

**CENSORSHIP UNDER ALLIED OCCUPATION OF ISTANBUL:
THE ANALYSIS OF *TASVÎR-İ EFKÂR* NEWSPAPER**

by
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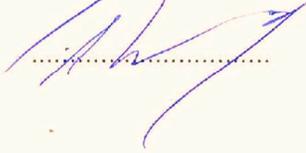
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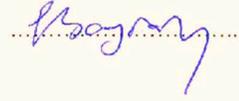
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ABSTRACT

CENSORSHIP UNDER ALLIED OCCUPATION OF ISTANBUL: THE ANALYSIS OF *TASVÎR-İ EFKÂR* NEWSPAPER

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HISTORY M.A. THESIS, MARCH 2020

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Keywords: Istanbul under Allied Occupation, the Censorship of the Ottoman
Government, the Interallied Censorship, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*

This thesis aims to examine pre-print censorship in occupied Istanbul by analyzing the signs of censorship and the censored content in the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper throughout the research period (November 1918-1922). Consisting of two main components, the first part approached the mechanism by questioning how was established, its workplace, who is involved, its guidelines, and alterations. The second component is an attempt to understand the censorship regime of the period with the analysis of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. Hence, it endeavors to evaluate the frequently seen censored content by analyzing them day-by-day and transforming its intensity into a systematical data. Thus, it attempted to demonstrate the observed restrictions not a constant policy against the Anatolian Movement, but a multi-component system having motivations, fluctuations in its intensity, alterations in the censored content, and the policies of governments. Therefore, the second chapter attempted to study the mechanism on the Istanbul press through two sub-sections; the censorship of the Ottoman government and the Interallied. The third chapter examines the newspaper in four-parts (1) the transition period, (2) the peak period of censorship, (3) of Congresses, and (4) the term between the Ali Rıza Paşa's government and de jure occupation of Istanbul. Lastly, it questions why *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* was able to publish news about Anatolia enthusiastically despite the Interallied censorship and what were the censored contents between April 1921/August 1922. The three sub-chapters formed with the censorship peak points to seek the causes of censorship intensity, and the final writing examined how pre-print censorship was terminated.

ÖZET

İŞGAL ALTINDAKİ İSTANBUL'DA SANSÜR: *TASVİR-İ EFKÂR* GAZETESİNİN İNCELENMESİ

FATMA ESEN

TARİH YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, MART 2020

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Anahtar Kelimeler: İşgal Altında İstanbul, Osmanlı Hükümeti Sansürü, Beyne'l-mütelifin Sansür, Tasvîr-i Efkâr

Bu tez Tasvîr-i Efkâr gazetesinde sansürün işaretlerini ve içeriğini araştırma dönemi (Kasım 1918-1922) boyunca irdeleyerek işgal altındaki İstanbul'da kablet-tab (basım öncesi) sansürü incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Çalışmanın ilk bölümü sansür mekanizmasının nasıl kurulduğunu, çalışma yerini, kimlerin mekanizmada rol aldığını, talimatnameleri ve ondaki değişimleri sorgular. İkinci bileşeni dönemin değişen sansür politikasını Tasvîr-i Efkâr'ı inceleyerek anlama çabasıdır. Bunun için gazetedeki sansür yoğunluğunu sistemsal bir veriye çevirmiş ve sansürlenmiş içeriği gün-be-gün inceleyerek sıklıkla görülen içeriği değerlendirmeye çalışmıştır. Böylelikle, görülen kısıtlamaların sadece Anadolu Hareketine yönelen sabit bir politika değil, kendi içinde motivasyona, yoğunluğunda dalgalanmalara, sansürlenmiş içerikte değişimlere, sansür uygulamasını hayata geçiren hükümetlerin politikalarına şahit olan çok bileşenli bir sistem olduğunu göstermeye çalışmıştır. Bu amaçla tezin ikinci bölümü İstanbul basını üzerindeki mekanizmayı iki alt bölümle araştırmaya çalışmıştır; Osmanlı hükümeti ve Beyne'l-mütelifin (İtilaf devletleri) sansürü. Üçüncü bölümü ise gazeteyi dört bölümde muayene eder: (1) geçiş dönemi, (2) sansürün en yoğun olduğu dönem, (3) Kongreler dönemi, (4) Ali Rıza Paşa hükümeti ve İstanbul'un meşru işgaline kadar olan devre. Son olarak Beyne'l-mütelifin sansürüne rağmen Tevhîd-i Efkâr'ın neden Anadoluyu destekleyici haberler yayımlayabildiğini ve Nisan 1921/Ağustos 1922 arasında nelerin sansürlendiğini sorgular. Üç alt bölüm sansür yoğunluğundaki nedenleri araştırmak için sansürün tepe noktaları ile oluşturulmuş ve son yazı kablet-tab sansürünün nasıl kaldırıldığını sorgulamıştır.

