

**WAR PHOTOGRAPHY: A semiotic analysis of photographs in
Turkish National Press during the Cyprus Operation in 1974**

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Since the first days of broadcasting, television has been showing war photography. Unlike typical broadcasts, however, war images were not flowing; they were frozen on the screen. Beginning from my first encounters with such televised photography, I gradually understood their significant power to activate. Nevertheless, I also came to the realization that photographs were being used for building or reinforcing certain values like heroism, nationalism. Therefore, I wanted to study on photographs that serve the dominant ideology. My advisor Prof. Haluk Şahin, suggested that it would be a good idea to analyze Cyprus Operation's photographs.

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Abstract

This thesis basically looks at war illustrations and especially war photographs from the semiotic perspective, keeping in mind the effects of war images as an important part of audience perception. This study also discusses how and why photographs and battlefield landscapes have changed over the years. The thesis primarily investigates and evaluates the Cyprus Operation period on the basis of various photographs published in the Turkish press in a nationalistic environment. Based on these photographs the study analyzes the presentation of the 1974 Cyprus Operation or “Cyprus Peace Operation” which is labelled as “Turkish invasion of Cyprus” in Greece, and in many other countries of the world.

The essential conclusion reached from the findings is that the written press moved in compliance the nationalistic political environment and it strived to built a common memory related to national values during the Cyprus Operation.

Özet

Bu tez temel olarak, izleyicinin hafızasına kazınan savaş imgelerinin izleyicinin algısına etkisine bakmak için özellikle semiyotik perspektifle savaş fotoğraflarını inceler. Bu çalışma ayrıca savaş fotoğraflarının ve savaş alanlarının portresinin yıllar içerisinde nasıl ve neden değiştiğini anlamaya çalışır. Bu tez özellikle nasyonalizm veya şovenizm gibi politik konjonktürü esas alarak Kıbrıs Operasyonu esnasında Türkiye basınında yayımlanmış çeşitli fotoğrafları tartışır ve değerlendirir. Bu datalardan yola çıkarak, bu çalışma, izleyicinin algısını anlamlandırmak için ulus devlete ilişkin bazı tarihsel detaylar verir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda bu tez, 1974 Kıbrıs Operasyonu ya da Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı ya da Yunanistan'da ve birçok diğer ülkede “Kıbrıs'ın Türk İşgali” olarak bilinen operasyon esnasında Türkiye basınında yayımlanan fotoğrafları derinlemesine incelemeyi amaçlar. Bu çalışma, Kıbrıs Operasyonu esnasında özellikle ana akım basın kuruluşları olan Hürriyet ve Milliyet'te yayımlanmış fotoğrafları inceler.

Bulgulardan yola çıkarak elde edilen temel çıkarım ise, yazılı basının özellikle savaşlar esnasında siyasi ve politik konjonktüre uygun hareket ettiği milli değerlerle ilgili toplumsal hafıza inşa ettiğidir.

Table of Contents

1. CHAPTER 1: Introduction	6
2. CHAPTER 2: Historical Background	12
3. CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Framework	16
<i>3.1 Nationalism</i>	16
<i>3.2 Perceptions of Images</i>	21
4. CHAPTER 4: Methodology	23
5. CHAPTER 5: Related Works	26
6. CHAPTER 6: Findings and Discussion	37
<i>6.1 The innocent Turkish Cypriot</i>	38
<i>6.2 The Massacre of children</i>	40
<i>6.3 Turkish Prime Minister in London</i>	42
<i>6.4 Turkish flag was flying in Kyrenia “Beşparmak” Mountain</i>	43
<i>6.5 Turks protest in front of Greek Consulate</i>	46
<i>6.6 First encounter with paratroops</i>	48
<i>6.7 The first felicitation</i>	49
<i>6.8 Military ceremony</i>	50
<i>6.9 Solidarity between Turkish soldier and the child</i>	53
<i>6.10 Good examples of embedded journalism</i>	55
<i>6.11 Reminder of historical tragic detail</i>	63
<i>6.12 Composition of the victory</i>	64
<i>6.13 Clenched fist as a symbol</i>	66
<i>6.14 From Malazgirt to Cyprus</i>	68
CHAPTER 7: Conclusions	70
Bibliography	76

1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on war photography, and what has war photography meant from past to present. It will seek an answer to the following questions: Can war photographs affect public opinion with their photographic framing? Can war photographs create commonsense, collective consciousness, and a consensus to activate people for stopping or starting the war? Have the photographs shifted sociopolitical equilibrium? How can be liberal democracy and human rights themselves become an accessory for war photography? Another feature of this thesis is the analytical framework that allows systematic consideration of these diverse historical framing.

Our study is an attempt to answer the above questions taking the Turkish and Greek Cypriots conflict of 1974 as a case. Within this context, we will need to provide a background information for understanding the conflict between Turkey and Greece. This research argues that conflicting styles of nationalist imagination were the principal reason that led to the violent events in Cyprus in 1974, and entrenched the division between two communities afterwards. We will try to describe how two societies in Cyprus were politically and ideologically transformed into Turks and Greeks.

The ideological and political constitution of national identities works in several different terrains and utilise many different cultural articulations and sources. In this sense, visual culture constitute a very important terrain upon and

through which the national or communal identities are established. Photography is one of the most salient parts of the modern visual culture.

People relate wartime experiences through photographs. Therefore, we tried to understand historical process of war photography, and realized that meaning of war photographs has been changing over time according to ideological conjunctures.

Ideologically in concordance with the political conjuncture, people living on Cyprus have been separated as Turks and Greeks. This separation can be seen clearly not only in government agencies, but also in the discourse of press, which is not official but holds the power to lead people. Means of communication are positioned between events, and how these events are perceived by individuals.

In order to give a meaning to the political structure, researches made up to date on Cyprus Operation have typically addressed operation of governmental agencies such as state and law. However, it is not possible to understand any social structure by looking only at government agencies or laws. Without seeing how bodies and organizations beneath those agencies operate, and without relating them to their respective official structures of politics, it is not possible to reach sound, valid, and complementary conclusion about the reflections of political life on social structure.

Therefore, photographs and the discourse preferred by the press in presenting war give some important clues on how the society perceives war. For

this reason, this thesis tries to make a semiotic analysis of photographs published by the national press in Turkey in order to understand the concept of nationalism, which dominated the political and ideological conjuncture during Cyprus Operation.

Since the research is aimed at finding the meanings of photographs chosen by Turkish press for their operation-related news, semiotic analysis method was used in the empirical part of the study. It tries to trace down the messages that are almost embedded into photographs with symbols, which are assumed to be more effective than those openly expressed.

The photos typically symbolize national values, courage or heroic deed, as well as inhumanity of the “other.” For this study, photographs were especially chosen from Hurriyet, which was (and still is) an old, influential and, highly circulated Turkish newspaper. Hurriyet was very significant for Turkish audience due to its ability to influence commonsense and public opinion. Moreover, the newspaper’s photojournalists and reporters were opinion leaders for Turkish readers. Hurriyet was founded in 1948. The editorial staff of the newspaper published with a strong nationalist discourse during all conflict between the Greece and the Turkish. The newspaper's masthead motto, Türkiye Türklerindir (Turkey belongs to the Turks), was coined by Talat Pasha, one of the World War I leaders of the Ottoman Empire.

Considering the goals of this research, semiotic analysis method can be considered advantageous in two respects. This method not only allows systematic analysis of photographs used in top selling newspapers, but it also allows in-depth analysis of various symbols and signs used for constructing the meanings, and for coding events within the public awareness.

In democratic societies, a healthier, more conscious, and unemotional civic engagement can only be achieved especially through readers' consumption of more diverse, more multi-dimensional, more conscious, and more unemotional information on events that shape political and social structure, such as war. Being well informed and being aware are directly proportional to the level of social consciousness. However, during Cyprus Operation in 1974, the only source of information except a state-owned television was newspapers. In that era, national newspapers were also one-dimensional news sources that have only served to the state's ideology by publishing news in parallel with the official discourse.

This thesis has tried to confirm that the concepts put forward and kept in the background in photographs published during Cyprus Operation have justified and legalized the war, and that the society was thus exposed to an ideological redirection.

Thus, people have related war era's experiences through photographs. Therefore, I tried to understand historical process of war photography. I saw that meaning of war photographs is changing over time according to ideological

conjunctures. Yet, historical conditions are also important to the understanding of a photograph. (Kozol, 6)

Even though people have different learning styles, and some individuals are more susceptible to remembering and digesting visual images, certain symbols, signs, icons as images are claimed to be understood and recognized by everyone. Hariman and Lucaites described iconic images as those that are recognized by everyone, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional responses, and are regularly reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics. (Hariman, Lucaites, 4-31)

Iconic photos also can motivate public action on behalf of democratic values. (Hariman, Lucaites, 35-66) Michael Griffin (1999) said the “great pictures” typically symbolize national valor, human courage, inconceivable inhumanity, or senseless loss. (Griffin, 131)

This thesis argues that photographic images are different from any other medium, because photographs represent a certain period of time quietly by freezing it. Therefore, the viewer can look at the photograph in depth. This research tries to compare photographic and picture images by looking at war representations. It will be specifically discussed how images and battlefield landscape have influenced the reader’s mind, how it created a collective perception.

Besides using semiotic analysis of the chosen photos, searching for themes, and gaining an emotional understanding of the images, this study also offers a literature review on the iconic photographs. As a result, this study attempts to discuss the power of photographs based on semiotic analysis method. The research points out how some images in war photographs have reinforced political views. That is to say, it will be argued how main stream frame of the press can formalize public opinion politically. In other words, this study shows that how pictures and photographs can be used by governments as war propaganda. Nevertheless, the research also shows that war photographs can be huge and strong weapon for both peace and war. A feature of this thesis is the analytical framework that is based on systematic discussions of various social scientists.

