

**TC ATILIM UNIVERSITY**  
**INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION DEPARTMENT**

**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TURKISH NEWSPAPERS  
PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH**

**MASTER'S THESIS**

**Serap DURMUŐ**

**Thesis Advisor**

**Assist. Prof. Dr. zlem ŐAHİN SOY**

**ANKARA – 2015**



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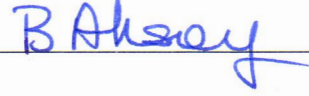
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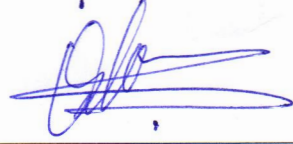
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## KABUL VE ONAY

Serap DURMUŐ tarafından hazırlanan ‘‘Critical Discourse Analysis of Turkish Newspapers Published in English’’ baŐlıklı bu alıŐma, 02.07.2015 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda baŐarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Mütercim – Tercümanlık Anabilim dalında Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak oy birliĐi ile kabul edilmiŐtir.



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## ETİK BEYAN

Atılım Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesi'ne uygun olarak hazırladığım bu tez çalışmasını;

- Akademik ve etik kurallar çerçevesinde hazırladığımı,
- Tüm bilgi, belge, değerlendirme ve sonuçları bilimsel etik ve ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu,
- Tez çalışmasında yararlandığım eserlerin tümüne atıfta bulunarak kaynak gösterdiğimi,
- Bu tezde sunduğum çalışmanın özgün olduğunu bildirir,

Aksi bir durumda aleyhime doğabilecek tüm hak kayıplarını kabullendiğimi beyan ederim.

10.07.2015

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Serap DURMUŞ

## ÖZ

### **DURMUŞ Serap. İngilizce Olarak Yayınlanan Türk Gazetelerinin Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2015**

Günümüzün iletişim teknolojileri dünya ülkeleri arasındaki iletişim hızını en üst düzeye çıkarmıştır. Uluslararası arenada hızla gelişen bu iletişim, aynı zamanda büyük bir çeviri ihtiyacı ve pazarının doğmasına neden olmuştur. Basın yayın organları ise bu çeviri ihtiyacını en çok hisseden kurumlardan biridir. Bu alanda söz konusu olan haber metninin çevirisi olduğundan, medya kuruluşları yapılan çevirilerde amaç odaklı bir yaklaşım sergilemişlerdir. Şöyle ki; haber çevirmeni veya gazeteci metni bir başka dile çevirirken, çeviri metin, kaynak metnin kaynak dil okuyucusu üzerinde hedeflediği etkiyi, erek dil okuyucusu üzerinde oluşturabilecek şekilde oluşturulmalıdır.

Haber metninin bu 'hedeflenen etki'si, söylem çözümlemecilerinin dikkatini çekmiştir. Haber metinleri içine saklanan ideolojik mesajları açığa çıkarmak amacıyla eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi yöntemleri geliştirilmiştir. Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi güç ilişkileri, değerler, ideolojiler, kimlik tanımlamaları gibi çeşitli toplumsal olguların dilsel kurgulamalar yoluyla bireylere ve toplumsal düzene nasıl yansıdığı ve nasıl işlendiği ile ilgilenir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı ise, çeviri haber metinlerinde bu güç ilişkileri, değerler, ideolojiler ve toplumsal olguların ne ölçüde ve nasıl yer aldığını belirlemektir. Bu amaçla Teun A. van Dijk'in haber metninin ayrıntılı bir şekilde çözümlenmesine olanak sağlayan Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Çözümleme için Türkiye'de basılan İngilizce gazetelerin 23.02.2015 tarihli ve 'Şah-Fırat Operasyonu' konulu haber metinleri örnek olarak seçilmiştir. Çözümleme İngilizce gazeteler üzerine yoğunlaşmışsa da gazetelerin ideolojik yaklaşımlarını göstermesi açısından çözümlemeye kullanılan gazetelerin Türkçe baskılarındaki aynı tarih ve konulu haber metinleri de kullanılmıştır.

Çözümleme sonucunda, çözümleme ana malzemesi olan Hürriyet Daily News, Today's Zaman ve Daily Sabah gazetelerinin haber metinleri içinde bir takım ideolojik unsurlar barındırdığı gözlemlenmiştir. Adı geçen gazetelerin Türkçe

baskıları olan Hürriyet, Zaman ve Sabah gazetelerinin de, ulusal öğelerin yoğun varlığına rağmen, aynı ideolojik öğeleri içerdiği belirlenmiştir.

Yapılan analiz sonucunda, ulusal düzlemde gazetelerin kendi ideolojilerini yaymak ve yeniden üretmek için haber metinlerini kullandıkları, ülke dışındaki okurlara hitaben yayınlanan çeviri haber metinlerinde de aynı tutumu sürdürdükleri gözlemlenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** çeviri, siyasi metinler, söylem çözümlemesi, eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi

## ABSTRACT

**DURMUŞ Serap. Critical Discourse Analysis of Turkish Newspapers Published in English, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2015**

Today's communication technologies has maximised communication speed. This huge development in communication in international arena also paved way for the emergence of a great amount of translation need and market. Media has been among the institutions which needs this translation need most. As it is the translation of news texts for media, such institutions followed a function oriented approach to translations. That is to say, while translating a news text into any other language, the news translator or the journalist must keep the purpose of the source text, which is to create an intended effect on source language readers, in the target text: to create an intended effect on the target language reader.

This 'intended effect' of news texts has attracted the attention of discourse analysis. Thus, critical discourse analysis methods have been developed in order to explicate the ideological elements imbedded in news texts. In other words, Critical Discourse Analysis is a research method which searches for how social phenomena such as power relations, moral values, ideologies and identity definitions are reflected on individuals and social orders through linguistic structures.

Determining how and to what extent these power relations, moral values, ideologies and social phenomena take place in news texts is the purpose of this study. To this end, Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model is taken as basis for this study as it allows a detailed analysis of news texts. News texts on 'Operation Shah – Euphrates' dated 02.23.2015 in Turkish newspapers published in English are selected as sample texts for analysis. Although the newspapers published in English are taken as the main analysis material, original texts in newspapers published in Turkish are also included to give an idea about the transfer of political language with its intended messages.

At the end of the analysis, it has been observed that the news texts of Hürriyet Daily News, Today's Zaman and Daily Sabah, of which texts are analysed, involve some ideological elements in their news texts. Moreover, the Turkish versions of



these newspapers, Hürriyet, Zaman and Sabah are also observed to involve the same ideological elements, besides intensive national connotations.

Consequently, it has been observed that newspapers utilise news texts to reproduce and popularise their own ideologies on a national scale, and sustained the same attitude in their English versions which address non-Turkish readers around the world.

**Key words:** translation, political texts, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>DA</b>	Discourse Analysis
<b>CDA</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>PDA</b>	Political Discourse Analysis
<b>SL</b>	Source Language
<b>ST</b>	Source Text
<b>TL</b>	Target Language
<b>TS</b>	Translation Studies
<b>TT</b>	Target Text

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## I. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background to the Study

Language is the basic means for the communication of all thoughts and emotions. Each culture surviving on various parts of the Earth, has been communicating through various languages. When these languages encountered with others, there occurred the need for translation as a result of the need to understand each other. Being made orally at the beginning, this “mediation activity” gained acceleration with the invention of writing and the use of the press machine. Besides being an intercultural activity, translation has contributed to the development of societies in terms of sharing knowledge. Yet, the greatest developments in the field occurred during the 20<sup>th</sup> century when great technological inventions went public and people were able to travel around the world much easier and faster; making translation needed more both by countries and individuals. Bassnett explains this in her book the *Translation Studies* as follows:

Today the movement of peoples around the globe can be seen to mirror the very process of translation itself, for translation is not just the transfer of texts from one language into another, it is now rightly seen as a process of negotiation between texts and between cultures, a process during which all kinds of transactions take place mediated by the figure of translator (Bassnett, 2002:6).

However, discussions on the definition and rules of translation have never ceased. Many descriptions from various scholars were intended to provide an accurate definition for the field. It has also been discussed if translation studies is an art or science. Defining translation as a hermeneutic activity, George Steiner (1975) emphasizes the relation of translation with other fields. Catford (1965), on the other hand, defines translation as the substitution of a textual element in a language for an equivalent element in another language. Peter Newmark (1988), who has many noteworthy studies in the field, approaches translation from a semantic perspective. The purpose of his semantic approach is to achieve the accurate contextual meaning

of the SL as proximate as the semantic and syntactic structures of the TL allow (Newmark, 1988). Hans Vermeer and Katherina Reiss handle the matter of translation in relation to its objective, and put forward the *skopos* theory according to which since all actions bear a purpose, being an action itself, translation also has a purpose. The founder of the dynamic equivalence theory, Eugene Nida, associates translation with other disciplines: "...translating is essentially a technology which is dependent upon a number of disciplines: linguistics, cultural anthropology, psychology, communication theory, and neurophysiology" (Nida, 1991:21).

However, it is not only Nida who emphasises the link between Translation Studies and other fields. Newmark utilised discourse analysis (DA) and added new perspectives to translation. Though DA was initially used as a tool for better translations, then scholars made use of it in order to reveal the disguised meanings and messages of texts and speeches. Thus, theory and practice of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) which can be defined as a sub-field of discourse studies handling such political forums as parliamentary speeches, treaties, hearings, editorials, press releases etc. emerged. Since language is the main instrument of politicians and their aim is to lead people for intended targets, the main purpose of PDA is to explicate the power relations and hidden messages and meanings.

The analysis of such texts gave way to other applications such as Critical Discourse Analysis which stresses that the ideological elements embedded in selected language forms may not be easily recognised, and the only way to uncover such elements is CDA. The most outstanding scholars who studied on CDA are Norman Fairclough, Michel Foucault and Teun A. van Dijk, whose approach is followed for this study due to its comprehensiveness and emphasis on CDA of news texts. Foucault (1972) handles discourse as a tool for legitimisation and construction of power. He highlights the close interrelation between power and knowledge, and all relations between individuals are a struggle for power (Foucault 1977, 1980). Discourse, being related to power as power is capable of generating and withholding truth, is shaped by the power (Foucault 1977, 1980, 2003). Therefore,



Foucauldian critical discourse analysis can be summarised as to focus on the language use of the authority.

However, according to van Dijk (2003) CDA should investigate the discursive dimensions of inequality, injustice, misuse of power and authority, which comes out of or results from the discourse itself. Considering the news texts, which are produced by media organs and used for the reproduction and maintenance of ideologies and social norms, Teun A. van Dijk analyses news texts syntactically and semantically to explicate the implied meanings within. While focusing on grammatical structures of the sentences used in the news text for syntactic analysis, he emphasises that the meaning of all words and sentences, in short, the whole text must be analysed for semantic analysis.

### **1.2. Statement of the Problem:**

It is conventionally believed that familiarity with the source and target languages of the translator is enough for a good translation. However, without the knowledge of the subject matter and the purpose of the source text, it is not possible to accurately convey the writer/speaker's messages to the listeners/readers.

Political texts, requiring both knowledge of the subject matter and political discourse, are among the most difficult tasks for the translators since the translator is obliged to create the aimed influence on the target text readers/listeners as the source text did. News texts, being considered as political texts, must be handled with utmost attention as they are the very tool of powers for reproduction and maintenance of ideologies and social norms. Thus, their translations must also be of the same effect.

### **1.3. Purpose of the Study:**

The purpose of this study is to analyse the news texts of various newspapers published in English in Turkey according to the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. In this study it is aimed to answer whether the translator's text-linguistic

preferences in the formation of the target text comply with the intentions of the journalists who produce the news texts as per the norms of certain powers/authorities.

#### **1.4. Hypothesis:**

The approach of Foucault - who defines modern societies as discipline communities (Foucault, 1977) - that norms are reproduced through media in discipline communities, and his arguments on the establishment of discourse are taken as the theoretical basis for this study. The study is based on the hypothesis that if media plays a crucial role in the reproduction and popularisation of social norms and ideologies as the 4<sup>th</sup> estate, then media organs may use this power on their behalf, to reproduce and popularise their ideologies and norms both through texts produced in native languages and their translations.

#### **1.5. Scope of the Study:**

Although the news texts of the newspapers in question are initially produced in Turkish and then published in the English versions, they are considered as translations of the originals. While the texts in Turkish address only the Turkish speaking community, their English versions address a much wider audience due to the global position of the English language. Readers of English versions also access the news texts via the official websites of the mentioned newspapers. In this study, it is aimed to analyse the macro and micro structures of sample texts from the English versions of the newspapers in the light of Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model.

#### **1.6. Assumptions and Limitations:**

Users of a political language not only support a certain ideology, but they also aim to transmit this ideology to their audience through this language. To this end,

they use various ways, one of which is media, to be able to reach more people. Thus, newspapers supporting a certain ideology have a certain stylistic and lexical choice parallel to the ideology they support. This, naturally, affects their discourse in broadcasting the news both local and foreign. Because the newspapers include many news texts on different events, it will not be possible to analyse all of them properly in a limited time period. Thus, some sample texts on the same event are selected for the analysis.

### **1.7. Method of the Study:**

This study is based on the qualitative method of research. As it is known, the objective of the qualitative method is to gain an understanding of underlying reasons and provide insights into the setting of a problem, generating ideas and/or hypotheses for later quantitative researches.

In order to achieve the purposes of this study, this thesis is built on seven chapters:

Chapter 1 is composed of introductory parts dwelling on the problem, purpose, scope, hypotheses, and limitations, and drawing the general framework for the study.

Chapter 2 aims at clarifying the relation between politics and translation emphasising the importance of the function of political texts as well as translation of news texts as political texts because they carry the information beyond national borders as a result of globalisation.

Following the information expressing the relation between politics and translation, Chapter 3 is focused on political discourse and theoretical information on Political Discourse Analysis with some examples highlighting the effective use of language in political discourse which paved the way for the the development of Critical Discourse Analysis. In this chapter, theoretical background of Critical

Discourse Analysis is also summarised with special emphasis on Teun A. van Dijk's model as it forms the basis for the analysis carried out for this study.

In accordance with the theoretical frame for CDA, Chapter 4 includes the analysis of sample texts from three newspapers published in English in Turkey. As it is not intended to compare the English translation with the Turkish originals, but to analyse the English versions in the light of critical discourse analysis, original texts are only included to give an idea about the transfer of political language with its intended messages. The main aim of this chapter is to analyse how newspapers of different ideologies reproduce and pluralise their ideologies and norms at global scale by means of employing political discourse.

A synthesis of everything covered within the previous chapters along with the analytical study of the reproduction of ideologies and social norms through news texts is aimed in the conclusion which is Chapter 5. The answers for the main research questions of this study – whether newspapers of different ideologies mirror their ideas in the texts they produce, and how news texts, which are supposed to be impartial as per the moral values, attempt to persuade their readers to approach the facts from the perspective of the newspaper are also sought.

## **II. POLITICS AND TRANSLATION**

Prior to studying in what ways political discourse has been related to Translation Studies (TS), introducing the correlation between language and politics is a must. The fact that human beings are social living things makes it necessary for them to live in social groups or coalitions; showing that humans are congenitally political. Forming and maintenance of such groups are built on common values and understandings of right or wrong, fair or unfair etc. The establishment of these political coalitions is based on communication which is the primary tool for sharing the common values and understandings. Therefore, language becomes of great necessity for the existence of political activity (Chilton & Schäffner; 2002).

History of political rhetoric and practice date back to ancient times (Fairclough, 2001). The one emphasizing the significance of linguistic communication for the functioning of a society first was Aristotle. As stated by Chilton and Schäffner, analysing politicians' text and speech is the sole means for understanding how they influence society and manage to convey their ideologies to audiences at local, national or global level (2002). Language has always been the main tool to establish political differences. The contemporary understanding of human ability for language expresses that it bears the function of 'indicating' to mean and communicate in accordance with common perceptions of a social group (Lande, 2010). Consequently, the politics is the art and language is the medium (Joseph, 2004).

### **2.1. Politics and Language**

Recent developments carried linguistics far beyond Ferdinand de Saussure's theory of language as an independent system existing outside the society. However, language is regarded as the main area where the social world is formed by contemporary linguists. People use language in order to exchange information and emotions as well. Since each individual belongs to a social group bearing its unique values and beliefs; in practice, language is closely attached to culture which, in turn,

is related to the practice of politics in a society (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002). John E. Joseph states in his *Language and Politics* that language and nations are myths constructing each other reciprocally rather than one constructing the other. He also states that language may be considered as a political act revealing specific information about an individual (2004). Thus, languages determine the physical and geographical borders between nations, social groups and even individuals. They reveal the hierarchy in the particular society and offer information about geographical or social origin, gender and even political orientation; which may be specified by certain linguistic features: accent, idiolect, dialect, pitch, lexical and syntactic preferences (Lande, 2010). Nonetheless, language is neutral; it is neither political, nor social. It only reflects the opinions and behaviours of its users. Different social practices, e.g. court proceedings, classroom situation, family dinner require different language uses (formal-informal).

As mentioned above, the primary tool of communication is language which reflects the society. Alike with society, culture and language; communication has various types. It is the sociolinguistics which analyse the concepts of language and society. Sociolinguistics, based upon sociology and linguistics, is a combined field studying on the relations between language and society, their interactions and their existence as variants. Sociolinguistics handles both the speaker's and the listener's communication conditions as well as their discourse types (Vardar, 2003).

A subfield of semiotics, Pragmatics which analyses the relation on speaker-listener-sign, is also interested in the communication. The basic elements of communication process which are language, language users and the function of language are the study materials of pragmatics as well. Pragmatics studies the use of linguistic signs and their functions (Büyüknisan, 2003). Within this perspective, pragmatics studies apply to the analysis of the political texts; because, in the analysis of the political texts, language use and the influence that the language user aims, in other words, function of the language becomes important. Within this framework, sociolinguistics and pragmatics form an inseparable unity for the analysis of political language.

Sociolinguistics analyses language within social context or as a compound of social process while utilising a compound of sociology and linguistics techniques. Nobert Dittmar (1973) expresses that sociolinguistic researches are important precisely for four fields: language varieties, changes in language, language acquisition and social communication (quoted in Büyüknisan, 2003).

Social communication may occur at different levels via different language levels. When communication is regarded as an action, the relation of action with language comes forward. Situation and context lead to the existence of a language selection complying with the purpose of communication, which is the reason for the existence of language types within a society such as individual, regional or social language. Besides daily language, communication types which comply with the various social spheres are considered within this context. Communication types of expertise fields such as medicine, law and economics form the illustrations for these communication types which also includes the subject of this chapter, politics.

Political language varies from all the other expertise fields due to various reasons. Despite having the properties of an expertise field with its comprehensibility and terminology, political language stands out for its uniqueness. It is based on the will of one party to lead/direct and convince/persuade the other. Within this perspective, political language diverges from other expertise fields owing to its subjectivity.

Politics emerges with the confrontation of different parties. Those who prefer politics as a job, primarily, want to direct and lead a certain social group. The main tool for this end is the language. The political language user, who intends to create a reaction towards a pre-determined target, belongs to a party and supports an ideology or belief. The speaker/writer has a directive parlance/style; in accordance with which, he is not objective neither lexically nor syntactically, and his speech includes subjective evaluations as presented in the following quotation:

Bu çerçevede mücadelemizi kalkınma hamlemizi sürdüreceğiz. 2023 yolunda kararlı bir şekilde yolumuza devam edeceğiz (AKP, 2015)

İç Güvenlik Yasası değil, iç barışa tahrik kalıbı koyma yasası, milleti birbirine düşürme yasasıdır (CHP, 2015 – emphasis added).

Being used as a tool to impress the target group, political language is usually about future in terms of its content and its style and depends on promises. The teleology of the communication in political language bears mostly hope. Political language which must be convincing and have strong rhetoric should be so comprehensible that it can generate the targeted effect on the target audience. From this aspect, an effort of concretisation emerges as a stylistic feature. However, abstract conceptual terms form the basis of political language though the political speaker/writer attempts to concretise his speech/text. In other words, while political language is made convincing through its apparent concrete side, it remains abstract in that it has the purpose of directing/leading the society (Aksoy, 2001). What lies beneath this approach is the desire of the communication producer to direct his audience by highlighting his plausibility.

Political language has its own terminology which is among the features of expertise field texts. Alike with those of other fields, terms of political language also have semantically limited definitions and information. However, political terms are culture oriented and value added. Besides, they become prominent with being historically functional and the possibility of being abstract. The meaning, subjectivity and directiveness of the political language become apparent only in a social context which is consisted of situational context, diachronic context and socio-cultural context. Political language also has the power the create factuality, or at least affects the formation of factuality process significantly. Lexis of a language make factuality left out of linguistics perceivable through definitions.

With all these features, political language can be imbedded in any text type; in other words, it is possible to see political language in songs, poems, novels, plays etc. Nobel Prize winner Seamus Heaney's poem Beacons at Bealtaine, which was



delivered at EU Enlargement Ceremony by the Irish Poet in Dublin, Phoenix Park, on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004 provides a good example for political poems.

**Beacons at Bealtaine**

Phoenix Park, May Day, 2004

(...)

The May Day hills were burning, far and near,  
When our land's first footers beached boats in the creek  
In uisce, fionn, strange words that soon grew clear;

So on a day when newcomers appear  
Let it be a homecoming and let us speak  
The unstrange word, as it behoves us here,

(...)

The late Irish poet Seamus Heaney wrote *Beacons at Bealtaine* to denote Ireland's presidency of the EU in 2004; however, the poem really came into existence five years later, when Ireland held a referendum on whether or not to ratify the Lisbon treaty. *Beacons at Bealtaine* invites for communication and understanding among nations, besides the recognition of the union's obligation to be receptive to change (<http://www.cafebabel.co.uk/culture/article/political-poetry-they-spoke-to-change-this-place.html>). George Orwell's *Animal Farm* is considered as one of the most successful novels of the history by many critics. As an anti-totalitarian leftist, Orwell, satirically depicts the noteworthy incidents happened in USSR and criticises Stalinism.

Reaching worldwide fame as a founder member of the rock band the Beatles, John Ono Lennon, an English musician, singer and songwriter, is the most commercially successful band in the history of popular music. In his single released in 1971, *Imagine*, which is often referred to as one of the greatest songs of all times, Lennon suggests a world without a heaven, hell, a country, politics, hunger, and other social dilemmas.

**"Imagine"**

(...)

Imagine no possessions  
I wonder if you can  
No need for greed or hunger

A brotherhood of man  
Imagine all the people  
Sharing all the world...

(...)

Thus, it would be wrong to limit political texts to a single type (Büyüknisan, 2003). Furthermore, political language bears unique features and is analysed in a different way from other text types. When handled with respect to translation, all the above mentioned features of political texts are of great use for the translator and the translation process.

## **2.2. Politics and Translation**

Translation of political texts is performed for a functional purpose in the environments where people of different cultures exist. Since language is an inseparable part of the culture and a means to define not only objects, peoples, behaviours and emotions but also an organisation of all of these, all forming the culture, it includes all aspects of the culture it belongs to. Within this perspective translation of any text, will not be considered as complete and adequate irrespective of the culturally unique aspects of the language pairs. As for the political texts, the culture-bound elements embedded in language require familiarity with the target culture, since the translation of these texts aims at creating the very same effect as they did on the original audience, which is constructs the ‘functionality’ aspect of a text.

This functional approach to translation has been regarded as an intercultural matter by translatoologists such as Hans Vermeer and Katherina Reiß. Vermeer discusses ‘skopos’ theory, which contains concepts of purpose, target, intention and function, at contextuality and equivalence levels, while Reiß analyses the concepts of adequacy and equivalence in a functional approach to translation. The functional approach to translation within cultural and communicational perspectives was later developed into a viable model in accordance with the principle of target oriented function (Aksoy, 2002b).

Political discourse, embedded in political language is totally functional and full of cultural and abstract elements. That political discourse aims at functional communication necessitates its translation be done with a method containing these elements. In other words, since political discourse utilises language with all its cultural and social features for a functional purpose, translation of it must be done according to the very same purpose with a functional approach. The skopos theory developed by Hans Vermeer, Katherina Reiß and Christiane Nord provides a perfect basis for the translation of political text for it displays all the features of political discourse, which are listed below:

- Besides being pragmatic just like skopos theory, political discourse includes the situational conditions of communicational interaction and the needs and expectations of the addressers
- It is culture oriented and includes all verbal and cognitive cultural elements
- It is coherent and has a functional purpose
- It is viable and includes all requirements of intercultural communication
- It is inclusive and utilises all means of communicational values
- It is based on perception and knowledge, and inclines comprehensible product (Nord, 1997).

Reiß, who states that translation strategy to be followed should comply with the text type, emphasises that the thing which determines the text type is its function and that this function must be preserved in translation. She defines the functions of her three text types as follows: Informative texts are usually translated in order to convey the included information to the target audience, expressive texts are translated for a work to be introduced to the target language reader and directive texts are translated in order to create the very same effect on the target text reader as they do on source text reader (Büyüknisan, 2003). Thus, according to Reiß's method, the function of SL text is equal to the function of TL text. In accordance with this text type oriented translation approach, three different translation strategies have come into existence.

Informative texts are object oriented and function as a tool to convey information. Since they are plain texts, their translation must be same at equivalency level. Expressive texts, on the other hand, are addresser oriented and they are of artistic function. These texts require equivalency at artistic level and the translator must identify himself with the ST writer. Directive texts, however, differ from the above two in respect to both function and translation method. Since they are behaviour oriented, their function is to create premeditated behaviours. Thus, translator of such texts must preserve the vocative aspects of the ST and do the necessary changes in order the target text to function in the same way as the ST.

Schäffner, too, is among the scholars who contributed to the translation criteria determination for political texts. Her studies on political discourse and translation, which focus on cultural, social and political features of texts in source and target languages, emphasize the usage of discourse analysis for translation. According to her, translation makes the information reach cross borders; which is obligatory since politics became international owing to globalisation (Schäffner, 2004). The strategies she put forward are mainly about the conveyance of culture-bound elements of SL to TL community who possess little knowledge of the source text culture. Translation of political texts acquaints the target audience about the content of the text. With respect to common definition of translation as ‘mediated cross-cultural communication’ (Lande, 2010), the factors affecting the TT are not similar to those of the ST. Roles of the ST and the TT in relevant cultures are the ones which designate the translation strategies. That is to say, if the ST aims at convincing the source language community, then the translation of this text must bear all the necessary alterations to function similarly. The translator, thus, must be familiar with the political norms of the ST nation and TT nation in order to prevent misunderstandings between political institutions on an international level (Lande, 2010).

### 2.3. Political Text Types

What is determinative in translation is to convey the message of the source text to the target text reader; which makes translation a type of communication. As for the translation of political texts, what matters both on lexical and conceptual levels is the discourse selection to create the very same behavioural change in the target reader/speaker group as anticipated for the original text. Lexis and concepts are the milestones but they do not create the same effect when alone. The creation of the effect happens at textual level. This forms the reason for the 'text' to be the main study material of translation. Thus, knowledge of political texts will shed light on the way for the analysis and translation of political texts. That there would not be a single translation method for translation has been determined both theoretically and practically. While the translation approaches that focus on the text search for the translation criteria, text type oriented translation methods have been developed.

Though many scholars studied on text type oriented translation, Katherina Reiß is regarded as the most prominent. She handles translation not only at sentence level with syntactic and semantic aspects, but also at text level which constitutes a bigger form as a whole. Focusing mostly on meaning of 'text' in her studies and grounding her theory on Bühler's Organon Model, Reiß suggests three main text types: content based, style based and vocative based. She states that a text may bear all these features but it is the function of the text which distinguishes (Reiß & Vermeer, 1984).

According to this categorisation, while the main function of 'content based texts' is transmission of the text's content and information to the receiver, style of the content becomes prominent in 'style based texts'. The most distinctive of aspect of 'vocative texts', on the other hand, is to create non-linguistic effects (Büyüknisan, 2003). Continuing her studies mostly focusing on function of texts, Reiß formed more detailed text types out of these three; categorising them according to text type, experimental, linguistic and communicative-theoretical grounds. However, in order to define these groups, she preferred using terms describing the writer/speaker and his intentions rather than the ones defining the above mentioned categories. Reports, articles, certificates, manuals explanations are classified as 'informative texts', while

novels, plays, poems and biographies are called as 'expressive texts'. 'Directive texts', on the other hand, include preaches, propagandas, advertisements, demagogies and satires (Reiß & Vermeer, 1984).

Defining text types as per their functions, Reiß worked harder on the 'directive text types' in order to determine the functional indicators forming the directive text. According to Reiß, that the vocative texts are mostly bound to the receiver helps the vocative effect be monitored by the translator. With the translation of the units forming the text, the translator can only check to what extent the features unique to the text are preserved (Reiß & Vermeer, 1984).

Beier, analysing the textual linguistic features of political texts, has determined five features which serve both for the definition and translation of these texts:

- Titles
- Individual oriented
- Casual style
- Assessments
- Explanation of terms (Stolze, 1999).

The communication provided by political texts emerges with the interaction between the media organs and the receivers. Although the channels that media organs utilise vary, written, audial and visual texts are accepted as the concrete means of this communication. Basic contextual aspect of such texts is that they are information loaded and aim at directing the receiver; in other words, these texts enable communication between experts/politicians and receivers.

Media has a significant function in delivering politicians' ideologies. Many studies have demonstrated how media discourses transport ideological messages in many different countries and cultures (Wodak, 1995). Newspapers often present news in a manner aiming to direct readers' ideological viewpoints. The editorials as personal opinion texts, on the other hand, constitute good examples of political texts;

in which the writer expresses his/her opinions directly and usually without much hesitation.

### **2.3.1. Translation of news texts**

As press has an incontrovertible role for public to obtain social information, mass media is the leading tool for politicians, economists, non-governmental organisations, top governmental institutions, etc. and all natural people or legal identities within the community to convey their messages to public or various authorities. Thus, this use of media texts turns them into political texts.

Mass media is one of the ideology reproduction tools by which opinions are reflected most obviously. New communication methods and mass media which developed parallel to the development processes of communities have played a significant role in communities' ideational transformation processes. Mass media/media institutions, which, from time to time, take on the task of protecting the integrity of the country, sometimes, instead of observing social stability by arbitrating, has caused the society to gather around certain ideologies. Emerging in the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, newspapers, shaping their developments around political and economic powers, have reached their current position as means of ideological reproduction (Dursun, 2005). News texts, columns, comics and caricatures are among the elements through which ideas are reproduced. Besides these, use of photographs and page designs also serve for the production of ideational contents and for their conveyance to the society (van Dijk, 1988).