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*In memory of my grandfather whom
I will always remember...*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Something is not Right: Why They did not Erase?.....	1
1.2 Attempt to Count Invisible in Columns: How?.....	3
1.3 Where is <i>Matba 'a-i Ebüzziya</i> ?.....	8
1.4 Notes on Primary Source: The <i>Tasvîr-i Efkâr</i> Newspaper.....	10
1.5 The Censorship in the Ottoman Studies.....	13
1.6 Thesis Outline.....	22
2. CENSORSHIP MECHANISM IN ISTANBUL DURING THE PERIOD OF ARMISTICE.....	24
2.1 The Beginning: Censorship of the Ottoman Government.....	24
2.2 <i>Beyne 'l-Mü'telifîn Sansürü</i> or the Interallied Censorship.....	33
2.3 Conclusion of the Chapter.....	39
3. THE FIRST PHASE: THE EXAMINATION OF <i>TASVÎR-İ EFKÂR</i> NEWSPAPER FROM NOVEMBER 1918 TO APRIL 1920.....	41
3.1 The Transition Period of Censorship in the Istanbul Press.....	41
3.2 The Censorship Peak Point: May 1919.....	51
3.3 A Great Obstacle on Depiction of Ideas: Pre-print Censorship of June and September 1919.....	62
3.4 The Long Period: Censorship between the Ali Rıza Paşa's Government and the Closure of <i>Tasvîr-i Efkâr</i>	74
3.5 Conclusion of the Chapter.....	89
4. THE SECOND PHASE: THE EXAMINATION OF <i>TASVÎR-İ EFKÂR</i> NEWSPAPER FROM JUNE 1921 TO AUGUST 1922.....	91
4.1 Few Notes on the Censorship Regime of Istanbul between 1920 and 1921....	93
4.2 The Transformation in the Censored Content of <i>Tevhîd-i Efkâr</i> : the Period after the Battles of İnönü.....	100
4.3 The Censorship Regime of Istanbul after the Treaty of Ankara.....	110

4.4	Amid the News on Conferences: The Censorship Practice until the Great Offensive	119
4.5	The Last Phase: The End of Pre-print Censorship	130
4.6	Conclusion of the Chapter.....	137
5.	CONCLUSION	140
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	148
	Primary Sources	148
	a. Periodicals	148
	b. Archival Material	148
	c. Books.....	150
	Secondary Sources	152
	APPENDIX A The Photos of <i>Münif Paşa Konağı</i> and <i>Darü'l-mu'allimin-i 'Aliye</i>	162
	APPENDIX B The Current Locations of <i>Münif Paşa Konağı</i> , <i>Matba'a-ı Ebüzziya</i> and <i>Darü'l Mu'allimin-i Aliye</i>	163
	APPENDIX C The Locations of <i>Tasvîr-i Efkâr</i> , <i>Darü'l Mu'allimin-i Aliye</i> , <i>Münif Paşa Konağı</i> and <i>Posta ve Telgraf Nezareti</i> in 1340	164
	APPENDIX D The <i>Union Han</i>	165
	APPENDIX E The <i>Şehremaneti Beyoğlu İdare-i Şubesi (The Altıncı Daire)</i>	166
	APPENDIX F The Line Chart of Average Amount of Censorship between November 1918 and November 1922	167
	APPENDIX G The Amount of Censorship Types for the Research Period.....	168
	APPENDIX H A Few Examples of <i>Tasvîr-i Efkâr</i> 's <i>prova</i>	169
	APPENDIX I An Example of Censored Front Page.....	170

