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ŞALOM'S HOLOCAUST NARRATION IN THE PERIOD 1947 - 2010

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1947 – 2010 DÖNEMİNDE ŞALOM'UN HOLOKOST ANLATISI  
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## FOREWORD

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The sufferings of the victims and the survivors of human tragedies of all kinds should remind us how human beings can become perpetrators of unimaginable and indescribable crimes against humanity and how precious, beautiful and joyful life is. Hence, remember and never forget for a peaceful future! That said, I dedicate this thesis, as Tevye the Dairyman once said in the movie *Fiddler on the Roof*, "to life!".

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis demonstrates how Şalom, as a community gazette of Turkish Jews since 1947, presents and reflects the Holocaust as a part of the Turkish Jewish identity. Şalom is one channel through which the Holocaust and issues related to it are consistently reminded and narrated to make Turkish Jews remember this human tragedy. Therefore, Şalom, by telling and re-telling the Holocaust in particular ways to the Turkish Jewish community, constructs and re-constructs Turkish Jewish identity. To prove this, I analyzed and compared how Şalom narrated the Holocaust in two different periods by implementing content analysis. While the first period is between 1947 and 1983, the second period is between 1984 and 2010. The first reason for this periodization is the change in ownership and management of Şalom in 1984. The second reason is that, following the 1980 coup, Turkey started to experience significant social, economic and political transformation which provided the basis for identity expressions in general. The third reason is to cover the newspaper supplements that Şalom published on the Holocaust along the newspaper for the five consecutive years between 2006 and 2010.

*Keywords:* Holocaust, Turkish Jews, Şalom, Memory, Narration

## ÖZET

Bu tez, 1947'den bu yana Türk Yahudilerinin cemaat gazetesi olan Şalom'un, Türk Yahudi kimliğinin bir parçası olarak Holokost'u nasıl sunduğunu ve yansıttığını göstermektedir. Şalom, Türk Yahudilerinin bu insanlık trajedisini hatırlamaları için sürekli olarak Holokost ve onunla ilgili konuların tutarlı bir biçimde hatırlatıldığı ve anlatıldığı bir kanaldır. Bu nedenle, Şalom, Holokost'u Türk Yahudi cemaatine belli bir şekilde anlatarak, Türk Yahudi kimliğini inşa eder. Bunu kanıtlamak için, içerik analizi yöntemiyle Şalom'un Holokost'u iki farklı dönemde nasıl anlattığını analiz ettim ve karşılaştırdım. İlk dönem 1947-1983 arasında iken, ikinci dönem 1984-2010'dur. Bu dönemselleştirmenin ilk nedeni Şalom'un 1984'te mülkiyetinin ve yönetiminin değişmesidir. İkinci neden ise Türkiye'nin 1980 darbesinden sonra yaşadığı sosyal, ekonomik ve politik dönüşümün genel olarak kimlik ifadelerine temel oluşturmasıdır. Üçüncü sebep, Şalom'un gazetesinin Holokost'a ilişkin olarak 2006-2010 arasında beş yıl arka arkaya yayınladığı ekleri kapsamaktır.

*Anahtar Kelimeler:* Holokost, Türk Yahudileri, Şalom, Hafıza, Anlatı

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this thesis, I aim to analyze how Şalom, as a community gazette of Turkish Jews since 1947, presents and reflects the Holocaust as a part of the Turkish Jewish identity. Şalom is one channel through which the Holocaust and issues related to it are consistently reminded and narrated to make Turkish Jews remember this human tragedy. In this chapter, I will cover three topics to provide a comprehensive analysis of how Şalom presents and narrates the Holocaust. I will first elaborate on some of the key issues that the Holocaust is identified with within the literature. Second, I will briefly touch upon the history of the Turkish Jews. Şalom, as a Turkish Jewish newspaper which has been both published by and addressing to Turkish Jews, is naturally an integral part of the Turkish Jewish history. Obviously, its narration of not only the Holocaust and its related issues but also any other matter changes according to the historical developments and changes in the history of the Turkish Jews stretching back to the Ottoman times and before. Therefore, it is crucial to have a brief overview of this history to better comprehend how Şalom constructs its narration of the Holocaust. Finally, I will present an overview of the history of Şalom to complete the analysis in this section.

#### **1.1 THE HOLOCAUST AND THE ISSUES LEFT BEHIND**

Since the inception of Christianity and its acceptance as the religion of the state in the fourth century BC, the Jews were in confrontation with the Christian religious doctrine. The Middle Ages in Europe was especially characterized by theological differences between Christianity and Judaism. These differences often culminated in state and church policies in pursuit of differentiation between Jews and non-Jews and were usually against Jews who were defined as the “other” and the source of all evil and as such they were subjected to conversion, exclusion (ghettoization), expulsion, acts of intolerance and violence.

Corollary to the Enlightenment movement in the eighteenth century, the emergence of emancipation movement gave hopes to Jews to be treated as free and equal citizens in the societies in which they were inhabiting. Because of emancipation, although some members of the Jewish communities in Europe started to occupy relatively higher socio-economic positions, a series of incidences, such as pogroms in Russia were a demonstration of already existing traditional anti-Semitism. The Dreyfus Affair in France in the end of the nineteenth century was a strong indication of not only anti-Semitism but also most importantly the failure of liberal promises made by the governments and waning assimilationist expectations of Jews. Zionism as a political movement, on the other hand, was a reaction against growing anti-Semitism in Europe. Resembling contemporary nationalistic ideas, Zionism as an ideology stressed the need for a homeland in the ancestral lands for the eternal salvation of Jews living in the Diaspora for the last 2000 years.

The traditional policies of conversion, exclusion, expulsion, acts of intolerance and violence were adopted by the Nazi Germany as well. Between 1933 and 1945, based on a eugenic and racist ideology, the Nazis first excluded Jews from social life, incarcerated them in ghettos and eventually staged the Final Solution. The Nazis exerted violence of all sorts on Jews with the intent of annihilating of every individual within their reach. The Nazis systematically murdered almost six million Jews, eradicated almost an entire Yiddish civilization and as such the scale of the destruction was unprecedented.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, the Holocaust trauma caused previously non-existent

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<sup>1</sup> Without the willingness and contribution of the collaborators, the Nazis would not be able to reach this scale of annihilation. Suffice to give the examples of Hungary, Romania and to a lesser extent France to prove the case. Until the invasion of Hungary by the Nazis in 1944, the appeasement policy of the government to both the rightists in the country and the Nazis worked not only in favor of the country but also for the Hungarian Jews. The Jews were spared and protected from anti-Semitic movements by the government (Braham 2002, 432). However, with the invasion the government and now its allies, the rightists, together with Germans willingly implemented the Final Solution. Hungarians, who were motivated by the ideological (anti-Semitism) and materialistic reasons, showed utmost eagerness to solve the “Jewish Question”. The government which was in the hands of Arrow-Cross Party between September 1944 and March 1945, on the other hand, provided them with the required bureaucratic instruments, hence, the state power to exterminate the Hungarian Jews (Braham 2002, 434-436).

mass support for the Zionist aspirations. Yet, it was not until 1948 that the aspirations of Zionism were fully materialized by the establishment of the State of Israel (de Lange 1987, 1-86).

Anti-Semitism and resulting persecutions for the last 2000 years have been permanent realities of Jewish life in the Diaspora. Anti-Semitism has not only become a phenomenon for the Jewish identity, but it has also been the major driver for the emergence of Zionism. Moreover, anti-Semitism has become a central issue of the Jewish consciousness due to its unequalled and even unimagined destructive power during the Holocaust. The Holocaust as a vast human tragedy, in turn, has become a significant part of the contemporary Jewish identity both in Israel and the Diaspora (Wistrich 1997, 16, 18). Therefore, the remembrance and memorialization of the Holocaust has become a way to rebuild the Jewish identity in different periods of history. For example, in Israel the meaning of the Holocaust was associated with humiliation and the resistance fighters were the leading characters of remembrance and memorialization between 1948 and 1961. Accordingly, Israel has reproduced the Holocaust story as “Shoah ve Gevurah” (“Holocaust and Heroism”) (Berenbaum 1981, 87). Moreover, in 1950, the Knesset promulgated a law which intended to bring the Nazis and their collaborators and accomplices to justice; in 1951, the Knesset defined the 27<sup>th</sup> of Nisan<sup>2</sup> on the Jewish Calendar that also coincides with the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising as “Yom Hashoah ve Hagevurah” (the “Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Day”); and finally, in 1953, the Knesset also ratified the law for the establishment of “Yad Vashem” (“Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes Remembrance

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Contrary to Hungary, in Romania, the political and ideological inclinations of Antonescu was inherited from the Romanian elite as well as the traditional right wing anti-Semitic movements (Ansel 2002, 464). Even though from the onset of his regime, Antonescu implemented various discriminative policies against the Jews, he did not pursue total annihilation until, in 1941, in a meeting with Hitler where he was informed about the initiation of the Operation Barbarossa and the Final Solution. Afterwards, he immediately adopted the Nazi methods and annihilated almost all Jews in Romania (Ansel 2002, 466-467). In France, the Vichy government and its officials collaborated willingly with Germans to implement their policies against primarily to foreign Jews. However, they were indifferent to German capture and deportations of French Jews as well (Zuccotti 2002, 500).

<sup>2</sup> Nisan is the name of a month in Jewish calendar. Gregorian equivalent of Nisan is March-April.

Authority”) (Brog 2003, 72). The period following the Eichmann trial until 1980s, the meaning of the Holocaust shifted to extermination and the victims replaced resistance fighters as the leading characters (Yablonka and Tlamim 2003, 9-19; Porat 2002, 786; Gil 2012, 77-86). The Zionists believed that without an independent state there was no Jewish survival. What happened to the Diaspora Jews during the Second World War was the natural consequence of a long historical process of being and remaining subjects of the Gentile. With the establishment of the State of Israel the Jews emerged from powerlessness and in this state of being there was no room for images of Jews being powerless and feelings like humiliation. Therefore, the victims were guilty of being victim in the hands of the Nazi predators and their collaborators because they had gone to death like lamb going to the slaughterhouse and the survivors were feeling humiliated and ashamed that they had survived. This attitude changed significantly only after the Eichmann trial (Wistrich 1997, 17; Gil 2012, 80; Yablonka and Tlamim 2003, 9). The resistance fighters on the other hand represented the powerful image of the Jews pursuing the Zionist aspirations. They were the ones who remained in the ghettos with their brethren or in the woods fighting against the enemies of the Jews and chose how to die (i.e. decided to fall fighting and not to die in the camps). The choice that the resistance fighters had made has often been compared to the policies of Judenräte. Some scholars argue that Judenräte were in collaboration with the Nazis, some argue that they had no other option but to collaborate to save as many Jews as possible and some state that there was not disagreement between Judenräte and the Jewish underground but instead, their policies of prolonging the life of the ghettos were approved by the Jewish underground as the timing of the resistance coincided with the decision to liquidate the ghettos (Arad 2002, 594-596).

In the 1980s and onwards, the Holocaust received the meaning of catastrophe and the leading characters became the survivors. The Chief of Staff Ehud Barak’s visit to Auschwitz and his speech during memorialization in 1992 was a groundbreaking moment for Israelis as it changed their perceptions and attitudes towards the survivors.

The speech laid grounds for empathetic attitude towards the powerlessness and helplessness and it helped to preserve the human image of the victims who suffered extreme humiliation and dehumanization in the ghettos and camps. The speech also put emphasis on the existence and presence of the State of Israel as a strong and potent sovereign country within the international system with the ability to fight against the Holocaust deniers, anti-Semitism, neo-Nazis and all sorts of movements which potentially represent threats to the existence of the Jewish nation (Porat 2002, 786-789). With survivors being in the center of the Holocaust remembrance and memorialization, the Holocaust turned into a mainstream subject in everyday life, even discussed and presented in different channels of the media (Gil 2012, 86-94).

Another example of the way the Holocaust is remembered and memorialized is in the Diaspora. Each community in the Diaspora remembers and memorializes the Holocaust in relation to the country in which they inhabit. In the United States, for example, while the National Holocaust Memorial Museum identifies the singularity of the Holocaust, it emphasizes the universal message of this human tragedy by embracing the murder of non-Jews during the Second World War and other genocides as well (Wistrich 1997, 15). This may be the result of the way American Jews perceive their identity in relation to the Holocaust such that American Jews put less emphasis on the uniqueness of the Holocaust as they have been showing growingly less tolerance for the concept of divine election or chosen-ness. Magid states that “Many Jews today feel too integrated into American society and too convinced of a multicultural ethos to accept that exclusivist claim of election, however apologetically it is presented” (Magid 2012, 105).

Many international organizations promote Holocaust remembrance and memorialization as well. For example, in November 2005 the United Nations designated 27 January, the day of liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau, as “the International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust” for which each year a theme is selected. Moreover, the United Nations devises educational programs to teach the Holocaust and the lessons obtained from this human tragedy to

future generations. For this purpose, the United Nations also developed “Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme” by which various parties work together not only for remembrance and education but also to combat Holocaust distortion (OSCE Report 2015, 4).

While the Holocaust has emerged as a widely commemorative and talked phenomenon, Holocaust myth also appeared as another dimension in discussions. The term myth does not reject the fact that the Holocaust had happened but rather puts an emphasis on the way the event is being represented. In other words, the term myth is a historical construct that makes a differentiation between the actual historical event and the representation of that event. For example, commemorations, monuments, sites and museums attract millions of visitors including politicians from around the world not only on the remembrance and memorialization days but also in various times of the year. Besides, there have often been news covering immense amount of matters related to the Holocaust such as the identification and honoring of the rescuers<sup>3</sup> by Yad Vashem, the resistance fighters, the acts of Judenräte, the bystanders<sup>4</sup>, the position of

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<sup>3</sup> There are several dimensions to consider when rescue efforts and non-Jewish rescuers are discussed. First, rescue efforts were dependent upon the degree of control that the Nazis could exhibit on the governments of the occupied territories, the level of antisemitism in the country, the number of Jews living in the country and the strength and depth of their community power. Second, what distinguished rescuers from bystanders was the fact that they saw and understood the suffering of the victim as did the bystanders, but they preferred to act either on the basis of normative altruism (when demanded or rewarded) or autonomous altruism (without expectation of a reward). Rescuers were individualistic, could see beyond propaganda, less controlled by the environment, risk takers ready to sacrifice even their lives and committed to the protection of people who were subjected to injustice irrespective of their identity (Tec 2002, 651, 653, 655; Fogelman 2002, 663; Oliner 2002, 679). Another point in discussion related to rescuers is the distinction made between non-Jewish rescuers and Jewish rescuers. Paldiel argues that the distinction between non-Jewish and Jewish rescuers should be corrected and the efforts of the Jewish rescuers, who saved more life than non-Jews, should be recognized, identified and honored as well (Paldiel 2012, 144).

<sup>4</sup> The camp in the town of Mauthausen is a good example which depicts how bystanders preferred to act. Some citizens were organically related to the processes of the camp by providing services required such as building the gas chambers, shuttle services for the personnel employed at the camp and others. Some citizens on the other hand neutral to the continuous acts of violence and killings in the camp. The Nazis in the camp in turn had an organic relation with the town as well. Not only they were receiving services from the citizens, but they were also spending their leisure times in the amenities provide by the town (Horwitz 2002, 411-414). This symbiotic relation between the camp and the town is demonstrative of the position that the bystanders hold against the situation of the victims. The bystanders’ reluctance to

the Allied Forces<sup>5</sup> and the Catholic Church<sup>6</sup> regarding the extermination of Jews, the atrocities that the Nazis committed and the accounts at Swiss Banks. Moreover, survivors have been everywhere to explain their experience in relation to the Holocaust as the remaining witnesses. Thus, the term myth refers to the overemphasis of the Holocaust and its related matters hence disconnecting the historical event from its representation (Cole 2000, 4-6).

After the Second World War, as the Holocaust became a part of the Jewish identity through remembrance and memorialization, there have also been efforts to distort the memory of the Holocaust. The most significant of these efforts is a widespread phenomenon which is called Holocaust denial. Holocaust denial is defined as the rejection of the well evidenced historical facts related to the extermination of Jews during the Second World War. Holocaust deniers, who also call themselves revisionists basically argue that the Nazis did not plan to systematically murder all Jews; that Hitler was unaware of not only the plans but also the atrocities committed by the Nazis against the Jews; and, that the death camps were not actually death camps but slave camps with

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get involved with the affairs of the camp made the execution of duties for the Nazis easier (Horwitz 2002, 416).

<sup>5</sup> Lipstadt argues that from June 1942, the media coverage provided by the BBC for the Jewish Bund report and the subsequent organization of a widely participated conference by the World Jewish Congress make the fact evident that the Western World was well informed about the extermination of the Jews (Lipstadt 1983, 321-322). The combination of numerous factors such as persistent economic depression, high rates of unemployment, anti-Semitism and nationalism were obstacles for the US government to initiate rescue efforts and to increase the immigration quotas (Lipstadt 1983, 323). For the British stance, the primary political concern was the Middle East. The rescue efforts would increase demands for immigration to Palestine which would in turn mean the abrogation of the White Paper promulgated in 1939. Hence, the flood of Jewish refugees would ultimately alter the balance between the Jews and the Arabs in the mandate and harm the British Middle East policy (Lipstadt 1983, 326). In 1944, the reluctance of the Allied Powers became more evident when the Jewish Leaders pleaded them to bomb the railways reaching to and the facilities of Auschwitz. Despite their victory over the Nazi Germany it was apparent they rejected the demand claiming that they could not divert valuable resources to causes other than winning the war (Lipstadt 1983, 327).

<sup>6</sup> Lipstadt argues that the Church also remained indifferent to the extermination of the Jews and remained silent even when asked to condemn the Nazi atrocities. The Pope's silence is attributed to a variety of factors such as his preference of a victory by the Nazis rather than a Bolshevik one, the possibility of an imminent Nazi occupation of the Vatican and finally his desire to keep the conservative social order which would ultimately ensure the continuity of Catholicism (Pawłowski 2002, 562; Lipstadt 1983, 324).

high mortality rates. Holocaust denial is often accompanied by Holocaust minimalization. Holocaust minimalization means the depreciation, downscaling and trivialization of the significance and severity of the Holocaust in the eyes of the public. Holocaust denial and Holocaust minimalization are not matters that only occupy the agendas of the academicians but are also used as instruments by the political figures as well. (Gerstenfeld 2009, 47-53). As a point in this matter, it is relevant to note Cole's argument which states that Holocaust myth and Holocaust denial are mutually reinforcing processes. The more emphasis is put on the Holocaust the more it is denied and vice versa (Cole 2000,188).

To comprehend a human tragedy as massive as the Holocaust, we need to understand how the term holocaust is defined and how it relates to the definition of genocide, review explanations on how the Holocaust had happened and discuss the issue of the uniqueness of the Holocaust. The term holocaust is rooted in the Greek translation of the Hebrew term "olah" which means sacrifice consumed entirely or whole burnt offering on the altar before God (Lang 2005, 101). Some scholars tend to argue that having theological connotations, the term holocaust does not fully describe the destruction of European Jews as it primarily emphasizes a religious dimension to the event. However, the Yiddish term churban, which means destruction of the ancient Jewish temples in Jerusalem, is more directly related with the results of the historical event (Berenbaum 1981,90). Moreover, in the beginning, although it represented several other meanings over the course of years, the Hebrew term shoah was identified with the meaning of the Yiddish term churban and was common in the language of the Yishuv and immigrants to describe the total annihilation of the European Jews (Gil 2012, 77).

In whatever way the term holocaust is defined, it is argued to be an extreme form of genocide (Bauer 2001, 50). Genocide is a concept coined by Raphael Lemkin. According to Bauer, the definition of genocide provided by Lemkin is contradictory in the sense that whereas in one part he defines genocide as extermination of nations and

ethnic groups, in another part he defines it as the destruction of essential foundations of life accompanied by mass killings (Bauer 2001, 8-9; Lemkin 2008, XI; Lemkin 2008, 79). This inconsistency in the definition was also reflected in the Genocide Convention which was approved by the United Nations on 9 December 1948. In the second article of this convention, certain acts against a group “in whole or in part” had been defined as genocide (Bauer 1978, 35; Bauer 2001, 9). Thus, presumably there needs to be a difference between the destruction of social fabric of a group together with selective mass killings and the act of total annihilation of that group (Bauer 1978, 35; Bauer 2001, 10). Therefore, while he suggests the use of the term genocide for partial murder, he prefers the use of the term holocaust for total annihilation. Moreover, he suggests the use of the term holocaust not only for total annihilation of the European Jews but also for a similar event that might happen to any other group at any moment in the future (Bauer 1987, 215; Bauer 2001, 10).

Being part of the family of genocidal events, the “Holocaust” is currently used to represent the destruction of the European Jews. Scholars and others have since tried to explain how such a massive and extreme human tragedy had happened. One line of explanation is theological which argues that the Holocaust is no different than the destructions of the First Temple and the Second Temple and that it is therefore God’s will to happen so, it may even be His wrath. Therefore, there was nothing specific to the Holocaust compared to the other tragedies in the Jewish history except that this event was the most destructive one. Hence, attributing the tragedy to God and presenting the Holocaust as his punishment with an intention to educate Jews is one way to explain the Holocaust (Bauer 2001, 27; Bauer 2002, 18).

Another line of explanation is with regards to understand how, being the creators of one of the greatest civilizations in history, the Germans committed such a massive crime (Bauer 2001, 28-29). Within this line of explanation there is intentionalist-functional debate. Intentionalists argue that the Holocaust was Hitler’s intention from the beginning, it was a premeditated and a deliberate action inflicted upon Jews.

They claim, therefore, that his ideas had significantly affected the planning of and policies related to the Holocaust. Intentionalists' analyses are primarily concerned with how earlier racial and anti-Semitic works are related to Hitler's ideas leading to the ultimate destruction of the European Jews (Jackel 2002, 25; Postone 2003, 85). For example, Lucy Dawidowicz refers to Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*, to understand whether his perspective contained the idea of exterminating the Jews. She argues that total annihilation of Jews had already been preoccupying the minds of the nineteenth century anti-Semites and that Hitler accomplished the task of "transforming the destructive ideology into a concrete political action. The mass murder of the Jews was the consummation of his fundamental beliefs and ideological conviction" (Dawidowicz 1975, 3).

On the other hand, the arguments of functionalists exclude the relation between Hitler's perspective and the total annihilation of the European Jews. They are not content with the position of the intentionalists which attributes a very significant influence on Hitler's ideas for extermination. They rather state that the Holocaust was a contingent historical occurrence and that the Final Solution was a resolution to several problems created by the context of the Second World War and that it was staged by the bureaucratic machine (Jackel 2002, 25; Postone 2003, 85). For example, Browning argues that despite the Nazi ideology generally and Hitler's racist and anti-Semitic worldview specifically embraced the idea of solving what they had defined as the "Jewish Question", it was not until the failure of the emigration policy of the Nazis to relocate the Jews and the circumstances created by the Operation Barbarossa in September 1941 that the Final Solution became a plan to be carried out. The Final Solution was then implemented to the full extent by the German bureaucratic machinery upon orders placed from higher positions in the hierarchy (Schleunes 1990, 255-256; Browning 2004, 398, 399, 402-405, 423-428).

Thus, the functioning of a bureaucracy appears as another dimension to explain how such a human tragedy had happened. According to Raul Hilberg, anti-Jewish policies

implemented during the Nazi rule already had historical precedents. He argues that the policies of conversion, exclusion, expulsion (emigration) and annihilation of Jews were common policies of the Church and the states in previous centuries. Despite the fact that the Nazis pursued almost the same conduct they did not favor the policy of conversion but rather adopted the policy of exclusion in the first years of their government. Finally, although there was a possibility for emigration before the Second World War, it ceased to exist after the war started. With the failure of the Madagascar Project, the Jews already incarcerated in ghettos were subjected to total annihilation. Hence, the Final Solution (Hilberg 1987, 5-7).

Furthermore, he mentioned that “the destruction of the European Jews between 1933 and 1945 appears to us now as an unprecedented event in history. Indeed, in its dimensions and total configuration, nothing like it had ever happened before” (Hilberg 1987, 7-8). He argues that such a project necessitated a highly efficient bureaucracy inclusive of a vast variety of coordinated skills immersed in several departments processing its victims through the stages of definition, concentration and annihilation. He suggests that the German bureaucratic machine had an extensive experience accumulated by its predecessors and was able to resolve extensive amounts of obstacles of all sorts (i.e. administrative) that could naturally arise throughout the process. As a result, he argues that the Nazi Germany developed a capability which was unprecedented in history and was capable to bring the entire process of annihilation to its premediated and planned conclusion (Hilberg 1985, 7-9, 267-268, 270).

Corollary to Hilberg, but perhaps from a wider perspective Bauman argues that modernity provided a suitable context within which the Holocaust and its perpetuation was possible. In his book *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Bauman states that the determinants of this framework were the fundamental concepts of reason and the bureaucratic system which, by definition, involves reason as the key aspect of its functioning while excluding other moral issues. He also claims that the bureaucratic culture which was based on some elements that were intertwined with the fundamental

concept of reason, such as efficient allocation of resources, a robust system of division of labor, a seamlessly functioning and a precisely structured hierarchy and a well-coordinated departmental system performing a series of synchronized actions<sup>7</sup> laid the grounds for the Final Solution. As Bauman mentions, “it (the Holocaust) arose out of a genuinely rational concern, and it was generated by bureaucracy true to its form and purpose” (Bauman 1996, 15, 17-18). Finally, he argues that “Modern Holocaust is unique in a double sense. It is unique among other historic cases of genocide because it is modern. And it stands unique against the quotidianity of modern society because it brings together some ordinary factors of modernity which are normally kept apart” (Bauman 1996, 94).

Both definitions and explanations just provided, directly or perhaps implicitly divert the discussion towards the issue of the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Not to mention the fact that whether a murderous act is classified as genocide or ethnic cleansing, from the perspective of the victim there is nothing unique. However, post-Holocaust state of mind and the analyses put forward herald us the sheer scale and the magnitude of the Holocaust. The Holocaust is the most tragic destruction ever happened in Jewish history and in fact in the history of the humankind and the number of victims in the Holocaust is the largest in known history (1971, 831, 889; Valentino 2004, 166). The issue of the uniqueness of the Holocaust in turn explicitly deals with a possibility of the existence of an answer to the question of why rather than how the Holocaust happened, thus bringing another dimension to the issue of explicability of this tragedy (Bauer 2001, 13).

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<sup>7</sup> The Swedish bureaucracy which functioned with the same principles as the Nazi bureaucratic machinery utilized the loopholes and gaps in the criteria of deportation processes and resisted to Germans’ demands by issuing diplomatic documents of various kinds (i.e. Schutzpass) to and by executing fast track naturalization processes for the Jews. Thus, they were able to protect Jews from the perpetrators (Levine 2002, 522). Contrary to Arendt’s thesis of the banality of evil which posits that evil deeds can be performed without evil intentions, a fact that may well be connected to being thoughtlessness, Levine argues that there is also the banality of good. The upshot is that the political and ideological foundations together with personality types in different societies may produce different results. The Swedish case is an example for that (Arendt 1979, 288; Levine 2002, 531).

Bauer argues that since the Holocaust is an act carried out by humans, it can be explained rationally, and that arguing contrarily would mean retreating to mysticism in search for a divine intervention which in turn would have the potential of obscuring the understanding of the Holocaust as part of human history (Bauer 2001, 7, 14-18). If this event is a part of human history then, the argument goes, the uniqueness of the Holocaust can only be brought forward when it is comparable to other events with similar attributes (Berenbaum 1981, 89; Bauer 2001, 39).

Some scholars claim that the uniqueness of the Holocaust stems from the motivation of the perpetrators.<sup>8</sup> In other words, what makes the Holocaust unique is the underlying ideology of the perpetrators (Bauer 2001, 22). Whereas for example, in the Armenian Genocide, the perpetrators were motivated by a chauvinistic ideology and a religious fanaticism and had pragmatic concerns, such as political expansion and economic benefits, the Nazis were motivated by a eugenic, racist, pseudo-religious and anti-Christian ideology based on a very deep anti-Semitic European tradition. Moreover, whereas the Armenian Genocide was territorially limited and targeted at the Armenians living only in some parts of the Ottoman territories, the Holocaust, on the other hand, was global and total in character. That is, unlike the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide, the Nazi regime pursued policies to murder all Jews wherever they were found. In the minds of the Nazis, the Jews were the embodiment of all evil in the world (i.e. Bolshevism, capitalism etc.), infectious beings and even parasites; in short, they were subhuman. Thus, whereas the persecution of the Armenians was ethnic, the Holocaust was racial. As a result, the motivation of the Nazis, which led to an unprecedented scale of systematic murder through a highly efficient bureaucracy is

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<sup>8</sup> Regarding the motivation of the perpetrators, Browning argued that what motivated the killers was not the Nazi ideology or traditional European ideology but rather it was peer pressure, duress, loyalty to comrades, being anxious about losing the benefits which come along with the job and even the job itself, lack of empathy towards the victims and lack of morality in general (Browning 2017, 232-242). Goldhagen, on the other hand, argues that it was the eliminationist anti-Semitism which had been present in the German culture that had given the perpetrators the willingness to annihilate as many Jews as possible hence providing a firm and conclusive solution to the “Jewish Question” (Goldhagen 1997, 444).

different than the motivation of the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide (Bauer 1978, 36-38; Melson 1996, 158-161; Bauer 2001, 42, 45-46, 58; Friedlander 2002, 246; Naimark 2002, 84; Midlarsky 2005, 343-347).

By the same token, other examples of genocide support the claim of the uniqueness of the Holocaust as well. For example, although under the Nazi rule the Polish and the Roma were subjected to the same ideology and the actions that would fall under the definition of genocide, they were not targeted for total annihilation as were the Jews (Berenbaum 1981, 95; Bauer 2001, 56-57, 62). Another example is the Cambodian genocide. The aim of the Communist Party of Kampuchea known also as Khmer Rouge, and which ruled between 1975 and 1979, was the radical transformation of the society through primarily collectivization of the agricultural production. Although the Khmer Rouge, who advocated a more egalitarian society, pursued policies to destroy resistance emerging from the city dwellers, wealthy peasants, landlords, rural political and religious leaders and targeted ethnic minorities, such as Vietnamese and Muslim Cham, who were considered the enemies of communism, they did not aim for the total annihilation of these groups. The primary motivation of the Khmer Rouge was political (Bauer 2001, 46-47; Valentino 2004, 132-139). Thus, in these and other examples not mentioned here the intentions of the perpetrators were significantly different from the Nazis.

## **1.2 A BRIEF HISTORY OF JEWS IN TURKEY**

Amongst the Jewish communities in the Diaspora, the Jewish community in Turkey is one of the oldest dating as far back as to the Roman Empire (Bali 2013, 479). Moreover, there is sufficient evidence indicating that orthodox Jewish communities existed in Anatolia beginning from the fourth century BC into the subsequent centuries (Giesel 2015, 26). A significant historical moment is the promulgation of the Spanish imperial edict in March 1492. This edict commanded the expulsion of Jews from Spanish territories, unless they were converted to Christianity. The ones who rejected conversion left the Iberian Peninsula at various times. Almost 80.000 Jews out of

200.000 left arrived at Balkans and Anatolia which were Ottoman territories at the time (Bali 2013, 479; Giesel 2015, 27). Most of the Jews living in contemporary Turkey are descendants of these Ladino (Judeo Spanish) speaking immigrant Jews – Sephardic Jews. The rest of the Jewish community in Turkey though less significant in number consists of other Jewish communities such as Ashkenazic, Karaitic and Romaniotic. The ancestors of these communities had emigrated from Southern Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, and Greece.

The Ottoman Empire considered the Jewish and the Christian minorities as the people of the book and ruled them with the “millet” system. This system granted minority communities relative autonomy in running their internal affairs under their own religious leadership. Still, it also meant discrimination in several areas such taxes, construction of edifices, physical appearances and others. Nevertheless, the Jews were able to develop several communities in the economic centers of the Ottoman Empire and accumulated financial wealth under this system. Furthermore, they were involved in the affairs of the Ottoman government and were granted certain positions at the imperial court. In short, in the decades following the expulsion, through their accumulated technical, intellectual and cultural abilities the Jews in the Ottoman Empire flourished and were regarded as a loyal nation (*millet-i sadıka*). (Kastoryano 1992, 253; Bali 2013, 479-480; Giesel 2015; 28-29).

The eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries witnessed significant economic, social, and political transformations with significant impacts on the Ottoman Empire and its minorities. In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire experienced profound military, political and economic decline. Against the deterioration of its military, economic, and political position, the Ottoman Empire sought to implement several reforms to modernize its governmental structure. A natural result of this process would be a change in the status of the minorities. This came with a reform edict in 1856 (*Islahat Fermanı*). This edict abrogated the millet system, hence dhimmi status of the minorities. They were instead granted equal rights while at the same time preserving

some of their privileges. Following the edict, the first constitution was proclaimed in 1876. However, it was abolished in 1878 by Sultan Abdulhamid on the grounds of a claim that posited the protection of the Muslim communities in the previously lost territories in the Balkans and the Caucasus (Kastoryano 1992, 253; Giesel 2015, 30-33; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2001, 185-193).

The modernization of the Jewish community in the nineteenth century was triggered not only by the Ottoman modernization but also by the Jewish Enlightenment taking place in the European communities. The collaboration of the local Jewish intellectuals who were in fact the followers of the Jewish Enlightenment and the notables of the Ottoman-Jewish community facilitated the establishment of Alliance Israellite Universelle and its schools in the Ottoman territories (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 83). The mission of these schools was to cultivate the backward Ottoman-Jews with universal values that would enable them to pursue opportunities for social mobility in the greater society. The Ottoman Jews supported the modernization process; they did not have territorial claims to ultimately acquire independence nor appealed to the great powers for privileges. Thus, the Jews remained loyal citizens and were grateful to the empire in return for the generosity the Ottoman rulers showed them at the time of expulsion from Spain (Giesel 2015, 34-35; Kastoryano 1992, 254).

Following the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, the leaders and intellectuals of the Jewish community supported nationalism and the idea of nation state. However, Young Turk movement gradually lost its heterogeneous ideological texture with the increasing dominance of its radical members who adhered to Islamic, nationalistic and Turanistic ideas. Even though the Jews were considered loyal citizens of the polity, the transformation of the movement accentuated more anti-Jewish feelings; even anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, the Jews continued to support the Kemalist movement, the War of Independence and the establishment of the Turkish Republic with an expectation of a modernization process which would comprise of political, economic and social dimensions and which would ultimately lead to a secular political regime: a

parliamentary republic. the Jews were loyal to the Turks and avoided any collaboration whatsoever with the European Powers during this period as well (Giesel 2015, 35-37).

According to Levent-Yuna, the Ottoman Empire was “ruled by caliph without any ideology that attempted to impose a cultural homogeneity but was organized around making those differences visible” (Levent-Yuna 1999, 11). The Turkish Republic, on the other hand, with its adherence to constitutional rights, equality, public participation and secularism promised another way of life (Bali 2013, 102). The Republican People’s Party (RPP) years attempted to build a nation with a homogenization strategy which intended to disregard the particularities of the minorities, including the Jews. Corollary to that, in 1925, the Jews were the first community to suspend the minority rights granted to them in 1923 by the Lausanne Treaty and accept the Turkish Civil Law (Bali 1999, 59-63). Despite the Jewish community’s pro-Kemalist attitudes, they were still conceptualized as the other and were exposed to discrimination on the grounds of Turkification policies (Giesel 2015, 38; Bali 2013, 441).

Bali defines the term Turkification as assimilation policies carried out by the ruling elite towards minorities in the early decades of the Turkish Republic (Bali 2013, 126). Replacing their mother tongues with Turkish, embracing the Turkish culture and the idea of Turkism were the criteria preached by the Republican leaders for non-Muslims to become part of the Turkish nation. The use of Turkish both in private and public was one of the most visible aspects of becoming a Turk. Even a prominent member of the Turkish Jewish community, Moiz Cohen, who later changed his name to Tekin Alp, championed the idea of Turkification. In his book *Türkleştirme* (Turkification), which was published in 1928, Cohen broke down the expectations of the Turkish ruling elite from the Jewish community in the form of ten commandments (Bali 2013, 97-98).

Unlike the Armenians and Greeks who were speaking their national languages, the Jews were speaking either Ladino or French in public spaces instead of Hebrew. However, the ruling elite still wanted the Jews to adopt Turkish instead of Ladino as it

represented the language of their tolerant saviors. Under the “*Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş!*” (“*Citizen Speak Turkish!*”) campaign the Jews were especially criticized for not leaving Ladino behind. The Jews were even perceived as example minority people who resisted to become Turks. Turkification of the names was another policy pursued by the Turkish ruling elite and it was considered an important indicator of being a Turk. Unlike the language issue, the Jews showed no reluctance or perhaps were less resistant to the Turkification of their names. They replaced their original names rather immediately with the Turkish equivalents (Bali 1999, 131-148; Bali 2013, 99-100, 441).

The economy was another sphere where Turkification policies were implemented. The experiences of the War of Independence made the ruling elite sensitive to economic independence in addition to political independence. During the Ottoman period, the minorities had been active in economic life. They had become dominant in production, trading, and banking for centuries and were influential in the international economic system as well. Having considered economic independence as well as political independence an integral aspect of sovereignty, the newly established Turkish government, therefore, desired the Muslim Turks to acquire a dominant position in the economic activities that the minorities had been carrying out for centuries and to become the new bourgeoisie. The first policy was to issue quotas on the maximum number of non-Muslim employees that a company can employ. Another policy was related to the definition and interpretation of being a Turk as provided under different legislations. These legislations favored the Muslim Turks against the minorities in several economic areas. Thus, whereas the number of Muslim-Turks increased in private enterprises; they were recruited as state employees also in an increasing number; and they were able to establish more new businesses, many non-Muslims, on the other hand, lost their jobs. Contrary to what was expected from a secular state generally and the Kemalist discourse specifically, these practices made explicit the fact

that religion was also perceived as an aspect of the Turkish identity and a factor that caused discrimination (Bali 2013, 102-104, 443).

During the single party years five incidents took precedence over the others: Elza Niyego incident in 1927, the Thrace pogroms in 1934, the formation of labor battalions in 1941, the Struma incident in 1942, and the promulgation of the Capital Tax Law in 1942. The first incident was the murder of Elza Niyego on August 17, 1927 by a Muslim-Turk who platonically loved her. This incident created hostile feelings amongst the Jews towards Muslim-Turks and the funeral itself became a show case for the statement of these feelings. In return, the Turkish officials arrested some community members who participated to the funeral and the criticisms of the Jews with an “anti-Semitic” tone in the Turkish press went by without interference from the state. Moreover, although later abolished by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Jews were immediately stripped of their rights to move freely in Anatolia. The upshot is that, the incident was an important indication of the fragility of the relations between the Turkish Jews and the Muslim-Turks (Levi 1992, 75-85; Bali 1999, 109-131).

The Thrace incidents (pogroms) occurred in urban centers where the Jewish population was relatively dense such as Çanakkale, Kırklareli and Edirne and their surroundings. The incidents started with a boycott of the Jewish artisan and merchant shops and ramped up when the mobs attacked the Jewish population in the area. Bali argues that the resentment of the local population against the dominance of the Jewish merchants in the economic life and the national security issues around the straits laid the grounds for the incidents. These incidents were a clear indication of the level of hatred against the Jewish minority in general (Levi 1992, 102-103, 108-110; Bali 2013, 443-444).

In 1941, the advance of the German army in Balkans was perceived as a significant security threat by the Turkish government. The government’s suspicion about Armenians on the grounds that they might act as a fifth column in the event of an invasion by the German Army and the negative perception of the minorities in general

led to the formation of labor battalions. These battalions deployed non-Muslim males between ages 27-40 in various parts of Anatolia. They were conscripted to the army primarily to work in the construction of roads and military facilities under severe conditions and as a result they did not receive sufficient military equipment. Despite the formation of the battalions, which did not primarily target the Jews, the act was still perceived as a natural outcome of, what one might call, anti-Semitic practices that were being carried out since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Perhaps more crucially, it dissipated the hopes for becoming equal citizens (Bali 2013, 445).

In 1940, Jews, under the fascist leaning and Nazi collaborator Romanian dictator Ion Antonescu were put under heavy conditions (Ofer 1991, 147-149). Turkey was perceived as a country which could offer a safe passage to the Jewish Homeland in Palestine due to her favorable geographical location and her policy of neutrality in the Second World War (Ofer 1991, 165). However, under both the British and the German pressure, Turkey promulgated two legislations one after the other in January and February 1941, first of which restricted the issuance of residential permits and tourist visas, while the second restricted the right of free passage. Yet under these unfavorable and even adverse conditions, 769 Jewish immigrants escaped the fascist persecution in Romania. On December 12, 1941, these immigrants were embarked on Struma which, despite being an insufficient marine vessel, sailed from the port of Constanza to reach the shores of Palestine with her cargo. The ship arrived at Istanbul on December 14, 1941. it had to remain under a quarantine for two months due to a machine breakdown. During this time, as the immigrants were without valid entry documents and visas for Palestine, the Turkish authorities, except a very few cases, did not allow any passengers to leave the ship. Finally, Struma was let to get drifted to the Black Sea without her main engine in place and was torpedoed by a Russian submarine on February 24, 1942. There was only one survivor out of 760 passengers on board Struma. Immediately after the event, the then Turkish Prime Minister Refik Saydam firmly stated Turkey's

reluctant position in relation to accepting deported and/or undesirable people to her territories<sup>9</sup> (Ofer 1991, 152; Bali 1999, 346-362).

