

The Public Discourse on The Russia-Ukraine War: Impartiality or Ideology?*

Candan KOÇAK**

ABSTRACT

The study aims to reveal the ideological discourse of public broadcasting in preserving impartiality, reliability and establishing international dialogue in Türkiye Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) in an extraordinary situation that threatens international security such as war. In order to understand what kind of ideological discourse TRT, which is a public service broadcaster, developed in the Russia-Ukraine war, twenty news reports were analyzed with reference to van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. In addition, one of the Russian and Ukrainian news published by TRT as "special news" was also included in the review to reveal the discursive difference. In the study, the thematic features of the news in the context of macrostructure were examined; title, photograph, "we-other" binary opposition and presentation of the main event were examined. As a result of twenty-one news reviews, it was noted that TRT developed a positive discourse towards Ukraine and a negative discourse towards Russia with its word choices, yufism indicators, we-them binary opposition expressions and photographs. This situation reveals that during the Russia-Ukraine war, TRT news reproduced an ideological discourse in line with state policy.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Russia-Ukraine War, Public Broadcasting, Communication Studies, Türkiye Radio and Television Corporation (TRT).

Received / Accepted: 06 December 2024 / 02 February 2025

Citation: Koçak, C. (2025). The Public Discourse on The Russia-Ukraine War: Impartiality or Ideology?, *İmgelem*, 16, 21-42.

Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşının Kamusal Söylemi: Tarafsızlık mı İdeoloji mi?

ÖZ

Çalışma, savaş gibi uluslararası güvenliği tehdit eden olağanüstü bir durumda Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (TRT) özelinde tarafsızlığı, güvenilirliği korumada ve ülkelerarası diyalog kurmada kamusal yayıncılığın ideolojik söylemini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Kamu hizmeti yayıncılığı yapan TRT'nin Rusya-Ukrayna savaşında nasıl bir ideolojik söylem geliştirdiğini anlamak için van Dijk'in eleştirel söylem analizi referans alınarak yirmi haber analiz edilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra TRT'nin "özel haber" şeklinde yayınladığı Rusya ve Ukrayna haberlerinden biri, söylemsel farkı ortaya koymak için ayrıca incelemeye dahil edilmiştir. Çalışmada, haberlerin makro yapı bağlamında tematik özellikleri ele alınarak; başlık, fotoğraf, "biz-öteki" ikili karşıtlığı ve ana olayın sunumu incelenmiştir. Yirmi bir haber incelemesi sonucunda TRT'nin; sözcük seçimleri, yufimizm göstergeleri, biz-onlar ikili karşıtlık ifadeleri ve fotoğraflarla Ukrayna'ya yönelik pozitif, Rusya'ya ise negatif bir söylem geliştirdiği dikkat çekmiştir. Bu da Rusya-Ukrayna savaşında, TRT haberlerinin devlet politikası ile örtüşen bir ideolojik bir söylemi yeniden ürettiğini ortaya koymuştur.

*Bu araştırma makalesinin verileri anket veya mülakat teknikleri kullanılarak elde edilmediğinden etik kurul izni gerekmemiştir. / In this research article, ethics committee permission was not required as the data were not obtained using survey or interview techniques.

**Dr. Öğr. Üyesi., Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen Üniversitesi, Halkla İlişkiler ve Reklamcılık Bölümü, Ağrı/Türkiye. E-posta: ckocak@agri.edu.tr, ORCID Number: [0000-0003-0361-0413](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0361-0413), ROR ID: <https://ror.org/054y2mb78>



Anahtar Kelimeler: Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşı, Kamusal Yayıncılık, İletişim Çalışmaları, Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (TRT).

Başvuru / Kabul: 06 Aralık 2024 / 02 Şubat 2025

Atıf: Koçak, C. (2025). Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşının Kamusal Söylemi: Tarafsızlık mı İdeoloji mi?, *İmgelem*, 16, 21-42.

INTRODUCTION

As today's most important information provider, the media has a significant power to make accurate, impartial, conciliatory publications as well as fearful and disturbing publications. When the mass media are considered in the context of the functions of communication, it is seen that the function of notifying/informing comes to the fore among the most important tasks. Especially in extraordinary situations such as war, pandemic that has been included in our lives in recent years, mass media are expected to provide accurate, impartial information in a way that does not cause panic among the public. In such cases, where the journalism, integration, discussion and dialogue functions of mass media come to the fore, the understanding of public broadcasting is also important. The study, which focuses on the Russia-Ukraine war, differs from other studies (Gölcü & Nurlanova 2022; Günay 2022; Aydın Düzgit 2011) in the literature both in terms of its subject and its use of discourse analysis method for public broadcasting. In this respect, the study is also important in terms of highlighting the hidden ideology that TRT, which is a public broadcaster, indirectly constructs in the news it broadcasts about the Russia-Ukraine war.

It can be said that the mass media, which are seen as the Ideological Apparatuses of the State (ISA), differ from the "oppressive" state devices. So much so that the "oppressive" state apparatus functions by using "violence" and ISAs by using "ideology". The "Communication ISA" (Althusser 2014: 50-52), which is one of the ideological apparatuses of the state, is also seen as an ideological building tool in this context. The most important service area in building the state's ideology is public service broadcasting. Public service broadcasting in Türkiye has been carried out through the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) since 1964. TRT provides a public service covering radio, television and internet broadcasting. In this context, the study analyzes the role of public broadcasting in maintaining impartiality, reliability and establishing international dialogue specific to the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) in situations that threaten international security such as war.

In the second part of the study, a theoretical framework is drawn with a literature review, the methodology of the study is presented in the third part. The fourth section discusses the findings and the fifth section concludes the study.

Public Service Broadcasting and TRT

The television broadcasts started with the establishment of state monopoly channels with the understanding of public broadcasting. The launching of private channels over time has once again reminded the importance of public broadcasting, which is dominated by the understanding of broadcasting in the public interest.

