

## MINORITY PRESS AND CONTROL IN THE OTTOMAN STATE AND THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY: THE EXAMPLE OF THE ARMENIAN PRESS

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### **Abstract**

*In line with the stages that humanity has gone through, the technique of putting information on paper with symbols has evolved gradually. Modern printing techniques evolved from early printing techniques and materials. Subjects of the Ottoman Empire closely followed advances in Europe, and the printing press was introduced there. Armenians significantly advanced printing and publishing in the Ottoman and Turkish Republic eras. They established printing facilities and published books, periodicals, newspapers, and other things. While carrying out these activities, they sometimes received awards, but they had problems in some periods. Due to some of the contents in the materials they published, they were punished such as closing the newspapers and magazines, having the books confiscated, or not being brought into the country. The Turkish government has also closely followed materials published abroad. While examining the minority press in the Ottoman and Turkish Republics, this article focuses on the Armenian press.*

**Keywords:** *Printing, Minority Press, Armenian Press, Press in Ottoman, Turkish-Armenian Relations.*

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### **1. The Birth of Printing, Press, and Printing from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic**

In China and Japan, symbol printing was used for the first time to transmit and reproduce information on paper. The printing process was carried out using wooden moulds during the transitional time between the earliest printing techniques and the printing method using individually manufactured metal letters, recognised as the start of the current printing press. In China, “block books” were printed with wooden patterns. In the first examples, calligraphers

wrote the text's reverse image on wooden moulds, and the written symbols were carved and embossed. Afterwards, these blocks, which were in the form of wooden moulds, were painted on them and pressed on paper or leather. Printing techniques have gone through various stages, starting from the first examples made with wood.

At the end of the 1440s, the most important development in the printing press was the invention of Johann Gutenberg in Germany (Beydilli, 2003: 111-113). Gutenberg developed a new technique by using metal letters one by one in Mainz, Germany, and revolutionized printing. Because of this feature, he is accepted as the inventor of the mobile printing technique. The printing press has also been developed over time since its first invention, and today's high printing technology has been reached. The first books of the Gutenberg printing house were Christian scriptures. Because the first book published in 1455 is the Bible (Sabev, 2006: 19-20). It is mentioned in many sources that printing technology, which started in the East and continued to develop in the West, was used in Ottoman cities about 200 years before the official use of the Ottoman Empire. David and Samuel bin Nahmias brothers, who migrated from Spain to the Ottoman lands in 1492, brought the printing technology they had seen and known in Europe to Istanbul. The first books published in this period were religious, and Jacob bin Asher's law (Kavaid) book *Arba'ah Turim* in 1495 was the first product of the Jewish printing house in Istanbul (Beydilli, 2003:111-113).

Minorities had a significant role in the growth of Turkish printing and the development of the nation's cultural life throughout the Ottoman Empire's printing era. Şemseddin Sami states that Armenians are extraordinarily skilled in industry and art regarding their contribution to Turkish culture and printing, and their efforts and services cannot be denied in the spread and development of the printing press in the country by deserving the patterns of the Arabic alphabet (Sami, 1889: 840-841). Armenians living in the Ottoman lands made important contributions to the development of printing and printing techniques. The first Armenian printing house in Istanbul was opened in 1567 by a man named Tokatlı Apkar. Apkar learned printing in Italy and opened the first printing house in Surp Nigoğayos Church with the materials he brought with him on his return to Istanbul. Grammar, calendar, and ritual books were published here between 1567-1569 (Beydilli, 2003:111-113). It should not be forgotten that the Ottoman bureaucrats supported the establishment and development of the printing press for someone of Armenian origin in their property and administration. Thus, the way for Armenians to take part in the development of printing and printing art was paved.

The printing houses opened by the Armenians until the Constitutional Monarchy and the masters who grew up there made a significant contribution to the Turkish printing business. Although Armenians generally published religious works in the first period, they published works on many different subjects later on. In addition, Armenians played a major role in the casting, syntax, and repair of printing benches used in the Muhendishane Printing House. Master Bogos Arabian, who worked here with his four sons, successfully made the naskh casting in 1814. With his sons named Asvador and Kalust, he undertook the casting of talk letters in 1817 (Beydilli, 1995: 321).

The press, publishing, and printing works of Armenians in Turkey gained momentum after the Tanzimat Edict and they made great contributions to Turkey's intellectual life, education and training, the Turkish printing industry, and the development of publishing and bookstores (Tuğlacı, 1991: 116). They have been involved not only in the technical fields of books such as printing but also in the creation of book contents and coloring them with pictures. For example, Boğos Şaşıyan is one of the Ottoman period painters and opened painting exhibitions in various places. Besides painting, he worked on the illustration of some texts. Şaşıyan drew a part of the colorful plans of the book named "*Usul-ü Mimar-ı Osmanî*", which was published with Turkish, French, and German texts. The book was prepared for the 1873 Vienna exhibition. In an article published in "*Şehbal*" in 1913, Halil Edhem Bey counted Şaşıyan among the art connoisseurs of Istanbul.