The last incident was the Capital Tax Law which was promulgated on November 11, 1942. The aim of the Capital Tax Law was to eradicate the non-Muslim dominance in the economic life and to immediately promote the Muslim initiatives. Therefore, it was essentially a discriminatory policy against non-Muslims. It was also a response to the excessive returns obtained by the war time speculators. The Capital Tax was carried out by a committee that categorized potential tax payers into four groups: Muslims, Non-Muslims, crypto-Jews, and foreigners. The tax amounts levied on non-Muslims were four times higher than Muslims and as a result it was effectively impossible to settle the full amount. The ones who could not fulfill their tax obligations were forced to physical labor, at Aşkale, a town in Eastern Turkey, in return for the unsettled amounts. Half of the 1,500 inhabitants of Aşkale were Jewish. The rest were Armenians and Greeks. On the other hand, Muslims were not subjected to physical labor because of unsettled obligations, if there was any. On the contrary, their tax amounts were lowered. Because of the scale of the tax burden imposed by the government, a substantial number of non-Muslim entrepreneurs either went bankrupt or had to leave their businesses and/or occupations or were left in a position to sell their assets immediately (Levi 1992, 140-145; Bali 2013, 445-447).

All these events depict the discrimination that the Jews were constantly facing during the single party period. Part of the single party period also coincided with the rise of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany in 1933. During this period, the German racial ideology with its anti-Semitic tone and its propaganda appealed to the Turkish ruling

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<sup>9</sup> It can be argued that although the exhaustive efforts of the Jewish Agency representatives in Turkey and the leaders of the Turkish Jewish community, because of its neutral position Turkey was reluctant to offer passage to the European Jews escaping from the Nazis and their collaborators. Struma is an incident which exposed Turkey's reluctance to cooperate in rescue activities. However, even though limited in number Turkey still served as a safe passage to Palestine for legal and illegal Jewish immigrants (Toktaş 2006, 57; Guttstadt 2016, 210-217).

elite who were already pursuing pro-Turkification policies. Moreover, because Turkey was not strong enough politically, economically, and militarily she was not capable to cope with the Great Powers during the Second World and therefore, formulated a cautious and prudent foreign policy to remain out of the war. Even though the policies and actions against the minorities were the result of the sincere and genuine world view of the Turkish ruling elite, it may also be relevant to mention that they were also driven by attitudes that were formed under these circumstances.<sup>10</sup>

In the period between 1923 and 1948, an increasing number of Turkish Jews started to migrate to Palestine because of the adverse conditions created under the single party regime by the unfavorable policies and because of the possibility of a Nazi occupation due to the foreign policy that Turkey had formulated. The establishment of the State of Israel also contributed to the increasing trend of immigration. The number of legal and illegal immigrants<sup>11</sup> reached almost half of the Jewish population in Turkey. However, during the 1950s some of the immigrants returned to Turkey due to hardships experienced in Israel and the relatively moderate policies carried out by the Democratic Party. Following the Cyprus Crisis in 1954, fears of stigmatization and of pressure surfaced and/or reappeared during the pogroms that took place on 6-7 September 1955. Eventually, the Turkish Jewish communities located in different cities around Turkey gradually weakened after the pogroms and several military coups, economic crises, and internal turmoil in the subsequent decades as well. The members of the community

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<sup>10</sup> The rise of Nazis to the power coincided with Turkey's need to reform its outdated education system. Even though the single party pursued adverse policies against Jews, it, on the other hand, invited German scholars of Jewish origin to its territories in order to accelerate the required reforms (Bahar 2010, 49-50). According to Bahar, there are discussions regarding whether the Turkish government at the time was interested in the identity of the scholars which it accepted to its territories. Bahar claims that although the tolerance discourse of the Quincentennial Foundation likened the idea of Turkish invitation of Jewish scholars, there are no evidences supporting any humanitarian motivation behind the Turkish interest in these scholars (Bahar 2010, 60).

<sup>11</sup> Until Turkey recognized Israel in 1949, it halted issuing visas and permits to Turkish Jews who had planned to immigrate to Palestine due to objections coming from the Arab States. During this period there were many Jews trying to reach Palestine with illegal means via Italy and France (Toktaş 2006, 508).

started to leave Turkey mainly for Israel, the USA and France. The remaining population in Turkey, on the other hand, started to consolidate its resources and numbers in Istanbul (Toktaş 2006, 506, 511; Giesel 2015, 42-43).

Starting from the 1970s and reaching its peak during the 1980s, the 1990s, and the 2000s, the multiparty period also witnessed the rise of Political Islam which was in fact a reaction against the exclusionist Kemalist ideology. The rise of Political Islam was also accompanied with a growing trend of public anti-Semitism. The anti-Semitic theme that was mostly grounded on economic factors during the single party period was replaced in the 1980s with another one that was based on a conspiracy theory propagandizing that the driving political, social and economic forces behind the demise of the Ottoman Empire and subsequent foundation of the Turkish Republic and the State of Israel were the Jews, crypto-Jews and Freemasons.<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, this theme had initially been formulated and preached by Necmettin Erbakan who founded National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi) in 1970 and later National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi) in 1972. After the coup d'état in 1980, his National Outlook (Milli Görüş) ideology was embraced and promoted by some fractions of the center right parties and by several Islamic parties<sup>13</sup>. Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) emerged out of one those Islamic parties namely the Felicity Party upon a split within its ranks (Cizre 1996, 244; Gülalp 1999, 22; Bali 2013, 450).

In November 2002, Justice and Development Party (JDP) won the general elections and formed the government. Despite its conservative Islamic agenda, the JDP governments adopted neo-liberal economic policies, accelerated EU accession talks and pursued political reforms inspired by the Copenhagen criteria. Not only the Turkish

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<sup>12</sup> Those Islamic parties are the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi), the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi) and the Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi) which were established in 1991, 1997, and 2001, respectively.

<sup>13</sup> This transformation of the anti-Semitic theme occurred under the circumstances when the neo-liberal economic policies carried out by the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi) almost entirely eradicated already disappearing economic and financial gaps between Muslim and Jewish businessmen (Bali 2013, 450).

society in general but also minorities benefited from that democratization process. (Giesel 2015, 46-49). On the other hand, several political and economic factors such as the stagnation encountered in the EU accession process in 2007, the global financial crises in 2008, the severe political crises and conflicts in the Middle East starting from 2011 on, Gezi Protests in 2013 and confrontation with their allies, the Gülen movement, radicalized the JDP government and resulted in significant changes in its modus operandi. JDP eventually left its initial democratic inclinations and grew increasingly authoritarian with a strong Islamic tone. It restricted freedoms, oppressed the political opposition, consolidated its media power, staffed bureaucracy with loyalists, weakened horizontal and vertical accountability and formed a party state. It leaned more towards an Islamic agenda and formed several alliances with the nationalists (Öniş 2011, 54-56; Somer 2016, 12).

Israel's policy in the Middle East in general and towards Palestine in particular, is a significant concern for Political Islam. The continuous tension between Israel and Palestine and other Middle Eastern states reinforces already existing anti-Semitic sentiments within the Muslim society in Turkey. The Jews in Turkey were blamed for the policies that Israel was implementing. They were even viewed and portrayed as collaborators and/or accomplices of these policies due to their various relations with this country. This perspective has hardly ever changed despite some efforts displayed by the Jewish community in Turkey<sup>14</sup> (Giesel 2015, 43-45). While self-expressions related to identity gained visibility during the 1980s and the following decades, anti-Semitic discourse in the society became rampant in the meantime as well. This phenomenon became visible first in 1986 when there was a suicide bomb attack to Neve Şalom synagogue murdering 24 individuals attending the Shabbat prayer; in 1992 when Hizbullah members attacked Neve Şalom synagogue with hand grenades; in 1993

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<sup>14</sup> In 1992, even the event organized by Quincentennial Foundation to celebrate the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of Sephardi Jews to Ottoman Empire was insufficient to reverse the negative sentiment towards Jews despite a discourse of tolerance on the part of Turkish polity and loyal subject and citizen on the part of the Jewish community was visibly accentuated (Giesel 2015, 43-45).

when Jak Kamhi escaped death from an assassination attempt; in 2003 when a Jewish dentist was murdered just because he was Jewish; and in 2003 when Islamic radicals attacked two largest synagogues in Istanbul killing 57 people (Bali 2013, 451). Towards the end of the first decade of the twenty first century, the JDP government became more critical about Israel in its handling of the Palestine issue and voiced anti-Semitic feelings more openly. The anti-Semitic tone became more explicit with the deterioration of the relations between Israel and Turkey due to several incidences that took place in those years. Eventually, the Mavi Marmara incident in 2010 resulted in ambiguous statements on the part of Turkish politicians to which the members of the Turkish Jewish community reacted with discontent. Again, despite the Prime Minister's statements making clear that Turkish Jews had nothing to do with the Israeli policies, they were still publicly blamed as collaborators of Israel (Giesel 2015, 50). Thus, because of the increasing authoritarianism, the deteriorating relations between the two countries and the economic hardships, the Turkish Jews started to migrate to Israel and other countries in large numbers.

### **1.3 ŞALOM – THE WEEKLY GAZETTE OF THE TURKISH JEWISH COMMUNITY**

The awakening of the Jewish community in the nineteenth century was a parallel phenomenon to the modernization efforts taking place in the Ottoman Empire. Jewish journalism too flourished in the nineteenth century with the publication of the first gazette, *La Buena Esperansa* in the 1840s. The period between the 1840s and the beginning of the First World War witnessed the publications of many Jewish journals covering extensive issues related to economic, political and social agendas of the times. Humanistic literary works appeared on pages of the journals as well. Furthermore, satirical journalism emerged as another channel of expression. This vivid period came to a halt with the war. Following the war, during the single party period Jewish journalism remained dormant until the publication of the first issue of *Şabat* in 1946. *Şabat* was followed by *Şalom*, *Atikva*, *Or Yeuda*, *L'Etoile du Levant*, *La Luz*, *La Luz*

de Turkiya, La Vera Luz, La Trompeta, La Boz, El Tiempo, Türkiye'nin Sesi, Haftanın Sesi, and Beklenen İlgi<sup>15</sup> (Levy 2010, 15-18; Güteryüz 2015, 97-118).

Established by Avram Leyon and İsak Yaeş on October 30, 1947, Şalom is the only gazette of the Jewish community that lasted to the contemporary times. Şalom means peace, salute. The inspiration for the name of the gazette had been the maxim “Yurтта Sulh Cihanda Sulh” (“Peace at Home Peace in the World”) pronounced by the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Şalom has been published weekly and its editorial policy has been best summarized by its motto “A lo tuerto, a lo dereço” (to call a spade a spade). As formulated by its founders and followed by future generations, this motto defines the mission of the gazette which is its commitment to impartiality, independence, integrity and intention to deliver high quality journalism. Following the departure of İsak Yaeş from Şalom in February 1948, Avram Leyon became the sole owner and editor-in-chief of the gazette until 1984. On January 19, 1984, the ownership and editorial rights of the gazette was transferred to Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., which has been the only publication house of the Jewish community in Turkey since then (Levy 2010, 18; Güteryüz 2015, 99-103).

Between 1947 and 1983, the language of the gazette was predominantly Ladino. A limited part of Şalom's content was in Turkish. Though being primarily a community gazette and limited in space (usually 4 pages), Şalom not only covered social and religious issues and news related to the Turkish Jewish community but it also published news and articles related to the political, economic and social issues of the days. Besides, Şalom reserved space to literary and thematic articles as well. With the transfer of the ownership in 1984, the editorial board and staff of the gazette changed, and its publication language became predominantly Turkish. Published in a renewed format, the number of pages first doubled and gradually reached sixteen. In the post-

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<sup>15</sup> Except Şalom, all the gazettes just mentioned ceased to exist due several reasons, such as economic hardships, disagreements between shareholders, disagreements with the community management and immigration to Israel (Güteryüz 2015, 97-118).

1984 period, the depth and breadth of Şalom's content significantly changed. It was enriched with the contributions of new authors; the introduction of new themes; the extension of space and the increasing frequency of themes which had already been present previously; and, additional news coverage from international publications and reports from abroad. Moreover, Şalom initiated several magazine supplements both in Turkish and Ladino, namely Panorama, Şalomist, Çocuk, Holokost, Şalom Kitap, El Amaneser, Yaşam, Kültür ve Magazin, Genç Kalemler and Şalom Dergi covering variety of issues and subjects including but not limited to the Holocaust, social life, religious life, culture, art, travel, literature and history (Barokas 2007, 5; Güteryüz 2015, 119).

Since the beginning, nevertheless, Şalom's editorial policy has reflected four interrelated or intertwined principles. The first one is preserving and even upholding the Jewish identity. Şalom often delivers content including extensive knowledge and information related to the dimensions which constitute the Jewish identity such as Judaism, the Holocaust, anti-Semitism, the history of Jews, community life and others. The second one is the preservation of the Jewish community in Turkey. Nothing in the published material should create a situation that is detrimental to the members and to the assets of the community. The third is related to the tone used in the gazette. Şalom prefers a reasonable and/or sensible tone (*makulun dili*) in its approach to Israel and related issues. The tone should serve two purposes at the same time: not to be perceived as being against or taking contrary position to Israel and related matters and not to be conceived as being a gazette with Zionist inclinations. And the fourth principle is best summarized by the discourse promoted by the Quincentennial Foundation during the 1990s which constituted the tolerance and loyal citizen conceptions within itself: the Jews in Turkey has always kept their loyalty to their welcoming and tolerant saviors intact and would do so in the future. Nonetheless, Şalom even though seldom and unless presented provocatively, allows space to opinions contrary to this principle.

The administration of the gazette consists of volunteers, professionals and part-timers. Currently, the editor-in-chief of the gazette is İvo Molinas. İvo Molinas has been holding this position since 2009.

Overall, I propose that Şalom, by telling and re-telling the Holocaust in particular ways to the Turkish Jewish community, reminds, constructs and re-constructs Jewish identity for the Turkish Jews. Therefore, in order to prove this, I analyzed and compared how Şalom narrated the Holocaust in two different periods by implementing content analysis. While the first period is between 1947 and 1983, the second period is between 1984 and 2010. The main reason for this periodization is that I observed that Şalom narrates the Holocaust differently in these two periods. In 1984, the ownership and management of Şalom changed. The new editorial team emphasized the Holocaust more often than the previous period. Simultaneously, following the 1980 coup, Turkey started to experience significant social, economic and political transformation which provided the basis for identity expressions. This periodization was also instrumental to cover the newspaper supplements that Şalom published on the Holocaust along the newspaper for the five consecutive years between 2006 and 2010.

For the content analysis, I referred to Şalom's archives to select the relevant newspaper writings. In total, including the Holocaust supplements, there were 1,490 newspaper writings related to the Holocaust. Out of these writings, whereas 221 were for the first period, 1,269 were for the second period. It is crucial to point out that whereas for the years between 1947 and 2006 the archives consisted each weekly newspaper in digital format<sup>16</sup>, for the years between 2008<sup>17</sup> and 2010 all the newspaper writings were available on the internet site of the gazette. Therefore, for the first period I reviewed every weekly gazette to find out the writings related to the Holocaust. For the second period, whereas I repeated the same strategy for the years between 1984 and 2006, for

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<sup>16</sup> Weekly newspapers had been transformed into PDF format.

<sup>17</sup> I left 2007 out of the analysis because the archives were available neither in the PDF format nor on the internet site due to some technical reasons.

the rest of the period I selected some key words such as “Holocaust”, “Holocaust Denial”, “Commemoration” and others to reach the Holocaust related writings on the internet site. Hence, depending on the content of the writings in the archives and the issues touched upon during the literature review, I created thirteen clusters to classify the wide range of the content available in the gazette. The list of the clusters together with the number of newspaper writings for both the first and the second periods is given in the table below:

**Table 1.** List of Clusters Based on the Number of Newspaper Writings  
(1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

<b>Cluster Name</b>	<b>p1</b>	<b>p2<sup>18</sup></b>	<b>Total</b>
Abuse of Holocaust Memory	1	92	93
Archives	3	22	25
Arts-Books	7	132	139
Ceremonies	37	142	179
Claims-Funds-Wealth	13	99	112
Conferences-Events	6	43	49
Holocaust	67	238	305
Holocaust Education	1	27	28
Ideology	7	17	24
Museums-Monuments	10	72	82
Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters	68	199	267
Survivors-Rescuers	1	162	163
Uniqueness	-	24	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>1.269</b>	<b>1.490</b>

These newspaper writings included articles, news, interviews, poems and stories written both in Turkish and Ladino. The list of the clusters together with the number and type of newspaper writings and the same list of the clusters together with the number and language of newspaper writings for both the first and the second periods are given in Table 2 and Table 3 below, respectively:

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<sup>18</sup> Throughout this thesis, in this and the following tables, p1 and p2 represent 1947-1983 and 1984-2010, respectively.

**Table 2.** List of Clusters Based on the Number and the Type of Newspaper Writings  
(1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Cluster	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Abuse of Holocaust Memory	-	37	1	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	92	93
Archives	-	5	3	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	22	25
Arts-Books	1	42	6	88	-	-	-	2	-	-	7	132	139
Ceremonies	4	11	33	131	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	142	179
Claims-Funds-Wealth	3	9	10	89	-	-	-	1	-	-	13	99	112
Conferences-Events	1	3	5	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	43	49
Holocaust	41	212	7	18	19	2	-	5	-	1	67	238	305
Holocaust Education	-	10	1	16	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	27	28
Ideology	6	13	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	17	24
Museums-Monuments	-	19	10	51	-	-	-	2	-	-	10	72	82
Perp.-Col.-Byst.- N.Hunters <sup>19</sup>	30	45	38	145	-	-	-	9	-	-	68	199	267
Survivors-Rescuers	-	48	1	93	-	1	-	18	-	2	1	162	163
Uniqueness	-	19	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>473</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>752</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>1.269</b>	<b>1.490</b>

<sup>19</sup> In the remaining of the thesis “Perp.-Col.-Byst.-N.Hunters” stands for “Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters”.

**Table 3.** List of Clusters Based on Language (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Cluster Name	p1		Total	p2		G.Total
	Ladino	Turkish		Ladino	Turkish	
Abuse of Holocaust Memory	1	-	1	1	92	93
Archives	3	-	3	-	22	25
Arts-Books	3	4	7	-	132	139
Ceremonies	37	-	37	2	140	179
Claims-Funds-Wealth	13	-	13	-	99	112
Conferences-Events	3	3	6	-	43	49
Holocaust	56	11	67	1	237	305
Holocaust Education	1	-	1	-	27	28
Ideology	1	6	7	-	17	24
Museums-Monuments	10	-	10	-	72	82
Perp.-Col.-Byst.-N.Hunters	50	18	68	-	199	267
Survivors-Rescuers	1	-	1	-	162	163
Uniqueness	-	-	-	-	24	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1.265</b>	<b>1.269</b>

In the following two chapters, I will demonstrate how Şalom narrated the Holocaust by focusing on the main themes in the newspaper writings for each cluster. In Chapter 2, I will present my analysis for the first period. I selected the “Ceremonies”, the “Holocaust”, and the “Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters” for the content analysis based on the total number of the newspaper writings these clusters contain within the total number of newspaper writings for all the clusters in this period. These three clusters collectively represent 182 writings within a total of 221. In Chapter 3, I will present my analysis for the second period. I selected the “Ceremonies”, the “Holocaust”, and the “Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters” both for the purpose of comparing two periods and due to the significant increase observed in the number of newspaper writings for these clusters in the second period. Besides, I referred to the “Uniqueness” cluster, when required, in the footnotes to cover a central

issue discussed in the literature review. Thus, the number of the newspaper writings classified under all these four clusters amount to 775.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ŞALOM'S HOLOCAUST NARRATION IN THE PERIOD 1947 – 1983

In this chapter, I will concentrate on the themes of the contents of the newspaper writings classified under three main clusters which are the “Ceremonies”, the “Holocaust”, and the “Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters” as they collectively comprise 182 writings out of a total of 211 for the first period. To initiate the analysis, it will be convenient to provide the list of the clusters based on the type of the newspaper writings only for the period covered in this chapter:

**Table 4.** List of Clusters Based on Type of Newspaper Writings (1947-1983)

Cluster Name	Article	News	Poems	Interviews	Stories	Total
Ab. of Holocaust Memory	-	1	-	-	-	1
Archives	-	3	-	-	-	3
Arts-Books	1	6	-	-	-	7
Ceremonies	4	33	-	-	-	37
Claims-Funds-Wealth	3	10	-	-	-	13
Conferences-Events	1	5	-	-	-	6
Holocaust	41	7	19	-	-	67
Holocaust Education	-	1	-	-	-	1
Ideology	6	1	-	-	-	7
Museums-Monuments	-	10	-	-	-	10
Perp.-Col.-Byst.-N.Hunters	30	38	-	-	-	68
Survivors-Rescuers	-	1	-	-	-	1
Uniqueness	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>221</b>

## 2.1 THE “CEREMONIES” CLUSTER

According to Table 4, a breakdown of the “Ceremonies” cluster in terms of sub-clusters also based on the type of newspaper writings is given in the table below:

**Table 5.** Breakdown of “Ceremonies” Based on Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983)

<b>Ceremonies</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>News</b>	<b>Poems</b>	<b>Interviews</b>	<b>Stories</b>	<b>Total</b>
Turkey	3	19	-	-	-	22
France	-	5	-	-	-	5
Poland	-	2	-	-	-	2
Belgium	-	2	-	-	-	2
Israel	1	1	-	-	-	2
Others <sup>20</sup>	-	4	-	-	-	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>37</b>

Thus, Table 5 shows that the “Ceremonies” cluster includes four articles and 33 news related to commemoration ceremonies which took place both in Turkey and in other countries. Whereas 22 of these writings were dedicated to Turkey to cover commemoration ceremonies which took place in several synagogues in Istanbul, the residual 15 were for the ones that took place in other countries amongst which France, Poland, and Belgium collectively comprised nine of them. A breakdown of the subjects touched upon in these writings are provided in the table below:

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<sup>20</sup> “Others” include four news each corresponding to commemoration ceremonies that took place in Hungary, Macedonia, the USA, and Germany.

**Table 6.** Breakdown of “Ceremonies” Based on Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983)

Subjects	Articles	News	Poems	Interviews	Stories	Total
Warsaw Ghetto Uprising-Holocaust	-	15	-	-	-	15
Warsaw Ghetto Uprising	3	10	-	-	-	13
Auschwitz	-	4	-	-	-	4
Holocaust	1	1	-	-	-	2
Others <sup>21</sup>	-	3	-	-	-	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>37</b>

As shown in Table 6, the dominant subject with 28 writings out of 37 is the revolt that took place against the Germans in the Warsaw Ghetto between April 19, 1943 and May 16, 1943. Corollary to this, the dominant theme in the writings is the heroism that the resistance fighters had shown during that uprising. Yet, it is crucial to point out that the Holocaust victims are commemorated as well. Moreover, some issues related to the Holocaust were mentioned in the writings such as the extermination of the Jewish people; the courage of the resistance fighters as inherited from their ancestors; the continuum of the destruction in the Jewish history; Turkey and the Jews being loyal citizens; the human tragedy at the heart of the European civilization; the bystanders turning a blind eye to the destruction of the Jews; the uniqueness of the Holocaust; and the emergence of the State of Israel. I selected four news and one article from among the writings classified under this cluster to show how Şalom touched upon these matters in this period. Whereas all the news selected are of “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising-Holocaust” subject, the subject of the article is “Holocaust”. It is also important to note that the language of the newspaper writings selected for the analysis is Ladino.

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<sup>21</sup> “Others” include three news each corresponding to subjects “Anne Frank”, “Treblinka”, and “Commemoration Day”, respectively.

The first news is dated April 19, 1961 and is about a commemoration ceremony that took place in Istanbul. Avram Leyon provides a very brief information about the Holocaust to continue with his depiction of the heroism of the resistance fighters during the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto before giving a portrayal of the commemoration ceremony which took place in Neve Şalom, a synagogue in Istanbul, on April 12, 1961. He mentions that during the Second World War a “crazy man” called Hitler wanted to exterminate the entire Jewish race because he believed that they were the only impediment to the affluence of his race and that to fulfill this ambition, he and the likes prepared plans to murder Jews savagely and that curiously the rest of the world remained spectators to this human tragedy. In each occupied country such as France, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, “damned” armed Nazis were executing these plans with the pretension that it would continue. However, Leyon continues, when Hitler occupied Poland, he realized that the Polish Jews were not like the Jews in other countries because the Jewish youth in Poland were closely following the savageries of the gangs of “damned” Hitler, and for this reason they unified and decided to resist them. This was not easy but there was no remedy other than death. They prayed Şema Yisrael<sup>22</sup> and having faith in God, they got together in the Warsaw Ghetto and swore not to deliver themselves to the savage gangs of Hitler and in fact they succeeded for a certain time to throttle these wild animals. However, with an order of Eichmann, the gangs attacked forcefully and defeated the Jewish youth eventually.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Şema Yisrael is the initial two words of the first sentence of a prayer in Jewish religion. That first sentence is “Şema Yisrael Adonay Eloenu Adonay Ehad” which means “Hear, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One”. It is regarded as the confession of the belief in the One God (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13548-shema>). With this prayer, the author specifically emphasizes the act of taking refuge in God.

<sup>23</sup> “Mientras la sigunda gerra mundiala, un loko, yamado, Hitler, de maldiça memoria, keria eksterminar la rasa judia porke su rasa biva horoza, komo si la nasion judia empedia la rasa de Hitler de bivir oroza. El i su semejantes, por arivar a sus buto, prepararon planos. En kualo konsistian estos planos? De matar salvajamente los judios, kreaturas, envalides, mujeres, eran matadas salvajamente i lo kuriozo es ke el mundo entero kedo spectatör delante estias bestias salvajes. El tiempo, o por mejor dizir, la endiferensia de las grandes potensias lo rendieron horozo. A la sivdad ke okupava las maldiças armadas nazistas egzekutian los planos preparados por Hitler i sus semejantes. En la Fransia, en la Çekoslovakia, en la Rumania, en Gresia, en la Yugoslavia, en Bulgaria, metio en aplikasion sus planos, teniendo la

Furthermore, he mentions that the Jewish nation proclaimed 27 Nisan as a day of mourning and that like in other parts of the world this day was commemorated in Istanbul as well. Later in the article he provides a portrayal of the commemoration ceremony. He states that “sister”<sup>24</sup> Ashkenazi and “G.B.K.Ş.”<sup>25</sup> communities congregated on the previous Wednesday to commemorate the sacred memory of the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto with a detailed program in Neve Şalom where a grave and an imposing atmosphere was witnessed.<sup>26</sup> He specifically gives the names of the community officials and other notable attendees and stresses on the emotional states of the participants who were depicted in tears with sorrow. He continues to describe the ceremony by mentioning the six candles that were lit in the memory of the six million, the speech delivered by Rabbi Rofe that included sections related to not only the Warsaw Ghetto but also to the murder of the six million, the speech given by a member of Ashkenazi community, Mr. Goldeberg, who depicted the unprecedented suffering of the Jews during the Second World War, and the lamentation by the singer Şapoşnik which led the temple into a silence of death.<sup>27</sup>

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pretansión ke esto puedia kontinuar, ma kuando el okupo la Polonia, vido ke los judios en este pais no egualavan a los de los otros paises, porke la manseves judia poloneza siguiua de serka las salvajerias de las bandas del maldiço Hitler, na par kualo la manseves judia poloneza se auno i se desidio a luçar kon estas bandas, no era fasil, ma no tenian otro remedio, murir ke murir, ŞEMA YİSRAEL, şe dişeron. Se rekojeron en el Geto del Varsovia, teniendo sus emuna en el Alto Dios i juraron de no entregarsen a las bandas salvajes de Hitler i en efeto eyos reuşeron un sierto tiempo a azer aretar estas bestias feroses, ma kon un orden de Eichman eyos pasaron al atako kon todas sus fuersas i ansi pudieron venser la manseves judia” (Leyon 1961, 4).

<sup>24</sup> He specifically mentions Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities in Istanbul as sister communities because in previously held ceremonies they were not present together in the same synagogue. He touches upon and criticizes this issue in another writing in 1958 (Leyon 1958, 1, 4). Moreover, one year later in 1959 a news appears in Şalom which provides information about a ceremony in Poland which especially stresses the congregation of the whole Jewish communities (1959, 2).

<sup>25</sup> “G.B.K.Ş.” stands for Galata, Beyoğlu, Kasımpaşa, Şişli, each representing the name of a district in Istanbul.

<sup>26</sup> “Es ansi ke el puevlo judio, el 27 Nisan la proklama komo undia del dolio. Komo en el mundo entero, i en nuestro sivdad Tambien esta dia se komemora. El 27 Nisan (April 12, 1961) mierkoles, las komunidades ermanas Aşkenazita i G.B.K.Ş. se ajuntaron por komemorar la bendiça memoria de los heroes del Geto de Varsovia i prepararon un program bien detalyado, el 27 Nisan (12 Avril) el Templo Neve Şalom revistio un aspekta grave i empozante” (Leyon 1961, 4).

<sup>27</sup> “En esta seremonia ke fue prezidida por el Av Bet-Bin Ribí Baruh Kohen, eran presentes kuerpo rabbiniko, el konsolo de Ísrael, Sr. Yehuda Levit, el viçe-konsolo, el personel del konsolato, el konsolo

In the second news published on April 20, 1966, Leyon makes an introduction where he briefly writes about the heroism of the resistance fighters before providing the details of the commemoration ceremony which took place in Yüksek Kaldırım Ashkenazi synagogue on April 17, 1966. He mentions that after the Second World War the Jewish nation commemorated a sad anniversary every year on 27 Nisan which shuddered even the toughest people. He also states that on this day of memorialization, every Jew, wherever he or she was, remembered the bravery of the blow of the Jews which could be only matched to Maccabees<sup>28</sup> and which throttled the savage gangs of the “damned” Hitler who had desired to exterminate the entire Jewish nation. However, Leyon continues saying that although the High Providence remembered his alliance with his “preferred child” and protected him from this massacre, the blood of thousands of Jews poured like a river disgracefully in the Warsaw Ghetto. Therefore, he repeats that every year on 27 Nisan the Jewish people congregated in the synagogues to commemorate this tragic day with a religious ceremony and pray for the ones who died heroically in the Warsaw Ghetto.<sup>29</sup>

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de Portugal, el Sr. Jak Abravanel ansi ke un numerozo publiko. Los kandelabres fueron ensendidso por Ribí Baruh Akohen i por el konsolo de Ísrael, el Sr. Levit, kuando la orezon fúnebre ompeso, vimos ombres i dammas versar lagrimas amargas. Al nombre de la komunita de G.B.K.Ş., fue Ribí Bofé ke tomo la palavra. Ribí Rofé nos traso un tablo konteniendo no solo el Geto de Varsovia, ma tambien de las matansinas de los seş milyones de judios ke murieron en los kampos. Al nombre de la komunita Ashkenazita, fue el Sr. Goldeberg ke tomo la palavra. El kon una boz triste, avlo de las sufriensas sin nombre de los judios mientras la sigunda gerra mundiala. Kuando la boz del kantor Sapoşnik, akompaniado del org se izo sentir, una kayadez de muerte reynava en el Templo Neve Şalom” (Leyon 1961, 4).

<sup>28</sup> Flourished in the second century, Maccabees is the name given to a priestly family, Hasmoneans. They were a group of Jewish rebel warriors who ruled the Judea which was part of the Seleucid Empire (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10236-maccabees-the>, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10482-mattathias-maccabeus>).

<sup>29</sup> “Desde despues de la sigunda gerra mundiala, el puevlo judio, kada anio, en el dia del 27 Nisan, komemora un triste aniversario ke aze estremeser las personas las mas duras. En este memoravle dia, kada judio, onde fuese ke se tope, se rekorda kon emosion la baraganía de un puniado de judios ke se pueden igualar kon los Makabeos, izieron aretar por un sierto tiempo las bandas salvajes del maldicho Hitler, el kual tenia por buto de eksterminar la nasion entera judia, ma la Alta Providencia, rekordandose su aliansa kon su ijo preferado, lo salvo de este masakro, ma desgrasiada mente, en el Ghetto de Varsovia, se vertio komo un rio la sangre de miles de judios. Es por komemorar este trajiko dia ke kada anio, el 27 Nisan, los judios se rekojen en los Templos por resitar todos en juntos el tradisionel Kadiş por el reposo de las almas de Jos ke murieran eroikamente en el Ghetto de Varsovia” (Leyon 1966, 1).

Later in the news, Leyon describes the ceremony that took place in the synagogue. Before describing the commemoration ceremony, he mentions the presence of the members of the Rabbinate, the consulate of Israel, the council of the Grand Rabbinat, some representatives from different Turkish Jewish communities and considerable number of participants in the synagogue.<sup>30</sup> He especially concentrates on the speech given by Mr. Pardo. Leyon mentions that Mr. Pardo, talked about the massacres that the Jews survived following his introduction on the history of the day. Mr. Pardo mentioned the destruction of the First Temple<sup>31</sup> on 9 Av<sup>32</sup> 586 B.C. where massacres in and mass exile of the remaining population from Babylon took place during the reign of the King Nebuchadnezzar; the destruction of the Second Temple<sup>33</sup> on 9 Av 72 A.C.; and Bar Kokhba<sup>34</sup> Revolt on 9 Av 132 A.C. After many centuries, one million Jews were massacred in Chelmno concentration camp, approximately one million were also massacred in Majdanek, and four million Jews died in the gas chambers of Auschwitz.<sup>35</sup> In his speech, Mr. Pardo describes how the Jewish fighters confronted the

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<sup>30</sup> “Es ansi ke, i en nuestra komunita fue selebrado este triste dia en el Templo Ashkenaz de Yüksek Kaldırım Şabat pasado, el 17 avril (27 Nisan 5726), a las oras 19,15, en piezensia del kuerpo rabiniko, el Konsolo de Ísrael, el Konsolio del Gran Rabinato, reprezentantes de las komunidades i de las ovras ansi ke un numero konssideravle de fideles” (Leyon 1966, 1).

<sup>31</sup> Beit Hamikdash in Hebrew, the First Temple is the temple which was built by King Solomon in the tenth century B.C. in Jerusalem. It was destroyed by the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar on 9 Av 586 B.C.

(<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14310-temple-of-solomon>  
<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14309-temple-the-second>).

<sup>32</sup> Av is name of a month in the Jewish calendar which corresponds to July-August in the solar calendar.

<sup>33</sup> With the accession of Cyrus in 538 it became possible—that monarch replacing the old Assyria-Babylonian policy of transportation by a policy of toleration—for the Jews to resuscitate their religious institutions. Hence, the Second Temple was built and remained until its destruction on 72 B.C.

(<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14309-temple-the-second>)

<sup>34</sup> Led by Simon Bar Kokhba, Bar Kokhba revolt is an insurrection against Roman Empire that took place in Judea between the years 132-136 (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/2471-bar-kokba-and-bar-kokba-war>).

<sup>35</sup> “...senior Pardo tomo la palabra...« El 9 del mez de Av, 586 anios antes la era hristiana, tuvo lugar la destrüksion del primer Bet-Amikdaş, kon masakros i las masas del egzilo del restante del pueblo en Babilonia por el rey Nabukodonozor. El 9 av 72 de la era hristiana tuvo ugar a destrüksion de Sigundo Templo. En el anio 132 de la mezma data, el 9 av, devria tener lugar la desfeça de Bar-Kohba. « Mas despues el orator dişo ke en el kampo de eksterminasion de Şelmo, 1.000.000 de judios fueron masakrados en Maydanek, serka de 1 milyon i en Auschwitz 4.000.000 de judios murieron en las kamaretas de haz kemados i füziyados” (Leyon 1966, 1, 4).

German soldiers with bombs thereby forcing them to retreat after the “damned” Hitler ordered the deportation of the Jews from the Ghetto. Mr. Pardo tells that when the German soldiers came back to liquidate the Ghetto, the Jewish fighters swore to sell their lives dearly. In the final part of his speech, Mr. Pardo said that the Turkish Jews had to appreciate forever that they were far away from the disaster and that they had to be grateful and love Turkey wholeheartedly as they were allowed to live in the country.<sup>36</sup>

In another news dated May 10, 1967, Leyon provides a brief information about Passover, the Holocaust and the heroism of the resistance fighters before reflecting on the commemoration ceremony which took place on previous Shabbat<sup>37</sup> on May 6, 1967. He mentions the coincidence between the date of Passover<sup>38</sup> when the Jews memorialize and remember the sufferings of their ancestors in Egypt and the 24<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto. He states that this sad anniversary made us remember the loss of our six million brothers as well as the brave blow that the Jews gave to the savage gangs of the “damned” Hitler. The author explained that since he acquired power in 1933 and until the end of the Second World War Hitler succeeded to exterminate six million Jews by throwing them into crematorium and in the meantime made his savage gangs attack the Warsaw Ghetto on 19 April 1943 in which only 50,000 Jews had remained out of 400,000 previously. Leyon continues to explain

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<sup>36</sup> “...Kuando los ordenes fueron dados por el maldiço Hitler, por la deportasion de los judios de Varsovia a los kampos, los SS ablokaron el Ghetto, los kombatientes judios los resivieron kon las bombas Molotov a tal grado ke las bandas salvajes se toparon en la ovligasion de retiarsen, mas despues, los SS devian venir por alimpiiar el Ghetto, ma los judios juraron dde vender sus vidas un presio muy karo. « Antes de terminar, kontinuo el enjeniör Pardo, diço Devemos azer loores al Eternel, nozotros ke estuvimos leşos de este dezastre, ke nos izo la buendad de bivir en este payis, la Turkia, nuestra Turkia, ke devemos amarla de todo nuestro korason i de toda nuestra alma”

<sup>37</sup> A weekly practice in Jewish religion where community members are supposed to take an off from daily routine or abstention from work for one day. Shabbat begins on Friday evening and ends on Saturday evening (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13465-shabbat>).

<sup>38</sup> The festival commemorates the deliverance of Israel's first-born from the judgment wrought on those of the Egyptians, and the wondrous liberation of the Hebrews from Egyptian bondage (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11933-passover>).

that although it was true that these savage gangs succeeded to bombard the Ghetto, those remaining Jews caused great losses to Nazis while falling and showed their heroism to the world. Finally, the author states that in fact Jews knew how to pour their blood to protect their dignity.<sup>39</sup>

After this brief introduction, Leyon mentions that every year this sad anniversary is celebrated with a religious congregation in different parts of the world.<sup>40</sup> He states that an imposing ceremony took place in Neve Şalom synagogue as well where the scene witnessed was different than the other days as hundreds of people who filled the temple were very sad; each one of them almost feeling the loss of a brother and therefore they were in tears with pains.<sup>41</sup> Like in the previous news, he specifically gives the names of the community officials and other notable attendees and continues to describe the ceremony by mentioning the six candles that were lit in the memory of the six million; Aşkava<sup>42</sup> read by Hazan<sup>43</sup> Maçorro; the speech delivered by young Anjel in Turkish where he talked about Hitler and his accomplices and mentioned the brave blow that the Jews gave to the Nazi savages; the choir that was accompanied by Rabbi of the

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<sup>39</sup> “Ke triste koensidensia? Antes unos kuantos dias selebrimos la fiesta de Pesah, la kuala nos aze rekordar las sufriensas de nuestros avuelos en el Ejipto, i Şabat pasado selebrimos el 24 en aniversario de la revolta del Gelo de Varsovia. Triste aniversario, ke nos aze rekordar la piedrita de nuestros seş millones de ermanos i la barragania de un puniado de Judíos kontra las bandas salvajes del maldiço Hitler, el kual desde su venida al podren 1933 asta la fin de la sigunda gerra mundiala, parvino a eksterminar seş millones de Judíos, en eçandolos a los ornos krematorios, i izo pasar sus salvajes bandas el 19 abril 1943 a un atako kontra el Geto de Varsovia onde en este Geto de 400.000 peisonas, en esta data no keda mas ke 50.000 almas. Es verdad ke las salvajes bandas parvinieron a bombardar el Geto, ma estos 50.000 Judíos rendieron sus ultimos reflos en dando grandes piedritas a los Nazis, lo ke mostraron sus eroizmo i mostraron al mundo entero ke i el Judio save verter su sangre por salvar su dinyita” (Leyon 1967, 1).

<sup>40</sup> “Kada anio este trieste aniversario se selebra kok un rejimimiento relijiozo en todas las partes del mundo” (Leyon 1967, 1).

<sup>41</sup> “... ..tuvo lugar una empozante seremonia en el Templo Neve Şalom en el kual revistio un aspekto diferente de los otros dias, porke las personas ke inçeron el templo tenian el korason triste, siendo ke kada uno de eyos perdieron un ermano i por konsiguensa, kada una de eyos yorava de amargura” (Leyon 1967, 1).

<sup>42</sup> Aşkava is a Hebrew term to represent a prayer for the deceased.

<sup>43</sup> Hazzan is a Hebrew term to denote the person who chants during the religious services and/or ceremonies.

Ashkenazi community and led by singer Şapoşnik; and the speech delivered by Dr. Moiz Akşioté in Judeo-Espanol.<sup>44</sup>

Leyon refers to Dr. Akşiotés's speech which comprised of information about Hitler, the situation of Jews in Germany and the resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto. Dr. Akşioté mentions the attack of the Nazis on the Warsaw Ghetto on the night of Passover and the resistance that the inhabitants of the Ghetto shown in response. Akşioté explains that while the Jewish world was preparing to celebrate Passover, the SS commander gave an order to his gangs to annihilate the Ghetto bombarding it both from the ground and the air. The moment was, therefore, grave and Jews who then numbered 50,000 began to defend themselves with clubs and other instruments. Dr. Akşioté continues to explain that the resistance was vain because the Nazis had already decided to end the resistance.<sup>45</sup>

In the final news dated April 28, 1976, Avram Leyon first describes the commemoration ceremony and later concentrates on the Holocaust and the herosim of the resistance fighters. He explains that the religious ceremony that took place in Neve Şalom synagogue on the 25 April 1976 was full of participants.<sup>46</sup> While describing the ceremony he specifically mentions the six candles that were lit by the notables of the community in the memory of the six million who were murdered by the salvage gangs

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<sup>44</sup> "Los seş kandalebras reprezentando los seş millones de Judios matados, fueron ensendidos por Rav Aseo, Ribí Baruh Kohen, el Konsolo jeneral de Israel en İstanbul, el Sr. Menahem Karmon, Sr. Ísrael Menase, Sr. Hayri Beyo i un reprezentante de la komunita Aşkenazita. Pues el Hazan Maçorro mel do la Aşkava. Fue el joven Anjel, ke tomo la paliavra en la lingua del paiz. El, kon un tono bien ezmoviente, izo el istorik de las bandas salvajes del maldiço Hitler. El joven Anjel, mas después, avio sobre el Geto de Varsovia, onde un puniado de barraganes luço kon los salvajes nazis. Mas despues, el kantor Şapoşnik, Rabino de la komunita Aşkenazita, en kompania del Koro, kanto la elejia apropiada para semejantes seremonias. El torno vino de avlar en judeo-espaniol. Fue el Doktor Operatör Moiz Akşioté, ke inço diniamente esta mission" (Leyon 1967, 1, 4).