Press has an incontrovertible role for public to obtain social information. Mass media is the leading tool for politicians, economists, non-governmental organisations, top governmental institutions, etc. and all natural people or legal identities within the community to convey their messages to public or various authorities. Yet, all mass media systems convey the events in accordance with their institutional structures instead of conveying them as they are.

Reciprocal relation between media and politics has been one of the mostly discussed topics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The increase in the influence of media over

social life has led the media-politics relations to become more complex. The mass oriented nature of media has been the most accentuated subject by politics, and thus, caused politics to interfere more in the media-politics relations. Particularly the political groups and organisations in search of social support have utilised media to convey their ideologies and values to the society. This process, while causing the politicisation of media contents, made the media organisations have political positions, and so assume certain political identities. Therefore, media has transformed into a means to manipulate the society, and it has been claimed to be a means which makes the society passive consumers (Tokgöz, 2008).

Especially news media has experienced structural transformations due to political actors and politicisation of media; which added new perspectives to media-politics relations. Emergence of institutionalisation and professional structures in news production has been considered as an attempt to build the existing factuality in the society on behalf of politics (Gölcü, 2013). Therefore, within the reciprocal relation between the news media and politics, the content and the definition of news have been redefined in accordance with the expectations of political institution. That is to say, considering news media and media phenomenon as isolated from political processes will result in deficiencies in the analysis of media-politics relations.

During the forming process of the news, it is a difficult selection for the journalist/reporter to decide which elements of the factuality to insert and which elements to avoid. Apart from the selection process in news formation process, discourse, language, grammar, and narration of the news texts also problematize the factuality built through the news (Dursun, 2005). The built-up discourse of news cannot be regarded apart from or held irresponsible of reproduction of any kind of power and dominance relations such as the existing class, sexist, racist etc. Yet, that news text is a text which makes all inequality relations of language use visible, and that it reproduces these inequalities are emphasised (Dursun, 2005).

Dutch linguist Teun A. van Dijk, who developed the discourse analysis model used for the analysis of news texts, emphasises the news texts and their presentations



to include lots of ideological elements. In his scientific studies after 1970s, Michel Foucault prefers the phrase ‘discourse’ instead of ‘ideology’ and argues that these two terms have the same meaning. In his book *Ideologie et Appareils Ideologiques d'etat* published in 1994 L. Althusser defines media as the ideological tool of state. According to Althusser (1994) media plays a significant role in the transmission and adoption of governmental ideas to public (trans. Tümertekin, 2006).

Production of ideologies is not performed only through texts. It is claimed that the effect of photographs are more effective than the texts in the production and adoption of ideologies. Semioticians who have studies on this matter also emphasise the importance of photographs. One of these semioticians, F. d. Saussure states that significatum and objective cognitive codes pointed out by signifiers are perceived in the same way by those who speak the same language and share the same culture (Fiske, 2003). Semiotician C.S. Peirce, on the other hand, mentions ‘iconic signs’ and defines photograph within this perspective (Fiske, 2003). G. Burton (1995) builds a relation of ‘significatum and signifier’ about the texts and photographs used in newspapers. Headline is defines as ‘significatum’ and photograph is defined as ‘signifier’ in this relation. The signifier in question, by supporting the thing it presents with the significatum, manipulates the present codes in minds (Burton, 1995).

Considering the influence and place of ideology in media, and the importance of media in the digital age when spatial barriers are diminished due to information technologies and increase in the mobility of people, another aspect of news texts has become worth to be analysed: translation of news. Before 1970s, loyalty to the source text was the basis of translation. However, beyond loyalty, ideology was an invisible feature in translation activity. André Lefevere’s definition of translation as the re-writing of the source texts started discussions on the place of ideology in translation. According to Lefevere (1992), irrespective of the intention, anything rewritten defends certain ideologies in the target community.

Researches have shown that such concepts as ideology, power, dominance and hierarchy are related to the production and interpretation of meaning in translation. When regarded from modern translation studies perspective, it is evident that translation is an activity which bears the linguistic features of the source text and the norms and conventions of the target language and culture (Toury 1995; Vermeer 2000).

Besides having political connotations, the term ‘ideology’s is defined as “a systematic scheme or coordinated body ideas or concepts especially about human life and culture” in Merriam - Webster’s Third New International Dictionary (2000). According to Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, translation is political as it is both an activity and a product at the same time; besides a communication process between different subjects. When regarded at micro level, these subjects are translators, authors, critics, publishers, editors and readers (Gürçağlar, 2003).

Van Dijk, influenced by Karl Marx who defines ideology as ‘false consciousness’, explains ideology as a false, defective, impaired or misled belief system (van Dijk, 1988). Individuals obtain, learn and alter ideologies through language use and discourse (van Dijk, 1988).

Considering the historical perspective, it is clearly seen that power and ideology are closely related to linguistic dominance (Fawcett & Munday 2009). Today, English is esteemed to be an international language which alters the linguistic and technologic discourse of other languages; which means the dominance of English on other languages in today’s globalised world. Such inequalities of power and ideology have become a matter of translation studies since the early 21<sup>st</sup> century (Cunico & Munday, 2007). Bielsa and Bassnett emphasise the power of translation and ideology in translation as follows:

The asymmetries of globalization and the current inequalities in the production of knowledge and information are directly mirrored in translation, and this becomes visible when the directionality of global information flows starts to be questioned. Thus, some accounts of globalization have pointed to the number of book translations from English and into English as an indication of the power distribution in global information flows, where those at the core do the transmission and those at the periphery merely receive it (Bielse & Bassnett, 2009:28).

Susan Bassnett defines translation as a power interaction and states that the various strategies of translators constitute various hierarchic structures (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998). Similarly, Maria Tymoczko states that ideology may be observed both in translation act and in the product because ideology is related to the speech acts existing in the source text and to those in the target text, and ideology is not observed only in the target text but in the lines and voice of the translator as well (Tymoczko, 2003).

Moreover, Schäffner, too, argues that since source text selection and target text production is formed as per certain demands and conventions, each translation may be ideological (Schäffner, 1996). What is more, the ideological elements may occur in a translation both at word level (intentional use or non-use of a word) and at grammatical level (use of passive structures to avoid referring to a subject) (Schäffner, 2003).

Apart from emitting and/or omitting certain ideological elements in translation, news translators are generally thought to be responsible for “fast transmission of information in a clear way so that it can be communicated effectively to readers. Journalistic factors related to time, space and genre are as important as the linguistic and cultural aspects involved in the process of interlingual transfer” (Bielse & Bassnett, 2009). Because of these journalistic factors, news translators and journalists have to modify the news texts. Bielse and Bassnett give a brief list of such alterations.

- Change of title and lead: titles and leads are usually replaced by ones as per the requirements of target reader
- Elimination of unnecessary information: information can be omitted if it is already known or too detailed
- Addition of important background information: it turns out to be a necessity to add background information for the new target reader
- Change in the order of photographs: relevance or order of the information may require reordering the photographs

- Summarising information: when it is necessary to omit the irrelevant information or to reduce long texts to fit in the available space this method is used (Bielse & Bassnett, 2009).

Whether ideological or spatial/journalistic, the alterations in news translation raise the question of equivalence since, unlike literary texts, non-fictional texts are more susceptible to interventions. Thus, when translation is regarded as the transmission of a text written in one language into another language, news translation cannot be called as translation. However, such alterations and modifications can be considered as localisation since there still remains a translational aspect due to two texts in two different languages (Bielse & Bassnett, 2009). There is no doubt that each translation is a comment and surely bears the ideology of the translator or the agency it is produced by. However, as long as the comment does not totally move away from factuality and there is not any impairment in the cultural transmission, the process can be defined as translation.

To sum up, political language which must be convincing and have strong rhetoric should be so comprehensible that it can generate the intended effect on the target audience. From this aspect, an effort of concretisation emerges as a stylistic feature. However, abstract conceptual terms form the basis of political language though the political speaker/writer attempts to concretise his speech/text. Thus, translation of political texts is performed for a functional purpose in the environments where people of different cultures exist. What matters for the translation of political texts both on lexical and conceptual levels is the discourse selection to create the very same behavioural change in the target reader/speaker group as anticipated for the original text. As press has an incontrovertible role for public to obtain social information, mass media is the leading tool for politicians, economists, non-governmental organisations, top governmental institutions, etc. and all natural people or legal identities within the community to convey their messages to public or various authorities. This use of media texts turns them into political texts, bearing ideological elements within.

With all the information given on political language and translation of political texts, the following chapter deals with the political discourse in general, discourse analysis and Political Discourse Analysis which forms the basis of Critical Discourse Analysis.



### III. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

#### 3.1. Political Discourse Analysis

##### 3.1.1. Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Today's modern world is characterised by conflicts and challenges. There is no harmony or homogeneity anywhere; however, there are ideological dilemmas, disunities and multi-identities. (Wodak & Meyer, 2002). The established world to which we belong is not a transparent one, but ambiguous and needs explication. Today's world has moved away from Newton's "the world inhabited in absolute time and space" view, and moved towards an ambiguous, chaotic discursive world (Sözen, 1999). The complication of modern communities to which concepts of time and place seem to be deteriorated, interactions among different communities and interactions among different groups of a certain community may be explained with causalities (Wodak & Meyer, 2002). Causality which is supported by modernism is not capable of explaining the phenomena such as the ambiguity, complication of our world, dilemmas etc. causal models do not comply with this ambiguity. Today's world is the one promoting the significance of discourse.

Discourse is a meta-action and process of language practices transforming to actions through ideology, information, dialogue, expression, rhetoric, negotiation, power and power exchange. It is related to all aspects of life with regard to social, political, cultural, economic etc. fields (Sözen, 1999).

It is possible to define discourse according to different approaches. While it is defined as all texts and talks by some researchers, others confine it only to speeches. However, French philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault (1972) considers discourse as language applications which are wider, historical and developing (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). According to him every single person is unique and this uniqueness causes their discourses be different as well. Thus, each discourse differs from others (Foucault, 1972).

Discourse is categorised as a concept which is used in order to define systematic linguistic compositions consisting of certain rules, terminologies and

speeches. Discourse includes all aspects of a message; not only its content but also its verbaliser (who mentions), authority (what it is based on), audience (who it is addressed to) and its purpose (what the verbaliser want to achieve through what he says). Discourse includes ideas, expressions and information formed among certain social groups and among their members within a certain period of time. Use of power is immanent in use of such information. Discourse involves all types of communication including conversations and chatting; however, chatting and conversations are not confined to uttered propositions; they include the ways to see, classify and react to the social world by means of daily uses (Çelik & Ekşi, 2008).

Individuals do not form discourse; yet discourse is present at social level. It builds the meaning, and thus the communities correlate existing symbols with meanings. By this way communities learn how to consider topics, phenomena and incidents, and how to communicate.

Discourse is a powerful and complicated structure. Even the remarks against discourse make sense within discourse (Sözen, 1999). Foucault (1972) enunciates that social structures establish various rules for language use. These rules help the individuals correlate meanings with social structures which need this process in order to gain and sustain once gained power.

Discourse analysis, on the other hand, being a perspective about social life which is consisted of methodologic and conceptual elements, is categorised as a way of collecting data and investigating discourse with its theoretical and meta-theoretical units. This analysis method is not only an alternative for the traditional methodologies, but is one against view imbedded in such methodologies. Discourse analysis is an attempt which is necessary to shift to detailed and qualitative approaches, and which differs from general, hypothetical and quantitative approaches (Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Partly owing to the recent developments in psychology, discourse analysis has been regarded as a prominent research method for qualitative researches, and as an attempt which shifts its focus to the fluidity of the meaning. This approach utilises speech – theory of linguistic philosophy in order to emphasize the social act aspect of language, and benefits from ethnomethodology which analyses how people use



language in daily speeches to create their own perceptions. From this point of view, discourse analysis may be considered as advanced level hermeneutic and social semiology which analyses the diversity of ‘meaning’ (Elliott, 1996).

Benefiting from various disciplines; namely psychology, sociology, linguistics, anthropology, literature, philosophy, media and communication studies, discourse analysis is a technique which is based on theoretical viewpoints of all these disciplines (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Tonkiss, 2006). Thus, it is not an integrated single theory, method and application; but, rather, a heterogeneous research method that is carried out according to the research techniques of various disciplines.

Discourse Analysis is, simply, an investigation of language. However, this investigation is not a humble analysis of linguistic elements. It requires going beyond the syntactic and semantic limits of the verbalised and analysing the meaning and content. As van Dijk (1997) points out discourse analysis is not about the stylistic (phonologic or syntactic) features. Rather, it is the social reflections created by the language users communicating within social and cultural context that interests discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis assumes language as action and function oriented, and individuals use it deliberately in order to form their social values and integrations. Discourse varies with respect to its function, and thus, this variety forms the basis for discourse analysis. The main emphasis in discourse analysis is on what is done and accomplished through language (Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Foucault (1972) explains discourse referring to the relation between languages and structures. According to him discourse is;

- a. Social; that is, words and their meanings are clarified in accordance with when, where, by and for whom they are used. Therefore, words and their meanings alter depending on the social institutional environments; which is why there is no ‘universal discourse’
- b. There may be conflicting discourses
- c. Discourses may occur as organised in a hierarchy.

Conflict and hierarchy are closely connected to with power use. Owing to the relation between discourse production and power use, the power concept is crucial for discourse analysis (Punch, 2005). Discourse analysis which is based on Foucault's stances on discourse aims to explicate how traditional thinking and writing practices serve to ideological and political ends within cultural structure, how the people's ways of thinking limit their actions.

Who speaks how and why? Who listens or quietens? How does s/he listen? Who writes or reads? How does s/he write or read? Discourse analysis, starting with such questions as above, centralises ambiguities rather than assumptions. Detail oriented discourse analysis is pragmatic; in other words, it analyses the linguistic features in order to comprehend what language users do with language why they do (Sözen, 1999).

While Coulthard mentions the historical development of discourse analysis and demonstrates various disciplines contributing to the field, Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest four research types in which discourse analysis is used. First of the four research types in question is influenced by speech act theory and focuses on how dialogues organise. The second type, which is more psychological, concentrates on discourse processes like the influence of discourse structure on recalling and understanding. The third one has been developed out of knowledge sociology perspective in order to explicate how scientists form their speeches and texts to present and validate their own actions and studies. The fourth type, on the other hand, is based on philosophical and cultural analysis and aims to explain how institutions, practices and even individuals may be considered as products of their own discourses.

Although it is handled and defined in various ways, discourse analysis is reflexive or critical analysis involving sociolinguistics, textual analysis and social analysis. Discourse analysis considers language as an action, a form of communication and a social practice. To sum up, it is a multi-dimensional, multi-functional, historical and critical analysis model.

### 3.1.2. Political Discourse Analysis

Politics is related to people and their lives led in social groups, besides a confined definition for the endless battles of ordinary party politics. Similar to all other social activities, politics possesses its unique language and discourse. Though the history of political rhetoric and practice date back to ancient times (Fairclough, 2001); that is to say the time of Aristotle, academic studies on the subject with a critical approach are new. Much attention has been given to the fact that how ideological orientation of those who created the language and how the readers' response will be affected by this language use.

Dutch linguist Teun A. van Dijk, who has noteworthy studies on discourse analysis in TS, media discourse and critical discourse analysis which constitutes the basis of this thesis, grounds his theories on ideology. He describes political discourse as eminently ideological. According to him it is the ideologies that form the social portrayal of groups. Ideologies are a type of social cognition shared by social groups. Therefore, they underpin the social representations and practices which include discourses with ideological production, reproduction and asperities (van Dijk, 2001).

With regard to this theory, van Dijk does not segregate ideology from discourse. This definition explains ideology as a practicable phenomenon owing to the fact that it suggests that ideology is formed within a social group, and that it is verbalised by the group members in common language along with discourse. He considers his ideology theory similar to other social movement theories; in other words, even though he handles as a social phenomenon and regards it as a feature that distinguishes groups, he does not consider groups consisting of solely ideologies. He considers many phenomena jointly and ideology is only one of these phenomena in the description of a group. Van Dijk illustrates this with a citation from Barbara Ryan as follows:

Feminism may be the ideology of feminists, but if feminists are only defined by their ideology, we do not seem to have advanced very much in the social definition of ideology (Ryan, 1992; Smith, 1990). Thus, we must assume that other social factors of group membership, group organization, leadership, group practices and rituals, as well as institutions may have to be accounted for in the social component of a theory of ideology, as we know from the theory of social movements in general (Larana, Johnston & Gusfield, 1994) (van Dijk, 2001:13).

Giving a social definition of ideology, van Dijk (2001) emphasizes that different ideologies means different groups. Our views of life, attitudes about incidents, discourse that reveals itself in every behaviour and decision all reflect our ideologies. For instance, there might be different embraced judgements on such matters as abortion, conscientious objection, privatisation, animal rights etc. It is the ideologies that determine the framework of all these judgements. That is to say, van Dijk defines ideologies as the cornerstone of social representations which are any type of common mental representations (van Dijk, 2001).

Professional politicians, who are paid, elected or self-designated for their political activities, may have minimum two ideologies reflected in their talks and texts. The first one supports them as active politicians while the second one is only socio-political ideology that they are bound to as members of political parties; which causes the existence of conservative and democrat politician or socialist neo-liberals.

Thus, the basic principles of professional ideologies sometimes clash with those of the social ideologies politicians represent. Thus, one may profess to democratic principles because that is what the dominant consensus requires, but socially one may represent ideologies based on principles of inequality, as is the case for racist ideologies. Or, if politicians represent religious parties, their allegiance to God may often conflict with their allegiance to their democratic ideologies (van Dijk, 2001:61).

It is usually possible to determine such ideology combinations in political texts. Since the basic patterns of political institutions come out of words which are preferred in favour of their advantages, words are politicians' most fatal weapons. Politics confronts the questions of language and such questions come out of both word preference and language preferences (Chilton, 2004). The linguists studying the political dimension of language intend to explicate how those in power utilise language with intent to accomplish their targets. Therefore, understanding the part of linguistic communication in the running of social groups and the ways that these groups form the language are aimed in the study of politics and language (Joseph 2004). Political communication between the social units may be analysed in two levels: micro and macro. The micro level concerns the conflicts of interest, struggle for dominance and efforts for co-operation between individuals, genders and social

groups. However, the macro level includes the power struggle or cooperation between political institutions, social groups or individuals on state level (Chilton & Schäffner 2002).

Although it was Aristotle who emphasized the importance of rhetoric for the first time, George Orwell raised concern over the connection between language and politics in 1946 with his essay titled *Politics and the English language*.

People dislike one thing and want to express solidarity with another, but they are not interested in the detail of what they are saying. You can shirk it by simply throwing your mind open and letting the ready-made phrases come crowding in. They will construct your sentences for you, even think your thoughts for you to a certain extent and at need they will perform the important service of partially concealing your meaning even from yourself. It is at this point that the special connection between politics and the debasement of language becomes clear (Orwell, 1946:1-2).

According to Orwell (1946), what enables a political party to preserve fundamentalism among its followers is the detachment of language from visible reality. Within this point of view, the remarks by Dr. Frank Luntz (2007) in his book *Words that Work*, provide additional explanation as he proposes that people will not understand what is happening to them, and they cannot rebel against what they do not understand. (Luntz, 2007); forming the main concern of political discourse analysis (PDA); i.e. to explicate the disguised power and ideological structures hidden in political discourse.

Main concerns of Political Discourse Analysis are how politicians advertise their power and ideology implicitly, successfully benefiting from linguistic means (Lande, 2010). Therefore, political analysis deals mostly with “credibility” and legitimization of the politicians’ deeds according to their ideologies. Researches in this field are based on communication and linguistic theories used to unveil the politicians’ intentions and to analyse how their speeches affect people.

Though the question of implicit meaning inspired many scholars such as Chilton, van Dijk and Fairclough, Poul Grice was among the pioneers who paid attention on this topic. Grice suggests four conversation maxims: the maxim of quantity (give information as required), quality (be truthful), relation (be relevant) and manner (avoid obscurity). When a speaker follows all four maxims, there is no

implicature. However, when the speaker “flouts” one of the maxims, the situation results in conversational implicature (implied pragmatic meaning) (Vine, 2004).

Implicatures in political language help politicians mean more than what they say through intended meaning which is only recognizable to the reader/hearer if he/she embraces a particular ideology or set of attitudes and values (Chilton, 2004). Political discourse can be analysed on the lexical, syntactic and textual levels (Wodak, 1986). Consequently, through all the above mentioned approaches to political discourse, the modern approach has turned to be a critical study of signs of deception and authority in language of politicians.

Critical analysis of political discourse aims to depict how politicians and political groups act on their followers through the power dynamics of their language (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), thus, focuses on revealing injustice and inequality, denaturalising ideologies, clarify dominance and power structures (Wodak, 1986).

For any speech or activity to be considered as political depends on context and/or purpose rather than its actors. In other words, it is not only the politicians having activities or speeches, but any audience or group, that is to say, any participant; such as the citizens, voters, demonstrators and dissidents, included in political process has political discourse as well. Moreover, despite being professionals, politicians are not always included political activity or speech; their discourse is considered political as long as they participate in such political actions as ruling, governing, legislating, dissenting, protesting or voting (van Dijk, 2001). Thus, political discourse exists with the context in which the text is produced.

Discourse is related to life with its social, economic, cultural and political aspects. Therefore, it is not merely a linguistic action to be analysed within the limits of linguistics. Despite using linguistic elements, discourse refers to whole world; which is how the symbolic function of language exists. In the course of analysis, instead of unveiling the writer’s intention, revealing the way to understand the text will serve more in order to comprehend the reality conducted in it. Hence, the analyst should follow the way to reveal the secret discourse within the text. Discourse should also be analysed as a signifier pointing out the social reality

established by the author, and within the historical, geographical and social limitations of the text (Güngör, 2015). As for the analysis of political discourse, van Dijk (2004) suggests that the analysis should not be confined only to linguistic features, but to consider the context as a whole and its relations to linguistic structures. Moreover, he gives some properties of political discourse.

- Societal domain or field (education, laws, health, arts, business)
- Political systems (Communism, dictatorship, democracy, fascism, social democracy)
- Political values (political freedom, justice, equality, independence)
- Political ideologies
- Political institutions (state, government, parliament or congress, city councils, state agencies)
- Political organisations (political parties, political clubs)
- Political groups (opponents, dissidents, demonstrators, diques, coalitions, crowds, socio-political groups)
- Political actors (politicians, demonstrators, lobbyists, strikers)
- Political relations (power, power abuse, hegemony, oppression, tolerance, equality and inequality)
- Political process (governing, legislation, opposition, solidarity, agenda-setting)
- Political actions (sessions and meetings of political institutions, organisations and groups, passing laws, voting, demonstrations, campaigning, revolutions)
- Political discourse (parliamentary debates, laws, government or ministerial regulations, institutional forms of text and talks, propaganda, political advertising, political speeches, media interviews, political talk shows, party programs, ballots)
- Political cognition (shared social knowledge and political attitudes, specific knowledge of concrete political events) (van Dijk, 2004).

Such a concise classification of the organisation of political domain helps to locate political discourse amid other features of the political system. Van Dijk exemplifies this classification for a parliamentary debate as follows:

- Domain: Politics
- System: Democracy
- Institution: Parliament
- Values and ideologies: Democracy, group and party ideologies
- Organisations: Political parties, lobbyists
- Political actors: Members of parliament, cabinet ministers
- Political relations: Legislative power
- Political process: Legislation
- Political action: Political decision making
- Political cognitions: Attitudes about the relevant issue (van Dijk, 2004:19)

Every single word included in the text must be apprehended as per the social and historical situation it is produced in. It is possible to define discourse as coherent sequence of words which is produced using elements which become meaningful within natural language. Natural language, besides being the fundamental communication tool, enables the creation of new symbolisations by means of similes, metaphors and connotations. Slangs, accents and professional terms can be counted as illustrations of this. Political language, thus, has its own unique terminology which takes part in natural language. A text or a speech about politics at any level is an expression of social reality which the producer defines within historical and social context. In other words, political texts represent the social situation which is built by the producer. Thus, it becomes clear that political discourse does not solely depend on discursive features, but it also requires systematic contextual definition with respect to related systems, settings, cognitions and actors.

Therefore, analysis of political texts requires a method far different than discourse analysis methods of other text types, in order to explicate the imbedded political and ideological elements within the text. Thus, scholars developed critical analysis methods to this end, which is described in detail in the following chapter.



### 3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

The interaction between language use and ideology has been a popular research field for many sciences including translation studies, particularly after 1980s. Fowler's study (1991) stating that women and the youth were reflected with a negative attitude in media texts may be considered as the start of discourse studies in media. Fowler's (1991) statement that whatever written or uttered about the world are formed in accordance with an ideology points out the inevitability of ideological signs within a text. Following this study, the ideological elements within a text were paid more attention. Analyses were not made only on media texts but on all other text types as well. Since this study focuses on news texts, ideology and translation, studies within this framework will be mentioned. Apart from Fowler's study emphasising the ideological elements inserted in texts, Fairclough (1992) regarded discourse as a social activity and discussed it within the context of ideology and power. Another important figure in the field is Teun A. van Dijk, who has published many articles and books on discourse analysis and particularly on critical discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stresses that the ideological elements embedded in selected language forms may not be easily recognised, and the only way to uncover such elements is CDA. A case in the point is the media since it plays a significant role in the reproduction of social norm which help government to exercise control over individuals (Doruk, 2013). Therefore, media language should be analysed critically. Explication of ideological practices of media discourse also uncovers how social inequalities are reproduced. Norman Fairclough and Teun A. van Dijk are the two prominent scholars for CDA. Fairclough bases his approach on critical linguistics focusing on the conceptualisation of language; and does not concentrate on news. Van Dijk, on the contrary, views news as a form of social discourse and analyses newspaper texts systematically in accordance with the text-linguistic findings in order to explicate the ideological elements imbedded in news texts.

Michel Foucault has contributed to CDA a lot with his studies in which he emphasises the futility of universal reality. With the relation he formed between knowledge and power, and the omnipresence of power, he is among the first scholars to suggest that power is formless and not centralised in the state; and that macro-power types may exist as well.

Another study field in which media texts are analysed is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA aims to explain linguistic structures systematically by utilising linguistic techniques, which can also be described as scientific methodising of difference between looking and seeing. Thus, CDA suggests that ideological elements in news are inserted within selected linguistic form and cannot be recognised easily.

CDA suggests that solely through a critical analysis can the ideological elements inserted in a news text be explicated; and also emphasises that function of media language should be analysed critically. Through determining the ideological practices within the news discourse, it will be possible to explicate how the reproduction of social inequalities is formed. CDA handles linguistic units with their social and historical contexts. Therefore, its destination is not grammatical, but social and political CDA proposes that discourse, as a social action, is social problem oriented and reflects power relations (Büyükkantarçioğlu, 2012).

Globalisation, discourse of history writing, discourse of advertisements and popular culture, news, national and ethnic identities, women studies, gender based inequality are the most common topics handled by CDA. Van Dijk (2003) describes CDA as a method of discourse analysis which emphasises and studies such topics as power, authority, hegemony, class distinction, gender, race, ideology, racism, interest, profit, reproduction, alteration, tradition, social structure or social order. It is interested in how social phenomena; such as power relations, values, ideologies, identifications, are redounded to individuals and social order through linguistic constructions.

According to Gunther Rolf Kress (1989), Professor of Semiotics and Education, CDA is based on some assumptions which are listed below:

- Language is a social phenomenon.
- Not only individuals, but also institutions and social groups have their own unique understandings and values which are expressed through systematic methods.
- Texts are related to the linguistic units within communication.
- Readers/Listeners are not humble receivers during their interactions with the texts.
- There are some similarities between linguistics and language practices.

In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Van Dijk (2003), on the other hand, summarises Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) principles of CDA as follows:

1. Discourse points out to the social problems.
2. Power relations are inconsistent.
3. Discourse forms the society and the culture.
4. Discourse is ideological.
5. Discourse is historical.
6. Discourse is the medium between the text and the society.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.

3.8. Discourse is a form of social actions.

Critical researchers studying discourse need an array of satisfying aims in order to notice the efficacy of discourse. Within this framework, the aims of CDA are listed as below by van Dijk (2003):

- For CDA to be accepted by all other marginal research techniques, it has to be much better than all the others in case analysis.
- CDA focuses on social problems and political issues rather than existing paradigms.
- Critical analysis of the experimental efficacy of social problems is usually multi-disciplined.
- Instead of defining and explaining discursive structures, CDA attempts to clarify discursive structures relying on particularly social structure and success in social interaction.
- CDA is interested in legitimisation of power and dominance relations, their approval, transformation and reproduction.

Linguists Teun A. van Dijk and Norman Fairclough are the two prominent figures in this field. Fairclough focuses his approach on the conceptualisation of language as discourse, and forms his theory on critical linguistics. However, he does not stick to news discourse. In contrast, van Dijk's critical discourse analysis enables the systematic analysis of news texts; which is why his method is preferred for this study.

### **3.2.1. Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model**

The purpose of discourse analysis, as van Dijk states in his *Ideological Discourse Analysis* (1995), is not only a search for the ideologies imbedded in the text. In other words, since even an ordinary reader of average language knowledge and interest in daily events has more or less an accurate idea about which newspaper is conservative, contemporary, violence prone or liberal. Analysing present samples with intent to explicate these features will not make any use other than illustrating already known facts. However, particularly the developments by van Dijk's studies explain how ideological interventions function in cognitive processes. It is clearly

understood from his ideology definition that it is the cognitive factors. Since ideology is regarded as a set of values shared by social groups, van Dijk demonstrates that discourse is used as a means of preservation, suppression, dominance, defence and/or legitimisation. Apart from that, members of these social groups may also be members of other groups and these groups may contradict with each other. For instance, one who highlights humanism in his discourses may also represent hooliganism to the extent that he ignores the supporters of another team. When this example is examined with respect to news texts, a newspaper, which is considered to be objective by its readers, may aberrate from the neutrality policy due to the editor's personal decisions; which illustrates that individual differences of the members of social groups sharing a discourse serving for similar ideologies also have influence over this common discourse.