Armenians contributed not only to the development of the technical aspects of printing but also to the cultural and intellectual life of Ottoman society. Armenians dealing with historiography have gained important works in terms of Turkish history. Especially from Armenian historians who wrote the history of Istanbul; ...From Engürü Priest Apraham, Bitlis Priest Arakel (1380-1454), from Poland Simeon (1584-1637), Kemah Priest Kirkor (1576-1643), Tebriz Priest Arakel (1590-1670), Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyani (1637-1695), Mağakya Çelebi Cevahirciyani (1665-1733), Patriarch Kirkor Şiğtayagir (1670-1749), Patriarch Kirkor Basmacıyan (1715-1791), Priest Simon Eremyan (1871-1938), Dr Vahram Torkomyan (1858-1942), Hovnan Palakaşyan (1860-1951) some of them are. These people conveyed important information about Istanbul during their period (Pamukciyan, 1991: 305-309).

The contribution of Armenians to Turkish cultural life continued not only in the Ottoman period but also in the Republican period. Since it does not constitute the main subject of the article, an example will be sufficient here. Agop Martayan Dilaçar, the first secretary-general

of the Turkish Language Association, made significant contributions to the development of the Turkish language and culture with his Turkish linguistic studies, publications, and efforts in the transition process to the Latin alphabet. He was the chief consultant and editor of the "*Turkish Encyclopedia*", one of the first and most important sources of the Republic, and his works became one of the important sources of the efforts to simplify Turkish. He made important contributions to the preparation of Turkish term dictionaries and guides and the Turkishization of terms (Ulu, 2014: 282). "*An Overview of the Turkish Language*", "*Azerbaijani Turkish*", "*Western Turkish*", "*The Spread of Dialects, Classification of Turkish Languages and Dialects*", "*A General Overview of the Turkish Language*", "*Language Specialization in Turkey*", "*Language, Languages, and Linguistics*" are just a few of his works. (Unal, 2021: 109-120; ЮНАЛ, 2011: 458-462). The books, articles, introductions, and papers published by Agop Dilaçar, of which we have given examples from a few of his works, have provided great gains in Turkish language studies (Ulu, 2009:110-115).

Armenians established 194 printing houses, 131 in Istanbul and 63 in the countryside, between 1567 and 1923 (Tuğlacı, 1991: 115-121; Kabacalı, 1989: 1-58). They published 598 newspapers and magazines in Armenian and Turkish with Armenian letters (Karakaşlı, 2001: 68). In addition to these, copyright and translation such as religion, church, language, history, geography, literature, novel, poetry, humor, theater play, children's education, travel notes, philosophy, anthology, biography, dictionary, memoir, calendar, yearbook, textbook Thousands of works were also printed. However, 525 of these works, which were written in 1850, have survived to the present day. These books are in the libraries of the Venetian and Vienna Mekhitarist Monasteries, the Armenian Art and Literature Museum Library, and the Mesrop Mesdets Manuscripts Library (Tuğlacı, 1991: 114).

In addition to the books they printed in printing houses, Armenians also bought newspapers, magazines, annuals, etc. periodicals as well. Mehmed Ali Pasha started to publish *Vekâyi-i Misriyye* in Turkish and Arabic in Egypt in 1828. In contrast, II. A much more comprehensive project was put forward during the Mahmud period. *Takvim-i Vakâyi* was first published in Turkish on November 1, 1831, in Istanbul, then copies were made in Arabic, Persian, French, Greek, Armenian, and Bulgarian. The Armenian version was published as *Liro-Kir* with the support of the patriarchate on January 13, 1832. With these features, *Takvim-i Vakayi* was the first Armenian newspaper published in 1832. In addition to the publication of *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* in six languages, the seventh is a Turkish edition with Armenian letters and has been published

since 1840. The first issue started to be published on January 22, 1840, and 5 issues were published until March 3, 1840, and continued under the name of "*Liro Kir Medzi Derutyaniin Osmanyanyan*" from the 6th issue (Seropyan, 1994: 188; Ulu, 2009: 141). Again, other newspapers published in Ottoman Turkish also had Turkish versions with Armenian letters. The Turkish version of *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, whose owner and publisher is William Churchill, has also been published in Armenian letters. The newspaper was edited by Haçadur Oskanyan.