<sup>45</sup> "...onde el judaizmo mundial se preparava por la fiesta de Pesan, el komandante SS dio orden a sus bandas de aneantisar el Geto en bombardandolo por tierra i por sielo. El momento era dunke grave, dişo Dr. Akşioté, los Judios del Geto ke se avian amenguado a 50.000, empesaron a defendersen kon palas i otros enstrümentos. Ma sus luça kontra estas bandas era en vano, porke los Nazistas eran desididos a meter fin a esta luça" (Leyon 1967, 1, 4)

<sup>46</sup> "...sermonia relijioza tuvo lugar...el 25 avril en el Templo Neve Şalom, el kual era yeno de fideles..." (Leyon 1976, 1).

of “damned” Hitler<sup>47</sup> and the speech delivered by Dr. Moiz Akşioté.<sup>48</sup> Dr. Akşioté mentions that Hitler had already decided to resolve the “Jewish Question” since 1939 and he ordered to collect all the Jews in Poland. He continues his speech by saying that millions of Jews from all over Europe were deported to the concentration camps of Auschwitz, Dachau, Majdanek, Treblinka, Belsen, Lublin, Lodz and others and the systematic killings were beginning as soon as they arrived at the camps.<sup>49</sup> More than half a million Jews were put at the heart of the poorest center of Warsaw.<sup>50</sup> Dr. Akşioté ends his speech by explaining the resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto. He states that, in 1943, remaining 40,000 Jews out of 500,000 decided to sell their lives dearly and in fact they organized themselves to fight against the savage gangs of the “damned” Hitler. Witnessing the heroism of the Jews evil Nazis attacked from the ground and air to suppress the blow of the remaining Jews in Ghetto.<sup>51</sup> Finally, Leyon concludes the article with a prayer in the memory of the resistance fighters and Jews who gave their lives in the Warsaw Ghetto.

Thus, having framed in the larger context of the history of the Holocaust, although the news stressed the heroism of the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto, the Holocaust victims were commemorated as well. The main emphasis of the newspaper writings is that despite the impossibility of a salvation, the resistance fighters in the

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<sup>47</sup> “...Fue los 6 kandalebras ke simbolizan los seş millones de Judios ke fueron matados por las bandas salvajes del maldiço Hitler fueron ensendidos, en las absensa del Gran Rabino ke esta endispuesto, fue ribi Eliyahu Kohen ke ensendio el primer kandalebra...la sigunda fue ensendida por el Konsul jeneral de Israelen de Istanbul, Sr. Moşe Ben Yaakov, a el sigo ev avokato Erol Dilek, pues el reprezentante de la Komunita Aşkenazita Sr. Boritzer i maz despues el Eli Perahya ensendido el ultimo kandalebra” (Leyon 1976, 1).

<sup>48</sup> “...Despues el Gabay Seres evito a la tribuna el Operator Dr. Moiz Akşioté...” (Leyon 1976, 1).

<sup>49</sup> “...Hitler...decide desde 1939 la likidassion de la kestion judia. Es ansi ke el ordre de rekojer todos los judios en la Polonia fue su nueva konkuesta. Millones deds judios de toda la Evropa fueron deportados...en los kampos de konsantrasion de Ausvitz, Daso, Maydanek, Treblinka, Belsen, Lublin, Lodz i otros. Las matansinas sistematikas empesavan de sus arivos en estos kampos” (Leyon 1976, 4).

<sup>50</sup> “...Mas de medio mil de...judios fueron metidos por loz nazis en el sentro el mas prove de Varsovia...” (Leyon 1976, 4).

<sup>51</sup> “...En el anio 1943, de los 500.000, loke kedava era solo 40.000,...desideron de vender sus vida a un alto presio, konto de fakto, eyos se organizaron...a kombatir konta la bandas salvajes de maldiço Hitler...Ma, los nazis viendo el heroizmo de los judios pasaron al atako por tierra i por el aire i es asi ke pudieron venser el puniado de judios ke kedo en el Geto” (Leyon 1976, 4).

Warsaw Ghetto, who were depicted as the heirs of Maccabees, were brave enough to fight and eventually fall for their honor and dignity in this last tragedy which was witnessed in their long history of destruction. Besides, the news also mentions the connection and/or the empathy that the participants felt towards the resistance fighters and the Holocaust victims by such words as “our brothers” and “the loss of a relative”.

The last newspaper writing is an article written by Ruben Katan on January 7, 1951, where he reflects on an emotional ceremony which took place in Israel in Adar<sup>52</sup> 1951 for which the Israeli public, the relatives of the victims, 13 Jewish communities from around the world, the Grand Rabbinate of Israel, and the officials of the Israeli government were present to initiate the planting of six million trees<sup>53</sup> each for one of the six million victims perished during the Holocaust.<sup>54</sup> In the very beginning of his article, he mentions that six million Jews were tortured and murdered by the Nazis, the most terrible enemy they had ever had in their history, in the middle of the European civilization before the “damned” indifference of equally civilized nations. He also states that the human tragedy that his generation experienced is unprecedented<sup>55</sup> and without comparison.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, later in the article, Katan states that next generations might have compassion for the most catastrophic destruction that his generation had

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<sup>52</sup> Adar is name of a month in the Jewish calendar which corresponds to February-March in the Gregorian calendar.

<sup>53</sup> The forest which had been planted is called the Martyrs' Forest; Yaar Hakedoshim in Hebrew.

<sup>54</sup> “Fue en una manianada de Adar ke 13 Komunidades de Evropa, de la Polonia, de la Union Sovietika, de la Almania, de Ist Aöstria, de la Hongaria, de la Rumania, de la Çekoslovakia, de la Persia, de la Bulgaria, de la Beljika, de la Hollanda, de la Italia i de la Fransia, los sovre-bivientes de los masakros, se reunieron, diskutieron, desidieron, i devista a la ovra, eyos piantaron los primeros arvoles de esta imensa şara, a la solombra de la kua'a nuestra jenerasion ira kamparse...” (Katan 1951, 2).

<sup>55</sup> An example for the uniqueness of the Holocaust is a news about an approaching commemoration ceremony that would take place in the synagogues in Istanbul. While the news provides information about the gathering to commemorate the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto it also depicts the Holocaust as such a carnage that the history had never registered: “...La historia no enrejistro un tal karnaje...” (1952, 1).

<sup>56</sup> “Todos ya savemos ke sovre los siete milyones de Judios en Evropa los 6 milyones fueron martirizados i matados por el mas terivle enemigo ke Yisrael ayga tuvido, a traverso la historia mundiala, el nazista, de enkonada memoria. En el venten sieklo, en el seno de esta Evropa sivilizada, en medio de la maldiça endiferensia de los otros pueylos, mezmo de los mas sivilizados, los Judios de evropa fueron masakrados kon milyones; La trajedia de nuestra jenerasion es sin presedente i sin komparezon” (Katan 1951, 2).

been through, but in the same time they would envy his generation because they also witnessed the most regnant renaissance: the establishment of the State of Israel, reconquest of the national independence and unification of the Jews after eighteen centuries of “Galut”<sup>57</sup>, a traverse around the world.<sup>58</sup> The author also states that the trees which were planted in the memory of the Holocaust victims now constitute the pillars of the State of Israel<sup>59</sup> and that instructors (teachers) in the future had to end their discourses with the following phrase: “The people of Israel is One, the people of Israel is Eternal”.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, the author specifically puts emphasis on the striking contrast between the most horrible and unprecedented tragedy that the Jews experienced in their history and the rebirth of a state for which they yearned for eighteen centuries where they would encounter their ultimate salvation. Moreover, he imagines a relationship between the Holocaust and the State of Israel by likening the trees planted in the memory of the victims to the pillars of the newly established state where continuous act of remembrance of the Holocaust would be a profound motivation for future generations to preserve the State of Israel.

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<sup>57</sup> Galut is a Hebrew term which represents the condition of being in exile and/or subordinated to alien rule.

(<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5169-theDiaspora>,  
<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4012-captivity>).

<sup>58</sup> “Nuestras jeneraciones a venir tendran un sentimiento de kompasion por nuestra jenerasion ke fue testimonia de la mas katastrofika destruksio ke ayga kontesido a Yisrael i un sentimiento de dezero por lo ke nuestra jenerasion vido en sus dias las mas reyonante renesensia ke un puevlo ayga konosido; «la rekonstruksion del Estado de Yisrael, la rekonkesta de la Endependensia Nasionala i el rekojimiento del puevlo despues de 18 sieklos de Galut a traverso el Universo»” (Katan 1951, 2).

<sup>59</sup> “De entonses milyones de arvoles rekuvrin agora las kolinas de Eretz Yisrael” (Katan 1951, 2).

<sup>60</sup> “Los enstruktores del avenir terminaran sus historia kon esta fraza:” El puevlo de Yisrael es Uno, el puevlo de Yisrael es Eternelo” (Katan 1951, 2)

## 2.2 THE “HOLOCAUST” CLUSTER

By the same token, a breakdown of the “Holocaust” cluster in terms of sub-clusters, also based on the type of newspaper writings is given in following table:

**Table 7.** Breakdown of “Holocaust” Based on Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983)

<b>Sub-Cluster</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>News</b>	<b>Poems</b>	<b>Interviews</b>	<b>Stories</b>	<b>Total</b>
Ghettos	37	4	16	-	-	57
Holocaust	4	3	3	-	-	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>67</b>

Hence, Table 7 indicates that the “Holocaust” cluster consists of 67 writings of which 57 and 10 of them were dedicated to “Ghettos” and “Holocaust”, respectively. In this cluster, there are 41 articles, seven news, and 19 poems. A breakdown of the subjects discussed in these writings are provided on Table 8 below:

**Table 8.** Breakdown of “Holocaust” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings  
(1947-1983)

<b>Subjects</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>News</b>	<b>Poems</b>	<b>Interviews</b>	<b>Stories</b>	<b>Total</b>
Warsaw Ghetto Uprising- Holocaust	8	2	11	-	-	21
Warsaw Ghetto Uprising	14	2	4	-	-	20
Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum	7	-	-	-	-	7
Dr. Janusz Korczak	6	-	-	-	-	6
Holocaust	1	1	3	-	-	5
Others <sup>61</sup>	5	2	1	-	-	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>67</b>

Considering the list of subjects and the number of the writings given on Table 6 and Table 8, it is crucial to mention that the revolt of the residents of Warsaw Ghetto occupies a significant space in Şalom. This subject is collectively represented with 69 writings out of a total of 104 for both clusters. Moreover, if other subjects such as “Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum”, “Dr. Janusz Korczak”, “Rabbis in the Warsaw Ghetto”, and “Warsaw Ghetto” are added to this number, the total of the subjects related to Warsaw Ghetto would correspond 84 writings. Thus, for the “Holocaust” cluster, the heroism demonstrated by the resistance fighters is the main theme in the writings as well. However, it is crucial to emphasize that despite the main theme is heroism there is a wide range of themes and issues covered in these writings. These are the similarity of the courage of the resistance fighters and their heroic ancestors; the establishment of the State of Israel; the contrast between the heroism of the resistance fighters and the desperation of the victims; continuity of the spirit of resistance in the war of

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<sup>61</sup> “Others” include five articles, two news, and one poem each corresponding to subjects “Anne Frank”, “Nazi Germany and Palestine Issue”, “Thessaloniki”, “Treblinka”, “Rabbis in the Warsaw Ghetto”, “Commemoration Day”, “Scale of Destruction”, and “Warsaw Ghetto”, respectively.

independence; the collaboration of Judenräte; the intention of the Germans to exterminate the Jews; some vital aspects of the Jewish value system; the human tragedy and the victims; the Jews being the “chosen people”, the relation between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel; and the loyal citizen discourse. Therefore, in order to show how Şalom touched upon these themes and issues I selected eight articles and three poems classified under this cluster. Whereas five out of these articles are of “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising” subject, two of these articles are of “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising-Holocaust” subject. By the same token, whereas two of the selected poems are of “Holocaust” subject, the subject of the last one is “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising-Holocaust”. One last article is selected from the subject defined as “Others”. Unless otherwise stated the language of the newspaper writings in this cluster is Ladino.

In the first article which was written on April 20, 1950, Nessim Hekim touches upon the heroism of the resistance fighters after describing the unbearable conditions in the Warsaw Ghetto. The author also relates the courage of the resistance fighters to their heroic ancestors. In the article, he explains that in the ghetto where they consumed their last moments, the resistance fighters already knew that an armed resistance was the only choice and as a result despite lack of any help from outside they organized a revolt against the enemy with vengeance. Moreover, Hekim states that while waving the blue-white flags over the buildings that were in flames and smoke, the resistance fighters defended the purity and holiness of their ancestors and the future of the Jewish people in this darkest moment<sup>62</sup> and that their death was not in tragic silence the way that enemy desired it to be. In fact, the enemy paid the price of massacring the Jews with their lives and therefore, the resistance fighters were the ones who taught the Jews how to resist to protect their own dignity and liberty. Moreover, the author states that

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<sup>62</sup> “...onde konsumieron los ultimos días de egzistensya por saver ke el fuego de armas era el ultimo remedy para salvarse... Vengansa kontra el enemigo, akto formado solo por eyos sin ningún ayudo de afuera. Los kombates alevantaron la bandiera Blö i blanka enriva de sus kazas en flamas. En alevantando el drapelo Blö-Blanka eyos defendieron la pureza i la santedad de sus pasados i de nuestro avenir. Eyos levantaron el drapelo sakro kuando? en el mas eskuro tiempo. Nozotros levantamos kon orgolyo maestras miradas a estos eroes...” (Hekim 1950, 1, 4).

the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto was both the continuation and the beginning of a long tradition of bravery.<sup>63</sup> The revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto was an open, face to face fight with the enemy in a place interned under the fire of the same enemy. Though Europe desired to revolt against the Germans, it was the Jew who did show the courage to revolt eventually because he carried the blood of Maccabees, Bar Kokhba, Trumpeldor<sup>64</sup>, and the heroic ancestors in his veins.<sup>65</sup> The author ends his article by telling that the resistance fighters had to rest in peace because their revenge was taken; and the Nazis exist no more whereas the Jews were about celebrate their liberty and independence in one or two weeks time.<sup>66</sup>

Similarly, in another article written by Avram Habib on May 1, 1952, the principle theme is the heroism of the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto. Furthermore, the author also mentions the contrast between the resistance fighters and the desperation of the victims and the continuity of the spirit of the resistance in the war of independence. The author begins his article by mentioning the cruel murder of more than six million Jewish brothers in the gas chambers without being differentiated as women, elderly, and children during the Holocaust.<sup>67</sup> Habib later explains the uprising in almost the same fashion as Hekim by describing the armed resistance against a strong

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<sup>63</sup> "...El fakto de la muerte de los nuestros no se paso en ssilensyo trajiko komo keria el enemigo. El fakto fue ke el enemigo pago de sus vida por aver masakrado a los nuestros...Es eyos ke nos embezaron a luçar por konservar nuestra dinyitad i nuestra libertad. El solevantamiento del Getto de Varsovia fue la kontinuasyon i el empesijo de la longa tradisyon de la bravura Cudiyá" (Hekim 1950, 4).

<sup>64</sup> Trumpeldor was a Zionist pioneer and ex-member of the Tsarist Army who organized immigration to Palestine and died while defending Tel Hay, a settlement (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Tel-Hay>).

<sup>65</sup> "...la revolta del Getto de Varsovia fue una revolta avierta faca a faca al enemigo en una sívdad enlamada por el fierro de fuego del enemigo en una Evropa ekrazada, i ken tenia la ozadia de solevantarse, ma el Cudyo de Varsovia lo izo, porke el tenia en sus venas la sangre de los Makabeos, la sangre de Barkohba, la sangre de Trumpeldor enfin la sangre de Dov Oruner, i en un biervo la sangre de nuestros antigos eroes..." (Hekim 1950, 4).

<sup>66</sup> "...Ke sus almas repozen en pas, sus vengansas fueron tomadas, los Nazistos non egzisten mas, ma los Cudyos, si, i kon una grande libertad i un governo endependiente, donde por un azardo ekstraordinaryo el selebra a una o dos semanas de entervalo su diya de libertad, su diya de endependensya" (Hekim 1950, 4).

<sup>67</sup> "...mas de seş milyones de nuestro ermanos fueron kruelmente matados o augados bivos en las kamaretas de gaz no eskafemando ni mujeres prenyadas, ni viejos, ni kriaturas" (Habib 1952, 2).

enemy; the rising of the blue and white flag; and the resemblance between the fighters and their heroic ancestors.<sup>68</sup> He later states that men made of iron and heroes emanated from this ghetto who preferred to die free instead of becoming slaves and to face death instead of continuing to live like an animal that is always ready to be slaughtered.<sup>69</sup> The author, then, connects the story of the resistance fighters to the war of independence of the State of Israel. He mentions that some survivors fought with the same enthusiasm, fervor, and courage and contributed significantly to the victory against Arabs four years later.<sup>70</sup>

In another article published on April 25, 1962, Esther M. Algrante puts emphasis on the contrast between the heroism of the resistance fighters and the desperation of the victims and the collaborations of Judenräte besides the heroism of the resistance fighters. She first describes a day of Yom Kippur<sup>71</sup> in the Ghetto. She mentions that while Yom Kippur was approaching skies got darkened as the Nazis enjoyed transforming this great religious day into a day of sorrow and death with a cruelty that could not be imagined.<sup>72</sup> After describing the misery, anger, and pain that the Jews were feeling while praying in the synagogues, the author states that towards the morning on Yom Kippur, SS stormers entered the Ghetto like wild tigers and they

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<sup>68</sup> "...La manseves Judia se armo asta los dientes i levanto el drapelo de la revolta desfiando la muerte kon el mezmo koraje de los ijos de Matatia i mientras munços dias reușeron a tener kavesa a las armadas Nazistas los kualos demandaron grande ayudo de Berlin i reuseron a abatir esta revolta..." (Habib 1952, 2)

<sup>69</sup> "...De este Geto salieron ombres fieros komo Jabutins ki ke preferaron muir liberos ke de ser esclavos, estos heroes del Geto preferaron mas presto murir ke de kontinuar a bivir komo una bestia pronta siempre para el degoyido" (Habib 1952, 2).

<sup>70</sup> "...Una partida de estos ke salvaron del Geto de Varșovia, 4 anios despues gerrearon kon una mezma ardor en la gerra de Independensia kontra los Arabos, eyos kontribueron en una ança mezura a la viktorya de la Independensia Israelyana luçando kon la mezma fervor, kon el mezmo koraje" (Habib 1952, 2).

<sup>71</sup> Yom Kippur is the Day of Atonement, according to Biblical tradition, is one in the cycle of holidays instituted by Moses. It occurs on the tenth day of the seventh month (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/15117-yom-kippur>).

<sup>72</sup> "...Yom Kipur se serka. El sielo del Geto se eskurese, porke los Nazis ikon una krueldad sin nombre, epruvavan un plazer spesyal a transformer esta grande fiesta de judia en un dia de dolio i de muerte (Algrante 1962, 4).

forcefully pulled the Jews out from the synagogues to take them to labor.<sup>73</sup> Following that she continues, an “action” was announced at noon time which eventually signified the murder of the Jews in the crematoria<sup>74</sup> and where Jacob Gens who was the Jewish chief police officer of the Ghetto was responsible of selecting and separating people to be deported to the camps in that and in the following day.<sup>75</sup> Despite these unbearable conditions, every victim in this “damned” Warsaw Ghetto, prayed and listened to the voice of Shofar<sup>7677</sup> even when each one of them was rounded up to be turned into a “soap” because of the will of an insane person; something unique in the history. Finally, she mentions the heroism of the resistance fighters in contrast to the desperation of the victims. Accordingly, she states that Gibor Mordehay Tannenbaum Tamarof organized a very noble resistance which was unique in the Jewish history after the “action” that she considers the most savage of all. Furthermore, she states that unlike the victims who died in shame, the resistance fighters despite the lack of arms or any significant means of defense but with a presence of a will made of iron faced their deaths bravely.<sup>78</sup>

In his article dated May 6, 1970, Avram Leyon stresses on the German plans to exterminate the Jewish people as well as the heroism of the resistance. But before that he quotes from a speech of Heinrich Himmler delivered in 1943 which was related to the extermination of the Jewish people. The author concentrates on the last part of the speech after providing some details about it. Leyon refers to Himmler who defined the

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<sup>73</sup> “... Verso la maniana, kere dizir día de Yom Kipur, los Sturmfruppen entran komo veros tigres adientro del Geto. Eyos roncan afuera de las Sinagogas a los judios, i los yevan a lavorar” (Algrante 1962, 4).

<sup>74</sup> “...A midi...una aksion tendria a lugar...ke...sinyifakava ensender un orno ardiente, por eçar adientro obres, mujeres, viejos mansevos i kreaturas...” (Algrante 1962, 4).

<sup>75</sup> “...i...Jacob Genns, şef de la polisia del Geto dirija...eskojer, apartar ken muerera oy o maniana” (Algrante 1962, 4).

<sup>76</sup> Shofar is the ancient ritual horn of Israel, representing, next to the 'Ugab or reeds, the oldest surviving form of wind-instrument (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13602-shofar>).

<sup>77</sup> “...I ansi kada persona eskojida por ser transformado en savon komersial, por la voluntad de un loko, uniko en la istoria, kada viktima de este maldiço Geto de Varsavia, kon una kalma egzemplario, resito la verso la tadre, sintio la boz del Şofar...” (Algrante 1962, 4).

<sup>78</sup> “...I es despues de esta aksion mas salvaje ke todas, ke el Gibor Mordehay Taannenbaum Tamarof, del Geto de Varsovia, organize esta rezistencia, yena de nobleza, unika en nuestra istoria. Sin armas, kon medios insinyifantes de defense, ma kon una voluntad de fierro, eyos mueren en veros baraganes i no komo viktimas verguenzosaz” (Algrante 1962, 4).

extermination of the Jews to become the most glorious page of the German history. Leyon states however that Himmler never thought the fact that indeed the Jews were about to write a glorious page in their history.<sup>79</sup> He finally mentions that the Jewish youth demonstrated that they in fact knew how to fight with a blow they gave against the savage gangs of the “damned” Himmler and Hitler through which their blood poured like a river for freedom.<sup>80</sup>

In another article written in a similar fashion by Nessim Hekim on April 25, 1973, the heroism of the resistance fighter is emphasized, this time, after mentioning Hitler and the issue of extermination of the Jews with a quote from a speech delivered by Hans Frank, the governor of Poland. But before that the author mentions that the “damned” Hitler who decided to exterminate the Jewish race ordered his army to attack to the Warsaw Ghetto. However, the author continues, he forgot that God had an alliance with his “preferred son” or “chosen people” whom He protects from all evil. And yet, the author states, unfortunately many Jewish brothers fell despite the resistance of these martyrs whose blood spilled like a river.<sup>81</sup> Corollary to this, the author quotes from the final part of Hans Frank’s speech where he emphasized the ambitions of the Nazi’s. Frank said that to protect and keep the edifice of Reich intact the Germans were obliged to exterminate the Jews wherever they were found.<sup>82</sup> Finally, Hekim states that the

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<sup>79</sup> “...El akavo su avle era diziendo ke “la eksterminasion de los Judios sera una glorioza pagina de la historia alemana...en avlando asi no penso ke el pueblo judio eskrivera una glorioza pagina en su historia...” (Leyon 1970, 4)

<sup>80</sup> “...Un puniado de jovenos judios supieron luçar kontra las bandas salvages de los maldiços Hitler i Himmler. Esta luça fue era por bivir libero i por esto se vertio la sangre, koriendo komo un rio” (Leyon 1970, 4).

<sup>81</sup> “...El maldiço Hitler, desidado de eksterminar la rasa judia da orden a su armadasa de atakar el Geto de Varsovia. Ma el se olvido ke la Alta Providensia tiene una aliansa kkon sui jo preferado, ke lo salva de todo mal. Malorazemente, munços de nuestros ermanos toparon la muerte, malgrado la rezistensia de estos martiros, la sangre korio komo uno rio” (Hekim 1973, 1, 4).

<sup>82</sup> “...Nozotros devemos eksterminar los judios onde los vamos topar, semos ovligados de azrlo para puerder tener el edificio del Reich” (Hekim 1973, 4).

Polish Jews hearing this declaration retreated to the Ghetto and armed themselves to defend their dignity and honor.<sup>83</sup>

In his article dated on 29 April 1981, Habib Gerez emphasizes that under the Nazi rule, the German people who considered themselves superior to other people had the ambition of eliminating all the Jews in the world.<sup>84</sup> He explains that after the occupation of Poland, the Germans began to round up the Jews to Lublin and Warsaw, the two of the most important ghettos each of which inhabited more than five hundred thousand people and from where thousands of Jews were deported to the concentration camps with trains.<sup>85</sup> The author states that the Jews who remained in the Warsaw Ghetto decided to fall while fighting instead of delivering themselves like sheep when they learnt that their fellow people were actually being deported to the death factories.<sup>86</sup> Towards the end of the article, he tells that they resisted approximately one week against an organized and a strong army; that their death was a victory for the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto; and finally, that they fell bravely, and they did not deliver themselves to the Nazis.<sup>87</sup> He concludes by mentioning that both the Nazis and the entire world therefore understood the impossibility of annihilating the Jewish race.<sup>88</sup>

In an article published in two pieces on April 16, 1953 and April 23, 1953, Dr. Issac I. Schwarzbart introduces a rather philosophical angle to explain the heroism of the

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<sup>83</sup> "...Los Judios de Polonia, sintiendo esta deklarasiona, se retiraroa en el Geto i se armaroa por defender sus dinyita i sus onor" (Hekim 1973, 4).

<sup>84</sup> "...En el poder de esta partido el puevlo alman fue konsiderado superior a todos las puevlos i tenia komo buto de eksterminar los cudios de el mundo" (Gerez 1981, 3)

<sup>85</sup> "...La armada nazista...entro a Polonya i empeso a arekojer los cudios en los sentros ke fueros yamados Geto. Los cudios de Polonya fueron arekojidos en dos gettos muy emportantes los kualos yamados el Geto de Lublin i el geto de Vaşova. Mas de 500 mil personas se topavan en estos dos gettos. Kada dia miles de cudios eran transportados kon treno..." (Gerez 1981, 3).

<sup>86</sup> "...Los cudios ke kadava en el geto de Vaşova embezaron que miles de judios fueron matados en fabrikas de muerte desidaron de murirsen en luçando kon los Nazis, en lugar de entregarsen komo kodreritos" (Gerez 1981, 3).

<sup>87</sup> "...Eyos rezistieron kkali uan semana knotra una armada buena organizada i fuerte. Esta pierdita era una Gloria para los cudios del Geto. Eyos murieron kon una grande bravura i no se entregaron a los Nazis" (Gerez 1981, 3).

<sup>88</sup> "...End esparto de los nazis i el mundo entero, embezo ke no seria posivle de aneantir esta rasa..." (Gerez 1982, 3)

resistance fighters.<sup>89</sup> Schwarzbart discusses Jewish vital forces which are faith, unity, and survival. According to the author, these indestructible trinity of vital forces were affirmative in innumerable cases over the long Jewish history to protect the existence of the Jewish people.<sup>90</sup> He also argues that despite the fact that they engaged with the enemy in battles even when there was no unity<sup>91</sup> and despite their long periods of sufferings and persecutions over the course of thousands of years of their history<sup>92</sup> amongst which the most terrible one being the destruction of the six million<sup>93</sup>, the Jewish nation still existed.<sup>94</sup> Thus, he states that in the end of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, it was the corpses of heroes which were conquered but not their spirit which is actually the essence of the Jewish history and that this was only possible as these three vital forces were combined to create a prodigious and sacred synthesis in the very last moments of existence.<sup>95</sup> Finally, according to the author the Jewish people had to draw necessary conclusions from the resistance fighters for their attitudes<sup>96</sup> and actions to cope with the current problems<sup>97</sup> and argues that this was the supreme inheritance of the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto that the Jews were consigned to.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> İzak Benveniste in a very short article touches upon the faith that the resistance fighter had in their hearts. He stated that they had no other choice but fight and pour their blood instead of dying desperation and that they had no arms but faith in their hearts: "...Çareleri yoktu. Çarpışacaklardı. Diğer ırkdaşları gibi hiçbir şey yapamamakla ölmektense kanlarını son damlasına kadar çarpışarak akıtacaklardı. Silahları, varşın olmasındı, kalplerinde sonsuz bir iman vardı" (Benveniste 1971, 2).

<sup>90</sup> "...En innumbrables vezes enel korso de nuestra historia, esta trinita de elanos indestruktivles se avero komo el salvador de nuestra ekzistencia nasionala..." (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

<sup>91</sup> "...Arivava ke una batalya era engajada i no puerder ayudarse sovre la union de todos los rektore del kuerpo nasional..." (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

<sup>92</sup> "...Durante los miles de años de nuestra historia pasimos por longas periodas de sufrensia i persecuciones" (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

<sup>93</sup> "...La mantansia de 6 millones de judios..." (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

<sup>94</sup> "...Todavía nosotros non desparesimos" (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

<sup>95</sup> "...Al kavo de revolta enel getto de Varsovia eran los kuerpos de los luçadores heroikos ke fueron konkuestado ma non sus esprito, el esprito ke es la asensia de nuestra historia. Este resultado fue rendido posivle porke enel momento de alkavo fuzyonavan por vida de una sentez prodijioza i sakrada las tres fuersas" (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

<sup>96</sup> "...Todavía, estamos siertamente...de travar de el las konkluziones menesterozas para nuestra atitud i aksion" (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

<sup>97</sup> The author refers to Arab-Israeli conflicts since the establishment of the State of Israel.

<sup>98</sup> "...Es esto la erensia supremo ke la revolta enel getto Varsovia nos konfio" (Schwarzbart 1953, 2).

Thus, in all the articles analyzed, many issues were covered besides the heroism of the resistance fighters. Although victims were commemorated along the resistance fighters, their desperation was also depicted as a contrast to the willingness of the resistance fighters who protected not only their own honor and dignity but also the next generations'. The resistance fighters were considered as glorious martyrs as demonstrated by the establishment of the State of Israel and therefore, their spirit was alive. Not only the heroes were depicted as courageous as their ancestors, they were also the ones who inspired the future generations as they were able to synthesize several aspects of the Jewish value system in their attitudes and actions.

The first poem is the one that was written by Moşe Anav on April 23, 1958. After mentioning the human tragedy that the Jews experienced during the Holocaust with sad words such as “our poor brothers, the enemy had no mercy”<sup>99</sup> and “the enemy did not differentiate between babies, elderly, women, children”<sup>100</sup>, he states that the Jewish people would always remember them. Moreover, he depicts them as martyrs died for a cause and whose memory will always be alive. In fact, he connects their martyrdom to the establishment of the State of Israel. In the poem, he calls them out to stand on their tombs to witness the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Israel where they would proudly watch the flag of Israel waving. Furthermore, he depicts the martyrs as perhaps the protectors of the newly established state when he ends the poem with a strong expression saying that “if one day the enemies of Israel desired it to be destructed, get up from your tombs and exclaim: No! Do not pass”.<sup>101</sup>

In a second poem dated April 20, 1966, Algrante cries out to God looking for an answer for this human tragedy during which six million Jews, His dear children, who had always been loyal to Him were engulfed in an abyss whereby they were tortured and

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<sup>99</sup> “...Poveros ermanos! El enemigo de vosotros no tuvo piadad...” (Anav 1958, 1).

<sup>100</sup> “...No miro ni çiko, viejo i mujer i kriatura sin ninguna edad...” (Anav 1958, 1).

<sup>101</sup> “...I si un dia los enemigos a Israel destruir kereian/Levantad de vuestra tombas i gritadles: No! no pasaran” (Anav 1958, 1).

were killed in the ghettos and the camps.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, she asks for the reason of His toughness on these innocent people who were still believing in, praying to, and honoring Him despite sufferings and asks why He did inflict so much sorrow on his “preferred son” or “chosen people” in Galut.<sup>103</sup> Asking for vengeance for this “damned” action which destroyed the Jewish people with blood and fire, she states that both the victims and the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto are commemorated every year.<sup>104</sup> Finally, she ends the poem with a prayer for them to rest in peace.

In the third poem which was dated May 2, 1978, Algrante stresses the impossibility of forgetting the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto and tragedy in the camps. She begins her poem by emphasizing the heroism of the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto. She depicts the resistance fighters as Jewish youth and angels who without arms defended the prestige of the Jewish nation fighting against thousands of savages.<sup>105</sup> She then stresses the human tragedy in the camps mentioning the murder of 32.000 children in Treblinka in one day by the Nazis and later she begins a new verse where she mentions the names of Warsaw, Majdanek, Auschwitz, Ponar, Treblinka signifying the human tragedy which she defines as the stigma of the rotten civilization. Therefore, she says that the Jewish nation had to endear herself.<sup>106</sup> Eventually, in the final verse of the

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<sup>102</sup> “En la profundidad del abizmo englutidos/Ke devinieron 6 millones ded tus ijos keridos? /Dios! Respondemos? Kalma nuestros korasones enlutados/Dimos presto!! Porke? Eynos fueron kemados!... Por tanto...en los Ghetos, en los kampos torturado...Eynos nunka kedaron de rogar, orasyonar/Kon el Tannah, kon el Sefer Tora, siempre yora/...” (Algrante 1966, 1).

<sup>103</sup> “.../Porke en galut tan fuerte a tantos inosentes?/Ke malgrado las sufriensas, en TĪ fueron kreyentes?Onorda TU nombre, orasionando sin kedar/A los ornos ardientes, los eçaron a kemar?/Porke en galut tan fuerte a tantos inosentes?/Ke malgrado las sufriensas, en TĪ fueron kreyentes?/Onorado Tu nombre, orasionando sin kedar/... Porke tanta amargura a Tu ijo regalado?/...”(Algrante 1966, 1).

<sup>104</sup> “.../Vengansa kumplida para esta maldiça aksion! /Ke kon sangre I fuego destroyo a nuestro puevlo! / ... /Ansi dunke.../Por esto 6 millones de judios, perdidos enel kanio/Por los santos eroes ke gerrearon en Varsovia/...” (Algrante 1978, 1).

<sup>105</sup> “Olvidar la revolta de Vaarsovia/Esta manseves sin armas sin defensa/Realsando el prestij de la Nasion Cudiya/.../Una kontra miles, anjelos kontra salvajes/.../In nuestra ijos, finalment muriendo en el lodo/...” (Algrante 1978, 4).

<sup>106</sup> “...Trente i dos mil kreaturas, en un solo dia/El nazi mato tambien en Treblinka/.../Olvidar Varsoviya, Maidanek, Auswitz, Ponar, Treblinka/Ī munços otros kampos nunka los aremos/Esto ez ka mança de una sivilizacion pudrira/I siempre por las viktimas, sin kedar endeçaremos...” (Algrante 1978, 4)

poem, having emphasized the human tragedy that the Jews had been through, she mentions that the nations who glorify themselves with their human rights practices better deceive no one and she therefore wishes Israel to exist forever.<sup>107</sup>

Hence, both the victims and the resistance fighters were commemorated in the poems. The authors not only mention the enormity and injustice of the human tragedy inflicted on the “chosen people” but also glorified the resistance. Whereas the victims were depicted as martyrs who perished for their country, the resistance fighters were the ones who saved the honor of the Jewish nation. Finally, they attributed a special importance to the continuous existence of a strong state for the Jewish nation.

In his article, which dated November 6, 1947 and which is in Turkish, İzak Yaeş relates the Holocaust to the struggle of the Jews to establish a state in the Middle East. The article begins by explaining the Holocaust. According to the author, the sufferings and the murder of the Jews during the Second World War was a very well-known fact. He mentions that four million innocent people were not only disfranchised but murdered under the Nazi regime.<sup>108</sup> He claims further that although Hitler might have inflicted harm on the Jews, he unconsciously did a favor to them meaning that the Jews would not have embraced the Palestine cause without the existence of anti-Semitism in Germany.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, the author emphasizes the fact that the Jews who were resigned to passivity and deemed or considered to remain as a people whose occupation was restricted only to commercial activities were coming out of powerlessness with the wars they fought in Palestine. Hence, changing the perception of the entire world.<sup>110</sup> In

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<sup>107</sup> “...Estos paizes ke se glorifikan de praktikar el İnsan Hakları/..., ke no en ganian a ninguna/Ma Yisrael ijo kerido de Dio, siempre egzistera aki/...” (Algrante 1978, 4).

<sup>108</sup> “İkinci Cihan Harbinin dünya Yahudilerine müthiş bir işkence ve büyük bir telefata sebep olduğu herkesçe acı bir hakikat olarak bilinmektedir. Hitler Almanyası Yahudileri medeni haklarından mahkum ettiği gibi 4 milyon masumun da ölümüne sebep olmuştur” (1947, 1).

<sup>109</sup> “...Hitler Yahudilğe çok kötülük etmiş olabilir, lakin bir bakıma istemiyerek bile olsa Yahudilere iyilikleri de dokunmuştur. Almanya’da Yahudi aleyhtarlığı olmasa idi Yahudiler Filistin davasına dört elle sarılırlar mıydı?” (1947, 1).

<sup>110</sup> “...Şimdiye kadar, kendi kabuğuna çekilmiş ticaretten başka hiçbir işle uğraşmaz addedilen Yahudi Filistindeki çarpışmalarla...dünyanın kanaatini değiştirmiş oldu” (1947, 1).

the end of the article, he mentions not only the absence of anti-Semitism but also the presence of tolerance in Turkey. According to the author, this was evident not only in the equal treatment of the Jewish citizens but also in the aid provided to the Jews who were escaping from the Axis powers with rotten ships.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> “Türkiye’ye gelince, Yahudi aleyhtarlığı şöyle dursun, kendi vatandaşlarına eşit haklar tanıdığı gibi mihver vahşetinden çürük gemilerle kaçan zavallılara Kızılay vasıtasıyla da yardım etmekten geri kalmamıştır” (1947, 1).

### 2.3 THE “PERPETRATORS-COLLABORATORS-BYSTANDERS-NAZI HUNTERS” CLUSTER

The last cluster under analysis is “Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters”. A breakdown of this “Holocaust” cluster in terms of sub-clusters also based on the type of newspaper writings is given on Table 9 below:

**Table 9.** Breakdown of “Perp.-Col.-Byst.-N.Hunters” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings (1947-1983)

Sub-Cluster	Articles	News	Poems	Interviews	Stories	Total
Perpetrators	29	37	-	-	-	66
Collaborators	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nazi Hunters	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bystanders	1	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>38</b>	-	-	-	<b>68</b>

Thus, Table 9 indicates that this cluster consists of 68 writings of which 66, 1, and 1 of them are categorized under “Perpetrators”, “Nazi Hunters”, and “Bystanders”, respectively. In this cluster, there are 30 articles, 38 news. A breakdown of the subjects discussed in these writings are provided on Table 10 below:

**Table 10.** Breakdown of “Perp.-Col.-Byst.-N.Hunters” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings (1947-1983)

Subjects	Articles	News	Poems	Interviews	Stories	Total
Adolph Eichmann	26	24	-	-	-	50
Hitler	1	1	-	-	-	2
Nazis	1	1	-	-	-	2
Trials	-	2	-	-	-	2
Others <sup>112</sup>	2	10	-	-	-	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>68</b>

As shown in Table 10, Şalom devoted significant attention to the Eichmann Affair. Şalom qualified the capture and the trial of Eichmann both as a victory for Israel and just another sign of the Jewish people emerging out of powerlessness<sup>113</sup> and therefore supported every action that Israel had taken throughout the whole affair. In general, Eichmann is depicted as a murderer, a criminal, and the embodiment of all evil on this earth. Therefore, his execution was considered as a sign of justice being served not only for the crimes committed against the Jews but also against humanity. Furthermore, the Eichmann Affair is evaluated including several other issues besides the main theme which is the Jews emerging out of powerlessness such as the discussion regarding whether Israel had the right to execute a judicial proceeding of a foreigner and relatedly the discussion whether Israel would be as objective to execute a fair trial considering the burden of the human tragedy on the collective memory; the details of the Eichmann trial; and Eichmann’s execution. To present how Şalom dealt with these subjects, I

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<sup>112</sup> “Others” includes articles and news related to trials and capture of several perpetrators as well as discussions on whether some of the perpetrators who were considered dead had in fact been alive. In this caption there are two articles and 12 news. The subjects related to these writings are “Bubbi Von Alwensleben-Dr. Klingenfuss-Herbert Cukurs”, “Dr. Ludwig Han”, “Herbert Cukurs”, “Ilso Koch”, “Karl Chemielevski”, “Martin Borman”, “Martin Borman, Heinrich Müller, Dr. Hans Eisele”, “Rudolf Stangl”, “Trials”, “William Kopper”, and two other writings with names not mentioned.

<sup>113</sup> “The Jews Emergence Out of Powerlessness” is the title of a book written by Yehuda Bauer which was published in 1979.

selected nine articles and seven news. It is also crucial to state that unless otherwise stated the language of the newspaper writings is Ladino.