All in all, Cyprus Conflict was originally an ideological conflict. Therefore, this thesis tries to understand the power of photographs to justify and legalize a stance by using certain symbols during Cyprus Operation.

2. Historical Background

Before we go on with analysing and discussing the photographs we need to understand some historical facts concerning the 1974 conflict. This chapter will give a short historical background.

The Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots have been divided along linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and religious lines. The Greek Cypriots speak Greek and identify themselves with the Greek nation, Greek culture, and the heritage of classical Greece and the Byzantine Empire. Almost all of them are members of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, which is an autocephalous member of the Greek Eastern Orthodox Church. Whereas the Turkish Cypriots speak Turkish and identify themselves with the Turkish nation, Turkish culture, and the heritage of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Virtually all of them are Muslims of the Sunni sect. On the other hand, Cyprus is very special island in the world because of geographic and strategic position.

The history of Cyprus is among one of the most well-researched and welldocumented cases of any island in the world. Given its geographic and strategic position as the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea along the main routes between Europe and Asia, located west of Syria and south of Turkey, Cyprus has historically been controlled by several states seeking to gain a foothold for Middle East invasions. Being too small to defend themselves, Cypriots have grown accustomed to a history of living at the mercy of the dominant power in the area. As a result, the island has been bought and sold, transferred from one ruler to another, without the Cypriots ever being consulted (Walker, 78).

The present Cypriot dispute has its origins in the development of Greek and Turkish nationalisms on the island. The development of these nationalisms was also facilitated by a number of factors.

The development of these nationalisms and the evolution of the dispute between them by focusing on seven factors that combine national and geographic characteristics as follows: (1) the geographic and topographic setting; (2) demographic changes and realities; (3) socio-cultural factors, such as education, language, symbolism, religion and links to the mainlands; (4) economic and class factors; (5) the internal impact of the colonial power; (6) Cypriot governmental organization; and (7) the geopolitical position of the island. (Morag, 595)

Since the Ottoman conquest in 1571, if not before, Cyprus has remained the strategically most important island in the Eastern Mediterranean. Around 1800, however, it became clear once again that the Eastern Mediterranean was no longer an exclusive Ottoman preserve. The origin of the Cyprus problem goes back to the days of the Ottoman Empire during 19. century. In 1878, the island which had been ruled by the Ottomans passed under the British rule. This transition brought along its break down. Passing into the hands of the British, on the one hand, meant new hopes and new liberties but the on the other hand resulted in an armed rebellion (1955-1959) led by the Ethniki Organosis Kiprion Agoniston (EOKA), or National Organization of Cypriot Fighters. That fight aimed not at independence but at enosis, or union of the island of Greece. This organization that is called National Organization of Cypriot Fighters was opposed not only British colonizers, but also by Turkish Cypriots. Therefore, sometimes Turkish Cypriots joined British forces or otherwise took up guns against EOKA. (Bryant, 3)

Bryant says that when Cyprus was given its independence in 1960, political space in the island was already framed by the terms of ethno nationalism. (Bryant, 3) Treaties of Establishment, Guarantee and Alliance gave independence to the new Republic of Cyprus. In 1960 Makarios was president and the Turkish Cypriot Dr. Fazıl Kuchuk Vice President. O'Malley and Craig say that Greek attempts to change the constitution in 1963 led to inter-ethnic atrocities and Makarios demanded 13 changes to the constitution. They also say that inter-ethnic violence erupted and the system of government established in 1960 collapsed. They observe that "by early 1963, the Turkish Cypriots had an estimated 2500 armed men, the Greek Cypriots 5000, which meant that inter-ethnic arguments could escalate into full blown warfare." (O'Malley and Craig, 89) Between 1964 and 1967, relations between Washington and all three NATO allies interested in Cyprus were thrown into turmoil, and trouble continued to brew on the island. Key elements from the 1964 plans were echoed in the crisis of 1974.

According to Bryant, nationalism later impeded good governance during 1963-1974 when the governments at various moments ceased to function effectively because of inter communal violence. Nationalism brought a Greek coup d'etat in 1974 followed by the Turkish military intervention and division of the island. Bryant claims that the ideologies of freedom which emerged under British rule and allowed Cypriots to imagine a better future for themselves and their children were necessarily imagined in nationalist terms. (Bryant, 3)

The relations between two countries have often caused unrecoverable on the strength of intransigent policies. Each conflict inflicts a deep wound irremediable

for the Greek and Turkish minorities living in these countries. It is no doubt that, when in the times of conflict, racist, heroic and nationalist discourses imposed on the citizens by the mass media. Hence, mass media and official discourses build a nationalist memory around the citizens.

It is not only enough to examine historical texts in order to understand the nations clearly. We also need to search foundations that support official ideology. For example, education especially books of primary education and secondary education, literature, arts and extensively main stream media tools.

3. Theoretical Frame

Earlier, in the introduction section, we said that this research is based on the semiotic analysis of photographs published by the national press in Turkey and we further declared that through these photographs, we will try to figure out the political and ideological conjuncture during Cyprus Operation. Before we go on doing that, we need to understand the concept of nationalism and the ways images can be perceived.

3.1 Nationalism

Nineteenth century has witnessed a fundamental transformation from autocratic empires to nation–state governance. Therefore, it is possible to think that states, which are shaped by a scientific historical mentality, can be more attached to their past with an unshaken confidence. However, history as a science begins in the 19th century, which can also be considered as the starting point of what we regard as nationalism today. Therefore, a nation’s official history can be written only according to the requirements of its own perception of nationalism. For example, it is almost impossible to see any picture, photograph or text that go against the state’s national stance. Anderson proposes that the nation is actually an imagined political community. Referring to Watson, Anderson argues that “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 7). Anderson further explains this situation by saying:

Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism:

what makes the shrunken imaginings of recent history (more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? I believe that the beginnings of answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism (Anderson, 7).

Actually, nation state was the outcome of the nationalist movements which appeared as a consequence of the French Revolution. Nation state necessitates a politically and culturally unified nation, so it entails assimilationist policies upon different ethnic or cultural identities. It either eliminates them or makes them exist under a dominant single national identity.

The Rum and Turkish Cypriots, they both assume that they are inevitably tied to Greece and Turkey, respectively. Therefore, these communities apply Turkish and Greek official and traditional rules in Cyprus. Nationalism meant freedom for all communities during the modern era. For example, Bryant argues that nationalism is one possible way of resolving contradictions that she describes here as inherent in our modern understandings of how freedom should be realized. She says that the project of modernity was essentially an ethical one, aimed at dispelling the illusions of religion and discovering the “real” truths upon which a better life could be founded. As a result of this, Bryant explains how this contradiction worked itself out in Cyprus, with tragic results (Bryant, 4). In this context, territorial integrity, religious or traditional rules and ethnic ties are of great significance to all modern communities which possess a nationalist perspective. For this reason, ethnocentrism can be inevitable as part of this belief. Nationalist notion contain within itself that some nation good and some nation bad naturally. Of course, nations have to believe that they are the good one and generally others are

the bad ones. Humiliation and xenophobia grow up rapidly under these circumstances and work against the “other.”

In the face of all the aforementioned characteristics of modern nationalism, postmodernism, in turn, is rather focused on culture. Furthermore, postmodernist notion aims at protecting humans’ basic cultural rights through politics. According to Bryant, hence, the ethical problematic at the heart of the contradictions in modernity is replaced in post-modernity by the problematic of culture. And, in the post-modern era, the world shifted into a post-national notion focus on periphery, minority, marginal groups’ rights etc.

Conflict between two countries can be defined as a struggle of an individual or group to support their belief or current position within a framework of nationalism. This struggle becomes a problem for both nations when it involves violence or infringement of human rights. Unfortunately, these are the same elements that are used to provide justifications for the conflict, and then some peace treaties can be forgotten among the leaders, and the peace talks are violated only a few days after they have been enforced. Ironically, a treaty itself can be misused as an accessory for the war. Therefore, some nation-states can persuade their citizens that a war can sometimes be necessary for peace and democracy. This notion can also be ethnocentric in many cases. And thus the community cannot antagonise bilateral humiliations of war only because their leaders know what is best for the nation!

On the other hand, postmodernity focusses on culture. Postmodern view provides protection for basic rights of human beings and cultures rather than those of nations. According to Bryant, hence, the ethical problematic at the heart of the contradictions in modernity is replaced in postmodernity by the problematic of culture.

Thus, nationalist notion or projects based on hegemonic perspective, patriot, identity and principle of democratic representation emerged in modernity, but nowadays world is in postmodernity, so we have a post national notion that focusses on the rights of “periphery”, “minority”, “marginal groups”, etc.