Apart from these, there are more than a hundred periodicals published by Armenians only in Istanbul between 1840-1900. Some of them are in Turkish and printed in "Armenian letters". Some of the noteworthy ones are: *Mecmua-i Havâdis* (1852-1877), *Ahbâr-ı Konstantaniye* (1855-1858), *Zvarçakhos* (1855-1856), *Zohal* (1855-1856), *Cerîde-i Ticâret* (1857-1858), *Münâdi-i Erciyas* (1859-1862), *Seyhan* (1860-1864), *Mecmua-i Fünûn* (1863), *Vard Kesaryo-Gülzâr-ı Kayseriyye* (1863), *Orakir Hayrenyats* (1863-1866), *Varaka-i Havâdis* (1864-1870), *Rûznâme* (1865), *Manzume-i Efkâr* (1866-1896, 1901-1917), *Ararad* (1869-1872, 1876), *Müşveret* (1870), *Sedâ-yi Hakikat* (1870-1873), *Ser* (1870), *Avetaber* (1872-1911), *Heyal* (1873-1875), *Mimos* (1875-1877), *Moda* (1875-1876), *Mevsim* (1874), *Mamul* (1876-1878), *Şarivari* (1876), *Ruznâme-i Masis* (1876-1877), *Terceman-ı Efkâr* (1877-1885), *Felek* (1882-1887), *Tohafî* (1884-1885), *Mecmua-yı Ahbâr* (1884-1907), *Cerîde-i Şarkıyye* (1885-1913, 1919-1921), *Musavver Cihan* (1885), *Ayine-i Litayif* (1897), *Drakhd* (1909-1910) (Stepanyan, 2005; Budak, 2010: 41-50). The names of some newspapers and magazines published in Armenian are as follows: *Hayasdan* (Armenia), *Orakir* (diary), *Punç* (bunch), *Dziatsan* (rainbow), *Ararat* (Ağrı), *Arşalus Araradyan* (Ağrı Dawn), *Hayrenik* (homeland), *Asya*, *Ruzmame-i Rasis*, *Mamul* (press), *Abaka* (future), *Aravelk* (Byzantine), *Dzağik* (flower), *Surhantak* (Notifier), *Arşaluys* (down), *Azadamart* (my war), *Yergir* (country) (Mazlıcı, 1987: 136).

Through the liberalization and tolerance policy that the government put forward after the Tanzimat period, it has taken an attitude that helps the development of the non-Turkish press. *Takvim-i Vakâyi* was a pioneer in the publication and development of special newspapers in local languages. Minority newspapers, which first appeared in Izmir in the 1840s, moved to Istanbul within a few years, making Istanbul a center of culture and press. The first Armenian newspapers gave importance to the transfer of information rather than interpretation, and they emphasized loyalty and respect to the sultan and the state dignitaries in order not to lose the opportunities at hand. Armenian newspapers, which carried their internal conflicts to the

newspaper lines and had some discussions on the spiritual administration, were able to form a much more dynamic public opinion than the official Turkish newspapers by expressing their views on the general issues of the country over time (Koloğlu, 1985: 71-72). The page contents of the first Armenian newspapers are as follows; On the first page, the developments in Ottoman domestic politics were discussed and news on this subject was included. In addition, columns and comments are presented to the attention of the readers on this page. While foreign news was featured on the second page, the news coming by telegraph and the news that reached the newspaper in the fastest way according to the period, which we can call the last minute today, were printed on the third page. On the last pages, advertisements and advertisements, which are the same practice, were included in all newspapers.

Although the state did not interfere much with Armenian or other minority newspapers and publications, there were some prohibitions in certain periods. For example, *Mecmua-i Havâdis*, which was opened in 1852 after the Tanzimat and published in Turkish with Armenian letters in Istanbul, was closed by the Porte in 1877. He announced the closure order he received from the Sublime Porte to his readers with the following sentences: “*We will obey the order of the law. However, we state that we are not allowed to publish as harmful articles as other French, English, and perhaps Greek and Armenian newspapers published and published in Istanbul*” (Yiğit F.S.H, 1999:16). Until the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, the Armenian press generally gathered in Istanbul. After 1908, it started to spread rapidly to Anatolia and 46 newspapers were published in the provinces, mostly in Central and Eastern Anatolia (Koloğlu, 2010: 46). As a result of his research, Pars Tuğlacı determined the number of Turkish newspapers and magazines in Armenian and Armenian letters, which were published in Armenian printing houses in Ottoman Turkey between 1839 and 1922, as 887 (Tuğlacı, 1984:39). Vagarsag Seropyan, on the other hand, published a statistic in which nearly 450 newspapers, magazines or annuals were published in Istanbul alone between 1832 and 1994 (Seropyan, 1994: 190).

Armenians have always been in the history of the press by publishing newspapers, magazines, and books in Armenian, as well as carrying out official publishing works within the state. These efforts and services were rewarded by the statesmen of the time. To cite a few examples, Ohannes Mühendislikyan was born in Samatya in 1810. Engineering, who was interested in printing and type casting, was appointed as the manager of *Takvimhane-i Amire* in 1842 and wrote the talk scripts and printed the *Risale-i İtikadiye* with these talk patterns. In his printing

house, which he developed with many machines and equipment brought from the USA, Muhendisyan printed 5000, 1000, 500, and 250 "*faizli*" (interest) kaimes ordered by the Mint in 1844. The writing patterns that Muhendisyan cast was used until the adoption of the Latin alphabet. When Muhendisyan published a Turkish poetry book with his nesih writings and presented it to the dignitaries of the time, it was awarded by the grand vizier. Armenian printer Haçik Kevorkyan has an important place in Turkish printing life. Kevorkyan prepared a new twelve-point naskh letter pattern. These molds were used until 1928. In addition, Kevorkyan, II. He was honored with a betrothal by Abdülhamit and V. Mehmed Reşat. Haçik Kevorkyan was awarded the "*Maarif Medal*" in 1923 (Tuğlacı, 1991: 114).