The public service broadcasting model has emerged after adding the duty to carry out its activities largely within the scope of public space by taking part in the communication process to many services that the state is obliged to perform (Kaya 1985: 28). Public service broadcasting is defined as “non-commercial radio-television broadcasting which acts as the spokesperson of the public within the conditions of the country, mainly includes programs that provide the least financial return for commercial radio and television broadcasting institutions broadcasting on issues such as culture, arts and education, is carried out by an impartial broadcasting institution that is descriptive and informative on social conditions and economic issues and administratively and financially autonomous, and impartial” (Sarmaşık 1993: 22). Public service broadcasting, having developed and started to be implemented in European countries, refers to the state or government control and monopoly of radio and television administrations (Serarslan 2001: 68). The state, which can exert some control over private broadcasting, has given this control directly to the government with public broadcasting. This centralized and monopolistic understanding of broadcasting is based on the idea that the state is justified in using the media in its own interests. Therefore, in the public broadcasting approach, the state sees itself as the guarantor of the public interest (UNESCO 2021: 9). Political (ideological), economic, technical and practical reasons are involved in the increase of this activity and intervention of the state in the communication process (Kaya 1985: 28). In this context, public service broadcasting consists of technological-economic, political and social-cultural foundations (Pekman 1997). Therefore, it can be said that the mass media, which are seen as the Ideological Apparatuses of the State (ISA), differ from the “oppressive” state devices. So much so that the “oppressive” state apparatus functions by using “violence” and ISAs by using “ideology”. The “Communication ISA” (Althusser 2014: 50-52), which is one of the ideological apparatuses of the state, is also seen as an ideological building tool in this context. The most important service area in building the state’s ideology is public service broadcasting. Public service broadcasting in Türkiye has been carried out through the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) since 1964. TRT provides a public service covering radio, television and internet broadcasting.

TRT was established as an “autonomous” legal entity with a special law on May 1, 1964 in order to carry out radio and television broadcasts on behalf of the state and is defined as a “impartial” public economic organization with the constitutional amendments in 1972. TRT, the only public service broadcasting institution of the state, was established as an impartial public legal entity under the name of Turkish Radio and Television Corporation with the Radio and Television Establishment Law No. 359, which was issued on December 24, 1963 and amended in 1972 (URL-1).

Autonomy is defined as the administrative organization’s own determination of the rules of conduct (Çiftçi 1993: 61), and impartiality is equal treatment without favouring any side in the events (Vural 1986: 38). When the concepts of autonomy and impartiality are assessed in the context of democracy, it is understood that these structures can develop where political powers do not consider themselves as power over everything and can be protected with the support of the public (Serarslan 2001: 80). The independence and impartiality of public broadcasting, which enables the free expression of ideas and opinions, is only possible if it is protected against commercial pressures or political influences (UNESCO 2021: 12). As such, the role of public service in social and democratic life in modern nation states is undeniable (Syvertsen & Moe 2009: 401). In order to make the public service more impartial, independent, free and efficient, autonomy can be given to some administrative institutions that take their power from themselves and their employees. The autonomous organization, which has a control mechanism in itself with this feature, performs public service without receiving orders and instructions from the government and is not subject to the hierarchical control of the central administration (Çiftçi 1993: 61-62). Although impartiality is a guide for the fair treatment of events, it is not a suitable criterion in the selection of events, what the scope of news bulletin will be and which events will be kept on the agenda (cited in Cox: Serarslan 2001: 73). Especially today, the idea of an independent media that meets the needs and desires of the audience without manipulating it seems outdated (Bourdon et al. 2019: 1). TRT, of which autonomy was abolished, tried to apply the phenomenon of impartiality only while giving equal time to political parties in news bulletins (Serarslan 2001: 73). On the other hand, in the TRT handbook, the institution has determined it as publishing its values and standards with the obligation of accuracy, impartiality and publishing the elements that will cause disturbance and sadness such as violence with sensitivity. The accuracy standard refers to the use of resources and the responsibilities of the producer; the impartiality standard refers to the handling of opposing views and their expression in the appropriate language; the standard of handling the

elements that will cause disturbance and sadness with sensitivity refers to publishing the images of the dead and injured in violent incidents with sensitivity (Tekinalp 2003: 268-269). Therefore, TRT, which is seen as the spokesperson of the state, fulfills its responsibility as a public service broadcaster by acting sensitively contrary to commercial broadcasting in the publication of disturbing images, although it clearly reflects the policy discourse of the current government in news content.

Discourse and Ideology in News

Understanding the role of the media in establishing the social power is possible by considering the concepts of discourse and ideology together. So much so that the words spoken by the government represent the ideology. Therefore, the evaluation of ideology as a material phenomenon depends on its association with language, meaning and discourse (Dursun 2014: 56-69). Because discourse is about producing information through language, and ideology is encoded in language (Hall 2017: 59). In this context, one of the aims of discourse is to “demystify” the hegemony of certain discourses by deciphering the ideologies that establish, maintain or struggle against domination. Because language is not powerful on its own but gains power through the use of powerful people. Thus, ideologies construct new public discourse through the hegemonic narratives they create and function to transform power relations (Reisig & Wodak 2008: 88). According to Fairclough (2015: 122), who examines the relationship between language and ideology, it is not possible to read ideologies through texts. Because the meaning is produced by the interpretation of the texts and the interpretations may differ. Fairclough also emphasizes that ideological processes can be involved in discourse not only as interpreted texts but as a whole of social events. Taking the discourse into consideration through a multidisciplinary perspective, van Dijk (2015: 15-22), emphasizes that the speech and text need to be examined with its linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural aspects. According to him, discourse plays an important role in the use and reproduction of language. Besides ideologies are expressed and reproduced by social and semantic practices rather than text and speech. Voloshinov (2020: 52-53), on the other hand, deals with discourse through indicators. According to him, if there is no indicator, there is no ideology. Because everything ideological has a sender. For this reason, Voloshinov states that “as the ideological can reflect the truth it can distort it as well” and that each indicator is subject to the criterion of ideological evaluation. In that case, it does not seem possible to consider the discourse of the news separately from the dominant discourse.

The government in power, which controls information by using mass media, can make the information news in line with its own ideology by paying regard to its social, economic, political and cultural interests (Günay 2022: 49). In the past, the news, which was believed to have been evaluated by the editors in all details and presented to the public, was read in detail. However, advancing technology has shown that news sources are limitless, nearly a billion gigabytes of images and words of data are produced every day. In addition, technology has enabled to record what kind of pleasures the person has through computers and phones and to quickly filter the news of that day and create newsletters shaped according to personalities. However, considering that the reader is not sufficiently well-qualified to understand which news they should encounter, personalized news without the objective guidance of the editors is considered as a problem. As is, personalized news can also cause the masses to be dragged into mediocrity by highlighting the difficulties of making smart choices (Botton 2015: 244-246). In that case, the replacement of the news prioritized by the editors by personalized news streams has not eliminated the discourse and ideology discussion in the news, on the contrary, it added a new dimension to this situation. At this point, it is again up to the reader to understand whether the news determined by the editor by referring to public service publishing or included in the personalized flow contains fact or opinion. So much so that, it seems equally difficult to distinguish between fact and opinion in news texts in which ideology is hidden within discourse in public or commercial media channels.

