority of the Turkish Cypriots voted with 65 % accepted the plan, but on the other side, more than three quarters of

³⁴ <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1991/scres91.htm>

the Greek Cypriots, have voted against the acceptance of the plan.³⁵ According to the Greek Cypriots, rejection of Annan Plan “was a rejection of a process that led to a one-sided plan perceived harmful to the legitimate rights of the Greek Cypriot community and to the survival of the state of Cyprus itself.”³⁶

2.4.1 The Perspectives of Parties

As it is mentioned above, the reason why both Greece and Turkey are closely related with the island is that religious and ethnic ties keep both of countries connected to the island. Also preserving the security of the Eastern Mediterranean is another concern for the two states. Thus, in order to understand the Cyprus issue as a bilateral dispute between Greece and Turkey, the perspectives of the four parties namely Turkey, Greece, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots need to be analyzed.

Turkey and Greece define Cyprus issue in different manners. On one side, Turkey claims that Cyprus issue stems from a question of: “does the future of Cyprus lie in a new political integration or in an arms length relationship based on will and active co-operation between two peoples, each secure in its own sovereign territory and each with its own customs, traditions and identity?”³⁷

On the other side, Greece argues that the Cyprus issue in its current form that is, following the 1974 Turkish invasion is a complex international question of:

- the blatant violation of international legality and UN Charter
- the illegal invasion and occupation of the territory of one UN member state by another,

³⁵ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3656653.stm>
Accessed on 09.07.2008

³⁶ http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus02_en/cyprus02_en?OpenDocument

Accessed on 14.07.2008

³⁷ http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MainIssues/Cyprus/Cyprus_HistoricalOverview.htm
Accessed on 08.07.2008

- mass violation of human rights,
- re-achieving the coexistence of two national communities within the framework of a unified, functional and viable state entity.³⁸

The Turkish Cypriot side suggested the final proposal in 1998, the establishment of the Cyprus confederation between TRNC and GCA and the continuity of 1960 guarantee system.³⁹

Additionally, Efegil and Gorguner (2001:101) explained the Turkish side suggestions as below:

The Greek side and international community must acknowledge and respect the full equality of Turkish side. It is only on this basis and on a level playing field that a new and cooperative relationship with the Greek Cypriot party can be developed. The Turkish side rejects to amend the existing constitution of the Republic Of Cyprus from unitary state to federal state in spite of the fact that the 1960 Constitution was declared by Archiop Makarios to be dead and buried.

On the Greek Cypriot perspective, “the settlement must be based on a state of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality and a single citizenship with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded and comprising two equal communities as bi-communal and bi-federation”(Efegil, Görgüner, 2001:124).

As Stavrinides (1999:57) argues that Greek Cypriots claim that if the constitutional form is to be a federation, it is not expected to be like the system in years 1960-1963 when the Cyprus Republic was unitary state. But he also states that “it can only be hoped ‘unnatural partition’ in force since 1974 will be replaced by some sort of

³⁸ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Cyprus/In+Brief/>
Accessed on 08.07.2008

³⁹ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MainIssues/Cyprus/Call+for+peace+from+the+Turkish+side+31+August+1998.htm>
Accessed on 08.07.2008

“toned down division” a division between two autonomous states, or provinces, or cantons, within a federal union.”

The Cyprus issue as a topic still waiting for a solution reveals that a suggestion to resolve the conflict with a stable method is needed. The parties must compromise on an agreement by the right to determine their own future provided by the United Nations.

As Ismail Cem in his article; *it's not too late*, in International Herald Tribune, points out that; the path toward a settlement that would save everybody - Turkey, Greece, the European Union, Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots - from trouble seems to be the following:

Agree on, a merger of the basic stances of both parties: a new partnership state representing both nations of Cyprus on matters for which it is empowered through an agreement between the two constituent states and agree on the powers and functions to be given to the partnership state and also agree on all matters that the parties consider as vital.

The contemporary perspectives on the Cyprus Issue contents that the two parties must negotiate on a common ground to settle the political debates among the countries. All of the critics either by suggesting different solutions agree on the fact that a stable solution should be settled.

2.5 The Issue of Minorities

The issue of minorities between Turkey and Greece is older than many disputes of Turkish Greek relations and covers a wide range of issues from treatment of minorities to the status of the Ecumenical Patriarch in Istanbul. But only issue of treatment of minorities will be mentioned since the status of Ecumenical Patriarchate is a very complicated problem that requires deeper analysis.

Before the Lausanne Treaty, it should be noted that there were some treaties declared to guarantee the minorities in their lands in both parties. Following World War I, non Greek minorities in Greece were guaranteed by Treaty of Protection of Minorities, signed in Sévres (1920) which gives non - Greek minorities the rights to use their

own language and exercising their own religious beliefs. On the Turkish side, before the declaration of the Republic Of Turkey National Pact of January 28, 1920, was signed, which “guarantees the rights of minorities” as defined in treaties concluded between Entente Powers and their enemies and certain associates” provided that the Muslim minorities in neighboring countries would have the benefit of the same rights?” (Psomiades, 2000:64).

During the Lausanne Convention, thanks to the insistence of Turkish government Turkey and Greece signed the convention of population exchange in January 1923. As Bahçeli (1990:169) states Turkish insistence on the population exchange is based on the idea of creating a homogeneous nation and eliminating the basis for the future irredentist ambitious, who will probably welcome to Greek armies. Following the conventions, many Turkish and Greek refugees were transferred from their homelands to the other state. According to Psomiades (2000:67) “the transfer of population not only served to transform Greece and Turkey into homogenous states but also helped to lessen future conflict over minorities excluded from the exchange and to stabilize the political boundaries between the two states”. After the Lausanne Settlements, there were Turks in Western Thrace and Greeks in Istanbul, Gökçeada and Bozcaada as nonexchangeable minorities. Since 1923, Turkey and Greece are attentively monitoring their minorities and accusing of each other due to the violation of minority rights which was also provided by the Lausanne Treaty.

Firstly, the problem arises from the definitions of the minorities. Hence, in the text of the Lausanne treaty the minorities are defined according to their religious identities as Moslem and non Moslems rather than their ethnic identities. As Articles 38 and 45 in Section Three state that:

Article 38: Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and of emigration, subject to the measures applied, on the whole or on part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defense, or for the maintenance of public order

Article 45: The rights conferred by the provisions of the present Section on the non Moslem minorities of Turkey will be similarly conferred by Greece on the Moslem minority in her territory.⁴⁰

Underlining the principles of Lausanne Treaty, Greece denies the existence of Turkish minority in Western Thrace. Turkey, on the contrary, considers that “the Turkish minority is considered as religious minority rather than ethnic or national but the minority members regard themselves as “Turks and demand the right to be called Turkish”⁴¹On the definitions of the minority in Western Thrace, Nachmani (2002:137) states; since Turkey frequently complains about the Greek pressures on the minority in Western Thrace, Greece is worried about the possibility of Turkey’s invasion in this region as she did in Cyprus so, define the minorities as a Muslim rather than Turks.

Moreover, Turkish side claims that there is a clear violation of human rights in Western Thrace.⁴² After the investigation, the Human Rights Watch prepared the report about the violations on the rights of Turkish minority in Western Thrace based on the Lausanne treaty in January 1999. Supporting the Turkish claims, the report states that on many subjects the violation on the rights of minority in Western Thrace is continuing. These subjects can be listed as below:

- Denial of Ethnic Identity
- Forced Deprivation of Citizenship
- Selection of Muftis

⁴⁰ http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne
Access on 06.06.2008

⁴¹ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Regions/EuropeanCountries/EUCountries/Greece/GreeceLinks/Introduction.htm>
Access on 06.06.2008

⁴² <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Regions/EuropeanCountries/EUCountries/Greece/GreeceLinks/Introduction.htm>
Access on 06.06.2008

-Control of *Vakıflar* (Private Charitable Foundations)

-Education⁴³

On the Greek side, Turkey is being accused of not to be respectful to Lausanne Treaty (1923) provided rights of Greek minority in Istanbul, Bozcaada, Gokceada and she also considers that the decline in the population of the Greek minority from 130.000 to nearly 5.000 is a sign of Turkey's disrespectfulness of Turkey to the Lausanne provided rights of Greek minority in Turkey. Moreover, Greece emphasizes the events of September and 1964 expulsion as reason of the decline in the population Greek minority in Turkey.⁴⁴

Furthermore, Greek side considers that Greek minorities are facing many problems in a filled of education and religious exercise and points out that there is a decline in the amount of Greek schools and Greek being thought and Greek teachers are being banned.⁴⁵

To conclude, it is possible to note that the minority issue between Turkey and Greece is very complicated and depends on bilateral relations between two states. As Gündüz (2001:86) states: "The main issue is that the members of minorities should be able to exercise their treaty based rights freely."

Although, the Lausanne Treaty (1933) established the status quo between Greece and Turkey, there are still several disputes that sometimes stoked the tensions between two states. Since 1950 Cyprus crisis, two countries have several times come to brink

⁴³ See the whole text of HRW report from: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/greece/>

⁴⁴ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Turkey/International+Obligations+for+Turkey/Greek+Minority/>
Access on 06.07.2008

⁴⁵ <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/South-Eastern+Europe/Turkey/International+Obligations+for+Turkey/Greek+Minority/>
Access on 06.07.2008

of war, but the fact that the war always averted sometimes by diplomatic initiatives of politicians sometimes and sometimes by the involvement of third parties.

In conclusion, Greece and Turkey will continue considering each other as threats since no stable solution to the threats between these two countries have been provided. Both of these countries are a part of NATO's southern flank however, the countries still persist on seeing each other as threats. This condition leads to the fact that both of the countries invest more money on armament, and in this way they are both economically loaded with expense.

As a result, historical facts have determined their actions since now but Gunduz (2001:82) optimistically puts forward that "no nation should allow the past to dominate its future" and has exemplified this situation with Germany and France. These countries have left behind previous conflicts and there is no reason why Turkey and Greece should not do the same.

CHAPTER 3

MEDIA AND FOREIGN POLICY

Up until the discovery of the telegraph in 1843, the military safely accolade journalists, even on battlefield because press dispatches were slow getting into print that there was little chance of providing comfort to the enemy or embarrassment to the generals – or the politicians in Washington. However, once the telegraph in the mid nineteenth century and television in the late – twentieth century accelerated the process of reporting, the generals could no longer be indifferent to the power of the press to influence public opinion (Marvin Kalb, 1994:3).

As Kalb (1994:3) points out proliferation of new communication technologies fundamentally changed the roles of the journalists in the foreign policy process. In 1990's, with the ability of the media to report live and in real time, media – government relations in foreign policy process, has become more critical for the scholars who are concerned with media – foreign policy relations.

This chapter attempts to provide a theoretical framework on the relationship between media and foreign policy. Hence, the researches which have different perspectives on the relationship between media and government in the foreign policy making process will be mentioned. If the works of early scholars who have debated the role of the media in foreign policy decision making processes are analyzed, it is clearly seen that most of them are intrigued by three roles of media which are: 1) Media as a propaganda model in the foreign policy formation, 2) Media as tool for mobilizing the public opinion on behalf of foreign policy decision makers, 3) Media as participant in foreign policy making.

In sum, this chapter attempts to give a theoretical account to answer the question of: Are the journalists truly under the control of the governments who only reflect the pro-governmental based opinions and also mobilize the public opinion on behalf of foreign policy makers? Or do they play an active role of providing balanced information to the public and triggering the governments in the foreign policy making process?

As Cohen (1963:16) argues, “the relation between the press and foreign policy will open up new vistas in our understanding of the communication function in our political system.” As it is generally known, there are many factors which are enrolled in the “foreign news” making process, but firstly, it will be useful to mention the “foreign news values” as the significant determinants of foreign news and then, in order to have a comprehensive look to the media – government relations in foreign policy making, journalist’s role perception will be discussed.

3.1 Westerstahl and Johansson’s Model of Foreign News Values

Westerstahl and Johansson’s (1994) study of *Foreign News: News Values and Ideologies* is an intermediate report from a study of foreign news in Swedish media and also in a number of countries. They try to clarify the “foreign news values” as the criteria that determine which events are worthy of becoming “foreign news” in media. According to them, there are mainly five news values in foreign news reporting namely; importance, proximity, drama, access and ideology.

Importance: The importance of the event is related with the country’s GNP and military power which it occurred in.

Proximity: The proximity value depends on the geographical, commercial and cultural distances between the country in which the event occurred and the country in which the event will be presented as news. It should be noted that Westerstahl and

Johansson point out (1994:73) that when the limit of proximity of the event is determined, geographical distance is not important as other distances.

Drama: The drama value is related with the events more than the countries where the events occurred in; simply value of drama refers to the fact that “negative” events are more newsworthy than the “positive” events.

Besides the basic three foreign news values, Westerstahl and Johansson (1994) present two important values as *access* and *ideology* as a criteria on event selection phase of foreign news making process.

Access: The value of *access* simply refers to the accessibility of the events for the journalist. Westerstahl and Johansson (1994:74) claim that some countries or areas are barred to reporters while others are wide open and those which are wide open to the journalists mostly take place in newspapers as news. They also added that the location of news agencies and correspondents have positive impact on the volume of news available.

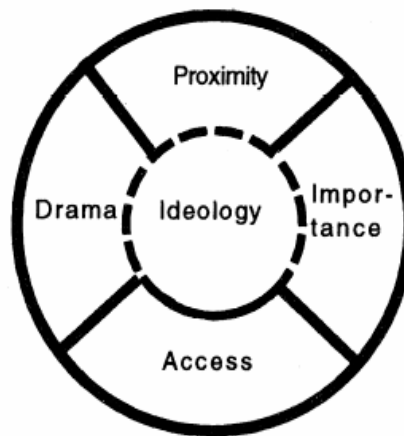
In opposition to the *access* value definition of Westerstahl and Johansson, it is generally known that if any correspondent manages to enter the barred location, the extreme difficulty of getting into that place makes the events happening there much more newsworthy.

Ideology: The ideology value is at the center of the Westerstahl and Johansson’s model of foreign news values⁴⁶. The term “ideology” in their study refer to national ideological events and the starting point of their study is the hypothesis which says that “there is a close correspondence between the foreign policy and media’s covering of foreign affairs” (Westerstahl and Johansson, 1994: 75). They (1994:76) also point out that when international news reporting is studied, the national interest level might be the first one to materialize an event as news and also added that in

⁴⁶ See the Fig.1

foreign news making the value of ideology plays the effective role on the presentation of actors as good or bad.

Regarding the “ideology” as a central foreign news value, Westerstahl and Johansson (1994:76) state that in case of international conflicts, involvement is rooted in identification with the parties concerned. Supporting this argument, they also state that the Iran –Iraq war could be presented as a case to demonstrate the lowest level readiness in western world for identifying with either side. This means that in terms of news coverage, the death of one Israeli soldier counted as much as death of hundreds of Iranian or Iraqi soldiers (Westerstahl, Johansson, 1994:76).



Source: Westerstahl, J., Johanson, F., (1994) “*Foreign News: News Values and Ideologies*” *European Journal of Communication*.9, 71-90

Fig.1 Westerstahl and Johansson’s Model of Foreign News Values

3.2 Role Perceptions of the Journalists in Foreign Policy Making

Differently from some domestic news such as price of oil, demonstrations, ordinary citizens are unable to check the issues in international arena. They can not easily judge the truths on the Iraq or the conflicts in Albania, and his/her “truth” for the international issues is based on the information which they have learned from the media. At this point, the media plays a significant role as information source for the international issues.

Moreover, Charter points out (2004:9) the importance of foreign news as:

“Feature stories in Beijing and regardless of their veracity, news report concerning killings and disappearances in El Salvador or the U.S occupation of Iraq may allow us to convince of the world as filled with our contemporaries. Even if we sometimes experience “composition fatigue” all of us are the members of global society, “taking each other into account.”

Following the views of Charter, it is possible to say that journalists are the group of professionals who are responsible for the task of “taking each other into account”. Here it may be worth while to refer the Bernard Cohen’s (1963:9) distinction on the approaches of journalist’s news gathering. Underlining Cohen’s distinction, it is important to ask the question of: Do the journalist simply report the news or make the news, when they make people “take each other into account”?

In order to answer this question, Bernard Cohen (1963) suggests two distinct roles of journalist in foreign policy making, namely; neutral reporter and reporter as participants. “The journalist as neutral reporter provides information that enables others to play a part in fashioning of policy and his role conception relates him chiefly toward the public participants in the policy making process” (Cohen, 1963:20).

3.2.1 Neutral Roles of Journalists

Cohen (1964) claims that neutral role of journalists should be seen in different forms which are; informer, interpreter and instrument of government. Firstly, the form of “informer” simply refers to the providing of factual information about foreign affairs. “The most common form, in which this function is expressed, contains explicit statement of the significance of information to the public: the press gives factual information so that people can make their own judgments about the issues of foreign policy” (Cohen 1963:23).

Secondly, the interpretive role of journalist emerged from the public needs of understanding the foreign affairs which are generally known as complex. Cohen (1963:27) argues that; technological development in mass media forced the press to the interpretive role as radio and television gets the place of newspaper, columnists must do more to survive.

Thirdly, for Cohen, journalists became the instrument of government when they stand on the neutral position to the content of news. He also added that “the more “neutral” the press is, the more constrained feelings or importance of “what transpires” – the more easily it lends itself to the uses of others particularly to the public officials” (Cohen, 1963:28).

3.2.2 Participant Roles of Journalists

According to Cohen, the participant role, provide journalist to play an active role in foreign policy process, instead of serving others as recorder of passing scene (Cohen 1963:20).

There are four participant roles which are;

The press as a critic of government: Cohen (1963:34) claims that the critical task of journalists which is rooted in the honorable history of free press and free society, performed in two different ways; reporter can interpret his/her critical responsibility directly, or the reporter can report the political criticism of other people as news – including other newspapers and reporters.

The press as advocate of policy: Policy advocacy is generally accepted as the function of newspaper. Although it generally takes place in editorial pages, Cohen (1963:37) states that, it is possible to see that correspondent pushed issues in corporation with the policies, he also added that in order to slow down post –World War II, many correspondents performed as advocate of policy.

The press as Policy Makers: In this role, foreign affairs reporters trying to influence the opinions of public and government officials (Cohen, 1963:39). For Cohen (1963:40, 41) the influence of journalists on foreign policy making process should be seen when correspondents only supply factual information to the policy makers. He also notes that beyond the factual information that newspapers supply, nationally syndicated columnists sometimes “have the show window” in Washington as they have more access to the policy makers.

Cohen’s definitions on the role perceptions of the journalist are very essential to understand the media- government relations in the foreign policy decision making. Besides Cohen’s aspect of media government relations and how they determine the future of foreign policies, in the next part, it will be useful to have an account about the recent works on the relations between news media and foreign policy. In order to have a comprehensive look to the relations between foreign policy and government, researches will be examined in two different perspectives as one; researches which support the foreign policy influence on news media and secondly; researches that supports the idea of having a media influence on foreign policy.

3.3 Foreign Policy Influence on Media

“Policy makers have recognized the presence of television cameras at trade negotiations, peace conferences, and in war zones, with the result that foreign policy has taken on public - relations, or media diplomacy, dimension of substantial propositions. Elites, interest groups and foreign governments alike have the task of news management as an increasingly important element of policy process” (Bennett 1994:12).

As Bennett (2007:111) argues that the essentials of political communication begin with assessing vulnerabilities, plugging damaging leaks anticipating possible misunderstandings and tightly controlling all the information that reach the press. These are all tasks of news management.

Several analyses on the relations between media and government in foreign policy process, argue that there is a one-direction influence between media and government which, news contents are controlled by the governments for the aim of promoting foreign policy. It is very important to note that when media serves as a propaganda tool for promoting the foreign policy, it is impossible for the public to be aware of the critical, oppositional views on foreign policy. In democratic societies, if the government has dominative control over the foreign news content, media could not perform its essential role of supplying balanced political information to the public.

The influence of foreign policy maker's on the foreign news contents was sketched by Lance Bennett (1990) with his “*Toward a Theory Of Press State Relations In United States*” and following Bennett, with their “*Government's Little Helpers U.S Press Coverage Of Foreign Policy Crises*” John Zaller and Dennis Chui (1999) focus on the policy maker's control over the content of foreign news. Before engaging in the details of these two essential works on relations between foreign policy and news media, it will be helpful to understand the propaganda model of

Herman and Chomsky as they are most notable scholars on the policy maker's control over the news coverage.

Herman and Chomsky (2002) claim that "it is easily seen in countries, where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy and the monopolistic control over the media often supplemented by official censorship, that the media serve the ends of dominant elite whereas, it is much more difficult to see propaganda system at work in countries where the media are private and formal censorship is absent."

The propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky simply focuses on the inequality of wealth and power and multilevel effects on mass media interest and choices, it also traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter news to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interest to get their messages across the public (Herman, Chomsky, 2002:2).

According to Herman and Chomsky, there are mainly six integers of the propaganda model which have impact on the interests and choices of media in the process of news making. As Herman and Chomsky (2002:35) point out that the integers of propaganda model suggest highly political dichotomization in news coverage based on serviceability to important domestic power interests. These integers should be listed as below:

Size, ownership and profit orientation of the mass media: Herman and Chomsky (2002:14) state that dominant media firms are large businesses that are constrained by owners and profit oriented forces and hence they have common interest with major banks and governments. Market integrated media, has forces media managements towards strictly market, profitability objectives and these objectives became the determinant of the news coverage.

The advertising license to do business: Herman and Chomsky (2002:16) point out that advertiser have control power over the media as they buy and pay for the

contents and they also claim that as they are the subsidy provider, their choices influence media's survival and also the contents of media programs.

Sourcing Mass Media: The need of reliable flow of information, cause the mass media's dependency to the sources.

Flak and enforces: By the term flak Chomsky and Herman (2002:26) refer the negative responses to media statements; these flaks have control over the content especially when they are coming from the government.

Anticommunism as a control mechanism: Chomsky and Herman (2002:29) note that that opposition to communism is the first principle of western ideology and he also added that this ideology helps to mobilize enmity about anything of a communist state.

Dichotomization and Propaganda Campaigns: Messages from dissident, weak and unorganized group which generally do not comfort with the ideologies of gatekeepers and powerful parties and reports of victims if governments, mass media and corporate community do not find them useful and dramatic have no chance to pass through the filters of news coverage (Herman,Chomsky,2002:32).

Under the guidance of Herman and Chomsky's classification of how foreign policy making leads the media next, the issue of "indexing" will enhance our argument about what Herman and Chomsky have already mentioned above.

3.3.1 Indexing

Most of recent studies argue that that news media have the tendency to mirror the political elite based opinion, what Lance Bennett (1994) has referred as the idea of "indexing". Lance Bennett's study of coverage of U.S policy toward Nicaragua is one of the fundamental works to understand the press dependence on governmental

source. In order to test “indexing hypothesis” Bennett has analyzed the four years of New York Times and Times coverage on the U.S funding to Nicaraguan contras.

With his study of *Toward a theory of Press-State relations In United States*, Lance Bennett (1990:106) concludes that mass media news professionals tend to “index” the range of the view points according to the views of government about the given topic. For Bennett (1990:111) indexing is not done on a individual level, since the norms which reside both in social structures and minds of agents in this structure, are not easily extracted from the minds of individual journalists or on the walls of news room so journalists “just know” most of the time what is and what is not news, for those stories that qualify, they also “just know” how to develop reportage and editorial content (Bennett, 1990:111).

The idea of “indexing” raises a question: Could journalists perform their participant role of being a “critic of government”? On the other hand, are they only neutral reporters who provide government based information to the public? If the contents of news are determined by the political elites, is it possible to say that the information which is sent to public is balanced and impartial to make them evaluate the policy decision on foreign affairs? Under the indexing rule, it is easily seen that the manipulative control of governments over the news coverage is the major obstacle to the independency of journalists and the free flow of balanced political information in the public.