Armenians have an important place not only in the Ottoman period but also in the first years of the Republic in terms of press and printing. In the Republican period, the activities of Armenian citizens in the context of press and printing continued. For example, the monumental golden alphabet plate, which was ordered to be given to Mustafa Kemal Pasha by the Turkish Grand National Assembly after the adoption of the Latin letters in 1928, was produced by Levon Mazlumyan in about seven months. lapidist Hrant Babayan won the tender for this plate and S. Agayan designed it (Cankara, 2015: 111-112).

During the Republican period, Armenian newspapers continued their publication life according to the new conditions, and those who could not adapt to the new conditions stopped their publications or moved them abroad. The Republican administrators did not take kindly to the continuation of the effectiveness of the Armenian press, which made harmful publications. Regarding the issue, the government has made various efforts to control such Armenian media. In a study dated 19.7.1932, especially the Armenian printing houses were researched and made a report. In this report submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the following conclusions were reached: It was determined that 85% of the private printing house owners in Istanbul were Armenian, 5% Greek, and 10% Turkish. Only in Ankara Street and Cağaloğlu on the European side, Agop, Marifet, Sebat, Keteon, Penik, Teshilât, İskon, Hakkâk Kirkor, Painter Yervant, Hakkâk Ütücüyan, Hakkâk Dökmeciyan, Leon, Kader, Güzeliş, Süslü Agop, Hıraçya, Asadoryan printing houses. It was stated that many printing houses could not be identified. It was also stated that there were many Armenian printing houses in Vezirhanı, Büyük Yenihan, and Kürkçü inn, which are also located in these areas. It has been emphasized that these printing houses are far from inspection and control and that some Turkish printing houses also cooperate with Armenian printing houses. It is also mentioned that a book on the name of Dashnaksutyun

was published under the supervision of a crew named Dikran, with the help of Hayik and his father Haçik, one of the owners of one of the Armenian printing houses. According to the report, it was stated that Haçik had contact with the committee members, and the news of his death was published in Milliyet and Cumhuriyet newspapers on 7.7.1932 (Prime Ministry Cumhuriyet Archive (BCA), 20.7.1932).

As stated above, there were many Armenian newspapers, magazines, and publishing houses besides the printing houses that published books. Such Armenian newspapers generally included news from within the community during the Republican period. During the patriarch election periods, there were heated debates, and propaganda was made for the patriarch candidate they support. Turkish newspapers also showed great interest in the patriarch elections. Opinions of the parties were consulted, and news related to the subject was widely covered (Armenian Ekalliyetleri, İkdam; Armenian Newspapers, İkdam; Between the Armenian Majorities, İkdam; Armenian minorities and the Patriarch, İkdam).

## **2. Decisions Regarding Regulations and Armenian Press-Publications**

The control mechanism, which started in the Ottoman Empire with the Printing Regulations, which was announced by Sultan Abdulaziz on November 25, 1864, and consisted of 35 articles, continued in the following years. Some articles about the regulation prompted the newspapers and magazines to publish more carefully. In Article 13; It has been decided that whoever causes one of the murders and crimes that will disrupt the internal security and order of the supreme state through a newspaper, the journalist who broadcasts it will be considered an accomplice. Again in the regulation; It has been underlined that if articles are written against the sultanate, public morals, and national morality, and the dynasty is attacked, if he writes against ministers, or high-level bureaucrats if he publishes articles that touch the rulers who are friends and allies of the state, you will be sentenced to various fines and imprisonment. Although this regulation imposed some restrictions on the activities of the press, there was no provision for closure (Düstur, 1864:220-226). Due to the inadequacy of the Press Law of 1864, Grand Vizier Âli Pasha issued the *Kararname-i Âli* on March 27, 1867. With this decree, he was given the authority to take administrative decisions, which also envisage closure. The main purpose here is to prevent newspapers that publishing against the government. With this decree, some newspapers and magazines were closed and many books were confiscated based on preventing publications that would disturb public order and end publications against the government. Namık Kemal's *Tasvir-i Efkar*, which dealt with the concepts of freedom,



nationality, and constitutionalism in the early days of the decree, and Ali Suavi's *Muhbir* newspaper, which fiercely criticized the Crete, Belgrade Fortress problem, and even the economic policy, as well as *Ayine-i Vatan*, *Vatan*, Newspapers such as *Utarit* were also closed (İnugur, 2002: 206).