In the dilemma of “Fact or opinion?” van Dijk (2023: 174-178) argues that group-based knowledge is “opinion,” not fact. According to him, it is difficult to convince groups involved in an ideological debate in which there is conflict that the beliefs of others build facts. Because they claim that this fact is only opinion. According to van Dijk, it is because of that this is their efforts to keep facts under control by checking the conceptual structure and vocabulary meanings of ideologies. However, according to Eagleton (2020: 23-27), ideology is not a matter of “language” but of “discourse”. In other words, ideology is about how language is actually used to create certain effects; ideology is about legitimizing the power of the dominant social group or class.

The statements of the press regarding the events contain important opinions and are usually pre-configured in the discourses. These configured opinions cause people to develop, change or consolidate a certain attitude towards that event. For example, the fact that people perceive what they see as “real” during war situations may lead them to comport themselves with a non-violent manner that defends the weak against the strong. While cases (such as war)

are represented in the case model, opinions are expressed by the author of the text or the speaker. Thus, the audience/reader decides whether the speaker or the author is pro-war or anti-war. In this case, the recipient evaluates his/her previous knowledge and assumptions, and if his/her opinions are similar to those of the author/speaker, he/she temporarily adopts that opinion. However, if the opinion in the discourse is negatively received by the recipient, the person attributes that opinion to the author/speaker (van Dijk 2023: 369-371). In this context, the study examining the public discourse of the Russia-Ukraine war will reveal whether TRT news offers information or opinion, whether the news discourse is parallel to that of the government in power and whether it is a party. For this reason, the Russia-Ukraine war will be mentioned at first and then the findings of the study will be discussed.

Russian-Ukrainian War and Media

On February 22, 2022, Russia carried out a military operation against Ukraine. The war, in which many soldiers and citizens lost their lives, still continues.

Türkiye-Ukraine friendship and diplomatic relations were further strengthened after Ukraine declared independence following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the Russia-Ukraine war, Türkiye's emphasis on Ukraine's territorial integrity, as well as Türkiye's efforts to establish a constructive dialogue with both sides despite the West's harsh reactions against Russia, drew attention. Türkiye distanced itself from Western sanctions against Russia and stated that it did not want to make a foreign policy choice in favor of either Russia or Ukraine (Yıldırım Çınar 2024: 17). Thus, despite the radical decisions taken by Western states against Russia, Türkiye has become a NATO member that can hold talks with both Russia and Ukraine (Demir 2023). Russia, which has been pushed into international isolation due to its Ukraine policies, has maintained its relations with Türkiye due to its economic conditions (Yıldırım Çınar 2024: 25). In this context, Türkiye implemented a policy of balance in the Russian-Ukrainian War, with the need to establish peace and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries (Baltacı 2022: 521).

The Russia-Ukraine war is considered as a very comprehensive war because it affects many areas from economy to politics, from security perception to energy. In addition, this process is seen to have the most comprehensive systemic effect in terms of many countries reassessing their global positions and trying to adapt themselves to the new situation that will emerge (Özkan 2023). Based on the view that those with unlimited power need to legitimize their actions periodically (van Dijk 2023: 382), the fact that today mass media are the most

important means of legitimization specific to social media is seen once again in the Russia-Ukraine war. So much so that the consequences of the conflict crossed the borders of Ukraine and Russia and caused the war to become mediatic worldwide. The war has created a huge impact not only on traditional media but also on social media platforms.

The two countries at war also use their communication strategy in different ways. Ukraine manages effective communication strategies in order to receive both material and moral external support, and Russia to reduce the reputation crisis and receive internal and external support. And this situation shows that the two countries are actually carrying out a conflict through communication campaigns as well as an armed war. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky has appeared in world newspapers, television, and especially on social media every day since the military operation began. The fact that a political leader communicates with both the public and all international non-governmental organizations, governments, international companies through social media for the first time in history shows that there is a communication strategy as well as a war (Moreno & Rubio 2022: 3-32). In this process, Russian President Vladimir Putin enacted a new law restricting freedom of expression and press about the war. In particular, the law prohibits any news that does not conform to the official government position on what the truth is (Tebor 2022). This shows that restrictions were imposed on written, visual, online or social media platforms related to the war in Russia.

Today, it has become even more important to distinguish reliable information from false information. In fact, with a user base of more than 4.5 billion, social media and social networks have become important platforms where everyone can freely express their ideas and perspectives in 2021. In addition to this, they are very powerful tools for spreading propaganda or counter-propaganda (Galvano 2023: 3). The importance of freedom of expression and the press in uncovering the truth is seen once again during the Ukraine-Russia war. Russia and Ukraine are waging another war beyond war, the war of disinformation. For this reason, journalists should question all information regardless of its source (Pavlik 2022: 3-4). As a result of the ties between international politics and public opinion at the national level, “world public opinion” is formed. The world public opinion can cover problems of international importance as well as the national problems that apply to many countries. The world public opinion is formed around the idea that it is the main duty of governments to maintain peace and take measures against war disasters through international agreements. With this philosophy, the world public opinion is against all acts and torture incompatible human rights and dignity. It does not approve of privileged sovereignty in the expression of opinions. In this context, the

world public opinion sees the fact that the mass media reflect the common attitude of the public regarding the common problems of humanity as a moral and political responsibility. Therefore, for the existence of an independent public opinion, it is considered obligatory for mass media to include largely different opinions (MacBride et al. 1980: 221-222). In view of this information, the problem of disinformation, which has become one of the most important consequences of digitalization, arises, especially in times of war, when access to accurate information is essential. As this problem can be eliminated by public service broadcasting, on the contrary, it can damage credibility with the responsibility of acting politically and reflecting the dominant ideology.

Methodology

The fact that the ideology hidden in the discourse becomes visible requires a comprehensive analysis. The problem of determining the ideology, which is the starting point of critical discourse analysis, and how it is reproduced emerges especially at the news point. In the study, based on the assumption that the Russia-Ukraine war was carried out together with a conflict on digital platforms and that disinformation was reflected in the war discourses, it will be tried to determine what kind of discourse TRT, which is a public service broadcaster, developed. This determination will be made with reference to van Dijk's critical discourse analysis.