According to van Dijk (2009), discourse and society do not influence each other directly, but through mediators. In order to deal with this gap between society and discourse, van Dijk defines his analytic framework as a triangle of 'discourse-society-cognition'. According to van Dijk (2001) society can be analysed at interaction-situation level and at groups, social organisations and institutions levels. Discourse, on the other hand, may be related to the society in two ways:

1. Through the social presentations of social members of social structure
2. In local and macro level interactions and situations; through the exemplifying presentation of social structure by social actors

Discourse analysis does not analyse only the language, but also all fields in which ideology can penetrate. Especially in media, the photographs, the size and topicality of the photographs, footprint of the news, point size of the lead and the headlines, repetition of the same news by the same newspaper on following days, references etc. are all decisions made under the influence of ideology. Sometimes, these elements may move ahead of linguistic features and be determinants in how the reader should perceive the news. Considering all these factors, van Dijk suggests a comprehensive method for the critical discourse analysis of news texts.

According to van Dijk (2003) CDA should investigate the discursive dimensions of inequality, injustice, misuse of power and authority, which comes out of or results from the discourse itself. To explicate the implied meanings within a text can be good means of CDA for ideological analysis. Emphasising the necessity for a precise analysis regarding the function of discursive structures, strategies and processes in the reproduction of ideology, van Dijk (2001) suggest the model he formed with intend to fill this gap.

Teun A. van Dijk analyses news texts syntactically and semantically. While focusing on grammatical structures of the sentences used in the news text for syntactic analysis, he emphasises that the meaning of all words and sentences, in short, the whole text must be analysed for semantic analysis. His critical discourse analysis model consists of two main parts in which macro structure and micro structure are handled separately. Macro structure analysis is the investigation of the scheme which reflects the theme of the news, and is used for news production. News production is performed under the terms of certain routines and this production is organised according to a scheme (van Dijk, 1988). Headlines, news leads, main event, news sources, background and context information, interpretations/assessments by the parties, photographs etc. are considered within macro structure. By giving the most important information prior, the reader is directed to what is more important.

The other part of van Dijk's analysis model is micro-structure. Micro analysis involves syntactic analysis, regional cohesion, word preference and rhetoric analysis. Syntactic analysis is done with regard to the simple/complicated and active/passive sentence formations. Words used in the news text are analysed within micro structure for the ideological set up to be explicated. Basic beliefs and ideologies about the social actors are presented with regard to word preference. Through the analysis of regional cohesion, the aim is to uncover the causal, functional and referential relations between and among the successive sentences (van Dijk, 1988).

Teun Van Dijk (1994) argues that ideology, which is a necessity for the application and preservation of power on society, is gained, approved and reproduced through discourse. Therefore, power is, applied and legitimised either directly or indirectly, by means of various discourse types, contents, styles. The syntax, opening and closing discourse, story formation, headlines, significance of the news, discourse subject and rhetoric of the news text, are all provide tools for imbedding convincing abstractions in social context (van Dijk, 1988).

### 3.2.1.1. Macro structure

News texts are composed of macro propositions and certain macro principles are applied while forming the theme of the news text. Headlines, leads, main event, news sources, first paragraph of the text, background and context information, interpretations/assessments by the parties, photographs etc. are considered within macro structure.

- a. **Thematic Structure:** CDA analyses the thematic structure of the text, which consists headlines, leads and photographs, including cause-effect relations and all other relations within the ultimate constructions and details. Macro structures, such as headline, lead, epigraph, sub-titles, which form the thematic hierarchy are analysed with respect to their relations with the theme. According to van Dijk (1988), readers search for the theme of the text while passing through these parameters.
- b. **Schematic Structure:** Schematic Structure is analysed in two main parts as situation and interpretation. In *situation*, the news is assessed with regard to the presentation of the main event, its result, and background and context information. News sources and interpretations/assessments of the parties are also included *interpretation* part of schematic structure analysis.

### 3.2.1.2. Micro structure

Syntactic analysis, local coherence, phraseology and rhetorical analysis are made for the analysis of micro structure of the news. Sentence structures (simple/complex, active/passive), lexical preferences; causal, functional and referential relations of successive sentences; numeric data used to maintain persuasiveness of the news, statements by witnesses and parties, photographs, opinions given in quotations etc. should be analysed.

- *Syntactic Analysis*: The structures of the sentences, location of the subject and the way the sentence is formed should be analysed for syntactic analysis.
- *Local Coherence*: The sentences forming the news text are analysed with regard to their causal, referential and functional relations. Cause-effect relations of successive sentences are searched for causal relation. Whether or not a general statement is explained in the following sentence expresses the functional relation. Referential relation gives if a concept given in a sentence is referred to in the following sentence.
- *Phraseology*: Lexis preference is one of the most important parts of the analysis in that it explicates the common beliefs and ideologies about the social actors. Reflecting the world-view of the journalist, selected words form one of the most important parts of the analysis. The definition of the same person as a terrorist or a as freedom fighter explicates the ideology that the reporter or journalist have. Phraseology is directly related to the formation of meaning within the micro structures of news text and enables the reader set a general framework about the incidents.
- *Rhetoric*: Since Aristotle, rhetoric is defined as the art of using language effectively to persuade others. Rhetoric, one of the important elements of micro structure analysis of Van Dijk's method, is a key concept alongside with strategy. Incidents and situations transform into a strategic process by means of a discourse which is organised by language, and exists with good command to language. Strategies of forming individual or social identities such as "we and they" are based on a concept of "others". In the events of such conflicting situations as



otherising environments of national identity formation processes, class based hierarchy tensions or ideological polarisation occurring owing to social stratification, social structures or individuals are built via successful discourse strategies. Within this perspective, media is among most successful language users. Photographs, numeric data, citations etc. are used to increase the persuasiveness of the news and to make the reader internalise the main theme given by the news narration. Photographs given while presenting the news are regarded as important element to explain the intended theme (van Dijk, 1985).

According CDA, rhetoric, citations, photographs, graphics, numeric data etc. are used as persuasion tools. Strategy, on the other hand, stands for conscious or unconscious processes to make the implicit or explicit intentions come true. Van Dijk (2008) mentions three major persuasion strategies:

- *Direct Description of the Events*: Use of numbers and statistics to create the intended effect, use of evidence, and use of information about time and place help to create persuasiveness. Emphasising the place is also important for the identity formation of the actors of the incident. ‘Definition’, in media texts, can be a strategy against the negated (or vice versa). Citations from sources or witnesses or utilising expert views are also persuasion tools. While background information regarding the incident is considered as an effort to form an opinion about the negated, not giving background information for opposite arguments aim to invalidate them.
- *Formation of Strong Cause-Effect Relations*: Configuring the narration effectively and using the similar incidents successfully are used to enhance or clarify the argument. Relating a phenomenon with others approved by everybody is called as ‘parallel structures strategy’.
- *Emotional Expression of Events*: A stunning and effective discourse is aimed in the definition of events in a sentimental manner.

In his article titled *Structures of News in Press* (1985), Van Dijk summarises these structures as follows:

In other words, schematic superstructures organize thematic macrostructures, much in the same way as the syntax of a sentence organizes the meaning of a sentence. Indeed, in both cases, we deal with a number of formal categories, which determine the possible orderings and the hierarchical organization of sentential and textual units, respectively. To wit, the category of Headline in a news discourse has a fixed form and position in news items in the press. At the same time, this Headline has a very specific thematic function: it usually expresses the most important topic of the news item. We see that themes and schemes, macrostructures and superstructures are closely related (van Dijk, 1985:69).

According to him, news categories play a significant role in the definition of news schemata. He also states that recency and relevance are two other major principles important since a strategic and cognitive approach adjustment must be made for the formulation of theme and schema. “This cognitive approach also provides the link with the social constraints of news production (routines, news values, and ideologies)” (van Dijk, 1985:92). Finally, he provides his readers a diagram to show the structures of news texts.

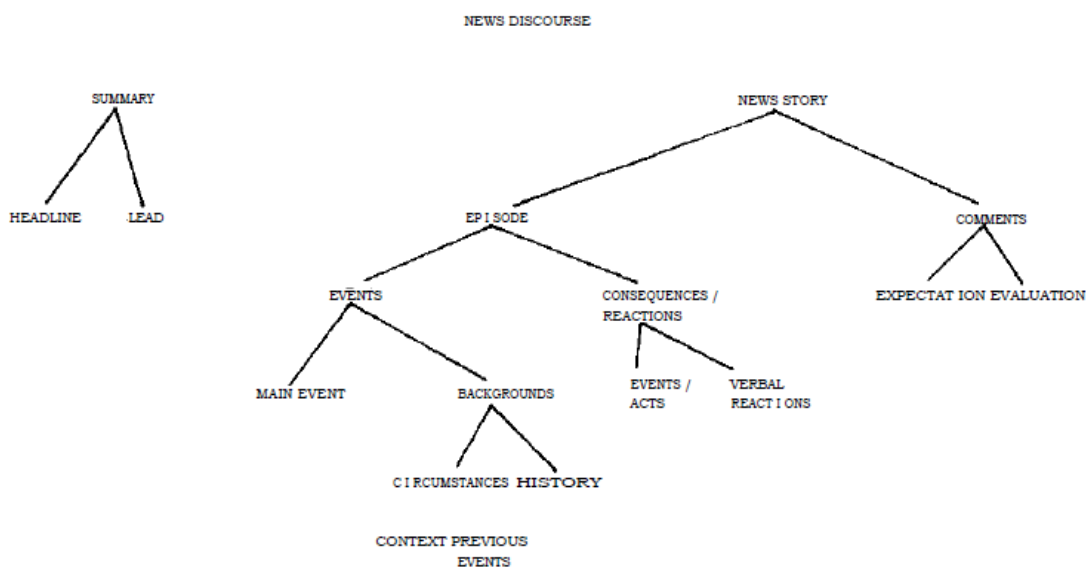


Figure 1 Superstructure Schema of News Discourse (van Dijk, 1985: 86)

#### **IV. ANALYSIS OF SELECTED NEWS TEXTS**

According to van Dijk (2003) CDA should investigate the discursive dimensions of inequality, injustice, misuse of power and authority, which comes out of or results from the discourse itself. Thus, CDA presents a useful framework to analyse texts wholly without extracting them from ideological and cultural contexts.

In this study, news texts about the relocation of Süleyman Şah Tomb by Turkish Government on February 21, 2015 are going to be analysed. The incident had widespread media coverage as it was the only Turkish territory out of national borders. The nine-hour operation took place on February 21 at night, thus it was announced in newspapers published on February 23, 2015. Newspapers continued to publish news on this topic for about a week. Around 50 news articles, including columns, were published in the newspapers published in English, which are Hürriyet Daily News, Today's Zaman and Daily Sabah. The Turkish versions of these newspapers, Hürriyet, Zaman and Sabah, on the other hand, gave more coverage to this event. News continued to take place in Turkish versions for a longer period when compared to the English versions. On the first day of publishing which is February 23, 2015, the news was announced on the first page of all newspapers. But on the following days, newspapers began to leave less space for the incident and related news texts were published on other pages. These texts are confined to only the texts about the main incident excluding columns and news about other incidents related to the main event (burial of the lost soldier, polemics between and among the actors etc.). Some of the texts start on the first page and continue on other pages usually with a similar headline.

##### **4.1. Macro Structure Analysis**

News texts are composed of macro propositions and certain macro principles are applied while forming the theme of the news text. Headlines, leads, main event, news sources, first paragraph of the text, background and context information,

interpretations/assessments by the parties, photographs etc. are considered within macro structure.

#### **4.1.1. Thematic structure analysis**

CDA analyses the thematic structure of the text, which consists headlines, leads and photographs, including cause-effect relations and all other relations within the ultimate constructions and details. Macro structures, such as headline, lead, epigraph, sub-titles, which form the thematic hierarchy are analysed with respect to their relations with the theme. According to van Dijk (1988), readers search for the theme of the text while passing through these parameters.

##### **4.1.1.1. Headlines**

How discourse structures affect cognitive presentations is one of the aspects on which the analysis is focused. At macro level, headlines/themes affect what the readers consider as the most important information of a text/speech, depending on the importance level of readers' cognitive models (van Dijk, 2001). Who controls the themes and theme changes is of great importance for all discourses and interactions. Headlines/Themes suggest what a discourse or text is about.

According to van Dijk (1991), language users utilise such macro structures in order to comprehend and summarise a text. For news discourse, the top part this macro structure is expressed in the headlines and the leads. Headlines which are parts of macro structure have function of suggesting just as the leads and conclusions do. In other words, it is headlines which are used to attract the attention of the reader and form a general perspective about the event in readers' minds. When the headlines of the newspapers analysed are studied, it is observed that the headlines on the first page differ from the headlines of the follow-up texts on other pages. When the headlines are analysed, it becomes clear that newspapers tend to make an information

deduction by not giving the time, place or the actors. Besides, readers are attempted to be directed with the help of some certain vocabulary.

The headlines of the newspapers on February 23, 2015 are as follows:

1. Army relocates Turkish tomb on Syrian soil (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:1)
2. Turkey relocates tomb in Syria over jihadist threat (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9)
3. (Success of Fiasco)Gov't under fire over retreat from Turkish territory in Syria (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:1,4)
4. Midnight operation extracts tomb, soldiers from ISIS clutches (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)
5. Turkey successfully evacuates tomb of Süleyman Shah (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9)

The headlines of the news texts about the Süleyman Şah Operation give the main theme of the news. The theme is the relocation of Süleyman Şah Tomb within Syrian borders and it can easily be understood from the headlines.

When the headlines are analysed, that no information is given about the time of the operation becomes obvious. Headlines number 1, 3 and 4 also give inaccurate information about the theme. In headline 1, it is not mentioned to which country the 'army' belongs. This ambiguity is removed by a follow up title on another page; '*Turkey* relocates tomb in Syria over jihadist threat'. Headlines 3 and 4 present similar ambiguities with the usage of words 'Gov't', 'soldiers' and 'tomb'. The ambiguity created by use of these words may be argued to be incorrect since these newspapers acknowledge people about the things happened in Turkey. But, these newspapers are published in English which means that they address readers around the globe. Readers who do not have background information about the tomb, region etc. will not be able to comprehend the theme mentioned in the headlines. Besides, published in English just like Hürriyet Daily News and Daily Sabah, Today's Zaman

clearly states that they have a worldwide reader group on its official website as follows:

I welcome all our readers across the world who are keenly interested in developments in Turkey and its immediate geographic vicinity. The editorial staff and I are well aware of the fact that this paper, in both its print and Web editions, is being closely followed by a great number of people all over the world on a daily basis. The reason is simple yet also complex: Turkey stands at the world's geographic and political crossroads. In recent years it has become one of the most closely followed and frequently discussed countries. (...) Today's Zaman is filled with national and international news in the fields of business, diplomacy, politics, culture, arts, sports and economics, in addition to commentaries, specials and features (<http://www.todayszaman.com/about-us>).

Though not mentioning the international readers directly, the Daily Sabah expresses its scope as “founded in 2014, Daily Sabah provides millions of people with everything they need to understand the local, national, regional and international developments” (<http://www.dailysabah.com/static/about-us>). Hürriyet Daily news, despite being published in English, expresses itself as a nationwide newspaper (<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/about-the-newsroom.aspx?pageID=454>).

Besides this inaccurate informing, readers of these newspapers are also attempted to be manipulated through lexical preferences in the headlines. Although they are all about the same incident, relocation of the Süleyman Şah Tomb by Turkey, their lexical preferences vary significantly. In headlines 1 and 2, using the verb ‘*relocate*’ which is defined as “to locate or allocate again: establish or lay out in a new place” (Merriam-Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 2000) for the main event in the news, Hürriyet Daily News remains more objective than Today’s Zaman and Daily Sabah. Though Daily Sabah uses the word ‘*evacuate*’ in headline 5, the modification of the verb with an adverb of positive reference ‘*successfully*’ may indicate the newspaper’s positive attitude towards the operation. Headline 6 and 8 continue Daily Sabah’s positive attitude with an implication of a rescue ‘*extracts tomb, soldiers from ISIS clutches*’ and a defeat ‘*Turkey confronts the ISIS threat*’. Today’s Zaman, on the contrary, reflects its negative attitude towards the operation in a more evident way by naming the operation as ‘*retreat*’ (headline 5). Moreover, the by adding the phrase ‘*success of fiasco,*’ above the headline, Today’s Zaman

intends to raise questions in its readers minds about the consequences of the operation.

Another point highlighted in headlines 2 and 4 is the implication of a dangerous situation in the region which paved the way for the relocation. While headline 2 describes this dangerous situation as ‘jihadist threat’ without naming a certain group or enemy, but just an ideology, headline 4 reflects the situation in more specifically: *ISIS clutches*. By naming the enemy and animalising ISIS to a creature with clutches, Daily Sabah endeavours to highlight the danger in the region.

It is journalists’, who produce the news texts, task to present the news in both an interesting and informative way. They need to form headlines and texts to be approved both by the editor and the readers (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983). News headlines are texts which reflect the most important aspects of the event according to the journalist or the editor. Thus, the journalist creating the headlines sets the most important element in the first place. According to Erguvanlı (1979), the focus in a sentence in Turkish is the one which is closest to the predicate. Accordingly, the unit placed right before the predicate forms the focus of the news headlines. However, the focus may also be the first unit of the sentence and connotations of which may mirror both the writer’s and the reader’s point of view (Zeyrek, 1992). The writer selects the best phrase to reflect his point of view and sets it at the beginning of the sentence, while the readers internalise this point of view and approach the event accordingly.

When the Turkish versions of the newspapers of the same date are analysed, similar attitudes are observed, yet headlines are designed to be more eye-catching; certain words written in different colours and with capital letter to provoke national emotions.

GECE YARISI GERİ ÇEKİLME OPERASYONU (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1)

GERİ ÇEKİLME OPERASYONU (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10)

Süleyman Şah’ın kaybedilmesi dış politikanın iflasının ilanıdır (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14)

The first two headlines from Zaman also lack enough information about the time and place of the event. Nonetheless, main focus of these headlines is a ‘retreat – geri çekilme’ operation which is conducted at ‘midnight – gece yarısı.’ This may implicate the secrecy of the operation. The third headline, also lacks time information, can be interpreted as a more accurate proposition, but with a negative attitude towards the operation; again calling it as a loss of something which is valuable for Turkish people; Süleyman Şah. The above given headlines from Zaman, by defining the operation as ‘retreat – geri çekilme’ and ‘loss – kaybedilme’ are in the same direction with the headlines in the English version, Today’s Zaman. Here, usage of these words clearly shows that this newspaper does not approve the operation; instead it stands against the operation with the claim of giving up territory with a connotation by ‘Süleyman Şah’.

**BAYRAK İNMEDİ** (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)

Yolumuza çıkan **VURURDUK** (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18)

**İkametgâh** geçici **yasal statü** kalıcı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:20)

‘Bayrağımız inmedi, egemenlik korundu’ (Sabah, February 23, 2015:21)

When headlines of Sabah are analysed, it has been observed that almost no exact information is given through the headlines which are supposed to inform readers about the time, place and theme of the main event. What distinguishes news texts and headlines from other text types is the use of various graphic designs. Letters printed in various size and thickness, framing, background colouring, pictures, photographs etc. are the properties that make news texts and headlines unique. There is no doubt that such visual arrangements have profound effect on the intended efficacy of the texts (Zeyrek, 1992). Sabah’s headlines present a good example for the above mentioned explanation with differently coloured and sized letters besides the photographs. Considering all together, it may be concluded that what Sabah aims with use of all possible tools is to affect its readers via a repetitive provocation of



national emotions; enhancing its point with the first headline, which is written on red ground with white letters; representing the colours of Turkish flag, and saying that the flag was not hauled down, ‘bayrak inmedi,’ is an attempt to evoke national heroic emotions, since haul down of a flag means defeat of a country.

The second headline, a quotation from the Prime Minister, ‘yolumuza çikani vururduk – we would shoot anyone against us,’ which is printed on a photograph picturing a tank at dawn, is a clear sign of the determinism for the operation. That the last word, ‘vururduk,’ is written with capital letters and a different colour, again, reflects the emphasis of determinism. Despite being a quotation, it still reflects the newspaper’s attitude; especially when followed with other texts and headlines on the following pages, an attempt for legitimising the operation becomes evident. Phrases ‘ikametgâh - residence’ and ‘yasal statü – juridical status,’ being written in, probably, the most eye-catching colour, red, can be considered as evidences of the newspaper’s legitimisation attempt. The last headline, again, mentions ‘not hauling down of the flag and preserve of the sovereignty; which also may be considered as an attempt to address the national emotions.

Hürriyet, also, prefers ambiguous headlines for its Turkish version, without any information of time and main theme. The only place information given through headlines is seen in the first headline; name of a city in northern Syria, ‘Kobani’. Yet the only connotation of this city for Turkish readers is, probably, the battle between an Islamist group and the local people of the city. Yet, it is quite intriguing leaving question marks in the readers’ minds. Who is ‘Şah’? Why did he pass through Kobane? When did he pass? Did he pass or will he pass? etc. creating all these and similar questions in minds, the headline makes the reader wonder about the content and read, which is what the headlines aim. The second headline is also ambiguous, without any information of time and place. However, readers can understand that somebody entered and left somewhere.

Kobani’den Şah Geçişi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1)

Mehterle girdi ‘Emanet’le çıktı (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14)

TOPRAK KAYBETMEDİK GURURLUYUZ (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16)

**Şah Fırat Tepkisi**: Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16)

#### 4.1.1.2. Leads

Leads, which follow the headlines in the news schemata, are the parts summarising the news texts and presenting the main event. Leads give hints about the main theme, content and, above all, the attitude of the newspaper towards the incident (newspaper's ideology). Moreover, eye-catching photographs and captions have common characteristics with the leads. It has been observed that no lead was used for some of the news; that is why; the first paragraphs of these news texts are taken as leads. The leads of the newspapers about the above mentioned news are given below:

1. Turkey's army conducts a night-time operation to evacuate a sacred Turkish tomb in Syrian territory, while raising its flag on soil closer to the border (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:1).
2. Turkish army has swept into Syria overnight to evacuate a historic Ottoman tomb in northern Syria and moved the artifacts to a new site close to the border over increasing security risks in the region (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9).
3. The Turkish government came under a firestorm of criticism on Sunday when news broke of the abandonment of the Tomb of Süleyman Şah -- the grandfather of the founder of the Ottoman Empire -- in northern Syria, the only Turkish territory that is not attached to the rest of the country (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:1).
4. In an operation that abided by international law and was executed under intense secrecy, the Turkish military successfully evacuated the Tomb of Süleyman Shah and the soldiers guarding it before relocating it to a more defensible spot within Syria (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:1).
5. Turkey's armed forces conducted a two-pronged operation to repatriate soldiers from the Turkish exclave of the Tomb of Süleyman Shah, surrounded by ISIS militants, due to rising security issues (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9).

Readers should be given the answers of the questions of what, when, where, how, why and who through the news leads; thus the analysis must look for the answers of these questions within the news leads.

When the leads of Hürriyet Daily news are analysed, it is clearly seen that most information is given. The ambiguity of the headline 1 regarding the 'army' is explained in the lead by '*Turkey's army*'. In the lead, blur information about the time

of evacuation is given as an attempt to clarify the ambiguity, yet the phrase ‘a *night-time operation*’ still does not explain the exact date and/or hour of the operation. However, readers are fully informed about the place (*in Syrian territory*), motive (*to evacuate a sacred tomb*) and the party that carried out the operation (*Turkey’s army*).

Second lead by Hürriyet Daily News, on the contrary, presents all the information supposed to take place in the lead. What is worthy of notice in this lead is the preference of verb ‘*sweep into*’ while describing the Turkish army’s entering in the Syrian territory. The use of this verb which means ‘to move along or across with a swift continuous action’ (Merriam-Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 2000) implies that the operation was carried out as planned without any delays or interruptions.

Lead 3 by Today’s Zaman, besides bearing the answers for the questions expected from a lead, approaches the operation from a different perspective, which seems to be an anti-operation perspective. Emphasising the amount of criticism for the operation – *firestorm of criticism*- and defining the relocation operation as ‘*abandonment*’, Today’s Zaman explicates its side among the discussions about the operation.

Last two leads of Daily Sabah lack some information; lead 4 does not explain the reason of the operation while lead 5 does not mention when the operation was conducted. Though lead 5 is for the follow up text of the news given on first page under lead 4, these two leads reflect different aspects of the operation. Lead 4 puts emphasis on the legitimisation of the operation saying ‘*...an operation that was abided by international law...*’. This may be considered as an attempt to make the readers believe that the operation was lawful and thus no one should react against it. Another attempt to show the necessity of the operation may be deducted from ‘*...a more defensible spot...*’ which alludes the necessity to defend the tomb. Lead 5, on the other hand, highlights the ‘*two-pronged*’ aspect of the operation with which not only the tomb was relocated but the soldiers were, too, *repatriated*.

In contrast with the newspapers published in English, their Turkish versions spare more space for the event, and thus give detailed information in the leads. What similar to the English versions is their attitudes towards the operation.

Türkiye, sınırları dışındaki tek toprağı olan Suriye'deki Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nden güvenlik gerekçesiyle *çekildi*. Önceki gece yarısı düzenlenen 'Şah Fırat Operasyonu'yla 38 asker tahliye edilirken yaşanan kazada bir astsubay *şehit* oldu. Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı, Suriye içinde, sınıra 200 m mesafedeki Eşme köyüne getirildi. *Terkedilen* türbe imha edildi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri, *gece yarısı* operasyonu, IŞİD tehdidi altındaki Suriye'deki Süleyman Şah Saygı Karakolu'ndaki 38 askeri tahliye ederken, Süleyman Şah'ın naaşını da nakletti. Herhangi bir çatışmanın yaşanmadığı operasyon sırasında meydana gelen kazada bir *askerimiz şehit oldu*. Şam, operasyonu 'apaçık saldırganlık' olarak değerlendirerek tepki gösterdi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10).

Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ni terketmek için düzenlenen operasyona muhalefetin tepkisi sert oldu. *Vatan topraklarının IŞİD'e teslim edildiği operasyonu* 'sakandal' olarak değerlendiren siyasilere, Başbakan Davutoğlu'nun istifasını istedi. İktidar temsilcilerinin *rezaleti* 'zafer' gibi sunması ise kamuoyunda *alay konusu* oldu (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14).

Leads above, from Zaman, present every detail about the event; yet use of italicised phrases, explicating a negative attitude, comply with the attitude in its English version, Today's Zaman. As in the English version, the operation is called retreat (*çekilme*), abandonment (*terkedilen*) and 'giving in national territory (*vatan topraklarının teslim edildiği*) to show disapproval of the operation. In the last lead, Zaman takes this attitude by defining the operation as 'opprobrium (*rezalet*)' and claiming that the operation has become an object of derision.

Süleyman Şah'taki Türk bayrağı türbenin nakledileceği Suriye Eşme'sine yenisi dikilene kadar indirilmedi. Böylece tüm dünyaya "Bayrak inmez" mesajı verildi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1).

Şah Fırat operasyonunu dün sabah Başbakan Davutoğlu duyurdu: Saat 21.00 de, 2 eşzamanlı operasyon başlatıldı. Birlikler 4 koldan Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ne ulaştı. Harekât esnasında karşımıza kim çıkarsa çıksın, gereği yapılırdı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18).

Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu'nun Suriye Eşmesi köyüne taşınmasının ardından Dışişleri yaptığı açıklamada "Bu, türbenin antlaşmalarla tesbit edilmiş statüsünde herhangi bir herhangi bir değişiklik anlamına gelmemektedir" dedi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:20).

Başbakan Yardımcısı Bülent Arınç operasyona ilişkin muhalefetten gelen eleştirileri yanıtlarken "Toprak kaybetmedik. Operasyonun her anı Türkiye devletinin azametini, egemenliğini ortaya koydu" dedi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:21).

Leads of Sabah are also of the same attitude of Daily Sabah, highlighting the success of the operation by addressing national emotions. While giving the details of the operation except the reason, Sabah does not mention any of the reactions against the operation directly; but confines with a quotation from Bülent Arınç which still emphasises the success of the operation.

TSK, Suriye topraklarında Süleyman Şah Türbesi için ‘çifte’ operasyon yaptı. Bir grup, Kobani üzerinden IŞİD kuşatmasındaki türbeye gidip naaşı aldı ve 38 bordo bereliyi tahliye etti. Diğer grup, Süleyman Şah’a Suriye’de yeni bir türbe alanı oluşturdu (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1).

Türkiye sınırları dışındaki tek Türkiye toprağı olan Süleyman Şah Saygı Karakolu ve Türbesi için Suriye içine 2 koldan 9 saat süren bir operasyon düzenlendi. Operasyon Türkiye’deki Eşmeler köyünden *Mehter Marşı*’yla başladı. Tankla Kobani’den geçen *Mehmetçik* karakoldaki emanetler ile personeli alıp, Türkiye’ye döndü. 14 Şubat’ta planlanan ancak bölgedeki durum nedeniyle dün gece gerçekleştirilen operasyonun ayrıntıları şöyle (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

CHP Genel Başkanı Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Şah Fırat operasyonuna, “*Koskoca Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kendi toprağını savunamamıştır ve geri çekilmiştir*. Bu koskocaman bir ayıptır. Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu? Sen orayı koruyamıyorsan, Türkiye’yi nasıl koruyacaksın?” sözleriyle tepki gösterdi. Hürriyet’e konuşan Kılıçdaroğlu, operasyonu şöyle değerlendirdi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16 – emphasis added).

Hürriyet, on the other hand, keeps being in an attempt to remain impartial. As in the English version, leads of this newspaper, present detailed information about the operation, and approaches the event from two perspectives. While the second lead involves some historical, national elements such as ‘Mehter Marşı,’ which was a march used to be played and sang before any important event during Ottoman times, and the word ‘Mehmetçik’ which is used to refer to the Turkish soldiers; the third lead presents the reactions and accusations from the opposition.

Analysing the leads of both Turkish and English versions, it can be concluded that the newspapers in question preserved their ideologies and attitudes towards the event in both versions, yet the Turkish versions include more information and national connotations; which may be because of the readers they address are Turkish.