Following Bennett, with their *Government’s Little Helpers U.S Press Coverage Of Foreign Policy Crises* Zaller and Chui(1999) have analyzed thirty five cases which were selected from the list of “selected principal events in U.S foreign policy from 1945 to 1991” in John Spainer’s *American Foreign Policy Since World War-II*. The study attempts to explain variations in the hawkishness or dovishness of coverage foreign policy crises and for this purpose, Times and Newsweek’s coverage of selected cases were tested. With the study *Government’s Little Helpers U.S Press Coverage of Foreign Policy Crises* Zaller and Chui, (1999) have concluded that the

degree of press hawkishness will depend on the degree of the hawkishness in the government.

Another important conclusion of Zaller and Chui's work is that; when communism is involved news coverage, the presentation of media coverage become more extreme whether it is hawkish or dovish. As it was mentioned before with the propaganda model, Herman and Chomsky also state that the anti-communism is one of the important determinants of news coverage.

Additionally, Zaller and Chui point out to the importance of the *endogeneity problem* which causes biased conclusions about the relationship between media and government. Mainly, this problem arises when the potential crises converted to actual crises. They give the Gulf War as an example for the issues when the *endogeneity problem* raised in and note that "Gulf war was a crisis that could easily have been non crisis, except that President Bush chose to make it one, and they also added that although we have no evidence on this point, it seems likely that Bush would have chosen to go to war against Iraq unless he anticipated that he could mobilize adequate congressional and press support for doing so."

The idea of "indexing" broadly states that news coverage relies mostly on the policy maker's decision. It is generally known that policy makers are the essential source for mass media but as Bennett (2007: 5) argues, in ideal world, journalists would find sources who represent the most insightful and diverse point of view. Mass media should help public to evaluate foreign policy decisions by providing critical views of other voices in society. In order to understand the foreign policy maker's influence on new media, the relationship between media – public opinion and foreign policy makers should also be mentioned.

3.3.2 Media as the Agent of Mobilizing Public Opinion On Behalf Of Foreign Policy Issues

Bernard Cohen (1963:13) points out that “for most of the foreign policy audience, the really effective political map of the world –that is say operational map of the world – is drawn by reporter and the editor not the cartographer.” Following Cohen, since it is essential source of information about foreign affairs, it can be said that mass media performs principal role in mobilizing the public opinion about the foreign policy.

As Bennett (2007:74) points out, public opinion is the engine of democracy and pressures from public can shape debates, define issues and spill into voiding decisions. Thus, policy makers always desire to anticipate and manage public opinion. It can be concluded that; for foreign policy makers, mass media is important not only to follow the public opinion reports but also to mobilize public opinion on the behalf of them.

As it is generally known, people deal with many local problems in their daily life; hence it is very hard to gain their attention from local problems to foreign affairs. But as Hallin (1994:149) argues there is one exception, which is war, and he states that no political event inspires more public interest or emotion than war. The war periods are very important for foreign policy makers for the aim of priming the war and getting support from public. Especially in war periods the importance of news media increases for foreign policy makers, since they must convince the public that what foreign policy makers decide is the best for the survival of the nation.

Early scholars Iyengar and Simson (1994), Zaller (1994) and Bennett (1994) who raised their concerns on news media and foreign policy, mostly have focused on relations between news media and the public opinion in Gulf War. The importance of the Gulf War is emphasized by Paul Patton (1995:3) as: “It was not the first time the images of war had appeared on TV screens, but it was the first time that they were

relayed 'live' from the battlefield. It was not the first occasion on which the military control the reportage and images.”

W. Lance Bennett (2007) points out the news media's role in the opinion formation of Bush administration. Bennett (2007:78) states that “Bush administration decided the right context to go war against the Iraq” and then they must have answered the question of; how to convince the public that such a military venture is a good idea? The Second Iraq War was sold to American public based on insinuations of a connection between 9/11 and Saddam Hussein” and added consideration on the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq (Bennett, 2007:78). Furthermore, Bennett (2007:78) notes that for persuasion campaign of second Iraq war, high officials of administration repeat the same message, which states that; there has been interaction between Al- Qaeda and Iraq, to the journalists. “As a result of this persuasion campaign more than fifty percent of Americans soon formed the impression that Saddam had been personally engaged in the 9/11 attacks” (Bennett, 2007:79).

Many scholars on media and foreign policy underline that in order to formulate the public opinion; foreign policy makers generally try to control news coverage. Thus, the news media became a tool of mobilizing public opinion for policy makers. In addition to these arguments, Entman (2008:88) formulated a new concept of “mediated public diplomacy”, which is different from the concept of “public diplomacy”.

Public diplomacy is characterized by cultural exchanges such as full bright Program, media development initiatives, and the like, all designed to explain and defend government policies and portray a nation to foreign audiences. The last another form of public diplomacy which was identified by W. Philips Davidson (1974) and Richard Meritt(1980), includes efforts by the government of one nation to influence public or elite opinion in a second nation for the purpose of turning the foreign policy of the target nation to advantage (Manheim,1994:132).

Entman's (2008) formulation of “mediated public diplomacy” refers to the fact that foreign policy makers try to increase support among not only their public but also

other nations in the world. Enthman's idea of "mediated public diplomacy" is essential to understand news as political information and the fact that foreign policy makers have great effort to control the content of this information not only for mobilizing public opinion in their countries but also for mobilizing other public's opinion.

For Malek and Wiegand (1997:9) there are many manipulative actions of foreign policy makers, like meetings, briefings and press conferences, (especially press conferences where the questions are denied) these manipulative actions of policy makers clearly show, the one-way channel communication process between foreign policy makers and news media. It could be concluded that this one-way channel communication process clarify the foreign policy influence on foreign news coverage. Up to this point, we have focused on how foreign policy makers influence the content of news media. In the next, part, the discussion of how media influences foreign policy making process will be made.

3.4 Media Influence on Foreign Policy

"Never, before Gulf War, so many Americans had been given the opportunity, in the comfort of their homes; to witness a war from the vantage point of actual participants. Does Gulf War signify a fundamentally new relationship between the media and the world of foreign policy, or does it strengthen the intellectual underpinnings of existing theory?" (Cohen, 1994:9)

Following Cohen's question after the Gulf War, many scholars have raised concerns about media's influence on foreign policy and they have begun to question whether media has the ability to drive the foreign policy. Regarding the media influence on foreign policy, it should be noted that, the most important hypothesis is the "CNN effect".

3.4.1 CNN Effect

It's May 31, 1995, there's another flare-up in the long-running Bosnia crisis and the Defense Department spokesman, Kenneth Bacon, is sitting in his office on the Pentagon's policy making E Ring. A clock is ticking over his head. On the wall right outside the door to Bacon's inner office is a television. Aide Brian Cullen glances at it from time to time. On the bottom of the screen is the familiar CNN logo. Above it is the equally familiar figure of Peter Arnett in flak jacket and helmet, reporting breathlessly from Bosnia, analyzing the latest NATO airstrikes and the Bosnian Serbs' retaliation by taking U.N. peacekeepers hostage. Arnett is answering questions for the host and audience of CNN's interactive "Talk Back Live." Some of that audience is in cyberspace, sending in questions via CompuServe. At the top of the hour, Bacon will escort a "senior Defense Department official" to the podium of the Pentagon briefing room to explain to skeptical reporters why the Clinton administration's latest apparent policy change toward Bosnia is not a change at all. Here it is, the nexus of media power and foreign policy, where television's instantly transmitted images fire public opinion, demanding instant responses from government officials, shaping and reshaping foreign policy at the whim of electrons. It's known as the "CNN Effect". (*Warren P. Strobel, White House correspondent for the Washington Times, American journalism review.*)⁴⁷

Following Strobel's definition, CNN effect – named from international television network of CNN, refers to media's ability to set the agenda of government in foreign policy. Many scholars argue that the ability of broadcasting live and real-time has changed the position of news media in foreign policy. In other words, with the ability of broadcasting live and real-time, media became more participant in the process of foreign news making.

Moreover, Livingston (1997:2) points out that there are three distinct and analytically useful understandings of media's effect on foreign policy. To be able to consider the CNN effect, these three understandings that must be analyzed which are, accelerant, impediment and policy agenda setting agent.

For Livingston (1997:3) real time media speeds up the process which desk offices in state departments, sending their assessment against the evidence presented on the

⁴⁷ To read the full article of Warren P. Strobel <http://www.ajr.org/Article.asp?id=3572>

real time media. Livingston (1997) also states that there are two forms of media related to impediment. One is emotional and occurs when the military efforts to limit the access of carnage of battle and the other occurs when the state officials find any information as a threat to operational security, they try to limit access to them. Real time media is impediment for all these two limitations of military and state officials.

Furthermore, Livingston (1997:6) argues that media has the ability to change the priorities of foreign policy as foreign policy agenda setting agent. In order to support his argument, Livingston (1997:6) points out the emotional media coverage of humanitarian crises in Somali, Bosnia and Haiti before the humanitarian interventions.

Following Bennett's arguments on "CNN effect", Strobel (1996:3) suggests five common myths on "CNN effect". Noting that these myths are essential to answer the question of how CNN effect works these five common myths on CNN effect are listed below:

1. CNN makes life more difficult for foreign policy makers
2. CNN dictates what's on foreign policy agenda
3. Pictures of suffering, force officials to intervene
4. There is nothing officials can do about the CNN effect
5. CNN effect is on rise

It is important to note that Strobel (1996) states that after asking the question about CNN effect to different groups of people, from military to officials, there are many different answers about the limits of CNN effect on foreign policy but no one argues that CNN has no effect on journalists, governments and the way both conduct their business.

In opposition to the idea that Gulf war reminds the CNN effect to the observers, Robinson argues that the Gulf war only remind the governmental power of shaping media analysis but the post cold war interventions like Somalia, Kosovo and Haiti

are the significant issues when the CNN effect was born. Hence, the humanitarian interventions become important debates which scholars have raised the concern on.

Robinson (2002:8, 9) states that there should be two different interpretations on the Post Cold War interventions. On one side, these interventions are interpreted as indicators of “genuine moral development on the part of western government whereby military action in order to protect the basic human rights of people in other countries is taken.” On the other hand, some commentators interpret that these humanitarian interventions “are continuation of traditional power of politics in which humanitarian label is used to disguise the selfish pursuit of western interests”.

The most notable discussion over the humanitarian interventions of Clinton administration occurred between Michael Mandelbaum and Stanley Hoffman. On the interventions of Clinton’s administration, Michael Mandelbaum argues that American foreign policy is directed by the values more than the interests and he asks the question of; whether the foreign policy is social work or not and defines these interventions as a “Mother Teresa Foreign Policy”.

In order to answers the arguments of Michael Mandelbaum, Stanley Hoffman argues in his “*In Defense of Mother Teresa: Morality in Foreign Policy*”⁴⁸ that foreign policy should shape a world in which citizens feel not only physically safe but morally secure. As a matter of fact, what Stanley Hoffman refers as a “value” is a part of American national interest as he states that: “Not all the interstate conflicts could affect the lives of American citizens. But does this mean that these conflicts could not disturb the balance power and provoke chaos in many parts of the world and that the United States should be indifferent to them?”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ See the full article Of Mandelbaum:
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19960301faresponse4194/stanley-hoffmann/in-defense-of-mother-teresa-morality-in-foreign-policy.html>
Access on 05.09.2008

⁴⁹ Ibid 48

Underlining Hofmann's question, it could be concluded that the goal of post cold war interventions, is not only "saving the strangers" and defending their basic rights but also guarantying the security of American citizens, so this goal makes these interventions away from being only "humanitarian".

As it was mentioned before, the scholars who focused on CNN effect raised the concerns about the influence of media to the post cold war interventions and they mostly asked the question "Does media have the ability to trigger the humanitarian interventions?" Moreover, not only scholars but also some foreign affairs "experts" bring up the concerns about the role of media in humanitarian intervention.

The most notable study on the humanitarian intervention and CNN effect is George Kennan's *Somalia through a Glass Darkly*.⁵⁰ On the Somalia intervention Kennan (1993) asks the question "Why, then, so suddenly and without any preparation in public or political opinion? If the President thought it wise to use our armed forces for this purpose, why did he not say so weeks or months ago and lay the question squarely before Congress and public opinion?" And he answers that "there can be no question that the reason for this acceptance lies primarily with the exposure of the Somalia situation by the American media, above all, television."⁵¹

In opposition to Kennan, Bennett (1994:8) points out that the great majority of Somalia coverage followed rather than preceded official action, and he also adds that journalists tend to dismiss some humanitarian crises because of their locations. Bennet claims that : " In 1993, when approximately 50,000 people were killed in political fighting between Hutus and Tutsis in Burundi, American broadcast television networks ignored the story. When regional leaders met in Dar es Salam in

⁵⁰ See the full article of G.F.Kennan
<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CE2DA113CF933A0575AC0A965958260&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=1>
Access on 10.09.2008

⁵¹ Ibid 3

April 1994 in an attempt to reach a regional peace accord, only CNN mentioned the meeting” (Bennett, 1995:8, 9).

Additionally, Bennett (1994:9,10) argues that “TV mobilized the consequence of the nation’s public institution, compelling the government into policy of intervention for humanitarian reasons but once intervention was an accomplished fact, the starving children in Somalia disappeared almost immediately from TV screen because they are so much a part of the landscape.”

Another notable study on CNN effect is Pier Robinson’s “CNN effect Revised” (2002). In this study Pier Robinson formulated a “Policy- Media Interaction Model” as a new perspective to the CNN effect. Robinson (2000) points out that “generally research on CNN effect has tend to reach contradictory conclusion regarding media in part this has been due to over on interview data and in part due to failure to employ theoretically and systematic approach to the examination of media influence in order to overcome these problems policy media interaction model is formulated (Robinson, 2000).

Robinson states that, his starting point for devising the “policy media interaction model” are two insights which state that: “News media influence is greatest when coverage is framed so as to produce emotional distance from the plight of suffering people. Conversely, when coverage is framed so as to produce emotional distance from the plight of suffering people, likely political effect will deter politicians from intervening.”

In his “CNN Effect Revised the Myth of News Foreign Policy and Intervention” Pier Robinson (2002) applies the policy media interaction model to the two cases as humanitarian interventions which are; Somalia (1992) and Iraq (1991). In order to measure the media frames in these selected cases, some keywords also clarified, for instance keywords like women, children, elderly are defined as associated with empathy/distance framing, or the keywords like men, soldier are defined as associated with distance framing (Robinson,2002:30).

Additionally, in order to clarify the policy – media interaction model, Robinson clarifies (2002:26) the term “policy uncertainty” as; “policy uncertainty is seen if an issue suddenly arises and no policy is in place or if there is disagreement, conflict of interest or uncertainty owing to an ambiguous policy between the sub-systems of executives.”

After the media framing analysis on Somalia and Iraq cases, Robinson concluded that :

The intervention in Northern Iraq in 1991 and Somalia 1992 are two most high profile instances of ground troop deployment during humanitarian crises. Moreover, in both cases it had been widely asserted that news media coverage, to a greater or lesser extent, helped push policy makers to take action. The findings here indicate that in neither case did media coverage play this galvanising role. At most media coverage enabled policy –makers who had decided to intervene for non - media related reasons, by building domestic support for action (Robinson,2002:71).

Moreover, Robinson (2002:37) argues that “policy- media interaction model” offers a two way of understanding of media – state relations which advances media theory beyond simple effect/ non effect dichotomy. Policy media interaction model is designed to identify instances when media coverage comes to play significant role in persuading policy makers to pursue particular policy (Robinson, 2002:38).

3.4.2 Derek Miller’s Media Pressure Theory

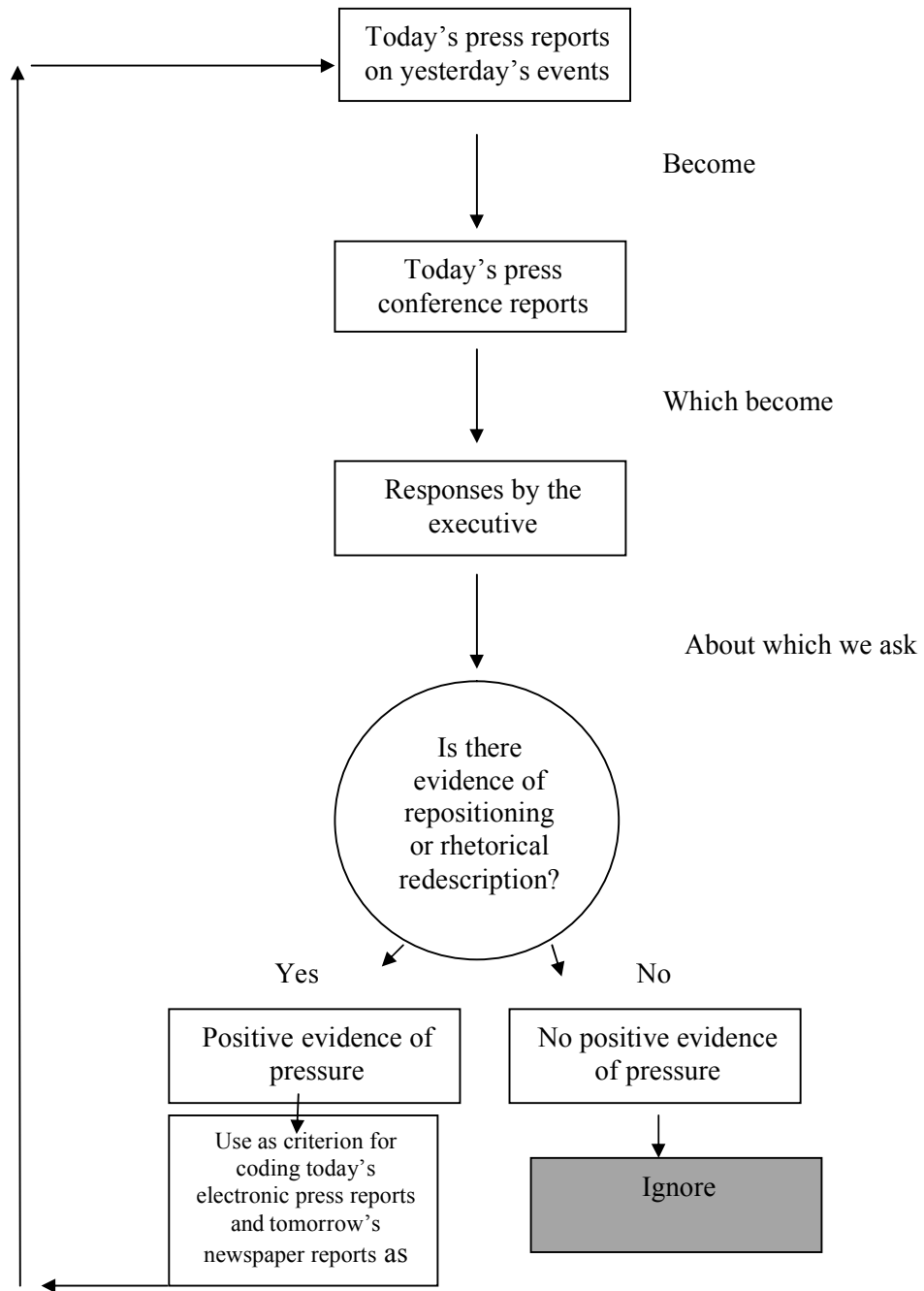
Unlike some scholars who have described the idea of media coverage “indexed” to elite discourse is an obstacle to the media’s participant role in foreign policy, Derek Miller (2007) argues in his “Media Pressure in Foreign Policy” that media indexing does not preclude the possibility of media influence on foreign policy (Miller, 2007:91).

In order to clarify the media pressure on foreign policy, Miller (2007:4) addresses the “positioning hypothesis” which is rooted in the work of social constructivism.

Moreover, “positioning theory” defined by Rom Harré (1990) as the study of local moral orders as shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting (cited in Miller, 2007:44) “Social constructivism stresses that social phenomena are to be considered to be generated in and through conversation and conversation like activities” (Miller, 2007:45). Thus, positioning theory of media pressure on foreign policy adapted the inter-institutional conversation of media and governments from interpersonal communication and asks the question “How the conversation between media and government influence the reputation of governments?” Miller argues that government and media involved in conversation that is characterized by purposeful interaction and he also states that media can say or publish things that damage reputation of executive power, and adds that “it is possible to see the reputation of executive branch under the threat not only by looking at the comments of media but also by looking to the responses of executives to those comments” (Miller, 2007:44).

Furthermore, Miller (2007:153,154) points out in his analysis that the press reports on yesterday’s events become today’s press conference questions and if it is possible to see any evidence of “repositioning” or “rhetorical description” in the responses of executives, the press’s questions should be label as “pressure”.⁵²

⁵² See the Fig.2



Source: Miller, D.B., (2007) *Media Pressure On Foreign Policy: The Evolving Theoretical, Framework, U.S.A:* Palgrave Macmillan

Fig.2 Coding media pressure from U.S press conference evidence

3.4.3 Patrick O’Heffernan’s Mutual Exploitation Model of Media Influence in U.S Foreign Policy

In order to understand today’s relation between news media and foreign policy, Patrick O’Heffernan’s “*Mutual Exploitation Model of Media Influence in U.S Foreign Policy*” is an essential work. The model was adapted from the Bernard Cohen’s (1963) theory of news organizations as significant degree the handmaidens of government when it came to foreign policy.

For O’Heffernan (1994:232), the worldwide U.S foreign policy apparatus, diplomatic community and the global media industry have taken the places of mutually respectful reporters and sources which were described in Cohen’s theory. O’Heffernan’s model is the result of the findings and conclusions of his two studies of perceptions of U.S and European officials involved in the defense making and foreign policy of the role of mass media in U.S foreign policy process. It should be noted that the “interviewing” has been selected as the data collection method both for these two set of studies.

“When data from both sets of studies were examined together the mutual exploitation theme quickly emerged. Both of actors, [media and foreign policy makers] acknowledged attempting to use or using the other” (O’Heffernan 1994:235). With his mutual exploitation model, O’Heffernan (1994:233) points out that the relationship between media and foreign policy makers is “sometimes competitive and sometimes cooperative but that is only incidental to its central driving force: self interest.”

In order to understand the views of foreign policy makers on the role of media in foreign policy making O’Heffernan’s model is very seminal. O’Heffernan (1994:233) points out that “the media today were seen by the policy makers as part of the policy process and that the government has become and must remain part of the media process.”

Furthermore O’Heffernan notes (1994:237,238) that policy makers saw the media as the leading shapers of public opinion on world politics and world order and foresaw a major role for the mass media in a new world order.

Additionally, O’Heffernan (1994) states that there are many forces which tend to dilute media’s influence on foreign policy outputs. He listed these forces as below:

- Systems of state secrecy
- Overt censorship
- Elite consensus
- Physical dangers to reporters
- Technological limitations on news gathering and transmission

In order to resist these forces O’Heffernan (1994:244) offers that reporters should be educated about war and its technology to provide insights and context to live feeds by passing censorship in many cases.

To conclude, when the “foreign news” is defined as political information about the foreign policy, the importance of the role of media in foreign policy making fundamentally increases. As it was mentioned in this chapter, it is possible to see that there are many roles which media performs in foreign policy making which are; 1) Media as the supplier of the governmental based information to the public, 2) Media as a tool of promoting the foreign policy, 3) Media as the agent of mobilizing public opinion on the behalf of foreign policy.

However, as some scholars argue, with the ability of broadcasting live and in real time, media can perform a participant role of setting the agenda of foreign policy maker’s in foreign policy process. Most of the studies and researches on media and foreign policy tend to deal with the question of who influences whom?