Van Dijk (1988: 15) discusses the news narrative in two types of linguistic analysis: syntactic and semantic. Syntactic analysis focuses on the grammatical structures of the sentences in the news text, while semantic analysis focuses on the meaning of discourse through words and sentences. The positive-negative sentence structures, in-group-outgroup emphasis (us-them), and the irony created through metaphors enable the determination of the ideology of the text in question (van Dijk 2023: 311-313). Rhetorical elements used in the news, repetitive words, binary oppositions, analogies, rhyme, permanence in memory; evidence, expert opinions, eyewitnesses increase the persuasive power of the news (Nergiz & Akın 2021: 5). The argument that ideologies are expressed and reproduced not only verbally but also through written texts reveals the role of mass media in the reproduction of discourse. Therefore, it is important to make a discourse analysis on the basis of both words and sentences by examining the thematic, schematic and syntactic structures of the text in news analysis. The discourse structures determined by van Dijk are based on argument, rhetorical structures and quotation. In this context, nine categories are examined in the ideological analysis of news texts. For this reason, a holistic analysis with narrative, semiotic and linguistic structures is required in the ideological analysis of the discourse (Dursun 2014: 181).

In the discourse resolution model applied by van Dijk to news texts, a schematic solution is made in which the thematic and story organization-interpretation of the title-spots are examined. Synthetic or directory, in analysis, the short/long, simple/complex and active/passive states of the sentences are examined. In addition, even the class to which the journalist belongs can be understood with the choice of words in which the ideological structure is formed (1988: 15-16). Therefore, the aim of critical discourse analysis is to reveal how the dominant ideology is coded in the text and how social power is realized through linguistic practices (Karaduman 2017: 34).

Van Dijk (2023: 357-359) classifies ideological production as direct, symbolized, ideological attitude, event model, context model. According to him, most discourses are about concrete experiences and events, and therefore information is obtained from event models. In the light of all this information, the Russia-Ukraine war news published on TRT's website were examined by critical discourse analysis method in the context of the study event model. The news published on the TRT news site under two different headings as "Ukraine News" (URL-2) and "Russia News" (URL-3) as of the date of commencement of the operation (on February 22, 2022) and as long as the research data is collected (on September 23, 2023) are handled on a monthly basis. While selecting a news for each month, care has been taken to select the news that is closest to the date of commencement of the operation. In this direction, a total of forty news were selected as Russia and Ukraine news separately, but since the sample was repeated, the analysis was terminated as of the twentieth news (URL-5-23). In addition, one of the Russian and Ukrainian news published by TRT in the form of "special" (URL-24) news was also analyzed to reveal the discursive difference.

In the study, the thematic features of the news in the context of macrostructure were examined; title, photograph, "we-other" binary opposition and presentation of the main event were examined.

Findings and discussion

The public discourse of TRT, which is the press spokesperson of the Republic of Türkiye, is much more important in a sensitive event such as the "war" in neighboring states. The policy of the Republic of Türkiye to be a party to the war or not is manifested by the discourse used within the framework of public service broadcasting. In this context, the findings obtained as a result of the critical discourse analysis were evaluated under headings.

Headline of the War/War of the Headline

News headlines are headlines that summarize the content of the news in the shortest form of the event and also arouse curiosity. In addition, the headlines also convey a message about the media's perspective on the event. Although the sentence structure and word selection come to the fore in the news headlines, the statement of the source person or messenger can be included. It is seen that TRT's Russia-Ukraine news headlines mainly include verbal transmissions of people such as the head of state, ranking soldiers, and UN officials. The fact that positive or negative events are conveyed by showing the source person in the context of the principle of impartiality reduces the responsibility of the media channel and this is compatible with TRT's public discourse (URL-25, 27).

The determinations about rhetoric will be examined in the narrative analysis of the main event, but it would be appropriate to mention a remarkable issue about the titles here. Contrary to the main event narrative, it was seen that the word "war" was used more frequently in the headlines. Although the word "war", which has been used seventeen times in "Russian News" and nine times in "Ukrainian News", highlights the striking and remarkable feature of the headlines, the fact that it has been used more frequently in news about Russia shows that TRT emphasizes the dominant ideology.

News headlines can target the source without direct transfer. However, here, the comment of the media organization on the subject is understood indirectly, if not directly. When the news headlines are examined, it is clearly seen that Türkiye's mediating efforts are welcomed by both Russia and Ukraine, the UN and NATO (URL-28, 29).

It is noteworthy that there is a negative attitude towards Russia and Russian President Vladimir Putin as the initiator of the operation in other news headlines examined within the specified dates (URL-30, 31). The Russia-Ukraine war is described as a humanitarian crisis due to the economic and political crisis all over the world, as well as the fact that it cost the lives of many people and children and forced them to leave their homes. For this reason, Western countries, including Türkiye, have opposed Russia's military operation in Ukraine since the beginning of the war, and this discourse has also appeared in TRT news. However, it is seen that this discourse has become moderate as of December 2022 and the positive approach of the heads of state to Türkiye is reflected in the headlines. Vladimir Putin's attribution of responsibility for the war to the US and European countries, his message that Russia is recovering economically, and their reflection in the news headlines reveal that the discourse of

war has changed both in the context of the country and the news (URL-32, 33). So much so that “Will the European Union be the loser of the Russia-Ukraine war?” (Yılmaz Pirgaip 2022). headline is one of the rare news that TRT does not cite. The question it used before was “What did Russia hope for and find in Ukraine?” (URL-34), “Will the European Union be the loser of the Russia-Ukraine war?” (Yılmaz Pirgaip 2022) brought up the possibility of Ukraine losing with its headline and gave the message that the war was moving in favor of Russia. Especially since Russia was one of the first countries to send aid in the great earthquake in Türkiye on February 6, 2023, the positive approach of the current government to Russia was also reflected in the news (URL-35).

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that a positive discourse against Ukraine has continued in TRT news since the beginning of the operation. Especially in the headlines quoted from the statements of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, it is seen that Ukraine is presented as a strong, determined, peaceful and winning party (URL-36). Finally, it has been determined that TRT uses quite general expressions in longer and interpretation-based ‘special news’ (Akgül 2023) headlines compared to other news (URL-37). This shows that TRT also tries to protect public discourse in its commentary news.

Language of Photos

The most important messages in discourse analysis are sent through the photographs used in the news. If you are a commercial channel, you can convey the “terrible” face of war to the audience by frequently including dramatic visuals such as violence, pain and desperation in war news. However, the approach of ‘not including disturbing images’, which is one of the principles of public broadcasting, is clearly seen in the narrative of the Russia-Ukraine war. So much so that in almost every news published by TRT, the images of the relevant head of state, representative or country flag were preferred according to the content. Thus, the source of the news or the party of the war is supported by the photo used, but the images of the war are not included.

Photography has a very important place in manipulation tools. The angle of the selected photograph, the lens used, the color affect the reader’s perception. In response to a head of state photographed with a weak, tired, unhappy expression, a head of state gives information about the content of the news with his shoulders upright, his head up, his clothes attentive. For this reason, photography is the most important persuasion and manipulation tool of the written press.

