

memory of Menderes and named schools and institutions after him.<sup>21</sup>

The next step in the absolute Turkification of the Republic and the government's trampling on the rights of ethnic minorities was the 1960s campaign against the use of any language but Turkish.<sup>22</sup>

Yalçın's unbiased recording of these instances of discrimination and persecution was certainly an eye-opener for many Turks, of course, at least for those who read *Seninle Güler Yüreğim* and believed in its sincerity. In his review of the book, A. Ömer Türkeş states that upon reading it one feels angry and upset by the fact that the pains of 1915 were not remedied during the Republican era but accentuated in the 1942 varlık vergisi, the 1955 pogroms, and the 1960s "Speak Turkish" campaign. The only time that Armenians were treated equally, Türkeş adds, was in the torture chambers after the September 12, 1980, coup in Turkey.<sup>23</sup>

The persecutions persisted, but so did the memory of Turkish atrocities, even if the story was reversed. A character in Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow* (2004) speaks of an Orthodox church in Kars partially turned into a museum,<sup>24</sup> noting that

<sup>21</sup> De Zayas, "Istanbul Pogrom" (2007).

<sup>22</sup> This campaign had its roots in the 1928 slogan, "Vatandaş, Türkçe Konuş!" (Fellow citizen, speak Turkish!). Significantly, beginning in 1965 the State Institute of Statistics omitted the question from the census concerning a person's mother tongue.

<sup>23</sup> A. Ömer Türkeş, review of Yalçın's *Seninle Güler Yüreğim*, <http://www.pandora.com.tr/turkce/elestiri.asp?yid=251>. Accessed January 31, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> The orthodox church that Pamuk describes indeed served as a museum until 1985, after which it was converted into a mosque,