As O’Heffernan points out that both sides of relationship between media and foreign policy has significantly changed; instead of the reporter and his respectful source of

Cohen's theory, there are global institutions as worldwide foreign policy apparatus, diplomatic community and the global media industry hence, today it is very hard to give the definite answer to the question of who influences whom?

As Mowlana (1997:39) argues despite all the influence in the foreign policy field, the media can not change policies nor can the media dictate the policies but he (1997:40) positively offers that the media can function as a mechanism for peaceful solutions to issues reminding the participants that such channels are available to them and also contribute to the success of negotiations in foreign policy with other's position by employing the concept of empathy to reduce the misunderstanding and distortions through the factual reporting of opposing points of view.

This brief overview of the literature on media and foreign policy helps us to understand the reflection of Greece-related issues in Turkish mainstream newspapers. A closer look at the media coverage of Greece-related issues demonstrate that many of the journalist's practices pointed out in the literature is also seen in the Turkish mainstream newspapers studied in this thesis.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS OF THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

As mentioned before, the purpose of the study is to find out whether Turkish journalists working in the mainstream newspapers, perform their jobs as state officials who are responsible for defending the “national interests” which is defined by elite or whether as independent professionals defending “public interest” which is more civic concept, while reporting the Greece related news in years 1994-2000? In other terms, this study aims to reveal how loyal Turkish main-stream journalists are to the official discourse or could they go beyond it and form their own discourse while reporting the Greece related news in years 1994-2000?

For this purpose, the Greece related news published between 1994-2000 in three Turkish mainstream newspapers, namely Milliyet, Sabah, and Hürriyet, have been analyzed by using a method adapted from Teun Van Dijk’s discourse analysis. The study has focused on the news writing process among many news production processes and the last version of the news text has been evaluated as the discourse (Dijk, 1988). To narrow down the content of the study, seven events happened between Turkey and Greece from 1994 to 2000 has been selected as cases. Therefore, the circulation of the news in Hürriyet, Sabah, and Milliyet during the one-month period after each event has been analyzed. The selected events and their beginning date are listed chronologically below:

1. Greek’s Attempts for Prospecting for oil in Aegean Sea, January 5, 1994
2. Kardak/Imia Crisis, December 25, 1995
3. S300 Missile Crisis, August 28, 1997
4. Abdullah Öcalan’s Detention, February 16, 1999

5. (As a result of Papandreou and Ismail Cem's peaceful diplomatic attempts)
Diplomatic letter from Papandreou to Ismail Cem, June 25, 1999
6. Marmara Earthquake, August 17, 1999
7. Papandreou's visit to Turkey, January 19, 2000

In this chapter, each selected event has been analyzed separately in order to reveal the differences between the discourses of the events. The analysis of each case consists of four stages. In the first stage, headlines and in the second stage news schema of the macro structural features of the news text, and then, in the third stage, syntax of the sentences in the news texts and in the last stage; lexical choices as the micro structural features of the news texts have been analyzed.

4.1 Findings of Discourse Analysis Conducted On the News of the Crisis Of Prospecting For Oil In Aegean Sea Case

In this section, Greece related news published in Hürriyet, Milliyet and Sabah newspapers one month after the declaration of Greece's searching for petrol in the Aegean Sea have been analyzed discursively.

4.1.1. The Headlines

In this period, it has been observed that, only one headline is often used while presenting Greece related news in the Turkish mainstream newspapers. Supportive sub headlines are rarely used. The analysis of the headlines reveals that they are often short and sensational. The following are examples for such headlines:

EXAMPLE:

“Shameless Greek” (01.02.1994, Sabah)

“Crazy Greek Arrested in the Aegean” (11.01.1994, Milliyet)

Most of the headlines analyzed do not provide detailed information about the main event. They generally make the reader aware of the frame of the news. A reader who reads only the headlines can not be informed about the main event. Moreover, in some headlines, the words causing the readers to fear and worry are especially used. It is obvious that the following examples of headlines create fear of war and worry in the readers:

EXAMPLE:

“Greece Provokes” (10.01.1994, Sabah)

“Islands Becomes Arsenal” (15.01.1994, Milliyet)

4.1.2 The Schematic Structure of the News

During the analysis period, when the schematic structure of the news text is analyzed, it is observed that the categories of the schema, such as headline, lead, main event, comments, historical background, contextual information, evaluations and expectations, are not organized hierarchically. On the contrary, only some of the categories of the news schema are used randomly. Therefore, the meaning in the Greece related news in the mainstream newspapers is not organized in the schematic structure. With this type of news representation, since limited information about the main event is presented to the reader, the reader cannot be expected to have an informed evaluation of the event.

In the verbal reaction part of the Greece - related news, the comments of the parties of the event are not represented in a balanced way: the comments of the Turkish political actors are presented more than the Greek political actors. In addition, when the news actors are examined, it is seen that political actors are chosen for the Turkish party, whereas sensational headlines in Greek newspapers are chosen for the Greek party as an answer to the question “What is the opinion of the Greek side considering this event?” Thus, such a news representation clearly indicates that the parties of the main event are not represented in the news in a balanced way.

In the analyzed period, the topic of Greece related news is generally related to the issue of Greece's searching petrol in the Aegean Sea. This event caused tension due to the continental shelf issue between the two countries. However, none of the news related to the main event included contextual information about this issue. For example, no news text answers significant questions, such as "What caused continental shelf issue?", and "What do Turkey and Greece claim about this issue?" Furthermore, most of the newspapers do not mention the historical background of the issue and the main event is isolated from the contextual and historical information while representing the tension between the two countries. Such news representation causes the reader to lack the necessary information about the main event and prevents them from evaluating the event.

Moreover, the identities of the experts who were chosen as a source of information are not revealed. For instance, in some news, unclear definitions, such as "observers" or "the foreign affairs circle", are used as a source of information. This attitude damages the impartiality and credibility of the comments in the news text.

When the schematic structure of the news texts is studied, it is observed that no connection is made between the event and the future. In other words, the reader is provided with no necessary information about how the main events will affect the future relation of the two countries.

4.1.3 The News Syntax

The grammatical structure in the presentation of most of the Greece related news consists of long complicated compound sentences combined with connectors. Since long sentences prevent the reader from understanding the news easily, the information presented in the news cannot be completely conveyed to the reader.

EXAMPLE:

The first sentence of the news of Milliyet under the headline of “Crisis with Greece in the Aegean” published on January 11, 1994 is as follows:

“The news on Greece restarting exploration of petroleum in international waters of Aegean Sea alerted Ankara on the beginning day of NATO summit in Brussels, jets of Air Force began scouting on Taşoz Island.”⁵³(11.01.1994, Milliyet)

When this sentence is grammatically analyzed, as three different propositions are expressed in the same sentence, the main proposition cannot be easily understood by the reader. As Dijk (1988:61) states “propositions may be of various levels of the complexity.” The following sentence was taken from the news under the headline of “Crazy Greek Arrested in the Aegean” published on January 11, 1994 in Milliyet:

“The Turkish war aircrafts which took off from Bandırma Air Base, flew over the area where the Greeks are searching for petrol and where they try to show their military power in order to warn them.”⁵⁴(11.01.1994, Milliyet)

Also in this sentence, more than one proposition is expressed in one sentence and the journalist’s definition of the area where the Turkish airplanes flew as “where they try to show their military power” indicate that the journalist’s discourse is parallel with the Turkish official political discourse.

Another significant grammatical feature of the sentences included in the news text is the choice of direct or reported speech while representing the comments of the news actors. In the news, the comments of the Greek news actors are given in the form of reported speech, while the Turkish news actors’ comments are given in the form of direct speech. The following sentences are examples:

⁵³ See the Appendix.3

⁵⁴ See the Appendix.4

EXAMPLE:

In the news entitled “Crisis with Greece in Aegean” published in Milliyet, the comments of the Greek Aegean Minister are written as follows:

“On the other hand, Kostas Skandalis, the Aegean Minister, who claim that the Greek islands are under the Turkish threat, announced that the islands would be more militarized and they would also give more importance to civil defence.”⁵⁵(11.01.1994, Milliyet)

As can be seen in this example, reported speech provides the journalists with more opportunity to manipulate the comments of the news actors. That is, the journalist used a grammar structure which allows him to incorporate his or her own interpretation of the event into what the political actor say instead of directly quoting his or her statement. Furthermore, there are two propositions in the sentence: the first one is used to describe the news actor, while the second one to express the main idea of the sentence. The proposition used to describe the news actor is what the journalists want the reader to know about him in addition to his being the minister of Aegean. This attitude clearly shows that the journalist’s own evaluation directly affects the content of the news.

On the other hand, in some news texts, Turkish political actors’ comments are observed to be directly quoted in quotation marks even in the headlines. Dijk (1988:87) argues that quotations are closer to the truth and they are also more reliable descriptions of the journalists. Giving the news actors’ comments in quotation marks decreases journalists’ interference with the content of the news.

The news entitled “Çetin: Athens Should Also Help” (29.01.1994)⁵⁶ published in Milliyet includes Hikmet Cetin’s comments on the issue in the form of direct speech in the headline and also in the main body of the news text.

⁵⁵ See the Appendix.3

⁵⁶ See the Appendix.5

4.1.4 The Lexical Choices

While narrating the events on January 5, 1994 about how Greece's searching for petrol in the Aegean Sea created tension between Turkey and Greece, journalists working in the mainstream Turkish newspapers often prefer words causing the reader to fear and worry, such as "crisis", "tension", "enemy", "arsenal", and "preparing to war".

During the one-month period, it is observed that the journalists in the mainstream newspapers used different words to refer to the same concepts. For example, when referring to the aircrafts of Turkish Air Force, they used different phrases like "aircrafts of the Air Force", "Turkish jet aircrafts", and "Turkish war aircrafts".

In some analyzed news texts, it is observed that the journalists try to affect the meaning of the news through their descriptions of Greek news actors while presenting the news. The following are examples to this situation:

EXAMPLE:

"Crazy Greek Arrested in the Aegean" (11.01.1994, Milliyet)

"...regarding the possibility that Andreas Papandreou, the President of Greece, can do something **crazy**"⁵⁷ (Crisis with Greek in the Aegean, 11.01.1994, Milliyet)

"Clamorous Athens Attacks Turkey Again" (09.01.1994, Hürriyet)

"Shameless Greek" (01.02.1994, Sabah)

⁵⁷ See the Appendix. 3

4.2 Findings of Discourse Analysis Conducted On the News of Kardak/Imia Crisis Case

In this section, the Greece-related news published in three Turkish mainstream newspapers during the month after a Turkish ship named Figen Akat deployed in the Kardak/Imia Islet, which caused Kardak/Imia Crises in Turkish Greek relations is examined using discourse analysis.

4.2.1. Headlines

Findings of the news analysis illustrate some general characteristics of headlines: During Kardak/Imia Crisis, all the mainstream newspapers mostly use sub-headlines. Some of these sub-headlines contain detailed information about the main event and some of them are merely the summary of the following paragraph. It should be noted that these summaries simply state what the reader should understand from whole paragraph. Moreover, these types of sub-headlines are the example of the stereotyped news presenting of reporters.

EXAMPLE:

In the sub-headlines of “Flag War” news in Hürriyet on 28 January 1996, the Greek point of view of the crisis is presented with the sub-headline: “Strange words from the Minister” but the Turkish viewpoint is presented as “Ankara: It will be solved with negotiation”. It is clearly seen that the comment of the reporters on the Greek side’s view is clearly stated in the sub headline while the Turkey’s view is presented in the form of direct quotation without any comment.

The widespread usage of sensational headlines is observed in the period. In some cases due to their lexical characteristics, sensational headlines emphasize threats and warnings to the Greek sides. In addition, some headlines serve the purpose of creating curiosity and fear in the Turkish reader.

In international conflict reporting, journalists are expected to provide impartial information to the public. However, the reality does not reflect the ideal expectations from journalists; it is generally seen that national identity of the journalist becomes an obstacle to the objective reporting especially in cases where journalist's country is one of the sides. In the period, it is observed that the ideological stereotyped presentation starts in the headlines of the news text.

EXAMPLE:

Flag **War** (28.01.1996, Hürriyet)

Concern in Aegean (29.01.1996, Hürriyet)

Wind of **War** (30.01.1996, Sabah)

Lower that flag! (30.01.1996, Hürriyet)

Incursion to the Island (31.01.1996, Milliyet)

4.2.2 The Schematic Structure of the News

When the organizational structure of the news texts is analyzed, it is seen that they lack the historical background of the crisis. Although Kardak/Imia Crisis is result from the issue of unnamed islets and rocks in Aegean Sea, which is the one of the important bilateral problems between Turkey and Greece, there is no historical background on this issue in all of the news items in the period.

None of the three mainstream newspapers present the Kardak/Imia crisis with sufficient information and comments of the experts. In some news items of the period, it is observed that instead of the comments of foreign policy experts, the biased comments of ordinary citizens are used in the news texts. It should be noted that this type of presentation isolate the main event from the important information which will enable readers to deeply understand the main event and make correct evaluation. Therefore, with this type of presentation, readers are forced to reach a biased conclusion on the crisis without questioning the issue. In some cases, it is observed that limited information on the status of the Kardak/Imia islets is mentioned

in order to support the general political idea of Turkish side that Kardak/Imia islets belong to Turkey.

4.2.3 The News Syntax

The general characteristics of grammatical structures of the sentences should be summarized as follow:

In the period, most of the sentences in news texts cover more than one proposition; thus, they are generally long and compound. In the compound sentences two main clauses are jointed by conjunctions.

This type of presentation prevent readers from understanding the main proposition of the sentences, causing the readers focus their attention to the details rather than the main events.

It is important to note that, the actions of both Greek and Turkish soldiers and political actors are generally reported in active voice rather than passive voice. In this way, it is indirectly emphasized that the subjects of the sentences, i.e. the Greek and Turkish soldiers and political actors, take the responsibility of the actions in the crisis.

In addition, it is observed that generally the harsh and provocative sentences of the parties are selected and given in the form of direct speech. In some news, journalists present their own evaluation about the related Greek news actors before quoting their comments. For example, in the following sentence:

EXAMPLE:

“Theodoros Pangolos, the new Foreign Minister of Greece, attacked Turkey in his first press conference. Pangolos, who seemed rude and fanatical, said “Turkey has an eye on our land” (Pangolos: Kardak/Imia Islets Are Belong to Us, 27.01.1996, Milliyet)⁵⁸

⁵⁸ See the Appendix.6

One of the propositions is used to describe the news actor. The journalist's comment on Pangolos is given in the sentence before his comment is quoted. This type of representation affects how the reader will interpret Pangolos' comment.

In some other news, journalists' interpretations of the Greek actors' comments are expressed, and then their comments are given in the form of reported speech. Thus, Pangolos' comments are summarized and the journalists' interpretation is added to the news as in the following example:

“The Greek Foreign Affairs Minister Theodoros Pangolos showed his bias against Turkey again”. In his press conference yesterday, Pangolos described the problem arising from the islets in the Aegean Sea as a coincidental event, while he claimed that Turkey might have an eye on Greek land.”⁵⁹ (Athens Raises the Crises, 28.01 1996, Sabah)

4.2.4 The Lexical Choices

In the period, the lexical choice of the reporters serves the purpose of promoting war rather than peace. In all three dailies, the Turkish word “war” is directly chosen to refer to the crisis.

EXAMPLE:

Flag **War** (28.01. 1996, Hürriyet)

Wind of **War** (30. 01.1996, Sabah)

It is observed that the reporters frequently used “us versus them” form of discourse using biased headlines such as follows:

“We're ready to fight” (01.02.1996, Milliyet)

“We landed on Kardak” (31.01.1996, Sabah)

⁵⁹ See the Appendix.7

In democratic societies, reporters are expected to minimize misunderstandings between the parties in order to encourage peaceful solutions when reporting on international conflicts. Nevertheless, in the Kardak/Imia crisis, it is observed that instead of creating an atmosphere of peace Turkish reporters used statements that increased the tension between two countries while reporting on the issue.

EXAMPLE:

“Withdraw Your Soldiers; otherwise...!”(30.01.1996, Milliyet)

“That Flag Will Go Down!” (30.01.1996, Hürriyet)

4.3 Findings of Discourse Analysis Conducted on the News of S300 Missiles Crisis Case

In this section, the Greece-related news published in three Turkish mainstream newspapers during the month after Greece announced that it will locate S-300 missiles bought from Russia in the Republic of Cyprus and a crisis arose between Turkey and Greece will be discursively analyzed.

4.3.1. The Headlines

In the analysis period, the observed features considering the headlines in the Greek related news are as follows: the headlines are generally short. In some news texts, there are also some sub headlines which generally reflect what the journalists think the readers should know about the event as in the following examples:

EXAMPLE:

The news entitled “They are being totally militarized” (27.09.1997) in Sabah newspaper, had the following sub headlines: “They continuously buy” and “Turkey is the 6th”

The subheadline in the news under the headline “Athen’s War Plan (26.09 1997) is “The target is to attack the inner parts of Turkey”. This subheadline indicates that the

journalist manipulated the information in the news by selecting what he believes that the reader should know about the main event.

News headlines generally include first impression about the main event and many of them cause readers to be frightened and worried as can be seen in the following examples:

EXAMPLE:

“War Threat from Greece” (05.09 1997, Hürriyet)

“Is it a War?”(19.09 1997; Sabah)

“Aegean May be Tense” (28.09.1997, Hürriyet)

“They are being totally militarized” (27.09.1997, Sabah)

Headlines generally include the Turkish political actors’ comments more than the Greek political actors’ comments. In the headlines where Greek political actors’ comments are given, the sentences that can create fear and worry are selected.

The headline of a news text published in Hürriyet is “Greek Army General: We may make war with Turkey”. (30.08.1997) When the headline is read, readers think there will be a Turk-Greek war in the near future; however, when they read the main body of this news, they understand that he says “**one day**, we may make war with Turkey” and the information in the headline is a general evaluation of the Greek Army General. As the following sentences of the news text illustrates:

“Zoganis, who claims that Turkish fighter jets violate Greek air space nearly everyday, says; **one day**, a little conflict during an air space violation could turn into a huge crisis, even into war”⁶⁰ (30.08.1997, Hürriyet)

,

⁶⁰ See the Appendix.8

4.3.2 The Schematic Structure of the News Text

When the schematic structure of the news texts in the Turkish mainstream newspapers is analyzed, it is observed that in the period, the meaning of the news text is not organized in hierarchically ordered categories of the news schema. In the verbal reaction category of the news schema, it is observed that generally Turkish and Greek political actors' comments are not represented in a balanced way. In the content of the news, Turkish political actors' comments are given more than the Greek ones. Therefore, this type of representation indicates how the journalists violate the codes of professional journalism including unbiased and balanced representation of the parties in the main events.

Moreover, it is clearly observed that the historical background category is not included in the Greek related news in this period. The reader can not find the answer to this question: "Why the purchase of S300 missiles caused a crisis between the two countries?" It should be noted that, when the schematic structure of the news texts is analyzed it is generally seen that main event of the news text isolated not only the past but also the future. Clearly; the readers can not find any information regarding the effects of the S300 missiles crises on the future of the Turkish-Greek relations.

The news texts also lacked the evaluation part. That is, the diplomatic experts' comments regarding the possible solutions of the crisis caused by S300 missiles are not given in the news texts.

In the analysis period, when Sabah, Hürriyet, and Milliyet newspapers are examined, the repetition of the same information is observed. For instance, since the same information is repeated over and over again, the reader cannot find out "what happened to S300 missiles that caused a crisis".

The lack of historical background information, contextual information and the evaluation part in the schematic structure of the Greece - related news proves that the

mainstream newspapers do not provide their readers with impartial information which help them to evaluate the crisis correctly.

4.3.3 The News Syntax

In this period, long sentences generally including more than one proposition are used in the Greece - related news in the mainstream newspapers. Such sentences make reader's cognitive following difficult, and therefore, the main proposition in these sentences cannot be understood by the reader easily due to the other propositions. In the following example, there are four different propositions in the sentence taken from the news text entitled "Pressurizing Turkey"; thus, it has a very complicated structure.

EXAMPLE:

"Political observers in Athens reminded that Yeorgos Andonetsis signed the military cooperation agreement in Moscow with Russian Air Force during the tense period between Turkey and Greece and claimed that today's military exercises are a "political message" to Turkey."⁶¹ (17.09.1997, Sabah)

During the analyzed period, the comments of the Greek news actors are generally given in the form of reported speech, while the Turkish news actors' comments are generally given in the form of direct speech. In the following examples, the Greek actors' statements are not given in quotation marks but summarized by the journalist with his own interpretation.

EXAMPLE:

"Cuhacopulos, who accuse Turkey of creating tension and damaging the stability of the region, claimed that Turkey is trying to prove to be a big power in the region."⁶²(Bosporus Threat from Athens" (10 .091997, Hürriyet)

⁶¹ See the Appendix.9

⁶² See the Appendix.10

“S-300 missiles crises increased after Greek President Kostas Simitis stated that they can consider Turkey’s having a step towards changing the status quo in Cyprus a reason for making war with Turkey and that the island must be cleared of weapons.”⁶³ (S300 Crisis On Peek, 09.09. 1997, Hürriyet)

“The Greek Army General Afanasios Zoganis stated that they want to possess the best weapons produced in the world against a possible Turkish attack.”⁶⁴ (Turkey Cover for Weapons), 30.8.1997, Milliyet)

4.3.4 The Lexical choices

It is observed that the journalists reflect their ideological stances in their lexical choices in the Greece - related news. In some news texts, journalists use various verbs that show uncertainty, such as “implied”, “claimed”, and “asserted”, while reporting the Greek political actors’ comments; on the other hand, they use verbs that show certainty, such as “stated”, “declared”, and “warned” while reporting Turkish political actors’ statements. This reveals that their biased ideological stance affect their verb preferences.

EXAMPLE:

“Greek Defense Minister Cuhacopulos threatened that if Turkey applies to Lahey Justice Court for the militarization of the islands, they will apply to the Court to demilitarization of the Bosphorus. (Bosphorus Threat from Athens, 10.9.1997, Hürriyet)

As can be seen in the above example, the verb chosen to represent the Greek political actor’s comment obviously shows the journalists interpretation of the comment. Instead of using “stated” or “declared”, the journalist use “threatened” to give the impression that this comment is a threat.

⁶³ See the Appnedix.11

⁶⁴ See the Appendix.12

In the following examples, the manipulative attempts of the journalists can be seen in their choice of words even in the headlines.

EXAMPLE:

“We Kick the Greek” (22.09.1997, Hürriyet)

“Strange Defense from Athens” (25.09.1997, Sabah)

“Awkward Invitation from Athens” (01.09.1997, Milliyet)

“War Outcry from Athens” (08.09.1997, Milliyet)

The Turkish political actors’ harsh answers to’ Theodoros Pangolos’s harsh claims towards Turkey are included in the headlines of the news texts. Especially in Milliyet, a harsh sentence published in the Greek media is chosen as the headline. The different headlines of the three newspapers regarding this event are as follows:

EXAMPLE:

“Insane Pangolas” (27.09. 1997, Hürriyet)

“Pangolos Go Home” (28.09.1997; Milliyet)

“Naughty Pangolos” (27.091997, Sabah)

4.4 Findings of Discourse Analysis Conducted on the News after Abdullah Öcalan’s Arrestments

This section includes the discourse analysis of the Greece-related news texts published in three Turkish mainstream newspapers during the month after the arrestment of Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of PKK, who created crisis between Turkey and Greece by stating that Greece supported PKK

4.4.1 The Headlines

When the findings of the news analyses are evaluated, some general characteristics of headlines are as follows:

Most of main headlines of Greece-related news in the period are sensational, which aim to increase reader's curiosity on the event.

EXAMPLE:

“Greece PKK War” (17.02.1999, Hürriyet)

“Greece is clean handed!”(28.02.1999, Milliyet)

“Secret Affair of Greece and PKK” (13.03.1999, Sabah)

It is observed that long news stories are presented with sub - headlines. These sub-headlines generally give a summary of what is said in the following paragraph. It can be said that most of these summaries reflect the reporter's judgments on the news events. Just reading the sub- headlines of the news text, the reader is conditioned to think in the same way as the reporters.