3.2 Perception of Images

Images are references to perceive to the world. English art critic, novelist, painter and author John Berger points out that seeing comes without speaking firstly and a child learns to see and look before speaking (Berger, 7). Photographs present a certain period of time quietly by freezing it. Photographs relate the “frozen” event to the people looking at them. Photographs do not flow, they stay up. On account of this, human cannot remain indifferent such as television images. It is not similar with any medium even in this direction. John Berger argues that the technologies of photography and motion photography work to divest the image of its prior claim to a perspectival centrality. “What you saw was relative to your position in time and space. It was no longer possible to imagine everything converging on the human eye as on the vanishing point of infinity”

Thus, the meaning or signification of photographic images as compared to a prior painted image is decentered, diffuse. Photographic reality is more hyperbole than the reality that is in the reel life. John Berger says that it has been understood that image is more perennial than thing which it’s animating. Berger also articulates a set of concerns with images, both photographic and painted or drawn, and with their relation to text. Berger opens by claiming for the image a prior and more central place in the human sensorium. “It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but word can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it” As a result, from the beginning, image is reduced by words. Words could be defined an attempt that images are captured

through language. The images, signs, visual or symbols are also act in a particular way to situate the viewer, both through the perspective of the image in question and through the cultural and historical context of that image. Images have been perceived with knowledge of background, knowledge of current and knowledge of transmitted. Of course, social memory and individual mind also important. (Berger, 27)

Fred Ritchin argues that as photojournalism becomes more of a high-pitched performance for the eyes, disconnected from the intellect and the emotions, photography's translucent relationship to the world is further clouded. (Ritchin, 56)

Unfortunately, we heard and read a lot of things about the wars, and their effects on people, environment and cities in the last decade. However, none of them would be able to affect us without photographs because we only trust what we see. We identify photographs with our own eyes. Therefore, photographs are more significant proofs compared to other forms such as writing. Susan Sontag points out that those images have also been blamed with promoting passive observation of others' pains. However, it is not another way of watching. Anyhow, regarding the pain of others at close range already is watching them. (Sontag, 33) It can be defined "normalization" of war images.

Berger says that "perspective, which is not a natural but a cultural phenomenon, makes the single eye the centre of the visible world" (Berger, 7). Caroline Brothers emphasizes this condition with the following words:

In war photography these responses are magnified. Danger hovers at the edges of all such images; the passions they record are always the most extreme. The possibility of dying that is their subtext, for their subjects. The forcefulness of their images makes them unlike any other genre of image, the power of their desire to communicate impelling them towards representations that touch us more deeply and more directly. (Brothers, VI)

Conversely, however, photographs are also representation of temporariness, metamorphosis and proof of retrospective. Thus, if there is no photographic landscape, human especially pacifists could not know what is happening in a battlefield.

As a result, the images, signs, visuals or symbols act in a particular way to situate the viewer, both through the perspective of the image in question and through the cultural and historical context of that image. Images have been perceived with knowledge of background, knowledge of current and knowledge of transmitted.

4. Methodology

The methods of this thesis will be a synthesis of the literature on the photos and a semiotic analysis of the chosen photos, searching for themes and gaining an emotional understanding of the images.

Semiology is a discipline that clarifies every sense under every image we see, and it reveals the understanding behind every fact we witness. This discipline is supported by the thesis that everything has an ideological reference. This thesis is an approach which is defended by Marxist theorist Roland Barthes. A semiologist tries to fill in the gap between what a symbol reflects and what it really is.

According to the thesis of Roland Barthes, this study of finding the real meanings of things has two levels. Barthes names the first level as denotation, whereas he names the second level as connotation. Denotation is the basic, general meaning, upon which everyone agrees. Connotation is the second level that comes after the traditional classifications helping to understand the signifiers in the first level are reached. (Barthes, 91)

On this second level, we interpret the signifiers by means of social ideology. Then the common beliefs, theoretical framework and system of values step in. Barthes claims that this second meaning is always global, and likely to spread. These signifiers are closely related with culture, knowledge and history. Barthes also suggests that the representation is realized through two -separate but connected- processes, and he calls the processing of the signifiers in the second

level as the “myth level”. According to him, the signifier and the observer form the “sign” together. The linguistic sign evolves to a new signifier and then to an ideology. The connotative meanings are based on the denotative meanings. Consecutively, connotative and denotative meanings integrate and clear the ideology. Barthes uses the “myth” concept to define the cultural way of conceptualizing or understanding a fact. (Barthes, 93-95)

Semiotic analysis is thought to be the suitable method to answer these questions, firstly because power, political view, death, danger and fear are socially constructed concepts that have cultural meanings and backgrounds. Semiotic decoding of war photographs helps contextualize the framing of messages. Thus, semiotics and frame theory provide insightful perspectives for examining the symbolism and themes within war photography. Semiotic theory suggests that signs are selected and organized into codes. It also suggests that all paradigms emerge through cultural and social experiences. Also, since the data we discuss are war photographs, namely imagery, the subjects’ positioning, using as propaganda, and also the intended relationship between the addresser and the addressee could only be understood through semiotic analysis.

Semiology is therefore perhaps destined to be absorbed into *trans-linguistics*, the materials of which may be myth, narrative, journalism, or otherwise only objects of our civilization, in so far as they are *spoken* (through press, prospectus, interview, conversation and perhaps even the inner language, which is ruled by the laws of imagination) (Barthes, 11). To gain a deeper understanding of

the photos, this study will use semiotics to place the photos in a cultural context and examine recurring patterns and meanings to fully understand the photographs.

Images of war have held a fascination for humanity and these images have hooked up people easily. People have been faced with vandalism and brutality of the war by force of photographs. Representation of war imagery in different war times have been selected as the field to research, because almost all of the photographs overtly bring power, vandalism, death of victims, etc. representations of both political viewer and antimilitarist photographer, for the war and peace. Since this has been seen as a norm, it was an interesting question to see how the vulnerability of victims presented on war photographs discursively transferred us to the rules of powerful. These photographs would tell us how the agenda of being a human was thought and told to be, as well as the similarities or differences in those thoughts and descriptions.

5. Related Works

“If your pictures are not enough, you are not close enough”

Robert Capa

Having gone over the methodology section we can actually go on with analyzing and discussing our photographs. However before we do that we want to speak about a couple of visuals on some important wars. We hope this discussion serves as a transition to the Cyprus Operation.

This chapter gives examples from different wars such as the Spanish Civil War and the Vietnam War including the debates on iconic images and photographs. It further discusses how the perception of war crimes and violence differentiates from society to society, and from time to time. For example, in old times war was perceived as heroism but today most people see it as a scene of vandalism.

As we just said, in the past, people tended to perceive war as heroism. In those days, there were many war heroes because wars have come to mean either geographic discovery, or defense and freedom. In 1644, well before the discovery of photography in 1819, painters like Abraham Cooper and Ary Scheffer were portraying images from the battlefield in the form of paintings and sketches that typically presented war in a heroic and romantic style. The most memorable portraits depicting soldiers during the early 19th century also demonstrated a heroic style. In these paintings we usually see a sleek and strong horse rearing up, and a flag telling the viewer who won the victory, and who was exploiting the freedom. On the other hand, typically these paintings do not depict any blood, innocent people or despair. As it is seen, these pictures only illustrate the modal scenery of a

battle with no blood or victims. We only see strong people depicted as somehow super-human heroes.



**The Battle of Marston Moor in 1644, 1819 by Abraham Cooper
(BridgemanArtCultureHistory)**



**Battle of Tolbiac in AD 496, 1837 by Ary Scheffer
(BridgemanArtCultureHistory)**

Of course, each of these pictures depicts a unique image that is very difficult to reproduce with the same impressions. However, a photograph serve as a source to unlimited number of identical copies, and its effects cannot be changed by reproduction. By this means, photographs can enter every home easily. Nevertheless, some photographers and theorists see this characteristic of photography from a cynical point of view, and believe that reproductions only impair the value and uniqueness of photographs. For example, war photographer Coşkun Aral wanted his photographic album, “Sözün Bittiği Yer”, to be expensive, because he did not want it to be easily attainable by everyone. He believes that some people are not ready to see that violence.

Before the Spanish Civil War, images taken in modern wars were mainly used by governments for propaganda. Robert Capa is credited for taking history’s first civil and antimilitarist war photographs between 1936 and 1939. The global public opinion saw the dirty face of war for the first time with Capa’s photographs. Semiologist Roland Barthes proposed a body of work “varied but restricted in time” (Barthes, 134) as the most effective approach to the study of photographs. According to this view, the six months between 18 July and 31 December 1936, however, proved to be the period with the heaviest propagandist activities, and provoked the most concentrated photographic coverage in the French and British presses -in both iconographical and ideological terms-, whereafter no new theme was introduced. This stability was also characteristic of government policy towards Spain, with no fundamental changes occurring in the position of the great powers after January 1937 (Puzzo, 168 – Jackson, 152). Caroline Brothers argues and

points out that “during 1936, the role of the press and its attempts to influence opinion and policy can be considered most crucial.” (Brothers, 3)

The years of the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, was a period in which stunning visual imagery were emerging in Spain every day. Propaganda posters were deployed by both Nationalists and Republicans to recruit people to their cause. Similarly, periodicals throughout Europe, especially those in liberal democratic states like Britain and France, used photographs of the war for their own propagandistic ends.



Pablo Picasso – Guernica – 1937

One of the most recognized figures in the 20th century art, Pablo Picasso, was a Spanish painter. Arguably Picasso’s most famous work is his depiction of the German bombing of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War—Guernica (1937). For many viewers, this large canvas embodies the inhumanity, brutality and hopelessness of war. When asked to explain its symbolism, Picasso said, “It is not up to the painter to define the symbols. Otherwise it would be better if he wrote them out in so many

words! The public who look at the picture must interpret the symbols as they understand them.” (wikipedia.com)

In addition to being an important political event of the twentieth century, the Spanish Civil War was the catalyst for some of the most dramatic imagery of the last century. Among the most striking images are photographs of the war and its effects. Robert Capa's "Death of a Loyalist Militiaman" (1936) is perhaps the most iconic photograph from the Spanish Civil War, and it remains one of the most acclaimed war photographs of the twentieth century. What makes that photograph one of the best known war photos is the extraordinary moment in which Capa has taken it.