In the first years of the Republic, criticism of the government and CHP or making them a subject of humor was not welcomed. Lawsuits were filed against such journals as *Karagöz*, *Akbaba*, and *Zümriid-ü Anka*, and it was decided to close these journals in March 1924. Again on March 4, 1925, after the Law of Takrir-i Sükûn was accepted, some newspapers were closed due to the first article of this law. Article 1 of the Law, it is stipulated that reactionary, rebellion, and all organizations aimed at disrupting the social order, security, and order are authorized to ban directly and from the administration with the approval of the President. For these reasons, newspapers such as *Tevhid-i Efkar (Tasfir-i Efkar)*, *Son Telegraf*, *Istiklal*, and periodicals such as *Sebilürreşat*, *Vatan*, *Vakit*, *Orak-Çekiç*, and *Aydınlık* were closed on March 6, 1925. In short, with the Law on *Takrir-i Sükun*, the media organs were brought under the control of the government. In the 1930s, the Ministry of Interior and the General Directorate of Press affiliated with it sometimes closed the newspaper even with a complaint phone (Bayındır, 2004: 146-148). Of course, there was a historical basis for the sensitive handling of this issue in the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the years of the Republic. The Westerners, who could not defeat the Ottoman Empire on the battlefields, began to spread the ideas of nationalism to the minorities inside. This led to the revolt of these elements many times. They had turned the Ottoman lands, where they lived as brothers, into a war zone (Ulu, 2020: 102-103). Unfortunately, all this historical memory has caused the minority press to be viewed with suspicion.

After the proclamation of the Republic, the first and most comprehensive regulation was made with the 1931 Press Law. Prime Minister İsmet Pasha stated in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey regarding the law numbered 1881 and dated 25 July 1931, which entered into force on 8 August 1931. In his speech, it was stated that the press had social and political importance in civilized states, but the press abused this influence and created disorder in the country (TBMM Z.C, 1931; Düstur, 1931: 1082). The 1931 Press Law, in addition to laying down some rules that those who will publish newspapers, also allowed the government to establish control over the press. There were even cases where his publications were confiscated and banned while in print.

Publications published in the country and abroad and distributed in Turkey during the Republican period were banned for various reasons. The contents and images of the publications are subject to strict control. In the beginning, the publications that were subject to such controls were the Armenian newspapers that made publications against Turkey. Turkish newspapers that quoted Armenian newspapers abroad that were operating against Turkey were also caught in these inspections. One of them is the "*Akşam Postası-Haber*" newspaper. A lawsuit was filed in the third criminal court against the editor of the newspaper, Hasan Rasim, for quoting an article from the Armenian newspaper "*Hayrenik*" published in the USA. Hasan Rasim Bey, who was present at the court, presented his defense after the article that was the subject of the case was read in court. In his defense; He said that the article was sent from Ankara by the Giresun deputy, Hakkı Tarık Bey and that it was published exactly. He said that they were published in line with the principles drawn by the party (CHF) and the government and that his newspaper did not publish against the country. The judges decided to subpoena Hakkı Tarık as a witness and left the trial for another day (Armenian Belonging Newspaper, 1932).

In the research we conducted in the Prime Ministry Republic Archive, it is seen that many newspapers, magazines, and books published in and outside of Turkey were confiscated or banned from entering Turkey. Especially the publications of Armenians were followed more carefully. When the main reason for this is examined, the problems experienced between Armenians and Turks in a process from the 19th century to the 1st World War and the War of Independence have a leading role. After the republic was declared, mutual misunderstandings caused the state to be more sensitive to Armenians. In short, some traumas experienced in the past have been carried to this new period in the minds of societies. For this reason, the Armenian press in Turkey and other countries was kept under the surveillance of the government, publications were translated and reports were prepared about them. When we look at the analyzed and translated articles, it is clear that these reports were prepared by Armenians who speak Armenian and are familiar with the Armenian press. These translators also followed the Armenian newspapers published in Turkey daily and prepared reports on their publications (BCA, 11.2.1948). One of the translators who signed these reports is Mithat Akdora (Ulu, 2009: 288). Akdora probably graduated from an Armenian school and knew Armenian very well. He was an officer in the Prime Ministry General Directorate of Press and knew the writers who wrote and commented in Armenian newspapers well enough to know them by their pseudonyms, translated the articles, and made comments. We can see his signature under many

reports prepared in the 1940s in the Prime Ministry Republic Archive. Akdora, who signed his report as an "Armenian Translator", wrote in his report on the *Nor Or* newspaper and Pehlivanyan: The person who wrote articles in favor of the Soviet Union in the "Nor Or" newspaper under the pen name "Savarsh" is a fellow named Aram Pehlivanyan, who is known as a communist by our police. He is a graduate of the Istanbul Faculty of Law. Most of the people included in the editorial committee of this newspaper were also known as communists. We are presenting the translation of the article of this newspaper which also strongly criticizes our government." (Suciyan, 2019: 8-9). These translations and reports were the mainstays of the closure or confiscation of a publication. These reports were sometimes given monthly and generally gave information about the publication policies of the newspaper in the years they were prepared (BCA, Date: 11.2.1948; Bali, 2002: 383-387).