The news about Eichmann's arrest by the Israelis<sup>114</sup> was reported first on May 25, 1960. The news mentioned that as the master of anti-Semitism<sup>115</sup> in Europe and as the head of the department of Jewish Affairs in the Nazi Germany,<sup>116</sup> he was responsible from liquidating all the Jews in the world.<sup>117</sup> He was depicted as the murderer of 6 million Jews of which 1 million were children.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, the news quoted him saying once that he felt very much pleased imagining the Jews dead.<sup>119</sup> The news also states that the Israelis swore to arrest and put him on trial once they were informed that he was seen alive around the Red Sea.<sup>120</sup> The news ends with a short coverage of then the Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's speech in the Parliament declaring Eichmann's arrest by the Israeli Security forces and his judicial proceeding that would take place in the Israeli courts soon. In the speech, Eichmann is presented as the number one enemy of the Jews.<sup>121</sup>

Immediately after Eichmann's arrest in Argentina<sup>122</sup>, Şalom concentrated on the discussions about whether Israel had the right to proceed with the trial of a foreigner or whether Eichmann's trial would be executed on a fair ground considering the tragedy

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<sup>114</sup> "...Los Israelianos en efeto arestaron...Adolf Eisman..." (1960, 1).

<sup>115</sup> "...fue el maestro del antisemitizmo en Evropa" (1960, 1).

<sup>116</sup> "...Eisman fue, en la epoka del nazismo, kapo del departamento de los eços judios de la Gestapo" (1960, 1).

<sup>117</sup> "...Es el ke fue kargado de la likidasion de todos los judios del mundo" (1960, 1).

<sup>118</sup> "...Adolf Eisman ke likido 5 milyones de judios en Evropa donde el 1 milyon eran kreaturas" (1960, 1).

<sup>119</sup> "...El avia deklarado: "Me muriria kon la rizza en pensando a mis millones ded muertos judios"" (1960, 1).

<sup>120</sup> "...Ralf Stevenson, lo avia rankontrado sover los bodres de la mar Kolorado...Israel avia jurado entonses de aretarlo i de juzgarlo" (1960, 1).

<sup>121</sup> "...Ben-Gurion komuniko ke el enemigo No.1 de Israel, Adolf Eisman fue aretado por las fuersas de siguridad de Israel...Su juzgamiento empesara serkamente en los tribülanes de Israel" (1960, 1).

<sup>122</sup> It is crucial to point out that the previous news does not mention the place of Eichmann's arrest. The place of arrest was mentioned in several of the later news and/or articles within the context of Argentine's objections to and the discussions that were held in the United Nations about the way that Israeli security forces operated to capture Eichmann.

that the Jewish people had been through during the Second World War. Moreover, Şalom dealt with this issue even after Eichmann's execution in 1962. A news published on June 15, 1960 just after Eichmann's arrest touches upon this issue. The news focuses on how Nahum Goldman, then the president of the World Jewish Congress, opted out his initial proposal which argued the execution of the judicial proceeding in the presence of four foreign judges under the presidency of an Israeli judge. The news mentions that Nahum Goldman accepted the presence of only international observers subsequent to a firm contrary response from Ben-Gurion.<sup>123</sup>

An article written by Selim Salti on July 6, 1960 discusses the same issue as well. The article is in Turkish. Salti, very early in the article, posits that the judgement of Adolf Eichmann, who was arrested by Israel and who ordered the slay of people in the death camps such as Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Majdanek, in a court which followed the principles of international law had to be perceived unexceptional.<sup>124</sup> Salti argues contrary to some people (not mentioned who) who proposed that Israel was not in a position to judge Eichmann because the state had not been established at the time of the Holocaust. Furthermore, they proposed that either West Germany or Poland had the right to judge Eichmann. Salti argues against them by stating that if there had been an international court to judge crimes against humanity then that case would have been directly related to its jurisdiction. He also argues that neither Poland nor West Germany were more eligible to judge Eichmann since Polish laws would not be effective for the period as she was under the Nazi occupation and since, like Israel, West Germany had not been established during the time of the catastrophic events. Moreover, Israel would even provide Eichmann the right to defend himself with a German or a foreign counselor if he wished to do so; a right which was absent in the Nuremberg

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<sup>123</sup> "...El presidente de la organizasion sionista avia, antes, propozado ke quatro juzgadores estranjeros sean admitados al entorno de un presidente Israeliano ma en siguida de una repuesta fuerte de la parte de Ben-Gurion, el deklaró ke es bastante de observadores estranjeros" (1960, 2)

<sup>124</sup> "...İsrail'in arayıp bulduğu ve Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek gibi ölüm kamplarında hunharca ölümlerin tatbikini emreden nazi albayı Adolf Eichmann'ın milletlerarası hukuk prensiplerini uygulayan bir mahkemenin huzurunda hesap vermesi normal karşılanmalıdır" (1960, 1).

proceedings.<sup>125</sup> Salti ends his article by expressing his belief in the Israeli judicial system. He states that like any nation that would pursue to punish all crimes against humanity in accordance with international laws, he expected the Israeli court to execute a fair trial with the same understanding.

Another news on this subject concentrates on an interview given by Ben-Gurion to New York Times about Eichmann's trial in Israel and the declaration made by Robert Servantus, who was appointed as the counselor by Eichmann. According to the news dated February 8, 1961, Ben-Gurion stated in the interview that Eichmann had to be trialed in Israel just because he was charged by the murder of millions of Jews and that he had no intention to kill any other nation but only the Jewish people. Therefore, Ben-Gurion told New York Times that it was correct to trial Eichmann in Israel.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, Ben-Gurion explained in the interview that the Jewish people wanted to stabilize or register historically how many millions of Jews were murdered just because they were Jewish and in what manner one million children and babies were killed by the Nazis. He also told that Jewish people also wanted the whole world to remember and understand what anti-semitism was capable of.<sup>127</sup> According to the news, Servantus, on the other hand, expressed that he was very impressed by this interview

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<sup>125</sup> "... "İsrail bu suçlar işlendiği sıralarda var olmadığı mülahazasıyla böyle bir suçluyu muhakeme edemez, bu görev ya Batı Almanya'ya, ya da...Polonya'ya verilmelidir" demektedirler. Evet eğer insanlığa karşı işlenen suçları muhakeme edecek bir milletlerarası mahkeme teşekkül etmiş olsa idi, şüphesiz ki bu iş doğrudan doğruya onu ilgilendirirdi. Fakat ne Polonya, ne de Batı Almanya İsrail'den bu suçluyu muhakeme etmek için fazla bir hakka sahip değildir. Zira Federal Hükümet, İsrail devleti gibi bu feci olaylardan sonra kurulmuştur. Polonya'ya gelince bu memleket işgal altında bulunması...yüzünden leh kanunları o devre için mer'i addedilmeyecektir...Buna karşılık İsrail mahkemesi Eichmann'a müdafaası için Nuremberg mahkemesinin dahi tanımadığı bir hakkı vermektedir. Dilediği taktirde bir Alman veya yabancı avukat tutabilecektir...Netice olarak insanlığa karşı işlenen veya işlenecek suçların cezasız kalmaması için her cemiyet çalışmalıdır. Bunu kendine görev adeden topluluk, suçluları milletlerarası hukuka uygun bir şekilde muhakeme ettiği taktirde hak yerini bulmuş demektir. İsrail mahkemesinden de Eichmann meselesinde aranacak husus budur" (Salti 1960, 4).

<sup>126</sup> "...La razon es ke Eichman es akuzado de aver matado millones de judios en tanto ke judios. El no tuvo la enitision de matar todo un puevlo si no ke solo el puevlo judio..." (1961, 2)

<sup>127</sup> "...Nozotros keremos pueder establisir historikamente kuantos millones de jentes fueron matados solamente porke eyos eran judios i ke manera un milion de çikos i bebes fueron matados por los Nazistas. Keremos ke las nasiones del mundo se akodren i entendian ansi toda la abresion del antisemitizmo" (1962, 2).

and that when Eichmann was arrested in Argentina he accepted to be judged in Israel only because he was assured of a perfectly fair trial.<sup>128</sup>

Even after Eichmann's execution the same issue was brought to the attention again in an article by Moris Behar published in two pieces, November 20, 1963 and November 27, 1963. The language of the article is Turkish. Behar defends Israel's right to judge Eichmann on the grounds that the crimes charged against Eichmann were more relevant to this country than any other because five million Jews were killed by the deliberate actions of an administrative mechanism which was almost as large as a ministry of a state. Moreover, he mentions that the old or modern judicial systems were irrelevant to this case and that instead there had to be either a sociological or a cultural office to proceed with the trial not only to concentrate on the trial but also on the reasons of this human tragedy.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, given the way Şalom presented the news and posed the arguments, it would not be wrong to state that not only it explicitly defended the Israel's position to execute a judicial proceeding for Eichmann but also it, just like the rest of the objective observers, expected her to create legitimate circumstances for a fair trial to justify her case.

In 1960, just after Eichmann's arrest but before his trial, Şalom published an anonymous article which started on July 6 and which lasted 7 weeks. In this article, Şalom presented many details about his biography, the way he organized the killing operations, his escape from Germany, his life in Argentina, his capture and the destiny that was awaiting him. The essence of the argument in the article, which is the Jews emerging from powerlessness, is given by emphasizing the contrast between the

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<sup>128</sup> "...Sr. Servantius deklaro ke le tomo konosensia de entrevista de Sr. Ben-Gurion i el fue muy impresionado. El ajuste ke cuando Eichmann avla siniado en Arjentina una deklarasion akseptando de ser juzgado en Ísrael, el avia resivido la asiguranza ke el proçeso sera parfektamento korekto" (1961, 2).

<sup>129</sup> "...İsrail suçun vasfi bakımından, diğeri memleketler kadar, hatta onlardan daha fazla bu dava ile ilgiliydi...bir Devletin büyük bir bakanlığı cesametinde bir idari mekanizma harekete geçirilmişti...beş milyon cinayetin işlenmesi için. Burada eski adalet...ve modern adaletin işi ne, sorarım size? Aslında adli bir servis yerine sosyolojik, kültürel bir servis ele almalıydı Eichmann davasını. Araştırmalar sadece vakıalar üzerinde değil, bu olayları doğuran amiller üzerinde de teksif etmeliydi" (1963 4; 1963, 2).

moment he handled his negotiations with Joel Brand<sup>130</sup> to exchange human life for military equipment and the moment he was in Israel awaiting the trial that would judge him for his crimes. In the beginning of the series, whereas the article depicts Eichmann as a very potent Nazi officer who was the ultimate worst criminal apart from Hitler and Himmler who left behind a vast sea of blood and sufferings<sup>131</sup>, it also stresses the desperation that Joel Brand feels. The first article of the series explains how Eichmann made his offer. The article states that Eichmann told Joel Brand that he was ready to “sell” one million Jews, though not all of them surely, in exchange for military equipment: military equipment in exchange for human flesh and human flesh in exchange for military equipment<sup>132</sup>. After providing details about several subjects, the article returns to the conversation between Eichmann and Joel Brand. The fifth article mentions that once Joel Brand received Eichmann’s final offer, which was exchanging 10.000 trucks for one million Jews<sup>133</sup>, he departed for Turkey.<sup>134</sup> The article continues explaining that Joel Brand knew that Allied Forces would not provide the trucks that Eichmann wanted<sup>135</sup> and that if he did not reply to Eichmann’s proposal within three days the Jews would be exterminated in Auschwitz as was told by Eichmann during that conversation.<sup>136</sup> The article explains that this was what actually happened. 430,000 Hungarian Jews were killed by the personal decision taken by Eichmann.<sup>137</sup> Finally, in the seventh and the last article, he was depicted in front of an Israeli judge thinking that then the Jews had a state. And if he talks his judge like the train whistles then the judge

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<sup>130</sup> Joel Brand was a member of the Relief and Rescue Committee of Budapest ([https://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf](https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf)).

<sup>131</sup> “...El era ultimo de los grandes kriminales de gerra ayida en vida i el mas grande puede ser a parte de Hitler i de Himmler...Una grande mar de sangre, ..., grandes sufriensas...” (1960, 2).

<sup>132</sup> “...Yo esto pronto a vender vos judios. No todas seguramente...Las merkansias por un milyon de judios ya se puede azer. Merkansias kontra la karne humana i la karne humana kontra merkansias” (1960, 2)

<sup>133</sup> “...100 judios kontra un kamyon...un milion de judios kontra 10 mil kamyones” (1960, 2).

<sup>134</sup> “...Yoel Brand partio por la Turkia” (1960, 2).

<sup>135</sup> “...El savia ke los aliados no ivan a dar komyones a los nazistas...” (1960, 2).

<sup>136</sup> “...si Yoel Brand no retorna en tres dias, yo (Eichmann) remeto en kamino los de Auschwitz...” (1960, 2).

<sup>137</sup> “...I esto es ke lo paso...430 mil judios de hungarezos fueron matados sovre la desizion personala de Eichman...” (1960, 2).

would remind him that there were more train whistles to take the Jews to the death camps.<sup>138</sup>

On April 12, 1961 Avram Leyon announced the beginning of the trial with a news which also commemorated the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto and the resistance fighters. Leyon also explicitly emphasized the establishment of the State of Israel as a salvation for the Jewish people by presenting the contrast between once powerless people putting on trial an evil person whose main aim was to destroy the Jewish nation. The author also resembled Eichmann to Aman Araşa.<sup>139</sup> According to Leyon, April 11, 1962 would be recorded in the pages of the history of the Jewish people in the world as a day of salvation. He mentions that now that the Jewish people was not in danger to pursue their salvation, but felicitous on the contrary, they were putting on trial an Aman Araşa, an evil person, who had the aim to annihilate their race.<sup>140</sup> Leyon continues with the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto. He states that April 12, 1961 was a day of salvation and victory because that day was also the anniversary of the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto where young Jews, inspired by Bar-Kohba, revolted against the Nazi army and against the person who was now put on trial by the Israelis just the day before.<sup>141</sup> Leyon expresses the extent of satisfaction that a survivor of the Warsaw

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<sup>138</sup> “...El pensa: Agora eyos (los judios) tienen su Estado. I kuando el avla a su juzgado0r como el pareser de un çuflete de treno. Ma el juzgador le aze entender ke no avra masa çufletes de trenos para yevar a los judios a los kampos de la muerte” (1960, 2).

<sup>139</sup> Haman Harasha in Hebrew, Aman Araşa, another evil person in the Jewish history, was the grand vizier during the reign of King Ahasuerus between 486 – 465 B.C. who had a very strong desire to destroy all the Jews in Persia (<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5872-esther>).

<sup>140</sup> “Ayer, el avril 1961, sera eskrito en los anales de la historia judia mundiala komo un dia de salvasion. Es verdad ke ne el 11 avril 1961, el puevlo judio no esta en perikolo por obtener su salvasion, al kontrario, esta horozo, ma en este dia, el puevlo judio esta juzgando un Aman Araşa, una persona ke tenia por buto de anentisar la rasa judia” (Leyon 1961, 1).

<sup>141</sup> “...este dia es una dia de salvasion i de gloria, ..., el 12 avril 1961, es aniversario de la komemorasion de la revolta del Geto de Varsovia, onde un puniado de mansevos judios, tomado komo egzemplo Bar-Kohba, revoltaron kontra la armada nazista, kontra la persona ke el puevlo Ísraeliano empeso a juzgarlo ayer...” (Leyon 1961, 1)

Ghetto would feel if he could see with his own eyes that Eichmann was put on trial by the Israeli judges.<sup>142</sup>

Later in the news, Leyon explains four important aspects of the trial. First, he mentions the number of the journalists who arrived Israel from around the world to follow the trial closely which was unique in its genre not just because the Nazis killed six million Jews but also due to the fact that they killed every person they encountered in the occupied territories. Therefore, more than 500 journalists wanted also to hear the crimes committed by the Nazis.<sup>143</sup> The second aspect he stresses is the efforts that the Israeli judicial system and Israeli special police unit put into preparing documentation to uncover all the crimes which Eichmann committed.<sup>144</sup> The third one is related to the defense. Leyon mentions the fact that despite the Israeli legal system did not allow a foreign counselor to defend an accused individual in the Israeli courts, the Israeli government issued a special law for this judicial proceeding and incurred the required costs to show its impartiality.<sup>145</sup> The last one is the language during the trial. Leyon stresses that the language of the court would be Hebrew; the judges and the prosecutors would speak Hebrew. However, there would be translators who would translate several

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<sup>142</sup> "...kunto serian orozos si...avia en vida alguno ke salvo del Geto ver ansi kon sus propios ojos Eichman juzgado por las juzgadores Israelianos" (Leyon 1961, 1).

<sup>143</sup> "...mas de 500 jurnalistas viniendo de todos las partes de mundo se topan aktualmente en Israel por seguir de serka esta proseso, es kual es,..., uniko en su jenero, porke los Nazistas no mataron solo seş millones de judios, ma tambien en los sivdades ke eyos okupavan no deşavan bivo un ser humano, na por kualo estos 500 jurnalistas sintiran del akuzado mezmo los krimes kometidos por los Nazistas" (Leyon 1961, 4).

<sup>144</sup> "...En esto proseso, la justisia Israeliana kitara a luz todos las mal eçorias de Eichman i por esto, la encuesta eço por 16 ajented de polisia spesialistos formando ansi una unita inçeron 3,500 pajinas de depozision de Eichman, egzeminaran 1,500 dokumentos ofisiales alemanes, meldaran diezenas de miles pajinas de los testimonios" (Leyon 1961, 4).

<sup>145</sup> "...El governo Israeliano, por mostrar su emparsialidad malgrado kke lay ley de pais no permite a ke un avokato estranjero defenda un akuzado en los tribunales Israelianos, kito una ley spesiala para el proseso de Eichman..." (Leyon 1961, 4).

languages to German both because the testimonies of the survivors would be given in their mother tongues and the defender of Eichmann was a German.<sup>146</sup>

In another news on the same day, Şalom introduced the biographies of the three judges who would put Eichmann on trial. The newspaper provided the details of their biographies. The news mentions that whereas two of the three judges were born in Germany, the last one was born in Poland. Moreover, they were immigrants who were educated in Germany and therefore knew the language very well. The news mentions that they were experts in their field with accomplished careers as well. After giving the details of the biographies of these potent people, the news states that Adolf Eichmann, who was the author of a murderous organization that killed six million Jews, had to defend himself in front of these three judges.<sup>147</sup> Thus, Şalom indicates that these judges were actually the representatives once powerless people who now constituted a powerful nation to judge a criminal whose labor was concentrated on nothing but to annihilate the Jewish nation during the Second World War.

On April 26, 1961, Şalom provides some information on the celebrations of the Independence Day and the details of the Eichmann trial in the same news to emphasize the feeling of salvation and approaching satisfaction that would be obtained from a closure. The news states that the whole country was adorned and decorated with flags and the people were so amused that they almost forgot the trial of the worst war criminal.<sup>148</sup> The news continues telling that after the celebration the voice of Eichmann was once more on the speakers.<sup>149</sup> In the news, a dialogue between Eichmann and the

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<sup>146</sup> "...el prokurador i el juzgador avlaran en hebreo i los dragomanes azeran la tradüksion en yidiş, aleman, çekoslavak, fransez, hungarezo, polonez etc..., siendo ke el defendedor de Eichman es Aleman i los testimonios por siguro ke avlaran en sus linguas" (Leyon 1961, 4).

<sup>147</sup> "...Es delante estos tres juzgadores ke Adolf Eichman, el autör de la organizasion de la mantansina de seş milyones de judios, devra defender su kavesa" (1961, 2).

<sup>148</sup> "...Eya era adornada kon drapelos i el puevlo se amüzava asta olvidarse mesmo el proçeso del mas grande kriminel de gerra" (1961, 1).

<sup>149</sup> "...Despues de la fiesta de la Endependensia, la boz de Eichman se izo sentir por de nuevo en los oparlöres" (1961, 1).

judicial staff<sup>150</sup> is given in which Eichmann did not accept that he had been a part of the Wannsee Conference where Heinrich Heydrick invited the senior Nazi staff and presented to them his final solution for the “Jewish Question”. Moreover, the news mentions that Eichmann not only rejected his superior role but also minimized his role in the process of annihilating the Jews.<sup>151</sup> The news quotes him saying that everybody knew who he was; that he was not the head of an office; that he had to follow orders; and finally, that he did not have a voice in that chapter.<sup>152</sup>

In between the trial and the execution of Adolf Eichmann, the number of news are less than expected and most of them deal with some details of the trial which would not change the narration that I just tried to provide. Therefore, I would like to mention the last news regarding the trial just to end the analysis. In the last news dated June 6, 1962, Şalom briefly informs its readers about the circumstances of the execution such as the time of the execution, the presence of the observers, Eichmann’s last wishes, and his emotional condition. The news states that Eichmann was executed on May 31, 1962 in a prison in Ramleh just two minutes to mid-night under the presence of the prison director, a medical examiner, and four journalists. The news mentions that he was cold blooded when he was brought to the halter and his last wish was a bottle of wine.<sup>153</sup>

Thus, Şalom not only defended Israel’s right to execute a judicial proceeding, but also related the emergence of powerlessness to the establishment of the State of Israel. By the same token, the existence of the State of Israel not only represented the salvation for the Jewish nation but also provided the grounds to chase the war criminals,

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<sup>150</sup> “...Un dialogo ke tuvo lugar entre Eichman i el komiser...” (1967, 1).

<sup>151</sup> “...El no akseptá aver partisipado a la konferensia Wannsee onde Heydrick anonsa aver tenido todos los poderes por realizar “la solusion finala de la kestion judia”. Ma el kere azer kreer del karakter çiko de su rolo en este lavoro” (1967, 1).

<sup>152</sup> “...-No, no, kada uno savia lo ke yo era. No era ke un şef de büro, ke no puedia salir sus atribusion. No tenia ninguna boz en este şapitro” (1961, 1).

<sup>153</sup> “...Eichmann fue enforkado verso la medio noçe en la prizon de Ramleh...a las oras 23 i 58. A la aplikasion de la pena asistieron el direktör de la prizon, el mediko lejisto i kuarto jornalistas...El kondanado izo preva de sasngre fria kuando la truşeron delante la forka. Kuando le demandaron kual era su ultimo dezero, Eichmann demando una botilya de vino...” (1962, 2).

especially the ones that once aimed at destructing them, and put them on trial once identified and captured.

#### **2.4 CONCLUSION**

In the first period, having framed in the larger context of the history of the Holocaust, Şalom stressed the heroism of the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto. The main emphasis of the newspaper writings is that despite the impossibility of a salvation, the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto, who were depicted as the heirs of Maccabees, were brave enough to fight and eventually fall for their honor and dignity in this last tragedy which was witnessed in their long history of destruction. Not only the heroes were depicted as courageous as their ancestors, they were also the ones who inspired the future generations as they were able to synthesize several aspects of the Jewish value system in their attitudes and actions. In this respect, Şalom puts emphasis on the striking contrast between the most horrible and unprecedented tragedy that the Jews experienced in their history and the rebirth of a state for which they yearned for many centuries where they would encounter their ultimate salvation. Thus, the resistance fighters were considered as glorious martyrs as demonstrated by the establishment of the State of Israel.

Şalom also relates the emergence of powerlessness of the Jewish people to the establishment of the State of Israel. The existence of the State of Israel not only represented the salvation for the Jewish nation but also provided the grounds to chase the war criminals, especially the ones that once aimed at destructing them, and put them on trial once identified and captured.

As a final point, Şalom mentions not only the absence of anti-Semitism but also the presence of tolerance in Turkey. According to the author, this was evident not only in the equal treatment of the Jewish citizens but also in the aid provided to the Jews who were escaping from the Axis powers with rotten ships.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ŞALOM'S HOLOCAUST NARRATION IN THE PERIOD 1984 – 2010**

In this chapter, I will focus on the same main clusters which I have already analyzed in the first chapter. Moreover, it is crucial to note that I will also concentrate on one more main cluster which is the “Uniqueness” cluster because Şalom devotes significant attention to this issue not only in the newspaper writings classified under this cluster but also indirectly in others. This issue also occupies a central place in the literature of the Holocaust. Overall, these four clusters consist of 603 newspaper writings out of 1,269 in the second period. To initiate the analysis, it will be convenient to provide a comparative list of the main clusters based on the type of the newspaper writings for the two periods:

**Table 11.** List of Clusters Based on the Number and Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Cluster	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	
Abuse of Holocaust Memory	-	37	1	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	92	93
Archives	-	5	3	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	22	25
Arts-Books	1	42	6	88	-	-	-	2	-	-	7	132	139
Ceremonies	4	11	33	131	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	142	179
Claims-Funds-Wealth	3	9	10	89	-	-	-	1	-	-	13	99	112
Conferences-Events	1	3	5	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	43	49
Holocaust	41	212	7	18	19	2	-	5	-	1	67	238	305
Holocaust Education	-	10	1	16	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	27	28
Ideology	6	13	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	17	24
Museums-Monuments	-	19	10	51	-	-	-	2	-	-	10	72	82
Perp.-Col.-Byst.- N.Hunters	30	45	38	145	-	-	-	9	-	-	68	199	267
Survivors-Rescuers	-	48	1	93	-	1	-	18	-	2	1	162	163
Uniqueness	-	19	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>473</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>752</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>1.269</b>	<b>1.490</b>

### 3.1 THE “CEREMONIES” CLUSTER

As in Chapter I, I will commence the analysis with the “Ceremonies” cluster. Accordingly, a breakdown of the “Ceremonies” cluster in terms of sub-clusters also based on the type of newspaper writings is given in the Table 12:

**Table 12.** Breakdown of “Ceremonies” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Sub-Cluster	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Turkey	3	2	19	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	55	77
Poland	-	6	2	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	45	47
Israel	1	1	1	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	9	11
Germany	-	1	1	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9	10
France	-	1	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	8
Belgium	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
UN	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	6
USA	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Ukraine	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Terezinstadt	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Others <sup>154</sup>	-	-	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>179</b>

Thus, Table 12 shows that the “Ceremonies” cluster includes 11 articles and 131 news related to commemoration ceremonies that took place in Turkey and other countries. Whereas 55 and 45 of these writings were dedicated to Turkey and Poland, respectively, the residual 42 were related to other countries of which Israel and Germany together consisted 18 of them. The table also indicates a significant increase in the number of newspaper writings in the second period. The majority of this increase

<sup>154</sup> For the first period, “Others” includes four news each corresponding to commemoration ceremonies that took place in Hungary and Macedonia. In the second period, “Others” includes eight news each of them referring to the ceremonies in Austria, the UK, Italy, Moscow, Romania, and Slovakia.

stemmed from the rise in the news published. Specifically, while the number of articles increased from 4 to 11, the number of news increased from 33 to 131.

A breakdown of the subjects touched upon in these writings are provided in Table 13:

**Table 13.** Breakdown of “Ceremonies” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings  
(1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Holocaust	1	3	1	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	53	55
Warsaw Ghetto Up. <sup>155</sup> -Holocaust	-	-	15	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	13	28
Auschwitz	-	1	4	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	16	20
Warsaw Ghetto Uprising	3	1	10	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	6	19
March of the Living	-	4	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	23
Kare Kare	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Kristallnacht	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Struma	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Others <sup>156</sup>	-	2	3	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	16	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>179</b>

As shown in Table 13, whereas the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising is the dominant subject in the first period, the Holocaust occupied a central place in the second period. Excluding other subjects, the total number of news and articles related solely to the Holocaust increased from two in the first period to 53 in the second period. As a proof of the shift in the subjects that are being highlighted in the second period,

<sup>155</sup> In this chapter “Warsaw Ghetto Up.” stands for “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising”.

<sup>156</sup> In the first period, “Others” includes three news each corresponding to subjects “Anne Frank”, “Treblinka”, and “Commemoration Day”, respectively. For the second period, “Others” includes 14 news and two articles. 14 news consist of the following subjects: “First Deportation to Terezinstadt”, “Birkenau”, “Treblinka Uprising”, Liberation of Dachau”, “Selahattin Ülkümen”, “Liberation of the Camps”, Liberation of Buchenwald”, “Liberation of Mauthausen”, “Babi Yar”, “Holocaust Train”, “Hagadah”, and “Dr. Janus Korczak”. The subjects of the articles are “Wannsee Conference” and “Commemoration Day”.

the Table 13 also indicates the decrease in the number of articles and news dedicated to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. For example, the total number of news and articles related to “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising-Holocaust” and “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising” decreased from 15 and 13 in the first period to 13 and six in the second period, respectively. Moreover, the subjects classified as “Auschwitz” and “March of the Living” directly refer to the Holocaust. Hence, more emphasis is put on the Holocaust. As a result, depending on the data provided by both Table 12 and Table 13, I concentrated on the commemoration ceremonies which took place in Turkey and Poland. Overall, I selected 11 news for the sub-clusters “Turkey” and “Poland”. Out of 11 news, six are for the “Turkey” sub-cluster of which two are of the subject “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising-Holocaust” and four are of “Holocaust”. In the same fashion, out of five news in the “Poland” sub-cluster, one of the subjects is of “Holocaust”, two of them are of “Auschwitz”, and the last two of them are of “March of the Living”. The language of the newspaper writings selected is Turkish.

Şalom provides a detailed description of the commemoration ceremonies that took place in Istanbul on 27 Nisan. On this date both the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the Holocaust victims were commemorated. However, as just mentioned above, the emphasis was more on the various issues surrounding the Holocaust rather than the heroism of the resistance fighters. The commemoration ceremonies were almost always religious rituals and were carried out in the presence of the members of the Grand Rabbinate; the Jewish community officials; some notable attendees such as the members of the consulate of Israel in Istanbul; and the members of the Jewish community. It is important to point out that despite the fact that survivors were not present in the commemoration ceremonies which took place during the 1990s, they were present in the following decade. The routine of the religious rituals included prayers and the ceremony of the lighting of the six candles in the memory of the Holocaust victims. This ceremony was followed by a speech delivered by either a community official or a member of the Turkish Jewish community.

It is relevant to stress the fact that Şalom gives an extensive space to these speeches within the news published. In fact, the speeches are fully published in several articles and news. These speeches mention a variety of themes and issues related to the Holocaust such as the uniqueness of the Holocaust; the explanations on how the Jewish people were subjected to persecution and destruction throughout the history; the indifference of the other nations to the human tragedy; the changing nature of anti-Semitism; Holocaust denial as a threat to the Jewish existence; Holocaust education as a mean to avoid Holocaust denial; the perpetrators and how ordinary Germans committed a crime as vast as the Holocaust; the heroism of the resistance fighters; the existence of the State of Israel as a guarantee for the Jewish existence; and the significance of the remembrance.

The news dated April 21, 1993 includes a speech delivered by Benjamin Pinto<sup>157</sup> during a commemoration ceremony that took place in the Ashkenazi Synagogue at Yüksek Kaldırım on April 18, 1993. Pinto, without going into details, defines the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto as legendary.<sup>158</sup> Later in the speech Pinto talks about Holocaust denial and relates anti-Semitism with this phenomenon. First, he refers to the statements of the Holocaust deniers who argued that the Holocaust was a lie fabricated by the Jews to establish the State of Israel and to receive claims from Germany; that only a limited number Jews died due to starvation, deprivation, cold, epidemics, and migration like any other nation might have experienced under the conditions of war; and finally, that there were no death camps.<sup>159</sup> Finally, he points out that religious anti-Semitism in the Middle Ages was transformed into secular anti-Semitism by the end

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<sup>157</sup> A leading young member of the Turkish Jewish community.

<sup>158</sup> "...bir avuç kadar Yahudinin Nazi ordusuna karşı oluşturdukları efsanevi direniş..." (1993, 5).

<sup>159</sup> "...Holokost'un bir Yahudi yalanı olduğu, İsrail devletinin kurulması için bir araç, Almanya'dan tazminat koparmak için uydurma olduğu ifade edilmektedir. Bazı inkarıcılar ancak 30.000 Yahudinin, bazıları ise birkaç yüz bin Yahudinin öldüğünü; bunların da savaş esnasında tüm milletler için geçerli olan açlık, yokluk, soğuk, hastalık, göç gibi nedenlerden olduğunu söylemektedirler. Buna göre ölüm kampları diye bir şey olmamıştır..." (1993, 5, 9).

of the previous century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and that now anti-Semitism reflected itself in the form of anti-Zionism and Holocaust denial.<sup>160</sup>

In another speech during a ceremony which took place in Beth Yisrael Synagogue at Şişli<sup>161</sup> on 15 April 1996, Şemi Levi<sup>162</sup> emphasizes that the Warsaw Ghetto proved the ability of the Jewish nation to reemerge out of a destruction.<sup>163</sup> Levi mentions that six million Jews were sentenced to death for no other reason than born Jewish; that they were destroyed dishonorably; that the technological developments were available to the villains to execute their terrifying plans<sup>164</sup>; and finally, that this human tragedy occurred at the heart of Europe in the presence of the ignorance and the indifference of the whole world.<sup>165</sup> He, then, concentrated on Holocaust denial. According to Levi, anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial are on the rise.<sup>166</sup> He mentions that the Holocaust deniers argue that once the fact of the Holocaust is trivialized, destroyed and/or denied then the Jews would be deprived of a serious argument and thus, they would become like everyone else and finally be destroyed.<sup>167</sup> Levi ends his speech telling that the Jews should never forget the Holocaust, should not let it be forgotten and denied.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> "...Ortaçağ'ın dinsel antisemitizminden, geçtiğimiz yüzyılın sonları ile 20. yüzyılın başlarındaki laik antisemitizme geçmişti. Günümüzde ise antisemitizm, antisyonizm ve Holokost inkarcısı olmak şeklinde vücut bulmaktadır" (1993, 9).

<sup>161</sup> A district in Istanbul.

<sup>162</sup> A leading young member of the Turkish Jewish community.

<sup>163</sup> "...Varşova Getosu ayaklanması şunu göstermiştir ki; bir insan yediği darbe ile yıkılabilir fakat tekrar ayağa kalkabilir. Bir ulus da öyle" (1996, 3).

<sup>164</sup> "...O 6 milyon kişi ki, işledikleri herhangi bir suçtan ötürü değil, herhangi bir şey yaptıkları için değil, sadece Yahudi halkından oldukları için ölüme mahkum edildiler, onursuzca yok edilmek istendiler ve teknolojiadaki gelişmeler...verimli bir araç olarak canilerin hizmetine sunuldu" (1996, 3).

<sup>165</sup> "...Avrupa'nın ortasında bu vahşet olurken, tüm dünya, bu trajediyi bilmezden görmezden geliyordu..." (1996, 3).

<sup>166</sup> "...Bugün antisemitizm ve holokostu inkar etme çabaları önemli bir yükselme eğilimi göstermektedir..." (1996, 3).

<sup>167</sup> "...Holocaust'un bir Yahudi yalanı olduğunu savunanlar bunu, Yahudilere tanınmış bir şans, bir ayrıcalık gibi görüyorlar. Bu şans ellerinden alındığı takdirde Yahudiler herkes gibi olurlar, dolayısıyla yok edilebilirler diye düşünüyorlar" (1996, 3).

<sup>168</sup> "...Hiçbir zaman unutmamalıyız, unutulmasına, inkar edilmesine izin vermemeliyiz..." (1996, 3).

In the commemoration ceremony which took place in the Neve Şalom synagogue on April 22, 1998, Melih Sisa<sup>169</sup> emphasized the issue of Holocaust denial and the stages of persecution and destruction that the Jews had been subjected throughout history. He implicitly relates the last stage of the persecution and the destruction to the Holocaust and urges a struggle against Holocaust denial. According to Sisa, historically the terrible transformation of anti-Semitism into the Holocaust did not suddenly occur. In the first stage, the motto was “you (the Jews) have no right to live as Jews among us”. Unless converted into Christianity, moved away from their culture, and integrated into the society, the Jews had no right to live within the society that they inhabited. The motto of the second stage was “you (the Jews) have no right to live among us”. At this stage, even the rejection of the Jewish identity is not sufficient for the Jews to continue their lives within the society. And in the final stage the motto is “you (the Jews) have no right to live”. According to Sisa, the final stage represented the destruction and annihilation of a nation and was considered almost as a sacred mission. The Jews were in fact non-human.<sup>170</sup> He, then, discusses Holocaust education. Sisa believes that Holocaust education was not only limited to the Jews but was also a requirement for the humanity<sup>171</sup>. Sisa argues that despite the availability of a variety of materials and the organization of ceremonies are of great importance in Holocaust education, the only way to comprehend and understand the scale of the destruction was to visit the places where the Holocaust actually happened.<sup>172</sup> Sisa ends his speech stating that the Jews

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<sup>169</sup> A leading member of the Turkish Jewish community.

<sup>170</sup> “Tarihsel süreç içinde, Yahudi düşmanlığının Yahudi soykırımına dönüşebilmesinin korkunç ilerleyişi birden bire olmamıştır. İlk aşama, “Yahudi olarak aramızda yaşamaya hakkınız yoktur” ifadesidir. Yahudiler din değiştirmeye, ...kültürlerinden uzaklaşmaya, içinde buldukları toplumla entegre olmaya zorlanmışlar, aksi halde toplum içinde onlara yaşama hakkı tanınmamıştır. İkinci aşama, “Aramızda yaşamaya hakkınız yoktur” ifadesidir...Yahudilerin, kendilerinin Yahudi kimliklerini reddetmeleri ya da bu kimlikten vazgeçmeleri dahi hayatlarını o toplum içinde devam ettirmelerine imkan vermemiştir. Üçüncü...aşama ise, “Yaşamaya hakkınız yoktur” ifadesidir. Bu aşama, bir milleti tamamen yeryüzünden silme ve yoketme faaliyetidir ve adeta kutsal bir misyondur...Yahudi olmanız, insan sayılmanıza engeldir” (1998, 5).

<sup>171</sup> “...sadece bir Yahudi eğitimi değil, insanlık eğitimi olarak nitelendirilen bir eğitim...” (1998, 5).

<sup>172</sup> “...Bu eğitimde elbetteki görsel malzemelerin, filmlerin, fotoğrafların, anıların, hikayelerin, tarihi belgelerin, törenlerin önemi büyüktür. Ancak kavranabilmesi çok zor olan...nicelik yani rakamsal

had to stand against all attempts to deny the Holocaust, and to distort the uniqueness and the importance of the Holocaust. He argues that this was only possible with understanding and grasping the Holocaust with all its dimensions.<sup>173</sup>

In another commemoration ceremony in Neve Şalom synagogue on 8 April 2002, a Holocaust survivor participated in the candle ceremony. Felon Goldberg Hofmann, an Auschwitz survivor, was invited to light the fifth candle in the memories of the elderly and of the rabbis who fell victim during the Holocaust. Yusuf Öztürkkan<sup>174</sup> gave a speech which covered several issues regarding the Holocaust. Öztürkkan states the twentieth century witnessed an indescribable and a haunting human tragedy. The Nazi regime created a project to exterminate all the Jews in the world. This human tragedy witnessed the murder of women, men, and children just because they were born Jewish.<sup>175</sup> He believes that the Holocaust is unique because it was based on a racist ideology which aimed to destroy all the Jewish people with modern techniques. According to Öztürkkan, the Final Solution represented a moment in history where modernity was perceived as a phenomenon in which the industrial system surpassed the humanity or the human behavior. He further argues that Auschwitz was an ordinary representation of a factory system for which the raw materials were the humans and the output was the death itself.<sup>176</sup> After depicting the human tragedy, Öztürkkan drew attention to the ignorance and indifference of the civilized part of the world to the Holocaust.<sup>177</sup> According to Öztürkkan, a reductionist approach that would restrict the

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boyutu en iyi benimsetebilecek yegane eğitim, öncelikle tüm Yahudilerin soykırımı, soykırımın yapıldığı yerlerde anlamaya çalışmasıdır” (1998, 5).

<sup>173</sup> “...21. yüzyılın eşiğinde biz geride kalanların, yapabilecekleri tek şey, soykırımın varlığına, tek emsali olduğuna ve olacağına ve önemine yönelik her türlü girişimin karşısında durmak ancak bunu yapabilmek için de olayın kendisini tüm yönleriyle kavrayabilmektir” (1998, 5).

<sup>174</sup> A leading young member of the Turkish Jewish community.

<sup>175</sup> “...20. yüzyıl tarif edilemez ve unutulamaz bir trajediye tanıklık etti. Nazi rejimi Yahudilerin yeryüzünden silinmesi için bir proje yarattı. Kadınlar, erkekler, çocuklar tek bir sebepten dolayı Yahudi doğdukları için öldürüldü” (2002, 3).

<sup>176</sup> “...Kesin Çözüm Avrupa Sanayi Sisteminin çarpıklaştığı, sistemin insanlığın önüne geçmesinin modernlikle eş anlaşıldığı bir anı işaret eder. Auschwitz, modern fabrika sisteminin sıradan bir uzantısı idi. Üretimde hammadde insanlar, son ürün ise ölümdü...” (2002, 3).

<sup>177</sup> “...uygar insanların dünyasında yaşandı ve uygar dünya ülkeleri hiçbir şey yapmadılar...” (2002, 3).

answer of the question why this human tragedy happened in the modern Western world only to the origins of violence, to Hitler's Jewish hatred, or to the Nazi monstrosity, would in turn acquit the bystanders of their responsibility in this human tragedy. In this context, therefore, the Holocaust was not a historical reality that would concern only the Jewish people but also was an issue for all the states in the world and for all the humanity.<sup>178</sup> Finally, he argues that despite the availability of sufficient evidence the enemies of the State of Israel and the Jews deny the Holocaust. According to Öztürkkan, the Holocaust deniers argue that the Jews exaggerate and abuse the Holocaust to reap some benefits out of it.<sup>179</sup> In his final words, Öztürkkan warns against forgetting the Holocaust. He argues that forgetting the Holocaust might result in its repetition.<sup>180</sup>

In a commemoration ceremony in Beth Yisrael synagogue which took place on April 19, 2004, a Holocaust survivor took part in the candle ceremony. Pavel Stransky was invited to light the sixth candle in the memory of the Holocaust victims. In his speech, Metin Bahar<sup>181</sup> touched upon the uniqueness of the Holocaust, the presence of the bystanders during the Holocaust, and the inspiration that the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising gave to the future generations. He argues that the Holocaust was unique and/or unprecedented due to its nature. The Holocaust was unique since the Jews were murdered systematically for no other reason but just because they were born Jewish.<sup>182</sup> Furthermore, according to Bahar, the civilized world disregarded the human tragedy, might be because they did not want to believe, or they did not want to take risks.