#### 4.1.1.3. Photographs

Photographs, taking place within the macro structure, are analysed as an element of the thematic structure which forms the theme of the news text. When the photographs used by the news are analysed, it is observed that they are not totally compatible with the incident explained in the news texts owing to the fact that the operation was carried out secretly. Therefore, photographs are not picturing the relocation process; instead they show the politicians and the military staff before and after the operation. The usage of visual elements per newspaper is as follows; Hürriyet Daily News has used 4 photographs and a map; Today's Zaman has inserted 2 photographs and a small map and Daily Sabah has placed 4 photographs and a map.

Hürriyet Daily News uses a photo shared by Prime Minister's Press Office depicting those who organised and ran the operation at General Staff's Headquarters. As understood from the photo taken in the aftermath of the operation, the people in the photo are not relieved which may be because of a loss a soldier during the operation.



Photo 1 Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015 page 1

The newspaper uses two other photographs under this with a map showing the route that the tomb was relocated. These two photographs and the map are placed next to each other. A photo of a Turkish tank passing through Kobane is given in the second line while two soldiers raising Turkish flag in Ashme where the tomb was moved after the operation are pictured in the third.



Photo 2 Hürriyet Daily News February 23, 2015 page 1

Hürriyet Daily News highlights the fallen army photographer with the photograph used for the news above the follow up text on page 9. A photo of the fallen soldier is inserted on the top left corner of the bigger photographs showing several other soldiers carrying a flagpole at night. The reddish tone of this photograph may refer to the pain caused by the death of the army photographer.



Photo 3 Hürriyet Daily News February 23, 2015 page 9

The photographs used by Today's Zaman depicts the Turkish tanks passing the Turkey-Syria border (page 1) and the Prime Minister while being briefed about the operation by high rank officers (page 4).

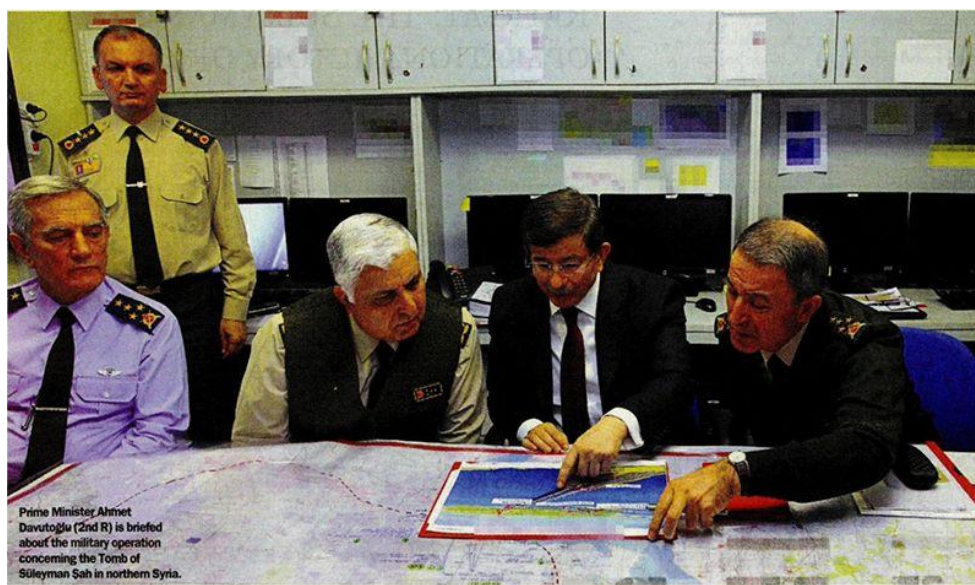


Photo 4 Today's Zaman February 23, 2015 page 4

In contrast with the photographs of Hürriyet Daily News and Today's Zaman, Daily Sabah uses a photograph on the first page to imply the 'success' of the operation. Three soldiers are greeting the Turkish flag at a starry night. On the left side, a piece of news is inserted with a photo of the President stating President's praises for the army and the government. At the bottom, there is another small photograph showing the Prime Minister with Defence Minister and Chief of Staff General curiously looking at something. The short quotation from the Prime Minister – operation lawful, no rights lost- illustrates the newspapers positive attitude towards the operation. Like the other newspapers, Daily Sabah also places a map showing the route of the operation at the right bottom of the main photograph.



Daily Sabah prefers another photo on page 9 to demonstrate the ‘successful’ness of the operation by using a photo of three soldiers placing a flagstaff, again at a bright, starry night.

# Midnight operation extracts tomb, soldiers from ISIS clutches

**ALI ÜNAL - ANKARA**

IN an operation that began late Saturday, the Turkish military successfully extracted 40 soldiers who had been guarding the Tomb of Süleyman Shah in Syria, the grandfather of the founder of the Ottoman Empire. The military force entered the site that is considered sovereign territory by Ankara with 39 tanks, 57 armored cars, 100 vehicles and 572 personnel. Without encountering any skirmishes, they completed the mission, which was carried out some 30 kilometers inside Syrian territory in an area controlled by the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). The operation came a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was being besieged by ISIS militants. After successfully completing the mission, Turkish forces returned to Turkey on Sunday morning. However, one soldier lost his life in an accident during the mission. At a press conference Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said: "Operation Shah Euphrates was extremely successful. Turkey did not violate any rights under international law. In terms of sentimental value, we have secured all rights inside Syrian territories." He underlined that Turkey did not need to request permission from any authority whatsoever. PAGE 9

IN an operation that abided by international law and was executed under intense secrecy, the Turkish military successfully evacuated the Tomb of Süleyman Shah and the soldiers guarding it before relocating it to a more defensible spot within Syria

**PRESIDENT PRAISES GOV'T AND MILITARY**  
President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said yesterday that he was glad that Operation Shah Euphrates was a success, congratulating the military and the government. He extended his condolences to the family of the soldier who died during the operation, which he said he personally monitored from start to finish.

**PM DAVUTOĞLU: OPERATION LAWFUL, NO RIGHTS LOST**  
Chief of Staff Gen. Ozet, PM Davutoğlu and Defense Minister Yılmaz




In a four-hour military operation conducted at night, 40 soldiers and the Tomb of Süleyman Shah they were guarding within ISIS territory in Syria were extracted.

Photo 5 Daily Sabah February 23, 2015 page 1



Photo 6 Daily Sabah February 23, 2015 page 9

As the photographs of the operation were released by the Turkish Army, same photographs are used by the Turkish versions of the newspapers. Yet, a photograph of the fallen soldier's mother has been given coverage in the Turkish versions. Considering the newspapers general attitude, this coverage can be interpreted in different ways as per each. The photograph, which is used both by Hürriyet and Zaman, depicts the mother in deep pain and holding her dead son's portrait. Yet, Sabah covers another photograph of the mother. Sabah's giving this photograph at the bottom of page may be considered as an attempt not to miss the event. However, the graphic design of the photograph can be interpreted as an attempt to evoke feelings of martyrdom, and thus praise the death as it was for the good of country, as it includes the photograph of the fallen soldier with a Turkish flag, and his flag draped coffin.



Photo 7 Sabah February 23, 2015 page 20

As seen in the photograph above, unlike the other two newspapers, Sabah shows other people, both a civilian woman and soldiers next to the fallen soldier's mother, with intend to announce that the mother is not alone in her grief, but has people around her for her sacrifice. All these elements regarding the photograph may, eventually, indicate Sabah's efforts to reflect the event as a successful operation despite the death of a soldier, which is also praised in order to keep the general positive attitude towards the operation.

Zaman, on the contrary, by using a photograph of the mother alone with her grief, wants to allude that the mistakes of the government led the death of an innocent and caused grief for his family. Covering this photograph both on the first page and in the follow up text can also be interpreted as an attempt to justify the critics against the operation.



Photo 8 Zaman February 23, 2015 page 1, 10

Considering the photographs alongside the headlines and the leads, it can be concluded that though the operation was carried out in intense secrecy, the visual elements depicting the politicians and the military staff before and after the operation are in accordance with the theme of the news texts.

#### **4.1.2. Schematic structure analysis**

Schematic Structure is analysed in two main parts as situation and interpretation. In *situation*, the news is assessed with regard to the presentation of the main event, its result, and background and context information. News sources and interpretations/assessments of the parties are included in the *interpretation* part of schematic structure analysis. When the news texts in question are considered, it is seen that the presentation of the main incident is given in the leads.

##### **4.1.2.1. Presentation of the main incident and results**

That the Turkish army entered in northern Syria to evacuate and relocate the Tomb of Süleyman Şah, father of the founder of the Ottoman Empire, and around 40 soldiers to a safer location due to the dangerous situation of the region is presented as the main incident through the leads analysed. During the operation an army

photographer fell but the rest of the soldiers and the artefacts were moved to another spot named Ashme which is closer to the Turkish border. This operation was defined as a lawful and necessary relocation by the government, it has been observed that while Daily Sabah presented the incident parallel to the government's statements, Today's Zaman defined it as retreat and focused on the criticism of the operation. Hürriyet Daily News, on the other hand, remains more objective than the former two as per the presentation of the news. Same approach has been observed in the Turkish versions of these newspapers, too.

The importance of the results of the incidents are effective in their being news (van Dijk, 1988); in other words, results of the incidents are closely related to their newsworthiness. With an analysis at connotation level from this framework, one can conclude that some members of the society are so responsive to national issues that they can consider such a relocation operation as a retreat or abandonment. Others, on the other hand, respond to the operation from a humanistic point of view and praise the operation as a rescue of soldiers and ancient artefacts from a regional threat, ISIS. The attitudes of the newspapers towards the operation reflected in the headlines and leads are also sensed in the news texts and the newsworthiness of the operation is based on these attitudes.

#### **4.1.2.2. Background and context information**

Van Dijk (1991) states that background information are the social and political aspects of incidents. However, the context and newsworthiness of the incident differs as per the newspapers. The analysed news texts include background and context information; sometimes so detailed that it serves for the ideological target of the newspaper.

The tomb was made Turkish territory under a treaty signed with France in 1921, when France ruled Syria. Turkey regards it as sovereign territory and had repeatedly vowed to defend it from any attack (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:4)

The Tomb of Süleyman Şah has long been in the spotlight as there were fears that it could be targeted by Syria's government or ISIL forces. Turkish authorities were not

able to change the guard for eight months (...) Turkey delivered a diplomatic note to the Syrian consulate in İstanbul to inform Damascus that The Tomb of Süleyman Şah was being temporarily moved to a new site in Syria corresponding to the size of the previous one, to the north of Ashme village (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9).

Hürriyet Daily news provides its readers also with detailed information about the historical background of the tomb, in the text under a sub-title ‘*Who was Süleyman Şah?*’.

The Süleyman Şah tomb was declared Turkish territory under a treaty signed with France in 1921, when France was the colonial power in Syria. Ankara regards it as sovereign territory and repeatedly made clear that it would defend the mausoleum if it was attacked. Süleyman Şah was a 12<sup>th</sup> – century military leader of the Seljuk Empire, which was among the first Turkish groups to enter and settle in Anatolia. He is the grandfather of Osman I, the founder of the Ottoman Empire, which lasted for six centuries and was inherited by the Turkish Republic in 1923 following the War of Liberation. The tomb and its annex have gone through several processes of demolition, relocation and reconstruction since their original construction on the hills of Caber Castle in 1939. The tomb was moved to its current location in 1975 as a result of a dam construction (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9).

Despite Hürriyet Daily News’ this detailed information about the tomb and its place in Turkish history, Daily Sabah contents itself with less information about the background of the incident. Readers are hardly informed about the significance of the tomb in Turkish history, but are given the cause of the operation. The only information regarding the history of the tomb is given through a quotation from the President; ‘...the Tomb of Süleyman Şah and Memorial Outpost had been relocated twice in previous years...’ (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9), leading the readers’ attention on the justification of the operation.

Turkey’s armed forces conducted a two-pronged operation to repatriate soldiers from the Turkish exclave of the Tomb of Süleyman Shah, surrounded by ISIS militants, due to rising security issues (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9).

It has been observed that newspapers in English focusing on the transmission and reproduction of their ideologies leave little space and give little information on the facts that led the incident to happen. However, the Turkish versions provide too many details about the operation and the reasons that caused the relocation. Hürriyet spared almost two pages, pages 14-15, for the details of the operation with a time schedule.

...Süleyman Şah’ın ilk yattığı yer olan Caber Kalesi 1921’de Türk toprağı sayılmıştı. Mezar 1939’da kale içinde bir başka yere nakledildi. Ardından Caber baraj suları altında

kalacağı için 1975'te Karakozak köyüne götürülen naaş şimdi Eşme'ye gömülecek (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1)

Ertuğrul Gazi'nin babsı Süleyman Şah ve iki askerinin mezarlarının yer aldığı Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nin bulunduğu 8797 metrekare alan içerisindeki Saygı Karakolu'nda görevli askerler son günlerde bölgede IŞİD ve YPG güçleri arasındaki çatışmaların yoğunlaşması ile iki ateş arasında kaldı. Durum 'Acil' koduyla Genelkurmay'a bildirildi.... (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14)

Sabah, which spared around 6 pages for this event, gave detailed background information as well, yet these details are mostly about the operation process but not the events that caused the operation, which again can be interpreted as a justification of the operation.

Özel Kuvvetler'e mensup sivil giyimli ve silahlı askerler üç gün önce gizlice Suriye'ye sızdı ve güzergâhı kontrol altına aldı. Önceki akşam saat 21.00 sıralarında eş zamanlı olarak iki operasyon birden başlatıldı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)

Son aylarda Süleyman Şah Saygı Karakolu'nda görevli 38 askere yönelik ciddi tehdit oluştu. Karakoldan geçen hafta da "Her an saldırı olabilir" şeklinde kriptolu mesaj geldi. Hükümet de askere harekât için direktif verdi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18)

In contrast with Hürriyet and Sabah, Zaman gives little background information both about the facts and some claims by third parties. Referring to these claims within the news text, it may be argued that Zaman tries to base the operation on a promise made by the government rather than the dangerous conditions in the region. The same reference is also mentioned in the English version on page 9.

Osmanlı Devleti'nin kurucusu Osman Bey'in dedesi Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı Suriye içinde sınıra 200 metre mesafedeki Eşme köyüne getirildi...Uzun süredir IŞİD'in kontrolündeki bölgede yaşanan çatışmalar sebebiyle askerlerin nöbet değişimi ve ikmaller yapılamıyordu. Askerlerin IŞİD ile PKK'nın uzantısı YPG arasında kaldığı ifade ediliyordu. Twitter fenomeni Fuat Avni ile Taraf Gazetesi geçen ağustosta IŞİD'in Musul Başkonsolosluğu'nda rehin aldığı 46 Türk vatandaşı karşılığında askerlerin Süleyman Şah'tan çekilmesini istediğini, hükümetin de Kabul ettiğini iddia etmişti (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1).

In August of last year, the Taraf daily reported that Turkey had promised to hand over the territory surrounding the tomb of Süleyman Şah to ISIL in exchange for the Turkish citizens who were taken hostage at Turkey's Consulate General in Mosul in June. Taraf claimed that Turkey initially offered a ransom for the hostages but the two sides finally agreed on a land-for-hostages deal. A Turkish government whistleblower, who writes under the pseudonym "Fuat Avni" and is believed to be a senior government official, also posted a tweet about the Taraf report. On his Twitter account, Avni claimed that the Taraf report is true and that Foreign Ministry officials panicked after their plans to give up the tomb became publicly known (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:9).

Analysing the background information in the texts, analysis of context may also help to explicate the connotations, implications, allusions etc. within the texts. Contexts affect what people say and how they say (van Dijk, 2006). Context models, on the other hand, are the interfaces between the information about an incident and its up-to-date meaning built within discourse. They control the production and comprehension of the discourse. Temporal – spatial setting, participants, identities – roles – interactions, intentions, information, ideology, current social action are the main categories of context models (van Dijk, 2009). The analysis of news texts about the Shah – Euphrates Operation according to context models is as follows:

*Temporal – spatial setting:* In all news texts in question, texts are formed like a narration informing about a past action, yet they also include some present time statements. Today's Zaman is the one which gives present time statements more than the other two.

*Participants:* Feza Gazetecilik (Today's Zaman), as a member of Doğan Media Group, Hürriyet Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık (Hürriyet Daily News) and Turkuvaz Media Group (Daily Sabah) are the addresser participants. Turkish citizens who can read English, and on a broader scale, everybody who can understand English around the world are the reader participants. For the Turkish versions, while the addressers are same, the reader participants are limited to Turkish citizens and others who have a command of Turkish language.

*Intentions:* At this point the newspapers in question differ from each other. Hürriyet Daily News acts as a newspaper and conveys the information so as to inform the readers about a national issue. The intentions of the remaining two news texts are both different than this and contradict with each other. Today's Zaman, with the quotations of members of the opposition aims to build a negative attitude while Daily Sabah praises the operation utilising quotations of those who designated and performed it. The very same attitude for each newspaper is applicable to their Turkish versions.



*Information:* All texts give coverage to the information they published within the texts.

*Ideology:* While Hürriyet Daily News and Hürriyet remain objective, Today's Zaman and Zaman have an anti-government ideology and Sabah and Daily Sabah have a pro-government ideology.

*Current social action:* Readers of Today's Zaman and Zaman may be continuing to be angry with the government due to 'retreat' while readers of Daily Sabah and Sabah are confident with the 'successful' operation conducted to rescue the soldiers and ancient artefacts. Readers of Hürriyet Daily News and Hürriyet may be just informed about the operation are more likely to be independent in perception of the event.

#### **4.1.2.3. Sources and comments**

Producing the news, media prefers to utilise official sources in order to increase persuasiveness. Economic obligations and mutual interests lead media to establish a symbiotic relation with powerful news sources. Media is in need of regular and trustworthy news flow. Government and company sources which are well-known and credible due to their positions and reputations outclass other sources. In other words, the news released by official people and institutions are assumed to be objective. Thus, by using such sources, media supports its claim of being 'objective'. Because media needs material which can easily be proved to be true in order to maintain the impression of objectivity, to avoid any possible libel suits and critics accusing it of being prejudiced. Government officials, bureaucrats and politicians attempt to reach the audience/readers by utilising the media as 'news source' (Chomsky & Herman, 1998). Thus, partiality in the selection of news sources and use of source texts may often influence the acquisition of the news and the quotations given within the news text (van Dijk, 1991).

In accordance with Herman and Chomsky's Economic Policy of Media and A Propaganda Model (1998) media employees obtained the details of the 'Operation Shah Euphrates' through official people and institutions. The photographs of top of the agenda operation were releases by the Prime Minister's Press Office and these photographs were used by all the newspapers in question. Other details of the operation are also based on the explanations from the Prime Minister's Press Office and statements of government and military officials.

However, diversity in the selection of the statements by the government officials and other member of parliaments display the different attitudes towards the operation. Hürriyet Daily News and Hürriyet base most of the news content on the statements made by the government officials. When the texts of these newspapers are analysed, the Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Air Force Commander General Akın Öztürk, officials of Prime Ministry and opposition are seen to be the news sources. There are samples of both direct and indirect references to these sources.

A soldier was killed in an accident during the early hours of the operation, *Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu confirmed* at a press conference early yesterday (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

*Davutoğlu provided details* on the operation that was launched at 9 p.m. Feb.21 and ended 6 a.m. the following day. "In fact, two separate operations were carried out. One was to reach the Tomb of Süleyman Şah and the other one was to raise our flag on a new piece of land in Syria's Ashme Village [180 meters away from the Turkish border] that was already designated as the news position of the tomb", *Davutoğlu said* (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:1– emphasis added).

"We did not evacuate, we relocated the tomb," *Çavuşoğlu said* in Antalya. In diplomatic notes, Turkey "affirmed that the emptied military post is still Turkish land, and we'll come back later", *said the minister Davutoğlu said* (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9 – emphasis added).

*Davutoğlu, Genelkurmay'da açıklama yapmadan önce operasyonun isminin "Şah Fırat" olduğunu ilk kez Twitter hesabından duyurarak şunları yazdı:* "Ecdadımızın emaneti Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı Suriye içindeki yeni mekanına geçici olarak nakledilmek üzere ülkemize ülkemize getirilmiştir... (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:i4 – emphasis added).

Operasyonun tamamlanmasından 2 saat sonar *Davutoğlu, Orgeneral Özel ve Milli Savunma Bakanı İsmet Yılmaz'la birlikte kameraların karşına geçerek özetle şu bilgileri paylaştı:* "Son dönemde görülen zaruret üzerine.... (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

*CHP Genel Başkanı Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Şah Fırat operasyonuna, “Koskoca Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kendi toprağını savunamamıştır ve geri çekilmiştir. Bu koskocaman bir ayıptır. Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu? Sen orayı koruyamıyorsan, Türkiye’yi nasıl koruyacaksın?” sözleriyle tepki gösterdi. Hürriyet’e konuşan Kılıçdaroğlu, operasyonu şöyle değerlendirdi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16 – emphasis added).*

Today’s Zaman and Zaman also use the government, official institutions and the President as sources while presenting the main incident. Yet, since the text is focused on the critics of the operation, many other statements by the opposition parties and former deputies of Justice and Development Party (AKP) are given.

*Commenting on Twitter, Davutoğlu acknowledged that the soldiers guarding the tomb.... The Prime Minister also confirmed reports that....He said a new area (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015:4 – emphasis added).*

*In a statement, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said that the designated burial place...Erdoğan also said he personally oversaw the... (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015:4 – emphasis added).*

*Citing various claims, the private Cihan news agency reported that witnesses spotted.... (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015:4 – emphasis added).*

*Başbakan Davutoğlu operasyon için kimseden izin alınmadığını söylerken, PKK’nın Suriye kolu PYD, Türk askerinin kendi kontrolünde bölgeye girdiğini iddia etti. PYD’nin silahlı kanadı YPG’den yapılan yazılı açıklamada “Bu operasyon komutanlığımızın bilgisi dahilinde ve Kobani güçlerimizin katılımıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir” dedi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).*

Besides these samples of news from governmental sources, the news text by Today’s Zaman and Zaman utilise many other sources that are against the operation. Some of these are given below as examples.

*“Unfortunately this is entirely a result of mistakes in foreign policy,” said Hakan Şükür, a retired international football player and independent lawmaker (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).*

*Former Culture and Tourism Minister Ertuğrul Günay said, “In a nutshell, our grandfathers have turned over in their graves.” He added that the loss of Turkish ... (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).*

*CHP parliamentary group deputy chairman Engin Altay said he had brought the matter to Parliament... He said that now, the military withdrawal had been completed (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).*

*Pro-Kurdish People’s Democratic Party (HDP) deputy Hasip Kaplan claimed the Turkish military worked... (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).*

In August of last year, *the Taraf daily reported* that Turkey had promised to hand over... (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Twitter fenomeni *Fuat Avni ile Taraf Gazetesi* geçen ağustosta IŞİD'in Musul Başkonsolosluğu'nda rehin aldığı 46 Türk vatandaşı karşılığında askerlerin Süleyman Şah'tan çekilmesini istediğini, hükümetin de Kabul ettiğini *iddia etmişti* (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1).

In contrast with Today's Zaman and Zaman, Daily Sabah and Sabah do not mention any sources out of the government and governmental officials and institutions such as the Turkish Armed Forces, the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) and SETA foundation.

"The Tomb of Süleyman Shah and Memorial Outpost, which had been... with international law and agreements," *President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said in written statement* on Sunday (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9 – emphasis added).

*According to Mete Yarar, who is a former member of the TSK,* it was a very well-detailed, timely operation (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9 – emphasis added).

*According to Can Acun, a Middle East expert at SETA foundation,* the operation's importance... (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9 – emphasis added).

*... sources from the Prime Ministry strongly denied* such allegations (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9 – emphasis added).

*The President of the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM), Şaban Kardeş, shared* similar sentiments...*He also emphasized* the fact that the close ties ... of the assigned location (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9– emphasis added).

Türkiye, tarihi operasyonun ayrıntılarını *Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun açıklamalarıyla öğrendi...* *Başbakan Davutoğlu,* "Bu gece şerefli Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri son derece başarılı bir operasyon daha gerçekleştirmiş bulunmaktadır" *dedi* (Sabah, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

*Genelkurmay Başkanlığı,* Şah Fırat operasyonu sırasında herhangi bir çatışma yaşanmadığını *belirterek,* başlangıç evresindeki intikal esnasında bir personelin geçirdiği bir kaza sonucunda şehit olduğunu *açıkladı* (Sabah, February 23, 2015:19 – emphasis added).

#### 4.2. Micro Structure Analysis

Syntactic analysis, local coherence, phraseology and rhetorical analysis are made for the analysis of micro structure of the news. Sentence structures (simple/complex, active/passive), lexical preferences; causal, functional and referential relations of successive sentences; numeric data used to maintain

persuasiveness of the news, statements by witnesses and parties, photographs, opinions given in quotations etc. should be analysed (van Dijk, 1988).

#### 4.2.1. Syntactic analysis

Since discourse and the words forming it are not objective as they reflect a certain ideology and each word mirrors the preferences and the points of a certain ideological group, CDA deals with what is unsaid, what is left out of the text by implicit meanings which stress polarisation such as connotations, implications, predictions, allusions and ambiguities (van Dijk, 2001). Thus, discourse constitutes a field in which social classes fight for sovereignty. News, too, mirror the ideas and ideologies of an elite group. Syntactic analysis is done to explicate these reflections by analysing the sentence structures, positioning of the subject and formation of the sentence in news text.

When the texts in question are analysed a variety of sentence structures in the presentation of the news are observed. In *Hürriyet Daily News*, it has been observed that the sentences on the operation have passive structures while the sentences explaining the detail of the operation are active. And almost whole text is made of complex and combined sentences.

...the tomb was besieged by jihadists belonging to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (*Hürriyet Daily News*, February 23, 2015:1).

A soldier was killed in an accident during the early hours of the operation... (*Hürriyet Daily News*, February 23, 2015:1).

The operation was conducted from military headquarters in Ankara and Suruç, across from Kobane, as well as military bases in Malatya and Diyarbakır, Davutoğlu said, informing that a total of 572 troops, 39 tanks and 57 armored vehicles were involved in the operation (*Hürriyet Daily News*, February 23, 2015:1).

The Tomb of Süleyman Şah has long been in the spotlight as there were fears that it could be targeted by Syria's government or ISIL forces (*Hürriyet Daily News*, February 23, 2015:9).

Halit Avcı, a military photographer, was killed in an accident during the early hours of a Turkish army operation into Süleyman Şah Tomb in Syria (*Hürriyet Daily News*, February 23, 2015:9).

The tomb was moved to its current location in 1975 as a result of a dam construction (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9).

With regard to passive sentence samples from the text, it can be concluded that this newspaper attempts to emphasise the operation and other minor incidents in the course of operation rather than the actors who organised and performed it. As the details of the operation are explained by the parties designating it, they are given within active sentences emphasising the ‘agent’ who performed the action.

Turkey has evacuated its military personnel protecting the Tomb of Süleyman Şah in northern Syria as well as the artifacts in the mausoleum in an operation jointly conducted by the intelligence organization and the Turkish army, a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was besieged by jihadists belonging to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:1)

The operation came a few days after reports suggested that the ISIL jihadists had besieged the tomb and that Turkish soldiers protecting the enclave were trapped by the militants. Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu denied claims in a statement on Feb. 20. Media reports claimed that Turkey was in negotiations with ISIL militants for the release of the Turkish soldiers in exchange for arrested jihadist militants. (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9)

Without engaging in any clashes, Turkish troops left Syria early Feb. 22, after detonating the symbolic building to prevent ISIL militants from using it as a base. (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:1)

Turkey delivered a diplomatic note to the Syrian consulate in Istanbul to inform Damascus that the Tomb of Süleyman Şah was being temporarily moved to a new site in Syria corresponding to the size of the previous one, to the north of Ashme village (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9)

Çavuşoğlu slammed opposition parties for their criticism of ‘evacuating’ the tomb (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015:9)

As seen in the examples above, the agents are given in active sentence forms and thus they are emphasised.

Daily Sabah, too, has used so many active sentence structures that there are almost no sentences in passive form. Though the sentences in this text are also complex, usage of active forms help maintaining the general impression: the operation designated by the government and conducted by the Turkish Army was a ‘success’.

In an operation that began last Saturday, the Turkish military successfully extracted 40 soldiers who had been guarding the Tomb of Süleyman Shah in... (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)

The military force entered the site that is considered sovereign territory by Ankara with 39 tanks, 57 armored cars, 100 vehicles and 572 personnel (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)

After successfully completing the mission, Turkish forces returned to Turkey on Sunday morning... (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015)

Without encountering any skirmishes, they completed the mission, which was carried out some 30 kilometers inside Syrian territory in an area controlled by the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)

Erdoğan also congratulated the government and the Armed Forces "for conducting this successful and praise-worthy operation" (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9)

Turkey did not violate any rights under international law. In terms of sentimental value, we have secured all rights inside Syrian territories (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9)

Meanwhile, YPG sources claimed that Turkey asked permission to conduct the operation they claimed they jointly conducted with the Turkish forces (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9)

"The Tomb of Süleyman Shah and Memorial Outpost, which had been relocated twice in previous years, will continue to fly the Turkish flag and keep the memory of our ancestors alive in accordance with international law and agreements," President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said in written statement on Sunday (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015)

Today's Zaman, on the other hand, focusing on the reactions against the operation and reporting the statements in quotations, has preferred active sentences. Thus, it would provide credibility and persuasiveness as well as objectivity. Besides, this way save the newspaper from any possible libel suits.