The Republic of Turkey has closely followed the publications operating in and abroad through such reports. Every publication containing articles against Turkey published by Armenians was examined and it was not allowed to be brought into the country by the decision of the Council of Ministers, according to Article 51 of the Press Law No. 1881 dated 25 July 1931. Publications in Turkey have been penalized when deemed necessary.

### **3. Banned Newspapers and Magazines**

Armenians who spread all over the world published many newspapers and magazines in various countries. Since there was no pressure on the Armenians who left the country where they were, they took the revolts, deportations, deaths, and some political issues back on their agenda. Revolutionary Armenians, who did not abandon the idea of Greater Armenia, continued to make propaganda broadcasts to put the Turks in a difficult situation in the world's public opinion. These publications were also supported by other states (Ulu, 2009: 121-138). They have allowed the publication of such magazines, books, and newspapers in their country. While doing this, they created public opinion against Turkey. Turkey, on the other hand, followed the publications of these newspapers and magazines and banned the entry of those among them that they found harmful.

While newspapers or other publications were banned, the reasons for the ban were first stated. The part that was considered harmful was translated and some information about the author of the article was given. What some words implied was shown in parentheses. These bans covered multiple broadcasts individually or simultaneously. A ban decision made collectively in one of

them is remarkable. Dashnak Armenian Committee; Newspapers named *Haraç*, *Aztak*, *Noror*, *Hüsaper*, and *Mişak* were published in Europe and various states of the USA, in places such as Syria, Athens, and Cairo, and some articles were published here. It has also been determined that the Dashnak committee spread arrogant ideas such as uniting with the Kurds and establishing a Kurdistan and Armenia, which would carry out revolutions and assassinations in the country. The Turkish authorities, who were aware of the situation, tried to prevent these newspapers from being brought into the country by the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (BCA, 3.1.1932). On 11.11.1928, the *Haraç* newspaper, published in Armenian in Paris, was banned from entering the country. This ban was put in place by stating that the newspaper invented a fabricated “*Kurdish Independence Committee*” and made propaganda for Armenianism and Kurdishness (Güner, 2014: 231).

Such publications were not allowed to enter Turkey, as some publications openly wrote about the ideas of the revolution and thought that it would hurt the Armenians. One of them was the newspaper called “*Mardgost*”, which was the official publication of the Dashnak committee in Paris. In the copy of the newspaper dated 13.2.11933, an article was published that justified the rebellions they started during the Ottoman period. In the article: “*They say that 50 years ago, the Armenian nation took up arms against the Sultan, the pashas of Turkey, the Kurdish chiefs, the Khans, their internal usury, and all the leeches that were sucking their blood. The Armenian rebellion and revolution were quite natural. The weight of the genuine Armenian Revolution pressures us like lead today and orders us to stay loyal to that revolution... Mardigos Bilaperva declares that the Armenian revolution was a genuine revolution born out of natural pressure. But it was not right for the Armenian nation to embark on an adventure on its own. He had to unite and act with the album (Kurds are meant here), which was a problem for him. On the contrary, it collided with the Ottoman Government, which was much stronger than itself and was called (a sick man). However, the patient had enough strength to suffocate in blood. This investigation is for him so that we can memorize them, get to know the water that lives in that neighborhood, and combine our interests with them in our struggle.*” made his comment. They were not allowed to be brought into the country because they contained Armenian and Kurdish propaganda and would provoke the Armenian people living in Turkey (BCA, 10.5.1933).

Another decision regarding the newspapers that cannot be brought into the country was taken for the Armenian newspaper “*Baykar*” (struggle) published in Boston, USA (BCA,

17.11.1934). Since the Armenian magazine named “*Troşak*” (Flag) published in Paris made harmful publications against the Turkish nation and government, its copies published in Armenian and other languages were not allowed to be imported into Turkey (BCA, 26.4.1934). The entry of the book “*Die Vierzig Tage Des Musa Dagh*”, written by Franz Werfel in Vienna in 1935, was banned on 13.01.1935 (Güner, 2014: 231). The fact that this book was filmed after it was published also caused the Turkish government and newspapers to keep this book on the agenda for a certain period. Falih Rıfkı wrote an article about the book and his story in the newspaper *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* on December 25, 1933 (Bali, 1998: 22).