Caroline Brothers argues that 1930s' pictures can be seen as substituting signs of the real for the real itself, and they were anchored not to any concrete, indexical reality but to the intangible and the elusive; to things as insubstantial as the fears and dreams, and the imagining of the collective unconscious. She tries to explain differences between Picasso's painting *Guernica* and Capa's photograph in terms of reality of two different images. And she says:

It is perhaps an unarticulated awareness of the gulf between sign and referent, between photographic image and the 'real' and a perception too of aura vanishing in the age of electronic reproduction, which has elevated not Robert Capa's 'Death of a Republican Soldier', tarnished already by suspicion, but Picasso's *Guernica* into the enduring symbol of the Spanish Civil War (Brothers, 200).



Death of a Loyalist Militiaman September 5, 1936 Spanish Civil War

by Robert Capa

In my opinion, the photograph also reflects the rising importance of photography in the dissemination and representation of war in the early twentieth century because the Loyalist Militiaman is not a hero. We see that he is normal human like us. We see supreme that moment, and how a helpless man he is. Susan Sontag points it out as follows:

The photographic monitoring of war as we now it had to wait a few more years for a radical upgrade of professional equipment: lightweight cameras, such as the Leica, using 35 mm film that could be exposed thirty-six times before the camera needed to be reloaded. Pictures could now be taken in the tick of battle, military censorship permitting, and civilian victims and exhausted, begrimed soldiers studied up close (Sontag, 20-21).

Another important war for photojournalism was Vietnam War. The new era had also brought new discussions on the perception of the war. Vietnam War changed photojournalists' function. Their relationship with society and its power centers was no longer as friendly. Photographers generally, began to be viewed as powerful adversaries as their reports and photographs veered from the government's official assertions. There were too many conflicting points of view presented for

photographers to be considered naive, trustworthy scribes following whatever dictated by the society. Photographers and their colleagues in television supplied images that contradicted official thinking, and challenged the legitimacy of the American-sponsored war - a little girl running from napalm, a member of the Viet Cong being summarily executed, a grieving widow crying over an anonymous body bag. And instead of authenticating American ideals of heroic soldiers, many of the photographs from Vietnam asserted a disturbing, even radical, point of view.



The Killing Fields, Vietnam, by Huynh Cong Ut: 1972
(The Killing Fields Vietnam, Nick Ut / The Associated Press)

The above photograph is one of the most famous images of the Vietnam War era. According to Hariman and Luciates, “the photo violates one set of norms in order to activate another; propriety is set aside for a moral purpose. It is a picture that shouldn’t be shown of an event that shouldn’t have happened” (Hariman and Luciates, 41).



**Street Execution of a Vietcong Prisoner
Vietnam War - Eddie Adams, 1968
(frgdr.com)**

The above photograph has come to be known as the “Tet Execution”. The photograph highlights the facial expressions and circulated more easily, while the video footage of the events is actually more chaotic and horrific. The photo won the Pulitzer Prize for spot news photography in 1969. Eddie Adams said, “still photographs are the most powerful weapons in the world” (Time Magazine, July 27, 1998).

There are similar findings on photographs. These photos represent helplessness, victims, innocent, blood, civil human and brutal face of war. According to Daniel Hallin (1986), Vietnam was the first war in which journalists were not subjected to official censorship, in large part because the United States government did not recognize Vietnam as an official war. Americans saw the first televised war in their living rooms, and U.S. media gave citizens more information about Vietnam than it had in any prior conflict (Hallin, 127).

Fred Ritchin attracts attention to 1960 and 1970s, and to the dynamics that has changed conception of journalism: “But just as journalists gave the public a powerfully different way of looking at the war, and were contributing to the downfall of American leaders over Vietnam and Watergate, the mass-circulation, general interest picture magazines were going out of business, and journalism was losing its most impressive forum” (Ritchin, 56). Anti-war movement in the United States helped to turn public opinion against the war. As the conflict in Vietnam escalated into something much more than the American people had originally expected, the media coverage of the War also expanded and played a dominating role in the shaping of public attitudes. During 1960s, the stance of the American people evolved from one that was, for the most part, supportive of the war effort in Vietnam, to one that was decidedly against the conflict. This transformation of public opinion was reflected on the front pages of major newspapers, and to covers of leading magazines such as *Time*. The anti-Vietnam protest movement was the news story of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, scholars of journalism and communications media have been re-evaluating claims of the objectivity of photographs. For instance, in her 1995 essay on the rise of photography in American journalism, Barbie Zelizer notes a lack of attention to the subjectivity of photographs. She writes, “The general function of interpretation has rarely been incorporated into discourse about the photograph, which has tended instead to privilege the image as a “transcription from reality” (Zelizer, 136). Many scholars of media and communications, like Zelizer, have been tracing the historical roots of claims about the representational truth of a photograph. Zelizer localizes the rise of claims about

the truthfulness of photographs to their use in journals and newspapers of the 1930s and 1940s. In this period, claims of truth and objectivity were fundamental to establishing the legitimacy of photography as a journalistic practice. Zelizer notes that “photojournalists have been thought to offer a 'visual expansion' of journalistic practice, one that appears to increase the truthfulness of news and extend the adage that 'the camera does not lie' to journalism's primary authority, the reporters” (Zelizer, 136).

In early days of photojournalism, Zelizer explains that journalists often convinced photojournalists to emphasize photographs as truthful objective representations. The intent was to keep popular understanding of photographs in line with that of the transparent objectivity of the text in news in general. Ironically, war photographs were hardly ever published alone. The images were almost always accompanied by text describing the scene in spite of journalists and photojournalists arguments about the stand-alone truth and transparent objectivity of photographs. Image and text seem to have developed a symbiotic relationship in which they were construed as reinforcing the objective "truth" of each other.

Although many producers and consumers of the news in the 1930s often dubbed photographs more objective than text in terms of depicting the truth of an event, Michael Griffin observes that “photojournalism emerged as an established practice, albeit one that loosely straddled conventional notions of documentary, news, information, opinion, publicity, and propaganda” (Griffin, 124). As Griffin indicates, even at the time photography was introduced as a form of representing

events, there was some question as to the function photographs as either objective documents or subjective propaganda or both.

Now, this study gives examples that include iconic images and photographs from Cyprus Operation. Moreover, it includes a discussion on how the perception of the war in viewer's mind.

6. Findings and Analysis

Having gone over the theoretical material with examples from previous wars, we are ready to focus on photographs published during Turkey's Cyprus operation. These photographs always come with interpretive captions serving as frames in order to ensure that the readers look at the pictures in a certain way.



22 July 1974 Hürriyet

The first example is an illustration which is reminiscent of comics. It is a whole page illustration published by Hürriyet. Such illustrations depict only heroism in a nationalist style, without any victims. These images were part of a national propaganda, served only to justify and legalize the war.

In an era when technology of photography was not as developed as today, war propaganda could take such forms idealized drawings of a strong army belonging to the nation.

6.1 The Innocent Turkish Cypriot



18 July 1974 Hürriyet

The photograph above was taken from a low angle, portraying the subjects as powerful, and obviously emphasizing all of them as victims. According to Messaris, a subject taken from a high angle might be considered weak, while those taken from a low angle tend to be viewed as stronger (Messaris, 27). The photo provides no details of why these people are in pain or why they are listening to the radio. The caption of this photo gives a historical detail; it says “Turkish Cypriots started to live as cantons after Greek attacks in 1963, and they are always on alert. Here we see an entire family with the mujahids, children, and women. Their eyes are on the ragged edge. They fall

in longing. They are missing their comfortable days and their land. They are worried and uncertain but they have a strong belief in Turkish soldiers”.

This photo represents innocent people and victims who have been deprived of peace. The camera creates tenderness by focusing on children, because innocence of the children is a symbol of their weakness. The photographer who took the photo was taller than the children; so he was shooting from above the subjects, thus describing them powerless. Little girls are sitting down squatting, and worriedly listening to the radio. Probably they are worried about their kith and kin. The children that are closest to the camera, in the foreground, have hopeless look on their face. Hopelessness is the central frame of the photo. For these reasons, this photo creates empathy for the victim, and triggers hatred against Greeks.

One could not understand the situation from the photo, but could empathize with the victim, and thus unilaterally deem actions of EOKA or National Organization of Cypriot Fighters as inhumane.

This photo must have impressed Turkish readers confronting them the atrocities of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters. Turkish people believed that EOKA fighters were committing such inhumane acts, and the photo provided evidence.

The photo was published in mainstream newspaper in Turkey two days before Turkish Operation. In this photo the little boys and girls, females represent the victimized people. For this reason, this photo and versions of this photo give a direct

message to Turkish people living in Turkey: Turkish nation must say stop the EOKA as soon as possible, and Turkey must gang up on against EOKA. The operation was thus legalized by the mainstream press.

6.2 The Massacre of children

The caption of the photo above also reminded Turkish viewers some images taken during clashes in 1963. They rapidly turned into iconic photos in Turkish collective memory. The best known among them is a bathtub in which laid dead bodies of three children and their mother. They were brutally murdered by EOKA militant in their bathroom.



This photograph was taken from a high angle, portraying the subjects as powerless, emphasizing the obvious, as they are all dead. Everyone in the photo is horizontal, a rarity as people are typically represented vertically. The tangle of bodies creates confusion. Confusion for the viewer to visually untangle the horror

that they are looking at and also representing the confusion that the people must have experienced as they were being gunned down.