"Unfortunately this is entirely a result of mistakes in foreign policy," said Hakan Şükür, a retired international football player and independent lawmaker, lamenting the fact that Turkey has given up territory for the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic. "We have become a country that is isolated and held accountable for the war in the region and eventually we lost territory," he added. (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:1)

... "We have become a country that is isolated and held accountable for the war in the region and eventually we lost territory," he added (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:1)

Former Culture and Tourism Minister Ertuğrul Günay said, "In a nutshell, our grandfathers have turned over in their graves." He added that the loss of Turkish territory is a failure of the country's Syrian policy (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:1)

CHP parliamentary group deputy chairman Engin Altay said he had brought the matter to Parliament's agenda... (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:4)

...the Turkish military said it has successfully completed an operation in Syria to evacuate Turkish soldiers... (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:4)

Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Deputy Chairman Semih Yalçın described the operation as "totally wrong," describing it as withdrawal from land that belongs to the motherland (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:4)

The MHP deputy asserted that the government and the armed forces have the responsibility to protect the tomb, no matter how much risk is involved (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:4)

Davutoğlu acknowledged that the soldiers guarding the tomb had safely returned to Turkey. The prime minister also confirmed reports that the remains of Süleyman Şah were exhumed during the operation (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015)

Passive sentences in the news text by Today's Zaman have been preferred for the generally accepted phenomena

... the remains of Süleyman Şah were exhumed during the operation...(Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015)

a new area in northern Syria has been brought under the control of the military and designated the new resting place for Süleyman Şah (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015)

...soldiers had been trapped near the tomb for the past 11 months...(Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015)

...because supplies from Turkey had not been delivered since March 2014...(Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015)

...the 38 troops guarding the tomb had been safely brought to Turkey (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015)

The extraction operation was planned to last three hours... (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015)

Similar sentence structures have been observed in the Turkish versions of these newspapers: While Hürriyet and Zaman prefer passive sentences for the description of the operation and active structures for the statements from officials and opposition, Sabah mostly prefers active sentences in both cases. However, that Hürriyet prefers active sentences for description of the operation on first page, but passive sentences in the follow up texts may be interpreted as an attempt to emphasise the parties of the event on the first page.



TSK, Suriye topraklarında Süleyman Şah Türbesi için ‘çifte’ operasyon yaptı. Bir grup, Kobani üzerinden IŞİD kuşatmasındaki türbeye gidip naaşı aldı ve 38 bordo bereliyi tahliye etti. Diğer grup, Süleyman Şah’a Suriye’de yeni bir türbe alanı oluşturdu (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1)

IŞİD militanları sınıra 35 kilometre mesafedeki türbeye uzanan yolları tahrip ettiği için operasyon hesaplanandaan uzun sürdü (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1)

Suruç ile Birecik arasında belirlenen bölge; 13-14 Şubat tarihlerinde ‘askeri yasak bölge’ ilan edildi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14)

Karakozaktaki Süleyman Şah naaşı, 3 sanduka, Türk bayrağı ve kutsal emanetler alındıktan sonra türbe ve karakol binası patlayıcılarla kullanılamaz hale getirildi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:15)

Başbakan Yardımcısı Bülent Arınç, Süleyman Şah Türbesi’nde yapılan Operasyon’un başarılı sonuçlandığını söyleyerek operasyonu yöneten herkesi tebrik etti (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16)

Kültür ve turizm Bakanı Ömer Çelik ise şu değerlendirmeyi yaptı: “Tarihten gelen hiçbir emaneti savunmasız bırakmayan bu iradeyi gerçekleştiren askerlerimizle gurur duyuyoruz” (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16)

TSK tarafından gerçekleştirilen ‘Şah Fırat Operasyonu’ ile sınıra 37 uzaklıktaki Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu’nda görev yapan 38 asker ile naaş tahliye edildi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1)

39 tank ve 572 personelin görev aldığı operasyonda karakol ve türbe patlayıcı ile havaya uçuruldu (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1)

IŞİD tehdidi altındaki askerlerin güvenli bir şekilde tahliye edilmesi sevinçle karşılanırken, Türkiye’nin Süleyman Şah’tan geri çekilmesi uzun yıllar sonra yaşanan ilk toprak kaybı olarak değerlendirildi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10)

Zaman’a konuşan Genelkurmay kaynakları ise PYD’den izin alındığı heberlerini yalanlayarak, “Bölgedeki aşiretler vasıtasıyla IŞİD ve YPG’ye ‘Biz bölgeye giriyoruz, ateş açılmasın’ bilgisi verdik. Ateş açılsaydı bile misliyle karşılık verirdik” dedi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10)

As it is seen in the sample sentences above, Hürriyet and Zaman preferred active sentences when they wanted to emphasise the doer of the action and passive sentences about the details of the operation as it is publicly known that the Turkish Army conducted the operation, and thus the actions become more important. Yet, as mentioned above, Sabah formed almost all sentences in active structure with aim to draw attention to the doers, which are the Government and Turkish army, and thus, to highlight the ones who ‘successfully’ completed a military operation.

*Özel Kuvvetler'e mensup sivil giyimli ve silahlı askerler üç gün önce gizlice Suriye'ye sızdı ve güzergâhı control altına aldı. Önceki akşam saat 21.00 sıralarında eş zamanlı olarak iki operasyon birden başlatıldı* (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added)

*Harekâte 37'u tank, 57'si zırhlı araç olmak üzere toplam 100 araç ve 572 personel katıldı* (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1 - emphasis added)

*Manevi değerleri dikkate alan TSK, Süleyman Şah'ın naaşının bulunduğu sandukayı açmadan önce dini tören yaptı* (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18 - emphasis added)

*Harekâtın başarıyla sonuçlanmasının ardından da hükümeti ve TSK'yi arayıp kutlayan Erdoğan, "Operasyon devletimizin kararı ve uygulamasıyla yapıldı" dedi* (Sabah, February 23, 2015:19- emphasis added)

Daha önce 2 defa yeri değiştirilmiş olan Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu, yine uluslararası hukuk ve anlaşmaların bir gereği olarak yeni mekanında bayrağımızı dalgalandırmaya ve ecdadımızın hatırasını yaşatmaya devam edecektir (Sabah, February 23, 2015:19)

Bu operasyonun askeri bir gereklilik olduğunu *herkes* bilmelidir (Sabah, February 23, 2015:21)

#### 4.2.2. Local coherence

The sentences forming the news text are analysed with regard to their causal, referential and functional relations. Cause-effect relations of successive sentences are searched for causal relation. Whether or not a general statement is explained in the following sentence expresses the functional relation. Referential relation gives if a concept given in a sentence is referred to in the following sentence.

A narration based on causal and referential relations is observed in the analysed texts. This causal relation can be clearly seen in the sample texts.

The Foreign Ministry said the withdrawal had been conducted due to risks stemming from clashes in Syria and the instability in the country, which threatened the lives of the Turkish soldiers guarding the tomb (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015).

The operation came a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was being besieged by ISIS militants. After successfully completing the mission, Turkish forces returned to Turkey on Sunday morning (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

The operation by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) has been widely considered successful. According to Mete Yazar, who is a former member of the TSK, it was a very well-detailed, timely operation. "Every detail in the operation was planned so well that there were no openings that could be exploited. They were non-existent. From the team sent to the tomb to the team that planted the flag, everything indicates that this operation was well-planned and every related state institution played their role in its

coordination." As a former member of the Special Forces Command, Yazar added that maintenance of the operation's confidentiality indicates cooperation between institutions in Turkey. Yazar believes that in this context the operation can be seen as one of the first of its kind in Turkey. "The most important feature of this operation was that it was done in an environment that was full of uncertainties, because of those who were in possession of the territory and from whom we could expect an assault" (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

Daily Sabah explained why this operation was considered as ‘successful’ supporting its claim with a quotation from a former TSK member. By doing so, the newspaper enforces a discourse which is supported by social norms.

Turkey has evacuated its military personnel protecting the Tomb of Süleyman Şah in northern Syria as well as the artifacts in the mausoleum in an operation jointly conducted by the intelligence organization and the Turkish army, a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was besieged by jihadists belonging to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015).

In a separate but brief statement, the Turkish army also confirmed that the operation was completed and that the troops and all valuable artefacts had been removed from the outpost. The army cited “security concerns and military obligations” as the reason for the evacuation operation, while reiterating that there were no clashes between the army and armed groups inside Syria (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015).

Hürriyet Daily News forms a causal relation for the operation focusing on the security issues in the region. Thus, a discourse is created to make the reader believe in the necessity of the operation in accordance with social national norms.

When the Turkish versions of these newspapers are analysed, similar relations are observed.

Türkiye, dün sabah sürpriz bir *operasyon* haberiyle uyandı. TSK tarafından gerçekleştirilen ‘*Şah Fırat Operasyonu*’ ile sınıra 27 kilometre uzaklıktaki Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu’nda görev yapan 38 asker ile naaş tahliye edildi (Zaman, 23 February, 2015:1 – emphasis added)

*TSK tarafından yapılan açıklamada*, Suriye’nin Halep şehrine bağlı Karakozak köyündeki Süleyman Şah türbesinin güvenlik tehditlerinin artması üzerine tahliye edildiği ifade edildi. *Açıklamada*, “Uluslararası Antlaşmalar ile türk toprağı olan ... (Zaman, 23 February, 2015:10 – emphasis added)

1938/39’da, Dünya Savaşı öncesinde Hatay’ı vatan topraklarına katmayı başaran Türkiye, dün Lozan’dan bu yana ilk kez *toprak kaybetmiştir*. *Yaşanan toprak kaybı* - üç

yıl önce resmi kurullarda yanlış olduğunu söylediğim – Suriye politikasının ve asılsız büyük iddiaların iflasıdır (Zaman, 23 February, 2015:14 – emphasis added)

As seen from the examples from the Zaman, the texts include referential relations between sentences, which make the texts more comprehensible. Besides, with the help of causal relations, the texts develop in the intended direction directing readers to form similar causal relations and thus perceive the event as intended by the newspapers.

Türkiye için manevi değeri yüksek olan türbenin tahliye edilmesi için önceki gece saat 21.00 de düğmeye basıldı (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10).

Herhangi bir çatışmanın yaşanmadığı operasyon sırasında meydana gelen kazada bir askerimiz şehit oldu. Şam, operasyonu ‘apaçık saldırganlık’ olarak değerlendirerek tepki gösterdi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10).

PYD güççeri IŞİD’e karşı bölgede askeri üstünlük sağlamışken hükümetin türbeyi boşaltma kararı alması şakinlikle karşılandı (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10).

“Dün acdadımın kemikleri sızladı. Süleyman Şah, Osmanlı Devleti’nin kuran Osman Bey Gazi’nin dedesi, Ertuğrul Bey Gazi’nin babası olduğu kabul edilen bir tarih büyüğümüzdür. 1227’de vefat ettiğinde defnedildiği yer tarih boyunca bizim için milli ve manevi emanet ve türbesi Lozan’da Türk toprağı sayılmıştır. 1938/39’da, Dünya Savaşı öncesinde Hatay’ı vatan topraklarına katmayı başaran Türkiye, dün Lozan’da bu yana ilk kez toprak kaybetmiştir. Yaşanan toprak kaybı - üç yıl önce resmi kurullarda yanlış olduğunu söylediğim – Suriye politikasının ve asılsız büyük iddiaların iflasıdır (Zaman, 23 February, 2015:14)

Özel Kuvvetler’e mensup sivil giyimli ve silahlı askerler üç gün önce gizlice Suriye’ye sızdı ve güzergâhı control altına aldı. Önceki akşam saat 21.00 sıralarında eş zamanlı olarak iki operasyon birden başlatıldı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)

Referential and causal relations also exist within the texts of Sabah. The most common reference is made with the word ‘operasyon’ indication the military operation conducted to relocate the tomb and called ‘Şah Fırat Operasyonu’.

*Özel Kuvvetler’e mensup sivil giyimli ve silahlı askerler üç gün önce gizlice Suriye’ye sızdı ve güzergâhı control altına aldı. Önceki akşam saat 21.00 sıralarında eş zamanlı olarak iki operasyon birden başlatıldı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added)*

Mürşitpınar’dan *Suriye’ye giren birlikler* süratle Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu’na yöneldi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added)

*Harekâtın* başarıyla sonuçlanmasının ardından da hükümeti ve TSK’yı arayıp kutlayan Erdoğan, “*Operasyon* devletimizin kararı ve uygulamasıyla yapıldı” dedi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:19- emphasis added)

Süleyman Şah’taki Türk bayrağı türbenin nakledileceği Suriye Eşme’sine yenisi dikilene kadar indirilmedi. Böylece tüm dünyaya “Bayrak inmez” mesajı verildi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1).

11 Şubat'taki güvenlik toplantısında düğmeye şu gerekçelerle basıldı: Türkiye'yi Suriye'ye çekecek provakasyonlar yapılabilir. Bazı bölge ülkelerinin Türkiye'ye karşı kıskırttığı DEAŞ Türk noktalarını hedef alabilir. Yumuşak karın Süleyman Şah Türbesi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1).

Kontrol altına aldığımız Suriye Eşmesi tarafındaki bölgedeki şu anda bayrağımız dalgalanmatadır. Dolayısıyla uluslararası hukuktan kaynaklanan haklarımızın bir sonucu olarak daha önce 2 kez yer değiştirmiş olan bu mekan, 3'üncü kez yer değiştirmiş ama yine Suriye sınırları içinde kalmıştır (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18).

Sample sentences that illustrate the referential and causal relation between and among the sentences in the texts published in Hürriyet are given below.

IŞİD militanları sınıra 35 kilometre mesafedeki türbeye uzanan yolları tahrip ettiği için operasyon hesaplanandan uzun sürdü (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1)

Ertuğrul Gazi'nin babsı Süleyman Şah ve iki askerinin mezarlarının yer aldığı Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nin bulunduğu 8797 metrekare alan içerisindeki Saygı Karakolu'nda görevli askerler son günlerde bölgede IŞİD ve YPG güçleri arasındaki çatışmaların yoğunlaşması ile iki ateş arasında kaldı. Durum 'Acil' koduyla Genelkurmay'a bildirildi.... (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14)

Karakozak'ta Türk bayrağı gönderden indirildiği anda, Suriyenin Eşme bölgesine geçen tank birliği de yeni türbenin kurulacağı toprak parçasını kontrol altına alarak Türk bayrağını burada göndere çekti. Böylece eş zamanlı operasyonla Türkiye, Suriye içinde toprak kaybına uğramamış, bayrağı da inmemiş oldu (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14)

Genelkurmay Başkanlığı'nın da operasyonla ilgili yazılı açıklamasında, "Geride değerli emanet bırakılmamıştır" denildi. Bunun, türbe mevcut durumuyla bırakıldığında, daha sonra IŞİD tarafından imha edilip Türkiye'ye karşı propaganda aracı olarak kullanılmasını önlemek amacıyla yapıldığı belirtildi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:15)

CHP Genel Başkanı Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Şah Fırat operasyonuna, "*Koskoca Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kendi toprağını savunamamıştır ve geri çekilmiştir.* Bu koskocaman bir ayıptır. Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu? Sen orayı koruyamıyorsan, Türkiye'yi nasıl koruyacaksın?" sözleriyle tepki gösterdi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16)

Following the analysis on the referential relations of all newspapers, both English and Turkish versions, it has been observed that they have formed necessary relations between and among the sentences in order to enforce their narration and discourse.

#### 4.2.3. Lexical preferences

Lexical preferences are the field in which ideological interventions are clearly observed. Alike with syntactic structure, it is used to serve the purpose of dominance

among groups. Van Dijk (1995) suggests the words ‘terrorist’ and ‘freedom fighter’, which can be used to define the same person, to illustrate this structure. Two different newspapers can call this person as ‘terrorist’ or ‘freedom fighter’ in compliance with their ideologies. Coverage is a frequently used method in this structure. Words like guard, watchmen, gatekeeper, warden and nightman are interchangeable and bear meaning as per the context they are used in (Kanca, 2009). Therefore, lexical preferences are directly related to the formation of the news and help the readers get a main framework about the incidents.

In all of the analysed texts, Turkey’s entering in Syrian territory with intent to change the location of the Tomb of Süleyman Şah is mainly called as ‘operation’. However, there are some differences in the modification of ‘operation’. While Hürriyet Daily news defines the ‘operation’ as ‘the military operation’, Daily Sabah prefers a more subjective way to define it with such adjectives as ‘*very well-detailed, timely*’.

Davutoğlu, Land Forces Commander Hulusi Akar and other military officials determined the details *of the military operation* during a meeting at Turkey’s General Staff headquarters in Ankara on Feb. 20, Hürriyet has learned (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The operation by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) has been widely considered successful. According to Mete Yarar, who is a former member of the TSK, it was a *very well-detailed, timely operation* (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Daily Sabah’s positive attitude can be observed in other parts of the text, too. This attitude is shown towards the operation itself.

*After successfully completing the mission*, Turkish forces returned to Turkey on Sunday morning. However, one soldier lost his life in an accident during the mission. At a press conference Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said: "*Operation Shah Euphrates was extremely successful*" (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

"Every detail in the operation was planned *so well that there were no openings that could be exploited*. They were non-existent. From the team sent to the tomb to the team that planted the flag, everything indicates that *this operation was well-planned* and every related state institution played their role in its coordination" (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

According to Can Acun, a Middle East expert at the SETA Foundation, the operation's importance is due to *successfully getting in and out of a region* where many actors are in conflict without encountering resistance, and in an era when many countries are not able to rescue hostages from ISIS, while Turkey *was successful in* both Mosul and the Tomb of Süleyman Shah (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

Although most of the positive references are given through quotations, they, still, contribute to validation of the operation; which, in turn, contributes to the reproduction of the government's ideology. Besides, this newspaper sets its attitude directly by saying “after *successfully* completing the mission....”

The phrase that is used for the purpose of the operation, which was to take the Turkish soldiers and ancient artefacts away from the dangerous location they were in, varies not only as per the newspapers, but it, also varies within the texts. The most commonly used phrases for this are ‘evacuate, evacuation, relocate, relocation, remove, removal, extract, change the location’.

Hürriyet Daily news uses two of these phrases; evacuate and remove. However, the sentences in which ‘*to evacuate*’ which means “to remove (troops, equipment, civilians) esp. from a military position or zone” (Merriam-Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 2000) are those that are written by the journalist. The sentences including the word ‘*remove*’ which means “to change or shift the location, position, situation or residence of (as in order to re-establish)” (Merriam-Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 2000) are quotations from the sources, mainly governmental.

Turkey *has evacuated* its military personnel protecting the Tomb of Süleyman Şah in northern Syria as well as the artefacts in the mausoleum in an operation jointly conducted by the intelligence organization and the Turkish army, a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was besieged by jihadists belonging to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

In a separate but brief statement, the Turkish army also confirmed that the operation was completed and that the troops and all valuable artefacts *had been removed* from the outpost (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The army cited “security concerns and military obligations” as the reason for the *evacuation* operation, while reiterating that there were no clashes between the army and armed groups inside Syria (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Doing so, Hürriyet Daily News separates its attitude from that of the government's. That is to say, usage of the verb ‘remove’ by the government and/ the military implies that the operation was a reestablishment rather than a withdrawal as the verb ‘evacuate’ implies. Government/military's this choice help them to maintain

the notion that they did not leave Turkish exclave, which would contradict to their role as the organs responsible for protecting the country.

Also using the verb ‘relocate’ in quotations of the officials, Daily Sabah prefers other verbs for the action; ‘to extract’ which is defined in Merriam-Webster’s Third New International Dictionary (2000) as “to separate or to pull out” and ‘to transfer’ which means “to move or send to a different location esp. for business, vocation or military purposes” (Merriam-Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 2000).

In an operation that began late on Saturday, the Turkish military *successfully extracted* 40 soldiers who had been guarding the Tomb of Süleyman Shah in Syria, the grandfather of the founder of the Ottoman Empire (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Meanwhile, the remains of Süleyman Shah were *transferred* to Ashmeh, an area located 200 meters south of the Turkish-Syrian border in Syria (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Turkey was an important factor in the process of identifying a new location and *transferring* the tomb to the assigned location (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Use of “extract” may indicate the difficulty of the situation, and its modification with the adverb ‘successfully’ implies the power of Turkish Army, which, in turn, serves for the reproduction of power within the news text.

Today’s Zaman also utilises quotations as source. But, since the theme of the text is mostly about the arguments of the opposition’s reactions, lexical preferences of both the newspaper and the opposing parties are quite different than the other two newspapers.

The *extraction* of the troops who were guarding the tomb was hailed as a military success, with no clashes reported, *yet the operation has signaled the apparent collapse of Turkey’s Syria policy engineered by Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu* Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The sentence above is the first sentence of the news text of Today’s Zaman in which the newspaper also prefers the verb ‘to extract’ to describe the operation; however, the last part of the sentence clearly displays the newspaper’s negative attitude towards the government. Moreover, this negative attitude is easily sensed throughout the whole text with the help of negative connotations.



“Unfortunately this is entirely a result of *mistakes in foreign policy*,” said Hakan Şükür, a retired international football player and independent lawmaker, *lamenting* the fact that Turkey has given up territory for the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic. “We have become *a country that is isolated and held accountable for the war in the region and eventually we lost territory*,” he added (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Former Culture and Tourism Minister Ertuğrul Günay said, “In a nutshell, *our grandfathers have turned over in their graves*.” He added that *the loss of Turkish territory is a failure* of the country's Syrian policy and the *baseless and ambitious claims* by the government (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The Foreign Ministry said the *withdrawal* had been conducted due to risks stemming from clashes in Syria and the instability in the country, which threatened the lives of the Turkish soldiers guarding the tomb (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

CHP Deputy Chairman Gürsel Tekin said *the withdrawal* -- dubbed “Operation Shah Euphrates” -- was a *defeat for Turkey*, adding that the CHP's *warnings* about the tomb had been *denied* by the government last week. “*Turkey has lost territory* for the first time, without putting up a fight,” he said (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Another MHP lawmaker, Ali Uzunırmak, *lashed out* at the government for presenting the operation as a success. “*The loss of a territory* is never considered a success in any country. Presenting this as a success is nothing but a *Pyrrhic victory*,” he said (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Among all the emphasised phrases, probably the most notable ones are those which include the Foreign Ministry’s and Ali Uzunırmak’s statements. The newspaper preferred the word ‘withdrawal’ which is defined as “an operation by which a military force disengages from the enemy; a retreat” in Merriam – Webster’s Third New International Dictionary (2000) while indirectly transmitting the Foreign Ministry’s statement. However, the Ministry did not use the word in its official press release. Thus, preferring ‘the withdrawal’ instead of ‘removal’ and/or ‘relocation’ is an attempt to reproduce political norms against the government.

Based on extensive assessments, the Tomb of Süleyman Şah and Memorial Outpost, together with the sarcophagus itself, have been temporarily moved to a new site within Syria, corresponding to the acreage of the previous one, in the north of Suriye Eşmesi village close to the Turkish borders... The process of relocation, which is to keep the Tomb of Süleyman Şah and Memorial Outpost and its assigned personnel out of harm's way, was completed on February 22, 2015 ([http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no\\_70\\_22-february-2015\\_press-release-regarding-the-temporary-relocation-of-the-tomb-of-s%C3%BCleyman-%C5%9Fah-and-memorial-outpost.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_70_22-february-2015_press-release-regarding-the-temporary-relocation-of-the-tomb-of-s%C3%BCleyman-%C5%9Fah-and-memorial-outpost.en.mfa) – emphasis added )

MHP Lawmaker Ali Uzunırmak’s definition of the operation as ‘Pyrrhic victory’ is also significant. Merriam-Webster’s Third New International Dictionary

(2000) explains the phrase as “a victory won at excessive cost”. With the use this mythological reference, Uzunırmak highlights the cost of this operation: loss of Turkish territory.

Despite all these differences in lexical preferences for the operation, there is one point that all the newspapers in question go along. All three newspapers’ definition of the danger surrounding the tomb and the Turkish soldiers are given with similar descriptions.

...a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was besieged by  *jihadists belonging to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)* (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The operation came a few days after reports suggested that the  *ISIL jihadists* had besieged the tomb and that Turkish soldiers protecting the enclave were trapped by the militants. Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu denied claims in a statement on Feb. 20. Media reports claimed that Turkey was in negotiations with  *ISIL militants* for the release of the Turkish soldiers in exchange for arrested  *jihadist militants* (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The operation came a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was being besieged by  *ISIS militants* (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The extensive operation involving the Tomb of Süleyman Shah that aimed at removing possible ISIS threats is a reflection of this fight" (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Turkish troops guarding the Tomb of Süleyman Şah -- the grandfather of Osman I, the founder of the Ottoman Empire -- have been unable to cross into Turkey due to  *extremist Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) militants* having surrounded the tomb since March 2014 (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

The Turkish government said late last year that  *ISIL militants* were advancing on the mausoleum, which is guarded by several dozen Turkish soldiers (Today’s Zaman, February 23, 2015 – emphasis added).

Considering the content of the texts analysed, one can easily conclude that the security issues that led the relocation of the tomb were because of a group called the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant or the Islamic State of Iraq and the Syria; ISIL/ISIS in short. Defining the members of this group as ‘militants’, stresses their being “aggressively active in a cause” (Merriam-Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 2000). However, calling them as ‘jihadists’ emphasise the reason of their cause as the term ‘jihad’ is “a holy war waged on behalf of Islam as a religious duty”

(Merriam-Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 2000). The connotations of these words make the readers perceive that this group is aggressive and thus dangerous.

Yet, Today's Zaman's modifying the members of this group as 'extremist ISIL militants' may imply that this newspaper distinguishes the 'extremist militants' from other ISIL militants. When the newspaper's Islamic philosophy is considered, this distinction can be interpreted as a defence or acquittal of ISIL members.

An analysis of lexical preferences in the Turkish versions reveals similar attitudes towards the operation. Hürriyet draws an impartial profile with respect to lexical preferences, while Sabah and Zaman see no harm in revealing their sides through the vocabulary used in their texts.

Hürriyet has used the term 'operasyon - operation' and 'harekât - for the relocation of the tomb without any modifications that can be interpreted as partial except the quotations from the government officials and the opposition; which may be considered as a proof of its impartiality.

TSK, Suriye topraklarında Süleyman Şah Türbesi için '*çifte*' operasyon yaptı. Bir grup, Kobani üzerinden İŞİD kuşatmasındaki türbeye gidip naaşı aldı ve 38 bordo bereliyi tahliye etti. Diğer grup, Süleyman Şah'a Suriye'de yeni bir türbe alanı oluşturdu (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

'Şah Fırat' adlı operasyona 39 tank, 57 zırhlı araç ve 572 personel katıldı (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1– emphasis added).

Ancak operasyon son anda bölgedeki çatışmaların yoğunlaşması üzerine bekletildi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14– emphasis added).

Şah Fırat Operasyonu'na katılan birliklerin geçtiği noktalardan olan Eşmeler Köyü'nden geçiş yapan zırhlı birliklerin, operasyon öncesi sınırdaki karakolda uzun süre Mehter Marşı çaldığı ve ardından hareket ettiği gözlemlendi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14– emphasis added).

Şah Fırat Operasyonu'yla ilgili önemli bir ayrıntı da Özel Kuvvetler Komutanlığı'nın elit birliklerini (Bordo Bereliler) üstlendiği görev oldu (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:15– emphasis added).

Cumhurbaşkanı Tayyip Erdoğan, Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu'na yapılan operasyonla ilgili yaptığı açıklamada operasyonu bizzat takip ettiğini belirterek, "Her türlü takdirin fevkindeki bu başarılı operasyonu gerçekleştiren hükümetimizi ve Silahlı Kuvvetlerimizi şahsım ve milletim adına tebrik ediyorum" dedi (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:15– emphasis added).

*CHP Genel Başkanı Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu*, Şah Fırat operasyonuna, “Koskoca Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kendi toprağını savunamamıştır ve geri çekilmiştir. Bu koskocaman bir ayıptır. Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu? Sen orayı koruyamıyorsan, Türkiye’yi nasıl koruyacaksın?” sözleriyle tepki gösterdi. Hürriyet’e konuşan *Kılıçdaroğlu*, operasyonu şöyle değerlendirdi: ...*Kaçmayı* bile beceremiyorsun, bir vatan evladını şehit veriyorsun... Süleyman Şah’tan *kaçma* emrini verenler yarın bu ülkeden de kaçacak... (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16 – emphasis added).

*Bahçeli* yaptığı yazılı açıklamada şunları kaydetti: “...Korkaklığın ismine ‘*Şah Fırat operasyonu*’ diyen Başbakan ve milli ahlaktan yoksun bürokratları; gerçekte *Al At Ah Mat Operasyonu*’na imza atarak Türk devlet gelenek ve felsefesini harabeye çevirmişlerdir... MHP *yakın tarihin en vahim çürümüştüğü* olarak yorumladığı *geri çekilme vakasının* üstüne tavizsiz gidecek, konuyla ilgili gelişmeleri titizlikle takip edecektir (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16 – emphasis added).

*Gürsel Tekin (CHP Genel Sekreteri)*: Şah değil *Mat operasyonudur*. Türkiye mat olmuştur (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16 – emphasis added).

Although Zaman also gives coverage to explanations and quotations from the government officials as Hürriyet did, it has been observed that the sentences and vocabulary it uses to introduce the event are similar to those of the opposition; which mirrors its opposition to the operation. The basic implication for this claim is based on the modification of the operation in the headlines which are used to attract the attention of the reader and form a general perspective about the event in readers’ minds.

Gece yarısı *geri çekilme operasyonu* (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

*Geri çekilme operasyonu* (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10 – emphasis added).

*Süleyman Şah Türbesi’ni terketmek için düzenlenen operasyona* muhalefetin tepkisi sert oldu. *Vatan topraklarının İŞİD’e teslim edildiği operasyonu ‘sakandal’* olarak değerlendiren siyasiler, Başbakan Davutoğlu’nun istifasını istedi. İktidar temsilcilerinin *rezaleti ‘zafer’* gibi sunması ise kamuoyunda *alay konusu* oldu (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

Süleyman Şah Türbesi’nin iktidarın ‘başarılı’ başarılı bir operasyonuyla terör örgütü İŞİD’e teslim edilmesi kamuoyunda şok etkisi yarattı (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

CHP Genel Sekreteri Gürsel Tekin: “ ‘Şah’ değil ‘*Mat*’ operasyonu olmuştur (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

Saadet Partisi Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Birol Aydın: “Bu bir Şah Fırat Operasyonu değil, *hükümet tarafından Türkiye’ye çekilmiş ‘Şah Mat’ operasyonudur* (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

MHP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Semih Yalçın: “...*Fevkalade yanlış bir operasyon*” (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

Despite quoting the explanations of the opposition in quotations, Zaman has been observed to have avoided using any praise words by the government officials regarding the operation. Covering the explanations of the Prime Minister and the President may be considered as an attempt to seem impartial but avoiding their words praising the operation indicates just the opposite.

*Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu, operasyon için kimseden izin alınmadığını açıklarken, terör örgütü PKK'nın Suriye kolu PYD ise Türk askerinin kendi kontrolünde bölgeye girdiğini iddia etti (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10 – emphasis added).*

Askerlerin yurda dönmesinin ardından Genelkurmay Başkanı Org. Necdet Özel ve Milli Savunma Bakanı İsmet Yılmaz ile birlikte kameraların karşısına geçen Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu, “Uluslararası hukuk alanında hiçbir hakkımız zayi edilmemiştir. Silahlı Kuvvetlerimizin operasyon kabiliyetini de yakından gördüm...” dedi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10 – emphasis added).

Cumhurbaşkanı Tayyip Erdoğan da Org. Özel'i arayarak tebrik etti (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10 – emphasis added).

Sabah, on the other hand, does not cover any quotations or explanations from the opposition. Readers of this newspaper are able to learn that there were some objections and discomfort about the operation through a quotation from Bülent Arınç who is Deputy Prime Minister at present, and among those who emphasise the necessity and righteousness of the operation.

*Başbakan Yardımcısı Bülent Arınç, Şah Fırat operasyonu'na ilişkin, “... ‘Muhalefet, toprak kaybedildi, çekildik’ bunların arkasına saklanmasın, bunlarla siyaset yapmasın...” (Sabah, February 23, 2015:21)*

Besides excluding the comments of the opposition, Sabah covers only explanations from Military and other governmental officials; which contradicts Kanca's views on journalistic impartiality. According to Kanca (2009), impartiality is to approach the news irrespective of any prejudice, personal judgements and moral values. In other words, the journalist must be invisible in the texts instead of being partial and praising or vilifying parties. The journalist must assess the news with all its aspects and, if there is, must cover all opposite views equally (Kanca, 2009). Yet, as it can be seen in the following examples, one can conclude that Sabah fails to have a neutral and objective discourse in the presentation of the operation as news.

*Türkiye tarihi operasyonun ayrıntılarını, Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun açıklamalarıyla öğrendi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18 – emphasis added)*

...Başbakan Davutoğlu, “Bu gece şerefli Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri son derece *başarılı bir operasyon daha* gerçekleştirmiş bulunmaktadır” dedi (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18 – emphasis added)

...Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, “*Her türlü takdirin fevkindeki bu başarılı operasyonu* gerçekleştiren hükümetimizi ve Silahlı Kuvvetlerimizi şahsım ve milletim adına tebrik ediyorum” ifadelerini kullandı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:19 – emphasis added)

Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri, düzenlediği *yıldırım operasyonla* Süleyman Şah Karakolu’ndaki manevi değerleri yüksek emanetleri sınırda Suriye Eşmesi köyü’nde kontrol altına alınan bölgedeye taşıdı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:20 – emphasis added)

“Şah Fırat” Operasyonuna ilişkin, Twitter üzerinden değerlendirilmelerde bulunan Kurtulmuş, “Şah Fırat Operasyonu ile tarihi ve manevi emanetlerimizi *başarıyla* naklederek gereğini titizlikle yerine getiren Genelkurmay Başkanlığımıza, Karakuvvetleri Komutanlığımıza, Mehmetçliğimize ve bu operasyonda emeği geçen herkese şükranlarımı sunuyorum...” ifadelerini kullandı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:21 – emphasis added)

As observed in the analysis of the English versions, naming the ‘relocation’ is another lexical issue that the newspapers in question contradict. The same attitudes have been observed in the analysis of the Turkish versions as well. While Hürriyet and Sabah use the Turkish verbs ‘almak (to take)’ and ‘nakletmek (to transfer)’ for the relocation of the tomb, Zaman prefers ‘geri çekilmek (to retreat)’, ‘getirmek (to bring)’, ‘tahliye etmek/bışaltmak (to evacuate)’, ‘terk etmek (to abandon)’ and ‘teslim etmek (to yield).’

Süleyman Şah’ın *nakledileceği* Suriye Eşmesi’ne birliklerin geçişinde Mehter Marşı çalındığı duyuldu (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

04.45 Süleyman Şah Saygı Karakolu’ndaki 38 personel ile Süleyman Şah’ın naaşı ve iki askerinin cenazesi *alındı* (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

Operasyon Türkiye’deki Eşmeler köyünden *Mehter Marşı*’yla başladı. Tankla Kobani’den geçen *Mehmetçik* karakoldaki emanetler ile personeli alıp, Türkiye’ye döndü. 14 Şubat’ta planlanan ancak bölgedeki durum nedeniyle dün gece gerçekleştirilen operasyonun ayrıntıları şöyle (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:14 – emphasis added).

Süleyman Şah’ın naaşının *nakli* için gerekli dini tören yapıldı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

Dışişleri Bakanlığı’ndan yapılan açıklamada, Süleyman Şah Türbesi’nin ve Saygı Karakolu’nun Suriye içindeki *geçici nakil* işleminin 22 Şubat 2015’te tamamlandığını belirterek, *nakil* işleminin, türbenin ve müştemilatının anlaşmalarla tesbit edilmiş statüsünde değişiklik anlamına gelmediği vurgulandı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

Burada nakli kubur için gerekli dini tören yapılmış, nakli kubur yapılabilmesi için orada bizim için manevi değer ifade eden bütün unsurlar yine aynı saygı içinde *alınmış*, askerlerimiz salimen bölgeden *alınmış* ve 4 kol halinde Süleyman Şah Saygı

Karakolu'ndan Mürşitpınar istikametine sevk başlamıştır (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18 – emphasis added).

It is necessary to draw attention on the word ‘geçici (temporary)’ in the last example from Sabah as it implies that the tomb will be taken back to its former place, which can be considered as an attempt to prevent any objection from those who are sensitive about Ottoman heritage. Use of another phrase ‘nakli kubur (relocation of a grave according to Islamic tradition)’ is also frequently preferred by Sabah. Though it is the governmental sources using this word, Sabah is the only newspaper among the analysed newspapers to cover it, which may indicate its positioning beside the government; and its reproducing religious norms.

Saat 21.02 de başka bir birliğimiz ve tank birliğimiz Eşme civarından yine Suriye topraklarına girerek, Süleyman Şah'ın yeni kutsal mekânının tanzimi ve nakli kuburun gerçekleştirilmesi için bir toprak parçasını kontrol altına almış, bayrağımızı saat 21.02 itibarıyla burada dalgalandırmıştır (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18 – emphasis added).

Burada *nakli kubur* için gerekli dini tören yapılmış, *nakli kubur* yapılabilmesi için orada bizim için manevi değer ifade eden bütün unsurlar yine aynı saygı içinde alınmış, askerlerimiz salimen bölgeden alınmış ve 4 kol halinde Süleyman Şah Saygı Karakolu'ndan Mürşitpınar istikametine sevk başlamıştır (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18 – emphasis added).

*Nakli kubur* için ve diğer manevi emanetler de bu çerçevede ülkemize intikal etmiştir (Sabah, February 23, 2015:18 – emphasis added).

Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı, askerlerimiz tarafından kontrol altına alınan ve şu anda bayrağımızın dalgalandırıldığı, sınırımıza 200 metre mesafede Eşme bölgesine *nakli kubur* ile getirilecektir (Sabah, February 23, 2015:19 – emphasis added).

“Güvenlik mülahazaları temelinde hayata geçirilen *geçici nakli kubur* işlemi, Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve müştemilatının anlaşmalarla tesbit edilmiş statüsünde herhangi bir değişiklik anlamına gelmemektedir” (Sabah, February 23, 2015:20 – emphasis added).

Besides this, other words, such as ‘intikal (transfer)’, ‘getirme (bring)’, ‘yer değiştirme (removal)’ and ‘taşım (move),’ that Sabah used for relocation do not have any significant connotations.

According to van Dijk, “the choice of specific words may signal the degree of formality, the relationship between the speech partners, the group-based or institutional embedding of discourse, and especially the attitudes and hence ideologies of the speaker” (van Dijk, 1988:81). Words used by Zaman form probably the most apparent illustrations for van Dijk's above mentioned explanation, as they

have such connotations that signals the ideologies in the most apparent manner. Almost all of the words to name the operation in the news texts of Zaman bear negative connotations, as seen in the below examples.

Türkiye, sınırları dışındaki tek toprağı olan Suriye'deki Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nden güvenlik gerekçesiyle *çekildi*. Önceki gece yarısı düzenlenen 'Şah Fırat Operasyonu'yla 38 asker tahliye edilirken yaşanan kazada bir astsubay şehit oldu. Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı, Suriye içinde, sınıra 200 m mesafedeki Eşme köyüne getirildi. *Terkedilen* türbe imha edildi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1 – emphasis added).

IŞİD tehdidi altındaki askerlerin güvenli bir şekilde tahliye edilmesi sevinçle karşılanırken, Türkiye'nin Süleyman Şah'tan *geri çekilmesi* uzun yıllar sonra yaşanan ilk *toprak kaybı* olarak değerlendirildi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10 – emphasis added).

PYD güçleri IŞİD'e karşı bölgede askeri üstünlük sağlamışken hükümetin türbeyi *boşaltma* kararı alması şaşkınlıkla karşılandı (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10 – emphasis added).

Türkiye için manevi değeri yüksek olan türbenin *tahliye edilmesi* için önceki gece saat 21.00 de düğmeye basıldı (Zaman, February 23, 2015:10 – emphasis added).

Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ni *terketmek* için düzenlenen operasyona muhalefetin tepkisi sert oldu. *Vatan topraklarının IŞİD'e teslim edildiği operasyonu* 'sakandal' olarak değerlendiren siyasiler, Başbakan Davutoğlu'nun istifasını istedi. İktidar temsilcilerinin *rezaleti* 'zafer' gibi sunması ise kamuoyunda alay konusu oldu (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14).

Süleyman Şah Türbe'sinin iktidarın 'başarılı' bir operasyonu ile *terör örgütü IŞİD'e teslim edilmesi* kamuoyunda şok etkisi yaptı (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14).

Ancak muhalefet *vatan topraklarının terör örgütlerine teslim edilmesine* çok sert tepki verdi (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14).

The italicised phrases in the first two examples 'geri çekilmek (to retreat/withdraw),' help to create such negative connotations in the readers' minds as 'failure, loss, cowardice, giving up ect.:' which are unacceptable and possibly derogatory both for a nation and a country. The verb 'tahliye etmek' in the third example also has negative connotations as it means 'to evacuate' or 'to release a prisoner.' However, the last three examples from Zaman, reveals the attitude of the newspaper towards the operation conducted by the government. The newspaper accuses the government of yielding national territory to terrorist groups; which is unacceptable, too. The last example, on the other hand, exhibits a satire with the usage of successful in quotation marks, referring to the modification by the Prime



Minister and the President; in that the sentence continues with a proposition of yielding national territory to terrorist groups.

Consequently, regarding the lexical preferences, it is possible to say that the newspapers have remained loyal to their ideologies in both Turkish and English versions. Yet, since the Turkish versions address to the Turks, many national elements are observed to have been covered within the texts. The amount, frequency and intention of these elements vary depending on the newspaper.

#### **4.2.4. Rhetoric and persuasion strategies**

Rhetoric, one of the important elements of micro structure analysis of van Dijk's method, is a key concept alongside with strategy. Incidents and situations transform into a strategic process by means of a discourse which is organised by language, and exists with good command to language. Strategies of forming individual or social identities, such as "we and they," are based on a concept of "others". In the events of such conflicting situations as otherising environments of national identity formation processes, class based hierarchy tensions or ideological polarisation occurring owing to social stratification, social structures or individuals are built via successful discourse strategies.

According CDA, rhetoric, citations, photographs, graphics, numeric data etc. are used as persuasion tools. Strategy, on the other hand, stands for conscious or unconscious processes to make the implicit or explicit intentions come true. Van Dijk (2008a) mentions three major persuasion strategies:

- *Direct Description of the Events*: Use of numbers and statistics to create the intended effect, use of evidence, and use of information about time and place help to create persuasiveness. Emphasising the place is also important for the identity formation of the actors of the incident. 'Definition', in media texts, can be a strategy against the negated (or vice versa). Citations from sources or witnesses or utilising expert views are also persuasion tools as introducing participants mirrors both human and

dramatic sides of the event. While background information regarding the incident is considered as an effort to form an opinion about the negated, not giving background information for opposite arguments aim to invalidate them.

Analysing the texts, it has been observed that all newspapers in question have defined the event clearly. They used numbers, photographs, citations from the actors of the event and experts. Time and place information is also provided.

Turkey has evacuated its military personnel protecting the Tomb of Süleyman Şah in northern Syria as well as the artifacts in the mausoleum in an operation jointly conducted by the intelligence organization and the Turkish army, a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was besieged by jihadists belonging to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015).

The tomb, around 37 kilometers from the Turkish border, is regarded as Turkish territory by international agreements and was protected by around 40 soldiers (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015).

During the operation that was launched late Feb. 21, airborne early warning and control (AWACS) aircraft, military helicopters and drones were on duty as 39 tanks and 57 armored vehicles penetrated the border with support teams from Turkey's Special Forces. Live footage and other data from the field were followed in an operation room at the General Staff's headquarters (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015).

In an operation that began late on Saturday, the Turkish military successfully extracted 40 soldiers who had been guarding the Tomb of Süleyman Shah in Syria, the grandfather of the founder of the Ottoman Empire. The military force entered the site that is considered sovereign territory by Ankara with 39 tanks, 57 armored cars, 100 vehicles and 572 personnel. Without encountering any skirmishes, they completed the mission, which was carried out some 30 kilometers inside Syrian territory in an area controlled by the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

Meanwhile, the remains of Süleyman Shah were transferred to Ashmeh, an area located 200 meters south of the Turkish-Syrian border in Syria. "The Tomb of Süleyman Shah and Memorial Outpost, which had been relocated twice in previous years, will continue to fly the Turkish flag and keep the memory of our ancestors alive in accordance with international law and agreements," President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said in written statement on Sunday (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

According to Can Acun, a Middle East expert at the SETA Foundation, the operation's importance is due to successfully getting in and out of a region where many actors are in conflict without encountering resistance, and in an era when many countries are not able to rescue hostages from ISIS, while Turkey was successful in both Mosul and the Tomb of Süleyman Shah. Asserting that the evacuation of the tomb to Ashmeh meant that Turkey was using its rights under international law, Acun said that besides choosing Ashmeh, which is to the west of Kobani, it is also important to state that the operation passed through territories under control of a Syrian Kurdish militia, considered part of the Democratic Union Party's (PYD) People's Protection Units (YPG) (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

In remarks to reporters on Sunday morning, Davutoğlu said that the 38 troops guarding the tomb had been safely brought to Turkey. During the press conference, Davutoğlu said that 39 tanks, 57 armored vehicles and 572 personnel took part in two operations inside Syria -- one at the Tomb of Süleyman Şah near Aleppo and a simultaneous operation in another region in Syria near the Turkish border to take control of an area designated as the new burial place for Süleyman Şah's remains...Both operations got under way at 9 p.m. on Saturday night. The troops arrived at the tomb at 12:30 a.m. on Sunday and left the tomb at 4:45 a.m. after exhuming the remains in a ceremony. The remains were brought to Turkey and the troops destroyed the tomb's complex, , apparently to prevent it from being used by ISIL militants. The first unit of troops said Davutoğlu returned to Turkey at around 6 a.m. on Sunday morning. All troops, except a small group, have returned to Turkey, the prime minister said...The extraction operation was planned to last three hours but took almost six because ISIL had reportedly destroyed the roads in the area (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015).

Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Deputy Chairman Semih Yalçın described the operation as "totally wrong," describing it as withdrawal from land that belongs to the motherland. "The government was forced to leave a piece of land to which we have historical ties," he noted, accusing the government of making repeated mistakes in recent times (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015).

Presenting photographs, numeric data, information of time and place, citations, expert views and background information, the newspapers intend to increase the persuasiveness of the news and to make the reader internalise the main theme given by the news narration.

The Turkish versions of the newspapers, too, provide a detailed definition of the event. Yet, what differs from the English versions is the over detailed description of the operation and use of more photographs than the English ones.

TSK tarafından gerçekleştirilen 'Şah Fırat Operasyonu' ile sınıra 37 uzaklıktaki Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu'nda görev yapan 38 asker ile naaş tahliye edildi. Osmanlı Devleti'nin kurucusu Osman Gazi'nin dedesi Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı Suriye içinde sınıra 200 metre mesafedeki Eşme köyüne getirildi. Herhangi bir çatışmanın yaşanmadığı operasyonda kaza sonucu Astsubay Başçavuş Halit Avcı şehit oldu. 39 tank ve 572 personelin görev aldığı operasyonda karakol ve türbe patlayıcı ile havaya uçuruldu. Uzun süredir IŞİD'in kontrolündeki bölgede yaşanan çatışmalar sebebiyle askerlerin nöbet değişimi ve ikmalleri yapılamıyordu. Askerlerin IŞİD ile PKK'nın uzantısı PYD arasında kaldığı ifade ediliyordu (Zaman, February 23, 2015:1).

Besides this summary on the first page, Zaman gives a detailed description on page 10. Yet, Sabah and Hürriyet provide readers with so much detailed information that they give every step of the operation hour by hour. After giving a brief summary of the operation on its first page, Sabah gives all details with a citation from the

Prime Minister on page 18. Hürriyet, on the other hand, provides the time schedule of the operation on the first page and details it on page 14.

Özel Kuvvetler'e mensup sivil giyimli ve silahlı askerler üç gün önce gizlice Suriye'ye sızdı ve güzergâhı kontrol altına aldı. Önceki akşam saat 21.00 sıralarında eş zamanlı olarak iki operasyon birden başlatıldı. Çatışma çıkmaması için koalisyon güçlerine son dakikada haber verildi. Suriye'ye İstanbul Başkonsolosluğu aracılığıyla nota çekildi. Harekâte 39'u tank, 57'si zırhlı araç olmak üzere 100 araç ve 572 personel katıldı. İHA'lar yardım etti. Uçaklar hazır bekledi. Mürşitpınar'dan Suriye'ye giren birlikler süratle Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu'na yönlendi. Aynı anda başka bir birlik Suriye sınırından 200 metre ötede türbenin nakledileceği yeni yer Eşme'ye konuşlandı. Eşme'de bir bölgeyi kontrol altına alan Bordo Bereliler 21.02'de Türk bayrağını dalgalandırdı. 35 kilometrelik hattı geçen birlikler de saat 00.30 da türbeye ve karakola ulaştı. Süleyman Şah'ın naaşının nakli için gerekli dini tören yapıldı. Naaş dualarla Türk bayrağına sarıldı. Değerli emanetler toplandı. Bayrak törenle indirilip katlandı, ardından karakol patlayıcılarla imha edildi. Dört koldan geri dönen birlikler, saat 06.03'te sınırdan Türkiye'ye giriş yaptı (Sabah, February 23, 2015:1)

20 Şubat: Hava şartları uygun hale geldi ve harekât kararı verildi. Başbakan ve Cumhurbaşkanı durumdan haberdar edildi.

12.00 Süleyman Şah Karakolu Komutanı'na kriptolu olarak Süleyman Şah'ın naaşının dini kurallar göz önünde tutularak çıkarılıp emniyete alınması ve karakolun imhası için de hazırlık yapılması talimatı verildi.

21 Şubat: 08.00 Kara ve Hava Kuvvetleri teyakkuz durumuna geçirildi. F-16 savaş uçakları ve İHA'lar keşif amacıyla havalandı.

20.00 Dört İHA ve mühimmat yüklü iki F-16 savaş uçağı havalandı. İki İHA, Karakozak köyü istikametine diğer ikisi de Eşme istikametine yönlendirildi.

21.00 Harekât başlama emri verildi. İki ayrı yöne hareket eden birliklerden birincisi; yaklaşık 50 zırhlı araç, 400 kişilik bir kuvvet ve dört kol halinde Karakozak köyüne doğru yola çıktı. Aynı dakikalarda 39 tank ve 7 zırhlı araçtan oluşan ikinci konvoy Suriye Eşme'sine doğru yöneldi. Konvoy hareket edeceği esnada talihsiz bir olay yaşandı ve Muhabere Astsubay Halit Avcı, tank kapağının başına düşmesi sonucu şehit düştü.

Saat 21.30 Müttefik ülkeler ve PYD karargâhına, Türkiye'nin Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ne yönelik bir operasyon başlattığı bildirildi.

Saat 22.02 Suriye Eşme'si yönüne hareket eden konvoy hedefe ulaştı, sınırın Suriye topraklarında kalan bölümüne Türk bayrağı çekildi.

22 Şubat: Saat 00.30 İkinci konvoy da herhangi bir direnişle karşılaşmadan Süleyman Şah Karakolu'na ulaştı.

Saat 04.45 Süleyman Şah Karakolu'nda görev yapan 38 personel ile Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı ve iki askerinin cenazesi alındı. Konvoy beşer dakika arayla dört kol halinde Türkiye sınırına doğru hareket etti.

Saat 05.00 Konvoy'un ayrılmasının ardından artçı birlik Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ndeki gönderden Türk bayrağını indirdi, patlayıcılarla türbe havaya uçuruldu.

06.03 İlk birlik Türk topraklarına giriş yaptı. Daha sonra art arda diğer kollar da sorunsuz bir şekilde kayıp vermeden döndü.

06.50 Sınırdan son olarak türbeyi havaya uçuran artçı özel kuvvetler timi de giriş yaptı ve operasyon tamamlandı (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1)

In addition to these summaries, both Sabah and Hürriyet spare many pages for this operation on February 23, 2015. Hürriyet and Sabah covered this news on 5 pages, excluding columns, while Zaman spared 5 pages, also excluding columns which outnumber those both in Hürriyet and Sabah. As seen through the analysis, numeric data, citations and photographs are more frequently used in Turkish versions with an aim to increase the persuasiveness of their texts.

- *Formation of Strong Cause-Effect Relations:* Configuring the narration effectively and using the similar incidents successfully are used to enhance or clarify the argument; in that “news is more persuasive if it represents events that fit our models without being completely predictable” (van Dijk, 1985:86). When the news texts are analysed, Hürriyet Daily News and Daily Sabah’s arguments that the tomb had been located twice previously for different reasons can be regarded within this respect.

The tomb and its annex have gone through several processes of demolition, relocation, and reconstruction since their original construction on the hills of Caber Castle in 1939. The tomb was moved to its current location in 1975 as a result of a dam construction (Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015).

"The Tomb of Süleyman Shah and Memorial Outpost, which had been relocated twice in previous years, will continue to fly the Turkish flag and keep the memory of our ancestors alive in accordance with international law and agreements," President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said in written statement on Sunday (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

Today’s Zaman, on the other hand, does not mention about the previous two relocations. Instead, through a citation, it constructs a similarity between the Operation Şah Euphrates and the myth of King Pyrus. According to the myth, King Pyrus attacks Rome and spends everything he has to win the battle at any cost. In the end, he wins the battle, having lost his army of 50 elephants and thousands of soldiers. He is left with a couple of wounded soldiers from that army. King Pyrus is claimed to have said ‘God, do not grant such a victory to anyone else’ after the battle. Citing MHP lawmaker, Ali Uzunırmak’s statements on the operation, Today’s

Zaman builds a connection between these two events and criticises the operation's 'success'.

Another MHP lawmaker, Ali Uzunırmak, lashed out at the government for presenting the operation as a success. "The loss of a territory is never considered a success in any country. Presenting this as a success is nothing but a Pyrrhic victory," he said (Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015:4).

As for the Turkish versions, it has been observed that two newspapers, Hürriyet and Sabah, cover previous relocations of the tomb. Zaman, as in the English version, does not mention the previous relocation, but presents some other similarities between the operation and chess game through some quotations from the opposition.

Süleyman Şah'ın ilk yattığı yer olan Caber Kalesi 1921'de Türk toprağı sayılmıştı. Mezar 1939'da kale içinde bir başka yere nakledildi. Ardından Caber barajı suları altında kalacağı için 1975'te Karakozak köyüne götürülen naaş şimdi Eşme'ye gömülecek (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:1)

Osmanlı Devleti'nin kurucusu Osman Bey'in dedesi Süleyman Şah'ın mezarı 1975'e kadar Caber Kalesi'nde bulunuyordu. Suriye hükümetinin Fırat Nehri üzerinde Tabk Barajı'nın 1973'te su toplamaya başlamasıyla Caber'in tamamen sular altında kalacağını belirtmesi sonrası türbe, müstemilatıyla birlikte Karakozak köyüne nakledilmişti (Sabah, February 23, 2015:20).

CHP Genel Sekreteri Gürsel Tekin: "'Şah' değil 'Mat' operasyonu olmuştur" (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14)

Saadet Partisi Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Birol Aydın: "Bu bir 'Şah Fırat operasyonu' değil, hükümet tarafından Türkiye'ye çekilmiş 'Şah Mat Operasyonu'dur" (Zaman, February 23, 2015:14)

As seen in the last two citations from Zaman, the operation has been identified with chess game. In this game, saying 'şah (check: a move which attacks the opposing king)' is an indicator of winning the game, and the player who loses his 'şah (king),' in other words the player is 'mat (checkmated which means that the player does not have any move)' loses the game. Due to the name of the operation given by the government, the opposition implies that it was not a winning, but a losing move for the country. The same comparison between the operation and chess game is also given in quotations of Hürriyet from the opposition.

Korkaklığın ismine 'Şah Fırat operasyonu' diyen Başbakan ve milli ahlaktan yoksun bürokratları; gerçekte 'Al At Ah Mat Operasyonu'na imza atarak Türk devlet ve geleneklerini harabeye çevirmişlerdir (Hürriyet, February 23, 2015:16).

- *Emotional Expression of Events*: A stunning and effective discourse is aimed in the definition of events in a sentimental manner. Van Dijk suggests that “facts are better represented and memorized if they involve and arouse strong emotions” (van Dijk, 1985:85). Among the news texts analysed, Sabah and Daily Sabah are observed to be the ones utilising emotional expressions within the text to arouse national and religious feelings.

At a press conference Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said: "Operation Shah Euphrates was extremely successful. Turkey did not violate any rights under international law. In terms of sentimental value, we have secured all rights inside Syrian territories." He underlined that Turkey did not need to request permission from any authority whatsoever (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:1).

“Memorial Outpost, which had been relocated twice in previous years, will continue to fly the Turkish flag and keep the memory of our ancestors alive in accordance with international law and agreements," President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said on a written statement on Sunday (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015:9).

However, sources from the Prime Ministry strongly denied such allegations (Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015).

What aimed through these sentences is to highlight the righteousness of the current authority. While building this perception, frequent mention of the ‘success’ of the operation is used to prove the righteousness of what was done, and to emphasise the necessity of it; and thus, a suitable atmosphere for approval of the operation by the masses is aimed. Turkey’s not asking for permission or help from any country or group is a discourse formed to boast with its military power and to show its independence to other countries. Such a discourse has created a significant opportunity to reproduce their legitimacy and power over the society. The operation which is praised with national feelings, and based on moral values, eventually, support the power, authority, legitimacy and independence of the government, and thus, created the perception of a right, necessary and praise-worthy situation.





## V. CONCLUSION

Whether media can perform the function of being the 4<sup>th</sup> Estate which is attributed by the liberal – pluralistic approaches stands as a quite controversial issue. This function of media is based on the hypothesis that media should broadcast the news objectively. Within this framework, one of the most noteworthy criticisms expressed against media is that it violates the moral rules and that it did not obey with the professional news production norms. The ideological aspect of media and its function in the reproduction of the social norms are in question within this criticism. Besides, both printed and visual media have been the most frequently utilised tool for the reproduction and conveyance of ideologies due to its effectuality. Since the very beginning, those with authority over media have used it in their favour, and those who has no dominance over media have stood against it.

Many different strategies have been used to keep media under control. The most common of these strategies are censorship and broadcast ban. This oppression have affected the positioning of media over the years, and paved the way for media organs to walk side by side the political powers.

In this study, it is intended to explicate that Turkish newspapers published in English take part in the reproduction of social norms which help the power dominate individuals. Also, a brief analysis of the original texts is only included to give an idea about the transfer of political language with its intended messages. Despite being of Turkish origin, the analysed newspapers are published in English, and are considered as translations (Bielse & Bassnett, 2009); that is why, this role of media exceeds the national borders and extends to every single person who has a command of English language; providing a much larger group for the reproduction of its ideology and norms. This role is analysed through the news about the military operation conducted by the Turkish government and the Turkish Army to relocate the Tomb of Süleyman Şah and the Memorial Outpost in northern Syria along with the soldiers guarding them on February 23, 2015. The study is based on the hypothesis that if media plays a crucial role in the reproduction and popularisation of social norms and ideologies

as the 4<sup>th</sup> estate, then media organs may use this power on their behalf, to reproduce and popularise their ideologies and norms. The approach of Foucault - who defines modern societies as discipline communities - that norms are reproduced through media in discipline communities, and his arguments on the establishment of discourse are taken as the theoretical basis for this study. In order for the ideological elements in the news texts to be explicated, Teun Adrianus van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model which regards news texts as a form of social discourse and analyses news texts in accordance with the findings of text linguistics is used. Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model is preferred owing to the fact that it puts forth the structure and ideological presentation of the news texts, and that it provides a more systematic and comprehensive approach.

When the news texts of Hürriyet Daily News, Daily Sabah and Today's Zaman dated February 23, 2015 about the relocation of the tomb on February 21, 2015 are analysed, it has been observed that the texts were formed according to a certain schema, which is called 'inverted pyramid' by journalists.

The most typical feature of inverted pyramid is the necessity of a proper lead and its effect of the narrative structure: the most important, the most surprising, that is the greatest fact, part of the news must be written at first place; that is to say, it must be the 'flash'. The most important fact may be at the end of the chronological order of the events, yet it must be written at first place in the narrative structure of the text. This placement creates a hierarchy among the text elements and shatters the chronological narration. The news texts analysed within this study are formed in accordance with this rule (Çiğ, 2010). The most significant fact, which is the relocation of the tomb, is given at first; which is the golden rule of the inverted pyramid (Çiğ, 2010). When the news texts of Hürriyet Daily News, Daily Sabah, Today's Zaman, Hürriyet, Sabah and Zaman dated February 23, 2015 about the relocation of the tomb on February 21, 2015 are analysed, it has been found that the headlines, leads and the narrations are presented according to the inverted pyramid structure.