EXAMPLE:

When the news under the headline of “PKK Horror in Athens” (16.2.1999, Hürriyet) is analyzed, it is seen that sub-headlines, such as “No Shelter for Apo” , ”Greek threatened”, “Greeks saw the truth”, condition the readers' thoughts.

In the period, in all of the three mainstream newspapers, the headlines are mostly composed of direct quotations from the Turkish government. This study reveals that in foreign policy affairs, political actors are the main sources of foreign affairs reporters. Nonetheless, it is clearly seen that since the reporters are dependent on the primary definers of the events, political actors have the power of controlling the construction of the meaning in news texts.

The influence of primary news values, such as “conflict” and “negativity”, can be seen in the presentations of the headlines.

EXAMPLE:

“The Storm doesn’t diminish in Greece” (20.2.1999, Milliyet)

“Panics in Greece” (24.02.1999, Hürriyet)

“Pangalos’s statements confused Greece” (03.03.1999, Sabah)

“The Greek wrangle” (25 .2.1999, Hürriyet)

4.4.2 The Schematic Structure of the News

According to the definition of the logical order of news schema by Van Dijk (1988), there should first be a lead category giving the summary of the main events, and following the lead, there should be the main text presenting the main event. Then, contextual information, and historical background should be given. Finally, verbal reaction part should be stated in news schema. The analysis of the structure of the news text in the period reveals no such logical order across the categories of the news schema in all of the Greece-related news in the mainstream press.

In the verbal reaction part of the news schema, it is observed that there is a dominance of the Turkish government over Greek government. In most cases, it is seen that only the announcements of the Turkish governments which serve as “warnings” for the Greek are included in the news texts, whereas there is no information about the reactions or answers of the Greek side. It should be noted that there is imbalance in presenting the arguments of two sides of the news event. Furthermore, the selective and limited reporting of the Greek government’s arguments aimed to reflect the compunction of the Greek side and also to support the Turkish government’s argument that “Greek side is guilty because they support the PKK.”

EXAMPLE:

“Simitis: We made a mistake” (6.3.1999, Milliyet)

“Simitis apologized from Europe” (26.2.1999, Milliyet)

“Pangalos Accounts for PKK Crisis” (25.2.1999, Sabah)

“Athens Seeks a Way Out” (15.3.1999, Milliyet)

The news schemas do not include any historical information about the tension between Greece and Turkey due to terror in the past. The news neither connect main event to the past, nor they give any insight regarding how the tension affect the future of the relation between two countries.

During the analysis process, it is observed that certain concepts are not explained in the news in the mainstream newspapers. For instance, the news entitled “From Ankara to Athens: It’s not a joke!” (24.02.1999, Hürriyet) includes the following sentence: “It is reported that President Demirel’s ‘last warning’ in the Philippines is the first sign of the ‘step by step’ policy which the government has decided to use Athens”. In this sentence, the meaning of the term “step by step policy” is not explained to the readers.

In the majority of the news texts, only political actors in Turkey and Greece are chosen as a source of information, and impartial authorities’ comments are not reported in the evaluation part in the news schema of any of these news. The lack of information regarding the historical background of the event and the comments of impartial authorities prevent readers from evaluating the main events correctly.

In a few cases in the period, it is observed that external information is stated in news texts despite they have no relation with the main event of the news item.

EXAMPLE:

The analysis of the news under the headline of: “Apo’s Women Saved Simitis” (26.2.1999, Hürriyet) reveal that the news is about the conversation between Kenya and Greece. However, the last paragraph of news includes external information that a crowd of Greek supporters of PKK had a demonstration in Athens again and burned Greek flags. This information is mentioned although it is not related with the main event of the news text.

4.4.3 The News Syntax

If the grammatical structures of the news texts are analyzed it can be observed that the sentences cover more than one proposition; therefore, the sentences are generally long and complex, especially the spot sentences are mostly in the form of compound sentences.

The grammatical structure of the news texts published in Hürriyet, Milliyet, and Sabah newspapers reveals that sentences generally include more than one proposition. In addition, some of the propositions are used to describe the news actors and these descriptions reflect what the journalists think readers should know about the actors. The following are examples of such propositions:

EXAMPLE:

“After Abdullah Öcalan was arrested, truth about the relation between PKK and Greece, which was a secret until today, have been revealed because of an argument between PKK and Greece, **whose mask was removed due to its support for terrorists in the international arena.**”⁶⁵ (Greek Banks Are PKK’s Safe; 08.03.1999, Hürriyet)

“Pangalos, **who verbally attacked Turkey during his ministry service**, testified to the attorneys because of his active role in Apo (Abdullah Öcalan’s) issue”⁶⁶. (Pangalos Gives an Account Of 25.02. 1999, Sabah)

“The crises caused by Abdullah Öcalan fiasco in the Athens increased due to the report of Greek ambassador, **who accommodated the PKK leader in his house in Kenya for 12 days.**”⁶⁷ (Should we send Apo to Space? 09.03.1999, Milliyet)

⁶⁵ See the Appendix.:13

⁶⁶ See the Appendix.:14

⁶⁷ See the Appendix.:15

“Turkey will demand visa from Greece, **which accommodate the baby murderer Apo and which certainly support PKK.**”⁶⁸ (Visa for the Greek, 25.2.1999, Hürriyet)

4.4.4 The lexical Choices

The word and phrase choices in news reporting closely reflect the ideological stance of the reporter. In the period of crisis, the reporters choose the word “Yunan” to refer the Greek side, while, in normal times, the Greek side is referred as “Yunanistan” or “Atina” in the press. In the period, the words used in the headlines are generally harsh and accusatory. Especially when reporting the Turkish government’s statements, their harshest and most accusatory words are used in the headlines by the reporters as can be seen in the following examples:

“**Remorseless** Greece” (28 .02.1999, Sabah)

“Shame on You Our **So-called** Neighbor” (08.02.1999, Sabah)

“Greece’s hand is covered in Blood” (24.02.1999, Milliyet)

4.5 Findings of Discourse Analysis Conducted On the News about Letter Exchange Period between Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Ismail Cem and Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Yorgo Papandreou

This section includes the discourse analysis of Greece-related news in three mainstream Turkish newspapers printed in one month period after Papandreou, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a letter to Ismail Cem, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs

⁶⁸ See the Appendix.16

4.5.1 The Headlines

It is observed that the headlines of the news texts provide the readers with the main theme instead of giving direct information about it. In this way, they create curiosity in the reader.

In the analysis process, it is observed that the Greece-related news in the mainstream newspapers is generally long and include sub headlines, which usually provide information about the parts of the main body of the news text. The news under the heading of “Big Meeting” (29.06.1999, Sabah) contains subtitles which are written to explain the topics of the letter written by Ismail Cem to Yorgo Papandreou. They are: “We forgot about PKK”, “Culture and Tradition”, “Terror”, “Kosovo” and “I’m Waiting for Your Answer”. Sub headlines are used to divide the long body of the news texts and therefore they help readers to understand the details and evaluate the main events in the news better.

In the period, in such news, the headlines are in the form of direct quotation of Papandreou statements, as it seen in the following examples.

EXAMPLE:

“Papandreou: It’s Good to Communicate” (13.07.1999, Hürriyet)

“We will solve step by step” (02.07.1999, Hürriyet)

“Athens: Papandreou: Terror is also our priority” (29.07.1999, Milliyet)

In the period, some of the headlines are observed to support the claims of Turkish official foreign policy instead of giving sufficient information about the content of the news. For example; the headline in Sabah newspaper “They’re warming Aegean again, includes the word “**again**”, this word support the claim that the Aegean issue have resulted from Greece’s attitude through out the history, which was continuously put forward by Turkey in their official policy. Readers who only read the title are guided with this biased opinion.

EXAMPLE:

The headline “Athens Withdraws its Support of PKK” (27.06.1997, Hürriyet) contribute to the claim that Greece support PKK, which was often expressed by Turkey about another important terrorism issue between the two countries. The content of the news do not contain any comment of Greek authorities about their attempt to stop supporting PKK. The news only includes information about the invitation to cooperate against terrorism, which is one of many topics in the letter written as a response by Papandreou to Ismail Cem. This clearly indicates that journalists reflect their ideological stance that is parallel to Turkish official policy in the headline as well as in the body of the text.

4.5.2 The Schematic Structure of the News

If we analyze the hierarchical order of the categories (like, lead, main events, context, history [with background category] verbal reactions and comments), it is clearly seen that there is no background information in the Greece-related news texts in the period. Especially in the news items related with the main bilateral problems between Greece and Turkey, there is no information about the historical reasons for the problems.

For instance, in the news item published under the main headline “Abuse Claims in Athens” (22.07.1999, Sabah) includes Greek authorities’ claims that Turkish planes violated Greek air space; however, there is no historical information about the causes of the problems related to the violation of air space between Turkey and Greece. Even though the abbreviation “FIR” is used to refer to “Flight Information Region” in the text, no explanation considering the meaning of this abbreviation is given.

Another example is that although the news item entitled “An Invitation to Greece to Officially Acknowledge the Turkish Minority” (24.07.1999, Hürriyet) is related to the issue of minorities between the two countries, there isn’t any historical information regarding the issue of minorities.

When the verbal reaction sections of the news texts are analyzed, it is seen that the news texts include İsmail Cem's and Papandreou's explanations almost equally. Generally the three common source discourse in the news texts are referred as "according to diplomatic sources", "according to sources", or "according to a foreign policy maker" without giving specific names. Therefore, this type of presentation of the sources decreases the credibility of the news and gives the impression that reporters are trying direct the reader's thoughts according to their beliefs.

4.5.3 The News Syntax

In this period, the statements of news actors are generally reported in active form, which shows that reporters convey the news to the readers in a neutral way by only including what the actors say regarding the event.

It is observed that in the long sentences, the details of the news are given in the sentences after the conjunction. As Dijk (1991) suggests, propositions are often connected by specifications, which means that more general proposition is followed by specific one and the reader gets the detailed information from the specific proposition so this specification is open to ideological usage.

To illustrate, the news item published under the headline of "Europe Lesson from the Neighbor" (30.06.1990, Sabah) includes the following sentence: "Yannis Nikolau, the assistant of the government spokesman Dimitris Reppas stated that Turkey, as a European country, has to obey the rules valid in Europe and added that the death penalty must be abolished in Turkey, as in Europe".⁶⁹ It is clearly seen that this sentence is compound and the detailed information is given after a general statement.

4.5.4 The Lexical Choices

During the period in which the news texts are analyzed, Turkish Foreign Minister İsmail Cem and Greek Foreign Minister Yorgo Papandreou decided to cooperate

⁶⁹ See the Appendix.17

about certain issues through diplomatic letters. Turkey's diplomatic attempt in Greek and Turkey's relation are supported by the mainstream newspapers. The discourse of the news texts support the idea that this attempt can solve all the problems between the two countries and start a new era in their relation, which can be seen in the following headlines:

EXAMPLE:

The headline in Sabah; “**Big Meeting**” (29.06.1999) exaggerates the meeting between the foreign ministers of the two countries with the use of the adjective “big”.

The headline in Milliyet “**Peace Package** from Athens” (29.06.1999) exaggerates the letter written by Papandreou as a response to Ismail Cem's letter and claims that this letter is a diplomatic attempt which has the power to solve all the problems between the two countries.

The headline in Milliyet, “Athens: **Sensitive** Dialogue” (02.07.1999) describes the diplomatic dialogue between Greece and Turkey as sensitive by quoting one of the Greek political actors. The adjective “sensitive” emphasizes the importance of the dialogue.

4.6 Findings of Discourse Analysis Conducted On the News after Marmara Earthquake

This section includes the discourse analysis of the Greece-related news texts published in three Turkish mainstream newspapers during the month after tremendous earthquake occurred in Marmara Region in Turkey on August 17, 1998. During the analysis period, another earthquake happened in Athens on September 7, 1999. After these earthquakes in both countries, the two countries supported each other in their difficult times by sending humanitarian aid to each other.

4.6.1 The Headlines

The analysis reveals that the headlines have the following general characteristics:

- a) In addition to headlines, most news texts include sub headlines, which summarize the following text.
- b) Most headlines include direct quotation of the comments stated by political actors in the quotation marks. For this reason, the repetition of the headlines is found in the main body of the news texts.
- c) The analyzed texts contain headlines which report the statements of both Turkish and Greek parties in a balanced way. The following examples indicate these characteristics:

EXAMPLE:

“Cem: Our dialogue with Athens is Good” (26.08. 1999, Hürriyet)

“Greek Defense Minister, Cuhacopulos: Let’s Benefit from the Friendship Atmosphere” (19.09.1999, Hürriyet)

“Help Turks As Much As You can” (24.08.1999, Sabah)

“Athens Mayor: We’re happy to help you”(26.08.1999, Milliyet)

Since most of the headlines are composed of the direct quotation of the political actors, they give direct information about the content of the main body of the news text. Few of the analyzed headlines are short and provide readers with a first impression. Only the readers who read these headlines cannot obtain information about the content of the main body of the text. Such headlines are generally written to invoke curiosity in the reader as can be seen in the following examples:

EXAMPLE:

“Unbelievable Sacrifice” (31.08.1999, Sabah)

“We Support” (14.09 1999, Hürriyet)

“Well Said!” (11.09.1999, Milliyet)

“No Bayonet” (10.09. 1999, Hürriyet)

When all headlines in Sabah, Hürriyet, and Milliyet newspapers in the period are analyzed, it is seen that most of the headlines support the Turkish political official discourse which was also expressed in the headline “Cem: Our dialogue with Athens is Good” (26.08 1999) in Hürriyet newspaper.

The following headlines are written by the journalists in order to support the idea that Turkey’s dialogue with Athens is good.

EXAMPLE:

“Greek people have no eternal enmity towards Turks” (29.08.1999, Milliyet)

“Like a family in the Aegean” (10.09.1999, Milliyet)

“The Times: Ankara and Athens can become closer” (25 .08. 1999, Hürriyet)

“That is true friendship” (27.08. 1999, Sabah)

“An Era has ended” (05.09.1999, Sabah)

4.6.2 The Schematic Structure of the News

The analysis of the schematic structures of the news texts in the mainstream newspapers in the determined period reveals that most of the texts contain the lead category as mentioned before; most of the headlines consist of the statements of Turkish and Greek political actors. Consequently, the repetition and explanation of these statements are included in the lead category.

In most of the news texts Turkish and Greek political actors’ comments are represented in the verbal category of the news schema in a balanced way. It is also observed that there is often detailed information about the main event in the main body of the news text. Moreover, the sources of information are openly stated in the schematic structure of most of the news texts and the Greek newspapers are often chosen as the source of information and the names of these newspapers are written.

However, there are no categories including historical information about the main events in the schematic structure of the news texts; i.e., in the news texts, there is no information about whether or not the two countries’ diplomatic relations were the

same after the earthquakes in the past, which prevents readers from having a healthy evaluation about the main event since they cannot understand the connection between the present events with past events. Moreover, the schematic structure of the news texts do not contain critical evaluation of the diplomacy experts about the improvements in the relation between the two countries, which indicates that the news texts lack a critical point of view.

4.6.3 The News Syntax

The grammatical structures of the news texts, published in Sabah, Hürriyet, and Milliyet, has the following common features: a) most news texts contain long sentences combined by linking words, and b) most sentences include more than one proposition and some of them reflect the journalists' evaluation of the news actors.

The following examples taken from the news texts show the propositions used to describe Greece:

“Greece, who put the eternal enmity aside and started, helping Turkey right after the earthquake, supported Ankara with aid campaigns, rescue teams, and emergency aid stuff.”⁷⁰(Greek Can Remove Veto, 22 .08.1999, Hürriyet)

“Dimitris Avramopoulos, Mayor of Athens in Greece, the country who exhibited intimate behavior towards Turkey after the earthquake, came to Istanbul for the aid that will be given to the earthquake victims.”⁷¹ (Athens Mayor: We're happy to help you"(26.08.1999, Milliyet)

“Greece, who sent rescue teams and tons of humanitarian aid to the region and organized aid campaigns after the 17 August disaster and who thanked Turkish people through an announcement published in Hürriyet newspaper, had also sent her Commander of the Navy to the farewell ceremony of Vice Admiral Salim Dervişoğlu, the old Commander of Turkish Navy”⁷² (No Bayonet, 10.09.1999, Hürriyet)

⁷⁰ See the Appendix. 18

⁷¹ See the Appendix. 19

⁷² See the Appendix. 20

During the analyzed period, the widespread usage of direct speech form for presenting both the Greeks and Turkish news actors is observed. Journalists generally do not manipulate the news actors' comments and directly quoted them in the news texts. Furthermore, while reporting their comments, they seldom used reported speech, which enable them to affect the meaning of the sentences.

4.6.4 The Lexical Choices

During the analysis period, the peaceful atmosphere in the relations between Turkey and Greece affects the lexical choice of the journalists in the Greece related news in Hürriyet, Milliyet, and Sabah newspapers.

The news under the headline “Thanks Neighbor **Efharisto Polifile**” published on August 21, 1999 in Hürriyet newspaper contains Greek words along with Turkish words. Likewise, the news entitled “**Perastika Gitona**, get well soon Neighbor” published in Milliyet (8 Eylül 1999 after the earthquake in Athens contain Greek words.

It is observed that the word “neighbour” is often used to refer to Greece in most of the news texts in the analysis period, which can be seen in the following examples:

EXAMPLE:

“Thank You Neighbor” (21.08.1999, Hürriyet)

“Get Well Soon, Neighbor” (08.09.1999, Milliyet)

“Hürriyet’s Thanks Moved the Neighbor” (23.08.1999, Hürriyet)

“Bravo Neighbor” (23.08.1999, Sabah)

“We Haven’t Known You like This Neighbor” (22.08.1999, Sabah)

4.7 Findings of the Discourse Analysis Conducted on the News after Yorgo Papandreou's Visit to Turkey

This section includes the discourse analysis of Greece-related news in three mainstream Turkish newspapers printed in one month period after Yorgo Papandreou official visit to Turkey on January 19, 2000.

4.7.1 The Headlines

In the analysis period, the headlines of the Greece related news texts generally provide to understand the frame of the news texts. Moreover, supporting sub headlines are used often in the news texts along with the headlines. The sub headlines, placed under the headlines, enable journalists to report the necessary information about the main events in parts in long news texts. In this way, readers can easily understand the details presented in the long body of the news texts, which are exemplified in the following sub headlines:

EXAMPLE:

The news entitled "A New Page in Turkey-Greek Relationship" (19 .01. 2000, Hürriyet) does not give direct information in its headline about the main event. Furthermore, this news texts contain the sub headlines: "Cooperation in Tourism", "Encouragement in Investment", "Double Taxation", and "Protection of the Environment", which divided the long body of the news text into small parts that can be understand by the reader easily.

It is also observed that most headlines directly quote the selected comments of the Greek political actors, which support the idea that Turkish-Greek relations have entered a peaceful new era. The following are the examples of such headlines:

EXAMPLE:

The headline “We Are Your Biggest Supporter in EU” (20.01. 2000, Milliyet) includes a sentence taken from a speech Yorgo Papandreou gave to Anatolian Agency during his visit to Ankara.

The sentence in the headline “Papandreou: The atmosphere is appropriate for Cyprus” (25.01.2000, Milliyet) is directly taken from one of Papandreou’s speeches.

4.7.2 The Schematic Structure of the News

During the analysis period, the schematic structures of the news texts in the Turkish mainstream newspapers reveal these characteristics: a) there are detailed information presented in the long body of most news, b) there are little information regarding the historical background of the main event, c) there are no information about how the main events affect the future of the relations between the two countries; for instance, news texts do not contain any information about which problems started in the past between Turkey and Greece can be solved by the agreements signed by the two countries, and d) some news texts presented adequate contextual information about the main event.

EXAMPLE:

The news entitled “Signing for Friendship” (21.01.2000, Hürriyet) presented detailed conceptual information about the previous agreements made between Turkey and Greece.⁷³

During the period, it is observed that; statements of both parties are represented in a balanced way in the verbal reaction part of news schema. Another significant schematic feature of the news texts is the sources of information are definitely introduced in the news texts.

⁷³ See Apendix.21

Moreover, the evaluation categories of the news texts lack the critical comments of diplomacy experts. For example, no news texts informed the reader about the lack of an item regarding PKK in the agreement about terrorism signed between the two countries. That the agreements do not offer any solutions to the tension between the two countries due to Greece's support for PKK is only emphasized by one of the news text.

4.7.3 The News Syntax

In this period, the grammatical structure of the news texts has compound sentences combined with connectors. Another grammatical characteristic of the sentences is that the sentences do not contain many propositions, causing the sentences to be explanatory and easy to understand.

Moreover, in their Greece related news, Sabah, Hürriyet, and Milliyet newspapers generally reported the Turkish and Greek news actors' comments in the form of direct speech.

A typical example of such grammatical structures is seen in the news under the heading "Inviting Simitis to Ankara"⁷⁴ published in Milliyet newspaper. In this news, the real dialogue between Bülent Ecevit and Yorgo Papandreu is published as the main body of the news texts. Such a news representation indicates that in the frame of impartiality code of professional journalism, there is a distance between the journalist and the presented information in the news texts.

4.7.4 The Lexical Choices

When the lexical choices of the journalist while reporting the Greece related news during the analyzed period is analyzed, it is clearly seen that peaceful atmosphere of Turkish – Greek relations affects the lexical choices of the journalists.

⁷⁴ See the Appendix.22

For example, in the headline “Ankara is hopeful for **Yorgo**” (21.01 2000, Hürriyet) only the first name “Yorgo” of the Greek Foreign Minister is used. In the same way, Yorgo is used in the headline “Friendly Conversations of **Yorgo-Ismail**” (23.01.2000, Milliyet). The usage of the first name of the Greek Foreign Minister by the mainstream newspapers indicates that the rapprochement between the two countries affect the lexical choices of the journalists.

In the period, it is observed that the words selected for the headlines in the three mainstream newspapers often support the idea that the agreements signed between Turkey and Greece can solve all the problems between the two countries, which show the uncritical stance of the journalists towards Turkey’s foreign policy.

The following headlines exemplify the uncritical stance of the newspapers:

EXAMPLE:

“It will be a lancet to Turkish-Greek Problems” (17.01.2000, Hürriyet)

“Istanbul-Athens Got Married” (18.02.2000, Sabah)

“A new page in the Turkish-Greek relations” (19.01. 2000, Hürriyet)

In the framework of the study, The Greece-related news texts are evaluated as “discourse”, which is defined by Dijk as explicit and systematic description of units of language. So the findings of discourse analysis is essential to understand how the Greece - related news are framed and constructed when being written in news form in Turkish mainstream newspapers. In other words, the macro and micro structural features of the Greece-related news texts will help us to answer the question of: Do Turkish mainstream journalist repeat the official discourse which determines the national interest or they digress from the official discourse and form their own discourse in stead while they are reporting the Greece - related news?

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this study was to find out whether Turkish journalists working in the mainstream newspapers perform their jobs as independent professionals defending “public interest” or they only prefer defending the “national interest” which is defined by the elites while reporting the Greece - related news to the public in years 1994 -2000.

In other words, this study aims to reveal, Turkish – Greek relations in particular, whether Turkish main-stream journalists repeat the official discourse which determines the national interest or they digress from the official discourse and form their own discourse in stead. Shortly, the study aims to answer how loyal Turkish main-stream journalists are to the official discourse or could they go beyond it while reporting the Greece related news in years 1994-2000?