The shocking gruesome qualities of this photo were shocking to Turks when they were confronted with the atrocities of EOKA. Therefore, the photo created the evidence that forced Turks to believe that Greeks are inhuman. And Turks did not believe that their soldiers did not commit such inhumane atrocities. After seeing this one photo, they were forced to conceive that this massacre might not have been the only one, simply the only one that there was evidence of.

O'Malley and Craig point out that Greek attempts to change the constitution in 1963 led to inter-ethnic atrocities. The Museum of Barbarism in Kumsal District, Nicosia, preserves this blood-stained bath in which these children of a Turkish officer were shot by Greek-Cypriot gunmen (O'Malley and Craig, 128).

Collective memory is kept alive with such images. Obviously the Greeks were also engaging in anti-Turkish propaganda in their mass media. War was continuously justified by using unforgettable images that would be engraved into nation's collective memory. In contemporary life, we witness such horrific images that have been imprinted on our memory and mind.

6.3 Turkish Prime Minister in London



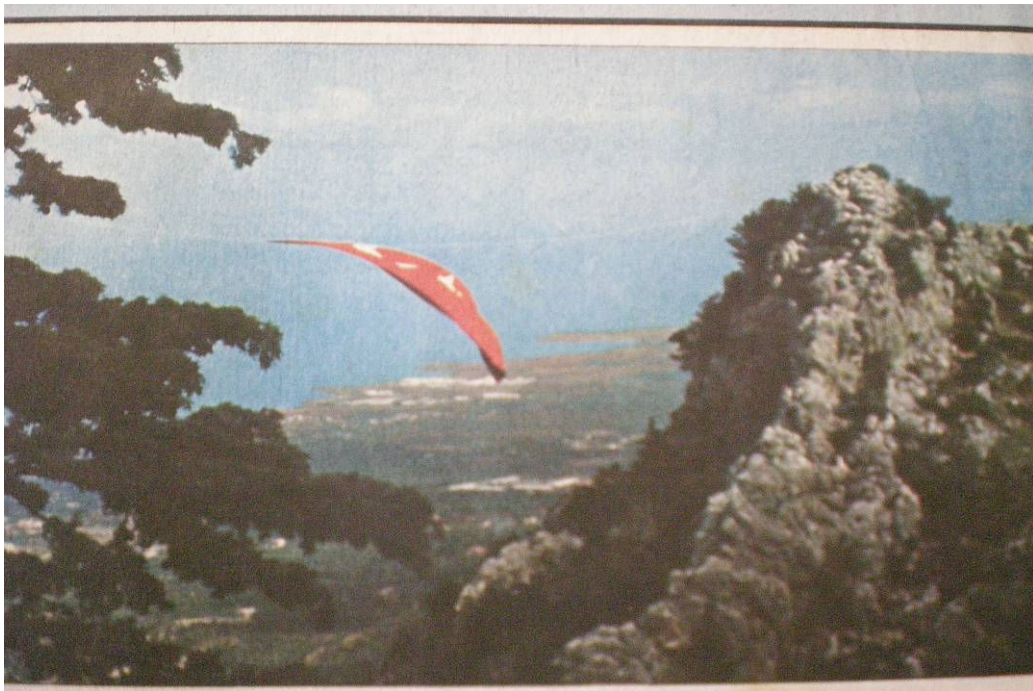
18 July 1974 Hurriyet

In the photo above, we see Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit, who went to London to have a conference about the Cyprus conflict and was welcomed by the Turkish army on his arrival back.

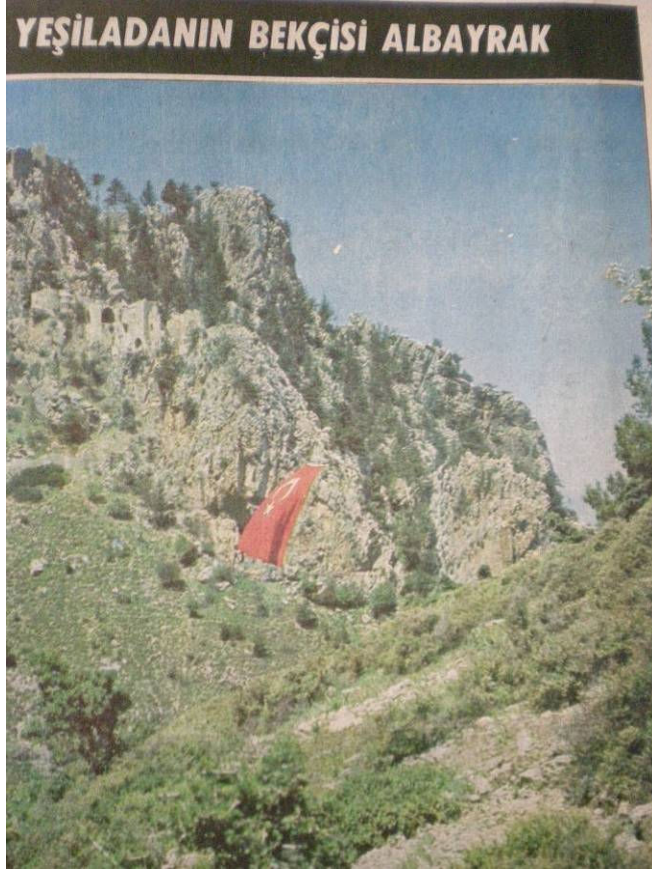
It's possible to say that Turkey had common interests with UK, in that time period. Thus, Ecevit gained the support of UK and decided on the Cyprus operation two days after his visit. If we analyze the picture within this framework, the picture emphasizes the synergy between the government and the army. This picture is not only a classical military greeting ceremony, but also the greeting of a prime minister of a country that is strong, ready to fight, that has soldiers in the island at present and also is supported by a European country. As seen in the picture, the superior officers who are following the prime minister are also giving the message of following his decisions. The Prime Minister walks in proud and also smiles, giving confidence to the community. The hierarchy is apparent in the picture: Prime minister in the front is followed by two superior officers who are followed by other officers, and private soldiers standing still during the ceremony. The discipline of

the private soldiers is a symbol of their devotion in their country. The soldiers are standing still with their guns in their hands; therefore they are ready for a war. Besides, it is noteworthy that these soldiers have sworn on sacrificing their lives for the sake of their countries. Moreover, in parallel with the Islamic faith, they are even willing to die with such a holy purpose. Boys are grown up with this doctrine according to Turkish tradition which creates the desire to be a fighting soldier, even if it requires sacrificing one's own life, and even if it results in being remembered as numbers of the war statistics, more than being remembered by the name.

6.4 Turkish flag was flying in Kyrenia Beşparmak Mountain



18 July 1974 Hürriyet



20 July 1974 Hürriyet

The first photo was published 18 July 1974 which is before two days Cyprus Operation. The second photo was published 20 July in the date of the Cyprus Operation.

The focus of this photo is the flag. Caption of the first photo; “On the steel rope which is stretched from the historical St. Hilarion Castle on the Beşparmak ‘Five-finger’ Mountain to a high hill of another mountain. Here is our Turkish flag flying with the wind through Taurus Mountains and giving confidence to our people living in Cyprus. This is the trust of faith and existence which can never be broken”. First photo was published to prepare Turkish citizens for the operation. Girne which is located at the foot of the Beşparmak ‘Five-Finger’ mountains where there is a density of Turkish population. A few days after this photo was published

the harbor of Girne witnessed of the Turkish soldiers getting into Cyprus. This photo is like early news for the Turkish soldiers that will get onto the island. Because of that it also includes Taurus Mountains which are located in Turkey in the photo. It shows that Turkey and Cyprus are in the same photo and can not be separated either emotionally or physically. We can sense the attachment of Cyprus and Turkey from that day until today.

Readers nationalist feelings and activated for the impending war. The war is legitimized as a legal war. To protect the togetherness of Turks and its national flag the Turkish nation will unite for a certain victory. The flag is a sacred symbol of every nation. This is certainly true for the Turkish flag and Turks will cherish that flag according to the photo.

As can be seen on both photos the flag has been raised to the highest points of the mountains. This is done so you will understand how great the flag is and how fearless and glorious the Turkish nation is on the caption of the second photo states.

According to Messaris a subject taken from a high angle is considered powerless while those taken from a low angle tend to be viewed as having more power (Messaris, 9). These photographs were taken from a low angle, portraying the subjects as powerful, emphasizing the obvious for the Turkish flag. That is to say, the flag that is waving far up is a visual ...for patriotism.

6.5 Turks protest in front of the Greek Consulate



19 July 1974 Milliyet

The photo above is from Istanbul. Soldiers and people have demonstrated in front of Consulate of Greece before Cyprus Operation. Also, according to Milliyet, this photo was also published by the well-known American newspaper Herald Tribune. Why this photo is was published before one day from the operation? Because, it gets the message across to people who live in Greece and the Greeks that live on the island. It is a message of solidarity between people and soldiers. It is also show of force. We see Turkish soldiers and Turkish flag up front in this photo. Soldiers and the flag represent the nation-state. Nationalism has built up a consciousness which uniting groups with conflicting interests in a closed nation state environment without reservations in case of an external threat. This concept ignores the internal differences and this hegemonic in nature. This photo shows different groups standing against the power of Greece, the enemy at the

door. It announces how the security and the Turkish nation will be protected regardless of surrounding conditions. It is important that the event takes place in front of the Greek Consulate building. It is newsworthy in its symbolism. This may explain why it was published in an important American newspaper.