As understood from the analysis of news texts, it is clearly seen in the presentation of these elements that media contribute to the reproduction of ideologies and social norms. However, it has been observed that the analysed news texts of different newspapers represent different ideologies. According to the analysis made within this study, *Hürriyet Daily News* seems to play the role of impartiality. Compared to the news texts of other newspapers, *Daily Sabah* and *Today's Zaman*, *Hürriyet Daily News* remains more objective and does not contradict with neither of the others.

*Today's Zaman*, on the other hand, is known to have taken the same path with the government for years; yet after the operations of 17 – 25 December, positioned itself against the government and saw no harm in publishing the government's 'mistakes' and 'faults'. In publishing the news about the *Shah Euphrates Operation*, it stands against the operation and uses a discourse which evokes the national feelings. *Daily Sabah*, however, plays a sided role and fills the news text with phrases praising the operation, and thus, the government.

News texts, which are products of media, are closed texts (Doruk, 2013) which are formed of the expressions of official discourse and thus is closed to alternative perceptions due to the assertions of the sovereign ideology. That is because news texts are produced with the views of certain sources and these sources mirror the views of the sovereign ideology (Özer, 1999). Narrative closure, which supports certain beliefs and ideas, makes other possible narrations be rejected by readers.

The news schemata formed with the presentation of headlines, leads, texts and photographs according to certain formats provide an interpretation frame for readers, and thus, readers approach the incident from this frame. Within this perspective, narrative closures are determined in the news texts about the *Shah Euphrates Operation*.

All newspapers placed quotations and citations from the government, military and the opposition. However, while *Hürriyet Daily News* and *Hürriyet* base most of

the news content on the statements made by the government officials, besides using governmental, official sources, Zaman and Today's Zaman spare more place to statements by the opposition parties, former deputies of Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the spokesmen of military groups in Syria. Sabah and Daily Sabah, on the contrary, do not mention any sources other than the government and governmental officials, but institutions such as Prime Ministry, the President, the Turkish Armed Forces, the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) and SETA foundation. Such a source preference of the newspapers in question, show that each forms a different narrative closure to keep their readers under control.

Though the texts include background and context information, which create a freedom for readers to approach the matter from alternative perspectives, within the text, the general lexical preferences of the newspapers prevent this freedom; and insinuate their ideologies. Considering the lexical preferences, the newspapers have remained loyal to their ideologies in both Turkish and English versions. Yet, since the Turkish versions address to the Turks, many national elements are observed to have been covered within the texts. The amount, frequency and intension of these elements vary depending on the newspaper.

Consequently, with all the findings of this study, it is possible to say that media organs are positioned in proper places by political powers; as if they were pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. With the results of this study, existence of opposing media due to the necessity of a critical eye before the mass, impartial media and sided media can be observed. All these roles are determined by political powers and shaped by the current conditions. Discourses are produced thanks to these powers and their effects on masses are built up. During the production of these discourses, the tendencies, sensitivities and emotional history of the society are considered.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015, page 1

# Army relocates Turkish tomb on Syrian soil

**Turkey's army conducts a night-time operation to evacuate a sacred Turkish tomb in Syrian territory, while raising its flag on soil closer to the border**

ANKARA

Turkey has evacuated its military personnel protecting the Tomb of Süleyman Şah in northern Syria, as well as the artifacts in the mausoleum, in an operation jointly conducted by the country's intelligence service and the Turkish army, a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was besieged by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

A soldier was killed in an accident during the early hours of the operation, Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu confirmed at a press conference early yesterday. The soldier was later identified as Halit Avcı, a military photographer.

Without engaging in any clashes, Turkish troops left Syria early yesterday after detonating the symbolic building to prevent ISIL militants from using it as a base, said the prime minister.

President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan called the family of Avcı to convey his condolences while also congratulating both the government and the Turkish Armed Forces (TSKF) for their "successful" overnight evacuation operation.

Turkey informed the interna-

tional coalition combatting extremist jihadists in Syria of its "Şah Fırat" operation to evacuate the Tomb of Süleyman Şah immediately after mobilization began, the prime minister said.

Davutoğlu provided details on the operation that was launched at 9 p.m. Feb. 21 and ended 6 a.m. the following day. "In fact, two separate operations were carried out. One was to reach the Tomb of Süleyman Şah and the other one was to raise our flag on a new piece of land in Syria's Ashme Village 1180 meters away from the Turkish border that was already designated as the new position of the tomb," Davutoğlu said.

Preparations for the operation started in January because security conditions in the region had worsened, he said. The operation was conducted from military headquarters in Ankara and Suruç, across from Kobane, as well as military bases in Malatya and Diyarbakır, Davutoğlu said, informing that a total of 572 troops, 39 tanks and 57 armored vehicles were involved in the operation. The tomb, around 37 kilometers from the Turkish border, is regarded as Turkish territory by international agreements.

**TOMB, continued on page 09**

**Syria: Turkish action is 'flagrant aggression'**

Damascus says the action into northern Syria was 'flagrant aggression', while threatening Ankara with repercussions.

TURKEY SENDS NOTICE p.09

**Opposition decries evacuation of tomb**

The CHP and MHP vent their fury at Turkey's evacuation of its own soil, with the MHP calling the move 'treason.'

'LOSING OUR LAND' p.09

**Kurdish forces provide safe corridor: Claim**

'300 ARMED YPG MILITANTS' p.09



This handout picture released by the Prime Minister's Press Office shows PM Ahmet Davutoğlu (C) at the General Staff's Headquarters after the operation, as Defense Minister Ismet Yılmaz (L) and Chief of Staff Gen Necdet Özel stand next to him.



Source: Anadolu Agency



Turkish tanks in Kobane, Syria



Soldiers raising flag in Ashme

## Appendix 2 Hürriyet Daily News, February 23, 2015, page 9



Halit Avci, a military photographer, was killed in an accident during the early hours of a Turkish army operation into Süleyman Şah tomb in Syria.

### TURKEY 'MOVED TO AVOID RISKS'

Officials have underlined that Turkey's decision to launch a raid was aimed at "taking the initiative and preventing probable provocations." The decision has been made based on "the principle of protecting homeland territory and preventing provocations," officials from the Prime Ministry office said.

"In this respect, the measure that has been taken is aimed at taking the initiative and preventing probable provocations. Being ready to pay all kinds of costs and to get all kinds of costs paid for, in consequence of its being Turkish territory, does not necessitate acting incautious. The decision for the operation has been made because of the increase of possibility of abuse of this risky environment by terrorist organizations and those who want to bring Turkey into the war," officials said.

# Turkey relocates tomb in Syria over jihadist threat

**Turkish army has swept into Syria overnight to evacuate a historic Ottoman tomb in northern Syria and moved the artifacts to a new site close to the border over increasing security risks in the region**

**TOMB, continued from page 1**  
The operation came a few days after reports suggested that ISIL jihadists had besieged the tomb and that Turkish soldiers protecting the enclave were trapped by the militants.

Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu denied claims in a statement on Feb. 20. Media reports claimed that Turkey was in negotiations with ISIL militants for the release of the Turkish soldiers in exchange for arrested jihadist militants.

The Tomb of Süleyman Şah has long been in the spotlight as there were fears that it could be targeted by Syria's government or ISIL forces. Turkish authorities were not able to change the guard for eight months.

In March, ISIL reportedly

threatened Ankara and demanded in a YouTube video that Turkey lower its flag and withdraw from the site within three days.

In October 2014, the Turkish Air Force conducted an air military drill on the defense of the tomb in northern Syria to show solidarity for the trapped troops at the military post, highlighting the army's resolve to respond to any military attack on land considered to be Turkish territory.

Air Force Commander Gen. Akan Öztürk inspected the military exercise in a nearly two-hour flight on Oct. 21, 2014.

Turkey delivered a diplomatic note to the Syrian consulate in Istanbul to inform Damascus that the Tomb of Süleyman Şah was being temporarily moved to a new site in Syria corresponding

to the size of the previous one, to the north of Ashme village.

"We did not evacuate, we relocated the tomb," Çavuşoğlu said in Antalya. In diplomatic notes, Turkey "affirmed that the emptied military post is still Turkish land, and we'll come back later," said the minister.

Çavuşoğlu slammed opposition parties for their criticism of "evacuating" the tomb. "They questioned why we did not evacuate the Mosul consulate, but now they ask why we brought [soldiers]," the minister noted.

#### Who was Süleyman Şah?

The Süleyman Şah tomb was declared Turkish territory under a treaty signed with France in 1921, when France was the colonial power in Syria. Ankara re-

gards it as sovereign territory and repeatedly made clear that it would defend the mausoleum if it was attacked.

Süleyman Şah was a 12th-century military leader of the Seljuk Empire, which was among the first Turkish groups to enter and settle in Anatolia. He is the grandfather of Osman I, who founded the Ottoman Empire, which lasted for six centuries and was inherited by the Turkish Republic in 1923 following the War of Liberation. The tomb and its annex have gone through several processes of demolition, relocation, and reconstruction since their original construction on the hills of Caber Castle in 1939. The tomb was moved to its current location in 1975 as a result of a dam construction.

## Appendix 3 Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015, page 1

[ SUCCESS OR FIASCO ]

# Gov't under fire over retreat from Turkish territory in Syria

The Turkish government came under a firestorm of criticism on Sunday when news broke of the abandonment of the Tomb of Süleyman Şah -- the grandfather of the founder of the Ottoman Empire -- in northern Syria, the only Turkish territory that is not attached to the rest of the country.

The extraction of the troops who were guarding the tomb was hailed as a military success, with no clashes reported, yet the

operation has signaled the apparent collapse of Turkey's Syria policy engineered by Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu.

"Unfortunately this is entirely a result of mistakes in foreign policy," said Hakan Şükür, a retired international football player and independent lawmaker, lamenting the fact that Turkey has given up territory for the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic. "We have become a country that is isolated and held accountable for the war in the region and

eventually we lost territory," he added.

Former Culture and Tourism Minister Ertuğrul Günay said, "In a nutshell, our grandfathers have turned over in their graves." He added that the loss of Turkish territory is a failure of the country's Syrian policy and the baseless and ambitious claims by the government. "What is more troubling is that those who are responsible for creating a new Afghan turbulence to the south [of Syria] are still talking about success," he said.

When the risks surrounding the tomb and reports of ongoing operations by the Turkish military were raised in Parliament early on Sunday by the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), Interior Minister Ekan Ala said he does not have to brief Parliament on national security matters. The minister was heckled and booed on the floor of Parliament when he declined to give any information about the situation of the tomb. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 04**

## Appendix 4 Today's Zaman, February 23, 2015, page 4

# GOV'T UNDER FIRE OVER RETREAT FROM TURKISH TERRITORY IN SYRIA



Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu (2nd R) is briefed about the military operation concerning the Tomb of Süleyman Sah in northern Syria.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
 CHP parliamentary group deputy chairman Ergin Altay said he had brought the matter to Parliament's agenda before but was told there was nothing to worry about concerning the outpost in Syria. He said that now, the military withdrawal had been completed.

In a written statement, the Turkish military said it has successfully completed an operation in Syria to evacuate Turkish soldiers guarding the tomb, during which one soldier was killed in an accident. The statement added that no clashes took place during the operation.

The Foreign Ministry said the withdrawal had been conducted due to risks stemming from clashes in Syria and instability in the country, which threatened the lives of the Turkish soldiers guarding the tomb.

CHP Deputy Chairman Günsel Tokin said the withdrawal -- dubbed "Operation Shah Euphrates" -- was a defeat for Turkey, adding that the CHP's warnings about the tomb had been denied by the government last week. "Turkey has lost territory for the first time, without putting up a fight," he said. In addition, CHP parliamentary group deputy chairman Akif Hamzacebi called on Prime Minister Davutoglu to resign because of the loss of Turkish territory.

Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) leader Cem Toker also said the withdrawal was the latest in a series of mistakes by the government over Syria that started with erroneously classifying Syrian internal affairs as a national security matter in 2011.

Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Deputy Chairman Semih Yalcin described the operation as "totally wrong," describing it as withdrawal from land that belongs to the motherland. "The government was forced to leave a piece of land to which we have historical ties," he noted, accusing the government of making repeated mistakes in recent times. The MHP deputy asserted that the government and the armed forces have the responsibility to protect the tomb, no matter how much risk is involved.

Another MHP lawmaker, Ali Uzunirnak, lashed out at the government for presenting the operation as a success. "The loss of a territory is never considered a success in any country. Presenting this as a success is nothing but a Pyrrhic victory," he said.

Government spokesman and Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç accused the opposition of politicizing the issue, saying that Turkey did not cede the territory and the move was temporary.

Commenting on Twitter, Davutoglu acknowledged that the soldiers guarding the tomb had safely returned to Turkey. The prime minister also confirmed reports that the remains of Süleyman Sah were exhumed during the operation. He said a new area in northern Syria has been brought under the control of the military and designated the new resting place for Süleyman Sah. Davutoglu also congratulated the military for the successful operation.

The operation came two days after Interior Minister Ala denied claims that Turkish troops guarding the Tomb of Süleyman Sah -- the grandfather of Osman I, the founder of the Ottoman Empire -- have been unable to cross into Turkey due to extremist Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) militants having surrounded the tomb since March 2014, describing the allegations as baseless.

The claims were first raised by journalist Metehan Demir late last month. He wrote on his personal blog that soldiers had been trapped near the tomb for the past 11 months and that ISIL was providing food and water to the soldiers because supplies from Turkey had not been delivered since March 2014. Demir also wrote that there is usually a change of guard every two or three months but the 40 soldiers stationed there have not been relieved since last March. The Turkish government said late last year that ISIL militants were advancing on the mausoleum, which is guarded by several dozen Turkish soldiers.

The tomb was made Turkish territory under a treaty signed with France in 1921, when France ruled Syria. Turkey regards it as sovereign territory and had repeatedly vowed to defend it from any attack.

In remarks to reporters on Sunday morning, Davutoglu said that the 38 troops guarding the tomb had been safely brought to Turkey. During the press conference, Davutoglu said that 39 tanks, 57 armored vehicles and 572 personnel took part in two operations inside Syria -- one at the Tomb of Süleyman Sah near Aleppo and a simultaneous operation in another region in Syria near the Turkish border to take control of an area designated as the new burial place for

Süleyman Sah's remains.

Both operations got under way at 9 p.m. on Saturday night. The troops arrived at the tomb at 12:30 a.m. on Sunday and left the tomb at 4:45 a.m. after exhuming the remains in a ceremony. The remains were brought to Turkey and the troops destroyed the tomb's complex, said Davutoglu, apparently to prevent it from being used by ISIL militants. The first unit of troops returned to Turkey at around 6 a.m. on Sunday morning. All troops, except a small group, have returned to Turkey, the prime minister said.

The extraction operation was planned to last three hours but took almost six because ISIL had reportedly destroyed the roads in the area.

Turkey used its rights under international law as well as a parliamentary motion authorizing military operations in Iraq and Syria, the prime minister also said. Ankara did not seek permission or assistance from any other country or group for the operation but the Free Syrian Army and the coalition forces attacking ISIL targets in Syria were informed of the mission after the troops had entered Syria.

In a statement, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said that the designated burial place was located 200 meters away from the Turkish-Syrian border, close to the village of Esme in the southern Turkish province of Sanliurfa. Erdogan also said he personally oversaw the operation and congratulated both the government and the military for its successful conclusion.

The location of the temporary burial ground for Süleyman Sah is on the Syrian side of the border and reportedly under the control of YPG forces. Turkish tanks and armored vehicles are positioned around the designated areas and the governor has declared the area a military forbidden zone. Security forces did not allow reporters to take photographs of the area.

Pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party (HDP) deputy Hasip Kaplan claimed the Turkish military worked in cooperation with the People's Protection Units (YPG), a Syrian offshoot of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), in the operation, saying that for the first time the two sides -- which have been clashing for decades -- have joined forces. "This is a milestone development," he said.

YPG forces had battled with ISIL over control of the besieged Syrian Kurdish town

of Ayn al-Arab (Kobani in Kurdish).

Citing various claims, the private Cihan news agency reported that witnesses spotted at least 40 tanks entering Syria through the Münsitpur border gate earlier on Sunday.

Turkey scrambled two jet fighters to intercept a Syrian warplane approaching the border on Saturday, the military said in a statement. An Su-24 warplane turned back 2.3 nautical miles from the Turkish-Syrian border as Turkish F-16 fighters approached, the statement added.

Turkey's armed forces changed their rules of engagement on the Syrian border after the downing of a Turkish reconnaissance jet off Syria's Mediterranean coast in June 2012. Under the changed rules, any Syrian military element approaching the border is considered a threat. In September, Turkey announced that acting under the new rules, it had shot down a Syrian helicopter after it crossed into Turkish airspace.

The Syrian government said on Sunday that Turkey had informed the Syrian Consulate in Istanbul about a Turkish military operation in northern Syria to rescue its troops at the tomb but that Ankara had not waited for its agreement. Syria described the Turkish incursion as "flagrant aggression," Reuters reported, quoting Syrian state TV.

In August of last year, the Taraf daily reported that Turkey had promised to hand over the territory surrounding the tomb of Süleyman Sah to ISIL in exchange for Turkish citizens who were taken hostage at Turkey's Consulate General in Mosul in June. Taraf claimed that Turkey initially offered a ransom for the hostages but the two sides finally agreed on a land-for-hostages deal.

A Turkish government whistleblower, who writes under the pseudonym "Fuat Avni" and is believed to be a senior government official, also posted a tweet about the Taraf report. Avni claimed on Twitter that the Taraf report is true and that Foreign Ministry officials panicked after their plans to give up the tomb became publicly known.

In the meantime, a parliamentary motion filed by opposition parties calling for parliamentary research on the activities of ISIL in the country has been rejected due to opposition from AK Party deputies. The motion was filed by the HDP and was discussed in Parliament on Friday night before it was defeated by the ruling party's lawmakers. *Ankara Today's Zaman*

# Midnight operation extracts tomb, soldiers from ISIS clutches

In an operation that abided by international law and was executed under intense secrecy, the Turkish military successfully evacuated the Tomb of Süleyman Shah and the soldiers guarding it before relocating it to a more defensible spot within Syria

ALI ÖNAL - ANKARA

» IN an operation that began late Saturday, the Turkish military successfully extracted 40 soldiers who had been guarding the Tomb of Süleyman Shah in Syria, the grandfather of the founder of the Ottoman Empire. The military force entered the site that is considered sovereign territory by Ankara with 39 tanks, 57 armored cars, 100 vehicles and 572 personnel. Without encountering any skirmishes, they completed the mission, which was carried out some 30 kilometers inside Syrian territory in an area controlled by the Islamic State of Iraq and

al-Sham (ISIS). The operation came a few days after reports suggested that the tomb was being besieged by ISIS militants. After successfully completing the mission, Turkish forces returned to Turkey on Sunday morning. However, one soldier lost his life in an accident during the mission. At a press conference Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said: "Operation Shah Euphrates was extremely successful. Turkey did not violate any rights under international law. In terms of sentimental value, we have secured all rights inside Syrian territories." He underlined that Turkey did not need to request permission from any authority whatsoever. PAGE 9



### PRESIDENT PRAISES GOV'T AND MILITARY

President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said yesterday that he was glad that Operation Shah Euphrates was a success, congratulating the military and the government. He extended his condolences to the family of the soldier who died during the operation, which he said he personally monitored from start to finish.



Chief of Staff Gen. Özel, PM Davutoğlu and Defense Minister Yılmaz.

### PM DAVUTOĞLU: OPERATION LAWFUL, NO RIGHTS LOST



In a four-hour military operation conducted at night, 40 soldiers and the Tomb of Süleyman Shah they were guarding within ISIS territory in Syria were extracted.

Appendix 6 Daily Sabah, February 23, 2015, page 9

# Turkey successfully evacuates Tomb of Süleyman Shah

Turkey's armed forces conducted a two-pronged operation to repatriate soldiers from the Turkish exclave of the Tomb of Süleyman Shah, surrounded by ISIS militants, due to rising security issues

ALI ÖNAL - ANKARA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE -

MEANWHILE, the remains of Süleyman Shah were transferred to Ashmeh, an area located 200 meters south of the Turkish-Syrian border in Syria. "The Tomb of Süleyman Shah and Memorial Outpost, which had been relocated twice in previous years, will continue to fly the Turkish flag and keep the memory of our ancestors alive in accordance with international law and agreements," President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said in written statement on Sunday.

Erdoğan also congratulated the government and the Armed Forces "for conducting this successful and praise-worthy operation."

The operation by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) has been widely considered successful. According to Mete Yazar, who is a former member of the TSK, it was a very well-detailed, timely operation. "Every detail in the operation was planned so well that there were no openings that could be exploited. They were non-existent. From the team sent to the tomb to the team that planted the flag, everything indicates that this operation was well-planned and every related state institution played their role in its coordination." As a former member of the Special Forces Command, Yazar added that maintenance of the operation's confidentiality indicates cooperation between institutions in Turkey. Yazar believes that in this context the operation can be seen as one of the first of its kind in Turkey. "The most important feature of this operation was that it was done in an environment that was full of uncertainties, because of those who were in possession of the territory and from whom we could expect an assault."

According to Can Acun, a Middle East ex-



pert at the SETA Foundation, the operation's importance is due to successfully getting in and out of a region where many actors are in conflict without encountering resistance, and in an era when many countries are not able to rescue hostages from ISIS, while Turkey was successful in both Mosul and the Tomb of Süleyman Shah. Asserting that the evacuation of the tomb to Ashmeh meant that Turkey was using its rights under international law, Acun said that besides choosing Ashmeh, which is to the west of Kobani, it is also important to state that the operation passed through territories under control of a Syrian Kurdish militia, considered part of the Democratic Union Party's (PYD) People's Protection Units (YPG).

Meanwhile, YPG sources claimed that Turkey asked permission to conduct the operation they claimed they jointly conducted with the Turkish forces. However, sources from the Prime Ministry strongly denied such allegations. Experts believe that these discrepancies and the relocation of the tomb

will not cause a clash between the Turkish army and the YPG. "Despite various Kurdish groups claiming sovereignty over this region, Turkey decided to relocate the tomb there. Therefore, I do not think there will be a reaction toward the presence of the tomb. Neither the YPG nor the PYD has the manpower nor the political clout to oppose Turkey," the expert said. The president of the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM), Şaban Kardeş, shared similar sentiments by underlining that the new location of the tomb will not cause any conflict between Kurds in the area and Turkey. "The Kurdish actors in the region are aware of their limits, and therefore they will refrain from any action that may cause conflict directly with Turkey," Kardeş said. He also emphasized the fact that the close ties between the Kurds in the region and Turkey was an important factor in the process of identifying a new location and transferring the tomb to the assigned location. Yazar also believes that there is no risk. "The tomb's new location is near

the Turkish border. This location is in the right place in the sense of logistics and security. For these reasons, it will not be an issue."

Besides these issues, Kardeş believes that the situation that triggered the operation has proven once again that the advancement of ISIS in Syria and Iraq is harming Turkey. "The fact that the Kurdistan Regional Government and the Kurds in Iraq are targeted by ISIS confirms that they are targeting elements that Turkey has established cooperation with," Kardeş said. Acun drew attention to another point: "Not being part of the military wing of the international coalition against ISIS does not mean Turkey is not part of the fight against ISIS. Turkey is not taking part in the military actions of the coalition because Turkey is searching for the removal of factors that led to the existence and rise of ISIS. However, Turkey is still part of the fight against ISIS. The extensive operation involving the Tomb of Süleyman Shah that aimed at removing possible ISIS threats is a reflection of this fight."



Appendix 7 Hürriyet, February 23, 2015, page 1

# KOBANI'DEN ŞAH GEÇİŞİ



**TSK, Suriye topraklarında Süleyman Şah Türbesi için 'çifte' operasyon yaptı. Bir grup Kobani üzerinden İŞİD kuşatma-sındakı türbeye gidip naaşı aldı ve 38 bordo berehlyi tahliye etti. Diğer grup, Süleyman Şah'a Suriye'de yeni bir türbe alanı oluşturdu.**

**BİR ASKER KAZAYLA SEHİT**  
Süleyman Şah'ta bir asker, 27 kişilik bir grupla birlikte, Kobani'den Kobani'ye 21.30'de Kobani'den Kobani'ye 21.30'de Kobani'den Kobani'ye...

**Yeni Türbe Sinira 500 Metre**  
Süleyman Şah'ta bir asker, bundan böyle sinira 500 metre mesafede, YPG güvencesi koridorunda...

**18 SAAT ÖNCE İÇERİ SIZDILAR**  
Süleyman Şah'ta operasyonun 18 saat önce başlatıldığı öğrenildi. Operasyonun başarılı olduğu...

**YPG: İstek üzerine destek verdik**  
Süleyman Şah'ta operasyonun başarılı olduğu...

**BAYRAK İNMEDİ**  
Türkiye'nin Suriye'deki bayrak inme kararına karşı Süleyman Şah Türbesi için Kobani üzerinden İŞİD kuşatma-sındakı türbeye gidip naaşı aldı ve 38 bordo berehlyi tahliye etti. Diğer grup, Süleyman Şah'a Suriye'de yeni bir türbe alanı oluşturdu.

**SAAT SAAT OPERASYON**  
20 ŞUBAT  
21 ŞUBAT  
22 ŞUBAT

**Sartlar düzelince yerine götürürüz**  
Süleyman Şah'ta operasyonun başarılı olduğu...





# Kobani'den geçtiler

**YPG: İstek üzerine askeri destek verdik**

Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler 100 kilometrelik bir alanı kontrol altına aldılar. YPG'nün istek üzerine askeri destek verdiklerini açıkladılar. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.

# Mehmetler girdi 'Emanet'le çıktı

Türkiye sınırları dışındaki tek Türk toprakları olan Süleyman Sahı Saygı Karakolu ve Türbesi için Suriye içine 2 hafta 9 saat süren bir operasyon düzenlendi. Operasyon Türkiye'deki Emeller Köyünden Mehmet Marşıyla başladı. Tanklarla Kobani'den geçen Mehmetçik, karakoldaki emanetler ile personeli alıp, Türkiye'ye döndü. 14 Şubat'ta planlanan ancak bölgedeki durum nedeniyle dün gece gerçekleştirilen operasyonu ayrıntıları şöyle:

### ÖNCE ENVER MUSLİM ÇAĞIRILDI

Erdoğan Çar'ın haberi Süleyman Sahı ve 1 kilometre uzunluğunda yer alan Süleyman Sahı Türbesi'nin bulunduğu 8700 metrelik alanı kontrol altına alması için Kobani'den geçti. 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.

### TSK-YPG birlikte operasyon

YPG'nin istek üzerine askeri destek verdiğini açıkladılar. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.

### SANDUKLARI VE BAYRAĞI ALDILAR

Süleyman Sahı ve 1 kilometre uzunluğunda yer alan Süleyman Sahı Türbesi'nin bulunduğu 8700 metrelik alanı kontrol altına alması için Kobani'den geçti. 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.

### 29 TANK 572 ASKER KATILDI

Militerimizin İnan Karakolu'nun bulunduğu alanı kontrol altına alması için Kobani'den geçti. 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.

### İLK DUYURU TWITTER'DAN

Karakolu'nun bulunduğu alanı kontrol altına alması için Kobani'den geçti. 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.

### GEKÖRSE BİZ DE GÖKÖRİZ

İnan Karakolu'nun bulunduğu alanı kontrol altına alması için Kobani'den geçti. 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.



### Kimseden İZİN almadık

BARRAKAN Dörtüncü, operasyonu Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı'na, SNA'ya ve Suriye İçişleri Bakanlığı'na bildirdiklerini açıkladı. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.



İnan Karakolu'nun bulunduğu alanı kontrol altına alması için Kobani'den geçti. 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi. Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler, 14 Şubat'ta Kobani'den geçtiğini bildirdi.

# ŞAH FIRAT ŞEHİDİ

Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi.

Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi.

Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi.



Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi. Şah Fırat, Kobani'den geçen Türk askerler tarafından şehit edildi.

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# İndirmeden diktiler

Yeni yer Suriye Eşme'si

**İSİD'İN Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kurduğunu duyuldu. Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kuruldu. Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kuruldu.**

# Tebrük ediyorum

İSİD'İN Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kurduğunu duyuldu. Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kuruldu.

**İSİD'İN Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kurduğunu duyuldu. Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kuruldu.**

# Ankara haber verdi ama onayımızı almadı

**İSİD'İN Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kurduğunu duyuldu. Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kuruldu.**

# İŞİD'in eline geçmesin diye İMHA EDİLDİ

## Bordo Bereliler 18 saat önce sızıp keşif yaptı

**İSİD'İN Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kurduğunu duyuldu. Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kuruldu.**

**İSİD'İN Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kurduğunu duyuldu. Suriye'nin kuzeybatısında bulunan Eşme bölgesinde yeni bir yerleşim noktası kuruldu.**

# Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu



**ŞAH FIRAT TEPKİSİ**

CHP Genel Başkanı Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Şah Fırat operasyonuna, "Koskoca Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kendi toprağını savunamamıştır ve geri çekilmiştir. Bu koskocaman bir ayıptır. Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu? Sen orayı koruyamıyorsan, Türkiye'yi nasıl koruyacaksın?" sözleriyle tepki gösterdi. Hürriyet'e konuşan Kılıçdaroğlu, operasyonu şöyle değerlendirdi:

## BECEREMİYORSUN

"Aylardır askerlerimizin değişimi bile yapamıyordunuz. Biz bunu defalarca dile getirdik. Şimdi vatan toprağınızdan geri çekildik. Türkiye'ye getirdik, neden? Orası vatan toprağı değil miydi? Ne zamandan beri kaçmak kahramanlık oldu? Sen orayı koruyamıyorsan, Türkiye'yi nasıl koruyacaksın? Sınırlarımızdan 30 kilometre ötede toprağımızı koruyamadık. İngiltere'nin Falland Adaları nedeniyle 1982'de Arjantin'e yaptığı savaşı anımsıyorum. Binlerce kilometre uzaktaki adasına sahip çıktı İngiltere, devlet olmak budur. Sen 30 kilometre uzaktaki toprağın sahibi olamazsın. Vatan toprağına sahip çıkamayan bir iktidar neyle suçlanacaksa, bu iktidar da aynı şekilde suçlanacaktır. Kaçmayı bile beceremiyorsunuz, bir vatan evladını şehit veriyorsunuz. Yüzünüze, gözyüzünüze bulaştırıyorsunuz."