*Troshak (Droshak)* represented the theses of the Dashnaktsutyun Party since 1891 and over time became the reference newspaper of the Armenian revolutionaries (Matte, 2015: 377). Since the harmful publications of the *Arev* newspaper, which was published in Cairo and is the organ of the *Ramgavar Party* (BCA, 21.2.1937), were detected, it was forbidden to be imported and sold into the country, again by Article 51 of the Press Law (BCA, 10.2.1936). An article titled “*On the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Muş Plain Disaster*” was published in the issue of this newspaper dated 15.8.1935. Since this article would cause conflicts among citizens in Turkey, it was forbidden to bring Armenian-speaking citizens into the country to protect them from this harmful publication (BCA, 10.2.1936). While the decision was taken not to allow harmful broadcasters to be brought into the country by following the newspapers and magazines published abroad by the Armenians, Armenian newspapers operating in Turkey were also carefully examined. Their publications were translated and reported to the relevant units. We see an example of this in a news article published in the 29.11.1934 issue of the *Nor Lur (Noror)* newspaper published in Istanbul. The newspaper held a meeting in New York under the name of the General Assembly of the Dashnaks and took some decisions there. In the decisions taken, it was announced that the church belonging to the congregation in New York would be called the national church from now on, the Catholicos authority did not have the right to interfere in the administration of the congregation, and Martugesyan, who had been dismissed from the priesthood by the Catholicosate, was promoted to the diocese. This news was immediately investigated and reported to the Ministry of Internal Medicine (BCA, 8.12.1934).

Newspapers and magazines published by Armenians were followed wherever they were. One of them is the magazine named *Pamper* (messenger) in Armenian published in Marseille. Since the harmful articles of this journal were detected, it was prevented from being brought into the

country and sold (BCA, 26.10.1938). One of the newspapers banned from entering the country is *Ararat* (Ağrı). The newspaper, which was published in Beirut and whose articles were deemed harmful to the country, was banned by the decision of September 3, 1939, with the signature of President İsmet İnönü (BCA, 1.8.1939). The journal named *Hayastan Goçnak*, published by the Armenian community called *Yeprat* in America was among those banned because it contained articles detrimental to the country (BCA, 5.2.1941).

#### **4. Banned Books**

Armenians also published publications such as books and brochures, as well as newspapers, magazines, and annuals. Periodicals such as books, brochures, maps, etc. Publications were also closely followed by the government, and those whose content was deemed harmful were penalized. One of these books was written by *Garabed N. Kapigyan* (Although "Karapet Tapikyan" was written in the archive document, this was corrected) from Sivas and published in Boston, USA in 1924. The name of the book, which was published in the Hayrenik Printing House in Boston, is "*Small Armenia and Its Capital, Sivas - What We Saw from Sivas to Aleppo in the Deportation - A Memoir for Armenian Children*". (Original title of the book; *Yeğernabadum Pokun Hayots yev Norin Medzi Mayrakağakin Sepasdio*", Boston: Hayrenik, 1924) The book was not allowed to be imported into the country because it contained harmful ideas (BCA, 10.7.1934). This decision regarding the book was taken by the Executive Board and signed by Atatürk. One of the books that contain some "disgusting" expressions, which are considered objectionable to be imported into the country, is the book called "*History of the Former Republic of Armenia*". This book was published in Paris by Simon Viracyan, one of the leaders of the Dashnak committee. This book, which was also published in Armenian and other languages, was banned from being brought into the country by the decision of the Executive Committee (BCA, 21.5.1934).

Armenians published some books in Armenian in Armenia. The books published here were also followed closely. Some of those; were the books named "*Esler Mecmuası*", "*Emma*", "*And Life Longing*". It was determined that harmful expressions were included in the content of the books, and it was forbidden to be brought into Turkey by Article 51 of the Press Law, and it was decided to collect the ones brought. This decision was also taken by the Executive Board (BCA, 13.3.1935). Armenians also made some publications in Middle Eastern countries. One of the broadcasting countries is Egypt. A book called "*Arti Hayistani*", which means "Today's Armenia", was published in the Sahak Mesru(o)p Printing House in Egypt. Since this book was

found to contain statements against Turkey, it was forbidden to be imported into the country by Article 51 of the Press Law (BCA, 16.1.1935).

Some of the books published by Armenians were published by Armenian minorities who used to be in Turkey but later left the country. One of them is the English book "My Beloved Armenia" published in Chicago by Marie S. Banker, who graduated from Izmir American College. Because this book contains harmful ideas for Turkey and contains pictures and writings that will provoke the citizens in Turkey against each other, it was banned from being brought into the country by the decision of the Executive Committees on 28.9.1937 with the proposal of the Deputy Internal Affairs Deputy Şükrü Kaya (BCA, 28.9.1937). The book, *The Armenian Question*, written by Masheh Seropyan and published in Beirut, which also contains harmful articles, was banned from entering Turkey with the decision of the Executive Officers dated 11.5.1939 (BCA, 11.5.1939). Another of the books written by Armenians and banned from entering the country was the book *Bahçecik ve Bahçecikli*. This Armenian book, which was published in the Sahag Merop (Mesrop) Printing House in Cairo, was deemed harmful to the country, and its entry and distribution in Turkey were prohibited on July 10, 1941, by the Decision of the Executive Committee and the signature of President İsmet İnönü (BCA, 10.7.1941). Turkish authorities not only examined newspapers, magazines, and books abroad but also examined every published document and identified those that were harmful to Turkey. Unlike the aforementioned publications, a map was printed in Leipzig. On the map named "*Der Grosse Weltatlas*" Armenia and Kurdistan are shown within the borders of Turkey. Therefore, the entry and sale of the map are prohibited (BCA, 31.8.1939). One of the decisions in the archives of the Republic was taken on 17.21.1949. The Armenian magazine "*Soviet Armenia*" issued by Yerevan Armenians and the French and Armenian album "*1910-1945 Soviet Armenia*", published by the Armenian National Front in France, was banned from entering Turkey (BCA, 17.2.1949).