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<sup>178</sup> "...Bu olay modern batı toplumunda nasıl meydana geldi sorusunun yanıtını şiddetin kökenlerinde, Hitler'in Yahudi nefretinde, Nazilerin canavarlığında aramak, olan biteni sessizce izleyen, görmezden gelen kalabalığın aklanmasına yol açar. Bu bağlamdad Holokkost sadece Yahudi milletini ilgilendiren bir tarihi gerçekk değil, tüm dünya devletlerinin, ve tüm insanlığın meselesidir..." (2002, 3).

<sup>179</sup> "...İsrail ve Yahudi düşmanları...Holokost'u inkar ediyorlar. Holokost'un abartıldığını, Yahudilerin yaşanmış olanları, kendilerini acındırmak yoluyla, kendilerine avantajlar kazandırmak üzere çarpıttığını söylüyorlar..." (2002, 3).

<sup>180</sup> "...Unutulmaması gereken nokta, tarihin en acı sayfasını oluşturan bu insanlık suçunun unutulması ile tekrar yaşanması arasında çok ince bir çizginin olduğudur" (2002, 3).

<sup>181</sup> A leading member of the Turkish Jewish community.

<sup>182</sup> "...Holokost'un benzersizliği doğasından kaynaklanıyor. Bir savaş ya da bir çatışma uğruna değil, sadece ve sadece Yahudi oldukları için öldürüldü bunca insan. Üstelik de...soğukkanlı bir sistemle..." (2004, 2)

Nevertheless, the helplessness and/or desperation of the humanity could not be disregarded while a nation was being slaughtered.<sup>183</sup>

He, then, relates the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising with the survival of the Jewish nation. According to Bahar, the light of hope that the resistance fighters, who dared to stand against the German army, lit was the reason to choose the date of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising as the day to commemorate the Holocaust victims.<sup>184</sup> That light of hope was also the reason for the Jewish nation to survive many massacres and disasters throughout history.<sup>185</sup> Finally, Bahar states that although the Holocaust was not the first disaster that the Jews experienced, it would absolutely be the last one as they would always remember it.<sup>186</sup>

The last news that I selected for the commemoration ceremonies in Istanbul includes a speech delivered by Linda Olmert, a Holocaust survivor who lived in Israel, in the Neve Şalom synagogue on April 30, 2008. Olmert emphasizes the importance of the remembrance after depicting the human tragedy that she, her family and the Jews had been through. She mentioned that the Jewish people lost six million of its members through which several generations were destroyed at the same time. She states, however, that the survivors were people strong enough to create a future despite the disasters they experienced.<sup>187</sup> She then refers implicitly to the existence of the State of Israel and explicitly to the importance of the remembrance as the guarantees of the existence of the Jewish nation. She stresses that the Jews should always remember that

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<sup>183</sup> “...Uygar dünya olup bitene gözlerini kapattı. Belki inanmak istemedi, belki de riske girmek istemedi. Ancak bir ulus katliama uğrarken insanlığın bu kadar çaresiz kalması da göz ardı edilemez” (2004, 2).

<sup>184</sup> “...6 milyon kurbanın yasını tutmak için sizce neden Varşova Getosu’nun direniş günü seçilmiş acaba. Olsa olsa o imkansızlıklar içinde Alman ordusuna kafa tutmaya cesaret eden Yahudilerin karanlık günlerde yaktığı küçük ümit ışığı için...” (2004, 2).

<sup>185</sup> “...O ışık, tarihte nice katliamlar yaşayan Yahudi ulusunun, bugün dimdik ayakta durmasının da sebebidir...” (2004, 2).

<sup>186</sup> “...Holokost ilk felaket değildir Yahudilerin başına gelen, ama mutlaka sonuncusu olacaktır. Çünkü bizler bu insanlık dramını belki affedecek ama asla unutmayacağız” (2004, 2).

<sup>187</sup> “...6 milyon insanı kaybettik. Birkaç nesil birden yok oldu. Ancak hayatta kalanlar güçlü insanlardı. Çünkü tüm yaşadıkları vahşete rağmen direndiler ve yeni nesiller oluşturdular” (Konfino 2008, 2).

they would never ever remain powerless; that they<sup>188</sup> would not allow that to happen; and that Judaism would remain intact as long as the Jews remembered and commemorated the victims.<sup>189</sup>

Apart from the commemoration ceremonies in Turkey, *Şalom* covers others that take place around the world as well. One example is the commemoration ceremonies organized in Poland. *Şalom* pays specific attention to the ceremonies organized both on the day of liberation of Auschwitz which was also designated as “the International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust” by the United Nations in November 2005 and during the visits paid by the politicians to Auschwitz on occasion to commemorate the Holocaust. The newspaper writings related to these ceremonies usually covers the messages given by the world leaders and mention the presence of the survivors. These messages contain several themes and issues such as the Jews coming out of powerlessness with the presence of the State of Israel; warning against any kind of discrimination in several forms, anti-Semitism being one; Holocaust denial; the perpetrators and how they committed such crimes; the indifference of the bystanders; and the human tragedy. Moreover, *Şalom* covers extensively the “March of the Living”<sup>190</sup> to which the members of the Turkish Jewish community also participate. I classified this event under the “Ceremonies” cluster because the event consists of a commemoration ceremony as well. More importantly, *Şalom* reserves extensive space to the impressions of the participants which are usually expressed in writing by themselves. These articles reflect the feelings and ideas of especially the young Turkish Jews on how they relate themselves to the Holocaust.

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<sup>188</sup> Linda Olmert’s use of words such as “we” and/or “us” usually refer either to the Jews and/or the State of Israel. At this moment of the speech she tells that “...we would not allow...” which probably refers to the Jews being powerful as never before due to the existence of the State of Israel.

<sup>189</sup> “...Yahudi milleti bir daha hiçbir zaman güçsüz olmayacak. Buna asla izin vermeyeceğiz. Bizler yaşananları hatırladıkça ve kaybettiklerimizi andıkça Yahudilik devam edecek...” (Konfino 2008, 2).

<sup>190</sup> “The International March of the Living is an annual educational program, bringing individuals from around the world to Poland and to Israel to study the history of the Holocaust and to examine the roots of prejudice, intolerance and hatred” The first “March of the Living” was organized in 2006 (<https://motl.org/about/>).

Considering the research question of this thesis, I thought it would be appropriate to refer to their statements. In the following pages, I will first concentrate on the commemoration ceremonies and later, on the “March of the Living”.

The first news dated April 29, 1992 covers the speech by Ehud Barak given at Auschwitz for the occasion of Yom HaShoah. Leading a delegation of a group of army officers to Auschwitz, Ehud Barak was then the Chief of Staff of the Israeli Defense Forces. As mentioned in the Introduction part of this thesis, Barak’s speech is a groundbreaking one as it changed the attitudes of the Israelis towards the survivors and covered several issues surrounding the Holocaust. However, it is important to mention that Şalom skipped some statements that concentrated on identity issues and others. It rather provided a summary. In his speech, Barak emphasizes the contradiction between once powerless victims and now the presence of a powerful Jewish state, and the ignorance of the bystanders. He further emphasizes existence of the State of Israel as a symbol of Jewish response to the Holocaust and Auschwitz as one of the symbols of this human tragedy. Barak mentions that the strength and the independence of the State of Israel was the best response to the indescribable atrocities committed in Auschwitz.<sup>191</sup> He further explains that one third of the Jewish people were murdered in this and other places which were part of the Nazi Empire; that there was no culture, no law, no consternation, no regret and no mercy in Auschwitz; that people were silent - they could neither pray nor even call Şema Yisreal; and that no state on earth had either the strength or the willingness to defend the victims.<sup>192</sup> Later in his speech, Barak draws attention to the relation between the experience of the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. Barak emphasizes that the State of Israel was established just three years after the liberation of Auschwitz and that the lessons learnt from the

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<sup>191</sup> “...Oradaki vahşeti hiçbir sözcükle tarif edemezsiniz...Ancak bunun hatırası ve İsrail’in gücü ve bağımsızlığı Auschwitz’e verebileceğimiz en güzel cevaptır” (1992, 1).

<sup>192</sup> “...Burada ne kültür, ne hukuk, ne hayret, ne pişmanlık, ne de merhamet vardır. İnsan burada sessizdi. Kimse ne dua etti ne de “Şema Yisrael” diyebilirdi. Yeryüzünde hiçbir devlette onları savunma gücü veya isteği yoktu” (1992, 1).

atrocities in the Holocaust enabled the Israelis to eliminate all threats against their existence. Barak emphasizes that the Israeli Defense Forces is a symbolic oath for the State of Israel which guaranteed that past would not repeat itself and that Auschwitz will never happen again.<sup>193</sup>

In the same fashion, Şalom covers the speech delivered by Ezer Weizmann, then the President of the State of Israel, during a visit he paid to Poland for Yom HaShoah and the “March of the Living” in 2000. In his speech, Weizmann puts emphasizes on the presence of the State of Israel, the Holocaust deniers, and the perpetrators. He explains that the Jews experienced both the worst moments in their history with the Holocaust and a great success with the establishment of the State of Israel. According to Weizmann, the State of Israel was a guarantee for the Jews not to experience the horrors of the Holocaust once again and it was the center of the Jewish life after the Holocaust. He mentions that the reality that the Jews created in the State of Israel is beyond imagination and that for the first time since the Kingdom of Israel the Jews had a state. Weizmann emphasizes the revival of the ancient language, Hebrew, that the Jews did not forget during their thousands of years of exile as another success. Overall, he believes that despite the Jews had good memory, imagination, strength, and determination, the establishment of the State of Israel just three years after Auschwitz was beyond the imagination of any Jew who experienced a disaster as massive as the Holocaust. Then, he mentions the speech he delivered in Hebrew as the President of the State of Israel in Bundestag four years ago. According to Weizmann, no other occasion could represent better the strength of the Jews and the failure of the Nazi ideology.<sup>194</sup> He then urges the Western World and especially Germany to continuously

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<sup>193</sup> “...İsrail Silahlı Kuvvetli İsrail Devleti için geçmişte olanların yeniden olmayacağı söz ve yeminini sembolize ediyor. Auschwitz bir daha asla olmayacak” (1992, 1).

<sup>194</sup> “20. yy'da Yahudiler, Holokost ile tarihlerindeki en kötü dönemlerde birini, tüm Yahudilere bir vatan olan İsrail Devleti'ni kurarak da en büyük başarılarından birini yaşadık. İsrail Devleti, Holokost dehşetinin bir daha yaşanmayacağı'nın en iyi garantisidir. Bugün, Holokost Anma Günü'nde sizlere seslenirken bir noktanın altını çizmeliyim. İsrail Devleti, Holokost'tan sonra, Yahudi varlığının merkezidir. Burada yarattığımız gerçek, hayal edilebileceklerin çok üstündedir...İsrail Krallığı'ndan beri ilk defa, devletimiz Yahudilerin merkezi oldu. Diğer önemli bir başarımız da, binlerce yıllık sürgünde hiçbir zaman

face their past; not to ignore the deniers and fight against them; and not to ignore the ones who minimize the Holocaust.<sup>195</sup> Moreover, he states that Israel was fighting against racism and anti-Semitism and that all the nations in the world should embrace and teach tolerance, mutual respect, and human values.<sup>196</sup> Finally, he brings up the message that he planned to deliver the next day at the ceremony that would take place during the “March of the Living”. He states that the Jews would defend themselves and their freedom until their last breath and that he swore to God that the Jews would not experience the tragedy in Auschwitz again.<sup>197</sup>

In two news dated February 2, 2005, Şalom covers extensively the commemoration ceremony of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. In fact, this extensive coverage stems from the nature of the organization itself. Şalom mentions the presence of the world leaders, the officials of various states, the Holocaust survivors, and the participants from around the world as well as the speech and/or messages delivered in this ceremony as evidences of the great importance attributed to this human tragedy. In the speeches, the messages contained motifs related to the Holocaust; the rise of anti-Semitism, intolerance, racism and hate of the other in the contemporary world; the fight against the Holocaust deniers; the perpetrators; the bystanders and the remembrance.<sup>198</sup>

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unutmadığımız dilimizin tekrar hayata geçirilmesidir. Yahudi insanları, iyi bir hafızaya, bunun yanı sıra, hayal gücüne, kuvvete ve kararlılığa sahiptir. Fakat, anılan ve hayal güçleri birbirine uymuyor. Hangi hayal gücü, vahşetin vadisinden çıktıktan sadece üç yıl sonra, kendi topraklarında, İsrail Devleti'nin kurulacağını düşleyebilirdi?... Dört sene önce, Alman Parlamentosu'nda İsrail'in insanlarını temsil ettim ve İbranice konuştum. Nazi fikirlerinin başarısızlığını ve Yahudilerin gücünü daha iyi simgeleyen bir olay düşünmüyorum” (2000, 6).

<sup>195</sup> “...Batı dünyası ve özellikle Almanya, geçmişi ile yüzleşmeyi sürdürmelidir. Ayrıca, Holokost'u inkâr eden ya da küçümseyen günümüzün tehditlerini de göz ardı etmemelidir. Dünyanın tüm uluslarının geçmişin dehşetini görmesini ve bugünün tehditlerine karşı mücadele etmesini istiyoruz...” (2000, 6).

<sup>196</sup> “...İsrail Devleti, ırkçılık ve antisemitizme karşı mücadele etmektedir. Hepimiz, hoşgörü, karşılıklı saygı ve insanlık değerlerini öğretmeyi amaçlamalıyız...” (2000, 6).

<sup>197</sup> “...Kendimizi ve özgürlüğümüzü son nefesimize kadar savunacağız. Yemin ederim ki, başka bir Auschwitz olmayacak...” (2000, 6).

<sup>198</sup> The details of the speech given by the representative of the Roma community is not given in the news. However, the presence of a representative of the Roma community is an indication of the universal message that the ceremony inclines to spread that not only the Jews but others too were murdered during the Holocaust. By the same token, the speech of the Vladimir Putin does explicitly emphasize the casualties given by the Russian people and the Russian army during the victorious war against the fascists.

In his opening statement, Waldemar Dabrowski, the Minister of Culture of Poland, told that they should not forget that they were standing in the largest cemetery in the world where however, there were no graves, no tombs but there existed the ashes of more than one million souls.<sup>199</sup> After explaining how they were dehumanized and killed in the hands of the Nazis, Simone Veil, a Holocaust survivor and an ex-Minister of Health of France, stressed that even though the Nuremberg trials defined the atrocities committed by the Nazis as not solely crimes against victims, but against humanity, mass killings were still a reality.<sup>200</sup> Therefore, she finally calls for action. According to Veil, humanity should unite against intolerance, racism, anti-Semitism, and hate of the other.<sup>201</sup> In his speech, Aleksander Kwasniewski, the President of Poland, emphasizes two points. First, according to Kwasniewski, the Nazis not only annihilated the Jews but actually destroyed the culture that both the Polish and the Polish Jews built together along their long history.<sup>202</sup> Second, he also warns against the Holocaust deniers. Kwasniewski believes that Auschwitz was a representation of the collapse of the humanity which they had to face, always remember and pass on to the next generations. Therefore, the Holocaust deniers who claimed that Auschwitz was a lie would be punished in all modern countries, and they should do everything they could for the Holocaust not to happen again.<sup>203</sup> Moshe Katsav, then the President of Israel, draws attention to the perpetrators and the bystanders. He states that the development and

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<sup>199</sup> "...Törenin açılış konuşmasını yapan Polonya Kültür Bakanı Waldemar Dabrowski, "Dünyanın en büyük mezarlığında bulunduğumuzu unutmayalım. Bu mezarlıkta kabir yok, mezar taşı yok ama bir milyondan fazla insanın külleri var" dedi" (Barokas and Barokas; 2005, 8).

<sup>200</sup> "...Nazi liderlerinin yargılandığı Nuremberg Mahkemesi, bu durumu sadece kurbanlara karşı işlenmiş olan bir suç değil, bir insanlık suçu olarak değerlendirdi...Daha sonra başka toplu katliamların da gerçekleştiğine tanık olduk..." (2005, 9).

<sup>201</sup> "...hoşgörüsüzlüğe, ırkçılığa, antisemitizme, ötekinden nefret dürtüsüne karşı tüm insanlığın birleşmesi gerekiyor..." (Barokas and Barokas; 2005, 8).

<sup>202</sup> "...Şoa Polonya'da, Polonyalılarla Yahudilerin birlikte kurdukları dünyanın sonunu getirdi...Yahudiler Polonya'dad 800 yıl yaşadı..." (2005, 9).

<sup>203</sup> "...Bu yer insanlığın çöktüğünün korkunç ama gerçek bir göstergesidir. Bu gerçekle yüzleşme gücünü kendimizde bulabilmeliyiz. Bu gerçeği unutmamalı ve gelecek nesillere aktarmayı kendimize görev bilmeliyiz. "Auschwitz yalanı" gibi aşağılık girişimlerde bulunanlar, bütün modern ülkelerde cezalandırılacaktır. Auschwitz-Birkenau gerçeğinin bir daha yaşanmaması için elimizden geleni yapmalıyız..." (2005, 9).

technology may well be used for the aims of totalitarianism. According to Katsav, the humanity witnessed how the philosophers, great musicians and composers, scientists, and doctors became accomplices in the destruction and blood-shedding during the Holocaust<sup>204</sup>, and how the nations around the world, especially the European nations remained silent and indifferent to this human tragedy.<sup>205</sup> Therefore, he warns against the rise of anti-Semitism in the world<sup>206</sup>; urges humanity to extract moral lessons from the horror<sup>207</sup> and teach it to the next generations<sup>208</sup>; and the world leaders take responsibility for the destiny of humanity.<sup>209</sup>

Thus, the content of the newspaper writings is not predominantly restricted to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and thereby to the heroism of the resistance fighters but rather touches upon almost every crucial issue that surrounds the human tragedy. Accordingly, the content treats Auschwitz as a symbol of the destruction and the survivors as the heroes of the ceremonies. Moreover, the content also presents how the Turkish Jewish community understands and explains the Holocaust and the current threats against the Jews as well as how the rulers of the State of Israel explain the way the Jewish people emerged out of powerlessness and established a state which they were proud of.

Şalom pays a special attention to the “March of the Living”. The gazette not only covers the details of the organization such as the ceremonies and the tours taken to different camps, to cities, and to ghettos but also and perhaps more importantly prepares a page which consists the impressions of the Turkish Jewish participants (especially the

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<sup>204</sup> “...Gelişim ve teknoloji, totalitarizmin engellenmesini garantilemez...Düşünürlerin, filozofların, büyük müzisyen ve bestecilerin, bilim adamlarının ve doktorların, kendilerine despot hükümdarların düzeninde bir yer bulduğunu, yıkıma ve kan dökmeye ortaklık ettiğini gördük. Holokost'ta olan budur...” (2005, 9).

<sup>205</sup> “...Birçok millet, yıkımdan haberdardı ancak kayıtsızdı. Dünya, Avrupa Yahudilerine yapılan katliamdan haberdardı ancak sessiz kaldı...” (2005, 9).

<sup>206</sup> “...60 yıl sonra, antisemitizmin Avrupa'da tırmanışıyla karşı karşıyayız...” (2005, 9).

<sup>207</sup> “...dehşetin anısında birleşiyoruz ve ahlak dersini paylaşıyoruz...” (2005, 9).

<sup>208</sup> “...İnsanlık, Holokost'tan öğrenilenleri nesilden nesle aktarmalıdır...” (2005, 9).

<sup>209</sup> “...Dünya liderleri insanlığın kaderinden sorumludur...” (2005, 9)

younger generation) that are expressed and are written by themselves. These written expressions cover several aspects related to the Holocaust such as the scale of the human tragedy<sup>210</sup>; the uniqueness of the Holocaust<sup>211</sup>; the systematic killing of the masses through a well-defined bureaucratic process by the perpetrators at the heart of Europe<sup>212</sup>; the ignorance and indifference of the bystanders such as the Church, the West and the USA<sup>213</sup>; and the essentiality of the remembrance for a better future.<sup>214</sup> Other striking parts in the impressions include the participants' reflections on the experiences shared by and the current attitudes of the survivors who were accompanying them during the "March of the Living". The participants especially put emphasis on how the survivors broke their silence and began to talk about their experiences for future generations to understand the dimensions of the Holocaust from the first-hand witnesses themselves<sup>215</sup>; how they were able to forgive<sup>216</sup>; and despite the tragedy, how they remained strong and intact<sup>217</sup> to create productive and proud lives for themselves.<sup>218</sup> Thus, the impressions indicate that the experience of the "March of the Living" is crucial especially for the young Turkish Jews to understand, realize, and appropriate the Holocaust as part of their identity.

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<sup>210</sup> "...1 kişi – 50 kişi 100 kişi değil ki 6 MİLYON HAYAT..." (Birol 2006, 10).

<sup>211</sup> "...Bugün artık ŞOA'nın tekliğini biliyoruz..." (Alkaş 2005, 3).

<sup>212</sup> "...(Yahudiler) En medeni kıtada, Avrupa'nın göbeğinde yaşıyorlardı. Dünyadaki Yahudi nüfusunun üçte birinin yok edildiği sistemli ve endüstriyel boyutaki soykırım nasıl gerçekleşti?" (Kolman 2005, 3).

<sup>213</sup> "...Neden Kilise, Batı ve ABD sessiz kaldı? ..." (Kolman 2005, 3).

<sup>214</sup> "...Yapılanların unutulmaması ve aynılarının tekrardan yaşanmaması adına yapılan Schindler's List sadece bir tanesidir. Daha düşünecek 5.999.999 film var" (Anter 10, 2006).

<sup>215</sup> "...Güçtü kendisini tutması, seneler sonra yeniden tüm yaşadıkları gözünde canlanırken, 50 yıl boyunca konuşmamıştı zaten. Yine de insanlığın tarihi unutmaması için zorladı kendini. Kaybettiği ailesi ve 6 milyon insan için mecburdu buna. Bu yüzden "An end to my childhood" adlı kitabını yazıp 13 dile çevirtti ve tüm tüm kitlelere sesini duyurabilmek istiyor..." (Çiçekli 2006, 10).

<sup>216</sup> "...İçinde kin ve nefret taşımadığına tanık olmak gerek. Bu gezi boyunca gerçekten pek çok şey öğrendik. Acıyı sessizce paylaşmayı, insanları yargılamamayı, affetmeyi..." (Alkaş 2005, 3).

<sup>217</sup> "...Ama işin güzel yanı sadece Holokost'tan bahsetmedik Magdi'yle. Kocasıyla tanışmasından, romantizmden, balık pişirme tariflerinden ve daha bir sürü şeyden bahsettik. Aslında beni en çok etkileyen kısımlar bunlar oldu. Bir yanda Holokost'un vahşeti için "Dünya'nın sonu gelmiş de bizim haberimiz yok diye düşünürken, diğer yanda ruhen hepimizden daha genç bir Auschwitz kurtulanı ile sohbet ediyordum..." (İpeker 2005, 3).

<sup>218</sup> "...Auschwitz'de yıllar önce ailesini kaybeden genç kız, yıllar sonra aynı yere kendi ailesini kuran bir anne, hatta anneanne olarak dönüyor ve emin adımlarla yürüyordu..." (Çiçekli 2006, 10).

### 3.2 THE “HOLOCAUST” CLUSTER

The second cluster in this section is the “Holocaust” cluster. The list of the sub-clusters classified in this cluster is given on Table 14:

**Table 14.** Breakdown of “Holocaust” Based on Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Sub-Cluster	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Holocaust	4	164	3	12	3	2	-	3	-	1	10	182	192
Ghettos	36	20	4	1	16	-	-	-	-	-	56	21	77
Death Camps	1	19	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	23	24
Immigrant Ships	-	9	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	12	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>305</b>

Table 14 indicates a significant increase in the total newspaper writings from 67 in the first period to 238 in the second. The increase between the two periods amounts to 171. This increase stems from the rise in the “Holocaust” sub-cluster. The impact of the “Holocaust” sub-cluster to the overall increase is substantial as most of the newspaper writings in the “Holocaust” cluster is classified under the “Holocaust” sub-cluster. The reason is that this sub-cluster contains newspaper writings which address several issues at the same time and therefore cannot easily be classified in any other sub-cluster. Another indication provided by Table 14 is the decrease in the number of newspaper writings related to the “Ghettos” from 56 in the first period to 21 in the second. This is due to the decrease in the newspaper writings related to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Compared to the first period, Şalom deals less with the theme of the heroism of the resistance fighters in the second period. The last indication of the table is the increase in the “Death Camps” sub-cluster and the addition of another sub-cluster. I created the sub-cluster of “Immigrant Ships” to cover very briefly the impact of the human tragedy to Turkey and how Turkey dealt with the issue of the illegal immigrants. Overall, Şalom covers the Holocaust more extensively in the second period than the first one. This is

also clear from the list of the subjects within each of the sub-clusters. For example, as shown by Table 15 below, the content of the “Holocaust” sub-cluster is extensive as well as fragmented. Despite 79 of the total newspaper writings of 182 are classified under the first four subjects which are “Holocaust”, “Kristallnacht”, “Resistance”, and “War”, the rest of the breakdown together with the size of the subject of “Others” is a clear indication of this feature of the sub-cluster. Accordingly, the breakdowns of the subjects for each sub-cluster are given in the following tables:

**Table 15.** Breakdown of “Holocaust” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings

(1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Holocaust	1	35	1	1	3	2	-	-	-	1	5	39	44
Kristallnacht	-	18	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20
Resistance	-	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
War	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
German Ac. <sup>219</sup>	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Jewish Soldiers	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	5
Never Again	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Remembrance	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Understanding	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Babi Yar	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Definition	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
God	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Racism	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
One Bullet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	2
Hungarian Jews	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Jewish Question	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Lost Communities	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Rethinking	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Modernity	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Holocaust Fatigue	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Descruction	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Commemoration	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Others <sup>220</sup>	3	46	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	50	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>192</b>

<sup>219</sup> “The German Ac.” stands for “The German Academicians”.

<sup>220</sup> “Others” include three articles and one news each corresponding to subjects “Anne Frank”, “Nazi Germany and Palestine Issue”, “Thessaloniki”, and “Treblinka”. In the second period, in this caption there are 51 articles and four news covering a wide range of subjects such as “Antisemitism”, “Holocaust Fatigue”, “Holocaust Geography”, “Genocide and Humanity”, “Jedwabne”, “Lidice”, “Rescue Operations”, “Jan Karski”, “Survivors”, “The State of Israel”, “Wannsee Conference”, “Remember and Do Not Forget”, “Jews in the Nazi Germany”, “Media”, “Holocaust, Peace, Passover”, “Anne Frank”, “Sephardic Jews” and several others.

**Table 16.** Breakdown of “Death Camps” Based on Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Auschwitz	-	14	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	17
Death Camps	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	3
Theresienstadt	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Others <sup>221</sup>	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>24</b>

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<sup>221</sup> In the “Others” there are two articles each corresponding to the first and second periods, respectively. These are “Treblinka” in the first period and “Bergen Belsen” in the second period.

**Table 17.** Breakdown of “Ghettos” Based on Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Warsaw Ghetto Uprising	14	8	2	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	20	9	29
Warsaw Ghetto Up.- Holocaust	8	-	2	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	21
Warsaw Ghetto	-	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	10
Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	7
Dr. Janusz Korczak	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6
Others <sup>222</sup>	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>77</b>

<sup>222</sup> The “Others” includes four articles of which one is related to the first period. The subject of this article is “Rabbis in the Warsaw Ghetto”. In the second period this caption includes subjects for three articles which are “Drancy”, “Judenräte”, “Vilnius”.

**Table 18.** Breakdown of “Immigrant Ships” Based on Type of Newspaper

Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Struma	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	5
Mefkure	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Others <sup>223</sup>	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>9</b>	-	<b>2</b>	-	-	-	<b>1</b>	-	-	-	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>

In several of the newspaper writings in the “Holocaust” cluster, not only the issues related to the Holocaust are touched upon but the historical conditions that led to its occurrence is also explained in a chronological order. In this cluster, Şalom covers several issues such as anti-Semitism as the main reason for the Holocaust; the adverse socio-economic and political conditions, which emerged subsequently to the defeat in the First World War, as a fertile ground for a racial ideology to develop in Germany; the existence of an intention to destroy all the Jews in the world as already mentioned in *Mein Kampf*; the ignorance and indifference of the bystanders; the importance of the remembrance to avoid such human tragedies in the future; the definition of the Holocaust; the uniqueness of the Holocaust; the destruction of the non-Jews during the Holocaust; the relation between the modernity and the Holocaust; and the position of Judenräte, different forms of resistance, and the heroism of the resistance fighters during the Holocaust.

Thus, the list of the subjects covered in this cluster is extensive and gives a comprehensive coverage for some of the issues related to the Holocaust. I selected 12 articles from the sub-clusters of “Holocaust” and the “Ghettos”. For the “Holocaust” cluster, the breakdown of the number of subjects together with their titles are as

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<sup>223</sup> “Others” includes one news and two articles. Whereas the subject of the article is “Salvador”, the subjects of the news are “St. Louis” and “Exodus”.

follows: four from the subject of “Holocaust”, two from the subject of “Racism”, one from the subject of “Definition”, one from the subject of “Rethinking the Holocaust”, and finally, one from the subject of “Modernity”. By the same token, for the “Ghettos” cluster, two of the subjects are related to the “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising” and one is from the subject of “Resistance”. Moreover, I referred to another 20 articles in the footnotes to cover issues related to the immigrant ships, Kristallnacht, anti-Semitism, Wannsee Conference, the evil, the resistance, Kapos and Judenräte, and the survivors. It is important to state that all the articles selected for the analysis are in Turkish.

In the first article which dated April 18, 1990, Nana Tarabulus provides a historical background to the Holocaust, mentions the indifference and the ignorance of the bystanders, and stresses the importance of the remembrance. In the beginning of the article, she explains how the Jews were and remained in a desperate situation during the events leading to the Holocaust in a chronological order. Tarabulus mentions that the first physical violence occurred in March 1933<sup>224</sup>; that with the Nuremberg Laws passed by the Third Reich in 1935, the Jews were deprived of their German nationality; these laws also limited the rights of the Jew as members of the society, defined an individual as a Jew if descended from three grandparents, and even defined individuals with mixed Jewish blood<sup>225</sup>; that the English mandate in Israel restricted the immigration of the Jews<sup>226</sup>; that the immigrant ships<sup>227</sup> were abandoned by the nations

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<sup>224</sup> “Alman Yahudilerine karşı ilk fiziksel şiddet eylemi Mart 1933’te kaydedildi...” (Tarabulus 1990, 2).

<sup>225</sup> “...Eylül 1935’de kabul edilen Nuremberg yasaları ile Yahudiler vatandaşlıktan atıldılar ve bir anda Alman olmaktan çıktılar. Yeni yasalar Yahudileri yanlış anlamaya yol açmayacak şekilde belirtiyordu. Yahudi üç büyük dedesi Yahudi olan kişiydi. Bu arada “kısmi Yahudi” diye bir kategori de icat edilmişti...” (Tarabulus 1990, 2).

<sup>226</sup> “...İsrail toprakları İngiliz yönetiminde olup, göç kapılarını keyfi idaresinin saptamalarına göre açıp kapıyordu...” (Tarabulus 1990, 2).

<sup>227</sup> Şalom provides information related to the immigrant ships which reached the shores of Turkey during the Second World War. These ships are Salvador, Struma, and Mefkure. In each of the newspaper writings, the authors not only explain the reasons for the illegal migration to Palestine such as the collaboration of Romania with the Nazis but also depict the human tragedy i.e. the unbearable situation of the immigrants bound in the ships and the ultimate loss of lives due to either the torpedos as in the cases of Struma and Mefkure or the natural reasons as in the case of Salvador. It is important to note that only Cemal Kozanoğlu mentions explicitly the neutral position of Turkey in the Second World War and the resulting policies towards to illegal migration. Whether they include an analysis regarding the

around the world<sup>228</sup>; that the resolution of the “Jewish Question” by the “Final Solution” was ordered by Goering in 1939; and finally that the plans of the “Final Solution” was approved at Wannsee Conference in January 1942.<sup>229</sup> According to Tarablus, the civilized world remained silent during the Holocaust. Although the USA established the War Refugee Board in 1943, a very limited number of people could be rescued.<sup>230</sup> Tarablus finally mentions the essentiality of the remembrance. Tarablus argues that a Jew was a person who valued life and that his commitment to the Jewish history enabled him to leave a heritage which was full of a glimmer of hope. Hence, she calls out “Zachor”<sup>231</sup> and states that the Jews should not forget the Holocaust and it was a duty to raise the awareness of this human tragedy in the hearts and minds of the next generations.<sup>232</sup>

In another article on April 21, 1993, Nana Tarablus claims that Hitler had the intention to annihilate the Jewish people long before he came to power in 1933. She quotes from Hitler twice to support her claim. In her first quote she mentions Hitler, from 1919, who states that the ultimate purpose of anti-Semitism was the total annihilation of the Jews. In the second quote she refers to *Mein Kampf*, from 1925, which proposes that Germany could have won the First World War if 10.000 - 12.000 Jewish people were

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position of Turkey during the war or not, nowhere in the articles Turkey is burdened with any responsibility for the loss of lives (Tarablus 1992, 2; Yuhay 1992, 2, 5; Kozanoğlu 1995, 6; Danacıoğlu 1998, 10; Danacıoğlu 1998, 10; Danacıoğlu 1998, 5, 8; Danacıoğlu 1998, 6). It is also worth mentioning that a commemoration ceremony in Istanbul on 3 September 2000, Rifat Saban, the leader of the Jewish community mentions the aid that Red Crescent provided to Struma (Palombo 2000, 7).

<sup>228</sup> “...Yahudi göçmenlerle dolu gemiler, dünya insanları tarafından limandan limana kovulmaktaydı...” (Tarablus 1990, 2).

<sup>229</sup> “... Yahudi sorununun “Son Çözüm” e ulaştırılması planının başlangıç emri 1939’da Goering tarafından verildi. Hazırlanan planlar Ocak 1942’de Wannsee Konferansı’nda onaylandı...” (Tarablus 1990, 2).

<sup>230</sup> “...Tüm insanlığı derinden etkileyen Soykırım esnasında uygar dünya sessiz kalmıştır. ABD, ancak 1943’te savaş kurbanlarıyla ilgilenecek bir komite kurmuştu. Bu tarihten sonra çok az sayıda insan kurtarılabildi...” (Tarablus 1990, 2).

<sup>231</sup> Zachor is a Hebrew word that means remember in English.

<sup>232</sup> “...Yahudi kişi yaşam bilincine her zaman sahiptir. Yahudinin geçmişine sadık bir anlayışla bağlılığı onu gelecek nesillere ümit dolu bir miras ulaştırmasını sağlar. “ZAHOR” UNUTMA! ...Soykırımı unutma gafletine hiçbir zaman düşmemeliyiz. Gelecek nesillerin bilinçlendirilmesini sağlamak her Yahudi anne ve babanın vazifesidir...” (Tarablus 1990, 2).

drowned by gas.<sup>233</sup> In addition, she argues that the German intellectuals also contributed to the idea of systematic destruction to solve the “Jewish Question”.<sup>234</sup> In the same fashion, in her quote she mentions Paul de Lagarde, a German author, who states that the Germans should get rid of the idea of being humane.<sup>235</sup> After emphasizing anti-Semitism as a fact, she stresses why she preferred the term Holocaust to genocide to define the catastrophic destruction, which was also called “Shoah” or “Churban” in Hebrew, that the Jewish people experienced during the Second World War. She claims that the Holocaust was unique for two reasons, one being the fact that it aimed the destruction of a culture and the other being the fact that all the Jews were targeted only because they were Jewish irrespective of their ideas; beliefs; socio-economical positions and other traits that they might have.<sup>236</sup>

An article written on 19 April 2006 by Marsel Russo also provides a historical explanation stretching as far back as the nineteenth century and follows the track of the historical events until the Wannsee Conference in 1942. He also emphasizes the origins of Hitler’s ideas. In general, Russo explains that following the unification in 1871, the German Empire became the largest state in Europe<sup>237</sup>; that despite the establishment of the parliament, the German Empire remained a military autocracy due to the dominant and prominent position of Prussia within the Empire<sup>238</sup>; that the German Empire

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<sup>233</sup> “Yıl, 1919. Hitler: “Yahudiler’in tamamen ortadan kaldırılması antisemitizmin asıl ve nihai hedefidir”. Yıl, 1925. “Mein Kampf” ta Hitler: 10-12 bin İbrani mikrobu zehirli gazda boğulurseydi, Almanya I. Dünya Savaşı’nı kaybetmezdi” (Tarabulus 1993, 2).

<sup>234</sup> “... “Yahudi Sorunu” nun sistematik bir imha yoluyla çözümlenebileceği fikrinin gelişmesinde, Alman düşünür ve aydın kesiminin de yadsınamaz bir rolü oldu” (Tarabulus 1993, 2).

<sup>235</sup> “...Alman yazar Paul de Lagarde, bir eserinde: “Şu insancılık denen fikri kafalarımızdan atmalıyız” demiştir” (Tarabulus 1993, 2).

<sup>236</sup> “...İbrance’de ŞOA veya HURBAN olarak anılan “Büyük Katliam” a Soykırım denmesinden, “HOLOKOST” olarak nitelendirilmesini, benzersizliği ve Yahudiye özelliği açısından yeğ tutuyorum...bir kültür hazinesinin yok edilişiydi amaçlanan. Yahudiliğini reddedene, Yahudiliğine inançla bağlı olanına, zeginine, fakirine, gencine, yaşlısına, aydınına, cahiline, her bir Yahudi’ye yönelik bir hedefti” (Tarabulus 1993, 2).

<sup>237</sup> “...1871 yılında...Almanya...zorla da olsa Prusya ile birleşmiş ve Avrupa’nın en büyük devleti doğmuştu...” (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>238</sup> “...İmparatorluk Meclisi’nin kurulması ile demokratik bir maske takınılmıştı, ancak gerçekte, Alman İmparatorluğu Prusya’nın egemen olduğu askeri bir otokrasi olarak kalacaktı...” (Russo 2006, 6).

economically became as strong as the Great Britain in the beginning of the twentieth century<sup>239</sup>; that later on, the Empire pursued an expansionist policy to conquer the colonies of France, England, Belgium, Portugal and the iron rich regions of France, and annex the territories of Belgium, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, the Ottoman Empire and even the allied Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>240</sup> Russo also claims that the First World War provided the opportunity to the German Empire and the Germans to pursue their ambitions.<sup>241</sup> However, contrary to the expectations of the German people, the German Empire was defeated at the end of the First World War and had to sign the Treaty of Versailles which incorporated heavy conditions for the country. This situation created a social and political instability in the society that paved the way for the Nazi rule in the future.<sup>242</sup> Furthermore, the Great Depression in 1929 created an economic instability with high levels of inflation and unemployment and made the situation in the country even worse.<sup>243</sup> Before explaining the Nazi period, Russo deals with the origins of Hitler's ideas. According to Russo, Hitler was part of a society that had racist inclinations already in the beginning of the century<sup>244</sup> and he was primarily influenced by the ideas of an extremist nationalist Georg Ritter Schönerer who argued, long before the First World War, that the German race should get rid of the Jews, the pressure exerted by the Catholic Church, the Slavs, the socialists, and the

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<sup>239</sup> "...Almanya XX. yüzyılın başlarında Büyük Brianya ekonomisini zorlayan ve hatta zaman zaman geçen bir büyüklüğe ulaşır..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>240</sup> "...Almanya tarihinde ilk kez sömürgelerin...paylaşılmasına katılmaktadır...Fransız, İngiliz, Belçika ve Portekiz sömürgelerinin, Fransa'nın Alman sınırında bulunan zengin demir bölgelerinin fethi; Belçika, Hollanda, İskandinav ülkeleri ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun, hatta müttefik Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğunun topraklarının ilhakı..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>241</sup> "...Savaş Almanya ve Almanlar için güçlerini dünyaya ilan etmek açısından iyi bir fırsattır..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>242</sup> "...Ancak 1918 yılında alınan ağır yenilgi ve bunun sonucunda Almanya'nın imzalamak zorunda kaldığı Versailles Anlaşması'nın şartları, Alman halkının beklentilerine ağır bir darbe indirir...Savaşın kazanılacağı fikrinin yaygın olduğu Alman toplumunda, yenilginin yarattığı sosyal ve siyasi düzensizlikler, Nazileri iktidara taşıyan basamakları oluşturur" (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>243</sup> "...1929 yılında patlayan dünya ekonomik krizi de bu olumsuzluklara eklenecektir. İşsizlik ve enflasyon dayanılmaz hale gelecektir" (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>244</sup> "...Nazi ideolojisinin şekillenmesinden çok önceleri, 1907 yılında yayınlanan çeşitli dergilerde verilen...ırkçı mesajlar..." (Russo 2006, 6).

communists.<sup>245</sup> Furthermore, he claims that Hitler made his intentions explicit in *Mein Kampf*.<sup>246</sup> Russo then claims that the defeat in the First World War made easier for racist ideas to flourish and eventually target the Jews and that, as a result, Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist Movement used anti-Semitism already existing in the German society successfully to clamp together the Germans around a utopian ideal: The Great German Empire.<sup>247</sup> Thus, Russo argues that as soon as assumed power in 1933<sup>248</sup>, Hitler oppressed the opposition both within and outside the Nazi Party, closed the parliament, established the Third Reich, annexed Austria and the Sudeten region in Czechoslovakia.<sup>249</sup> However, the Jews had no place in the Nazi revolution.<sup>250</sup> The Nuremberg Laws which were promulgated in 1935 created a legal framework for anti-Semitism to follow its course<sup>251</sup> and in this context expulsions followed exclusions of the Jews from the German society.<sup>252</sup> Finally, Russo states that the pogroms<sup>253254</sup> which

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<sup>245</sup> "...Hitler'i çokça etkileyen isimler arasındaki Georg Ritter Schönerer aşırı milliyetçi uçlarda fikirleri olan bir insandı...Onun için Alman ırkının Yahudiler'den, Katolik Kilisesi'nin baskısından, Slav'lardan, sosyalistlerden, komünistlerden kurtulması gerekiyordu..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>246</sup> "...Adolf Hitler, açılımını "Kavgam" ile açık açık ortaya koyuyordu..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>247</sup> "...Savaş sonrası bu fikirlere alıcı bulmak çok daha kolay olmuştu. Almanya yenilmişti...Suçlu gerekiyordu, ve bulunmuştu: Yahudiler. Adolf Hitler ve Nasyonal Sosyalist hareket, zaten Almam kamuoyunda var olan Yahudi düşmanlığını, halkı kendilerine bağlamak, onlara "ulvi" idealler etrafında kenetlemek, tekrardan Almanya'yı yaratmak için, son derece başarılı şekilde kullandı..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>248</sup> "...Cumhurbaşkanı Hindenburg 1933 yılı başında, Nasyonal Sosyalist parti başkanı Adolf Hitler'i Weimar Cumhuriyeti'nin başbakanı olarak atarken..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>249</sup> "...Hitler'in iktidara ilk geldiğinde yaptığı, önce parti içi muhalefeti söndürmek oldu...sosyal demokratları ve komünistleri tasfiye etti, hem de meclisi kapattı...III. Reich kurulmuştu...(Hitler'in) dünyaya ilk meydan okuması Avusturya'yı ilhak etmesidir. Aynı şekilde, Çekoslovakya'nın Südet bölgesi'nin...anavatana bağlamak...önemli bir adımdır, ve bu yapılıır" (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>250</sup> "...Oysa, Nazi Devrimi'nde...Yahudilerin yeri olmayacaktır" (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>251</sup> "...1935 yılında Nüremberg Yasaları'nın yayınlanması ile Yahudi düşmanlığı ilk kez kanuni bir çerçeveye oturtulur..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>252</sup> "...Amaç Yahudiler'i sosyal anlamda tecrit etmektir...Daha sonra is kovulmalar başlar..." (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>253</sup> Kristallnacht - "Crystal Night" or "Night of Broken Glass" in English simply refers to the litter of the broken glass left in the streets - is the name given to pogroms that took place on 9-10 November 1938 which were directed towards to the Jewish people and to their property. The Jews were humiliated, some of them died, some of them were seriously injured, their stores were marked, the books written by the Jews were burned, the synagogues were burned down, and others. (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Kristallnacht>).