Zelensky's images (URL-38), Zelensky's attentive outfit, healthy face, upright posture and the flag of his country are seen on the right. Putin's images (URL-26), the photo of Putin with low shoulders, tired face and sitting was preferred. Especially in the last image (URL-39), the photo of Zelensky, one of the presidents of the two sides of the war, with his head upright and looking forward, and the photo of Putin looking 'hard' from the bottom up, although his head is tilted, is used side by side. Considering the other images used in the news, although not directly in TRT's discourse, it also supports it with photographs in which it has a negative attitude towards Russia.

Us Or the Other?

In the critical discourse analysis, van Dijk also emphasized the most in the "us-us" binary opposition; the rule of "we" emphasize our positive sides and the negative sides of "them" is clearly seen in TRT's Russia-Ukraine war news. Considering the distinction between "Russia News" and "Ukraine News", there is a difference between the news. The distinction between "we" and "them" in the news differs for Russia (URL-2) and Ukraine (URL-3).

Table: 1. News of Russia

WE	THEM
Russia	Ukraine
People	Ukrainian side
Russian Federation	Kyiv Administration
Civilians	Ukrainian negotiators
Russian army	Armed forces of Ukraine
Russian prisoners	Ukrainian militants
Russian soldiers	Ukrainian soldier
BRICS Countries	West
Wagner warriors	Foreign mercenary warrior

Table: 2. News of Ukraine

WE	THEM
Our children/villagers/civilians	Russians
Ukrainian army	Russian invaders
NATO/EU allies	Opponent/enemy
Our soldiers	Terrorists
Free world	Other aggressive countries
World leaders	Putin

Heads of state or officials who praise their own attacks or defenses, achievements, allies, soldiers as parties to the war prefer not to mention their failures, military losses. So much so that the parties who do not make a numerical statement about their own losses disclose the losses of the other party. If the information conveyed in the news was not given as a direct transfer, it would be clearer which side TRT marginalized in the “us” and “them” discussion. However, it can be said that TRT does not make a clear “us-them” positioning and stays at an equal distance to both sides. These findings are in line with Türkiye’s official foreign policy regarding the Russia-Ukraine war. This is because Türkiye, from the beginning, has adopted a “balanced” political stance instead of being a party to the war.

Main event: “War”

In the news texts, the main event is transferred with the introduction summarized in a few sentences after the title. The main event can be transmitted with or without a specific source reference. In the news where the source is stated, active sentence structures are generally used by transferring in-or without nails. In-quotation or direct transfer ensures that the perpetrator of the incident is clearly indicated. TRT frequently uses the direct transfer method in the headline and main event transfer in Russia-Ukraine war news and points to whoever made the statement on the subject as the perpetrator. Thus, TRT inspires trust by giving the message that it does not comment on the news. In the active sentence structures, the perpetrator of the action is again placed in the focus of the news and a clear responsibility for the action is attributed to the perpetrator. For this reason, if what the source says is not in accordance with the ideology of

the relevant media organization, the sentence is usually given in quotation marks. For example, the statement “Putin: Purification of Ukraine from Nazism and militarism...” is a very assertive statement about the cause and effect of the war. For this reason, TRT has quoted this statement in full. On the other hand, if a general opinion or information is transferred, it can be transferred directly without the need for a nail.

Another point that draws attention in the narrative of the main event is the use of words. The incident can be manipulated with “euphemism”, that is, “a lighter word that gives the same meaning instead of a rude and heavy word” (Oxford English Dictionary). For example, using words such as “operation/military operation” instead of the word “war” creates a more moderate perception. The vocabulary choices of TRT, which distinguishes between “Russia News” and “Ukraine News” in the Russia-Ukraine war news, are also quite remarkable. When the news archived under the heading of “Russia News” were examined, it was determined that the word “war” was repeated nine times, “operation/military operation” fourteen times, “special military operation/military operation” fourteen times, “combat” four times, and “conflict” five times. In the “Ukrainian News”, “war” was used nineteen times, “offensive operation” ten times, “operation/military operation” nine times, “conflict” six times. In addition, the word “attack”, which refers to the party that started the war, has been mentioned twelve times in the “Russia News” and eighteen times in the “Ukraine News”. The “defense”, which is the opponent of the attack, has been repeated fifteen times in the “Ukraine News”, while it has never been used in the “Russia News”. The word “enemy”, which is frequently used in war narratives, also has a remarkable aspect in TRT news. In the “Russian News”, the word “enemy” was chosen three times to describe Ukraine, but the word “friendly/unfriendly” was preferred five times for other states. In the Ukrainian news, these expressions were never used.

In the “Russian News”, the words “destruction (seven), elimination (four), death (four), siege (three), destruction (two), genocide (two), enemy (three), occupation/neutralization/destruction, humanitarian crisis, armed rebellion (one)” were encountered. In the “Ukrainian News”, negative words such as “damage (three), destruction (three), blockade (two), occupier (two), enemy (two), threat (two), loss (two), war crime (two), terrorist (one), loss of life (one), martial law (one)” were less common. However, the especially striking part of the “Ukrainian News” is that words such as “rescue (ten), containment (eight), retrieval (three), peace formula (five), hero (two), repulsion (one), resistance (one)”, which have a positive meaning for the war and can create manipulation in a positive direction, are frequently used. The evocation of words is of great importance in terms of manipulating the reader’s

perception in the news. In this context, instead of using sentence patterns that react directly in TRT news, the opinion that Russia is “unfair” in this war is clearly created with the selected words. Again, it can be said that Ukraine is seen as the “right” side of the war by refraining from using biased statements that directly support it. In addition, the choice of words with positive meaning shows that the focus is also on Ukraine as the winner of the war.

CONCLUSION

The study revealed how the Russia-Ukraine war was conveyed in TRT news with reference to critical discourse analysis. TRT, which makes separate archives for both countries on its website, has brought the perpetrators of the events to the forefront by making direct transfers in news headlines and main event transmission. Thus, it made the political approach of the Republic of Türkiye visible on a sensitive issue such as war and tried to take a “neutral” stance by not taking responsibility for the discourse of the news.

It can be said that TRT did not include disturbing war photos and there was no hate speech in its news as a requirement of public service broadcasting during the Russia-Ukraine war process. However, the word choices used for the two countries in both the headlines and the main event narrative, the euphemism indicators, the us-them binary opposition expressions and the photographs reveal that TRT has developed a discourse according to the state policy. In particular, the fact that Türkiye’s official foreign policy towards the Russia-Ukraine war had a “balanced” policy ground was in line with the findings obtained in TRT news discourse. For example, the moderate weather reflected in Türkiye-Russia relations as of December 2022 is clearly seen in TRT news.