## O FOTOĞRAFIN RUHU YOK

Türk bayrağı dikilirken çekilen bir fotoğraf servis ediliyor. ABD askerlerini, İwo Jima Muharebesi'nde ABD Bayrağı'nı dikerken gösteren fotoğrafa benzerlik kuruluyor. O kadar göstermelik ve sıradan ki, O servis edilen fotoğrafın ruhu yok. Bir alpa yönetimini bile beceremiyorlar. Bu operasyon baştan sona bir ayıptır zinciri. Ülkenin onuru ve gururuyla oynamışlardır. O koltuklarda oturmasınlar. Kendi ülkesine sahip çıkamayan bir hükümet. TBMM'de hürsa sahibi çıkıyor, kendi ülkesini toprağına sahip çıkamıyor, ne kahramanlığı."

## BU UTANC TÜRKİYE'YE FAZLA

Kılıçdaroğlu Twitter hesabından ise şu mesajı paylaştı: "Güçlü devlet, karışıklardan ilk tehditte topraklarını bırakıp kaçmakla değil, teröristlere dersini vermekle oturur. Bu utanç Türkiye'ye fazla! Teröristin önünde eğilen, vatan toprağına satan hükümet, yarın karşılaşılabilecek diğer tehditlere karşı ilk işinin 'kaçmak' olacağını gösterdi. Süleyman Şah'ın kaçma talimatına vatanseverlerin yarın bu ülkeden de kaçacak, ancak Türkiye'ye yaşadığımız her türlü utancın hesabını soracağım."

■ Okan KÖMÜRALP / ANKARA



Devlet Bahçeli



## AKP vatana alçakça kastetti

MHP Genel Başkanı Devlet Bahçeli, Şah Fırat operasyonuna "AKP hükümeti, milli emanet ve değerleri kaletmiş, vatana ve bayrağına alçakça kast etmiştir" diyerek sert tepki gösterdi. Bahçeli, yaptığı yazılı açıklamada şunları kaydetti: "Türk vatanın mukaddes bir parçası, ayrılmaz ve koparılmaz bir uzantısı olan Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu, AKP Hükümeti tarafından koskoca yüreği bırakılmıştır. Türkiye'nin şah damarı kesilmiştir, sınırlarımız dışındaki ecdad yadigarı toprak, teröristlerin tehdit ve şantajıyla zoraki terk edilmiştir. AKP Hükümeti milli emanet ve değerleri kaletmiş, vatana ve bayrağına alçakça

kastetmiştir. Korkaklığın ismine 'Şah Fırat operasyonu' diyen Başbakan ve milli ahlakattan yoksun bürokratları; gerçekte 'Al Al, Ah Mat Operasyonu'na imza atarak Türk devlet geleneği ve felsefesini harabeye çevirmişlerdir. Türk milleti her tehdit karşısında yurdunu bırakacak kadar yenilmiş, ruhen ve ahlaken çökmüş bir insan topluluğundan ibaret değildir. Türkiye milli ve tarihi emanetlerini savunamayacak kadar zayıf, çürük, temelsiz, onursuz bir devlet de olmayacaktır. Gerek Başbakan'ın, gerek Genelkurmay Başkanlığı'nın, gerekse de Cumhurbaşkanı'nın konuyla ilgili açıklamaları peşkinliğin, utanmazlığın ve acziyetin özetidir.

Özellikle Genelkurmay Başkanlığı'nın 'Geride değerli emanetler bırakılmadı' diyecek kadar vatan şururundan uzaklaşması, Başbakan ve Cumhurbaşkanı'nın başından bahsetmesi milli vakara yönelik açık bir cinayettir. AKP vatanımızın her köşesinde ay yıldızı al bayrağı indirilmiştir. AKP vatanımızın her yoresini terörist ve hainlere teslim etmiştir. Türk tarihinde böyle bir pespayelik, nankörlük, mağlubiyet psikolojisi görülmemiştir. MHP, yakın tarihin en vahim çürümüşlüğü olarak yorumladığı geri çekilme vakasının üstüne tavizsiz gidecek, konuyla ilgili gelişmeleri titizlikle takip edecektir."

■ ANKARA

## Getirilen sandukalar boş

Yavuz Habiboğlu (MHP Grup Başkanvekili): Bahaeddin Süleyman Şah'ın Osmanlıların atası olan Süleyman Bey ile ilişkisi yoktur. Selçuklularla alakası var ama bir Türk hükümdarı ve beyidir. Getirilen sandukanın içi boş-

tur. İçinde bir ceset bulunmaz. Hem İslam, hem Türk geleneğinde mezar, türbenin altındaki topraklardadır. Atatürk'ün mozolesinde olduğu gibi. Dolayısıyla getirilen bu sandukanın herhangi bir anlamı yoktur.

## Şah değil mat operasyonu

Gürcel Tekin (CHP Genel Sekreteri): Şah değil 'Mat' operasyonudur. Türkiye mat olmuştur. 90 yıllık Cumhuriyet tarihinde ilk defa savaştan topraklarımızı kaybediyoruz. Şimdi bu kaybı aklamaya pullanmaya çalışıyor-

lar. CHP'nin özellikle dış politika konularındaki uyarılarını hükümet dikkate almış olsaydı, Türkiye kendi topraklarını kaybetmemiş olacaktı. Hükümetin büyük öngörüsizlikleriyle, Türkiye bir çare bir ülke haline gelmiştir.

## Lozan'dan sonra ilk kayıp

Ertağır Gönyar (Bağcıvar İsmir Milletvekili): 1938/39'da, Dünya Savaşı eşliğinde Hatay'ı vatan topraklarına katmayı başaran Türkiye, dün Lozan'dan bu yana

ilk kez toprak kaybetmiştir. Daha vahim olan ise gününce, yeni bir Afganistan girdabı oluşmasında vebali olanların, hâli bir başından söz edilebilir. ■ ANKARA

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# TOPRAK KAYBETMEDİK

**B**AŞBAKAN Yardımcısı Bülent Arınç, Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ne yapılan Şah Fırat Operasyonu'nun başarılı sonuçlandığını söyleyerek operasyonu yöneten herkesi tebrik etti. Arınç, şunları söyledi: "Bize ait bir topraktır. Ona yapılacak bir tecavüz bize yapılacak bir tecavüz olurdu. Buna anında karşılık vermek zorundaydık. Çünkü iki konu var. Bir, DAİŞ dediğimiz terör örgütü özellikle camilere, tür-

belere karşı amansız düşmanlık gösteriyor. Irak ve Suriye topraklarında da kutsal mekanların hepsini havaya uçurdu bugüne kadar. Allah saklasın, bize karşı böyle bir şey yapması Türkiye adına affedilemez bir davranış olurdu. İkincisi şüphesiz, DAİŞ'in çemberinin daraldığını, başka unsurların da devreye girdiğini ve Türkiye'nin egemenlik hakkı bulunan bu yer üzerindeki müdahalesinin zaman içeri-

sinde mümkün olamayabileceği düşünüldü. Muhalefet Toprak kaybedildi. Çekildik, bunların arkasına sakanmasın. Bunlarla siyaset yapmayın. Türk halkı bugün olanla, yapılanla gurur duyacak bir noktadır. Toprak kaybetmedik. Bayrağımız dalgalanıyor ve Süleyman Şah'ın bizce mukaddes emaneti de şu anda elimizde geçici olarak bulunuyor." ■ **Bülent CİVANOĞLU**  
Etilip TEKİN/ DHA



## GURURLUYUZ

■ **KÜLTÜR** ve Turizm Bakanı Ömer Çelik ise şu değerlendirmeyi yaptı: "Tarihten gelen hiçbir emaneti savunmasız bırakmayan bu iradeyi gerçekleştiren askerlerimizle gurur duyuyoruz. Süleyman Şah'ın istirahatgâhı Türkiye toprağıdır. Bulunduğu yerde bayrak indirilmeden, nakledileceği yere bayrak çekilmiştir. Bu tutum tarihten alınan emanetin geleceğe nasıl mesaj olarak taşınacağına net ve kararlı göstergesidir."

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# GECE YARISI GERİ ÇEKİLME OPERASYONU

**T**ürkiye, sınırları dışındaki tek toprağı olan Suriye'deki Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nden güvenlik gerekçesiyle çekildi. Önceki gece yarısı düzenlenen 'Şah Fırat Operasyonu'yla 38 asker tahliye edilirken yaşanan kazada bir astsubay şehit oldu. Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı, Suriye içinde, sınıra 200 m mesafedeki Eşme köyüne getirildi. Terk edilen türbe imha edildi.

EMRE SONCAN, SERKAN SAĞLAM ANKARA, SÜRÜÇ

Türkiye, dün sabah sürpriz bir operasyon haberiyle uyandı. TSK tarafından gerçekleştirilen 'Şah Fırat Operasyonu' ile sınıra 37 km uzaklıktaki Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu'nda görev yapan 38 asker ile naaş tahliye edildi. Osmanlı devletinin kurucusu Osman Gazi'nin dedesi Süleyman Şah'ın naaşı Suriye içinde sınıra 200 metre mesafedeki Eşme köyüne getirildi. Herhangi bir çatışmanın yaşanmadığı operasyonda kaza sonucu Astsubay Başçavuş Halit Avcı şehit oldu. 39 tank, 57 zırhlı araç ve 572

personelin görev aldığı operasyonda karakol ve türbe patlayıcı ile havaya uçuruldu. Uzun süredir IŞİD'in kontrolündeki bölgede yaşanan çatışmalar sebebiyle askerlerin nöbet değişimi ve ikmal yapılamıyordu. Askerlerin, IŞİD ile PKK'nın arasında PYD arasında kaldığı ifade ediliyordu. Twitter fenomeni Fuat Avcı ile Taraf Gazetesi geçen agustosta IŞİD'in Musul Başkonsolosluğu'nda rehin aldığı 49 Türk vatandaşını karışığına askerlerin Süleyman Şah'tan çekilmesini istediğini, hükümetin de kabul ettiğini iddia etmişti. **NDİS HABİR 10**



## Şehit astsubay 15 gün sonra baba olacaktı

Operasyon sırasında kazada şehit olan Astsubay Başçavuş Halit Avcı'nın Trabzon Maçka'daki babasına ateş döktü. Genelkurmay Foto Film Merkezi'nde kameramanlık yapan astsubayın 15 gün sonra erkek bebek beklediği öğrenildi. 17 yıllık asker oğlunun fotoğrafına sarılarak ağlayan anne Fatma Avcı, "Yavrum fotoğrafıydı, ne iş vardı oralarda? Yavrumu getirin, göreyim." diye güyaşını döktü. Baba Mustafa Avcı oğlunun, tank kapağının başına düşmesi sonucu şehit olduğunu söylediğini belirtti. **MHASAN DEMİR TRABZON**



## 'Operasyon PYD ile ortak yapıldı' iddiası

Rogbakan Davutoğlu operasyon için kimseden izin alınmadığını söylerken, PKK'nın Suriye kolu PYD, Türk askerinin kendi kontrolünde bölgeye girdiğini iddia etti. PYD'nin silahlı kanada YPG'den yapılan açıklamada "Bu operasyon komutanlığımızın bilgisi dahilinde ve Kobani güçlerimizin katılımıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir." denildi. HDP Şenak Milletvekili Hasip Kaplan da TSK ve YPG'nin birlikte çalıştıklarını öne sürdü. **MERİAL AVCI DİYARBAKIR**



Appendix 14 Zaman, February 23, 2015, page 14

# Süleyman Şah'ın kaybedilmesi dış politikanın iflasının ilanıdır

Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ni terk etmek için düzenlenen operasyona muhalefetin tepkisi sert oldu. Vatan topraklarının İŞİD'e teslim edildiği operasyonu 'skandal' olarak değerlendiren siyasiler, Başbakan Davutoğlu'nun istifasını istedi. İktidar temsilcilerinin rezaleti 'zafer' gibi sunması ise kamuoyunda alay konusu oldu.

► Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nin iktidarın 'başanlı' bir operasyonu- la terör örgütü İŞİD'e teslim edilmesi kamuoyunda şok etkisi yaptı. Konu siyasetçilerin de bir numaralı gündemiydi. AKP'lilere göre ortada hiçbir sorun yoktu! Ancak muhalefet vatan topraklarının terör örgütlerine teslim edilmesine çok sert tepki verdi.

**LOZAN'DAN SONRA İLK TOPRAK KAYBI**  
Bağımsız İzmir Milletvekili Ertuğrul Günay: "Dün, ecdadın kemikleri sızladı. Süleyman Şah, Osmanlı Devleti'ni kuran Osman Bey Gazî'nin dedesi, Ertuğrul Bey Gazî'nin babası olduğu kabul edilen bir tarih büyüğümüzdür. 1227'de vefat ettiğinde defnedildiği yer tarih boyunca bizim için millî ve manevî emanet ve türbesi Lozan'da Türk toprağı sayılmıştır. 1938/39'da, Dünya Savaşı esnasında Hatay'ı vatan topraklarına katmayı başaran Türkiye, dün Lozan'dan bu yana ilk kez toprak kaybetmiştir. Yaşanan toprak kaybı -üç yıl önce resmi kurullarda yanlış olduğunu söylediğim- Suriye politikasının ve aslız büyük iddiaların iflasıdır."

**ŞAH DEĞİL, 'MAT' OPERASYONU**  
CHP Genel Sekreteri Gürsel Tekin: "'Şah' değil 'mat' operasyonu olmuştur. Türkiye için kabul edilebilecek bir durum değildir. 90 yıllık Cumhuriyet tarihinde ilk defa savaşmadan topraklarımızı kaybediyoruz. Bu kabul edilebilecek bir durum değildir. Şimdi bunu almaya, pullamaya çalışıyorlar."

**ABD OLSA TOPRAĞINI VERİR MİYDİ?**  
MHP Grup Başkan Vekili Yusuf Halacoglu: "İŞİD ile hangi pazarlıklarla bu yiyeceğin verildiğini düşünmek gerekir.



ERTUĞRUL GÜNAY



HAKAN ŞÜKÜR



AKİF HAMZACEBİ



YUSUF HALAÇOĞLU

Onlara karşılık ne verilmiştir, çekilme sözü verilmiş midir? Operasyonda herhangi bir çatışma olmamıştır. Sanduka getirmek bir anlam taşımamıştır; siz vatan toprağını terk ettiniz. İŞİD'e bırakılmadan farkı yoktur. Bunu algı operasyonu ile başan gibi sunmanın bir anlamı yoktu. İsrail, Amerika olsaydı, o toprakları bırakır mıydı? İngiltere bırakır mıydı? Vatan toprağını terk etmek yenilgi anlamına gelir; başka hiçbir şey değildir."

**EN AZINDAN 'ZAFER' GİBİ SUNMAYINI!**  
İstanbul Bağımsız Milletvekili Hakan Şükür: "Acı olan, 3 saate Şam'a girip cuma namazı kılıp, 1 hafta Esed'e ömür biçenlerin Suriye'deki İŞİD tehdidi karşısında bunu yapmış olması. Süleymansah'ı havaya uçurup toprağınza terk ettiniz. Bari bu geri çekilmeyi marifet ve algı oluşturmak için sunmayın. Kanı dizinizi oturun. Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nin toprağı bizimdir. Her şey normale döner geri alınır. Ama yine de unutulmamalı Türkiye belki de ilk kez toprak bıraktı. Maalesef tamamı dış politika hatalarının sonucu. Süleyman Şah'ı elinizle yıkmazsanız bari kahramanlık çıkar-maya kalkmayın; mahcubiyet duyun."

**TÜRKİYE'Yİ İŞİD'E TESLİM ETTİLER**  
CHP İstanbul Milletvekili Akif Hamzacebi: "Osmanlı'ya öykünen, Osmanlıcı olduğunu söyleyen bu hükümet, Osmanlı'dan miras bu Cumhuriyet toprağını kaybetmiştir. Bu tam bir rezalettir, skandaldır. Bir de bunu utanmadan topluma başan diye anlatıyorlar. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni bu adamlar, bu kadro İŞİD'e teslim etmiştir. Şam'a gidip Emevi Camii'nde

cuma namazı kılmaya hazırlanıyorlar- di, şimdi Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nden oldular. Öyle bir Twitter hesabına yönelik delikanlılık yapması kolay. Gel delikanlılığını burada göster. Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ni gel kurtar. Davutoğlu istifa etmelidir. Bunu başan diye utanmadan millete anlatmaya çalışıyor. Millet yutmayacaktır."

**VATAN TOPRAKLARI TERK EDİLDİ**  
MHP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Semih Yalçın: "Maalesef son dönemde hükümet gaf üstüne gaf, yanlış üstüne yanlış yapıyor. Dikkat ederseniz sabahın iltibaren Tayyip TV'ler ardi ardına bu operasyonun çok başanlı operasyon olduğu hususunda bir algı yönetimi gerçekleştiriyor. Bizce göre bu bir vatan toprağının terk edilip boşaltılmasından başka bir şey değildir. Yani hükümet oradaki tarihi bağlarımız olan bir toprak parçasını bırakıp terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Fevkalade yanlış bir operasyon."

**EMEVİ CAMİİ'NDE NAMAZ KILACAKTIRIZ!**  
Saadet Partisi Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Bülent Aydın: "Bu bir 'Şah Fırat operasyonu' değil, hükümet tarafından Türkiye'ye çekilmiş 'Şah Mat' operasyonudur. Türkiye, Erbakan Hoca'mızla Peygamberimiz'in (sas) halasının yatığı Kabrisi alırken, Erdoğan ve Davutoğlu ile Osman Gazî'nin dedesinin yatığı toprağı kaybetmiştir. Hani üç ay içinde Emevi Camii'nde namaz kılıp Şam'da kahvaltı yapacaksınız? Emevi Camii'nde namaz kılmayı hayal eden hükümet Bah'ya teslimiyetçi politika- lan sayesinde kendi topraklarını terk etmek durumunda kalmış ve işin daha da acısı, bunu bir kahramanlık olarak göstermiştir." ANKARA, İSTANBUL ZAMAN



# BAYRAK İNMEMEDİ

Süleyman Şah'taki Türk bayrağı türbenin nakledileceği Suriye Eşme'ye ne yenisi dikilene kadar indirilmedi. Böylece tüm dünyaya "Bayrak inmez" mesajı verildi

**Kod Adı**  
**ŞAH FIRAT**

Türk birliği sınırından 200 metre ötedeki Eşme'de yeni Türk topraklarına Türk bayrağına bölge dışarı, Türkiye yerinin kazılması na da beman başlandı.

**Süleyman Şah Türbesi'nden Suriye'ye taşınan ve emsaller, bir önce Türkiye'de kazılması sonras Eşme'ye nakledilecektir.**

**ÖZEL** Kuvvetler'e mensup sivil giyimli ve silahlı askerler üç gün önce gizlice Suriye'ye sızdı ve güzergâhı kontrol altına aldı.

**ÖNCEKİ** aksam saat 21.00 sıralarında eşzamanlı olarak iki operasyon birden başlandı.

**ÇATIŞMA** çıkması için koalisyen güçlerine son dakikada haber verildi. Suriye'ye İstanbul Başkonsolosluğu aracılığıyla nota çekildi.

**İHA'LARLA SÜREKLİ İZLENDİ**

**HAREKATA** 39'u tank, 57 si zırhlı araç olmak üzere 100 araç ve 572 personel katıldı. İHA lar yardım etti. Uçaklar hazine bekledi.

**MURŞİTİNAR DAN** Suriye'ye giren birlikler süratle Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu'na yönlendi.

**AYNI** anda başka bir birlik Suriye sınırından 200 metre ötede türbenin nakledileceği yeni yer Eşme'ye konuştandı.

**ESME'YE TÜRK BAYRAĞI DİKİLDİ**

**ESME'DE** bir bölgeyi kontrol altına alan Türk birliği saat 23.07'de Türk bayrağını Eşme'de 70-75 kilometrelik hatlı desen bir askerler de saat 00.30'da bayrağı ve Karakolu'na taşıdı.

**SÜLEYMAN** Şah Türbesi'nin nakli için gerekli denetimler tamamlandı. Nakli için gerekli tüm hazırlıklar tamamlandı. Önemli emsallerin taşınması için hazırlıklar tamamlandı.

**BAYRAK** İnceleme indirildi. İnceleme sırasında Karakolu'na taşınan bayrakta hasarlar tespit edildi.

**DÖRT** koldan geri dönen birlikler, saat 06.00'de sınırından Türkiye'ye geri yapıtı. 16-17 Ocak

**Ecdat hatırasını hep yaşatacağız**

Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu'nun yeni mekânında bayrağımız yine dalgalanacak

**CUMHURBAŞKANI** Erdoğan: Sevgi ve idarecinin gece boyunca bizzat takip ettiğim operasyon devletin karan ve uygulamasıyla başarılı şekilde tamamlandı. Hükümetimizi ve Silahlı Kuvvetlerimizi tebrik ediyorum. Daha önce iki defa yeri değiştirilmiş olan Süleyman Şah Türbesi ve Saygı Karakolu, yine uluslararası hukuk ve anlaşmaların gereği olarak yeni yerinde ecdadımızın hatırasını yaşatmaya devam edecek. 17 Ocak

**Operasyonun amacı provokasyonu önlemek**

**11 ŞUBAT'TAKİ** güvenlik toplantısında dün gece şu gerekçelerle başlandı: Türkiye'yi Suriye'ye çıkacak provokasyon yapılabilir. Bazı bölge ülkelerinin Türkiye'ye karşı çıkarttığı DEAŞ Türk noktalarını hedef alabilir. Yumuşak karar Süleyman Şah Türbesi. 17 Ocak

**DİŞ BASIN: TÜRKİYE'DEN NOKTA ATIŞI** 20

**Harekâtın ilk sinyalleri bir hafta önce alındı**

**SÜLEYMAN** Şah Karakolu'ndan geçen hafta "Her an saldırı olabilir" şeklinde krizle mesaj gelince operasyon kararı alındı. 16 Ocak

**Tek şehit Avcı, 15 gün sonra baba olacaktı**

**OPERASYONDA** kaza sonucu şehit olan Başçavuş Halit Avcı'nın hamile eşi 15 gün sonra doğum yapacak. 20 Ocak

**Önümüze kim çıksa vururduk**

**BAŞBAKAN** Davutoğlu: Hiçbir merciiden ne izin ne yardım talep edilmedi. Bu bizim kararımızdı ve önümüze kim çıksa çıkan karne uygulanacaktı. Bütün taraflar, bu operasyona herhangi bir müdahale için en sert şekilde karşılık vereceğini biliyordu. Türkiye'nin caydırıcı gücünden herkes haberdardı, bunun için çatışma olmadı. Türkiye'nin dışta topraklarının kalmadığı algısı doğru değil. 18 Ocak

# Yolumuza çıkana WURİRDUK



**Şah Fırat operasyonunu dün sabah Başbakan Davutoğlu duyurdu: Saat 21.00'de, 2 eşzamanlı operasyon başlatıldı. Birlikler 4 koldan Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ne ulaştı. Harekât sırasında karşıma kim çıkarsa çıksın, gereği yapıldı**



## Bordo Bereliler sızıp güzergâhı temizledi

**SURİYE'YE** gerçekleştirilen operasyonda 4 saat süreyle TSK'nın gece giriş kabiliyeti test edildi. Son dakika verilen haberler dost kuvvetlerin karşı karşıya gelmesi istenildi. Bir bayrak dikilmeden önceki işlemler ve dışı hareketler konusunda da Süleyman Şah'ın kabiliyeti Türkiye sınırlarına yakın bir noktaya getirilmesi kararlaştırıldı.

**SEYİR VE İZLEME** Süleyman Şah Şeyh Karakolu'nda görevli bir askere yönelik olarak yapılan operasyonun sonuna kadar kontrol altında tutulması amaçlanıyor. 21.00 itibarıyla başlatılan operasyonun ilk aşamasında, 2 eşzamanlı saldırı başlatıldı. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

**Yeni Türkiye Muhafaza** Kontrol altına alınması için Süleyman Şah'ın kabiliyeti test edildi. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

**GECE OPERASYON KAPABİLİYETİ** 20 günde yapılan operasyonun sonuna kadar kontrol altında tutulması amaçlanıyor. 21.00 itibarıyla başlatılan operasyonun ilk aşamasında, 2 eşzamanlı saldırı başlatıldı.

**3 gün önce** Dost kuvvetlerin karşı karşıya gelmesi istenildi. Bir bayrak dikilmeden önceki işlemler ve dışı hareketler konusunda da Süleyman Şah'ın kabiliyeti Türkiye sınırlarına yakın bir noktaya getirilmesi kararlaştırıldı.

**ŞAH FIRAT** operasyonunu dün sabah Başbakan Davutoğlu duyurdu: Saat 21.00'de, 2 eşzamanlı operasyon başlatıldı. Birlikler 4 koldan Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ne ulaştı. Harekât sırasında karşıma kim çıkarsa çıksın, gereği yapıldı

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**T**ürkiye, Suriye operasyonunu açıkladı. Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun açıklamasıyla ilgili olarak, Genelkurmay Karargâhı'ndan, operasyonu canlı izleyen Başbakan Davutoğlu, "Bu gece Suriye Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri'nin düzenlediği bir operasyonun dala gerçekleştirildi. Operasyonun başarılı olduğunu bildirdim. Milli Savunma Bakanı İsmet Yılmaz ve Genelkurmay Başkanı Oğuzhan Nispeti Oca'nın da eşlik ettiği Davutoğlu, şu bilgileri verdi:

**İŞZAMANLI OPERASYON** Operasyon için gece yarısı, Suriye Cumhuriyeti'nin sınırlarına ve sınırlarından geçtikten sonra gerçekleştirildi. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

**100 AKAR 80.30'DA ERİŞTİ** 23 saat, 37 dakika süreli operasyonun sonuna kadar kontrol altında tutulması amaçlanıyor. 21.00 itibarıyla başlatılan operasyonun ilk aşamasında, 2 eşzamanlı saldırı başlatıldı.

**21.00 itibarıyla** başlatılan operasyonun ilk aşamasında, 2 eşzamanlı saldırı başlatıldı. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

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**GECE OPERASYON KAPABİLİYETİ** 20 günde yapılan operasyonun sonuna kadar kontrol altında tutulması amaçlanıyor. 21.00 itibarıyla başlatılan operasyonun ilk aşamasında, 2 eşzamanlı saldırı başlatıldı.

**TÜRKİYE'NİN CAYDIRICI GÜCÜ** Kuvvetlerimizin caydırıcı gücü, Suriye'de gerçekleştirilen operasyonun başarılı olmasını sağladı. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

**1 ASKERİMİZ ŞEHİT OLDU** Suriye'de gerçekleştirilen operasyonun sonuna kadar kontrol altında tutulması amaçlanıyor. 21.00 itibarıyla başlatılan operasyonun ilk aşamasında, 2 eşzamanlı saldırı başlatıldı.

**Yeni Türkiye Muhafaza** Kontrol altına alınması için Süleyman Şah'ın kabiliyeti test edildi. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

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**3 gün önce** Dost kuvvetlerin karşı karşıya gelmesi istenildi. Bir bayrak dikilmeden önceki işlemler ve dışı hareketler konusunda da Süleyman Şah'ın kabiliyeti Türkiye sınırlarına yakın bir noktaya getirilmesi kararlaştırıldı.

**ŞAH FIRAT** operasyonunu dün sabah Başbakan Davutoğlu duyurdu: Saat 21.00'de, 2 eşzamanlı operasyon başlatıldı. Birlikler 4 koldan Süleyman Şah Türbesi'ne ulaştı. Harekât sırasında karşıma kim çıkarsa çıksın, gereği yapıldı

**Bir bayrak dikilmeden önceki işlemler** Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

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**Kimseden izin ya da yardım alınmadı** Operasyon sırasında Türk hükümeti kimseden izin ya da yardım alınmadı. Harekâtın başarılı olması için gece görüş cihazları kullanıldı.

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# 'Bayrağımız inmedi egemenlik korundu'

Başbakan Yardımcısı Arınç operasyona ilişkin muhalefetten gelen eleştirileri yanıtlarken "Toprak kaybetmedik. Operasyonun her anı Türkiye devletinin azametini, egemenliğini ortaya koydu" dedi



**B**aşbakan Yardımcısı Binali Arınç, Şah Fırat Operasyonu'na ilişkin, "Çok güçlü operasyonun her anı Türkiye devletinin azametini, egemenliğini ve egemenliğini ortaya koyacak biçimde yapılmıştır" dedi.

Binali'de gazetecilerin sorularına yanıtlayan Arınç, geçmişte söylediği "Şah Fırat 112 katon var. Binali'nin DİKP'de olduğu günün her anı hepimiz için önemlidir. Her anın her bir anının önemini düşünmemiz gerekir. Allah razı olsun, binlerce hayatın her gün yaşandığı Türkiye'de azametini, egemenliğini her devrimin olduğu günün azametini temsil etmektedir."

Binali'nin görüşüne DİKP'nin çabalarıyla ulaşıldığına, başka taraflardan da devrimin geldiğini ve Türkiye'nin egemenlik ve azametini her yıl gerçekleştirilen muhaberatın sonucuyla gösterdiğini söyledi. Her yılın her her yılın devrimidir."

Türkiye'nin toprak kaybetmediği söylediği Arınç, devrimin her anı için azametini, egemenliğini ve egemenliğini ortaya koyacak biçimde yapılmıştır. Her anın her bir anının önemini düşünmemiz gerekir. Allah razı olsun, binlerce hayatın her gün yaşandığı Türkiye'de azametini, egemenliğini her devrimin olduğu günün azametini temsil etmektedir."

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Kurtuluşun "Şah Fırat" Operasyonu ile Türkiye'nin her anı için azametini, egemenliğini ve egemenliğini her devrimin olduğu günün azametini temsil etmektedir."

Türkiye'nin toprak kaybetmediği söylediği Arınç, devrimin her anı için azametini, egemenliğini ve egemenliğini ortaya koyacak biçimde yapılmıştır. Her anın her bir anının önemini düşünmemiz gerekir. Allah razı olsun, binlerce hayatın her gün yaşandığı Türkiye'de azametini, egemenliğini her devrimin olduğu günün azametini temsil etmektedir."



Turnitin Orijinallik Raporu  
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## ÖZGEÇMİŞ

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Çalıştığı Yer	Görev	Yıl
Just English	Sınav Eğitmeni	2014 - ...
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