Some of the Armenian printing houses operating within the borders of Turkey after the declaration of the Republic are as follows: *H.M. Setyan, Melkom Hovagimyan (Arevdragan), M. Der Sahagyan (Akün Basımevi), Arev Basımevi, Becidyán Brothers, Tagvor Mardirosyan, Hagop Abrahamyan, II. K. Palakasyan, F. Caryan, Taniel Hovhannesyán (Selamet), Teshilat, Aztarar (Haberci), N. ve S. Terziyan, Merkez, Artun, Kader, M. Aslanyan, Doğu, Zareh Arşag, Hermon, Varol, Carakayt (ışın), Akın, Aydınlık, Narin, Rupen, Mashoyan's Tebi Luys (Işığa Doğru another name ABC), Marmara, Kültür, Buket, Çituris, Kulis, Serol, Oya, Baykar,*

*Ekspres, Hagop Apelyan (Armenian Minority Schools of Turkey Teachers Mutual Aid Foundation), Zapa ve Ohan Publishers. (Seropyan, 1993: 183).*

## **5. Selections from Periodicals Published in the Republic of Turkey Period**

Some Armenian periodicals, newspapers, and annuals were first published during the Ottoman era and continued or began to be published during the Republican era. These publications will be regarded as periodic owing to their structure even if they have been stopped or stopped occasionally. These journals were published in a variety of formats and over a long period, including some that began broadcasting every week, switched to monthly publishing, appeared every other day when they were published weekly or were published as a one-time annual (salname). For a variety of reasons, several of these journals have changed their names. Parentheses indicate those who have data on the beginning and end of the broadcast life, whereas dates are all that is provided for those who do not. In other words, the fact that a single date has been given does not mean that it is still being published. In addition, the periodic interruptions in the publications of some publications are not mentioned here. *Agos* (1996-...), *Ahali* (1936-1937), *Amsıvan Kirki* “book of the month” (1938), *Anevşapur* (1926), *Aravelk* “east” (1931-1940), *Aravo(u)d* “morning” (1909-1924), *Arşaluis(ys)* (1931), *Artsan* “statue” (1932), *Ave(a)dis* “miracle” (1924), *Aztarar* “messenger” (1926-1937), *Badger* “picture” (1931-1938), *Cugadomard* “fight” (1918-1924), *Daretsuyts Azkayin Hivantonotsi* “Millet Hospital Yearbook”(1924), *Ermeni Eytamhane Salnamesi* (1926), *Gagos* (1938), *Garta Zis* “read me” (1934-1941), *Gavroş* (1937) *Gesur* “mother-in-law” (1936), *Gigo* (1936), *Gitar* (1930), *Hağtanag* “victory” (1925), *Hankaridag* (1936), *Hay Khosnag* “Armenian Spokesperson” (1924-1930), *Hayeli* “mirror”(1934), *Haygin*, “Armenian Woman” (1918-1932), *Hobina* “The name of the goddess of fertility in Armenians” (1948), *Jamanak(g)* “Time” (1908-...), *Jıbid(t)* “Smile” (1992), *Khrakbeanki Darekirki* “Yearbook of the Festival” (1931-1932), *Kulis* (1946-1996), *Mamul* “press” (1932), *Marmara* (1940-...), *Mego* “moment” (1927), *Mimos* “clown” (1931), *Nigar* “painting” (1934), *Nor Huys* “new feeling” (1935-1937), *Nor Lur* “new news” (1923-1931), *Nor Luys* “new light” (1934), *San* (after 1992 *Nor San*) (1948-...), *Nor Tarman* “new era” (1934-1935), *Pamper* “messenger” (1933), *Surp Pırğış* (1946-...), *Şarjum* “movement” (1930-1931), *Şepor* (1928), *Şoğagat* “beam drops” (1951-...), *Tidag* “scopes” (1930-1933), *Turkiye* (1935), *Vanaganin Daretsuytsı* “The Priest's Yearbook” (1928), *Verçin Lur* “latest news” 1914-1930), *Yerçanigin Daretzuytzi* “yearbook of the happy” (1928), *Zartonk* “awakening” (1932-1933) (Ulu, C. 2009: 271-291).



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BCA, Tarih: 28.9.1937, Sayı: 2/7445, Dosya: 86-286, Fon Kodu: 30.18.1.2, Yer No: 79.82.14

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