<sup>254</sup> I selected five articles to provide a summary for the Kristallnacht. These represent most of the articles related to the subject. In these articles, the authors try to present the reasons behind the pogroms. They

took place on 9-10 November 1938 symbolized the beginning of the destruction process of the Jews<sup>255</sup>; that the Jews were incarcerated in the ghettos before long; and that the Wannsee Conference<sup>256257</sup> which was organized in January 1942 eventually legitimized the annihilation of the Jewish people.<sup>258</sup>

In his article, which dated on March 23, 1994, Ergun Balcı concentrates on the concept of anti-Semitism. He claims that anti-Semitism was the reason behind the annihilation of the Jews during the Second World War. To explain that he touches upon several issues. First, Balcı tries to explain the difference between the concepts of Jewish hatred and anti-Semitism. According to Balcı, being a Jew was not an issue in the Middle Ages. The problem, however, was rejecting conversion to Christianity and remaining a Jew. On the contrary, in the idea of anti-Semitism being a Jew was already a problem. If converted to Christianity, the Jews would have the same rights as the other citizens in the Middle Ages. According to the idea of anti-Semitism, however, no matter which course of action he took, a Jew could not be tolerated; he was guilty of being a Jew. Balcı argues that this theory created the context for a “Final Solution” to the “Jewish

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provide a historical background to explain the processes that brought the Nazis to the power; they stress that Hitler made his intentions about the Jews clear in *Mein Kampf*; they talk about the Nuremberg Laws and the resulting discrimination against the Jews; they talk about the assassination of Ernst Vom Rath, a German diplomat, by Herschel Grynzspan in Paris on 9 November 1938; they claim that that assassination gave the Nazis the long expected opportunity to trigger a massive physical violence towards the Jews; they depict the incidences in detail; and finally, they argue that the Kristallnacht represented the beginning of the Holocaust (Levi 1996, 8, 12; 1997, 8, 12; 2003, 1, 9; Yanarocak 2004, 9; Russo 2010, 14).

<sup>255</sup> “Kristallnacht: Artık Hiçbir Şey Eskisi Gibi Olmayacak – 9 Kasım 1938 gecesi başlayan sokak olayları, Almanya genelinde tüm Yahudi hedeflerine sistemli saldırılarda bulunulur...” (Russo 2006, 6).

<sup>256</sup> Wannsee Conference, meeting of Nazi officials on January 20, 1942, in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee to plan the “Final Solution” (*Endlösung*) to the so-called the “Jewish Question” (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Wannsee-Conference>).

<sup>257</sup> In his article, Rafi Kohen explains the details of the Wannsee Conference which was organized on 20 January 1942. Kohen mentions that the conference was organized by the General Reinhard Heydrich to structure the details of the plan to ultimately annihilate the eleven million Jews. The code name of the plan was the “Final Solution”. According to Kohen, the participants concentrated on the efficiency of the plans rather than the human tragedy that the Jewish people would confront with. In fact, they were already informed about and actively taking role in the mass killing of the Jews in Serbia and Russia (Kohen 2010, 14-15).

<sup>258</sup> “...Ocak 1942’de toplanan Wannsee Konferansı, Yahudi katliamını hukuki hale getirir...” (Russo 2006, 6).

Question” in the Nazi Germany.<sup>259</sup> Second, he explains the development of anti-Semitism and racism during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. He argues that the industrial revolution and the resulting changes in the capital structure created an insecure middle class in Europe. This middle class neither wanted to be a part of the proletariat nor had a confidence in the capitalist class. According to Balcı, this middle class searched for an ideology to attach to and someone to blame for their feelings of insecurity and economical uncertainty. The politicians managed to find the scapegoat: the Jews.<sup>260</sup> Third, Balcı argues that the foundations of racism were laid down by the idea of anti-Semitism. Now it was time to institutionalize racism. Balcı claims that Arthur de Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Sergei Nilus, and Alfred Rosenberg paved the way for the greatest genocide in the human history. In his *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, written in 1853, Gobineau argued that a civilization’s racial character was diluted through miscegenation. Houston Stewart Chamberlain improved Gobineau’s theory or rather his nonsense. In his book, Sergei Nilus tried to prove scientifically the intention of the Jews to rule the world. In his book, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, written in 1934, Alfred Rosenberg paved the way for the gas chambers in Auschwitz, Dachau, and Belsen. Alfred Rosenberg argues that Germany should be re-established based on the principle of master race or superior race and based on an anti-Christian rhetoric which excluded the concepts such as the feeling of guilt, sin, and morality. The Aryan race superseded all such values.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> “...Ortaçağda Yahudi olmak bir suç değildi. Yahudilerin kendi dinlerine sınımsız sarılıp, Hıristiyan olmayı reddetmesi idi suç olan. Antisemitizmde ise Yahudi olmak suçtur. Ortaçağda vaftiz olmayı kabul edip Hıristiyanlığı benimseyen Yahudiler, ülkenin diğer vatandaşları gibi tüm haklara sahip olabilirlerdi. 19. yüzyılın sonlarında şekillenmeye başlayan antisemitizmde göre ise bir Yahudi ne yaparsa yapsın bağışlanamaz; onun suçu Yahudi olmasıdır. Bu teori, sonunda Hitler Almanyası’nda “nihai çözümle” Yahudi ırkının topyekün imha edilmesi için ortamı hazırlamıştır” (Balcı 1994, 14).

<sup>260</sup> “...yeni sınıfın temel özellikleri, güvensizlik duygusu ve gelecek kaygısı idi. İşçi sınıfının saflarına düşmekten nefret ediyor, büyük sermayeye ise kuşku ve kaygıyla bakıyorlardı. Bu sınıfa, sığınacağı bir ideoloji, yaşadıkları güvensizlik ve ekonomik belirsizlik ortamından sorumlu olan bir suçlu bulmak gerekiyordu. Politikacılar suçluyu buldular: Sorumlu Yahudilerdi” (Balcı 1994, 14).

<sup>261</sup> “...Modern ırkçılığın tohumları antisemitizmle atılmıştı. Sıra, bunu kuramsallaştırmaya, bilimsel(!) temellere oturtmaya gelmişti. Fransız kont Arthur de Gobineau, İngiliz Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Rus rahip Sergei Nilus ve Nazilerin ideoloğu Alfred Rosenberg, insanlık tarihinin en büyük soykırımına giden yolu açmakta öncülüğü yaptılar. Kont Gobineau 1853’te yazdığı “Irkların Eşitsizliği” adlı

Finally, Balcı argues that with this nonsense twelve million people, all from inferior races such the Jews, the Russians, the Hungarians, the Rome, the Polish, and the Yugoslavians, were killed. According to Balcı, the Jews were destroyed in five stages: by exerting physical violence between 1933 and 1935; by promulgating the Nuremberg Laws in 1935; by mass arrests starting from 1939; by incarceration in the ghettos starting from 1940, and by the “Final Solution” in 1941.<sup>262</sup>

The article which was dated April 6, 1994 and which was written by Tarablus and Asayas concentrates on the origins of the Nazi ideology. They claim that Social Darwinism<sup>263</sup> was the theory that influenced the Nazi ideology the most. They then refer to Herbert Spencer’s ideas on the natural selection. According to them, Spencer claimed that the lives of members of a society depended on a struggle for existence in a process of competition which was determined by biological factors; that the weak did not have the right to survive; and that the weak had to be diminished and to be eliminated by the laws of the nature. They also argue that the European scientists

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kitabında uygarlıkların çöküşünün temel nedeninin Aristokratların temiz kanının, sıradan insanların kanı ile karışıp bozulmasına bağlıyordu. Houston Chamberlain, Gobineau'nun teorisini ya da safatasını geliştirdi...Sergei Nilus, yazdığı kitapta Yahudilerin dünyayı ele geçirmeyi planladıklarını bilimsel olarak kanıtlamaya çalıştı...Nazilerin ideologu Alfred Rosenberg ise 1930'da yayımlanan "20. Yüzyılın Efsanesi" adlı kitabı ile Auschwitz, Dachau, Belsen toplama kamplarındaki gaz odalarına giden yolun taşlarını döşüyordu. Rosenberg'e göre Almanya yeniden kurulmalıydı. Yeni Almanya Hıristiyan ilkeleri üzerinde değil, Nietzsche'nin felsefesi üzerinde yükselmeli, üstün insanların ülkesi olmalıydı. Suçluluk duygusu, günah ve ahlak gibi Hıristiyan ilkelerinin, yeni Alman toplumunda yeri yoktu. Aryan kanı, tüm değerlerin üzerinde idi” (Balcı 1994, 14).

<sup>262</sup> “...Naziler, bu safsatılarla 5 milyonu Yahudi, 7 milyonu da Rus, Macar, Rumen, Çingene, Polonyalı, Yugoslav gibi "aşağı ulus ve ırklar"dan olmak üzere 12 milyon insanı öldürdüler. Yahudi soykırımını 5 aşamada gerçekleştirdi. Naziler 1933'te iktidara geldiklerinde Yahudi dükkanlarının yağmalanması ve Yahudi mallarına boykot gibi eylemlerle yetiniyorlardı. 1935'te "Nuremberg yasalarının" kabulü ile soykırım giden yolda ikinci aşama başlar. Nuremberg yasaları ile Yahudilerin seçimlerde oy kullanması yasaklanır. Bu yasalar çerçevesinde Yahudilerin işyerleri ve meslekleri de ellerinden alınır. 1939'da üçüncü aşamada Yahudilerin ilk kez toplu halde binlercesinin bir arada tutuklanması başlar. 1940'ta ise tüm Alman ve Avusturya Yahudileri, Polonya'da oluşturulan özel gettolara gönderilir. Ve 1941 yılında beşinci aşama, "nihai çözüm" gelir” (Balcı 1994, 14).

<sup>263</sup> In his article, written in 2005, Hay Eytan Yanarocak also touches upon the background of the Nazi ideology. He claims that Nietzsche’s concept of “superhuman” and Social Darwinism laid the grounds for this ideology to pursue the total annihilation of the Jewish people. He also relates anti-Semitism to Catholic Church. According to Yanarocak, even though informed about the destruction, the silence of Pope Pius XII. was a strong indication of anti-Semitism (Yanarocak 2005, 8).

consciously discarded the ideas of humanism and rationalism prevailing in the previous periods and instead, proposed eugenist policies to purify the next generations. Uninfluential previously, these ideas were later developed in the German universities to ultimately produce theories which defined the lives that were not worth living. Hence, when Hitler came to power in 1933, the structure that would lead and/or drive the execution and/or action was already in place. Accordingly, on 14 July 1933, he promulgated a law which defined the lives that were not worth living.<sup>264</sup> Hence, the Holocaust. Tarablus and Asayas claim that the Holocaust survivors<sup>265</sup> became the main protagonists of the remembrance many years after the tragedy and that the State of Israel led and supported the effort with several projects. At the end of their article, Tarablus and Asayas argue that the ideas that created the Holocaust were still alive and that, however, the attitudes and reactions of the Israelis and the Diaspora changed significantly due to the existence of the State of Israel. Unlike during the Holocaust times the Jews now had the capacity to react to and fight against the threats in many ways.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> “...Nazizmin ilkelerinin oluşmasına yardımcı olan kuramların en güçlüsü...Darwin'cilik teorisidir. 1850'lerde yaşamış olan İngiliz düşünür Herbert Spencer'in kuramlarından birkaç tane: İnsanlar arasında rekabet biyolojik faktörlere dayanır; toplum içindeki zayıf unsurların yaşamaya hakkı yoktur; doğanın başlıca çabası, bu gibi unsurlardan kurtulmak, dünyayı onlardan arındırmak ve daha iyilere hazırlamaktır. Avrupalı bilim adamları, daha önceki dönemlerin özellikleri olan humanizm ve rasyonalizmi, bilinçli olarak terkederek gelecek nesillerin arınması için bir soyarıtımı (eugénisme) politikası uygulamasını salık verirler. O devirde hiç bir etki alanı oluşturmayan bu fikir akımı, 1920'lerde, Alman Üniversiteleri tarafından geliştirilerek "yaşamaya layık olmayan hayatları" yok etme teorileri üretilir ve bu eserler yayınlanır. Böylece Hitler, iktidara geçtiğinde, harekete geçmek için bütün alt yapıyı hazırlanmış olarak bulur. İlk işi ise, bu teorilere kanuni bir kılıf hazırlamaktır. 14 Temmuz 1993'te bununla ilgili kanun meclisten geçer...Yaşamaya layık hayatları olmayan toplumlar, alt sınıf insanlar, lüzumsuz fuzuli yaşamalar, bitler, asalaklar, sosyetenin faydasız kesimi gibi kavramlar zihinlerde yer eder” (Tarablus and Asayas 1994, 7).

<sup>265</sup> In another article, Tarablus argues that the Zionists, because of their ambitions to become powerful by forming a state, did not prefer the image of the sheep to the slaughter which was attributed to the Holocaust victims and she claims further that it was the Eichmann trial which enabled the survivors to get rid of the feeling of guilt of the victim, became visible, and break their silence (Tarablus 1989, 6).

<sup>266</sup> “Holokost'u olanaklı kılan çerçeveler hala mevcut. Fakat, Holokost'un tekrarlanması olasılığı bizi korkutmamalı. Nazizm günlerinden bu yana önemli bir değişiklik meydana geldi: Bu da Yahudinin tutum ve tepkilerindeki değişimdir. İsrail'in kurulması, Yahudilerin tutumunu ve özellikle Diaspora Yahudisinin tutumunu değiştirmiştir. İsrail ve Diaspora Yahudiliği tehlikelere karşı değişik şekillerde

In another article on the same date, Tarablus and Asayas elaborate on how the Holocaust became a proof of the failure of liberalism. According to Tarablus and Asayas, the Holocaust happened after the Jewish modernization that was fashioned for the last 200 – 250 years. They claim that, during this period, most of the Jewish communities had faith in such concepts as universalism, modernity, and liberalism which presumably would bring the long-expected salvation to them. In relation to this, they argue that emancipation created three different movements in Judaism which were orthodoxy, conservatism, and reformism and there were some who took another path outside these movements. These people pursued secularism which, they thought, would bring them equality within the society that they inhabited. Furthermore, they even believed that they had the right to assume a different identity and eventually distanced themselves from the idea and/or concept of the “chosen people”. According to Tarablus and Asayas, the lesson that the Holocaust taught the Jews was that the status of equality which they initially thought would bring salvation did not in fact help when it was time to determine whom to deport to Treblinka. That’s why the Holocaust was a proof for the failure of liberalism.<sup>267</sup>

In his article which was published on April 26, 1995, Yusuf Altıntaş emphasizes the uniqueness<sup>268</sup> of the Holocaust through providing several definitions. Just in the

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tepki göstermektedir. Bize yöneltilen saldırılar o veya bu şekilde geri püskürtülmektedir. Holokost öncesinde ve esnasında bu özelliğe sahip değildik” (Tarablus and Asayas 1994, 7).

<sup>267</sup> “...Bu afet, Yahudi cemaatlerinde 200-250 yıldan beri süregelen bir çağdaşlaşmanın ertesinde doğmuştur. Bu dönemde Yahudi toplumlarının büyük bir bölümü evrenselliğe, çağdaşlığa ve liberalizme inandı, bu ilkelerin, hem insan neslinin hem de Yahudilerin kurtuluşunu müjdelediği kanısında birleşti. Özgürleşme (emancipation) ve çağdaşlaşma Yahudi dinsel görüşü içinde üç akım yarattı: Ortodoks..., Tutucu..., Reformist...Bazı Yahudi toplumları yukardaki üç akımın dışında bir yol benimsedi: Laiklik, çağdaşlığın öğretisi ise şuydu: Herkese eşit hak, herkese eşitliğe dayanan bir insan topluluğunun parçası olma hakkı. Çağdaş olmanın kuralı bu ise, Yahudi olmayı seçmek de haktı. Buna karşılık, madem ki özgürce seçme olanağı söz konusuysa, bir Yahudi de, Yahudiden başka birşey olma hakkına sahiptir. Gerçekten de birçok genç, eski "aşiretçilik" ve Yahudi "seçilmişliğini" sürdürmek yerine, evrensel insan toplumunun bir üyesi olmayı seçti. Soykırım'ın bize verdiği ders: İş, birilerini hayvan vagonlarında Treblinka'ya göndermeye gelince, bazı insanların "eşit hakları" diğerlerine oranla aynı "eşitliği" taşımamakta...Soykırım, liberalizmin iflasının kanıtıdır...” (Tarabllus and Asayas 1994, 7).

<sup>268</sup> The uniqueness of the Holocaust is often discussed the newspaper writings. Şalom also defends the uniqueness and the unprecedentedness of the Holocaust should the occasion arises. In 2000, Şalom reacted to the discussions that would take place in the French Senate regarding a draft bill which

beginning of his article, he claims that the term genocide was insufficient to define what happened to the Jews during the Nazi period. And accordingly, any such term or insistence on such terms would result in the abuse of the Holocaust memory. Therefore, he provides several definitions of the Holocaust to cover all the aspects of the tragedy to eventually establish its uniqueness such as, the Holocaust was the name given to the blood feud that the Christian world fabricated and pursued as a mission for the last two thousand years and which ultimately was transformed into an atrocity in the hands of the Nazis; the Holocaust was the definition of the extrajudicial execution and/or summary execution of the blood libel, which the Christian world pursued to perpetuate the blood feud, in the Nazi Germany; the Holocaust was the definition of the extent of the villainy that reached its peak under the Nazi rule with combination of the theorization, “artistification” and execution of the nonsense of the superiority and the purity of the Aryan race by Ludwig Feuerbach, Richard Wagner, and Adolph Hitler, respectively; the Holocaust was the definition of the unlimited extent of the blood thirst through which human killings became a desire, mass killings turned into technological development, and slaughter of human beings turned into an industry; the Holocaust was the definition of negligence and indifference of the nations and individuals who assumed themselves to be the representatives of civilization, while the Jews were being

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recognized the massacres of Armenians living in the Ottoman territories during the First World War as genocide. For example, although İvo Molinas mentions the relevance of an objective analysis to enlighten the incidences which occurred during the First World War, he, on the other hand, argues that it would be historically unjust to claim that the Ottomans had the intention to annihilate all the Armenians just like the Germans had for the Jews in the first place and to define those incidences as genocide (Molinas 2000, 1). Another prompt reaction against a statement made by Yossi Sarid, then the Israeli Minister of Education, which proposed the inclusion of the Armenian genocide to the curriculum, came from the Israeli Union of Turkish Immigrants. The Union blames the minister with ignorance and reminds the protection and hospitality provided historically since the Inquisition times by both the Ottoman and the Turkish authorities to the Jews in Turkey (2000, 7). In January 2001, following the approval of the bill in the French Parliament, in his article Molinas claims that to define the occurrences during the First World War as genocide would result in the trivialization of the Holocaust (Molinas 2001, 1). In the same of issue of the gazette, Robert Schild argues that the deportation of the Armenians was not compatible with the definition of genocide and that it was irrelevant to compare this incidence with the systematic destruction of the Jewish people (Schild 2001, 2). Yet in the same issue, Şalom publishes the reaction of the Turkish Jewish community against the proposal by the United Kingdom to commemorate the Armenian genocide on the liberation day of Auschwitz which stated that the Holocaust should not be compared to the so-called Armenian genocide (2001, 7).

hustled into the animal wagons on the way to the death camps just because they were Jewish; the Holocaust was the definition of the wickedness of the perpetrators to conceal their act of turning six million Jews into smoke and ash just because they were Jewish behind the hierarchy of command, of the banality of the collaborators who justified their cooperation in the process of rounding up the Jews with the claims of “the spirit of the time”, of the gullibility of the ones who did not move a muscle on the wishful thinking that “nothing was going to happen” although Adolph Hitler made his intention explicit fourteen years ago; and finally, the Holocaust was the definition of the destruction by the Nazi Germany of not only the defeated nations but also half of the Jews, but only of the Jews in the world, in the death camps just because they were Jewish. Thus, Altıntaş claims that the Holocaust, whether called genocide or not, could not be compared to any other massacre in the history and therefore, was unique.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> “Holokost; Hıristıyan dnyasının uydurduđu ve ikibin yıldır srdrmeyi kendine misyon edindiđi kan davasının, Nazi Almanya'sı eliyle ulařtıđı vahřetin tanımıdır. Holokost; Hıristıyan dnyasının gttđ kan davasını beslemek iin var etmeyi grev saydıđı kan iftiralarının, belli bir ařamada Nazi Almanya'sında boy gsteren yargısız infaz'ının tanımıdır. Holokost; Ari ırk safatasının Ludwig Feuerbach'a teorilendirilmesinin, Richard Wagner'ce sanatsallandırılmasının ve Adolf Hitler'ce pratiđe aktarılmasının, Nazi Almanya'sı egemenliđinde ulařtıđı alaklıđın tanımıdır. Holokost, insanın insanı ldrmesinin bir tr ihtiras haline, toplu ldrmelerin teknolojik geliřme haline, ve insan itlafının endstri haline getirildiđi Nazi Almanya'sındaki kana susamıřlıđın ulařtıđı sınır tanımazlıđın tanımıdır. Holokost; Yahudiler, sırf Yahudi oldukları iin, Kıta Avrupası ve Asya'da bir bir toplanıp hayvan vagonlarına istif edilerek lm kamplarına gtrlrken, ve stne stlk btn bunlar, tm dnyanın gzleri nnde olurken, kendilerini uygarlıđın temsilcileri sayan ulusların ve bireylerin  maymunu ađrıřtıracak grmez/duymaz/sylemezliđinin, karřı ıkmamanın onaylama olarak da deđerlendirileceđini idrak etmeyen gafletinin ve bařkasının sırtındaki yke aldırılmaz kayıtsızlıđının tanımıdır. Holokost; Altı Milyon Yahudi bedenini, sırf Yahudi bedeni oldukları iin duman ve kl haline getirenlerin, bunu yaparken emir komuta paravanının arkasına gizlenmedeki ařađlıklarının, Nazi Almanya'sıyla iřbirliđi edip de Yahudilerin toplanmasına elverenlerin zaman bunu gerektiriyordu bahanesi altına saklanmadaki adiliklerinin, Adolf Hitler btn bunları yapacađını daha on drt yıl once yazmıř ve yayınlamıřken, hibir řey olmaz... diyerek kılını kıpırdatma geređini dřnmeyenlerin avanaklıđının tanımıdır. Holokost; Beř yıla yakın suren İkinci Dnya Savařı sreminde gadre uđrayan kiři ve uluslarla birlikte, ama onlardan tam altı yıl nceden bařlamak zere gadre ve zulme uđrayan Yahudilerin, ama sadece Yahudilerin ve yalnız Yahudilerin, yeryzndeki nfuslarının yarısını, Yahudi olmanın "diyeti olarak Nazi Almanya'sı gdmndeki "lm Kampları'nda kaybetmelerinin tanımıdır. Holokost; bu niteliđiyle ister soykırım densin, ister Greko/Romen adıyla Jenosid densin, insanlık tarihindeki hibir katliamla benzeřmez, benzeřtirilemez, zdeřleřmez, zdeřleřtirilemez ve de en nemlisi onlarla "Holokost arasında hibir řekilde kořutluk kurulamaz.” (Altıntaş 1995, 6).

The speech delivered by Yehuda Bauer at Bundestag in 1998 was published in the second volume of the Holocaust Supplement on April 11, 2007. In his speech, Bauer emphasizes the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Before discussing the uniqueness of the Holocaust, Bauer touches upon the fact that other people such as the Polish and the Rome were also subjected to mass killings and that these atrocities were called genocide given the definition of the act by the United Nations.<sup>270</sup> Then he moves to explain why the Holocaust was unique. According to Bauer, the Holocaust was unique for several reasons. The first was the fact that the Jews who descended from three grandparents were targeted just because they were born Jewish. Bauer claims that this had never happened before. The second was that the Jews who were living in the countries under the Nazi influence were asked to be handed over to the Germans. Thus, the Germans desired to annihilate 14 million Jews who were living around the world by the year 1939. The third reason was the ideology. In fact, the Nazi revolution turned a racist-anti-Semitic ideology into a rational approach. Despite the 2000 years of Judeo-Christian cohabitation, the Christian-anti-Semitic ideology emerged like a cancer mutation. According to Bauer, the fourth characteristic which makes the Holocaust unique is the death camps. Bauer argues that the Nazis might not be the ones who created these camps, but they absolutely developed them to another level. They not only dehumanized the Jews by the methods of extreme humiliation they also dehumanized themselves.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> "...Eğer Birleşmiş Milletlerin kullandığı genosid tanımlamasını benimsersek, Polonyalılar ve çingeneler olarak da adlandırılan Romanlar'ın başına gelenler de soykırımdı..." (Bauer 2007, 7).

<sup>271</sup> "...Tarihte ilk kez üç veya dört kuşak önceki büyük-akrabaları Yahudi olanlar dahil olmak üzere, Yahudilerin, salt Yahudi doğdukları için öldürülmek istendiğini açıkça görüyoruz. Bu daha önce hiçbir yerde olmamıştı. Holokost'a özgü ikinci bir özellik ise, Nazi Almanya'sının etkisi altında bulunan ülkelerde de Yahudilerin Almanlara teslim edilmesinin istenmesiydi. 1939 yılında, dünyanın çeşitli yerlerine dağılmış 14 milyon Yahudi'nin öldürülmesi isteniyordu. Üçüncü özellik ise ideolojidir. Mantık dışı bir hareketin sonucu olarak, ırkçı-antisemit bir ideoloji, mantıklı bir yaklaşıma dönüştü. Yaklaşık iki milenyuma dayanan Yahudi-Hıristiyan birlikteliğine rağmen, Hıristiyan antisemit ideolojisi tıpkı bir kanser mutasyonu gibi ortaya çıkmıştı. Holokost'a özgü dördüncü bir özellik olarak da toplama kamplarını ekleyebiliriz. Naziler bu kampları icad edenler olmayabilirler, fakat kampları bambaşka bir gelişmişlik düzeyine taşıdılar. Nazilerin Yahudileri insanlıkdışı bir hale getirmeyi amaçladılar, fakat insanlık dışına çıkanlar da kendileri oldular..." (Bauer 2007, 7).

In her article in the same volume of the Holocaust Supplement, Selin Saylağ refers to Zygmunt Bauman and discusses the relation between modernity<sup>272</sup> and the Holocaust. According to Saylağ, Bauman argues that an unprecedented massacre as massive as the Holocaust could only be possible with rational planning, bureaucratization, a well-coordinated organization, systematic functioning and a perfect methodology which were in fact the characteristics of modernity; that modernity brought concepts such as high level of efficiency, rational and perfect order, efficient and effective mass production to life, instead of randomness, irregularity, and defective production; and that modernity was rational, logical, non-emotional and aimed for progress. Thus, Saylağ claims that the aspects in the process of the “Final Solution” which were the perfection in the organization, the execution of the plans by a large group of people with a well-designed system of division of labor, and the accurate execution of the plans could only be possible with the principles of modernity.<sup>273</sup>

In an article which was published on 13 April 1988, Rina Eskenazi emphasizes the heroism of the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto. She first describes the way the Germans penetrated the Warsaw Ghetto. She states that the Germans thought in the first place that they would be victorious and that the remaining Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto would surrender and would be taken to Treblinka and Auschwitz. According to

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<sup>272</sup> In his article, Hasan Bülent Kahraman discusses the approaches to explain and tries to understand the reason behind the Holocaust. According to Kahraman, literature, philosophy, and social sciences presented ways to explain the Holocaust. Though some of the approaches such as the one which put emphasizes on the modernity were convincing, some others were insufficient to explain the Holocaust. He states that he agreed with Hannah Arendt to a certain extent in her analysis of evil but still, according to Kahraman, it was the ignorance and indifference of the humans who witnessed the tragedy at the time that made the Holocaust a reality (Kahraman 2007, 3).

<sup>273</sup> “...o güne kadar benzerine rastlanmamış böylesine büyük ölçekteki bir katliam, ancak modernitenin sağladığı ve günlük yaşama kattığı akılcı programlama, bürokratikleşme, örgütlenme becerisi, sistematik işleyiş ve kusursuz bir yönetselikle gerçekleştirilebilirdi. Modernite rastlantısallığı, düzensizliği, üretim hatalarını yaşamdan uzaklaştırıp yerine yüksek verim, akılcı-kusursuz düzen, ekonomik, seri ve etkin üretim kavramlarını yaşama katar. Modernite akılcıdır, mantıksaldır, duygulara yer vermez ve illerlemeyi hedefler... “Final Solution” süreci incelendiğinde, tüm örgütlenmenin kusursuzluğunun, planlananların kalabalık bir kitle tarafından ince bir işbölümü ile yerine getirilmesinin, oluşturulan kurgunun adım adım titizlikle uygulanmasının ancak, modern çağın yaşama kattığı ilkeleri ile mümkün olabileceği anlaşılır...” (Saylağ 12, 2007)

Eskenazi, they also thought that they already lost their honor and dignity due to the conditions in the ghetto.<sup>274</sup> She states, however, that the Germans encountered an unexpected resistance that glittered out of the ruinous buildings instead.<sup>275</sup> She further states that it was not that easy to destroy the Warsaw Ghetto. Unlike the death camps such as Treblinka and Auschwitz where the Jews were gassed to death and were burned in the crematoria, here, in the Warsaw Ghetto, a resistance was the case; a reality. The remaining Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto already knew that the camps in fact meant death. That's why there were two options; either to accept the death without showing any kind of self-defense or to die while fighting. As a matter of fact, the fighters were determined to decide on their own destiny and to become an example against the passive attitudes and stance of the people in the Middle and the Eastern Europe. Finally, Eskenazi argues that the resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto not only motivated the underground resistance in Poland and triggered action against the Nazis but created the idea of Jewish

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<sup>274</sup> "...Sandılar ki büyük zafer onları bekliyor. Sandılar ki...geriye kalan bir avuç Yahudi teslim olacak ve Treblinka ya da Auschwitz'in yolunu tutacaktı. Sandılar ki bu insansal bir yılı aşkın süredir, açlık, soğuk ve bulaşıcı hastalıklarla zaten insanlık onurlarını yitirmişler ve pes etmeye hazır dılar" (Eskenazi 1988, 1).

<sup>275</sup> "...Ama beklenen zafer gerçekleşmedi. Alman komutan Stroop getoya girdiğinde, o pis, yıkık bina yığınları içerisinden umulmadık parlaktıkta bir direniş ile karşılaştı..." (Eskenazi 1988, 1).

solidarity<sup>276</sup> that in turn became of a proof of the difficulty of destroying a nation with 5748 years of history.<sup>277</sup>

In his article on May 3, 2000, Elia Perahya mentions the heroism of the resistance fighters within the greater context of the Holocaust and the relation between the resistance and the State of Israel. According to Perahya, the heroism of the resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto was a proof of the Jewish values of honor and devotion. Despite the adverse conditions in the ghetto and despite the death expecting them, these courageous resistance fighters still reared against the mighty German army that raged, ruined and destroyed Europe. The resistance fighters, who were the grandsons and granddaughters of the heroes at Masada preferred to die fighting with dignity and honor instead off facing death like animals going to the slaughter in the hands of the “damned” Hitler and his gang.<sup>278</sup> Perahya argues that unlike the previous pogroms and

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<sup>276</sup> Şalom discusses the issue of resistance, the positions of Kapos and Judenräte as well. In one of the articles Yakup Barokas refers to the memoirs of Yitzhak Antek Zuckermann, a resistance fighter himself who survived the revolt of the Warsaw Ghetto, *A Surplus Memory, Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*. Barokas mentions Zuckermann explaining the conflicts between the factions of the Jewish resistance, and the conflicts between the underground resistance and Kapos and Judenräte. According to Barokas, Zuckermann considered betrayal as one of the obstacles to a successful resistance against the Germans, and that that’s why the traitors were to be eliminated and so they did (Barokas 1991, 8). In an interview which was translated by Lizi Behmoaras, Adam Rayski, another resistance fighter who was active in France, touches upon the controversial situation of Judenräte in the ghetto. According to Rayski, Judenräte was in a major delusion, because following the orders of the Germans would not help ultimately to rescue the remaining Jews in the ghetto as they initially thought to be. That’s why the resistance was unavoidable and some preferred armed resistance (Rayski 1993, 12). In her article, Virna Banastey also deals with the issues resistance and Judenräte. After giving some examples of the resistance and different policies of Yohanan Elkes and Jacob Gens, leaders of Kovno Ghetto and Vilnius Ghetto in Lithuania, respectively, she concludes that the lack of solidarity due to individualism and to clash of different opinions might be the reasons for the failure of the resistance (Banastey 1999, 6).

<sup>277</sup> “...Kolay olmadı Varşova Getosunu yok etmek. Bu Geto başka bir Geto idi. Treblinka ya da Auschwitz kampları gibi savunmasız insansların gazlanıp fırınlara atılabileceği bir yer değildi. Bir direniş sözkonusuydu. Yahudiler kamplarda başlarına gelecekleri biliyorlardı. Gidenlerin çoğu geri dönmemiş kamplardan sızan bilgiler kampların ölümle eş değer olduğunu açıkça ortaya koymuştu. Ve geriye iki seçenek kalıyordu. Ya savunmasızca ölümü kabullenmek ya da çarpışarak ölmek. Direnişçiler hiç değilse ölüm şekillerinin tercihini kendileri yapmak isteyen insanlar olduklarını kanıtlamak ve belki de tüm Orta ve Doğu Avrupa halklarının Nazi orduları karşısındaki pasif tutumlarına bir karşı örnek oluşturmak gayesiyle dövüşerek ölmek istediler...Almanlara karşı direniş fikri tüm Polonya yeraltı örgütlerini geçirdi En önemlisi getodan doğan bir Yahudi dayanışması fikri oldu ki bu da 5748 yıllık bu geçmiş olan Yahudilerin kolay kolay yok edilemeyeceğini ortaya koydu” (Eskenza 1988, 1).

<sup>278</sup> “Varşova Getosu Başkaldırısı, Yahudi kahramanlığı, Yahudi ulusunun doğal değerleri olan onur ve özveri kavramlarını tüm dünya önünde bir kez daha kanıtlamıştır. Açlıktan bitap düşmüş, tek silahları

massacres in the history of the Jews, the Holocaust was the first and foremost political attempt to annihilate all the Jews in the world, first, by subjecting them to humiliation and to dehumanization and defining them as the embodiment of all the evil in the world and second, by burning them in the crematoria.<sup>279</sup> He also mentions the silence of the Germans and the other nations in the world to this human tragedy.<sup>280</sup> He then relates the revolt to the attitude of the bystanders. Thus, he claims that the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto revolted to protest the indifference and the ignorance of the bystanders.<sup>281</sup> He then emphasizes the relation between the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto and the Holocaust, and the emergence of the state of Israel. He states that the State of Israel which emerged out of the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto and the ashes of crematoria would remain a home for the Jewish nation forever.<sup>282</sup>

In another article on the first volume of the Holocaust Supplement which was published on April 19, 2006, Marsel Russo not only mentions the Warsaw Ghetto uprising but also discusses other forms of resistance taking place both in the ghettos and in the camps. According to Marsel Russo, there were various forms of resistance. The Jews resisted either by joining the partisans and other resistance fighters who engaged guerilla warfare against the Nazis<sup>283</sup> or by writing a cook book and taking it out of the

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cesaretleri olan bu kişiler, hayatta kalma şansları olmadığı bilincinde, tek bir vücut gibi şahlanarak, Avrupa'yı kasıp kavurmakta olan büyük güce karşı savaştılar. Massada kahramanlarının bu onurlu torunları lanetli Hitler'in cinayet şebekesi taraflından hayvanlar gibi katledilmektense savaşarak ölmeyi yeğlediler” (Perahya 2000, 4).

<sup>279</sup> “...Biz Yahudiler, yüzyıllar boyunca sayısız pogrom ve katliamla karşılaştık, ancak bu kez, tüm Yahudi ulusunu tamamen yok etmek konusunda bir siyasi irade mevcuttu ve bu sonuca iki kademe ulaşılması öngörülmekteydi: İlk aşama, İkinci Dünya Savaşı öncesi dönemde Yahudi kimliğini yıpratarak, Yahudiyi aşağılanması gereken bir kişi olarak afişe edip, onun, insanlığın başına gelen tüm felaket ve kötülüklerin sebebi ve kaynağı olduğunu iddia ederek, yaşam hakkına sahip olmadığına, dünya kamuoyunu inandırmaktı, ikinci kademe ise, savaş yıllarında Yahudi'yi değersiz bir eşya olarak ateşe atarak yok etmektir” (Perahya 2000, 4).

<sup>280</sup> “...Alman ulusu suskun kaldı. Dünya milletleri görmemek için gözlerini, duymamak için kulaklarını, haykırmamak için dilleri damaklarına yapıştı, kalpler taş kesildi” (Perahya 2000, 4).

<sup>281</sup> “...İşte Varşova kahramanları, bu ilgisizliği protesto etmek... için başkaldırdılar” (Perahya 2000, 4).

<sup>282</sup> “...Doğrudur, Varşova Yahudi mahallesi artık yok, ancak onun enkazından ve ölüm finnlannın küllerinden doğan bir devlet var ki, dünya yaşadıkça Yahudi ulusunun barınağı olacaktır” (Perahya 2000, 4).

<sup>283</sup> “...Kah...partizan gruplara veya direnişçilere katılarak yapılan gerilla tipi savaşlar, kah gettolarda ya da toplama kamplarındaki ayaklanmalar...” (Russo 2006, 11).

walls of the camps<sup>284</sup> or by performing arts in the camps.<sup>285</sup> By resisting against the mentality that caused the misery, they were still able to transmit their situation to the next generations so that they could realize what was happening at the time.<sup>286</sup> Furthermore, despite the Nazi persecution, the life in the ghettos and in the camps continued socially, artistically, and by even providing health and education services.<sup>287</sup> Starting from 1942, with the “Final Solution”, the ghettos were liquidated, and their inmates were deported to concentration camps. This situation justified the arguments of the ones who favored armed resistance instead of passive resistance.<sup>288</sup> According to Russo, the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto was distinct among all other armed resistances because it was the first move ever to protect the Jewish identity after a long period of submission to their rulers. The Jews never revolted the way that they did in the Warsaw Ghetto neither during the dark periods of the Middle Ages nor during the Russian pogroms.<sup>289</sup> Even though the Germans were too many and an armed resistance would not be decisive in the result, the resistance fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto preferred to fall fighting for their honor and dignity instead of dying in despair and in silence.<sup>290</sup>

Thus, as depicted by the newspaper writings, *Şalom* touches upon several issues which are also some of the constituents of the Holocaust literature such as the Nazi ideology

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<sup>284</sup> “...yemek kitabı yazarak ve bunu dışarı kaçırarak bu başkaldırıya katılmıştı; ...” (Russo 2006, 11).

<sup>285</sup> “...başka biri ise...yaptığı resimlerle...” (Russo 2006, 11).

<sup>286</sup> “...Onlar, kendilerine hayatı zindan eden zihniyete karşı gelerek, olup biteni gelecek nesillere aktarmışlardı...Bilinsin diye...” (Russo 2006, 11).

<sup>287</sup> “...Nazi zulmüne nispet edercesine, sosyla yaşantısı ile, sanatı ile, eğitim ve sağlık hizmetleri ile, hayat devam etmekteydi” (Russo 2006, 11).

<sup>288</sup> “...1942 yılından itibaren, Son Çözüm paketinin devreye sokulmasından sonra, gettolar bir bir boşaltılmaya, ve insanlar trenlerle toplama kamplarına götürülmeye başlanır. O zaman dek, pasif direniş yapmanın hiçbir işe yaramayacağını seslendirenler için, silahlı mukavemetin haklılığı ortaya çıkmıştır” (Russo 2006, 11).

<sup>289</sup> “...Ayaklanmalar arasında Varşova Getosunda yapılanın ayrı bir yeri vardır...Bu isyan Yahudilerin uzun asırlardır, kimliklerini korumak için yaptıkları ilk hareketti. Ne Ortaçağ karanlığında yaşadıkları, ne de Rusya'nın dört bir yanında maruz kaldıkları pogromlara böyle karşılık vermemişlerdi...” (Russo 2006, 11).