Although there is no clear party message in the news photos, it is noteworthy that TRT news shows a positive attitude towards Ukraine and Volodymyr Zelensky and a negative attitude towards Russia and Vladimir Putin. In addition, it is seen that TRT does not make a clear distinction between “us and them” and does not position itself as a party through direct transfers of both parties. In this context, instead of using sentence patterns that react directly in TRT news, the opinion that Russia is “unfair” in this war is clearly created with the selected words. Again, it can be said that TRT, which directly supports and refrains from using biased statements, presents Ukraine, which was attacked, as the “justified” side of the war.

REFERENCES

- Akgül, B. İ. (2023). *Moskova'daki "Dörtlü toplantı" ne anlama geliyor?*. <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/moskovadaki-dortlu-toplanti-ne-anlama-geliyor-762646.html> (Accessed: 20.10.2023).
- Althusser, L. (2014). *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, A. Tümertekin (Trans.), İstanbul: İthaki.
- Aydın Düzgüt, S. (2011). Avrupa Birliği-Türkiye İlişkilerine Postyapısalcı Yaklaşım: Almanya Örneğinde Dış Politika ve Söylem Analizi, *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 8(29), 49-70.
- Baltacı, A. (2022). Rusya Ukrayna Savaşı Kapsamında Türkiye'nin Siyasi ve Ekonomik Rolü, M. G. Açıkgöz and Z. Alimgerey (Ed.), in *Proceedings Book of International Congress on Social Sciences, China to Adriatic-XIV*, 517-526.
- Botton, A. (2015). *Haberler. Bir Kullanma Kılavuzu*, Z. Baransel (Trans.), İstanbul: Sel.
- Bourdon, J., Buchman, M. C. & Kaufman, P. B. (2019). *Public Service Broadcasting in the Digital Age*. VIEW, *Journal of European Television History and Culture*. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.18146/2213-0969.2019.jethc170>
- Demir G. (2023). *Ukrayna-Rusya Savaşı'nın Birinci Yılında Türkiye'nin Arabulucu Rolü*. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/gorus-ukrayna-rusya-savasinin-birinci-yilinda-turkiye-nin-arabulucu-rolu/2829905> (Accessed: 17.01.2025).
- Dursun, Ç. (2014). *TV Haberlerinde İdeoloji*, Ankara: İmge.
- Eagleton, T. (2020). *İdeoloji*, M. Özcan (Trans.), İstanbul: Ayrıntı.
- Fairclough, N. (2015). Dil ve İdeoloji, B. Çoban & Z. Özarslan (Eds.), B. Çoban (Trans), *Söylem ve İdeoloji içinde* (121-135), İstanbul: Su.
- Galvano, F., Erlmeier, R., Mester, M. et al. (2023). *Behaviour Analysis Applied in the Ukraine–Russia Conflict*. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.26284.44169>
- Gölcü, A., Nurlanova, A. (2022). Savaşın Söylemi, Söylemin Savaşı: Sputnik Haber Ajansının Rusya-Ukrayna Çatışması Haberlerinin Söylemi, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (49), 231-250. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.52642/susbed.1158725>
- Günay, İ. E. (2022). Van Dijk'in Eleştirel Söylem Analizi Bağlamında Azerbaycan ve Ermenistan Arasındaki Savaşa İlişkin Le Monde ve Le Figaro'da Kullanılan Haber Başlık ve Girişlerinin Analizi, *Aksaray İletişim Dergisi*, 4(1), 46-65. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.47771/aid.1032556>
- Hall, S. (2017). *Temsil: Kültürel Temsiller ve Anlamlandırma Politikaları*, İ. Dünder (Trans), İstanbul: Pinhan.
- Karaduman, S. (2017). Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesinin Eleştirel Haber Araştırmalarına Katkısı ve Sunduğu Perspektif, *Maltepe Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 4(2), 31-46.
- Kaya, R. (1985). *Kitle İletişim Sistemleri*, Ankara: Teori.
- MacBride, S., Abel, E., Beuve-Mery, H., et al. (1980). *Birçok Ses Tek Bir Dünya, İletişim ve Toplum-Bugün ve Yarın*, Ankara: UNESCO Türkiye Milli Komisyonu.
- Moreno Rubio, Á. (2022). Zelensky's Discourse During the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: How the War of Narratives Influences Conflicts. <http://hdl.handle.net/11531/55778> (Accessed: 12.10.2023).

- Nergiz, E., Akın, N. (2021). Kadına Yönelik Şiddet Haberlerinin Eleştirel Söylem Analizi: Mutlu Kaya Örneği, *Middle Black Sea Journal of Communication Studies*, 6(1), 1-16.
- Oxford English Dictionary. <https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=euphemism> (Accessed: 25.09.2023).
- Özkan, M. (2023). *Ukrayna-Rusya Savaşı neden uzuyor ve nasıl biter?*. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/gorus-ukrayna-rusya-savasi-neden-uzuyor-ve-nasil-biter/2840817> (Accessed 30.09.2023).
- Pavlik, J. V. (2022). The Russian War in Ukraine and the Implications for the News Media, *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications*, 8, 1-17. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.30958/ajmmc.X-Y-Z>
- Pekman, C. (1997). *Televizyonda Özelleşme. Avrupa’da Yayıncılığın Değişim Süreci*, İstanbul: Beta.
- Reisigl, M., Wodak, R. (2008). The discourse-historical approach, R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.), in *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed., 87-121), London: Sage. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020.d6>
- Sarmaşık, J. (1993). *Radyo ve Televizyon Denetim Yöntemleri*, İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi.
- Serarslan, M. (2001). Türkiye’nin Siyasal Ortamında Özerklik Kavramı ve TRT Kurumunun Özerklik Dönemi (1964-1972), *Selçuk İletişim*, 2(1), 65-81. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.18094/si.88360>
- Syvertsen, T. and Moe, H. (2009). Researching Public Service Broadcasting, K. Wahl-Jorgensen and T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), in *Handbook of Journalism Studies*, Routledge.
- Tebor, C. (2022). Russia Increases Censorship with New Law: 15 Years in Jail for Calling Ukraine Invasion a ‘War’, *USA Today*, March, 8. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/ukraine/2022/03/08/russia-free-speech-press-criminalization-misinformation/9433112002/> (Accessed: 20.11.2023).
- Tekinalp, Ş. (2003). *Camera Obscura’dan Synopticon’a Radyo ve Televizyon*, İstanbul: DER.
- UNESCO. (2021). *Public Broadcasting: Why? How?* <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000124058> (Accessed: 14.01.2025).
- van Dijk, T. A. (2023). *İdeoloji. Multidisipliner Bir Yaklaşım*, A. Demir (Trans.), Ankara: Hece.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Söylem ve İdeoloji. Çok Alanlı Bir Yaklaşım, B. Çoban and Z. Özarslan (Eds.), N. Ateş (Trans.), in *Söylem ve İdeoloji* (15-100), İstanbul: Su.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *New Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Voloshinov, V. N. (2020). *Marksizm ve Dil Felsefesi*, M. Küçük (Trans), İstanbul: Ayrıntı.
- Yıldırım Çınar, H. (2024). Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşının Türkiye-Ukrayna İlişkilerine İzdüşümü, *İstanbul Kent Üniversitesi İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri*, 5/1.
- Yılmaz Pirgaip, K. (2022). *Rusya-Ukrayna savaşının kaybedeni Avrupa Birliği mi olacak?*. <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-ukrayna-savasinin-kaybedeni-avrupa-birligi-mi-olacak-727718.html> (Accessed: 14.01.2025).

