

HASAN CEMAL

1915:

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE



HRANT DINK FOUNDATION

Hrant Dink Foundation was established after the assassination of Hrant Dink in front of his newspaper Agos on January 19, 2007, in order to avoid similar pains and to continue Hrant Dink's legacy, his language and heart and his dream of a world that is more free and just. Democracy and human rights for everyone regardless of their ethnic, religious or cultural origin or gender is the Foundation's main principle.

The Foundation works for a Turkey and a world where freedom of expression is limitless and all differences are allowed, lived, appreciated, multiplied and conscience outweighs the way we look at today and the past. As the Hrant Dink Foundation 'our cause worth living' is a future where a culture of dialogue, peace and empathy prevails.





HASAN CEMAL

Born in Istanbul in 1944.

After finishing Atatürk High School in Ankara, he entered Ankara University Faculty of Political Science and graduated in 1965. After a year and a half in Germany followed by two years of military service as a reserve officer, in 1969 he began to work at the *Devrim* magazine as an editor under Doğan Avcıoğlu. When Devrim was shut down with the March 12, 1971 military coup, he was charged with 44 months of imprisonment and lived as a “fugitive” for a period of time.

In 1971 he briefly worked at the magazine *Yeni Ortam*. He began his career as a reporter at the *ANKA* news agency founded by Altan Öymen. While working at *ANKA*, he also contributed to the German News Agency DPA, West German Radio WDR and *Toplum* magazine with Örsan Öymen. While working under Necati Zincirkıran in the daily *Günaydın*, he both learned the intricacies of the profession, and ‘Günaydın style’ reporting.

He proceeded to work at the *Cumhuriyet* daily in 1973. He became the newspaper’s Ankara Bureau Chief in 1979 and its editor-in-chief in 1981. Between 1983-1992 he served on the executive board of the International Press Institute (IPI). He transferred to Sabah as a columnist in 1992, and later on, in 1998 to *Milliyet*.

His books to date include:

Tank Sesiyle Uyanmak (Waking Up with the Sound of Tanks), *Demokrasi Korkusu* (Fear of Democracy), *Tarihi Yaşarken Yakalamak* (To Seize History Whilst Living It), *Özal Hikâyesi* (The Story of Özal), *Kimse Kızmasın Kendimi Yazdım* (No one Should Get Mad, I Wrote Myself), *Kürtler* (Kurds), *Cumhuriyet’i Çok Sevmiştim* (I Really Loved Cumhuriyet), *Türkiye’nin Asker Sorunu* (Turkey’s Problem with the Military), *Kürt Sorununa Yeni Bakış: Barışa Emanet Olun!* (A New Approach to the Kurdish Issue: Be at the Mercy of Peace!).

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HRANT DİNK VAKFI
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ՀՐԱՆԴ ՏԻՆԷ ՀԻՄՆԱԿ

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*Dear Hrant,
What made me write this book is your pain,
your sufferings.*

*The struggle of man against power
is the struggle of memory against
forgetting.*

Milan Kundera

*Freedom is the right to tell people what
they do not want to hear.*

George Orwell

*I would like to thank my dear friend
Ali Bayramoğlu for his contributions
to the writing of this book.*

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IN PLACE OF A FOREWORD

The Hand of History Shows the Right Path to He Who Wants to See!

*Sitting in front of the computer
to write this book,
I said to myself, I guess
in my life I can't make do
without reckoning
with the past.
Strange emotions,
question marks
sparked in my head.
Could writing such a book be considered 'opportunism'
or 'professing heroism' on my end?
Could some people think this
about me?
Or showing up at Agos's hallways
every year on certain dates
with solemn expressions,
participating in memorial ceremonies,
marches to commemorate Hrant Dink
on January 19ths...
Would Armenians want to share their own pain with "Cemal Pasha's
grandson", did they?
I wasn't sure.
But then I remembered that dawn of morning
when the sun in Yerevan rose painting the sky crimson
amidst the fog.
As I laid three white*

carnations by the Armenian Genocide Memorial I had mumbled to myself:

“Dear Hrant, your sufferings brought me here; I am trying to feel your sufferings and those of your ancestors in my heart and I share them. Rest in peace my brother.”

I can’t forget that Yerevan morning in September 2008.

*Mount Ararat’s graceful peak would suddenly appear only to disappear again
in the first light of day.*

“The hand of history,”

I had jotted down that morning, “Shows the right path to he who wants to see.”

In 1919,

*The colonial army of Britain
had committed a crime against humanity
by opening fire on civilians in India,
had perpetrated the Amritsar massacre.*

In 1997,

*as Elisabeth II, queen of Great Britain, apologized from the people of India,
she had said, “It is no secret that there have been some difficult episodes in our past – and Jallianwala Bagh... is a distressing example. But history cannot be rewritten.”*

Of course we cannot change history but it is up to us to confront history.

How are we to move forward toward the future without confronting, coming to terms with the bitter truths of the past?

It is not possible to remain silent in face of sufferings! We cannot let the past take the present hostage.

Furthermore, the pain of 1915 is not an issue of the past, but of today.

*We can only find peace and build peace
by making peace*

with history—but not an “invented history”, a distorted history like ours—but with real history,

and by saving ourselves from the malady of exploiting history. Genuine peace and democracy

*unfortunately always comes through
ineffable sufferings*

*only at great costs
as in the case of Hrant Dink.*

*It seems that some stones in the lives of societies cannot be moved or
cannot fall into place without paying a price.*

Paul Auster says in his novel,

*“Speak now before it is too late, and then hope to go on speaking until
there is nothing more to be said. Time is running out, after all.”*

And I sat down

and began to write my book, in search of our “lost history”...

Hasan Cemal,
Istanbul, February 25, 2012.