It is understood that the crises in Turkish Greek relations namely; Greek’s attempts for prospecting for oil in Aegean Sea, Kardak/Imia crisis, s300 missiles crisis which are selected as a case based on the unsolved bilateral issues between two states. The two significant reasons why these bilateral issues are not resolved are that; two countries define the issues differently and that they suggest different ways to solve the issues. For instance, when the official websites of the Foreign Ministry of the two countries are examined, they name different issues as Aegean disputes and in order to solve the Aegean issues, while Turkey offers bilateral talks, Greece states the necessity of applying to international law institutions.

In the near past, Ismail Cem and Yorgo Papandreou's attempts created an era of détente just like in Atatürk – Venizelos period and Madrid period. The study has selected Ismail Cem and Yorgo Papandreou's correspondence, Marmara Earthquake and Yorgo Papandreou's official visit to Istanbul as the important cases to analyze during this era of détente in near past of the Turkish Greek relations. As Tılıç (2006) suggests that media have no power to create conflicts or solve problem but the language, the way of selecting and constructing the events can play significant role in intensification of solution to crisis. So for the aim of understanding the Turkish mainstream journalist's way of constructing the event, and the role perceptions of Turkish mainstream journalist's seven cases, which are selected from early history of Turkish - Greek relations, have been discursively analyzed for this study.

The results of the discourse analysis of the Greece-related news published in the period including one month period since the beginning of the cases can be evaluated by determining whether the journalists inform readers enough about the main events, whether they keep impartial stance and whether they can go beyond the official discourse and have critical stance while reporting about the main events.

Firstly, it is observed that most of the headlines of the analyzed news texts do not give direct information regarding the main event. Especially when the relationship between the two countries is tense, sensational headlines are commonly used. One of the significant feature that is observed in the discourse analysis is that, subheadlines are rarely used in the tense periods. In such periods, the subheadlines are used to reflect the journalist's ideological implications instead of making the texts more understandable by dividing them into comprehensible parts.

If the syntactic forms of the sentences in the news texts are evaluated, it is seen that especially in the tense periods, journalists prefer to use long sentences generally including more than one proposition in the Greece -related news in the mainstream newspapers and it is also observed that in such cases the selected propositions in these long sentences reflects the evaluations of the journalists. Therefore, readers cannot understand the main event due to long sentences including more than one

proposition in the Greece- related news texts published in Hürriyet, Milliyet, and Sabah newspapers in the tense period between the two countries.

In addition, when the news schemas are studied, it is observed that the news texts lack historical background information, contextual information, evaluation, and expectation parts about the main events. The content of the news texts lack the information about the connection between the main event and the past events between the two countries. So the following questions are not answered in any of the news texts: “What are the causes of the main event?”, “what agreements were signed between Turkey and Greece regarding the main event in the past?”, “did the main event occur in the past?”, and “in the future which problems will be possibly solved due to the main event? In conclusion, the discourse analysis done in the study has revealed that journalists do not give enough information to their readers to be able to evaluate the main events especially when Turkey and Greece are in conflict.

Secondly, discourse analysis indicates that headlines of Greece - related news, generally include Turkish political actors’ comments more than Greek ones especially during the conflicting period. Likewise, Turkish political actors’ comments are represented more in the verbal reaction parts of the news schemas. Regarding the relations between Turkish foreign policy and Turkish mainstream news papers the findings this reveals the clear influence of the foreign policy makers on the contents of the Greece related news texts in Sabah, Hürriyet and Milliyet in years between 1994 and 2000. For instance, in such cases it is observed that the whole paragraph of the news text includes the comments of Turkish political actors, hence it can be stated that during the analyzed period generally Turkish mainstream newspapers “indexed” the Turkish political actors.

It is apparent that journalists use biased words in the news texts when referring to the Greek party. That is, the mood of the relationship between the two countries is reflected in the lexical choices of the journalists. For example, during the tense period, they generally use the word ‘Greek’ to refer to Greece, whereas during the peaceful period, the word ‘neighbor’ is preferred to refer them. Moreover, it is

observed that especially during the tense period, reported speech structure, which is open to manipulation, is generally used when reporting the comments of the Greek party, while direct speech structure, which is less open to manipulation, is used when reporting Turkish political actors' comments. On the other hand, during the peaceful period, both parties' comments are generally reported using direct speech structure. All these findings reveal that journalist generally did not keep their impartial stance while reporting the Greece related news in years between 1994 and 2000.

Additionally, during the tense periods due to before mentioned crisis between Turkey and Greece, the reproduced meaning created by the lexical choices of the journalists in the three mainstream newspapers are parallel to the official Turkish foreign policy discourse which is published on the official website of Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry. Keeping in mind the distinction between the diplomatic discourse and on the news discourse, the similarity and the common point of the website of of Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry and the news text are only on the claims or the indications. Additionally, in the peaceful periods, it is observed that the three mainstream newspapers supported the Turkish Foreign Ministry's political attempts by choosing certain words in the Greece related news texts to describe these attempts as if they had enough power to solve all the problems existing between Turkey and Greece. However, during the conflicting period, journalists emphasize that the Greeks are wrong. It is also observed that the Greece- related news texts published during the analysis period lack the evaluations of critical diplomacy authorities. Therefore, it is concluded that, journalists generally support and never criticize Turkish foreign policy in the tense and peaceful periods.

To sum up, the study has indicated that there is an ideological uniformity between the news discourses of the three mainstream Turkish newspapers, which is parallel to Turkish political discourse. Regarding the discourse of the Turkish mainstream newspapers which are parallel to the Turkish foreign policy discourse emphasized that Turkish journalist working in three mainstream newspapers generally tends to push the issues in corporation with the policies, in other words as Cohen(1964) refers, they generally prefer to perform their job as "advocate of policy" instead of

“critic of government.” Whereas, according to the traditional liberal theory, the principal democratic role of the media is to act as a check on the state. The media should monitor the full range state activity, and fearlessly expose abuses of official authority (Curran, 2002:225).

The findings obtained from the discourse analysis revealed that Turkish mainstream journalists do not inform the public enough for them to be able to evaluate the main events especially in critical periods. They do not keep their impartial stance due to their unbalanced representation while reporting the events. All these discourse characteristics reveal that Turkish mainstream journalists were tend to be loyal to the official discourse and abstained from digressing from it. Therefore, their discourse which is repetition of the official Turkish foreign political discourse caused them not to criticize any attempts made by the Turkish political actors.

Based on the findings of the discourse analysis, the study has determined whether Turkish mainstream journalists defend national or public interest when reporting the Greece related events, which is the main question of the study. Before answering the question, it is important to state who defines the national interest. According to Frankel (1970:32, 33) “having the monopoly of both diplomatic and the central concerns of foreign policy, government play a much more exclusive role” in the formulation of national interest than in domestic politics. Frankel (1970:32,33) also points out that in aspirational level “national interest” is determined by political will rather than by capabilities and also on the operational level “national interest” is the predominant concerns of the government and /or party in power. On the other hand defending public interest means giving priority to informing the public by providing objective information. As Curran (2002:225) states, according to traditional liberal theory, free media brief the electorate and assist voters to make an informed choice.

It is concluded that, Turkish mainstream journalists are generally observed to prefer defending national interest to defending public interest when reporting Greece-related events between the years 1994 and 2000. It can be said that with their dependence to official discourse, they have a pro-state publishing policy instead of

critically evaluating the attempts of foreign policy makers and informing the public, which is away from being objective professional.

As it is generally known that, the foreign and internal policies complement each other. However, in the foreign policy arena, foreigners' interests and local interests are in conflict. Therefore, criticizing the attempts made in foreign policy may mean not defending local interests. However, criticizing the government's foreign policy and informing the public accurately may prevent the government from repeating its mistakes and help it to take the right steps in the future. As Cohen (1964) states for columnist the journalist sometimes "have the show window" since they have more access to the policy makers.

In addition, Tılıç (2001:166) suggests that "national interests" defined by the power elite are an obstacle which prevents journalists from questioning the events. He also emphasizes that having an uncritical approach to main events and not informing the public about the critical evaluation of certain events in terms of national security may be harmful for public interest and also for the "security" of the state. For Tılıç (2001) if national secrecy infiltrates to the media, at the same time it is available for intelligence agencies. If media do not broadcast these news and the state forbids them to do so, it cannot realize the fissures in its fabric. Hence, infiltration to alien intelligence agencies goes on. He also adds that democratic states have the chance to determine and close these fissures by narrowing the concept of state secret and widening the field of freedom.

Moreover, if Turkish mainstream journalists do not digress from official discourse, Turkish mainstream press loses its power of being the fourth estate, which was first named by Irish born English statesmen Edmund Burke, who described the press in the parliament as the fourth estate which is more important than the other three namely; legislative power, executive power and judicial power.⁷⁵ İnceoğlu (2004)

⁷⁵ To read the full article of İnceoğlu:
<http://www.radikal.com.tr/arama.php?ara=1&y=1&edi=YASEMİN%20İNCEOĞLU>

explains that the idea of media as the fourth estate stems from the argument which says media should act like the fourth power which controls those who are in power especially when legislation, executive power and ruling power fail to perform their duties.⁷⁶

In conclusion, the findings of this study has indicated that while presenting the Greece - related news to the public between 1994 and 2000, Turkish journalists working in the three mainstream newspapers, namely Hürriyet, Milliyet, and Sabah, did not perform their jobs as independent professionals defending public interest. On the contrary, they do not digress from official discourse and form their own instead of it. Based on Doğan Tılıç's media functioning model (1998:372) it can be claimed that this situation may be caused by journalists' own attitude, ownership structure of the newspaper, the country's media atmosphere shaped by the state structure, democracy culture of the country and legal restrictions on the freedom of expression.

However, instead of trying to defend the national interests, the mainstream journalists should consider defending public interest and make public aware of what's happening in international arena and when they constructing the events they should digress from official discourse and act like a fourth estate by critically evaluating the attempts of foreign policy makers. As Belsey and Chadwick (1992:1) defines; "journalism an honorable profession, because it has an honorable aim, the circulation of information, including news, comments and opinion. This is an honorable aim, because the health of community especially that has any pretensions to democracy depends on it".

⁷⁶ Ibid: 1

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Newspapers

Hürriyet, (1994-2000)

Sabah, (1994-2000)

Milliyet, (1994-2000)

APPENDIX: 1

TABLE 1: Turkey's Five Largest Newspapers by Circulation in Years 1994 -2000

YEARS	NEWSPAPERS	CIRCULATION RATES
1994	SABAH	629.769
	HÜRRİYET	515.089
	MİLLİYET	379.235
	TÜRKİYE	358.377
	ZAMAN	276.001
1995	SABAH	712.440
	HÜRRİYET	603.492
	MİLLİYET	510.756
	TÜRKİYE	426.292
	ZAMAN	345.687
1996	MİLLİYET	629.283
	SABAH	618.385
	HÜRRİYET	599.619
	TÜRKİYE	546.275
	ZAMAN	258.612
1997	HÜRRİYET	601.947
	SABAH	598.873
	MİLLİYET	512.670
	TÜRKİYE	440.358
	ZAMAN	261.572
1998	HÜRRİYET	537.873
	SABAH	505.609
	MİLLİYET	393.406
	ZAMAN	223.772
	POSTA	159.938
1999	HÜRRİYET	537.873
	SABAH	505.609
	TÜRKİYE	355.627
	MİLLİYET	340.225
	POSTA	295.246
2000	SABAH	676.222
	HÜRRİYET	660.215
	STAR	511.971
	POSTA	452.105
	MİLLİYET	380.503

Source: Turkish Press Declaration Organization)

APPENDIX: 2

18 TEMMUZ 1974

T.C. Resmî Gazete

Kuruluş Tarihi : (7 Teşrinievvel 1336) - 7 Ekim 1920

Yönetim ve pazar işleri için Başbakanlık Neşriyat ve Müdevvenat Genel Müdürlüğüne bağlıdır	18 TEMMUZ 1974 PERŞEMBE	Sayı : 14949
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KARARNAMELER

Karar Sayısı : 7/8453

13/11/1971 tarihli ve 7/3434 sayılı Kararnameye ektir.
 13/11/1971 tarihli ve 7/3434 sayılı Kararnameye bağlı (1) sayılı cetvelin İktisadi ve Ticari İlimler Akademilerine ait bölümüne yaygın tartiminden geçerli olmak üzere İlişik (EK - A) işaretli cetvelin eklenmesi; Devlet Personel Dairesinin görevli ve Maliye Bakanlığının 21/5/1974 tarihli ve 117029 - 6 - 15353 sayılı teklifi üzerine, 657 sayılı Kanunun 1327 sayılı Kanunla değiştirilen 34 üncü maddesinin ikinci fıkrasına göre, Bakanlar Kurulunca 3/6/1974 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

**CUMHURBAŞKANI
FAHRI S. KORUTÜRK**

Devlet Bakanı Başbakan Yardımcısı B. ECEVİT	Devlet Bakanı Devlet Bakanı O. EYÜBOĞLU	Devlet Bakanı Devlet Bakanı I. H. BİRLER
Devlet Bakanı S. A. EMRE	Adaleti Bakanı S. KAZAN	Millî Servisleri Bakanı H. İŞİK
İçişleri Bakanı O. ASILTÜRK	Dağları Bakanı Prof. Dr. T. GÜNEŞ	Maliye Bakanı V. C. KAYRA
Millî Eğitim Bakanı M. ÜSTÜNDAĞ	Bavındırlık Bakanı E. ÇEVİKÇE	Ticaret Bakanı F. ADAK
Sağ. ve Sos. Y. Bakanı S. CİZRELİOĞLU	Güm. ve Tekel Bakanı M. TÜRKMEÑOÇLU	Gıda - Tarım ve Hay. Bakanı Prof. K. ÖZAL
Ulaştırma Bakanı F. GÖLEY	Çalışma Bakanı Ö. SAV	Sanayi ve Tek. Bakanı A. DOĞRU
En. ve Tab. Kay. Bakanı C. KAYRA	Turizm ve Tan. Bakanı O. BİRCİT	İmar ve İkân Bakanı A. TOPUZ
Köy İ. ve Koop. Bakanı M. OK	Osman Bakanı A. SENER	Genç. ve Spor Bakanı M. Y. METE

3/6/1974 tarihli ve 7/8453 sayılı Kararnameinin ekt Cetvel

İktisadi ve Ticari İlimler Akademileri

(EK - A)

ADANA

4. Derece
Yüksek Okul Sekreteri (Her Yüksek Okul için 1 adet)

ANKARA

4. Derece
Yüksek Okul Sekreteri (Her Yüksek Okul için 1 adet)

ESKİŞEHİR

4. Derece
Yüksek Okul Sekreteri (Her Yüksek Okul için 1 adet)

İSTANBUL

4. Derece
Yüksek Okul Sekreteri (Her Yüksek Okul için 1 adet)

Karar Sayısı : 7/8594

Ege Denizinde ve Akdenizde I ve IX numaralı petrol bölgelerinin ve karasularımızın dışında ve Türk Kıt'a Sahaneliğinde bulunan ve ekli haritalarda hudutları tespit olunan sahalarda (Açık deniz suları ve bu suların üstündeki hava sahası ile balıkçılık ve ilmi araştırmaların hususundaki devletlerarası hukuk kurallarına riayet etmek şartıyla) 1702 sayılı Petrol Reformu Kanunu ile değişik 6326 sayılı Petrol Kanununun arama ruhsatları ile ilgili miktar, genişlik ve şekle ait hükümleri dışındaki diğer hükümleri uygulanmak üzere Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığına bloklar halinde 4 adet petrol arama ruhsatnamesi verilmesi, 24/9/1973 tarihli ve 7/7217 sayılı Kararnameye dayanılarak 1 Kasım 1973 tarihli Resmî Gazete'de neşredilen harita hudutlarının ve hudutlar üzerinde yazılı ibarenin ekli haritada olduğu şekilde değiştirilmesi; Değişleri Bakanlığının ve Genelkurmay Başkanlığının uygun görüşlerine dayanan Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığının 1/7/1974 tarihli ve 37-628/05260 sayılı yazıları üzerine, sözü edilen Kanunun 45. maddesinin 1702 sayılı Kanunun 20. maddesi ile değişik 2. fıkrasına göre, Bakanlar Kurulunca 2/7/1974 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

**CUMHURBAŞKANI
FAHRI S. KORUTÜRK**

Devlet Bakanı Başbakan Yardımcısı B. ECEVİT	Devlet Bakanı Devlet Bakanı O. EYÜBOĞLU	Devlet Bakanı Devlet Bakanı I. H. BİRLER
Devlet Bakanı S. A. EMRE	Adaleti Bakanı S. KAZAN	Millî Servisleri Bakanı H. İŞİK
İçişleri Bakanı O. ASILTÜRK	Dağları Bakanı Prof. Dr. T. GÜNEŞ	Maliye Bakanı Doc. Dr. D. BAYKAL
Millî Eğitim Bakanı M. ÜSTÜNDAĞ	Bavındırlık Bakanı E. ÇEVİKÇE	Ticaret Bakanı F. ADAK
Sağ. ve Sos. Y. Bakanı S. CİZRELİOĞLU	Güm. ve Tekel Bakanı M. TÜRKMEÑOÇLU	Gıda - Tarım ve Hay. Bakanı Prof. K. ÖZAL
Ulaştırma Bakanı F. GÖLEY	Çalışma Bakanı Ö. SAV	Sanayi ve Tek. Bakanı A. DOĞRU
En. ve Tab. Kay. Bakanı C. KAYRA	Turizm ve Tan. Bakanı O. BİRCİT	İmar ve İkân Bakanı A. TOPUZ
Köy İ. ve Koop. Bakanı M. OK	Osman Bakanı A. SENER	Genç. ve Spor Bakanı V. O. BİRCİT

Fig.3 Turkish Official Newspaper of November 1,1973, The map of TPAO Oil Concessions

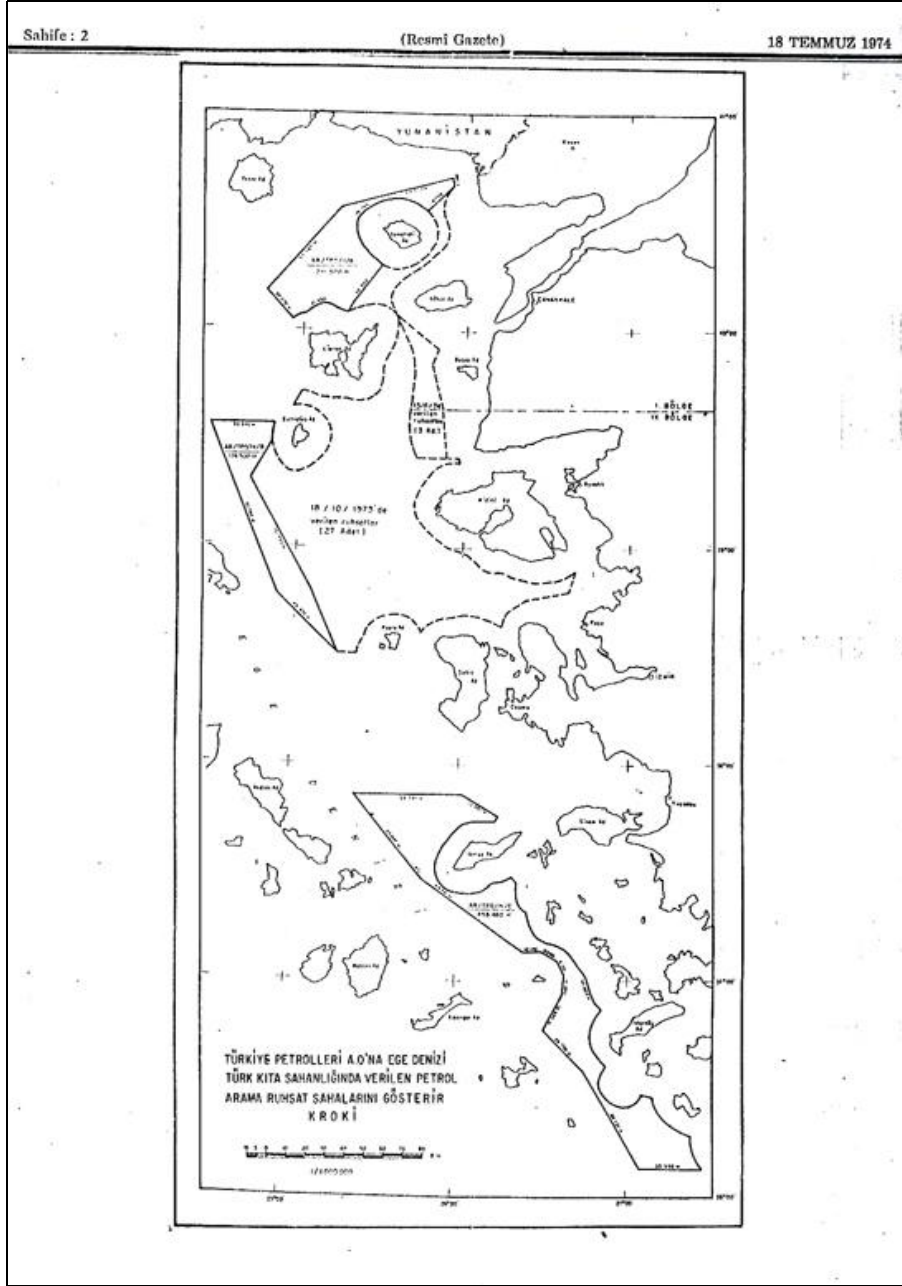
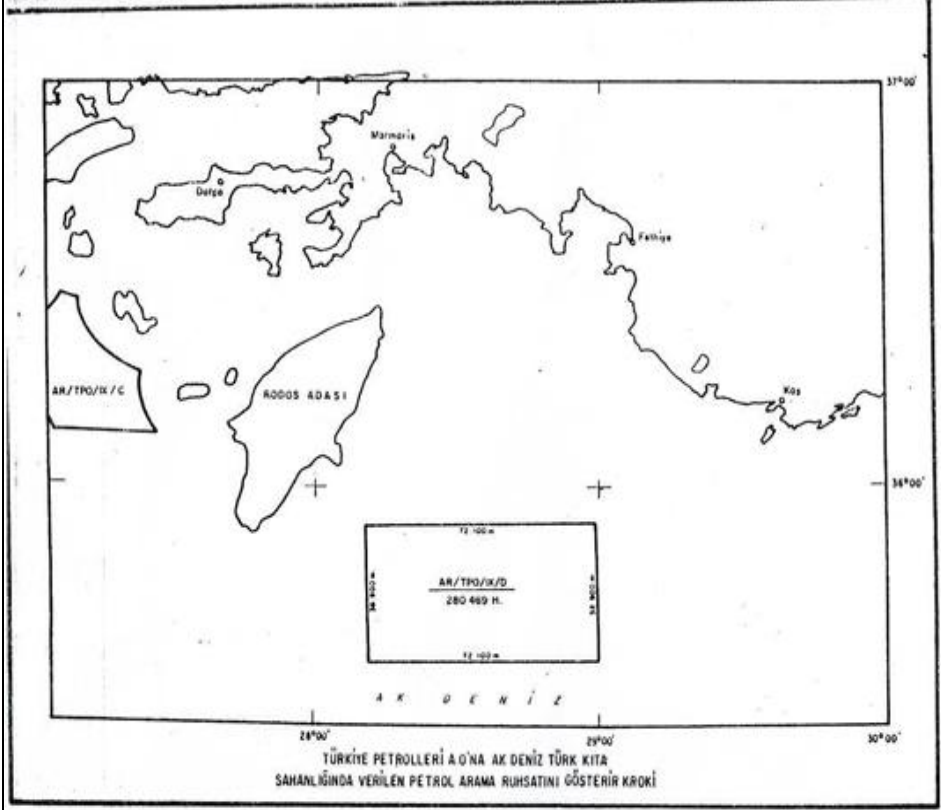