Internet Resources

- URL-1: *TRT Yayıncılık Tarihi Müzesi.* <https://www.trtmuze.com.tr/hakkimizda/trt-tarihi/#:~:text=06%20Mayıs%201927%27de%20İstanbul,radyo%20yayınları%20şeklinde%20devam%20eder> (Accessed: 30.08.2023).
- URL-2: *Ukrayna Haberleri.* (2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/etiket/ukrayna/> (Accessed: 10.11.2022).
- URL-3: *Rusya Haberleri.* (2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/etiket/rusya/> (Accessed: 20.10.2022).
- URL-4: *Rusya: Deprem nedeniyle Türkiye'ye 100 kişilik ekip göndermeye hazırız.* (6 February 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-deprem-nedeniyle-turkiyeye-100-kisilik-ekip-gondermeye-haziriz-743789.html> (Accessed: 14.01.2025).
- URL-5: *Rusya, depremzedelere 36 ton insani yardım gönderdi.* (14 February 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-depremzedelere-36-ton-insani-yardim-gonderdi-746144.html> (Accessed: 14.01.2025).
- URL-6: *Putin'den Türkiye'deki Rus arama kurtarma ekiplerinin arttırılması talimatı.* (8 February 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/putinden-turkiyedeki-rus-arama-kurtarma-ekiplerinin-arttirilmasi-talimati-744678.html> (Accessed: 14.01.2025).
- URL-7: *Rusya: Ukrayna tarafı müzakereleri uzatmaya çalışıyor.* (20 April 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-ukrayna-tarafi-muzakereleri-uzatmaya-calisiyor-674263.html> (Accessed: 20.10.2023).
- URL-8: *Rusya: NATO sınırlarımıza kadar yaklaştı.* (24 May 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-nato-sinirlarimiza-kadar-yaklasti-682563.html> (Accessed: 20.10.2023).
- URL-9: *Putin küresel ekonomik krizden çıkış yolu önerdi.* (24 June 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/putin-kuresel-ekonomik-krizden-cikis-yolu-onerdi-690146.html> (Accessed: 20.10.2023).
- URL-10: *Rusya: Ukrayna'ya F-16'ların verilmesi cephedeki durumu kökten değiştiremez.* (23 May 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-ukraynaya-f-16ların-verilmesi-cephedeki-durumu-kokten-degistiremez-769493.html> (Accessed: 23.10.2023).
- URL-11: *Putin: Önceliğimiz Ukrayna'daki hareket.* (25 May 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/putin-onceligimiz-ukraynadaki-harekat-777471.html> (Accessed: 23.10.2023).
- URL-12: *ABD: Rusya'nın Karadeniz'deki saldırıları ve açıklamalarından derin endişe duyuyoruz.* (20 July 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/abd-rusyanin-karadenizdeki-saldirilari-ve-aciklamalarindan-derin-endise-duyuyoruz-783145.html> (Accessed: 23.10.2023).
- URL-13: *Rusya, yaptırımlar nedeniyle uluslararası ticarette alternatif güzergahlar geliştiriyor.* (25 August 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-yaptirimlar-nedeniyle-uluslararası-ticarette-alternatif-guzergahlar-gelistiriyor-790977.html> (Accessed: 23.10.2023).
- URL-14: *Rusya: Ukrayna'da Batı'dan gelen silah ve zayıflatılmış uranyumlu mühimmat depolarını vurduk.* (Accessed: 23.09.2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-ukraynada-batidan-gelen-silah-ve->