<sup>290</sup> “...Elbette ki silahlı eylemlerin, kendilerine biçilen yazgıyı değiştirmesi olanaksızdı. Almanlar çok güçlü ve fazlaydılar. Ancak sessizce ölmek yerine, insanlık gururu için sasvaşarak ölmek daha doğrudu onlar için...” (Russo 2006, 11).

and the intention of Hitler to annihilate the Jews from the beginning; the silence of the bystanders; the importance of the act of remembrance to avoid similar devastations in the future; the uniqueness of the Holocaust; the idea behind the systematic killing; and the positions, the attitudes and the actions of different actors within the Jewish community against the Nazis.

### 3.3 THE “PERPETRATORS-COLLABORATORS-BYSTANDERS-NAZI HUNTERS” CLUSTER

The last cluster under analysis is the “Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters”. The breakdown of the cluster in terms of sub-clusters and according to newspaper writings is given in the table below:

**Table 19.** Breakdown of “Perp.-Col.Byst.N.Hunters” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Sub-Cluster	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Perpetrators	29	14	37	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	65	131
Collaborators	-	18	-	67	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	89	89
Nazi Hunters	-	10	1	13	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	28	29
Bystanders	1	3	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	17	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>267</b>

The table indicates a sharp increase in the newspaper writings in the second period mainly due to the increase in the three sub-clusters which are the “Collaborators”, the “Bystanders”, and the “Nazi Hunters”. While in the first period the number of newspaper writings is 68, it reaches to 199 in the second period which corresponds to an increase of 131. Moreover, while in the first period almost all the newspaper writings are related to the “Perpetrators”, in the second period, despite both the “Perpetrators” and the Collaborators” contain 148 of 199 newspaper writings, there is no single sub-cluster dominating the cluster. The breakdowns of the subjects in each sub-cluster are provided in the following tables:

**Table 20.** Breakdown of “Perpetrators” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings  
(1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Adolf Eichmann	26	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	50
Hitler	1	2	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6	8
Kurt Waldheim	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
Alois Brunner	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Joseph Schwammberger	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Joseph Mengele	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Klaus Barbie	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Nazis in Argentine	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Legal Acts	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Ordinary Germans	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Albert Heim	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
East Germany	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Nüremberg Trials	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Others <sup>291</sup>	2	-	12	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	11	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>51</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>66</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>131</b>

<sup>291</sup> In the first period, “Others” includes articles and news related to trials and capture of several perpetrators as well as discussions on whether some of the perpetrators who were considered dead were in fact alive. In this caption there are two articles and 12 news. The subjects related to these writings are “Bubbi Von Alwensleben-Dr. Klingenfuss-Herbert Cukurs”, “Dr. Ludwig Han”, “Herbert Cukurs”, “Ilso Koch”, “Karl Chemielevski”, “Martin Borman”, “Martin Borman, Heinrich Müller, Dr. Hans Eiscle”, “Rudolf Stangl”, “Trials”, “William Kopper”, and two other writings with names not mentioned. In this table in addition to these two more items are included in the news for the first period: “Nazis” and “Trials”. In the second period, the rest of the 11 news are related to “Alfons Goetzfried”, “Dr. Albert Massiczek”, “Heinrich Müller”, “Heinrich Gioss”, “War Criminals”, “Name Lists”, “Kurt Franz”, “International Cooperation”, “Johannes Thummler”, and two other writings with titles and/or names not mentioned.

**Table 21.** Breakdown of “Collaborators” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings  
(1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
John Demjanjuk	-	5	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20
Paul Touvier	-	1	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11
Maurice Papon	-	2	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
France	-	6	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	8	8
Turkey	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Lithuania	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Rene Bousquet	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	3
Ford	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Romania	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Volkswagen	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
I.G. Farben	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Others <sup>292</sup>	-	2	-	16	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	18	18
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>18</b>	-	<b>67</b>	-	-	-	<b>4</b>	-	-	-	<b>89</b>	<b>89</b>

<sup>292</sup> In the “Others”, there are 16 news, two articles, and two interviews. The contents of the 16 news are related to the following subjects: “Aleksandrasa Lileikis”, “Antanas Kenstavicius”, “Argentina”, “Belarus”, “Dino Sakic”, “General Franco”, “Holland”, “Hungarian Railways”, “Imre Fanta”, “Kalejs”, “Klaas Carel Faber”, “Polish”, “Sergis Hutzyrezyk”, “Uqme Chemicals”, “Turkey” and two others with names not mentioned. Two articles are related to the subjects which are “Siegfried Theodor Arndt”, and “Andrija Artukoviç”. Finally, two interviews are related to “France” and “Jaaques Verges”.

**Table 22** - Breakdown of “Nazi Hunters” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Simon Wiesenthal	-	3	1	7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	12	12
Serge Klarsfeld	-	2	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	10	10
Others <sup>293</sup>	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	-	-	-	<b>5</b>	-	-	-	<b>29</b>	<b>29</b>

**Table 23.** Breakdown of “Bystanders” Based on Type of Newspaper Writings (1947-1983 vs. 1984-2010)

Subject	Articles		News		Poems		Interviews		Stories		Total		G.Total
	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1	p2	p1&p2
Vatican/Catholic Church	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
Allied Forces	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Switzerland	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Red Cross	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Others <sup>294</sup>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	-	<b>14</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>

The tables indicate that contrary to the sub-clusters of the “Bystanders” and the “Nazi Hunters”, the sub-clusters of the “Perpetrators” and the “Collaborators” are less concentrated mainly due the higher number of fragmented subjects covered in a larger amount of newspaper writings over the years. It is also crucial to note that the efforts of the Nazi hunters are touched upon in the newspaper writings related to the perpetrators and collaborators as well. The issues related to the bystanders are also dealt with in other newspaper writings such as the ones included in the first two clusters

<sup>293</sup> The “Others” caption consists of five articles and two news. The subjects of the articles are: “Charles Allen-Tuviah Friedman-Yaron Svoray”, “Elliot Welles”, “Ephraim Zuroff”, “Michel Thomas”, “Shimon Samules”, and “Tuviah Friedmann”. The subjects of the news are “Argentina” and “Michel Thomas”.

<sup>294</sup> In the “Others” caption there is one article. The subject of the article is “USA”.

analyzed in this chapter. Thus, despite less in terms of the number of newspaper writings and more concentrated in terms of subjects, the issues related to the Nazi hunters and bystanders are touched upon in other newspaper writings as well.

There are several issues covered in this cluster for which details are provided in the beginnings of the analysis of each sub-cluster. However, it is crucial to mention that the main theme of this cluster is the emphasis on the Jews coming out of powerlessness and being after the criminals, be it as people now living securely within the borders of a state and/or individuals who either represent the state, or work within an organization and/or independently. Their desire is to illuminate the past, to ensure the remembrance of the human tragedy, and finally, make both the countries and individuals who are responsible from this human tragedy face their past morally and/or legally.

Accordingly, in order to analyze this cluster, I selected 38 newspaper writings 12 of which were referenced in the footnotes. For the “Perpetrators” sub-cluster, I selected three articles and two news. While the subjects of the articles are of “Klaus Barbie” and of “Ordinary Germans”, the subjects of the news are of “Klaus Barbie”. Moreover, to provide more insight into the sub-cluster, I referenced another nine newspaper writings in the footnotes. For the “Collaborators” sub-cluster, I selected 17 newspaper writings of which three were referenced in the footnotes. While 11 of the newspaper writings are news, the remaining three are articles. Whereas the subjects of the news are “Vichy Government”, “Romania”, “Lithuania”, “Turkey”, and “John Demjanjuk”, the articles are comprised of subjects of “Vichy Government” and of “John Demjanjuk”. I selected three newspaper writings of which two are articles and one is a news to analyze the “Nazi Hunters” sub-cluster. Whereas the subjects of the articles are “Simon Wiesenthal” and “Serge Klarsfeld”, the subject of the news is “Simon Wiesenthal”. Finally, in the “Bystanders” sub-cluster, there are three news of the subjects of “Vatican” and one article of the subject of “USA”. The reason why I categorized the subject of “Turkey” under the “Collaborators” sub-cluster is not primarily to claim that Şalom mentions or purposefully draws attention to any

collaboration between Turkey and the Nazis but rather is to present how Şalom follows the arguments of several parties regarding the subject. Finally, the language of the articles selected for the analysis is Turkish.

In the “Perpetrators” sub-cluster, the news and the articles provide a very detailed information on several dimensions such as the biographies of the perpetrators; their activities in countries which they inhabited and by which they were protected; the efforts of the world Jewish institutions, the Nazi hunters<sup>295</sup> and the State of Israel to bring the perpetrators to the justice or exert pressure on them to accept their Nazi identity<sup>296</sup>; the atrocities committed by them against the Jews and others; the definition of the crimes they are accused of; and the judicial proceedings and the witness accounts.<sup>297</sup> Moreover, in some of these writings, Şalom mentions the obligation of the countries which were perpetrators themselves or the countries that collaborated<sup>298</sup> with the Nazis to face their past.

There is one news and three articles related to Klaus Barbie which all together exemplify this line of presentation. Whereas the news and one of the articles are anonymous, two of the articles are written by Lizi Behmoaras. The dates of the news and the anonymous article are October 10, 1984 and October 2, 1991. The dates of the

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<sup>295</sup> In an anonymous article, Şalom provides information on Alois Brunner who was first aide to Adolph Eichmann. In the article, Şalom explains that as early as 1982 Serge Klarsfeld paid a visit to Syria to prove to the Syrian authorities the fact that Alois Brunner was living in Syria. However, his attempt achieved nothing due to the rejections from the authorities (1986, 6).

<sup>296</sup> In several news Şalom explains; how the World Jewish Congress proved Kurt Waldheim, then the General Secretary of the UN was actually a Nazi officer active in Balkan during the Second World War and that this information had already been available to the CIA for the last 40 years; that the Israeli government formally applied to the UN for the examination of the documents claiming that he was actually a Nazi; that he accepted his Nazi identity, apologized for hiding the truth but eventually denied any responsibility for the actions against the Jews; and that he wanted to normalize his relations with the State of Israel through an official visit (1986, 1; 1990, 6; 1990, 1; 1990, 6).

<sup>297</sup> In some news, Şalom covers the extradition and the trial of Joseph Schwammberger. Şalom explains how he was handed over by the Argentinian government to Germany; mentions that he was charged for the crimes against humanity; gives survivor testimonies during the trial in detail to depict and emphasize the human tragedy; and finally, mentions that he was sentenced to life imprisonment (1990, 1; 1990, 6; 1991, 7; 1992, 5; 1992, 6).

<sup>298</sup> The newspaper writings in this sub-cluster mentions only France which was ruled by the Vichy Government as a collaborator.

articles written by Lizi Behmoaras are October 23, 1984 and October 2, 1991. The articles mention that as soon as Barbie joined the “Hitler Youth Movement” in 1933<sup>299</sup> at the age of twenty, he became active in the “Security Service of the Third Reich” (SD)<sup>300</sup>; that two years later, in 1935, he took the oath of the “Protection Squadron” (SS)<sup>301</sup>; that in 1937, he joined the ranks of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party<sup>302</sup>; that in 1940, following the defeat of Holland by Germany, he was appointed as a member of the Security Police in Amsterdam<sup>303</sup>; that, in 1942, he was appointed to Lyon<sup>304</sup>; and finally, that he became a captain in 1944.<sup>305</sup>

The articles also explain that, after the Second World War, he, like many other ex-Nazis, was protected by the Americans and the Germans in return for his services in Latin America and France. For example, the articles mention that he established a German intelligence network against France and that he also became an indispensable member of the American Counter Intelligence Organization. They also state that he took refuge in Bolivia; that he was involved in atrocities against the socialists; that he was in contact with the extreme right groups to pursue the Nationalist Socialist ideals; and that he was even involved in a coup d’etat in Bolivia in 1980.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> “...1933 yılında “Hitler Gençlik Hareketi”ne katılır...” (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>300</sup> “...SD'nin (*Sicherheitsdienst*) (Güvenlik Servisi) Klaus Barbie gibi gençlere gereksinimi vardır...” (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>301</sup> “...1 Ekim 1935 tarihinde SS yemininde bulunur...” (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>302</sup> “...1937 yılında Hitler Almanya'sında tek parti olan Alman işçi Sosyalist Milliyetçi Parti'ye üye olur...” (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>303</sup> “...1940 yılının ilkbaharında Hollanda yenilgiye uğratılınca Barbie, Güvenlik Polisi müdahale grubuna atanarak Amsterdam'a yollanır...” (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>304</sup> “...1942 yılında...Lyon'a gelen adam...” (Behmoaras 1991, 8). In another article, Liz Behmoaras mentions his title in Lyon as the head of Gestapo (Behmoaras, 1985, 6).

<sup>305</sup> “...Kasım 1944. Barbie'ye “Hauptsturmführer” ünvanı verilir...” (Behmoaras 1985, 6).

<sup>306</sup> “...Birçok Nazi savaş suçlusı gibi, o da, CIC (ABD'nin kurduğu Karşı İstihbarat Örgütü) ile görüşerek, onlar adına çalışmaya başladı. 1946 yılında "yüzsüz general" Reinhard Gehlen Almanya'da Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND)'in tohumlarını atıyor, örgütüne, II dünya savaşının seyyar gaz odasının yaratıcısı Walter Rauff, Lyon Kasabı Klaus Barbie gibi eski Nazi subaylarını alıyor ve güçleniyordu...CIC'in vazgeçilmez elemanlarından biri olup çıkan Barbie, neo-nazi Kurt Merk ile birleşerek 1948 yılında kısa sürede Fransa'ya karşı bir casusluk örgütü kurdu...1951 yılında Barbie artık Bolivya'ya gönderilmiş ve orada yeni görevlerine başlamıştı bile. Orada işkenceyi bir mahkeme edilme yöntemi olarak geliştirip yayacak, MIR (Bolivya Sosyal Demokrat Partisi) partisini, yöneticilerini

The articles also state that following the Second World War, Latin American countries became a safe heaven for the Nazis and that, as a result, Barbie lived a very comfortable life in Bolivia until 1972 when he was first disturbed by a Nazi hunter, Beate Klarsfeld, who proved that he was actually the head of an SS unit in Lyon which was involved in activities against the Jews.<sup>307</sup> However, the articles mention that, despite the evidence against Barbie, his extradition from Bolivia was only realized after a government change in 1983 and upon further efforts put forward by Serge Klarsfeld, another Nazi hunter and Beate Klarsfeld's husband. In 1982, as the president of the Association of Sons and Daughters of Jewish Deportees from France, Serge Klarsfeld followed his wife's lead and met with the French officials for an issuance of a request of extradition. Finally, France requested Barbie's extradition from Bolivia one more time and the Bolivian government, also because of a fraudulent case charged against Barbie, handed him over to the French who eventually locked him in Montluc prison in Lyon on the night of February 5, 1983.<sup>308</sup>

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katlederek yıkmaya gidecek, Nasyonal sosyalist hülyalarını gerçekleştirmeye çalışacaktı...Nasyonal Sosyalist Devrim hülyalarını unutmayan Barbie, bu hülyalarını dünyanın çeşitli gizli haber alma örgütleriyle, aşırı sağ grupların liderleriyle olan bağlantıların kullanarak gerçekleştirebileceğini sanıyordu...Ve nihayet 17 Temmuz 1980'de Bolıvyaya askeri darbesi gerçekleşiyor, ülkenin maden işçilerinin direnci de yiyecek, içecek ve silah yetersizliğinden kırılnca, ABD, sosyalizmin yenilgisini kutluyordu. Barbie tarafında ise, Hitler selamı ve gamalı haçlı bayraklarla kutlanıyordu darbe zaferi..." (1985, 6).

<sup>307</sup> "...Güney Amerika! Hitler uşaklarının güneşlendiği ya da el değmemiş ormanlarda kaybolup gittiği bir tür Cennet! Yıkılması zor bir efsane bu ve Barbie bu efsaneyi sürdürür. La Paz'daki dairesi, Santa Cruz'daki yazlık evinde "sakin" bir hayat sürer...Barbie, bu "cennet"te ancak 1972 tarihinde rahatsız edilir. Beate Klarsfeld, bu saygın vatandaşın Lyon da, SS'lerin "Yahudi Karşıtı" denilen IV B bölümü başkanı olduğunu ortaya çıkarır" (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>308</sup> "...Paris Ekim sonu 1982 François Mitterand'ın maslahatgüzarı olan Regis Debray, Elysees'deki bürosunda eski dostu, "Sürgüne giden Fransız Yahudilerinin Çocukları Derneğinin Başkanı" avukat Serge Klarsfeld ile görüşür. Özet olarak şunları söyler: "Bolıvyaya'daki bu rejim değişikliğinden yararlanıp Barbie'yi geri almamız gerek...Fransa resmen, Bolıvyaya Hükümetinden Barbie'nin yabancı suçlu olarak geri gönderilmesini talep eder. Bir gün önce ise Barbie Bolıvyaya da 10000 dolarlık bir dolandırıcılık nedeniyle tutuklanmıştır...5 Şubat tarihinde Bolıvyaya hükümeti Barbie'yi kalabalık bir refakatçi grubuyla La Paz askeri havaalanına taşıttırır. Barbie saat 22 30'da Bolıvyalı Polisler ve Fransız ajanları ile bir Hercules t-130 uçağına bindirilmiştir. O günün akşamı Lyon'daki Montluc hapishanesine nakledilir..."

Among the atrocities Barbie committed were the torture of Jean Moulin, the leader of the French resistance to death<sup>309</sup>; the murder of 4.342 people; sending 7.591 Jews and 14.311 members of the French resistance to exile (deportation to death camps)<sup>310</sup>, and other systematic tortures.<sup>311</sup> The articles state that he was actually sentenced to death in absentia twice; once in 1947<sup>312</sup> and later in 1954. In 1954, he was sentenced to death for the massacre of Jean Moulin and 5.000 other members of the French resistance.<sup>313</sup> The articles state that, when he was captured in 1983, however, these crimes were subjected to lapse of time since almost 20 years had passed from the final verdict in 1954. That's why the prosecution required to search for and bring other crimes he committed to the court which could in turn be categorized as "crimes against humanity" and which therefore were not subjected to the statute of limitations.<sup>314</sup> Accordingly, Barbie was charged with several crimes which fell into this category such as the deportation of the children from a home in Izieu, a shelter where they took refuge, to the concentration camps; torturing 25 Jews; deportation of 84 Jews to the concentration camps; deportation of 300 others and 300 members of the resistance to Germany just before the Germans were retreating from Lyon; the torture of Professor Gompel to death; and arresting Lise Leseure's husband and son and sending them to the camps.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> "...Fransız direnişçilerinin meşhur şefi Jean Moulin'i yakalayıp, işkence ettikten sonra..." (Behmoaras 1985, 6).

<sup>310</sup> "...4342 cinayet, 7591 Yahudinin ve 14311 direnen Fransız'ın tutuklanıp sürgüne yollanmasından sorumlu..." (Behmoaras 1985, 6).

<sup>311</sup> "...Tanıklar nedensiz ve mantıksız şiddet eğilimini ve kendisine "Lyon Kasabı" lakabını kazandıran sistemli işkence yapma tutkusunu anlatmışlardı" (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>312</sup> This date was corrected as 1952 by Lizi Behmoaras in 1991.

<sup>313</sup> "28 Ekim 1954: Lyon...Klaus Barbie 1947 yılında gıyabında verilen idam kararından sonra, bugün ikinci kez Fransız Rezistans Ulusal Konseyi (CNR) lideri Jean Moulin ve 5000 Fransız rezistansçıyı katletmekten sanık olarak yargılandı ve ölüme mahkum edildi" (1984, 6).

<sup>314</sup> "...1983'te Barbie'yi ele geçiren adalet bu olayları yasal olarak artık kullanamazdı. 1952 ve 54 yıllarında gıyaben verilen ölüm cezalarından beri 20 yıl geçmiş ve hüküm zaman aşımına uğramıştı. Bir yandan başka olaylar arayıp bulmak, öte yandan bu olayların "insanlığa karşı suç" yani "tabiat olarak zaman aşımına uğraması imkansız" olup olmadıklarını araştırmak gerekiyordu" (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>315</sup> "...Sonuçta Barbie, 1) Izieu'deki yuvada kalmakta olan 44 Yahudi çocuğun ve onlara bakan yedi büyüğün kamyonlara doldurulması, temerküz kamplarına yollanması 2) 25 Yahudinin evlerinden alınıp işkence görmeleri 3) Yahudi kuruluşu üyelerinden 84 kişinin toplanmakta oldukları binadan alınıp temerküz kamplarına yollanmaları 4) 1944'te Almanlar Lyon'u terketmeden önce 300 kadar Yahudi ve

Eventually, the articles and news tell that Barbie received a life sentence on the night of 4 July 1987 for the crimes against humanity<sup>316</sup> and died in 1991.<sup>317</sup>

An article published on October 23, 1985 contains a discussion which emerged upon Barbie's capture. In that article, Behmoaras discusses whether it was really necessary to bring him to justice and if yes why. According to Behmoaras, Barbie needed to be brought to justice for the sake of human dignity and self-respect and against the efforts of some of the historians to minimize the impact of the Nazi ideology. Moreover, she claims that the attitude of the French people was also a reason for Barbie's late hand over. As a sign of this attitude, she brings forward the silence of the French historians. According to Behmoaras, their silence about the dark period that France had been through during the Second World War was also a reflection of the will of the French society. Therefore, as opposed to Simone Veil, Behmoaras claims that France should confront its past as it was the case for Germany. Behmoaras also argues that the ultimate aim of Barbie's trial was not only to punish him and his French accomplices during the 1940s but also to deal with the future of barbarism.<sup>318</sup>

In his article which was dated April 14, 2004, İvo Molinas discusses the responsibility of the German society in the Holocaust. According to Molinas, the socio-economic

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300 direnişinin trenlere doldurularak Almanya'ya sevki 5) Profesör Gompel'in işkence sonucunda ölümü 6) Lise Leseure'in, eşini ve oğlunun tutuklanıp kampa yollanmaları suçlarından dolayı yargılanacaktı" (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>316</sup> "...4 Temmuz 1987 gecesi Barbie bu insanlığa karşı suçların tümünden dolayı yaşam boyu hapse mahkum edilince..." (Behmoaras 1991, 8).

<sup>317</sup> "...Barbie'nin kan kanserinden Lyon'da bulunduğu hastanenin ceza koğuşunda öldüğü bildirildi..." (1991, 1).

<sup>318</sup> "İnsanlığın kendine karşı olan saygısı gözönüne alınacak olursa, kırk yıl sonra olsa da, bir Barbie'nin adalete teslimi şart! Bazı tarihçilerin nazizmi sıkılmadan sıradan bir olgu haline getirme girişimlerine bir son verme şartı! Barbie'nin Fransa'ya bu kadar geç geri verilmesinin nedenleri arasında Fransızların garip tutumları da vardı. Fransız tarihçilerinin bu konuda uzun bir süreyi aşan suskunluğu ya da çok temkinli açıklamaları, karanlık bir devrenin gerçeklerini örtmek isteyen Fransız toplumunun amacını yansıtıyordu. Kişiliğinin ahlâkı değeri tartışılmayan Simone Veil, bu arzuyu söyle dile getirmişti: "Bunca yıl sonra tüm pisliğe bulaşmak çok mu gerekli". Evet gerekli! Zira Almanya'dan geçmiş hakkında eksiksiz bir açık görürlük isteyip, bundan Fransa söz konusu olunca vazgeçmek olanaksız! İcabında pisliğe bulaşmak pahasına! Barbie davasında ulaşmak istenilen alçak bir işkenceciye verilecek ceza veya 1940 senelerinde Barbie'nin Fransa da edindiği suç ortaklarının ortaya çıkması isteminin çok ötesinde bir amaç. Asıl amaç barbarlığın geleceği konusunda bir yargıya varmak" (Behmoaras 1985, 6).

conditions subsequent to the First World War created an environment for a fascist regime to rule Germany. From there on, Molinas asks the question whether understanding democracy just as the rule of the majority and the resulting totalitarian regime created an atmosphere for the evil to reign. He argues that the combination of the most primitive instinct of the human nature, that is putting the blame on the “other” and of the long tradition of religious anti-Semitism, resulted in the reign of an unprecedented evil the human history ever witnessed.<sup>319</sup> Molinas reacts to a comment by a German Christian Democrat parliamentarian who blamed the Jews for the atrocities committed during the Communist regime and argues in return that his attempt was nothing but trivializing the Holocaust and purging the German society from the sentiment of guilt.<sup>320</sup> To strengthen his argument, Molinas then refers to Karl Jasper’s philosophical approach which proposed that the Germans who committed crimes against humanity were morally responsible and that the Germans who remained indifferent to the atrocities were politically responsible. Moreover, he also mentions Daniel Goldhagen’s argument which stated that in fact all the Germans were “Hitler’s Willing Executioners”.<sup>321</sup> In the end of the article, Molinas claims that despite the increasing research and other efforts to document the Holocaust, the Germans still had a tendency to demonstrate the Holocaust as an episode that was exceptional in the German culture (history) and that despite the young Germans were not responsible for the atrocities that their grandparents committed, they were at least obliged to feel what

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<sup>319</sup> “...1. Dünya Savaşı yenilgisi ve ekonomik kriz faşist bir yapılanmaya olanak sağlamıştı. Demokrasinin kimi zaman olduğu gibi, sadece 'çoğunluğun yönetimi' olarak algılanması ve totaliter yapı Almanya'yı 'kötülüğün' pençesine mı atmıştı? İnsan doğasının en ilkel güdüsü olan ve suçluyu hep 'öteki'nde arayan bir anlayış, yüzyılların dinsel antisemitizm birikiminin yardımıyla yeryüzü tarihinin görülmemiş kötülüğünü gösterir dünyaya...” (Molinas 2004, 3).

<sup>320</sup> “...Geçtiğimiz günlerde, Alman Hristiyan Demokrat bir milletvekili, Holokost'un ağırlığı altında hala ezilmekte olan Alman toplumunun suçluluk kompleksinden bir nebze kurtarmak ve Holokost'u basitleştirmek adına şöyle der: "Nasıl ki bizler Holokost'un sorumluluğunu kabul ediyorsak Yahudiler de Komünist rejiminin katliamlarındaki sorumluluğu üstlensin” (Molinas 2004, 3).

<sup>321</sup> “...Ünlü çağdaş Alman feylezofu, Kari Jaspers, Almanları sinirlendiren bir konuşmasında ne der biliyor musunuz? "İnsanlığa karşı suç işlemiş tüm Almanlar ahlaken suçlu, nazizme kurban gitmemek için edilgen rol alıp suçu seyreden her Alman da toplum adına siyaseten suçludur." Jaspers'e göre bir anlamda Alman toplumunun büyük bir kısmı suçludur. Amerikalı araştırmacı Daniel Goldhagen daha da ileriye giderek tüm Almanları, "Hitler'in gönüllü cellatları" olarak adlandırır” (Molinas 2004, 3).

such an unprecedented evil could accomplish just for the sake of avoiding a similar human tragedy in the future.<sup>322</sup>

In the “Collaborators” sub-cluster, the news and articles provide a detailed information on several dimensions such as explanations about the reasons and how a number of countries collaborated with the Nazis; the accomplices of the Nazis; the efforts of the Israeli researchers about and the pressures exerted by the Israeli state officials on the collaborating countries to face their past and eventually accept their responsibility in the human tragedy; and the judicial proceedings of the accomplices, the definition of the crimes they are accused of, and the witness accounts during the trials. In some of the articles, within the context of the subject, there are also messages that emphasize the importance of remembrance as well.

There are several articles and news which exemplify how Şalom deals with the issue of how the Vichy government collaborated with the Nazis. The first is a news written by David Benbasat-Benby on October 17, 1990. Benby provides information on a colloquium which was about the “Jewish statute” that the Vichy government promulgated in two phases in October 1940 and in June 1941. The colloquium was organized in Paris with the initiatives of the Jewish institutions and the sponsorship of the French government.<sup>323</sup> In the opening speech, Robert Badinter, who at the time of the colloquium was the President of the Constitutional Council in France, not only mentioned that the “Jewish statute” was a disgrace, he also argued that contrary to the propositions, it was pointless assuming that the Vichy government acted under the

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<sup>322</sup> “...Almanya, özellikle birleşmeden sonra Holokost adına sürekli araştırma yapmakta, yaşlılarla yapılan söyleşileri kayda geçirmekte. Lakin asıl amaç, kıyımın bir neden aramaktan çok, 1935-45 yılları arasında Alman kültürüne tamamen yabancı ve istisnai bir devir olarak göstermek! Alman yeni kuşağı babalarının yaptıklarından sorumlu tutulamaz tabii ki. Lakin bu benzersiz kötülüğün ağırlığını her daim hissetmelidir. Yeni kötülüklerin olmaması adına...” (Molinas 2004, 3).

<sup>323</sup> ““Yahudi yenilenmesi” ve “Fransız Yahudi Kamp Kurbanları Çocukları” kuruluşlarının inisiyatifiyle, Paris'in Çağdaş Yahudi Dokümantasyon Merkezi bu tarihin 50. Yıldönümünü anmak üzere. “50 yıl önce: Vichy Yahudi Tüzüğü” teması altında bir kollokyum düzenlendi. Cumhurbaşkanı François Mitterand'ın himayesi ve Anayasa Konseyi Başkanı Robert Badinter'in yönetiminde gerçekleşen bu kollokyum, senato sarayının Clemenceau salonunda düzenlendi” (Benbasat-Benby 1990, 8).

duress of the Germans; that it was foolish to ignore the turpitude and treachery of one's own history; and that the right course of action was to remain courageous enough to face the past.<sup>324</sup> Benbasat-Benby then refers to Denis Peschansky, who was then a member of the Institute of Contemporary History, mentioning the distinction between the first and the second statute. Peschansky argues that while the first "Jewish statute" which was passed on October 3, 1940 was the result of state anti-Semitism, the second "Jewish statute" which was promulgated on June 2, 1941 was the result of the collaboration between the Vichy government and the Nazis.<sup>325</sup> Benbasat-Benby then mentions Davit Douvette's studies which emphasized the confiscation of the Jewish material goods and assets which Benbasat-Benby himself describes as "robbery". Benbasat-Benby states that David Douvette explained the audience how the robbery paved the way for the deportations to the concentration and the death camps. According to Douvette, there were robberies with violence, robberies with looting, and robberies with legal means. Douvette argues that by dismissing the Jews from their positions in vocations and stripping them off their livelihood, the French went a step further than the Germans and became even more ruthless. Douvette finally claims that he valued the Jewish assets and possessions which were confiscated, "Aryanized", or liquidated at an equivalent of eight million French francs of the time.<sup>326</sup> Benbasat-Benby also

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<sup>324</sup> "...Kollokyumun başlangıç konuşmasında Robert Badinter, "Yahudi Tüzüğü" nü bir yüzkarası olarak niteleyerek özetle, çoğu kez iddia edildiği gibi, Vichy Hükümetinin Almanların baskısı altında hareket ettiğine inanmamak gerekliliğini, kendi tarihinin alçaklık ve kalleşliğini görmezlikten gelmenin aptalca bir davranış olduğunu; yapılanı işgale yüklemeye ülkesinin o dönemdeki zaafıyla yüzleşme yürekliliğini göstermenin erginliğin bir ölçütü sayılabileceğini söyledi" (Benbasat-Benby 1990, 8).

<sup>325</sup> "...Yakın Zaman Tarihi Enstitüsü Üyesi Denis Peschansky 3 Ekim 1940 yılındaki ilk "Yahudiler Tüzüğü" ile 2 Haziran 1941 de uygulamaya konan ikincisi arasındaki farkın altını çizerek, birincisinin Devlet antisemitizminin saf ürünüken ikincisinin İŞBİRLİĞİNİN sonuçlarından etkilenmiş olduğunu belirtti" Benbasat-Benby 1990, 8).

<sup>326</sup> "...David Douvette'in, uzun ve titiz çalışmalarının meyvesi olan demecinin konusu, Fransız Yahudilerinin tüm mal varlıklarının ellerinden alınmasıdır; yani uğradıkları "soygun"dur. Bu tarihi bize SOYGUN'un KAMPLARA SÜRGÜNE nasıl zemin hazırladığını anlattı. Şiddet yoluyla soygun, yağma yoluyla soygun, kanunların yasallaştırdığı soygunlar olmuştur: Yahudilerin elinden her türlü çalışma ve geçim imkanını almakla Fransızlar Alman buyruklarından daha ileri gitmişler daha da acımasız olmuşlardır. David Douvette, karşılığında hiç bir tazminat ödenmeden her şeyden yoksun bırakılmış, aryenleştirilmiş ya da tasviye edilmiş Yahudi kuruluşlarına o zamanın sekiz milyar frankı kadar değer biçti" (Benbasat-Benby 1990, 8).

emphasizes the arguments that Professor Pierre Laborie made about public reactions to the “Jewish statute”. Laborie claims that let alone there was no opposition to the racist laws by the French public, the French even expressed contentment about the situation in general and that the Jews were excluded from the society within a context that was generated by the feelings of xenophobia and anti-Semitism<sup>327</sup>. In his emotionally charged closing speech, Badinter made a call to the audience to collect and to bring as many documents as possible to bear witness to the Holocaust in times when the survivors’ memories were weakening perpetually.<sup>328</sup>

Şalom also concentrates on two devastating actions of the Vichy government against the Jews: Velodrome d’Hiver Roundup (Vel d’Hiv) on July 16 and July 17, 1942, and the deportation of foreign Jews from the Unoccupied Zone starting from August 26, 1942. The dates of the articles related to Vel d’Hiv and deportation of foreign Jews are April 14, 1993 and September 2, 1992, respectively. However, to follow the course of event chronologically, I will first concentrate on Vel d’Hiv. In her article, Mary Asayas explains how the Vichy government collaborated with the Nazis during Vel d’Hiv. After defining Vel d’Hiv as the initiation of the French version of the Holocaust<sup>329</sup>, she provides information regarding the policies of the Vichy government. Asayas states that the Nazi ideology was supported by state officials at all levels; that the Vichy government was in full collaboration with the Nazis<sup>330</sup>; and that they were ready to

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<sup>327</sup> ““Yahudi Tüzüğü”ne karşı kamuoyunun davranış mekanizmasını irdelerken, tarihçi Prof. Pierre Laborie Fransız halkını duygusuzluğunu, tepkisizliğini ve suskunluğunu vurguladı: Irkçı kanunlara hiç bir karşı koyma olmamıştır, buna karşılık kimi durumlarda memnunluk ifade edilmiştir...Yahudiler, yabancı düşmanlığının temel bir rol oynadığı ve antisemitizmin gizliden gizliye bir öge olarak gelip yerleştiği bir bütün içinde, dışlanmışlar kategorisine sokulmuşlardır” (Benbasat-Benby 1990, 8).

<sup>328</sup> “Başkan Robert Badinter, çalışmaları özetleyip noktalarken dinleyicilere, tarihin bu dönemiyle ilgili ve Yahudi Domümantasyonu Merkezini ilgilendirebilecek belgelerin fotokopilerini getirmeleri için duygulu ve etkileyici bir çağrıda bulundu: “çünkü yaşayanların belleğinin artık silikleştiği bu zamanda tanıklık etmek gerekir”” (Benbasat-Benby 1990, 8).

<sup>329</sup> “...Holokost’un Fransızlar tarafından yazılmış bölümü...Vel d’Hiv ile başlar” (Asayas 1993, 6).

<sup>330</sup> “...Vichy Hükümetinin Politikası: Nazi Almanyası’nın işbirlikçisi durumunda. Tüm hükümet kademelerinde Nazizmi destekleyen görüşte insanlar var” (Asayas 1993, 6).

solve the “Jewish Question” as proposed by the Nazis.<sup>331</sup> Thus, the Vichy government passed laws and statutes which deprived the Jews of their citizenship rights and which excluded them from professions.<sup>332</sup> According to Asayas, the government aimed to deliver 50.000 foreign Jews above 16 years old who were living in the French soil to Nazis first and then the French Jews. As a result, she states that the total number of Jews who were delivered to the Nazis exceeded 110.000.<sup>333</sup> Within this context, the first operation of the Vichy government was Vel d’Hiv,<sup>334</sup> which was executed by Darquier Pellepoix, Commissioner for Jewish Affairs; by Jean Leguay, second commander in the French National Police; by Andre Tullard, head of the Service of Foreigners and Jewish Affairs at the Prefecture of Police of Paris; by Maurice Papon<sup>335</sup>, Secretary General for Police at the Prefecture of Bordeaux; by Rene Bousquet<sup>336</sup>, Secretary General of Police; by Pierre Laval, head of the government; by Marshal

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<sup>331</sup> “...Vichy Hükümetinin Yahudi Politikası: Nazi ideolojisine uygun olarak, "Avrupa Yahudi Sorunu"nu halletmek. Avrupa'yı Yahudilerden temizlemek için Nazilere yardım etmek” (Asayas 1993, 6).

<sup>332</sup> “...Bu amaca ulaşmak için de, Yahudiler etap etap vatandaşlık haklarından yoksun bırakılırlar. Hükümet çıkardığı kanunlarla, Yahudilerin belirli mesleklere girmelerini yasaklar. "Avrupa'nın Yahudi Problemi'ni" halletmek üzere Nazilerle işbirliği yapar” (Asayas 1993, 6). Here the author implies the “Jewish statute” passed by the Vichy government without providing an exact definition.

<sup>333</sup> “...Vichy Hükümeti ilk etapta, Nazilere, 16 yaşının üstünde 50.000 Yahudi'yi teslim etmeye söz verir. Bunlar yabancı uyruklu, Fransa'da yaşamayı seçmiş kişilerdir. Sıra daha sonra, Fransız Yahudilerine de gelecek ve bu rakam 110.000'i geçecektir” (Asayas 1993, 6).

<sup>334</sup> “...İlk Harekat Tarihi "La Rafle du Vel d'Hiv" diye geçer. Paris'te başlatılır” (Asayas 1993, 6).

<sup>335</sup> Şalom follows the trial of Maurice Papon from beginning to the end. Maurice Papon was charged by crimes against humanity and brought to trial in 1983 just after evidences regarding his collaboration with the Nazi regime surfaced in 1981. Even though he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, he was released due to his bad health four years later. In one of her articles, Lizi Behmoaras argues that despite he was not an anti-Semite he was ready to hand over the Jews to the Germans since he was an official who desired a perfect functioning bureaucracy for the autonomy of the police organization and the protection of the state (Behmoaras 1990, 3, 6; Niyego 2009, 8).

<sup>336</sup> In the same fashion, Şalom provides information regarding the Bousquet case. In her article on 16 June 1993, just eight days after he was killed, Behmoaras explains that Bousquet was charged by crimes against humanity subsequent to the evidence which was found in 1991. Behmoaras also mentions the efforts of Serge Klarsfeld to bring Bousquet to the justice. In another article, Behmoaras depicts Bousquet as a state official who was ready to deliver the Jews to the Germans just because he was an officer who desired a perfect bureaucratic mechanism to protect the state (Behmoaras 1990, 3, 6; Behmoaras 1993, 8).

Pétain, French hero of the Battle of Verdun in the First World War; and others.<sup>337</sup> At the end of the operation, a total of 13.152 Jews, of which 3.118 were men, 5.919 were women, and 4.115 were children, were rounded up in Velodrome d'Hiver - a sports complex in Paris -<sup>338</sup> where they remained in miserable conditions for days after which they were eventually sent to the camps; Drancy, Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rollande.

The second article concentrates on the deportation of foreign Jews from the Unoccupied Zone starting from August 26, 1942. The author claims that this was the largest military operation ever in the French history.<sup>339</sup> According to the article, the Jews were deported from the Unoccupied Zone not because of the German pressure but rather with the encouragement of the Vichy government in the first place. To prove that, the article also draws attention to the negotiation on May 7 between Reinhard Heydrich, Chief of Police of the Reich, and Rene Bousquet, Secretary General of Police of the Vichy government, in which despite not being asked to do so, Bousquet offered the deportation of the Jews from the Unoccupied Zone when Heydrich mentioned him only the deportation of 5.000 Jews in the Occupied Zone.<sup>340</sup> The question of the Jews in the Unoccupied Zone remained pending until when the SS chiefs Oberg and Knochen did pressure Bousquet to deliver 10.000 Jews to the Germans upon the decision to execute the “Final Solution” was taken by the Nazis in Berlin on June 11. Finally, Bousquet agreed to deliver the Jews to the Germans.<sup>341</sup> The article mentions

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<sup>337</sup> “Birkaç isim saymak gerekirse en etkinleri: Yahudi Sorunları Komiseri Darquier Pelleqoix, Polis Genel Başkanı Leguay; ...Yahudi Fiş Dosyası Sorumlusu Andre Tullard; Vichy Güvenlik örgütü Genel Sekreteri René Bousquet; Bordo Emniyet Müdürlüğü Genel Sekreteri Maurice Papon; Başbakan Pierre Laval, Verdun Kahramanı, Hükümet Başkanı Maréchal Pétain ve diğerleri” (Asayas 1993, 6).

<sup>338</sup> “...Velodrome d'Hiver kapalı bir spor salonudur. Kapasitesi 15.000 kişidir. Oraya; 3118 erkek, 5919 kadın ve 4115'i çocuk olmak üzere 13. 152 kişi kapatılır” (Asayas 1993, 6).

<sup>339</sup> “26 Ağustos 1942 de işgal edilmemiş bölgede yabancı uyruklu Yahudileri hedef alan Fransa tarihinde gelmiş geçmiş en büyük askeri operasyonlardan biri başlatıldı” (1992, 8).

<sup>340</sup> “...Eğer serbest bölgedeki Yahudiler toplatılıp sürüldülse bu Almanların değil Vichy Hükümetinin teşvikiyle olmuştur. 7 Mayıs günü Paris'te Reich Polis Şefi Heydrich işgal bölgesine kapatılmış uyruksuz 5 000 Yahudinin sürgününden kendisine söz edince Fransız polisinin yeni şefi René Bousquet Vichy Hükümeti'nin daha önce serbest bölgeye toplamış olduğu uyruksuz Yahudileri de bizzat önermişti” (1992, 8).