Figure 3 continued



Karar Sayısı : 7/8514

1/4/1974 tarihli ve 7/8002 sayılı Kararname ile iki yıl için Yüksek Çapçım Kurulu Üyelğine atanmış bulunan Maliye Bakanlığı Müşaviri Muzaffer Egeşoy'un emekliye ayrılması nedeniyle yerine Maliye Bakanlığı Bütçe ve Mali Kontrol Genel Müdür Yardımcısı Oğuz Aydemir'in atanması; Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının 8/6/1974 tarihli ve 244/0003 sayılı yazısı üzerine, 20/6/1973 tarihli ve 1736 sayılı Kanunun 5 nci maddesine göre, Bakanlar Kurulunca 26/6/1974 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

CUMHURBAŞKANI
FAHRI S. KORUTÖRK

Başbakan V. Prof. Dr. ERBAKAN	Devlet Bakanı Prof. Dr. N. ERBAKAN	Devlet Bakanı O. EYÜBOĞLU	Devlet Bakanı V. Doç. Dr. D. BAYKAL
Devlet Bakanı S. A. EMRE	Adalet Bakanı Ş. KAZAN	Millî Savunma Bakanı H. İŞİK	
İçişleri Bakanı O. ASILTÜRK	Dişleri Bakanı Prof. Dr. T. CÜNEŞ	Maliye Bakanı Doç. Dr. D. BAYKAL	
Millî Eğitim Bakanı M. ÜSTÜNDAĞ	Bayındırlık Bakanı E. CEVİKÇE	Ticaret Bakanı F. ADAK	
Sağ. ve Sos. Y. Bakanı S. CİZRELİOĞLU	Güm. ve Tekel Bakanı M. TÜRKMEÑOĞLU	Gıda - Tarım ve Hayv. Bakanı Prof. K. ÖZAL	
Ulaştırma Bakanı F. GÜLEY	Çalışma Bakanı Ö. SAY	Sanayi ve Tek. Bakanı A. DOĞRU	
En. ve Tab. Kay. Bakanı C. KAYRA	Turizm ve Yan. Bakanı O. BİRGİT	İmar ve İskân Bakanı A. TOPUZ	
Köy İş. ve Koop. Bakanı M. OK	Orman Bakanı A. ŞENER	Genç. ve Spor Bakanı M. Y. METE	

Karar Sayısı : 7/8563

Bakanlar Kurulunun 17/10/1968 tarihli ve 6/10881 sayılı Kararı ile X No. lu Erzurum Bölgesinin petrol ameliyatına kapalı tutulan kısmında bulunan ve ilişik 1/500.000 ölçekli haritada hudutları gösterilen sahada Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığı tarafından (1110 sayılı Askerî Yasak Bölgeler Kanunu hükümlerine uyulmak kaydı ve şartıyla) 6326 sayılı Petrol Kanununun 1702 sayılı Petrol Reformu Kanunu ile değişik 3 üncü maddesinin 8 inci fıkrasında yazılı tarife uygun şekilde her türlü petrol ameliyatı yapılmasına izin verilmesi; Genelkurmay Başkanlığının uygun görüşüne dayanarak Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığının 1/6/1974 tarihli ve 3630/04332 sayılı yazısı üzerine, 6326 sayılı Petrol Kanununun 1702 sayılı Kanunun 20 nci maddesiyle değişik 45 inci maddesinin 4 üncü fıkrasına göre, Bakanlar Kurulunca 9/7/1974 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

CUMHURBAŞKANI
FAHRI S. KORUTÖRK

Başbakan B. ECEVİT	Devlet Bakanı Prof. Dr. N. ERBAKAN	Devlet Bakanı O. EYÜBOĞLU	Devlet Bakanı I. H. BİRLER
Devlet Bakanı S. A. EMRE	Adalet Bakanı Ş. KAZAN	Millî Savunma Bakanı H. İŞİK	
İçişleri Bakanı O. ASILTÜRK	Dişleri Bakanı Prof. Dr. T. CÜNEŞ	Maliye Bakanı Doç. Dr. D. BAYKAL	
Millî Eğitim Bakanı M. ÜSTÜNDAĞ	Bayındırlık Bakanı E. CEVİKÇE	Ticaret Bakanı F. ADAK	
Sağ. ve Sos. Y. Bakanı S. CİZRELİOĞLU	Güm. ve Tekel Bakanı M. TÜRKMEÑOĞLU	Gıda - Tarım ve Hayv. Bakanı Prof. K. ÖZAL	
Ulaştırma Bakanı F. GÜLEY	Çalışma Bakanı Ö. SAY	Sanayi ve Tek. Bakanı A. DOĞRU	
En. ve Tab. Kay. Bakanı C. KAYRA	Turizm ve Yan. Bakanı O. BİRGİT	İmar ve İskân Bakanı A. TOPUZ	
Köy İş. ve Koop. Bakanı M. OK	Orman Bakanı A. ŞENER	Genç. ve Spor Bakanı M. Y. METE	

Fig. 3 continued

MİLLİYET 11 OCAK 1994 SALI

Yunanistan'la Ege'de kriz

Taki Berberakis-ATINA/
Tamer ERKİNER - ANKARA

YUNANİSTAN'ın Ege Denizi'nin uluslararası sularında petrol arama çalışmalarını yeniden başlattığına ilişkin haberlerin, Brüksel'deki NATO zirvesinin başladığı gün Ankara'ya teyyakuzla geçirildi. Hava kuvvetleri ne bağı uçakların Taşoz adası sularında devriye uçuşu yaptıkları öğrenildi. Bu durumun NATO zirvesi sırasında Çiller ile Papandreu arasındaki kahve molasıyla aynı güne denk gelmesi dikkat çekti.

Yunanistan Başbakanı Andreas Papandreu'nun bir "pilgünlük" yapabileceğine ilişkin beklentilerin, Ege'deki krizi trmandırıldı, son olarak Taşoz Adası çevresindeki Priros Bölgesi'nde Yunanistan'ın petrol sondajlarına başladığına ilişkin haberler üzerine Ege'deki durumun daha dikkatli izlenmeye başlandığı belirtildi.

Dışişleri çevreleri, henüz aramaların Yunan karasularında sürmesi nedeniyle "temkinli" yorumlar yapmakla birlikte Genelkurmay'ın durumu saat başı izlediği ve bu amaçla Ege'deki devriye uçuşlarının arttırıldığı, caydırıcı nitelikteki uçuşların Bandırma çıkışı olduğu kaydediliyor.

Türkiye Yunanistan'ın petrol arama bahanesiyle kıta sahanlığı üzerinde bir "oldu bitti" yapma olasılığını ve karasularını 12 mile çıkarma emrivakisini "savaş nedeni" sayıyor.

Ankara'da Milli Güvenlik Kurulu başta olmak üzere Cumhurbaşkanlığı'nın başkanlık ettiği güvenlik toplantılarında, Genelkurmay ve Başbakanlık'taki değerlendirmelerde son haftalarda Yunanistan'ın Ege'deki olası girişimleri dikkatle izleniyor ve petrol arama bahanesiyle başlatılan tırmanış "tehlikeli" bulunuyor. Çünkü uçuşların da bu nedenle bir "uyarı" özelliği taşıdığı belirtildi.

PAPANDREU'NUN OYUNU

Milliyet Atina Muhabiri Taki Berberakis'in haberine göre, Papandreu yönetimi, Ege'de petrol arama kararının yansısı, Ankara'nın tepkisine karşın Yunan adalarını "daha da silahlandıracağını" açıkladı. Yunanistan'ın ocak ayı sonunda Ege Denizi'nde yapacağı tatbikat ise Yunan basınına "Türkiye'ye cevap" olarak nitelendirildi.

Atina'nın Kuzey Ege'deki Taşoz yakınlarında petrol aranmasına karar vermesi Türkiye'ye karşı uyguladığı gerginlik politikasına yeni bir halka olarak değerlendiriliyor.

Gözlemler, Yunanistan'ın 1987'de de Papandreu hükümetinin Taşoz'un doğusunda, Yunan karasularının 6 mil dışında petrol aramaya kalkışması üzerine ortaya çıkan gerginliği ve Türkiye'yle Yunanistan'ın "savaş pozisyonuna girmeleri"ni anlamıştır.

Yunan hükümeti petrol aranacak bölgenin statüsü hakkında herhangi bir açıklama yapmazken, hükümet kaynakları basına ısrarla "bölgenin iki ülke arasında ihtilafli yerlerle ilgili bulunmayan bölgede olduğunu" sızdırıyor.

Öte yandan, Yunan adalarının "Türk tehdidi" altında olduğunu öne süren Ege Bakanı Kostas Skandalidis, adaların daha da silahlanacağını ve sivil savunmaya da önem verileceğini bildirdi. Yunan silahlı kuvvetlerinin Orta Ege'de 21 ve 22 Ocak'ta yapacağı "Şimşek" tatbikatı ise Yunan basınında, "Adalarımıza karşı Türk emellerine kesin cevap" şeklinde yorumlandı.

Source: Milliyet Newspaper, 11.01.1994

APPENDIX: 4

Çılgın Yunan'a Ege'de gözaltı

Papandreu Brüksel'de Çiller'le el sıkışırken, Ege'de tehlikeli petrol oyununda...Türk jetleri caydırıcı devriye uçuşunda

Tamer ERKİNER
Taki BERBERAKIS

ZİRVE GÜNÜ KRİZ 1987'de Türkiye ile Yunanistan savaşın eşiğine getiren Yunanistan Başbakanı Papandreu, Brüksel'de NATO zirvesinin yapıldığı gün, Ege'de yeni bir kriz yarattı. Yunan adalarını "daha da silahlandıracağını" açıklayan Atina, Taşoz Adası açıklarında petrol sondajları yapmaya başladı.

GÖZLER TAŞOZ'DA Dışleri çevreleri, henüz aramaların Yunan kanusularında sürmesi nedeniyle, "temkinli" yorumlar yaparken, Genelkurmay'ın, gelişmeleri saat saat izlediği öğrenildi. Bandırma üsüsünden kalkan Türk savaş uçakları, Yunanistan'ın petrol aramalarını sürdürdüğü ve askeri güç gösterisinde bulunduğu bölgede "uyan" uçuşu yapıyor ► 16. SAYFADA

"Müfettişe yakışmaz"
Teftiş Skandalı'nın ardından söz duellosu başladı ► 15. SAYFADA

BUGÜN
GÖZLER NATO'DA

SOHBET Başbakan Çiller, Başkan Clinton, NATO Genel Sekreteri Wörner ve Beşikçi Başbakanı Debuene'le sohbet ettiği zirvede, "Ege'de krizi tırmaklıran" Yunanistan Başbakanı Papandreu ile el sıkıştı ve Türkiye'ye davet etti. Çiller, dün gece Fransız Başbakanı Balladur ile de ikill bir görüşme yaptı.



Source: Milliyet Newspaper, 11.01.1994

Çetin: 'Atina da yardımcı olmalı'

İSTANBUL - AA

DİŞİŞLERİ Bakanı Hikmet Çetin, Kıbrıs sorununun sadece Türkiye'nin desteğiyle çözülecek bir konu olmadığını belirtti ve "Aynı desteğin, aynı anlayışın, Atina'da da olması gerekir" dedi.

Çetin, BM Genel Sekreteri Butros Gali'nin Kıbrıs Özel Temsilcisi Joe Clark ve yardımcısı Gustave Feissel ile dün sabah Çırağan Kempinski Oteli'ndeki çalışma kahvaltısında biraraya geldi. Çetin yaptığı açıklamada, Clark ve Feissel ile Kıbrıs'taki son durumu değerlendirdiklerini bildirdi.

"Bilindiği gibi şimdi güven artırıcı önlemler gündemde" diyen Çetin, KKTC Cumhurbaşkanı Rauf Denktaş'ın, Gali'ye gönderdiği mektupla, ilke olarak, güven artırıcı önlemleri kabul ettiğini, bunları görüşmeye hazır olduğunu bildirdiğini söyledi.

Çetin, şöyle konuştu: "Tabii aynı şekilde Klerides'in de böyle bir şey yapması gerekiyor ve ikisinin biraraya gelerek, güven artırıcı önlemleri görüşmesi gündemde. Bizim amacımız, Kıbrıs'ta yaşayabilir adil bir çözüm olması. Bu konuda, bundan önce olduğu gibi bundan sonra da hü-

kümet olarak Sayın Denktaş'ın çabalarına katkı yapmaya çalışacağız."

"Ankara'dan bakınca Atina'nın tutumu nasıl görünüyor?" sorusunu da Çetin şöyle yanıtladı: "Biz, Atina'nın tutumu hakkında yorum yapmak istemiyoruz. Kabul edilmesi gerekir ki, bu sadece Türkiye'nin cesaret vermesiyle, Türkiye'nin desteğiyle çözülecek bir konu değil. Aynı desteğin, aynı anlayışın Atina'da da olması gerekir."

Joe Clark da, güven artırıcı önlemler konusunda, Denktaş ve Kıbrıs Rum yönetimi lideri Klerides'in, "aynı şeyler hakkında ko-

nuştuklarından ve aynı şeyler hakkında hemfikir olduklarından emin olmak istediğini" ifade etti. Clark, Türkiye ve BM'nin görüşlerinin benzerlik taşıdığını kaydederek şunları söyledi:

"İki lider, umarım Kıbrıs görüşmelerinde getireceğimiz öneriler konusunda bana yardımcı olurlar. Türk hükümeti bize umut verici değerlendirmeler yaptı. Bu görüşme de bunun bir devamı niteliğindedir." Clark, İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya geçerek Dışişleri Müsteşarı Büyükelçi Özdem Sanberk ile görüşecek.

BM Genel Sekreteri'nin Kıbrıs Özel Temsilcisi Joe Clark ile görüşen Hikmet Çetin, sorunun çözümünde Türkiye'nin desteğinin yeterli olmayacağını belirtti

Source: Milliyet Newspaper, 29.01.1994

APPENDIX: 6

Pangalos: 'Kardak bizimdir'

Yunanistan'ın yeni Dışişleri Bakanı Pangalos, ilk basın toplantısında Türkiye'ye sivri ifadeler kullanarak geri kalmadı. Pangalos "Türkiye'nin toprağımızda gözü var" dedi.

Rumlara destek sözü

ATINA - AA

YUNANISTAN'ın yeni Başbakanı Kostas Simitis, yeni hükümet hakkında endişesi bulunmayan Kıbrıs Rum Yürütme Lideri Klerides'e bir mesaj göndererek, Atina'ya...

Rumlara, filen ve kararlı bir şekilde destek olmayı devam ettireceğini bildirdi. Simitis, mesajında, Rum Yürütme Lideri Klerides'in devanım arzladığını ve yeni Yunan hükümetinin de "Kıbrıs Kıbrıs halkına ve Rum yurtdışına, Ada'nın geleceğini teminat altına almak amacıyla, filen ve kararlı bir şekilde desteğini sürdürdüğünü" vurguladı. Bu arada Atina, Ege adalarını anlaşılabilirliği aykırı olarak silahlandırma ve askeri tesislerle donatmaya devam ediyor. Yunanistan'ın Ege'de Kıbrıs'ın karşısında bulunan Siam Adası'nda, yeni bir askeri eğitim ve atış alanı inşa ettiği ortaya çıktı. Ada'nın "Seytan" (Seytanlar) mevkinde inşa edilen atış alanının, Siam'daki askeri konumlarının emrindeki birliklerin atış eğitimi için kullanıldığı belirtildi. Siam Askeri Komutanlığı, bu bölgenin, ağır silah atış eğitim alanı olarak önceden belirlendiği ve parvelli imin de Siam II Meclisi tarafından onaylandığını kaydetti.



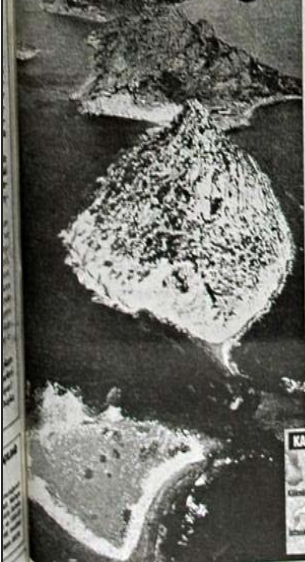
YUNANISTAN'ın yeni Dışişleri Bakanı Theodoros Pangalos, yaptığı ilk basın toplantısında Türkiye'ye dil uyarlı. Sivri ve diplomatik tonuna da plâna çıkararak Pangalos, "Türkiye'nin toprağımızda gözü var" sözünü kullandı. Baharın açıklarında bulunan ve son on yıldır iki ülkenin karşılıklı anlaşmazlığı nedeniyle olan Kardak adasının "Yunan toprağı" olduğunu savunan Pangalos, "Türkiye yıllardır Yunan toprağında gözetimi yok diye iddia etmeye çalışıyor. Oysa simdi ilk kez toprağımıza gözü olduğunu ifade ediyor" dedi.

Kardak için "Belki küçük, belki değeri bir toprak parçasıdır ama bizimdir" görüşünü savunan Pangalos, "Türk görüşü doğrudur. İyi durumda olmayan iki ülke ülkelerine de yarım etmeyecektir" diye konuştu. Pangalos Atina'nın "Yunanistan, Ege'deki tüm sorunların ele alınacağı bir münakaşeye tamamen hazır" sözündeki gelecekteki görüşünü de yinelledi. Son olarak Yunan Dışişleri'nin bu arada Türk Dışişleri'ne gönderdiği açıklamada Kardak adasının Türk değil, Yunan hakimiyetinde olduğunu yine söyledi. Hükümet Sözcüsü ve Basın Bakanı

Dimitris Peppas, Atina'nın, adanın "12 Adalar sınırları dahil olarak 1947 anlaşmasıyla İtalya'dan Yunanistan'a geçtiğini" tekerarından Yunan ordusunun, adanın bulunduğu bölgede "bu vesileyle değil, stratejik olarak" toprak durumunda olduğunu açıkladı. Yunan basınında çıkan haber ve yorumlarda, "Türkiye sorun çözümlerine çalışıyor" ifadelerine dün de yer verildi. "Türkiye, önceden planlanmış bir 'tabii peşine' diyor gıptaer. "Türkiye oldu - bitti peşine. Dikkat edin!" iddiasında bulundu. Bu arada Yunan Dışişleri Bakanı, dünki basın toplantısında Türkiye'ye karşı faahatik ifadeler kullanmaktan da çekinmedi. Pangalos, ABD Dışişleri

Bakan Yardımcısı Holbrooke'un "1986 Kıbrıs yılı olacaktır" açıklamasına yanıt verdi. Pangalos, "Kıbrıs yılı olacak ama Holbrooke'un yılı olacak mı bilmiyorum. Kıbrıs sorunu Türk - Yunan sorunu sayın çabalarla çözüme ulaşmayacaktır" dedi. Pangalos, Türkiye'de toplu insan hakları ihlalleri ve devlet terörü olduğunu da savundu. "Türk makamları gazetecileri baskı altında tutuyor" dedi. Yunan Bakan, "AB'deki ortaklarımız Türkiye'ye iyi davranmamaları için bina etmeye çalışıyor" ifadesini kullandı.

Ege'de yeni hukuk savaşı



ANKARA - MİLLİYET
TÜRKİYE ile Yunanistan arasında yıllardır Ege'nin üzerindeki, karasuları, kıta sahanlığı ve fiili hatta karasularında yaşanan hukuk sorunlarına, simdi de denizdeki kayalıkların atıfıyla sorunu eklerdi.

Sorun 27 Aralık'ta bir Türk teknosinin Yunanistan'a ait Kilmali (Kalamos) Adası ile Türk sabilii arasında kalan Kardak kayalıklarına çarpmasıyla başladı. Gemiyi kurtarmak amacıyla Türk ve Yunan kurtarma ekipleri kayalıklara girdi. Kayalıkların hangi ülkeye ait olduğu, dolayısıyla hangi ülkenin kurtarma çalışması yapması konusunda tartışma yaşandı. Bu olay üzerine, Ankara, 28 Aralık'ta Yunanistan'a bir nota vererek, Kardak kayalıklarının Türk sapa kayalıklarından sayılı olduğunu bildirdi. Atina, ise 30 Ocak'ta Türkiye'ye verdiği yanıtta, kayalıkların,

İtalya'dan devralınan adalara bağlı olduğunu, bu çerçevede, mülkiyetinin de Yunanistan'a ait olduğunu bildirdi. Bu olayla bağlantılı diğer bir gelişme ise Yunan hükümetinin Ege'deki bazı adacıkları iskana açma kararıyla yaşandı. Ankara, Yunanistan'ın iskana açma kararı aldı; yaklaşık 10 adacığın Türkiye'ye yakın olanlarından bazıların

mülkiyetinin tartışmalı olduğunu düşüncesini taşıyor. Her iki olayın temelini oluştururan sorun ise Ege'deki adaların İtalya'dan alınıp, Yunanistan'a verilmesini öngören 1947 tarihli Paris Anlaşması'nın 14 maddesinde, taraflıların belgin bir şekilde yapmamasından kaynaklanıyor. Söz konusu maddede Yunanistan'a devredilecek

adaların yanı sıra, bu adalara "bitişik" adaların da Yunanistan'a ait olduğunu kaydediyor. Dışişleri yetkilileri, Yunanistan'ın iskana açtığı adacıkları, 27 Aralık'ta meydana gelen olaya konu olan kayalıklardan, kimin ait olduğunu Paris Anlaşması'nın 14. maddesinde görüşülmesi gerektiğini savunuyor. Ankara, bu bağlamda Ege'de bir çok mülkiyet tartışmalı adacık ve kayalıkların bulunduğu, iki taraf anlaşmaya varmadan, Yunanistan'ın tek yanlı girişimlerde bulunmaması gerektiğini savunuyor.

Edinilen bilgilere göre, Ankara, Yunan hükümetinin adacıkları iskana açma ve 27 Aralık'ta meydana gelen olaydan sonra mülkiyet sorunuyla ilgili yeni bir hukuki çalışma başlattı. Bir yandan arşivlere başvururken, diğer yandan konu ulusal ve uluslararası hukukçulara inceleniyor. Ankara'nın tutumu, her iki tarafın biraraya gelerek, mülkiyet tartışmasını, karşılıklı anlaşarak sonuçlandırmak.

Yunanistan'ın, tek yanlı olarak Türkiye'nin statüsü içindeki adacıkları fiili olarak iskana açması karşısında ise konu uluslararası platforma taşınacak.

KARDAK
YUNANISTAN'ın Türkiye arasında "ice" sızan Bodrum açıklarında 3 mil uzaklıktaki Kardak adası Türk bayrağı dikildi. İzmir Altın Meclisi'nin kararıyla, Yunanistan'ın Kilmali ve Kardak adalarına 5 mil, Argos'ta ise 3 mil uzaklıktaki



ayrıkardan oluşan adaları devralınan "ice" sızan Bodrum açıklarında 3 mil uzaklıktaki Kardak adası Türk bayrağı dikildi. İzmir Altın Meclisi'nin kararıyla, Yunanistan'ın Kilmali ve Kardak adalarına 5 mil, Argos'ta ise 3 mil uzaklıktaki

'İstasyona benzedik'

Akay CEMAL - LEFKOSA

ABD Dışişleri Bakanı Yardımcısı Richard Holbrooke'un 10 Şubat'ta Kıbrıs'a yapacağı ziyaret öncesi Lefkoşa'da basın toplantısına ilişkin "mekik diplomasi" sözleri tartışıldı. Kıbrıs Cumhurbaşkanı Rauf Denktaş ve Rum Yürütme Başkanı Glafkos Klerides'in yanı sıra, Türk ve Rum sızan parti liderlerinin ekseri ziyaret etmekte olan Büyükelçi Richard Boucher, Holbrooke'un ziyaret sırasında bir Denktaş-Klerides sürve toplantısı yapılacağını, bu amaçla iki tarafın görüşmelerinde bulunacaklarını söyledi.