- [zayıflatılmış-uranyumlu-muhimmat-depolarini-vurduk-797837.html](https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/ukrayna-savasin-9-mayisa-kadar-tamamlanmasi-fikrinin-propagandasi-yapiliyor-666794.html) (Accessed: 23.10.2023).
- URL-15: *Ukrayna: Savaşın 9 Mayıs'a kadar tamamlanması fikrinin propagandası yapılıyor.* (25 March 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/ukrayna-savasin-9-mayisa-kadar-tamamlanmasi-fikrinin-propagandasi-yapiliyor-666794.html> (Accessed: 11.11.2023).
- URL-16: *Ukrayna: Ruslar Ukrayna'nın doğusunda operasyonun hızını artırmaya çalışıyor.* (24 April 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/ukrayna-ruslar-ukraynanin-dogusunda-operasyonun-hizini-artirmaya-calisiyor-675181.html> (Accessed: 11.11.2023).
- URL-17: *Zelenskiy: Ruslar, işgal ettiği yerlerden çekilmek zorunda kalacak.* (25 May 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/zelenskiy-ruslar-iskal-ettigi-yerlerden-cekilmek-zorunda-kalacak-682689.html> (Accessed: 11.11.2023).
- URL-18: *Ukrayna: Herson'da Rus birliklerine karşı taarruz operasyonu yürütüyoruz.* (22 June 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/ukrayna-hersonda-rus-birliklerine-karsitrruz-operasyonu-yurutuyyoruz-689722.html> (Accessed: 11.11.2023).
- URL-19: *NATO: Ukrayna'ya yardım etmemiz bizi çatışmanın tarafı yapmaz.* (23 May 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/nato-ukraynaya-yardim-etmemiz-bizicatismanin-tarafı-yapmaz-769483.html> (Accessed: 13.11.2023).
- URL-20: *Ukrayna: Askerlerimiz, güneyde kontrol altına aldıkları mevzileri güçlendiriyor.* (21 June 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/ukrayna-askerlerimiz-guneyde-kontrol-altina-aldiklari-mevzileri-guclendiriyor-776421.html> (Accessed: 13.11.2023).
- URL-21: *Ukrayna: Ruslar, Tuna Nehri'ndeki liman altyapısını hedef aldı.* (24 July 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/ukrayna-ruslar-tuna-nehrindeki-liman-altyapisini-hedef-aldi-783757.html> (Accessed: 13.11.2023).
- URL-22: *Zelenskiy: Topraklarımızı herhangi bir birlik üyeliğine değişmeyiz.* (23 August 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/zelenskiy-topraklarimizi-herhangi-bir-birlik-uyeligine-degismeyiz-790595.html> (Accessed: 13.11.2023).
- URL-23: *Zelenskiy: Ukrayna'nın barış formülü küreselleşiyor.* (20 September 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/zelenskiy-ukraynanin-baris-formulu-kuresellesiyor-796864.html> (Accessed: 13.11.2023).
- URL-24: *Rusya'nın Ukrayna'ya başlattığı saldırı bir aydır sürüyor.* (25 March 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusyanin-ukraynaya-baslattigi-saldiri-bir-aydir-suruyor-667000.html> (Accessed: 30.08.2023).
- URL-25: *Zelenskiy: Putin'e saldırmıyoruz, kendi bölgemizde savaşıyoruz.* (03 May 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/zelenskiy-putine-saldirmiyoruz-kendibolgemizde-savasiyoruz-764627.html> (Accessed: 30.08.2023).
- URL-26: *Putin, Donbas'a özel askeri operasyon başlattıklarını duyurdu.* (24 February 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/putin-donbasa-ozel-askeri-operasyon-baslattiklarini-duyurdu-657826.html> (Accessed: 20.10.2023).
- URL-27: *Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: Rusya'nın hareketini reddediyoruz.* (24 February 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-rusyanin-harekatini-reddediyoruz-658087.html> (Accessed: 20.10.2023).

- URL-28: *Türkiye'nin Ukrayna'daki çabalarına övgü.* (1 June 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/turkiyenin-ukraynadaki-cabalarina-ovgu-684697.html> (Accessed: 10.11.2022).
- URL-29: *Türkiye barışa kapı araladı: Toplantı bitmeden sonuç geldi.* (6 April 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/infografik/turkiye-barisa-kapi-araladi-toplantı-bitmeden-sonuc-geldi-670179.html> (Accessed: 10.11.2022).
- URL-30: *Rusya'nın Ukrayna'ya saldırılarında 324 çocuk öldü.* (22 June 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusyanin-ukraynaya-saldirilarinda-324-cocuk-oldu-689613.html> (Accessed 10.11.2022).
- URL-31: *Rus ekonomisi resesyona girdi.* (16 November 2022). [https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rus-ekonomisi-resesyona-girdi-724085.html#:~:text=Rus%20ekonomisi%20bu%20yılın%20üçüncü,yüzde%204%20küçülerek%20resesyona%20girdi.&text=Rusya%20Federal%20İstatistik%20Kurumu%20\(Rosstat,yurt%20içi%20hasıla%20verilerini%20açıkladı](https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rus-ekonomisi-resesyona-girdi-724085.html#:~:text=Rus%20ekonomisi%20bu%20yılın%20üçüncü,yüzde%204%20küçülerek%20resesyona%20girdi.&text=Rusya%20Federal%20İstatistik%20Kurumu%20(Rosstat,yurt%20içi%20hasıla%20verilerini%20açıkladı) (Accessed: 11.10.2023).
- URL-32: *Putin: Avrupa Türkiye'ye minnettar olmalı.* (5 August 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/putin-avrupa-turkiyeye-minnettar-olmalı-699634.html> (Accessed: 10.11.2022).
- URL-33: *Putin'den "Akkuyu" açıklaması: Çok yönlü partnerliğimizi geliştiriyor.* (27 April 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/putinden-akkuyu-aciklamasi-cok-yonlu-partnerligimizi-gelistiriyor-763247.html>
- URL-34: *Rusya Ukrayna'da ne umdu ne buldu?* (7 May 2022) <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-ukraynada-ne-umdu-ne-buldu-678428.html> (Accessed: 14.01.2025).
- URL-35: *Rusya'daki Türk ve Rus vatandaşlar, depremzedelere yardım için seferber oldu.* (8 February 2023). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusyadaki-turk-ve-rus-vatandaslar-depremzedelere-yardim-icin-seferber-oldu-744657.html> (Accessed: 20.11.2023).
- URL-36: *Zelenskiy: Artık zaferimizin yaklaştığını hissediyoruz.* (13 November 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/zelenskiy-artik-zaferimizin-yaklastigini-hissediyoruz-723300.html> (Accessed: 11.11.2023).
- URL-37: *Rusya'nın Ukrayna'ya başlattığı saldırı bir aydır sürüyor.* (25 March 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusyanin-ukraynaya-baslattigi-saldiri-bir-aydir-suruyor-667000.html> (Accessed: 30.09.2023).
- URL-38: *Zelenskiy: Kendimizi savunacağız.* (24 February 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/zelenskiy-kendimizi-savunacagiz-657838.html> (Accessed: 11.11.2023).
- URL-39: *Rusya: Ukrayna'daki operasyonun birinci etabı tamamlandı.* (25 March 2022). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/rusya-ukraynadaki-operasyonun-birinci-etabi-tamamlandi-667010.html> (Accessed: 20.10.2023).

Makale Bilgileri/Article Information

Etik Beyan:	Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan edilir.	Ethical Statement:	It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.
Çıkar Çatışması:	Çalışmada kişiler veya kurumlar arası çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.	Conflict of Interest:	The authors declare that declare no conflict of interest.
Yazar Katkı Beyanı:	Çalışmanın tamamı yazar tarafından oluşturulmuştur.	Author Contribution Declaration:	The entire study was created by the author.
Mali Destek:	Çalışma için herhangi bir kurum veya projeden mali destek alınmamıştır.	Financial Support:	The study received no financial support from any institution or project.
Yapay Zekâ Kullanımı:	Bu çalışmada herhangi bir yapay zekâ tabanlı araç veya uygulama kullanılmamıştır.	Use of Artificial Intelligence:	This study did not utilize any artificial intelligence-based tools or applications.
İntihal:	Bu makalede intihal taraması yapılmış ve intihal içermediği teyit edilmiştir. – İntihal.Net	Plagiarism:	This article has been scanned for plagiarism and it has been confirmed that it does not contain plagiarism. – İntihal.Net