We see the soldiers carrying flags in the foreground. The camera is focused on the flag and the soldiers. Flag waving is often practiced ritual of the nationalist discourse. Thus, we see Chauvinist or flag-waver discourse in this photo. One of the flag-carrying soldiers is glancing at the camera. This glance is full of bravery and adherence to national values. Besides, the soldier is waving with his other hand and tries to give the message: “Don’t worry, we are here to protect you!” to the Turkish nation. This soldier does not have a helmet, which separates him from the others and makes him noticed by everyone. Especially, those who want to be noticed in a group, wearing the same uniform, show a tendency to differentiate themselves, just like football players who want to differentiate by implementing various hair styles. In the background, we see a crowd of people from community, which resembles the support of the community in this struggle. The support of the community also gives the message that any action to be taken by Turkish army is going to have popular support. Right behind the flag, we see a woman carrying her child and a man next to her. This family may represent the Turkish nation, united as a family.

Furthermore, the military uniform represents bravery and strength. There are no victims in despair or blood in this photograph. There is no vandalism or cruelty either, so war appears a heroic struggle. Thus the intensity of the photograph

derives not only from what it depicts but also from the politically and ideologically charged historical context out of which it emerged.

6.6 First encounter with paratroops



20 July 1974 Hürriyet

In this photo which was published in Hurriyet on July of the 20, the day of the Cyprus operation, a Turkish paratrooper was photographed in the air. It appears that the photo was taken by somebody on the plane, who could be a journalist or a military photographer. It is unusual to expect from a journalist working with the soldiers to be objective. Even if he is a journalist, he is the on piece of the chain of command or is affected by the environment. Thus, this is a powerful photograph since it is a close-shot. What makes this photograph even more powerful is the fact that it focuses on the paratrooper. The position of the paratrooper resembles a tiger,

ready to attack its prey. Is it a coincidence that this photograph is published in the headlines of Hurriyet newspaper which plays an important role in the agenda setting of Turkey on the first day of the operation? I think this photograph was chosen for a reason: The parachutist and the plane in the background remind us the competence of technology and the white uniform of the parachutist signifies the peace which is the aim of Turkish force in landing to Cyprus. The Turkish flag on the helmet indicates the importance of the flag, a valuable national symbol which is best carried on the top of the head.

6.7 The first felicitation



21 July 1974 Milliyet

The above photo is one of the best known photos published after the first Cyprus Operation. It shows Turkish Chief of the General Staff and Prime Minister rejoicing in victory, with the focus on Semih Sancar the chief of General Staff and Bülent Ecevit the Prime Minister. Ecevit celebrates victory of the Turkish army by hugging Sancar. Both Ecevit and Sancar are smiling. The photographer is focused

on their laughing faces, because their smiles give a message to the viewer. They are happy and confident of victory.

Another message of this photo is the unity of the nation. Semih Sancar represents the Turkish army and Bülent Ecevit represents the Turkish government. Together represent the Turkish nation. The close up photo provides intimacy and warmth.

6.8 Military ceremony



21 July 1974 Hürriyet

The focus of this photo is the huge flag in the center of the photo. The caption that accompanied the photo said that “The heads bow respectfully to Turkish flag. The flags rise in value as long as carrying on heads and strong hand.

Turkish flag is proud when it was born. It is rigid. It does not tread. If and only, everyone bend head while it is passing. And, our glorious the red flag that get colour from martyr blood, emulge in full flood. Throughout the history The Turkish flag is in pride that it proves in so doing". Nationalism in the reader's mind is reinforced by the caption. As the caption says the flag is proud, is described something that has a personality of born such as the Turkish national anthem, the Independence March (İstiklâl Marşı) was adopted on 12 March 1921.

Never fear! For the crimson flag that proudly waves in these
dawns, shall never fade,
Before the last fiery hearth that is ablaze within my nation burns
out.
For it is the star of my nation, and it will forever shine;
It is mine; and solely belongs to my valiant nation.
Frown not, I beseech you, oh thou coy crescent,
But smile upon my heroic race! Why the anger, why the rage?
Our blood which we shed for you will not be worthy otherwise;
For freedom is the absolute right of my God-worshipping nation

Another striking aspect of this photo is technological advance. It is in color. Although color photo is rare in that time, it is used for shooting this photo. Color strengthens the message of the photograph. Color is also very significant for this photo, because flag's color is red. Red color symbolizes aggressive power, blood, conflict, fire, salacity, passion, sincerity, excitement. Because of these characteristics red color can speed breathing and raise blood pressure. This color it is claimed that also increases expectations and enables people to make decisions quickly. Red color attracts attention. This color is densely sensationall. It is generally used to establish dominance.

Furthermore, there are several flags in the center of the photo to strengthen the national message. And the flags are very large scale. The large scale object

represents greatness. The photographer who took the photo was shorter than the military truck, therefore was shooting from below thus making the subjects and deeming them more powerful.

Moreover, this photograph was taken from a low angle, portraying the subjects as even more powerful, emphasizing the obvious, as they are all flags. All soldiers in the photograph stand up. The abundance of flags creates seriousness and assuredness, reassuring for Turkish viewer. The soldiers' faces in the photo appear fearless, which means they are brave. They appear assured of victory.

6.9 The solidarity between Turkish soldier and the child



21 July 1974 Hürriyet

This close shot photo portrays a soldier and a child. The soldier is kissing the child in a very affectionate way. This photo says that the Turkish children of Cyprus need compassion and only Turkish soldiers can provide it. Children represent innocence, an innocence that has been taken away from her/his by the war. The child who is foreground of the photo has a look of sympathy on her/his face. He or she is close to the camera, so the reader looking at the photo is more emotionally connected to the child.

There is bread in the photo. Psychological meaning of the bread is basic need for the people. We know that people have difficulty in finding food in war time. Although Turkish Cypriots have no food, they share it with soldiers, even their bread which is their basic need. The message is interdependence between Turkish soldiers and the Turkish Cypriots community. The tenderness of the soldier behind the child appears like his or her father moving him along away from the danger. The soldier's kissing on the forehead of the child shows a fatherly emotional tenderness.

The caption that accompanied the photo said that this photo is an example of the love between Turkish Cypriots and Turkish army. Women, men, old men, young men shortly everybody this includes the Mucahids also the Turkish Cypriot fighters. They are fighting for the "baby homeland" –yavru vatan- as the Turkish soldiers are fighting for the motherland –anavatan-.

6.10 Examples of embedded journalism



21 July 1974 Hürriyet

This photo was shot during the Cyprus landing. Headline of this photo says “Ports opened and our gallant soldiers started to step down” This photo shows the skills of the Turkish military force. It connotes that Turkish army sets foot on the island to save Turkish Cypriots’ life. This photo was taken by an embedded journalist participating in the operation as journalists.



21 July 1974 Hürriyet

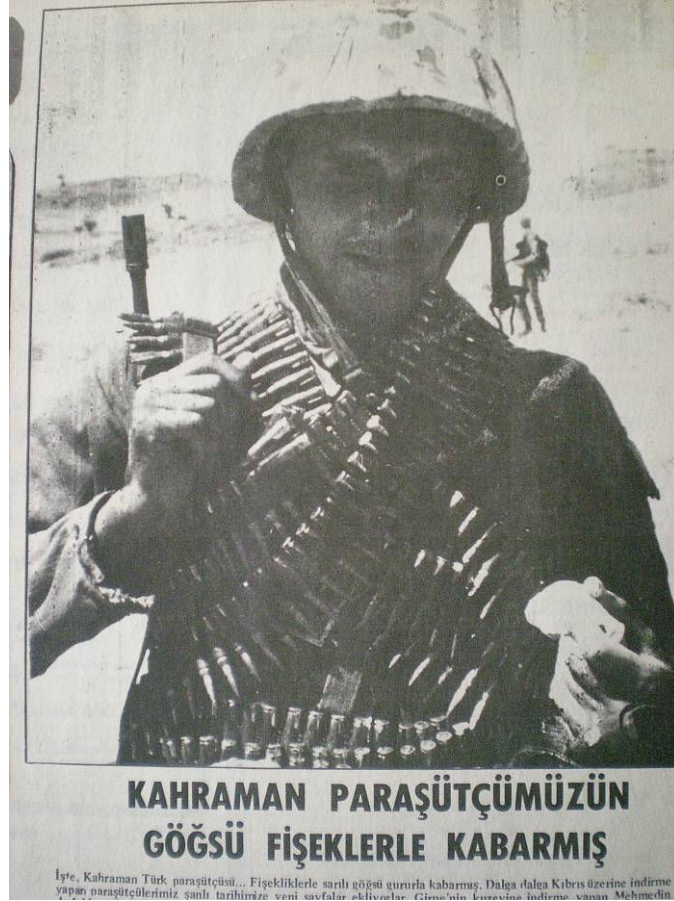
This photo was published during the Cyprus Operation too. The focus of this photo is the Turkish army on armored vehicles. Caption of this photo says “What matters is fearless Mehmetçik, (Turkish soldier) rather than tanks. Mehmetçiks who are religious gain ground in ‘yavru vatan’ the foster-land Cyprus. They gain ground to bring peace by challenging to death. Holy crap to the craven that come mehmetçiks’ way...”

This photograph was taken from a low angle, portraying the subjects as powerful, emphasizing the obvious, as they are all tanks and soldiers. There are only four tanks in this photo, but the photographer shot to these tanks on the road. As you look at the people along the road, the composition continues down the road where there are many more tanks underlining the message strenght.



22 July 1974 Hürriyet

Here we see soldiers looking at the camera and waving their hands or raising their fists. The message in everything is going well. Behind the soldiers we see many military vehicles signifying the strength of the Turkish army.