<sup>341</sup> “...Sorun Almanlar tarafından bir süre askıda bırakılır. 11 Haziran günü Batıdaki “Nihai Çözümü” Doğu'ya sürgün yoluyla gerçekleştirme kararı Berlin'de alınınca Paris'teki SS şefleri Oberg ve Knochen

that “the delivery” of 10.000 Jews was realized between August 7, 1942 and September 15, 1942.<sup>342</sup>

In the news dated June 25, 2003, Şalom provides information on Jean Ancel’s study which focused on the Holocaust in Romania. Şalom mentions that according to the study, Romania was responsible for the murder of 400.000 Jews.<sup>343</sup> According to the news, in his book *Transnistria, 1941-1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, Ancel argued that the Romanians contributed most to the destruction of the Jews than any other Nazi collaborator<sup>344</sup> and that the Romanian government did not only murder half a million of its citizens but also murdered 180.000 Ukrainian Jews.<sup>345</sup> The news also mentions that the study was published just one week after the Romanian government denied the Holocaust which took place in her territories.<sup>346</sup> Later, in another news dated October 14, 2009, Şalom states that the Romanian President Traian Basescu mentioned that Romania had to accept responsibility for the destruction of the Jews in her territories and that the country had to commemorate the Holocaust.<sup>347</sup>

In another news dated October 1, 2003, Şalom concentrates on the speech that Reuven Rivlin, then the speaker of the Knesset, delivered both in the Lithuanian Parliament and during a ceremony organized to commemorate the Paneroy Massacre. The news

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Bousquet’ye baskı yaparlar ve Bousquet serbest bölgedeki uyruksuz 10000 Yahudinin Almanlara teslim edilmesini kabul eder” (1992, 8).

<sup>342</sup> “...10.000 Yahudinin teslimatı 7Ağustos ile 15 Eylül tarihleri arasında gerçekleşecektir...” (1992, 8).

<sup>343</sup> “İkinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Romanya Hükümeti'nin 400.000 Yahudi'nin ölümünden sorumlu olduğu kanıtlandı...” (2003, 7).

<sup>344</sup> “...Dr. Jean Ancel tarafından yapılan ve "1941-1942: Romenlerin Toplu Katliam Kampanyaları" başlıklı çalışmada, azi Almanyası'nın müttefikleri arasında, en çok Romanya'nın Yahudilerin yok edilmesine katkıda bulunduğu belirtildi...” (2003, 7).

<sup>345</sup> “...Dr. Ancel'in çalışması, savaş öncesinde Romanya'da...o dönem hükümetini yarım milyon vatandaşının yanı sıra 180.000 Ukraynalı Yahudi'nin de öldürülmesini düzenlediğini ortaya koyuyor...” (2003, 7).

<sup>346</sup> “...Çalışma, Romen Hükümeti'nin, Romanya'da Holokost yaşandığına dair iddiaları inkar etmesinden sadece bir hafta sonra açıklandı” (2003, 7).

<sup>347</sup> “Romanya Devlet Başkanı Traian Basescu ülkesinin II. Dünya Savaşı'ndaki soykırımı kabul etmek ve kurbanlarını anması gerektiğini söyledi” (2009, 16).

states that Rivlin called the Lithuanians to face their past<sup>348</sup> and to commemorate the Holocaust by saying that the Paneroy Massacre was not carried out by a few gangs or hooligans but rather by thousands of people who were organized to commit to the most horrific crime ever in the history.<sup>349</sup> The news also mentions that the Lithuanian government prepared the grounds to legalize the looting of the Jewish assets and possessions during the Holocaust which he called robbery in the first place.<sup>350</sup>

Şalom is also concerned with the issue whether Turkey collaborated with the Nazis during the Second World War or not. Accordingly, in the news dated July 8, 1992, Şalom brought this issue upon the publication of a report by Rasime Hazer<sup>351</sup> in Nokta<sup>352</sup>, mentioning the claims made by Monica Herzog, a historian and then the director of Ravensbrück Museum, regarding the deportation of 86 Turkish Jews from Turkey to Dachau. After the issue of this report, Şalom had the opportunity to examine the documents that the report presented<sup>353</sup> and eventually realized that the 86 Turkish Jews were arrested outside the territories of Turkey.<sup>354</sup> The author of the news states that this actually was a relief for Şalom<sup>355</sup>. Şalom then presents the perspectives of three reputable Turkish columnists namely Altan Öymen, Sedat Sertoğlu, and Çetin Altan and a well-known academician namely Stanford Shaw, on the subject matter. According to Öymen, the report was based on an assumption, rather than the fact itself, that the Jews were arrested within the borders of Turkey.<sup>356</sup> Sertoğlu, very briefly, protests the silence of the Turkish state when the Nazis arrested and murdered Dr.

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<sup>348</sup> "...Litvanyalılara, geçmişleri ile yüzleşme çağrısı yaptı..." (2003, 7).

<sup>349</sup> "...yapılanların birkaç suç çetesi veya holigan tarafından değil, tarihin işlenmiş en büyük suçunda rol oynamak için organize olmuş binlerce kişi tarafından gerçekleştirildiği unutulmamalıdır..." (2003, 7).

<sup>350</sup> "...Daha sonra ise devlet...hırsızların gasplarını yasal hale getirmiştir..." (2003, 7).

<sup>351</sup> Nokta is a weekly political news magazine.

<sup>352</sup> "...Nokta dergisinde yer alan, Rasime Hazer'in hazırladığı "Katliamda Türk-Nazi İşbirliği başlıklı şok açıklaması..." (1992, 1)

<sup>353</sup> "...Yazının yayınlanmasından birkaç gün sonra Rasime Hazer ile bulduğumuzda bizlere gösterdiği belgeler..." (1992, 1).

<sup>354</sup> "...86 Türk uyruklunun kaydını...Türkiye dışında tutuklanmış olduğunu görmemiz..." (1992, 1)

<sup>355</sup> "...belgeler bizleri bir hayli rahatlatmıştı..." (1992,1).

<sup>356</sup> "...sözkonusu Türk vatandaşlarının Türkiye'de tutuklanmış olmaları 'varsayım'ı, kanıtlanmış bir veri gibi kabul edildiğini" (1992, 1).

Emrullah Nerin Gün, the Turkish press attaché in Budapest. He also states that those who overlooked the murders had to be kept accountable irrespective of their titles and/or positions.<sup>357</sup> Altan proposes that a secret collaboration between Turkey and Germany becomes even more evident when Turkey's rejection of Struma, a ship full of illegal Jewish immigrants who wanted to take refuge in the country, into any of her ports and the implementation of the Capital Tax on the minorities by the Single Party Rule were remembered.<sup>358</sup> Professor Shaw rejects the claims of Monica Herzog regarding the arrest of the 86 Jews within the Turkish territories. On other hand, based on the evidence, he argues that not a single Turkish Jewish citizen was arrested within and deported to the concentration camps from Turkey.<sup>359</sup> At the end of the news, Şalom mentions that there was an expectation from Monica Herzog to disclose the evidence on hand regarding her claims and another expectation from the Turkish Foreign Ministry to make a public statement to clarify the issue.<sup>360</sup>

Two weeks later, on July 22, 1992, Şalom publishes two news. One of the news is about the statement made by the Turkish Foreign Ministry and the other is a disclosure by Wiesenthal Center. According to the news, Ferhat Ataman, then the deputy speaker of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, stated that, upon preliminary review made on documents related to the period 1940-1947, there was not any evidence proving the

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<sup>357</sup> "...Naziler, senin ülkenin gencecik Budapeşte Basın Ataşesi Dr. Emrullah Nerin Gün'ü götürüp gaz odasında veya fırında yok edecekler, ve sen, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin o dönemdeki yöneticisi, diplomati, askeri olarak sessiz kalacaksın. Bütün bunlar, bu cinayetlere göz yumanlar her kim olurlarsa olsunlar, bu aşağılık davranışlarının hesabını vermek zorundadır" (1992, 1).

<sup>358</sup> "Türkiye'ye sığınmak isteyen Yahudilerle dolu Struma gemisinin Türk Limanlarından hiçbirine kabul edilmeyişi ve..., azınlıklar üzerine bindirilen Varlık Vergisi de hatırlanırsa; tek parti iktidarının Hitler Almanya'sıyla gizli bir işbirliğine girmiş olduğu daha çok berraklaşıyor" (1992, 1).

<sup>359</sup> "...tarihçi Monica Herzog'un iddialarını reddeden UCLA Üniversitesi profesörlerinden Stanford Shaw '1933-45' yılları arasında yaşanan Yahudi soykırımı ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti hükümetinin tutumuyla ilgili olarak, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti topraklarında yaşayan tek bir Yahudinin dahi tutuklanmadığını, toplama kamplarına götürülmediğini belgelere dayanarak anlattı" (1992, 1).

<sup>360</sup> "...konunun tamamen açığa kavuşması için bizim de arzumuz, bu iddialarda bulunan Ravensbrück Müze Müdürü, tarihçi Monika Herzog'un delillerini ortaya koyması ve Dışişleri Bakanlığımızın kamuoyunu aydınlatacak gerekli açıklamayı yapmasıdır" (1992, 1).

Turkish authorities handing over any Turkish citizen to the German authorities.<sup>361</sup> Furthermore, the news mentions Ataman saying that the Turkish authorities showed utmost interest in and took care of the Turkish Jews living either in Germany or in the territories occupied by the Nazis and that, despite the attitudes of the Nazis, some of the Turkish Jews were unwilling to return to Turkey but preferred to remain under the protection of the Turkish authorities instead.<sup>362</sup> Furthermore, Şalom presents Ataman's disclosure on the fate of Dr. Emrullah Nerin Gün. According to Şalom, Ataman stated that contrary to the claims that he was murdered in Dachau, he was actually rescued from the death camp by the Americans and that thereafter he continued to live in the US.<sup>363</sup> The second news explains that Şalom contacted Simon Wiesenthal Center in Paris to clarify the claims presented by Nokta and that as a response Wiesenthal Center stated that there was not any record proving any deportation of the Turkish Jews from the Turkish territories to the death camps. According to the news, on the contrary, Wiesenthal Center mentioned that in fact there was sufficient evidence demonstrating that the Turkish diplomats helped the Turkish Jewish citizens holding Turkish passports.<sup>364</sup>

In the news which dated August 19, 1992, Şalom presents the statement made by Monica Herzog. According to the news, in her statement Herzog told that she wanted

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<sup>361</sup> "...Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcü Vekili Ferhat Ataman, haftalık basın toplantısında bir soruyu yanıtlarken bakanlık arşivlerinin 1940-1947 yıllarına ait dosyaları üzerinde yapılan on araştırmada, Türk vatandaşlarının Alman makamlarına teslim edildiği yolunda herhangi bir belgeye rastlanmadığını bildirdi" (1992, 1).

<sup>362</sup> "...Savaş sırasında Almanya'da veya Nazi işgali altında bulunan ülkelerde yaşayan Türk vatandaşı Musevilere, Türk temsilcileri tarafından gerekli ilginin gösterildiğinin anlaşıldığını belirten Ataman, bunlardan bir kısmının Alman makamlarının tutumuna rağmen Türkiye'ye dönmeyerek sadece himayeden yararlanmak istediklerini kaydetti" (1992, 1).

<sup>363</sup> "...Ataman, Dachau kampında öldüğü öne sürülen AA muhabiri Emrullah Nerin Gün'ün de Türkiye'nin girişimi ile Amerikalılar tarafından kamptan kurtarıldığını ve ABD'ye giderek orada yaşadığını söyledi" (1992, 1).

<sup>364</sup> "Nokta dergisinin yayını üzerine temasa geçtiğimiz Paris'teki Simon Wiesenthal Merkezi, bugüne kadar yaptıkları araştırmalar neticesinde ikinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Türkiye'den alınıp Nazi kamplarına götürülen Yahudilerin varlığına ilişkin bir kayda rastlanmadığını açıkladı. Wiesenthal Merkezi, aksine bu savaş döneminde, birçok Türk diplomatının, Türk pasaportlu Yahudi vatandaşlara yardım ettiğinin kanıtlanmış olduğunu açıkladı" (1992, 1).

to notify the Turkish authorities about the arrival of 71 Turkish citizens to the concentration camp in Ravenbrück and that she did not get any response. Moreover, the news also mentions Herzog saying that the information she provided was distorted on purpose to make a splash and that she requested Nokta to publish her objections to the report.<sup>365</sup> In the news, Şalom mentions Monica Herzog stating that it was not possible to prove that these Jews were deported from Turkey but that they were rather sent from Brussels to Ravensbrück. According to the news, Herzog stated that these were political personalities. Moreover, the news refers to Herzog saying that there was not any evidence whether these people were either killed in the death camps or sent back to Turkey.<sup>366</sup>

In the news date July 8, 1998, Şalom refers to the news published by the Jewish Press in New York. According to Şalom, the news mentioned that Spain helped 40.000 Jewish refugees; that Portugal allowed 5.000 Jews to reach to the US; that Sweden rescued 7.000 Danish Jews and approximately 30.000 Hungarian Jews; that Argentine accepted 25.000 to 45.000 Jews to its territories; and that Turkey helped the rescue of 100.000 Jews during the Second World War. In the same news, Şalom states that the Jewish Press disclosed the publication of a report prepared by Stuart Eizenstat, then the US Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, which claimed that although these countries were neutral, they still entered into trading relationship with Germany, where they supplied materials for the production of military equipment in exchange for the gold extracted from the Jews. According to Şalom, the report explains the reason for this trading

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<sup>365</sup> "...Herzog'un 71 Türk'ün Ravensbruck Toplama Kampına geldiğini Türk yetkililere bildirmek istediğini fakat kendisine cevap verilmediği yazıyordu. Yazılı bir açıklamada Herzog bilgilerin sansasyon yaratmak amacıyla çarpıtıldığını bildirdi ve derginin itirazlarını yayınlamasını isledi" (1992, 1).

<sup>366</sup> "...Herzog, bu insanların Türkiye'den getirildiği varsayımının kanıtlanamayacağını, tam tersine birçoğunun Brüksel'den Ravensbruck'a getirildiğini; bütün bildiklerinin ise Brüksel'de tutuklanan bu Yahudilerin "siyasi kişilikler" olduklarını vurguladı. Herzog sözkonusu kişilerin öldürüldükleri veya Türkiye'ye gönderildikleri konusunda herhangi bir belgenin bulunmadığını da sözlerine ekledi" (1992, 1).

relationship as the desire on the neutral countries' side to avoid a possible German aggression.<sup>367</sup>

Şalom covered almost every phase of John (Ivan) Demjanjuk's, supposedly "Ivan the Terrible", trials both in Israel and Germany in 20 newspaper writings. Newspaper writings contain information about the details of the judicial proceedings such as the collaboration between the American and the Israeli judicial authorities; the crimes he was charged with, the content of the evidences presented, the portrayal of the human tragedy in the testimonies of the witnesses, the initial sentence imposed on the defendant, the differences of opinions regarding the verdicts; the discussions on whether he was actually "Ivan the Terrible"; the collaboration between the American and the German judicial authorities; the way the American authorities handed him over to their German colleagues; and others. Because the period under analysis ends at 2010, the newspaper writings do not include information regarding the closing of the judicial proceedings in Germany which continued until 2011.

However, instead of presenting the details of the points just mentioned above, I will emphasize three issues which are relevant given the context of this thesis. The first one is the survivor testimonies. For example, in the news dated April 1, 1987, Şalom presents the most striking parts of Pinhas Epstein's testimony. Epstein identified Demjanjuk, saying "There is Ivan the Terrible".<sup>368</sup> He continued: "I was 19 and he was 23. We lived with him in Treblinka for 11 months. I cannot forget his criminal acts. I

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<sup>367</sup> "New York'da yayınlanan gazetede yer alan haberde II. Dünya Savaşı sırasında "tarafsız" olan İspanya'nın 40 bin Yahudi sığınmacıya yardım ettiği, Portekiz'in 5 bin Yahudinin ABD'ye kaçmasına izin verdiği, İsveç'in 7 bin Danimarkalı Yahudi ile 30 bine yakın Macar Yahudisini kurtardığı, Arjantin'in ise 25-45 bin Yahudiyi kabul ettiği de belirtilirken Türkiye'nin 100 bin Yahudinin Nazilerden kaçırılmasında yardımcı olduğunu yazdı. The Jewish Press gazetesinde, ABD Ekonomi Bakan Yardımcısı Stuart Eizenstat tarafından açıklanan hükümet raporuna dayanarak verdiği haberinde savaş sırasında taraf tutmadıklarını açıklayan bu ülkelerin Almanya ile ticaret yaparak silah üretimine katkıda bulduklarını ve buna karşılık Nazilerin Yahudilerden zorla gasp ettikleri altınların kendilerine ödendiğini yazdı. Gazete, bu ülkelerin Almanya'ya mal sevkiyatını kesmeleri halinde kendi ülkelerinin de işgal edilmesinden korktukları için ticareti sürdürdüklerini belirtti, ancak herşeye karşın Yahudilerin kaçmalarına yardımcı olduklarını da vurguladı" (1998, 5).

<sup>368</sup> "...O'dur, işte tam orada oturuyor..." (1987, 6).

dream about him every night”.<sup>369</sup> He later describes the atrocities that Demjanjuk committed: “He was beating people into the gas chambers with an iron pipe or a sword, cracking their skulls, stabbing the pregnant women in the abdomen”.<sup>370</sup> The second one is the Jews coming out of the powerlessness. In her article which dated 18 August 1993, Nana Tarablus, for example, mentions that Demjanjuk was the second war criminal after Eichmann who was put on trial in Israel.<sup>371</sup> The third one is about the Holocaust. In the article just mentioned, Tarablus explains that there were death camps established in Eastern Poland in 1942 for the Operation Reinhard”: Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka; that the ultimate aim of the camps were to annihilate the Jews in Poland and every territory that the Germans occupied; that the victims were subjected to organized and systematic persecution, murder, and annihilation in each of these camps by 30 SS officers and accomplices majority of whom were Ukrainians; and that 1.800.000 people were murdered in Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka just because they were born either Jewish or Rome, or they were not a member of the Aryan race.<sup>372</sup> The fourth and the last one is about the remembrance. In the news dated April 27, 1988, Lizi Behmoaras argues that the trial turned into a history lesson for thousands of young Israeli Jews and that the Holocaust should not be forgotten especially when the Holocaust deniers reject the existence of the gas chambers.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> “...”Ben ondokuz yaşındaydım İvan ise yirmiüç. Onunla birlikte Treblinka kampında tam onbir ay yaşadık...İvan'ın yaptıklarının hafızamdan silinmesine imkan yok. Her gece rüyalarım giriyor...” (1987, 6).

<sup>370</sup> “...”İvan elindeki demir boru ya da kılıçla insanları gaz odalarına dove döve sokar, bazılarının kafasını parçalar hamile kadınların karnını yarardı...” (1987, 6).

<sup>371</sup> “...Böylece John Demjanjuk, 1961 yılında SS Subayı Adolf Eichmann'dan sonra İsrail'de yargılanan ikinci Nazi savaş suçlusı oldu” (Tarablus 1993, 8).

<sup>372</sup> “...”Reinhardt Operasyonu” kapsamında 1942 yılında Doğu Polonya'da üç ölüm kampı kurulmuştu: Belzec... Sobibor... ve Treblinka...Her üç kampın varlığının amacı Polonya ve Nazi Almanya'sının fethettiği ülkelerdeki Yahudileri imha etmektir. Her kampta, 30 kadar SS subayı ile çoğunluğu Ukraynalılardan oluşan 100 kadar yardımcı görevli, ölüm kampına getirilenlere örgütlü ve sistematik bir zulüm, cinayet ve imha mekanizmasının işlerliğini sağlamaktaydı...Belzec, Sobibor ve Treblinka ölüm kamplarında 1 800.000 insanoğlu yok edildi. Yegane suçları ise birer Yahudi... veya çingene... veya “ari” ırkından doğmamak idi” (1993, 8).

<sup>373</sup> “...Gaz odalarını yadsımaya dek varan tezlerin ortaya atıldığı şu sıralarda Shoah'nın ne olduğunun bir kez daha bilincine varılmalı ve asla unutulmamalı” (Behmoaras 1988, 6).

In the sub-cluster the “Nazi Hunters”, Şalom provides information on the biographies of the Nazi Hunters; their tireless efforts to catch the war criminals; their accomplishments; and the reasons why they became Nazi hunters. From the perspective of the scope of this thesis, I prefer to concentrate on the last issue rather than the rest and I selected three examples from the sub-clusters “Simon Wiesenthal” and “Serge Klarsfeld”. Accordingly, for example, in the article written on May 1, 1985, Dalya Akohen refers to Simon Wiesenthal mentioning that the human history was about murders, massacres, and criminals who perpetrated such atrocities; that it would be quite optimistic to believe that such atrocities would not happen again; that people with such intentions had to make sure that they would not be able to remain undisturbed for the rest of their lives once committed such atrocities as some people would be after them; and, finally, that as a survivor, his pursuit was to accomplish his mission in this world.<sup>374</sup> In the news dated September 21, 2005, Şalom commemorates Simon Wiesenthal just after he passed away. Şalom quotes him to remind the readers his mission regarding the Holocaust: “When we come to the other world and meet the millions of Jews who died in the camps and they ask us, 'What have you done?', there will be many answers. You will say, 'I became a jeweler.' Another will say, 'I smuggled coffee and American cigarettes.' Another will say, 'I built houses.' But I will say, 'I didn't forget you’”.<sup>375</sup>

By the same token, in an article dated October 13, 2010, Karel Valansi explains the mission of the Nazi hunters, Beate Klarsfeld and Serge Klarsfeld. According to Karel

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<sup>374</sup> “...İnsanlık tarihi, cinayetlerle, katliamlarla ve bunlara sebep olan suçlularla doludur. Öyle ki, böyle bir şeyin bir daha olmayacağına inanmak sadece fazla iyimserlik olur. Fakat gelecekte böylesine bir soykırıma kalkışmak isteyenlerin bilmesi gereken bir nokta vardır: Yeryüzünde hiçbir zaman huzurlu yaşamıyacaklardır. Ülkeden ülkeye göç edecek ve aynı yatakta uzun bir süre yatamayacaktır. Her an ensesinde birilerinin nefesini hissederek yaşamını sürdürecektir...Ben canlı kalmış bir Yahudi olarak bu dünyadaki vazifemi tamamlamaya çalışıyorum” (Akohen 1985, 6).

<sup>375</sup> “Tanrıya ve ölümden sonra hayat olduğuna inanıyorum, öbür dünyaya gittiğimizde ve kamplarda öldürülen milyonlarca Yahudi ile karşılaştığımızda bize hayatta neler yaptınız diye soracaklar. Biri 'ben kuyumcu oldum' diyecek, bir diğeri 'ben kahve ve Amerikan sigarası kaçırdım', bir başkası 'ben evler inşa ettim'. Bense diyeceğim ki: 'ben sizi unutmadım.’” (2006, 8)

Valansi, Klarsfelds concentrated their efforts on the war crimes. Valansi mentions that since the Nazis who deported the French Jews to the death camps could not be brought to justice in Germany due to the existing loopholes in the legal system, they initiated a process to reverse the situation which in turn was closely followed by the whole world. She also explains that they later focused on the collaborators in the Vichy government and that, thus, they were able to bring Rene Bousquet, who played a significant role in Vichy government's anti-Jewish policies, and Jean Leguay, who was responsible for rounding up the French Jews, to justice.<sup>376</sup>

In the "Bystanders" sub-cluster, Şalom mostly deals with the issues related to Vatican, the Catholic Church, and the United States such as their silence, indifference, and ignorance; and the reasons for doing so. For example, in the news dated February 7, 1990, Şalom mentions the report on the role of Vatican in the Holocaust which was prepared by a committee of Catholic and Jewish religious leaders and educators.<sup>377</sup> According to the news, the report states that the concordat signed between Vatican<sup>378</sup> and the Nazi Germany in 1933 not only indirectly helped the regime to strengthen itself but also effectively removed the possibility by Vatican, if there was any, to oppose to and/or protest the regime's nationalist policies<sup>379</sup>; that it would be wrong to state that

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<sup>376</sup> "...Klarsfeldler çalışmalarını savaş suçluları üzerinde odaklarlar. Alman yasalarındaki boşluklardan dolayı Fransa Yahudilerini ölüm kamplarına gönderen Naziler Almanya'da yargı önüne çıkarılmıyorlardı. Gerekli kanunların çıkarılması için Almanya yetkililerle görüşen Serge ve Beate, tüm dünyanın yakınında izlediği uzun bir sürecin ilk adımını atarlar. Çalışmalarını Fransa odaklı devam ettiren çift, Fransız hükümetinden ayrı tutulan Vichy yönetiminin Nazilerle olan ortaklığı üzerine gitmeye başlarlar. Vichy'nin Yahudi karşıtı politikasında önemli rol oynamış polis şefi Rene Bousquet ve Fransız Yahudilerinin toplanmasından sorumlu Jean Leguay gibi suçluları yargı önüne çıkardılar" (Valansi 2010, 9).

<sup>377</sup> "...Güney Kaliforniyalı 23 dini lider ve önde gelen eğitimcilerden oluşan Katolik Yahudi Karşılıklı İlişkiler Komitesinin hazırladığı beş sayfalık rapor..." (1990, 1).

<sup>378</sup> In the news dated 18 March 1998, Şalom mentions that Vatican admitted Pope Pius XII's silence during the Holocaust and granted him absolution for his attitude (1998, 7).

<sup>379</sup> "...1933 anlaşmasını imzalayarak Vatikan'ın Hitler'in güç kazanma çalışmalarını dolaylı yoldan yardım ettiği belirtiliyor. Görünüşte, Nazi rejimi altında kilisenin hakları koruma altına alınırken Vatikan'ın Hitler'in önderliğinde büyüyen Alman milliyetçiliğini protesto etmesi engellenmiş oluyordu..." (1990, 1).

Roman Catholic Church used all the means that it possessed to rescue the Jews<sup>380</sup>; and that despite most of the Christians preferred to remain silent, there were limited number of Christian groups which raised their voices to protest the threats against the Jews.<sup>381</sup>

In another news dated October 22, 1997, Tilda Levi mentions that the Catholic Church made a courageous decision and accepted its responsibility in the Holocaust. Corollary to this, President of France Jacques Chirac and the Prime Minister Lionel Jospin followed the suit. Levi argues that France suppressed many realities for many years to sustain her legendary image by treating Rene Bousquet well, and Paul Touvier and Maurice Papon as if they were not war criminals. According to Levi, in addition to the positive gains previously obtained on behalf of France with reflections of Maurice Papon's trials in the international press, the disclosure made by the Catholic Church was perceived as a progress. Levi adds, however, that the efforts to improve France's image would not be sufficient to efface the silence of Pope Pius XII and the unclear/indecisive attitude of the Church hierarchy between 1940-1944. Levi further suggests that Catholics should not confine themselves to word but rather internalize the way Christians treated the Jews historically.<sup>382</sup>

In his article which dated April 7, 2010, İvo Molinas discusses the attitude of the US towards the Holocaust in the Second World War by referring to an exchange between

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<sup>380</sup> "...Roma Katolik Kilisesi'nin Yahudilere yardım etmek için tüm gücünü kullandığını söylemek yanıltıcı olur" (1990, 1).

<sup>381</sup> "...Yahudilere karşı gittikçe artan tehditleri protesto etmek için seslerini yükselten çok az sayıda Hristiyan grup vardı. Birçok Hristiyan Yahudilerin en karanlık günlerinde onlara kulaklarını tıkamayı tercih ettiler" (1990, 1 ,6).

<sup>382</sup> "Fransa'da kilise yöneticileri cesur bir karar alarak Soykırım zamanında işledikleri suçları kabul ettiler. Din adamları, Yahudilerden özür dilerken, Cumhurbaşkanı Jacques Chirac ve Başbakan Lionel Jospin'le aynı yolu izlediler. Bu bağlamda hükümet ve kilise paralel gelişmeler sergiledi. Fransa seneler boyunca "dile getirilmemişlerle" yaşadı. Güçlü bir Fransa efsanesi gerçeğinin korunmasına çalışıldı. Ve bu efsaneye sığınarak Bousquet'lerle yemekler yendi, Touvier'lerin suyunu gidildi ve Papon'lara atamalar yapıldı...Tüm bu olumsuzlukların yanısıra Papon davasının yabancı basında yer alması Fransa'ya bir artı puan getirdi. Dolayısıyla kilisenin sözleri de büyük bir ilerleme olarak algılandı. Gene de yaratılmak istenen olumlu imaj sağır edici suskunluk yıllarını unutturmuyor. Tıpkı, Papa XII. Pius'un sessiz kalışı ve 1940-44 yılları arasında hiyerarşinin net olmayan tutumu gibi...Yalnızca söylenen sözlerle yetinilmemeli. Önemli olan Katoliklerin kendi benliklerinde Hristiyanların zamanında yaptıklarını hissetmeleri" (Levi 1997, 12).

Claude Lanzmann, the director of the movie “Shoah”, and Yannick Haenel, the French historian and the author of the novel “Jan Karski”. Molinas mentions that when Haenel explained how and why the US remained silent or forced to remain silent in his novel, Lanzmann opposed him saying that the Jews were not at the center of the world and that the US was busy to find ways to defeat the Germans and to create a balance in the international system together with the Russians. Molinas further mentions Haenel’s response to Lanzmann claiming that despite the West and the US were informed about the Holocaust since 1943 and that though they had the plans of Auschwitz they did not react to the human tragedy.<sup>383</sup>

In this cluster, therefore, the newspaper writings emphasize the efforts of the world Jewish institutions, the Nazi hunters and the State of Israel to bring the perpetrators and their accomplices to the justice; the atrocities committed against the Jews and others; how some countries collaborated with the Nazis and the efforts of the Israeli researchers about and the pressures exerted by the Israeli state officials on the collaborating countries to face their past and eventually accept their responsibility; the judicial proceedings of the accomplices; and the silence, the indifference, and the ignorance of the bystanders.

### **3.4 CONCLUSION**

In the second period, the content of the newspaper writings is not predominantly restricted to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and thereby to the heroism of the resistance fighters but rather touches upon almost every crucial issue that surrounds the human

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<sup>383</sup> “...Jan Karski bugün Fransa edebiyat ve düşün dünyasında büyük bir polemiğin kapısını da açmış durumda: “ABD neden Yahudilere yardım etmedi?” Fransız tarihçi Yannick Haenel, ‘Jan Karski’ adlı romanıyla ünlü kahramanın 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında ABD’de neden sustuğunu veya susturulduğunu biraz da kurgusal olarak ele alınca Holokost’un en büyük araştırmacısı, 9 saatlik “Shoah” filminin yönetmeni ünlü yazar Claude Lanzmann’ın saldırısına uğrar. “Yahudiler dünyanın merkezinde değildi; ABD’nin en büyük sorunu Almanları nasıl altetmek ve sonra da Ruslarla zorlu dünya dengesini kurmaktır”. ABD’yi suçlamak saçmalaktır. Şimdiki gençler geçmişe, bugünün ışığından bakıyorlar ve haliyle yanılıyorlar” diyor Lanzmann. Bunun üzerine Yannick Haenel, Auschwitz’in bütün planlarına sahip olmalarına rağmen ABD yöneticilerinin kampı havadan imha etmeyi reddettiklerini söyleyip kavgayı daha da ileriye götürüyor: “Batı dünyasının ve ABD’nin 1943’ten itibaren Holokost’tan haberi vardı. Ama kollarını bile kıpırdatmadılar...” (Molinas 2010, 3).

tragedy. Moreover, Şalom touches upon several issues which are also some of the constituents of the Holocaust literature such as the Nazi ideology and the intention of Hitler to annihilate the Jews from the beginning; the silence of the bystanders; the importance of the act of remembrance to avoid similar devastations in the future; the definition and the uniqueness of the Holocaust; the idea behind the systematic killing; and the positions, the attitudes and the actions of different actors within the Jewish community against the Nazis. Şalom also emphasizes the efforts of the world Jewish institutions, the Nazi hunters and the State of Israel to bring the perpetrators and their accomplices to the justice; the atrocities committed against the Jews and others; how some countries collaborated with the Nazis and the efforts of the Israeli researchers about and the pressures exerted by the Israeli state officials on the collaborating countries to face their past and eventually accept their responsibility; the judicial proceedings of the accomplices; and the silence, the indifference, and the ignorance of the bystanders.

Şalom pays a special attention to the “March of the Living”. It not only covers the details of the organization such as the ceremonies and the tours taken to different camps, to cities, and to ghettos but also and perhaps more importantly prepares a page which consists the impressions of the Turkish Jewish participants (especially the younger generation) that are expressed and are written by themselves. These written expressions cover several aspects related to the Holocaust such as the scale of the human tragedy. Overall, the impressions indicate that the experience of the “March of the Living” is crucial especially for the young Turkish Jews to understand, realize, and appropriate the Holocaust as part of their identity.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I demonstrated how *Şalom*, as a community gazette of Turkish Jews, presented and reflected the Holocaust as a part of the Turkish Jewish identity since 1947. *Şalom* had been and is one channel through which the Holocaust and issues related to it are consistently reminded and narrated to make Turkish Jews remember this human tragedy. I demonstrated *Şalom*'s Holocaust narration by implementing content analysis of newspaper writings in two periods. While defining the periods, I designated the 1980s as the breaking point for two reasons. The first is that identity expressions were more visible compared to the previous periods because of economic, social and political transformation which Turkey had been through in the 1980's; the second is the change of ownership and management of *Şalom* in 1984; and the third one is the publication of the Holocaust Supplements for five consecutive years between 2006 and 2010. As a result, the periods have been defined as 1947-1983 and 1984-2010. For content analysis, I have created 13 clusters according to the issues and the themes presented by and discussed in the literature and in *Şalom*. However, to be able to make a consistent comparison of *Şalom*'s Holocaust narration between the two periods, I focused on three clusters which were constructed in the first period in the first place: "Ceremonies", "Holocaust" and "Perpetrators-Collaborators-Bystanders-Nazi Hunters".

Accordingly, having analyzed the newspaper writings in terms of the themes presented by the gazette, it is fair to state that Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the heroism of the resistance fighters have been the dominant theme in the first period. Furthermore, the newspaper writings portray this revolt and the heroism of the resistance fighters as an inspiration for future generations and for the establishment of the State of Israel. In the meantime, the newspaper writings define the newly established state as the safeguard for all the Jews in the world. Besides, the newspaper writings mention that once

powerless, with the establishment of Israel, the Jews now had become powerful than ever to judge even their murderers. The last feature of the first period is that the issues related to the Holocaust have been touched upon to create a context or a framework to present an idea rather than to perform an in-depth analysis.

The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the heroism of the resistance fighters have become a much less addressed theme in the second period. Even though emphasis pertaining to the State of Israel seem fewer in number due to the number of newspaper writings in the second period being significantly higher than those in the first; the importance of the State of Israel to the security of the Jews has found its place among the themes encountered in various writings. In the second period, parallel to the first but with a wider emphasis, the theme of the Jews emerging from powerlessness has been touched upon in the newspaper writings by mentioning the Holocaust messages of high ranking Israeli politicians during commemorations; the efforts demonstrated both by the Jewish organizations in Israel and various places around the world and by the Nazi Hunters in order to bring the perpetrators and their collaborators to justice and the results obtained thereof; and the efforts put forward by the same establishments to make the bystanders admit their responsibility and the result obtained thereof.

The most distinctive feature of the second period is that the Holocaust and the issues related to this human tragedy have been thoroughly analyzed by referring to its literature. Accordingly, another striking matter is that while in the first period Şalom has explicitly presented the Holocaust as a disaster concerning only the Jews, in the second period it has not only emphasized this reality but also defined this human tragedy as an issue concerning the humanity. Therefore, in the second period, Şalom has called for remembrance and memorialization not by the Jews alone but by the humanity to avoid a similar disaster and for a better future. Thus, the Holocaust narration has gained a more universal character in the second period compared to the first.

Given the explanations on the issues presented in the Introduction, it would be safe to state that overall there has been a resemblance between the commemoration patterns in Turkey and Israel. However, it would not be possible to state easily that the effect of Eichmann trial on the commemoration pattern of the Turkish Jewish community had been identical to the one in Israel. Thus, Eichmann trial has not resulted in a dramatic shift in the overarching content of the commemoration ceremonies in Turkey. Nevertheless, it would be fair to state that from the 1960s to the 1980s, the Holocaust victims and the tragedy they had gone through has been clearly presented in various poems published by Şalom. In addition, though not from the 1980s, from the 1990s and on, the presence of the survivors in the commemoration ceremonies has been specifically emphasized. Hence, despite the effect of Eichmann trial not being identical in the commemoration pattern of the Turkish Jewish community, even though smooth, the change in the emphasis of themes and the shift in the protagonists of the commemorations have been visible.

In both periods, to explain how the Holocaust happened, Şalom has mentioned that the Holocaust had been carried out systematically by the means that the contemporary civilization had made available to the perpetrators and to their collaborators. In the second period, this narration has become more precise with the conceptualization of the effect of modernity on the Holocaust. Similarly, to explain why the Holocaust happened, Şalom has followed the intentionalist approach in both periods. That is, while in the first period Şalom has mentioned just the intention of Hitler and those like him to annihilate the Jews based on a racist ideology, in the second period, the gazette has broadened this explanation both by putting it into a historical perspective and by stressing the main pillar of this ideology, anti-Semitism, more clearly and effectively. No explicit attribution to the functionalist perspective has been observed among the newspaper writings in the second period. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to explain this distinctive approach in the second period with the developments in the Holocaust

literature and the increase in the number of comprehensive and coherent newspaper writings.

Taking into consideration Şalom's publishing policy, I would argue that Şalom has been adherent to the loyal citizen and tolerance discourse in both the first and the second periods. Şalom has stated that, never having experienced the Holocaust, the Turkish Jews had continued to live safely in Turkey during the Second World War; that they had been immensely grateful to Turkey for that; and that Turkey had not denied its capacity to provide aid when needed. In some of the issues emerged in the second period, such as the claims brought forward by Nokta, Şalom has expressed its contentment over the position adopted by Turkey during the Holocaust in general. In other newspaper writings pertaining to some incidents which took place during the Holocaust, such as the fate of the immigrant ships reaching the shores of Turkey, Şalom has not held the country explicitly responsible.

The loyal citizen and tolerance discourse have been apparent especially in the second period when there have been discussions on the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Against the efforts put forth by France in early 2000's concerning the recognition of what the Armenian population in Anatolia had been subjected to by the Ottomans in 1915 as genocide, Şalom, even though contrary to the opinions of the frequently referred Holocaust authorities, such as Yehuda Bauer, published several newspaper writings in order to defend both the uniqueness of the Holocaust and the policies adopted by the Turkish authorities in relation to this matter.

Şalom, has emphasized the uniqueness of the Holocaust in both periods while bringing up issues other than the Armenian genocide such as Holocaust denial, definition of the Holocaust, ideology, modernity, and others. According to Şalom, the Holocaust is unique because six million Jews had been systematically murdered with the state-of-the-art technology at the heart of the cradle of human civilization, which also had created the Yiddish culture, before the ignorance and the indifference of the bystanders,

especially the civilized world, based on a racist ideology which had been shaped by anti-Semitism.

It is important to mention that Şalom provides a significant space to the “March of the Living”. Şalom is especially interested in publishing the impressions of the young Turkish Jews as these reflect not only the emotions of the participants but the way they understand the Holocaust and the issues related to his human tragedy.

Thus, Şalom constructs and re-constructs the Holocaust as a part of the Turkish Jewish identity by narrating, reminding, and commemorating it within the framework of the issues and themes it left behind to both the Jews and to the humanity as presented and discussed in this thesis.

Finally, it would be appropriate point out a few topics for further research. Şalom has drawn attention to Holocaust denial especially in the second period. According to Şalom, Holocaust denial might become a reason for the recurrence of similar tragedies or disasters in other forms. Therefore, Şalom considers Holocaust denial as a threat to the existence of the Jewish people and of the humanity. By narrating the Holocaust not only with respect to the three clusters selected within the scope of this thesis but also considering the remaining categories, has Şalom been disconnecting the reality from its representation as Cole had suggested? Has Şalom been in fact constructing a Holocaust Myth? A research which would not only encompass several of the rest of the clusters but perhaps compare Şalom to another gazette of a Jewish community in the Diaspora could probably have a chance to enlighten this issue.

Moreover, it is also relevant to conduct a much deeper and a more comprehensive research on Şalom’s Holocaust narration by not only considering already established clusters but by creating new ones. Such a research could also include a cross analysis of the contents provided in different clusters. For example, the content analysis of the newspaper writings related to the sub-cluster “Perpetrators” could be enriched with an analysis of the newspaper writings related to Daniel Goldhagen’s book *Hitler’s Willing*

*Executioners* which has already been included in the “Arts-Books” cluster. Similarly, another example might be to analyze more extensively the position of Turkey during the Holocaust vis-à-vis the content analysis of other newspaper writings related to the Nazi gold which have been included under the “Claims-Funds-Wealth” cluster together with the ones already mentioned in this thesis under the “Collaborators” cluster. Hence, this kind of an analysis could enable the researcher to better grasp Şalom’s Holocaust narration.

Another proposal would be to conduct a research which would re-organize the periodization initially suggested in this thesis by considering November 2005 as a turning point. There has been a significant increase in the number and in the frequency of the newspaper writings related to the Holocaust after the acceptance of January 27 as the “International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust” by the United Nations. Accordingly, whereas the number of newspaper writings between 1947-2010 is 1.490 as presented in this study, the number of newspaper writings between 2010 and October 2018 is 871; suggesting a total of 2.361. Furthermore, it is also crucial to mention that, just after this initiative by the United Nations, Şalom published its first Holocaust Supplement in 2006, which lasted for five years. Finally, such a research could have the possibility to widen its scope by including the newspaper writings related to the Holocaust which had been published in Şalom Dergi starting from 2011 as well.

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