Denktaş, son günlerde bir çok yabancı yetkilinin kendisiyle görüşmeye potansiyeli bulunduğunu belirterek "Yeni istasyona benzedik" dedi ve baskıların daha da artacağını ifade etti.

Source: Milliyet Newspaper, 27.01.1996

APPENDIX: 7



Atina kriz çıkartıyor

Yunanistan Ege adaları konusunda sorun çıkartmaya devam ediyor. bazı Yunanlılar dün Bodrum'un karşısındaki İmia kayalığına Yunan bayrağı diktiler. Yunanlıların bu davranışları ile, adalar konusunu uluslararası tartışmaya açmayı planladığı öne sürüldü. Yunan Dışişleri Bakanı Teodoros Pangalos ise (yukarıda), Türkiye'ye karşı ön yargılı olduğunu bir kez daha gösterdi. Önceki gün düzenlediği basın toplantısında Ege Denizi'ndeki kaya parçalarından kaynaklanan olayı tesadüfi bir olay olarak niteleyen Pangalos, buna karşın, Türkiye'nin Yunan topraklarında gözü olabileceğini öne sürdü. Yunanistan Dışişleri Bakanı Teodoros Pangalos, Türkiye'nin, Ege'de ortak yönetim ve ortak işletme peşinde olduğunu belirterek, "Ankara, Atina'yı herşeyin görüşüleceği bir müzakere masasına sürüklemeye çalışıyor" dedi. Pangalos, özel bir radyo kanalına yaptığı açıklamada, kayalık krizine değinerek, "Endişeliyim. Çünkü Türkler, hiçbir şeyi rastgele yapmazlar" diye konuştu. Türkler'i, özellikle bu kayalığın ilgilendirmediğini öne süren Pangalos, "Hedefleri, Ege'de tüm kayalıklar ve ıssız adacıklar için, iki ülke arasında müzakereler yapılmasıdır. Bizi bu tür bir müzakereye sürüklemek gayreti içindedirler" dedi. Yunan basınının abarttığı kaya parçalarından kaynaklanan sorunun Atina tarafından kapatıldığını belirten Pangalos, "Umarım Türkiye de aynı akli selimi gösterir" şeklinde konuştu. Siyasi gözlemciler, Atina yönetiminin, Türkiye'deki hükümet boşluğundan yararlanma peşinde olduğuna ve bu yüzden her konuyu uluslararası platformlara taşımaya hazırladığına dikkat çekiyorlar.

Stelyo Berberakis / Atina

Source: Sabah Newspaper, 28.01.1996

APPENDIX: 8

YUNAN GENELKURMAY BAŞKANI TÜRKİYE İLE SAVAŞABİLİRİZ

Yunanistan Genelkurmay Başkanı General **Atanasios Zoganis**, Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasındaki bir savaşın ihtimal dışı olmadığını söyledi.

Rusya gezisini tamamlayan Yunan Generali, İzvestia gazetesine yaptığı açıklamalarda, Türkiye'nin Yunanistan ve Kıbrıs'ın güvenliğini tehdit ettiğini öne sürerek küçük bir kıvılcımın Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında büyük bir savaşa yol açmasının mümkün olduğunu belirtti. Türk savaş uçaklarının hemen hemen her gün Yunanistan ve Kıbrıs hava sahasını ihlal ettiğini iddia eden Zoganis "Günün birinde Türk savaş uçakları hava sahamızı ihlal ettiği sırada aramızda çıkabilecek küçük bir çatışma büyük krize, savaşa dönüşebilir. Yunanistan ve Türkiye iki NATO ülkesi olmasına rağmen aramızda savaş çıkma tehlikesi var" dedi. Moskova'da Rus askeri yetkilileriyle yaptığı temaslar hakkında da bilgi veren Zoganis "S-300 füzelerini gördünüz mü?" şeklindeki bir soruya "Evet. Yunanistan hava sahasını kontrol altında tutmak için en güçlü ve etkin silahlara sahip olmak istiyor. Yakında uluslararası ihale açacağız. S-300 füzeleri satın almak istediğimiz silahlardan biri" karşılığını verdi.

Source: Hurriyet Newspaper, 30.08.1997

APPENDIX: 9

TÜRKİYE'YE KISKAÇ

Rusya ile Yunanistan'ın Ege Denizi'nde başlattığı ortak hava tatbikatı, Türkiye'nin doğu ve güneyinden sonra batıdan da kısıka alınma tehlikesini getirdi.

Ege'deki Rus-Yunan ortak tatbikatı Türkiye'nin güvenliği tartışmalarını gündeme getirirken, Rus ve Yunan hükümetlerinden ilginç açıklamalar geldi. Yunanistan hükümeti, tatbikat konusunda yaptığı açıklamada Rus-Yunan ortak tatbikatlarının, geçen yıl Rusya ile imzaladığı askeri işbirliği anlaşması çerçevesinde bulunduğunu ve "Türkiye ya da başka bir ülkeye herhangi bir mesaj vermek olmadığını" söyledi. Tatbikata Rusya'nın en gözde savaş uçaklarından ikişer çift SU-27 ve SU-30 jetleri ile İlyuşin tipi bir nakliye uçağı katılıyor. Çift kabinli Rus uçaklarının 4 pilotu ile Yunan Mirage uçaklarının pilotları tatbikatlara dönüşümlü olarak katılacaklar. Rus ve Yunan pilotlar, "olası hava taaruzlarına karşı püskürtme operasyonları, hedef vurmak ve kimlik tespit etmek" gibi ortak tatbikatlar yapacaklar.

Atina'daki siyasi gözlemciler, geçen yıl Yunan hava kuvvetleri komutanı Yeorgos Andonetsis'in Moskova'da Rus Hava Kuvvetleriyle imzaladığı askeri işbirliği anlaşmasının Türk-Yunan gerginliği döneminde yapıldığını anımsatarak bugünkü tatbikatların Türkiye'ye "siyasi mesaj" olduğuna dikkat çektiler.

Rusya'dan ilginç açıklama

Öte yandan Rus ve Yunan uçaklarının Ege'de tatbikat yaptığı saatlerde, Rusya Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü, "Bu konuda bilgim yok" diyerek açıklama yapmaktan kaçındı. Moskova, tatbikatı Rus basınından da gizledi. Rus ve Yunan savaş uçaklarının Ege Denizi'nde tatbikata başladığı saatlerde açıklama yapan Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü Gennadi Tarasov, "Bu konuda bilgi sahibi değilim. Onun için birşey söyleyemem" demekle yetindi. Rus gazetelerine, savaş uçaklarının tatbikat için değil, satış prezantasyonu için Yunanistan'a gideceği bilgisi verildi.

Türkiye ittifaklar arasında

Kıbrıs Rum yönetimi'ne S-300 füzesi satışı yapan Rusya Soğuk Savaş'tan sonra çekildiği Akdeniz'e geri dönmek istediğini gösterdi. Ermenistan ile askeri işbirliği anlaşması yaparak ağır silahlarını Türkiye sınırına yakın bölgelere konuşlandırdı. Son olarak da Yunanistan ile Ege Denizi'nde ortak tatbikat yapıyor. Türkiye'nin İsrail ile yaptığı askeri işbirliği anlaşmasının hemen ardından güney ve doğu komşularımız Suriye ile İran bir askeri ittifak anlaşması içine girdiler. Birbirlerine sınırlarını kapatan Suriye ile Irak karşılıklı olarak sınır kapılarını açtılar ve her alanda ilişkilerini geliştirmeye çalışıyorlar. Bunun yanında Suriye, savaş yıllarından beri ilişkileri düzelmeyen İran ile Irak'ı da barıştırıp, Türkiye-İsrail ittifakına karşı yeni bir ittifak kurma çalışmalarını yürütüyor.

Bu arada Rusya ile Suriye'nin, Rusya'daki bir hava üsünde 20-27 Eylül tarihleri arasında hava tatbikatı yapacakları bildirildi. Tatbikatta Suriyeli askerlere füze ateşleme eğitimi verilecek. Rus savunma Bakanlığı'nın açıklamasında tatbikatın hava savunma amaçlı olduğu belirtilirken S-200 füzelerinin kullanılacağını, bu füzelerin, havadan gelen hedeflere ateşleneceğini belirtildi. Kullanılacak S-200 füzeleri, S-300'ün bir önceki modeli ve daha kısa menzillisi olarak biliniyor. Rusya S-300 füzelerini bu ülkeye satmak için pazarlıklarını sürdürüyor.

Azerbaycan'ın iddiası

Rusya batı ve güneyden kısıpca aldığı Türkiye'yi doğudan da Ermenistan ile kurduğu ittifak ile tehdit ediyor. Ermenistan ile geçtiğimiz haftalarda imzaladığı Dostluk, İşbirliği ve Karşılıklı Yardım Antlaşması'ndan sonra Rusya'nın ağır silahlarının Ermenistan'ın Türkiye sınırına yakın bölgelere konuşlandığı öğrenildi.

Öte yandan Azerbaycan Dışişleri Bakanı Hasan Hasanov "Ermenistan her ne kadar nükleer silah sahibi ülkeler listesinde değilse de, elimizde Ermenistan'ın nükleer başlık edindiğini gösteren kanıtlar bulunuyor" dedi, ancak, bu başlıkların nereden geldiğini belirtmedi.

Bu arada NATO'nun, Ege tatbikatında Yunanistan'ın isteklerini kabul etmesi üzerine, Türkiye ilk kez hemen karasuları yakınında yapılacak olan bir NATO ortak tatbikatına katılmıyor.

Source: Sabah Newspaper, 17. 09.1997

APPENDIX: 10

ATINADAN BOĞAZLAR TEHDİTİ

Yunanistan Savunma Bakanı Cuhacopulos, Türkiye'nin adaların silahlandırılmasını Lahey Adalet Divanı'na götürmesi halinde, Atina'nın Boğazların silahlardan arınması için Divana başvuracağı tehdidini savurdu. Cuhacopulos Türkiye'yi Montrö Sözleşmesini ihlal etmekle suçladı.

Yunanistan Savunma Bakanı **Akis Cuhacopulos**, Dışişleri Bakanı **İsmail Cem**'in adaların silahlandırılmasına karşı çıkan açıklamalarına sert yanıt verdi ve Türkiye'yi bu kez Boğazlar için tehdit etti.

Türkiye'nin **S-300** füzelerini vurmasını “**savaş nedeni**” sayacaklarını açıklayarak, bir anda krizi tırmandıran Yunan Savunma Bakanı, dün de Ankara ile Atina arasında başlayan söz düellosunu sertleştiren ve gerginliği tırmandıran bir açıklama daha yaptı.

Cuhacopulos, Türkiye'nin adaların silahlandırılmasını Lahey Adalet Divanı'na götürmesi halinde, Yunanistan'ın da, Boğazlar'ın silahlardan arındırılması için Divan'a başvuracağını açıkladı.

Boğazlar'dan geçen gemileri kontrol eden Türkiye'yi, “**Montrö Sözleşmesi'ni ihlal etmekle**” suçlayan Yunanlı Bakan, şöyle konuştu:

“Türkiye, Yunan adalarının silahlandırılması konusuna değinmeye kalkışmasın. O zaman Yunanistan da, Boğazlar'ın askerden ve silahlardan arındırılmasını isteyecektir. Çünkü, uluslararası sözleşmeleri ihlal ederek Boğazlar'da asker bulundurmaktadır. Boğazlar'dan geçişin serbest olması gerekir. Bunu sadece Yunanistan değil, tüm ülkeler istiyor.”

Türkeyi'yi bölgede gerginlik yaratmak ve istikrarı bozmakla da suçlayan **Cuhacopulos**, Türkiye'nin bölgede büyük güç olduğunu kanıtlamaya çalıştığını öne sürdü.

Yunan Savunma Bakanı, Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği (AB) yolunun Yunanistan'dan geçtiğini de savunarak, “**Türkiye bunu unutmamalıdır**” diye konuştu.

S-300 krizinin tırmanmasıyla gözler yeniden Kıbrıs'a çevrilirken, Yunanistan ile Kıbrıs Rum yönetiminin ekim ayı ortasında ortaklaşa yapacakları “**Nikiforos**” tatbikatı da, Ada'daki gerginliği artırıyor.

Washington, gerginliğin daha da artmasını önlemek için, Atina ve Lefkoşe nezdinde girişimlerini sürdürüyor. **S-300**'lerin Ada'ya yerleştirilmesine karşı çıkan **Clinton** yönetimi, **Nikiforos** tatbikatının iptal edilmesini istedi. Ancak Yunan Savunma Bakanı, Washington'un talebini geri çevirerek, manevraların planlanan tarihte yapılacağını açıkladı.

S-300 füzeleri ve tatbikat nedeniyle patlak veren gerginliğin önümüzdeki günlerde daha da tırmanması bekleniyor..

Füze uyarısı: "Rumların çılgınlığını engelleyin"

Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Kıbrıs Rum yönetiminin S-300 füzelerini Ada'ya konuşlandırma girişimlerinden duyduğu endişeyi ve komşu ülkelerin sahip olduğu füzelerin Türkiye'ye yönelik tehlike boyutlarını hükümete aktaracak. Genelkurmay'da yarın verilecek brifingle, Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri'nin füze tehditine karşı ve özellikle Rumlar'ın füze alma girişimlerine karşı geliştirdiği önlemler de anlatılacak.

Source: Hürriyet Newspaper, 10.09.1997

APPENDIX: 11

S300 KRİZİ DORUKTA ()

ABD, S - 300 füze krizinde Türkiye'ye arka çıkıp Atina ve Lefkoşa'ya yoğun baskı uygularken, Yunanistan füzeler konusunda büyük bir pazarlık başlattı. Atina, geri adım atmak için Ada'nın askerden arındırılmasını şart koşuyor.

Rumların Rusya'dan satın aldığı S-300 füzeleri Ege'de savaş rüzgarları estiren, füzelerin Ada'ya yerleştirilmesine karşı çıkan Türkiye'ye ABD'den destek geldi. Washington, Atina ve Lefkoşa'ya yoğun baskı uygularken, Yunanistan S-300'lere karşı Ada'nın askerden arındırılması konusunda büyük bir pazarlık başlattı.

S-300 füze krizi, Yunanistan Başbakanı **Kostas Simitis**'in Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs'da statükonun değiştirilmesi yönünde atacağı bir adımı savaş nedeni sayacakları ve adanın silahlardan arındırılması gerektiği yolundaki açıklamasıyla yeniden tırmandı. Ayrıca askeri tansiyonu düşürmek isteyen ABD baskıları sonucu, geçen yıldan beri Kıbrıs'a savaş uçakları göndermeyen Atina, S-300'ler konusunda sert uyarılar yapan Türkiye'ye misilleme için bu kararını askıya aldı. Yunan savaş uçakları bu ay sonunda Rum Milli Muhafız Ordusu ile birlikte yapılacak Nikiforos Tatbikatı'na katılacaklar.

İki ülke arasındaki tansiyonun giderek yükselmesi üzerine Washington devreye girdi. Atina ve Lefkoşa'yı geri adım atmaya zorlayan ABD Yönetimi bir yandan da Rusya'dan satışı durdurmasını istedi. ABD Başkanı **Bill Clinton**'un Kıbrıs Özel Temsilcisi **Richard Holbrooke** danışmanı **Ron Miller**'ı, Atina, Lefkoşa ve Atina'ya gönderdi.

Öte yandan Yunan Savunma Bakanı Akis Çohacopoulos, 'Türkiye Ege adalarının silahsızlandırılmasında ısrar ederse biz de Boğazlar'ın silahlardan arındırılmasını isteyebiliriz' dedi.

Source :Hurriyet Newspaper, 09.09.1997

APPENDIX: 12

SİLAHLARA TÜRKİYE KILIFI

YUNANİSTAN Genelkurmay Başkanı Afanasios Zoganis, Türkiye'nin olası bir saldırısına karşı dünyada üretilen en iyi silahlara sahip olmak istediklerini söyledi. Resmi bir ziyaret için Rusya'ya gelen Zoganis, İzvestiya gazetesine yaptığı açıklamada, Yunanistan'la Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi'ne Türkiye'den yönelik bir tehditin bulunup bulunmadığı yolundaki soruyu şöyle yanıtladı:"Türk savaş uçakları hergün Ege'de ve Kıbrıs çevresinde hava sahasını ihlal ediyor. Buna bir son vermek gerekiyor. Havadaki küçük bir olay, büyük bir çatışmaya dönüşebilir. Çok dikkatli ve uyanık olmamız gerekiyor. Yani, Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın NATO üyesi olmasına karşın, potansiyel düşmanın (Türkiye) saldırısı olasılık dışı değil." Moskova'daki temasları sırasında SU - 27 MİG - 29 savaş uçaklarıyla S - 300 füzelerini de inceleme fırsatı bulduğunu belirten Zoganis, füzeler için uluslararası ihale açacaklarını yineledi ve " S - 300'e benzer sistemler almak istiyoruz. Şu anda bu tip füzeler değişik ülkeler tarafından üretiliyor. İhaleyi S- 300 de kazanabilir. Yunanistan, tehlikeyi en aza indirmek için dünyada üretilen en iyi silahları almak istiyor" dedi. Zoganis, Yunanistan'ın önümüzdeki 10 yılda silahlanmaya 17 milyar dolar ayırdığı haberlerinin ise gerçeği yansıtmadığını savundu.

Source: Milliyet Newspaper,30.08.1997

APPENDIX:13

YUNAN BANKALARI PKK KASASI)

ABDULLAH Öcalan'ın yakalanmasından sonra teröre verdiği destek nedeniyle uluslararası platformda maskesi düşen Yunanistan'la kucak açtığı PKK arasında patlak veren kavga sayesinde, Yunanistan - PKK ilişkisi konusunda bugüne kadar gizli kalmış bazı gerçekler de odaya çıkıyor. Aşırı milliyetçi Yunan gazetesi Stohos'ta dün yayınlanan "Kürtlerin hesapları bloke edilsin" başlıklı makale, PKK'nın Yunan bankalarında "milyonlarca drahmilik" hesabı bulunduğun itirafı niteliğindedir. Diğer yandan Öcalan'ın yakalanmasından sonra görevden alınan Yunan gizli servisi EIP'in eski Başkanı Stavrakakis, bölücübaşının sekreteri Şemse Kılıç'ı mahkemeye verdi. Stohos'taki makale, Yunanistan'ın PKK'nın "kasası" durumunda olduğunu ortaya çıkardı. PKK'nın parasının bloke edilmesi için Yunan "özel servislerinin" göreve çağrıldığı yazıda, şöyle denildi: "Beyanlatlarıyla tahrik eden Kürt kadın Dilan, PKK'nın muhteris başkanı ve milyonlarca Drahmilik hesapların müşterek yöneticisidir. Bütün ömrünü diğer iki kadınla birlikte Öcalan'ın şahsi muhafızı olarak geçiren ve Atina'nın bir otelinde, hoşgörümüzü, taraftarlarına sert olduğunu inandırmak için kullanan, Yunan kamuoyunun hoşgörüsünü istismar eden Dilan'ın rolü, özel servislerimiz tarafından bilinmektedir. Servislerimizin, Dilan'ın ve başka Kürtlerin adına bankalara yatırılmış bütün hesapları hemen bloke etmeleri gerekir. Dilan'ın çok yakında hesaplarını düzenlemek için kısa zamanda Yunanistan'dan gideceğini kaydediyoruz. Unutmayın; Stohos her zaman ne yazdığını bilmektedir." Öcalan'ın yakalanmasının ardından görevden alınan Stavrakakis, Kanal 5 TV'ye açıklamasında "Mesnetsiz olarak beni suçlayan Dilan kod adlı PKK'lıyı mahkemeye verdim" dedi. PASOK Milletvekili Kosmas Firiu da Kılıç'ın hükümete yönelik suçlamalarına tep ki göstererek Mega TV'ye şunları söyledi: "Öcalan'ın kız arkadaşı ve sekreteri Dilan'ın verdiği beyanati şiddetle kınıyorum. Bu sözleriyle kendilerine kucak açan ülkemize ve Başbakanımıza hakaret etmekle kalmamış, nankörlüğüyle Kürtlerin davasından da dışlanmıştı. Böylesine kritik bir operasyonla onu Afrika'dan kurtarıp ülkemize getirip, bir bakan gibi karşılayarak misafir ederken, Başbakanımıza

böyle ithamlarda bulunması ve kendi lisanı yerine Türkçe konuşması affedilemez.
Kürtlerin kendi çıkarları için Yunanistan'ı alet etmeleri doğru olamaz."

Source: Milliyet Newspaper,08.06.1999

APPENDIX: 14

PANGOLOS HESAP VERİYOR)

Bakanlığı boyunca Türkiye'ye sürekli sataşan Pangalos, Apo olayındaki etkin rolü yüzünden savcılıkta ifade verdi

Abdullah Öcalan'ın Yunanistan'da yarattığı siyasi kriz her geçen gün tırmanıyor. İstifa etmeyeceğini açıklayan Başbakan Simitis, Apo belasını başına saranların hepsinden hesap sormaya kararlı görünüyor. Bakanlığı boyunca Türk düşmanlığını dilinden düşürmeyen ve Apo olayı yüzünden görevden alınan Dışişleri eski Bakanı Theodoros Pangalos, önceki gece gizlice sorgu savcılığına giderek ifade verdi. Savcılık Öcalan olayına adı karıştığı için görevinden alınan Yunan İstihbarat Örgütü eski başkanı Dimitris Stavrakakisi de sorguladı. Apo'nun Atina'daki bir başka kurbanı da Atina havaalanı resmi kabul görevlisi Stefanos Evangelatos oldu. Yunan Adalet Bakanı Yanopoulos "Bu adam nasıl Kürt halkının kurtuluş lideri olabilir. Ben yıllarca direniş ordusunda görev yaptım. Hiç 3 kadınla birlikte hiç bilmediği, tanımadığı insanlara güvenen lider görmedim" dedi.

Source:Sabah Newspaper,25.02.1999

APPENDIX: 15

ATINA: APO'YU UZAYA MI YOLLASAYDIK?)

ATİNA'da Abdullah Öcalan fiyaskosunun yarattığı kriz, PKK liderini Kenya'daki evinde 12 gün barındıran Yunanistan Büyükelçisi'nin raporuyla daha da tırmandı.

Yunanistan Hükümet Sözcüsü Dimitris Reppas, Öcalan'ın ülkesine yasadışı yollardan girdiğini belirterek, "Oldu bittiyle karşı karşıyaydık. Hiçbir ülke istemiyordu. Ne yapsaydık, uzaya mı fırlatsaydık?" dedi. Rapas, hükümetin Öcalan'a insani yardımda bulunmak istediğini görüşünde ısrar ederken, "Hatalı davrandık, üç bakan istifa etti" diye konuştu.

Yunanistan Dışişleri Bakanı Yorgo Papandreu ise Ta Nea Gazetesi'ne verdiği demeçte Ankara'yla Atina arasındaki krizin, soğukkanlı davranılarak aşılabileceği kanısında olduğunu belirtti. Yunanistan'ın barışçı bir ülke olduğunu, Türkiye'yle işbirliği istediğini kaydeden Papandreu, "Umarım gerginlik azalır ve en azından önceki atmosfere geri dönülür" dedi.

Ülkesinin terörü desteklemediğini öne süren Papandreu, "PKK, bu ülkede yasal bir örgüt değildir. Eğer Kürtleri terörist olarak adlandırarak Kürt sorununu çözeceksek, biz bunu yapan ilk ülke olurduk. Korkarım ki bu tür nitelermelerde ısrarlı olmak gerçek sorunun gözardı edilmesine yol açıyor" diye konuştu.

Source: Milliyet Newspaper, 09.06.1999,

APPENDIX: 16

YUNAN'A VİZE

Bebek katili Apo'yu barındıran, PKK'ya destek verdiği kesinleşen Yunanistan'a Türkiye'den vize geliyor. Böylece 8'inci Cumhurbaşkanı Turgut Özal'ın başbakanlığı döneminde başlayan vizesiz uygulama sona eriyor.