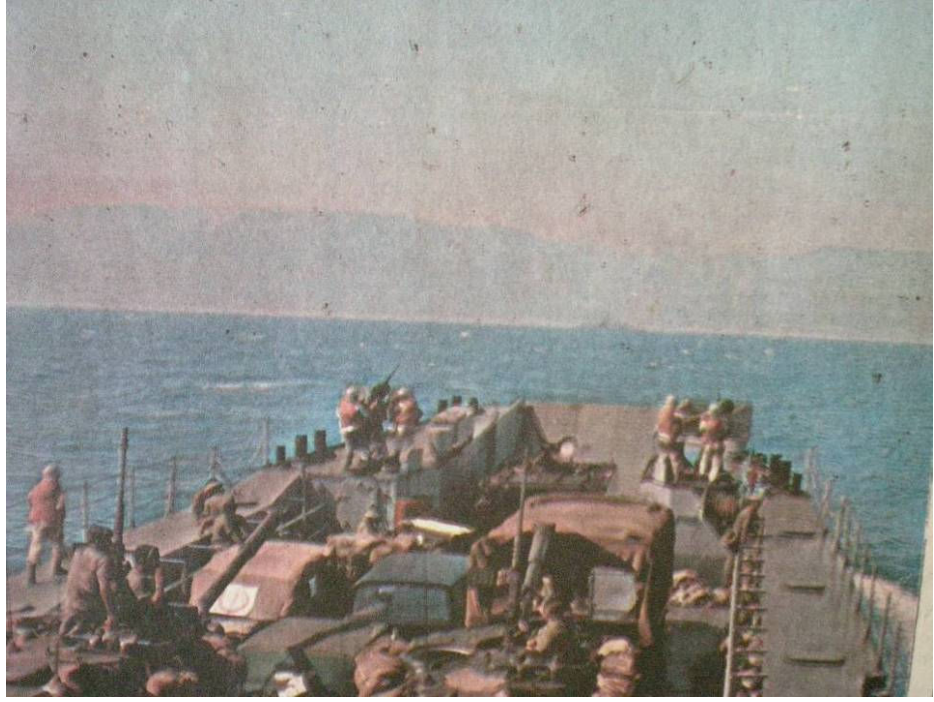
23 July 1974 Hürriyet

This photo was also taken during the operation. We see a Turkish soldier shown from close shot angle is considered more powerful than a high angle shot for viewer. The soldier is smiling and his chest with cartridges. This makes him look very powerful.



23 July 1974 Hürriyet

This photo was shot on the third day of the Cyprus Operation. All soldiers were smiling when this photo was shot. There is a soldier that has a heavy machine gun in the center of the photo. All soldiers were on the tank and all of them were posed to the camera. The message is everything is going well and there is nothing to fear.



24 July 1974 Hürriyet



24 July 1974 Hürriyet

Above two photographs are great examples of embedded journalism. All these photos were shot by Cüneyt Arcayürek who was working for Hürriyet newspaper. These photos wan to create empathy. The Turkish viewers or audience or readers would feel empathy towards Turkish soldiers and bear a grudge against Cypriot Rums or Greeks. We are looking at the war from a soldier's angle.



24 July 1974 Hürriyet

“Embedded journalism” can be defined as news reporters being attached to military units involved in armed conflicts. While the term could be applied to many historical interactions between journalists and military personnel, it first came to be

used in the media coverage of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, many years after the Cyprus operation.

That is to say, although there was no embedded journalism concept during Cyprus Operation, these photos were very good examples for understanding the concept of embedded journalism. These photos focus on events only from the army view point and there is no freedom of journalist. As a result journalists become tools of propaganda and national interests such as in these photos. Press freedom entails responsible journalism. Journalism can debate nation, all affairs national security and international issues responsibly, without jeopardizing the nation. Press freedoms should not be antithetical to individual and collective safety, national prosperity, progress and success. After all, it is said, no freedom is absolute. Yet, journalists need freedom to do their job.

6.11 Reminder of historical tragic detail



23 July 1974 Hürriyet

This photograph actually does not belong to 1974. But neither the time nor the identity of the man is clear. By looking at the caption, we understand that it was taken before 1974. “One who does not remember the cruelty of the Greek in Anatolia, shall look in the history! The cruelty of the Greek is not very old. The outraged village girls of Anatolia still remember those days, terrified. Turkish people suffered too much during the Greek occupation which brought depredation and theft”. This caption bears the remark of a deep hostility against the Greek people. Not to the Greek army or soldier or government but to Greek people. It seems to be prepared for antagonizing Turkish people against the Greek people. It is expected from the Turkish people who see this photograph and read the title, to hate the Greek people because of the slayed Turkish people. It is obviously an expression of abhorrence.

This photograph was taken from a high angle, portraying the subjects as powerless, emphasizing the obvious, as a he is dead. The focal point of this photo is a man's body and his face, drawing attention to the innocent man who was killed in the massacre. As you look at the terrible face and body of man where there are more bodies scattered about. When the frame cuts off the horrific corpse of the man's body, the viewer is only left to wonder if there are even more bodies off in the battlefield.

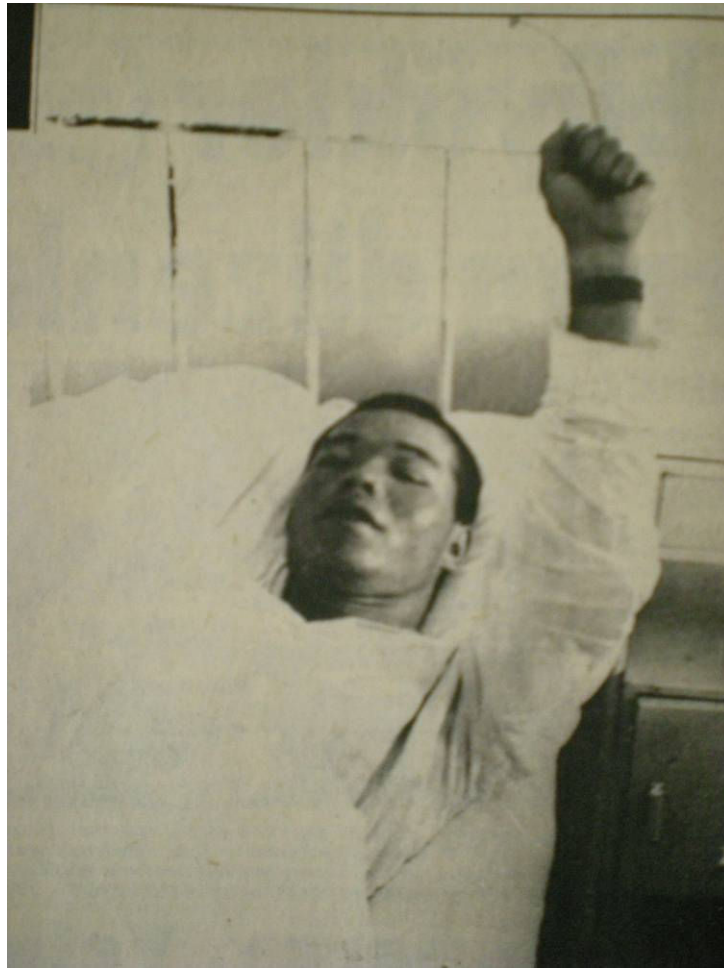
6.12 Victory celebration of Turkish Cypriot



26 July Hürriyet

This photograph symbolizes victory. The photojournalist clearly set up the composition on the victory of a nation. In the foreground, Turkish flag is seen blurry. Since the objective is very close to the flag, it seems to be bigger than it originally is, even bigger than the whole crowd. The blurry look gives the impression that the flag is a shadow and the joyful children are located under the shadow of the flag. Furthermore, the flag is in a triangle form and looks like a roof. Any observer can conclude that the children are safe and happy under the roof of Turkish flag. Most probably, the children were brought together intentionally to make up this composition. There are Turkish soldiers behind the children, which means that the children are safe and joyful with the Turkish soldiers behind them. All of the children are smiling and some of them raise their hands and make the “v” symbol with their fingers, indicating victory. The children are a good choice for the photo, because anywhere in the world, children represent innocence and they deserve peace and safety. There are many other symbols in the photograph such as bravery, victory, a good future and nation state.

6.13 Clenched fist as a symbol



25 July 1974 Hürriyet

This photo focused on a war vetera who clenched his fist. This photograph emits strength from through raised fist. The clenched fist represents self-confidence, self-sacrifice, friendship, stoutness, courage, triumph, self-respect, power, interdependence, justice etc. It is poised in reaction against the enemy. The raised fist or clenched fist was earlier a greeting and symbol of resistance most often used by left-wing activists. But now, the clenched fists usually regarded as an expression of solidarity, strength or defiance.

Ironically, the fist was used by militants that fight for peace. Therefore, this photograph can create an empathy with the reader or viewer, because Cyprus Operation that is known Cyprus Peace Operation in Turkey. That is to say, according to Turkish people, Mujahids (Mehmetçiks), or Turkish soldiers went to fight for peace in Cyprus. The soldier that is in the photograph was wearing a white shirt, and he is in whites. White color is used to signify cleanliness, purity or softness, steadiness, kindness, trustfulness. For example, generally spin doctors advice white color for politicians when they will give a speech with public.

The soldier's face in this photo is smiling and his eyes look down. His face symbolizes victory. In the photograph of the soldier with the proximity of the camera must be taken into account. The soldier must have been close to the cameras when the photographer was shooting the face and the hand. The face of the soldier reveals emotions of pricle form close distance.

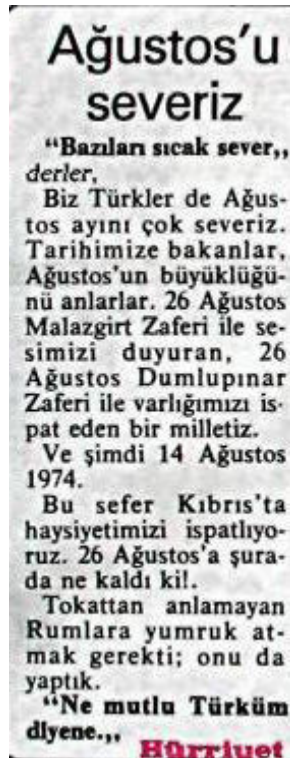
6.14 From Malazgirt to Cyprus



20 Ağustos 1974 Milli

This photograph was published on 20 August, six days after the second operation in Cyprus. This newspaper report references another victory from Turkish history. It delivers the message that Turkish army has a history full of victories, from 1071 Manzikert War (Malazgirt) to 1974. Manzikert War took place in 26 August 1071, between Alparslan, the Seljuq Sultan and Romanos IV Diogenes, the Byzantine Emperor. The war, which resulted in the victory of Alparslan is known as “the war which allowed Turks to gradually populate Anatolia”. In this context, a link is set up between Manzikert victory and Cyprus War which was also won in August. After Manzikert victory, Anatolia became the native land of Turks, so does Cyprus become the foster-land with the Cyprus war. This photograph symbolizes the bravery of Turkish soldiers and the brave Turkish nation. It does not seem to be possible to defeat the fighting and victorious Turkish nation. On 15 August, Hurriyet publishes the below report. The report uses “we” as the subject, which supports the idea of being a nation: “We, the Turks, love August. Our history tells the

importance of august. We are a nation who proved its presence with Manzikert victory in 26 august and Dumlupınar victory in 26 august. This time we show our dignity in Cyprus. We had to strike the Greeks because slapping was not enough. Happy is the one who says: I'm a Turk...". Just like the message given in this photograph, we are a brave nation and the Greeks are cowards. The word "Turk" always has a positive expression in sentences, while the word "Greek" has negative ones in the readers' mind, although it is not stated in written form.



15 August 1974 Hürriyet

We have gone through some photographs of the 1974 Turkish and Greek Cypriots conflict that were published on Turkish press in the same year. We tried to put up some discussions and analyze our findings in the light of the theoretical debates on nationalism and on semiological approach.

Conclusions

Now that we have completed the semiotic analysis of the 1974 photographs of Cyprus Operation or Turkish and Greek Cypriots conflict, we can now proceed with drawing some conclusions by bringing together both theories and empirical findings discussed so far.

Nineteenth century has witnessed a fundamental transformation from autocratic empires to nation–state governance. After 19th a nation’s official history can be written only according to the requirements of its own perception of nationalism. Anderson proposes that the nation is actually an imagined political community. Referring to Watson, Anderson argues that “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 7). Bryant argues that nationalism is one possible way of resolving contradictions that she describes here as inherent in our modern understandings of how freedom should be realized. She says that the project of modernity was essentially an ethical one, aimed at dispelling the illusions of religion and discovering the “real” truths upon which a better life could be founded. As a result of this, Bryant explains how this contradiction worked itself out in Cyprus, with tragic results (Bryant, 4). In this context, territorial integrity, religious or traditional rules and ethnical tie are so significant for all modern communities that are focused on a nationalist perspective. For these reasons, ethnocentrism can be inevitable as part of this belief. Nationalist belief also contains a rather romantic point of view that identifies a certain nation good, while labelling others bad respectively by their

nature. Of course, each nation has to believe that it is the good one, and only others are bad. This is how a humiliating xenophobia grows up.

Of course historical conditions were also quite important for the understanding of the photographs that was published during Cyprus Operation, and the photographs have affected public opinion with a photographic framing. Now, we can look at historical context briefly. Cyprus has been under British rule since 1878 and granted independence in 1960. There are some who want the island to unite with Greece (enosis), others who wanted to partition the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and some who believe the two peoples could live together peacefully. In 1963 when the President of Cyprus Markarios attempts to reduce the power of the Turkish minority in the Cypriot government, he stirs up a hornets nest. When fighting breaks out between the two groups, Turkey reacts with saber-rattling and prepares to invade the island. The period of 1964 to 1974 was a turbulent era for the island, with the apparent breakdown of relations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sides right across the spectrum of social and political ties.

Photographs are also a valuable source of information in the press because, as many studies have shown, visual images are recalled more quickly and they serve for a longer time than words. (Jenkins, 6) David Domke, David Perlmutter, and Meg Spratt found that images have the ability to “trigger” people’s pre-existing values, cognitions, and feelings. These pre-existing ideas can reflect how an image is interpreted. (Domke, Perlmutter and Spratt, 131-159) Mendelson found that photos are more or less significant based on the viewer’s learning styles because high visualizers are able to

store information about individual news photographs, recognize news photographs to be less complex than the written word, and find photographs more appealing than those who are not visual learners (Mendelson, 1-30). Of course, if there was no photography, people would never know what was happening in wartimes. So, what makes seeing these images so important? The reason is simple; the truth should be told. People should know the truth about war before a nation decides to go to war; it should know what its consequences are. Therefore, every photojournalist must take their steps by considering their important mission. That is, effective photographs deliver the right message in the right way through the right channel at exactly the right time to touch the hearts and the move the minds of the target lookers.

In the light of the above discussion, we have come up with the following conclusions:

- 1- *Creating public opinion through legitimizing the war:* This thesis has tried to confirm that the concepts put forward and kept in the background in photographs published during Cyprus Operation have justified and legalized the war, and that the society was thus exposed to an ideological redirection. The photos typically symbolize national values, courage or heroic deed, as well as inhumanity of the “other.” When analysed from semiotic perspective, these photographs, or how they served to the formation of public opinion under those captions were all aimed at creating a commonsense, a collective consciousness and a consensus to go into action for starting the war under influence of idealized or dramatized heroic and nationalistic images. The images persuaded Turkish viewers to the necessity of war for saving Turkish

Cypriots' life from the EOKA National Organization of Cypriot Fighters. Another way of legitimizing the war happens by creating "myths" and "martyrs." Sontag says that "No, retort those who in a given situation see no alternative to armed struggle, violence can exalt someone subjected to it into a martyr or a hero." (Sontag, 12) States can legitimize violence. Therefore, the young people in military service can die and they can be 'martyr' in Türkiye, and in other Muslim societies.

2- *Creating an "other" through patriotic emotions:* The first consistent theme that emerged throughout all of the photos studied was patriot emotions in the nationalist perspective: the emotions that the characters in the photos presented as well as the emotions that are triggered by the photos to the viewer. In my view, the symbol of the Turkish national items and their innocent people photos provoked a strong negative reaction against Greece. Almost all of the relevant photos are aimed at supporting negative feelings against the other party, instead of demonstrating the common tragedy of war. By this means, while creating patriotic feelings among society, the published photographs create an "other" at the same time.

3- *Holding national unity up:* Generally, there are same characters or images like the soldier, the military vehicle, the flag, children, innocent civil people dead people etc. in similar composition all of the photos that conveyed emotions through the characters and images in the photos. For example, when we look some images on a photo like flag or soldier, our

national consciousness stirs up, because these images symbolize national unity.

4- *Innocence and use of civilians:* Moreover, we see a photo of a man lying dead, and thus can no longer be able to convey his emotions. The only emotions that he can communicate are the ones that the viewer can imagine on his feelings in the moments before his death. Another example is the first photo found through the semiotic analysis there was innocence; the innocent people that were in a deep distress, which, with the help of these photographs, would legalize the Cyprus Operation. In the photograph taken at Cyprus, the victims were civil people, not soldiers, whose lives were taken because of the war. In the photo, the victims are dressed as civilians, not as soldiers. In both the first photo and dead person's photo, the focus is on innocent people. And all of these people represent innocence, an innocence that the war has stolen from them. All of these photos also show the people as powerless.

5- *Press-Government relations:* This research also shows governments' potential to manipulate media during times of crisis. Media can construct its own reality. Through its news and photographs, the Turkish press almost helped the government in its decision to go into war and invade the island. In this context, it is obvious that the media gave consent for a Cyprus Operation. It can be observed even in their captions: "our brave soldiers, our fearless soldiers, our faithful soldiers, equitable helpful or humanitarian soldiers etc." The media is also responsible for both sanitizing the Cyprus Operation, and also rendering

it almost invisible at times. We clearly see that media manipulate captions and photographs for their propaganda during time of crisis. Throughout history, many leaders and governments showed war as a heroic event, and claimed victory through paintings and photographs. They have hidden and manipulated reality by force of these images. They tried to build a scene where there is no blood other than theirs, no victim other than theirs, or no innocent people fighting against them. This is actually what happened in Turkish press during the Cyprus operation.

Since nationalism had emerged, it has found its place in history as the setting of various ethnic conflicts. Ethnic conflicts are alive everywhere in the world and journalists report them. Along with the political spectrum, the press or media may play either a negative or a positive role in cold or hot conflicts of the world. The situation of the Turkish press is not any different during Cyprus conflict. Turkish press tends to publish negative stories about the Greek Cypriots while reporting Cyprus Operation news and photographs. It is important to note that the Turkish press is engaged in elite-centered “elitist” news reporting. Elite-centered news reporting gives more say to state authorities, government officials, politicians and military officials than others. Thus, the press in Turkey is often a mere tool to convey the message of the elite. The message of the elite is generally nationalistic and heroic style. However, in reality, the media should be the watchdog over the elite rather than being its agent. Negative statements made by the elite play a significant role in the process of the reporting of negative stories by the press in Turkey.

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