Türkiye, Yunanistan'a karşı başlattığı yeni politika çerçevesinde bu ülke vatandaşlarına yeniden vize uygulamasına geçmeye hazırlanıyor. Bu amaçla, Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın Yunan vatandaşlarına tekrar vize uygulanması yönünde çalışmasını tamamladığı ve Bakanlar Kurulu'nun imzasını beklediği öğrenildi.

Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nda dün yapılan değerlendirme toplantısında Yunanistan'a vize uygulanması konusunda fikir birliğine varıldığı ve konunun önümüzdeki günlerde devletin zirvesinde de değerlendirileceği belirtildi. Dışişleri'nin Yunanistan'a tekrar vize konması konusunda yaptığı teknik alt yapı çalışmasını tamamladığı ve siyasi mekanizmadan onay beklediği ifade edildi.

VİZE, ÖZAL'LA KALKMIŞTI

Türkiye, 1985 yılında **Turgut Özal**'ın Başbakanlığı döneminde Yunan vatandaşlarına uyguladığı vizeyi kaldırmıştı. Yunanistan ise Türk vatandaşlarına vize uygulamasına ara vermemiş ve AB çerçevesinde getirilen Schengen sisteminde de Türkiye'ye ayrı bir sistem isteyerek vizenin zorlaştırılmasını savunmuştu. Bu konuları da göz önüne alan Dışişleri'nin Yunanistan'a izlenecek yeni politika paralelinde bu karara vardığı belirtiliyor.

ABD'DEN ATİNA'YA SORGU

Ankara'da bu gelişmeler olurken, Washington da Atina'nın teröre verdiği desteği kesmek için baskısını artırıyor. Bu amaçla ABD'nin Yunanistan'a bu ülkede bulunan Lavrion ve diğer PKK kamplarının derhal kapatılması konusunda sert bir uyarıda bulunduğu belirtildi. Bu isteğin resmen ABD yönetim tarafından diplomatik

kanallardan Atina'ya iletildiđi ve 1 Mart'a kadar bu kampların kapatılmasının istendiđi Ankara'daki kulislerde konuřuluyor.

Source: Hürriyet Newspaper,25.02.1999

APPENDIX: 17

KOMŞUDAN AVRUPA DERSİ

Yunan hükümet sözcülüğü, Yunanistan'ın ölüm cezalarına karşı olan bir ülke olarak Abdullah Öcalan'a verilen ölüm cezasına katılmadığını açıkladı.

Hükümet sözcüsü Dimitris Reppas'ın yardımcısı Yannis Nikolau, Türkiye'nin Avrupa ülkesi olarak Avrupa'da geçerli olan kurallara uyması gerektiğinden söz etti ve tüm Avrupa'da olduğu gibi Türkiye'de de ölüm cezasının kaldırılması gerektiğine dikkati çekti. Kürt sorununun bundan sonra nasıl bir yörüngeye gireceği yolundaki soruları ise Nikolau, "Türkiye'nin bir iç sorunudur ve bu sorunu demokratik ilkelere ve insan haklarına saygı çerçevesinde çözümü aranmalıdır" şeklinde yanıtladı.

Yunan basını da Öcalan'ın ölüm cezasının beklentilerin arasında bulunduğunu belirtti. Yapılan yorumlarda, "Cezanın infazı alınacak siyasi karara bağlı" denildi.

Source: Sabah Newspaper ,30.06.1999,

APPENDIX: 18

PAPANDREU: YUNAN VETOSU KALKABİLİR

Yunan Dışişleri Bakanı **Yorgo Papandreu**, AB'nin Türkiye'ye mali yardımını donduran ve mali protokolün uygulanmasını engelleyen vetoyu gelecek ay kaldırabileceklerini açıkladı.

Önceki günkü kabine toplantısından sonra **Papandreu**, gazetecilere 'Yaklaşımımız, itirazlarımız değişmedi. Dönem başkanı Finlandiya'nın Saariselka kentinde 4-5 Eylül'de AB Dışişleri Bakanları toplanıyor. Herşey gelişmelere, AB'de ağır basacak görüşlere bağlı. Türkiye'yi vuran korkunç depremden sonra AB yardımının miktarı ele alınacak ve bu arada vetonun kaldırılması gündeme gelebilir. Ancak kesin konuşmak için henüz çok erken. AB, Kürtlerin durumu, insani ve sosyal hakların geliştirilmesi gibi şartlar içeren bir paket hazırlamalı. Türkiye bu paketi kabul ederse, Yunanistan da destek veren ilk ülkeler arasında yer alacaktır. Şartlar yerine getirilirse Atina'nın vetosu kalkacaktır' dedi.

Ezeli düşmanlığı bir kenara itip depremin ilk anından itibaren Türkiye'ye yardım için seferber olan Yunanistan bağış kampanyaları, kurtarma ekipleri, acil yardım malzemeleriyle Ankara'nın yanında yer aldı. Avrupa Komisyonu geçen hafta depremzedelere 2 milyon euro (2 milyon dolar) insani yardım göndereceğini duyurmuştu. AB ile imzalanan 375 milyon ecu'luk (197 trilyon) mali protokol, Yunanistan'ın, iki ülke ilişkilerinde iyi niyet ve tavır değişikliği şartları nedeniyle yürürlüğe girememişti. Yunan vetosu, Ankara'ya mali yardımı da donduruyor.

Source :Hürriyet Newspaper, 22.08.1999,

APPENDIX: 19

ATINA BELEDİYE BAŞKANI: YANINIZDA OLMAK MUTLULUK VERİYOR Depremden sonra Türkiye'ye karşı sıcak tavırlarıyla dikkat çeken Yunanistan'ın Atina Belediyesi Başkanı Dimitris Avramopoulos, felaketzedelere yapılacak yardım için dün İstanbul'a geldi. Türk insanının acılarına ortak olmaya çalıştıklarını ve bunun kalıcı bir barış için başlangıç olmasını dileyen Avramopoulos, "Sizin yanınızda olmak, bize Yunan halkına mutluluk veriyor" dedi. Deprem bölgelerinde incelemelerde bulunmak ve Yunanistan'daki beş büyük belediyenin felaketzedelere yapacağı yardım konusunu görüşmek üzere özel uçakla İstanbul'a gelen Avramopoulos ve beraberindeki Yunan heyeti, Atatürk Havalimanı'nda İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Ali Müfit Görtuna tarafından karşılandı. Konuşmasına "Sizin yanınızda olmak, bize Yunan halkına mutluluk veriyor" diyerek başlayan Avramopoulos, Türkiye için Yunanistan'da başlattıkları kampanyanın ardından Yunan halkının bu kampanyaya büyük destek vermesinin gözleri yaşarttığını söyledi. Avramopoulos'u, "Karagün dostu" olarak niteleyen Görtuna, Yunanistan'ın verdiği bu desteğin iki halkın ve ülkeleri yönetenlerin yakınlaşmasına vesile olmasını diledi.

Source: Milliyet Newspaper , 26.08.1999

APPENDIX: 20

SÜNGÜ YOK

İzmir'in kurtuluş töreninde, bu yıl ilk kez düşman denize dökülmedi

Depremle gelen Türk-Yunan dostluk rüzgarı, İzmir'in kurtuluşu törenlerine de yansıdı. 76 yıldır her yıl tekrarlanan ve Yunan Bayrağı taşıyan askerın süngülenerek Ege'ye atılması “temsili sahnesi” yaşanmadı. Çünkü Yunanistan artık “dostumuz ve komşumuz”.

Türk Dışışleri'nin resmi söylemine bile yansıyan deprem sonrası Yunanistan'la oluşan dostluk havası, bu kez de kendisini İzmir'in düşman işgalinden kurtuluşunun yıldönümü törenlerinde gösterdi.

Önceki gün, Dışışleri Bakanlığı Sözcü Yardımcısı **Sermet Atacanlı**'nın Yunanistan'dan ilk kez “**dostumuz ve komşumuz**” olarak bahsetmesinin ardından, komşuya bir jest de dün İzmir'den geldi.

Ege Denizi'nin iki yakasında depremle birlikte esmeye başlayan dostluk rüzgarları, çünkü İzmir'in düşman işgalinden kurtuluş törenlerine yansıdı. 76 yıldır her törende tekrarlanan temsili Yunan askerlerini '**süngüleme**' sahnesi, bu yıl 77'nci kez yapılan kurtuluş töreninde kaldırıldı. Törende yapılan konuşmalarda, Türk- Yunan dostluğu dile getirildi.

Cumhuriyet Meydanı'nda Vali **Kemal Nehrozoğlu**, Ege Ordu Komutanı Orgeneral **Çetin Doğan**, Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı **Ahmet Piriştina**, ilçe belediye başkanları, il müdürleri ve çok sayıda vatandaşın katıldığı tören, Atatürk Anıtı'na çelenk koyulmasıyla başladı.

17 Ağustos'da meydana gelen deprem felaketi nedeniyle buruk geçen kutlama töreninde, 77 yıl sonra bir ilk yaşandı. Her yıl Cumhuriyet Meydanı'nda askerlerin geçişi sırasında Mehmetçiğin elinde bayrak yerde yatan Yunan askerini süngülemesi

canlandırılırken, bu yıl böyle tabloya rastlanmadı. Daha önceki yıllarda, kurtuluş törenini izleyenler en çok bu sahneyi alkışlıyordu.

Böylesine sahnelerin tekrarlanmamasının, Ege'nin iki yakasında iki komşu olan, deprem felaketlerinde inanılmaz bir dayanışma örneği veren Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasındaki dostluk rüzgarının daha bir anlamlı estireceğine inanılıyor.

Türkiye'deki 17 Ağustos felaketinden sonra deprem bölgesine kurtarma ekipleri, tonlarca yardım malzemesi gönderen, yardım kampanyaları düzenleyen ve Hürriyet aracılığıyla verdiği ilanla Türk halkının gösterdiği ilgiye teşekkür eden Yunanistan, Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanı'nı, Türk Deniz Kuvvetleri eski Komutanı Oramiral **Salim Dervişoğlu**'nun veda törenine göndermişti. Ayrıca bir Yunan firkateyni de Türk Deniz Üssü'ndeki törenlere katılmıştı.

Üç gün önce de Yunanistan'da bir deprem meydana gelmiş ve Türkiye de yardıma koşan ülkelerin en ön sırasında yer almıştı. Türkiye, AKUT'tan oluşan kurtarma ekipleri ile yardım malzemelerini askeri uçaklarla Atina'ya sevketmişti.

Hürriyet'e Türkiye'nin Yunanistan ile yakınlaşmasını ve İzmir'deki son jesti değerlendiren Ankara'daki üst düzey yetkililer, “**İzmir'de hiçbir yerel yetkiliye kutlamalarda ‘Atina'ya bir jest yapalım’ şeklinde başkentten bir talimat gitmemiştir. Zaten, şimdi olduğu gibi olumlu hava, dayatmalarla değil, insanların içinden gelmesi ile oluşur. İzmir'deki de bunun örneğidir**” diye konuştu.

Bir başka üst düzey yetkili ise iki ülkenin başına gelen felaketlerden sonra karşılıklı yardım seferberliklerine de dikkat çekerek, “**Ortada ilginç bir durum oluşmuştur. Bilinen sözün aksine, son gelişmelerle, Türkiye ile Yunanistan birbirinin kötü gün dostu, iyi gün düşmanı gibi olmuştur**” dedi.

Dostluğa yelkenUNESCO, Avrupa Komisyonu Gençlik Direktörlüğü, Avrupa Gençliği Kuzey Güney programı, Avrupa Gençlik Forumu ve İzci Hareketi Dünya Teşkilatı'nın ortaklaşa düzenledikleri ‘**barış gezisi**’ne katılan 24 genç, dün İstanbul'a geldi. 20 Akdeniz ülkesinden 96 gencin, 24'lü gruplar halinde 4 etapta

gerçekleřtirdikleri gezi, İstanbul-Pire etabıyla bitecek. Gençler, demir attıkları limanlarda 2000'in '**Uluslararası Barış Kültürü Yılı**' ilan edilmesini de tanıtıyor ve destekliyorlar.

Türkiye İzcileri Federasyonu Yönetim Kurulu ve Dış İlişkiler Önderi **Savaş Baran**, gençlerin gemi hayatında tüm işleri paylaşarak, dostluklarını pekiřtirdiklerini söyledi. Barış Gezisi'nin Proje Menajeri Belçikalı **Richard Amalvy** de ülkeler arasındaki birlik ve beraberlięi güçlendirmeyi amaçladıklarını belirterek, "**bu kuşaktan kuşaęa geçecek bir eğitim. Lübnan'lı Filistinli, Kıbrıslı (Rum kesimi), Türk gençler bir aradalar. Birbirlerine yardım ediyor, birbirlerinden özür diliyorlar**" dedi

Source:Hürriyet Newspaper,10.09.1999

APPENDIX: 21

DOSTLUĞA İMZA

38 yıl sonra Türkiye'ye gelen ilk Yunan Dışişleri Bakanı olan Papandreu Ankara'da büyük kabul gördü. İki ülke arasında dört anlaşma imzalandı.

Komşuyla sıcak ilişkiler

İmzalanan anlaşmalar Turizm, Çevre, Yatırımların Karşılıklı Teşviki ve Korunması, Terörizm, Örgütlü Suç, Yasadışı Göç ve Uyuşturucu Kaçakçılığıyla Mücadele Anlaşması olarak açıklandı.

Askeri alanda işbirliği

İki ülke silahlı kuvvetleri ortak tatbikatlar düzenleyecek. Gemiler karşılıklı olarak liman ziyaretleri yapacak, uçuşlar artık silahsız olacak.

Ecevit'ten Simitis'e davet

Başbakan Ecevit, Yunanistan Dışişleri Bakanı Papandreu'yu kabulü sırasında, Yunanistan Başbakanı Kostas Simitis'e resmi davette bulundu.

AB için çalışma grubu

Yunanistan, AB adaylığından üyeliğe geçişte tecrübe ve yardımlarını Türkiye'ye aktaracak. Bu amaçla çalışma grubu kurulacak. **16'da**

ATİNA'DAN 3 SPOR ÖNERİSİ

2008 Avrupa Futbol Şampiyonası'nı 2 ülke ortak düzenlesin.

Olimpiyat çerçevesinde iki ülke ortak barış oyunları düzenlesin.

2004 Atina Olimpiyatları'nda Türkiye kültürel katkıda bulunsun.

Atina ile tarihi dönem

Ortak tatbikatlar, silahsız uçuşlar, liman ziyaretleri yapılacak

Dört yeni anlaşma imzalandı

Ecevit Simitis'i davet etti

AB üyeliği için Türk-Yunan çalışma grubu kurulacak

Papandreu, 2008 Avrupa Futbol Şampiyonasını ortak düzenlemeyi önerdi

YUNANİSTAN Dışişleri Bakanı **Yorgo Papandreu**'nun dün gerçekleşen Ankara ziyareti ile Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinde turizmden askeri alana dek yeni kapılar açan tarihi bir dönemin temelleri atıldı. Ankara ve Atina, sorunların aşılması için çalışma grupları kurulması konseptine dayalı bir çok ortak girişim başlatma yoluna gidiyor.

Önceki gün Ankara'ya gelen Yunan Dışişleri Bakanı **Papandreu**'nun başkent ziyareti olumlu geçti. Türkiye'ye resmi bir ziyaret için 38 yıl sonra gelen ilk Yunan Dışişleri Bakanı olan **Papandreu**, başkentte devletin tüm zirvesi tarafından kabul edildi. Konuk Bakanı, Cumhurbaşkanı **Süleyman Demirel**, Başbakan **Bülent Ecevit**, TBMM Başkanı **Yıldırım Akbulut** kabul etti.

ÇALIŞMA GRUPLARI

İki ülke ilk olarak, aradaki gerginliğin azaltılması temelinde ortak askeri işbirliğine gidecek. Bu amaçla, ilk olarak askerler ve diplomatlardan oluşacak ortak çalışma grubu kurulacak. Bu çalışma grubu, Ege'de askeri tatbikatların azaltılması, ortak askeri manevraların gerçekleştirilmesi, Ege'de silahsız uçuş, karşılıklı liman ziyaretleri, bilgi ve askeri tecrübe işbirliği konularını hayata geçirecek. Bir diğer ilginç gelişmede, iki ülke arasında Yunanistan'ın Türkiye'nin AB adaylığından üyeliğe geçişte tecrübe ve yardımlarının aktaracağı Türkiye'nin AB adaylığı için Türk-Yunan girişim grubunun kurulması yönünde alınan karar oldu. Yunanistan, Türkiye'ye AB yolunda bu çalışma grubu ile tecrübelerini aktaracak.

ECEVİT'TEN SİMİTİS'E DAVET

Dışışleri Bakanlığında gerçekleşen görüşmelerin ardından **Papandreu** ve meslektaşısı **İsmail Cem** düzenledikleri basın toplantısında önemli açıklamalarda bulundu. Buna göre, Başbakan **Bülent Ecevit**'in, Yunan Bakanı kabulü sırasında Yunanistan Başbakanı **Kostas Simitis**'e bir davette bulunduğu ortaya çıktı.

4 ANLAŞMA

Konuk Yunan bakanın ziyaretinde ayrıca iki ülke Dışışleri arasında uzun süreden beri üzerinde çalışılan 4 anlaşmaya imza atıldı. Bu anlaşmalar ise Turizm, Çevre, Yatırımların Karşılıklı Teşviki ve Korunması, Terörizm, Örgütlü Suç, Yasadışı Göç ve Uyuşturucu Kaçakçılığı İle Mücadele Anlaşması olarak açıklandı.

PKK İÇİN CEVAP YOK

Papandreu, PKK ile ilgili net bir tavır göstermezken, “**Türkiye'de idam cezası ve insan hakları konusunda AB politikasını benimsiyoruz**” şeklinde cevabı ile kimseyi incitmemeyi amaçlayan diplomatik bir tavır sergiledi. Bakan, AB yardımları için de engel olmayacakları sinyalini verdi.

BARIŞ İÇİN SPOR TEKLİFİ

Yorgo Papandreu, iki ülke arasında spor alanında 3 öneride bulundu. **Papandreu**, ilk olarak futbol alanında işbirliği önerdi. 2008 yılında yapılacak Avrupa Futbol Şampiyonası'nın 2 ülke tarafından yapılması konusunu gündeme getiren **Papandreu**, Yunanistan Futbol Federasyonu'nda seçim yapılacağını ve bu seçimden sonra bir karara varacaklarını söyledi. İkinci olarak Uluslararası Olimpiyat Komitesi Başkanı ile görüştüğünü ve Uluslararası Olimpiyat Komitesi çerçevesinde barış oyunları düzenlenmesi fikri olduğunu söyledi. Barış oyunlarının önce Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında başlayacağını, ardından diğer ülkelerin de katılabileceğini belirten **Papandreu**, “**Böylece sporu barış için kullanacağız**” dedi. **Papandreu**, spor alanında üçüncü olarak 2004 yılında Atina'da düzenlenecek olan olimpiyatlar

sırasında, Türkiye'nin de tiyatro, müzik, folklor gibi bu kültürel boyutun içinde yer almasını önerdi. Notlar..Notlar..Notlar..

60 YUNANLI GAZETECİ

Papandreu'nun Ankara ziyaretini dokuzu Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi'nden olmak üzere yaklaşık 60 Yunanlı gazeteci izledi. Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi gazetecileri Yunanistan pasaportu ile Türkiye'ye giriş yaptı.

SALON HINCA HİNÇ DOLDU

Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasındaki imza töreniyle Cem ve Papandreu'nun ortak basın toplantısının yapıldığı Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın Fatin Rüştü Zorlu Salonu, Türk, Yunan ve diğer yabancı ülke basın mensupları tarafından hınca hınç dolduruldu.

RUM TELEVİZYONU ÇEKİMde

Papandreu'nun kısa bir süre önce Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi'ne yaptığı ziyareti izleyen Bayrak Radyo ve Televizyonu'nun mikrofonundan logosu çıkartılırken, Rum kesimi gazetecileri dün Ankara'da son derece rahat çalışma imkanı buldu.

ANITKABİR'E KAR YAĞMADI MI?

Önceki gün yoğun kar yağışı altında Ankara'ya gelen **Papandreu**, dün sabah Anıtkabir'i ziyaret ederken gözlerine inanamadı. Belediye anayolları kardan temizlemekte yine aciz kalırken, Anıtkabir askerler tarafından temizlenmiş, her taraf pırıl pırıldı. **Papandreu**, “**Anıtkabir'e kar yağmadı mı?**” diye sormaktan kendini alamadı. İki ülke arasında esen dostluk rüzgarı basın mensuplarını da etkilemeye devam etti. **Cem** ve **Papandreu**'nun Avrupa'nın çeşitli merkezleri ile ABD gezilerini takip eden gazeteciler Ankara'da da buluşmanın mutluluğunu yaşadı

Source:Hürriyet Newspaper,21.01.2000

APPENDIX: 22

SİMİTİSE ANKARA DAVETİ

Başbakan Bülent Ecevit'le Yunanistan Dışişleri Bakanı Yorgo Papandreu görüşmesinde ilginç diyaloglar yaşandı. Yaklaşık yarım saat süren Ecevit - Papandreu görüşmesinin tutanakları şöyle:
Papandreu: İki ülke ilişkilerine önem veriyoruz.

Ecevit: İki ülke arasında son dönemde yaşanan olumlu hava, kısa bir gelecekte kalıcı sorunların çözümü için zemin oluşturabilir.

Papandreu: Bu konuda Yunanistan elinden gelen herşeyi yapacaktır. İki ülke halkları köklü bir geçmişe sahiptir.

Ecevit: Türk - Yunan halkları öteden beri dost ilişkiler içindedir. Atatürk -Venizelos döneminde yaşanan diyaloglar ve benim Karamanlis'le gerçekleştirdiğim ilişkilerin bu dostluğun gelişmesine katkısı olmuştur. Ancak zaman zaman ilişkilerimiz kesintiye uğradı. Bazı pürüzler yaşandı. Ama son dönemde birçok konuda olumlu hava oluştuğunu görüyoruz

Papandreu: Evet. Birçok alanda işbirliğimiz artıyor. Dışişleri Bakanı Sayın Cem, önümüzdeki günlerde medya konferansına katılmak üzere Yunanistan'a gelecek.

Ecevit: Yunanistan'la medya ve kültürel ilişkilerin geliştirilmesi oldukça önem taşıyor.

Ecevit: İkili sorunları çözersek, bunun Kıbrıs üzerinde de olumlu etkisi olur.

Papandreu: Kıbrıs sorunu çözüldürse, iki ülkenin diğer sorunlarının çözümü daha rahat olur. Kıbrıs iki ülkenin ilişkilerini geliştirmede önemli bir adım olabilir.

Akil adamlar önerisi

Papandreu: Eğer akıl adamlar devreye girerse baskılar onlara yönelir. Hükümetlerimiz üzerindeki yoğun baskı azalır. İki ülke arasında sıkıntı yaratan konular onlar tarafından ele alınabilir. Böylece hükümetlerimiz arasında çalışmalar da daha rahat ortamda yapılabilir.

Ecevit: İki ÷lke arasında doęrudan diyalog zemini oluřtu. Akil adamlar konusu Kardak krizinden sonra da gündeme geldi. Ancak sorunların çözümlünde katkısı olmadı. Yine de bu konu ele alınabilir.Doęrudan diyalog zemini de ilerletilebilir.
Papandreu: Düşüncelerinizi Sayın Simitis'e ileticeęim.Ecevit: Sayın Simitis'i en kısa zamanda Türkiye'de görmekten mutluluk duyacaęım.

Source: Milliyet Newspaper, 21.01.2000