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	The Average Amount of Censorship in the First Phase of <i>Tasvîr-i Efkâr</i> ...	46
Table 3.2	The Amount of Censorship on May 1919.....	56
Table 3.3	The Amount of Censorship between October 1919 and April 1920.....	79
Table 4.1	The Censorship Ratio of <i>Tasvîr-i Efkâr</i> in its Second Phase	92
Table 4.2	The Number of the Types of Censorship in July 1921	106

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEO.	Bab-1 Ali Evrak Odası (Archives of the Grand Vizier)
DABCA	Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi (The Presidency of the State Archives the Republic Archive)
DABOA	Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (The Presidency of the State Archives the Ottoman Archive)
DH.İ.UM.	Dahiliye İdare-i Umumiye (The Interior Affairs the Public Administration)
DH.UMVM.	Dahiliye Umur-ı Mahalliye ve Vilayat Müdürlüğü (The Interior Affairs the Directorate of Provinces and Local Affairs)
F.O.	British National Archive, Foreign Office
HR.SYS.	Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi (The Foreign Ministry, Political)
İ..DUİT	İrade Dosya Usulü (Imperial Decision File Method)
K.D.B.	Başbakanlık Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı (Prime Ministry the Department of Decisions)
M.A.Z.C.	Meclisi-i Ayan Zabıt Ceridesi (Transcripts of the Proceedings of the Senate)
M.M.Z.C.	Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi (Transcripts of the Proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies)
MVM.	Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları (Minutes of the Ottoman Council of Ministers)
TBMM GCZ	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Gizli Celse Zabıtları (Minutes of the Secret Proceedings of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey)
Z.E.	Ziyad Ebüzziya Evrakı (the Documents of Ziyad Ebüzziya)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Something is not Right: Why They did not Erase?

The reason for writing this thesis which gave the author the possibility to walk through the streets of *Cağaloğlu* where a Nationalist newspaper was published in front of the building of *İttihat ve Terakki Nuruosmaniye Kulübü*, and very close to the French Police station but now totally forgotten in its publication place, came out of the blue while working on the transcription of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (Depiction of Ideas) newspaper for a specific article at the Library of Leiden University.

The existence of the blank spaces in the newspaper was very intriguing, hence the question popped up on that day: “what are these white spaces in the newspaper?” The answer to the question was given by the Professor on the next day that it was the press censorship which was implemented during the Allied occupation of Istanbul. It was the topic that the author had no clue about neither the process nor its existence. During the further examination of the article in the newspaper, it was seen that, at some point, the front pages of the newspaper began to be published with a massive propaganda for the National Struggle in Anatolia and supplemented with the dramatic pictures related to it (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 2 June 1921, 1) which was not conferred in its previous issues.

The striking contrast of content and the radical change in the censorship policies in regard to what they did “not” censor, led the author to question why the Allied states’ censorship did not remove the news propagating nationalistic cause that could have easily led to an incitement in the public opinion, to provide material or immaterial support to the Anatolian Movement or even a harsher reaction of the population of Istanbul that was under the Allied states’ occupation. From this point onwards, the

string of questions ensued and have led to the structuring of this thesis. In this respect, the author will try to answer the following research questions: (1) how the censorship was implemented in Istanbul under Allied occupation, (2) what kind of news might be censored, and (3) was there any specific structure on the censorship policy of the state? Therefore, the main goal of the thesis became an attempt to understand the censorship mechanism/regime in Istanbul under the Allied states' occupation by evaluating the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper through the statistical data, specifically obtained for this study, and by providing an abundance of examples of both censored and uncensored news. In this respect, (1) the censorship mechanism on the Istanbul press and (2) the evaluation of a nationalistic newspaper that was published in the occupied capital will be the main features of the thesis.

Firstly, to concentrate on the establishment of the censorship mechanism, documents such as the newspaper issues, the archival materials and the minutes of the Parliament and the Senate for the time period between December 1918 to February 1919 will be taken into account. Furthermore, this part of the study will strive to explore and understand the censorship mechanism's structure by questioning the place of the censorship committee, the censor officials, the pre-print censorship practice, changes in the guidelines and the reactions in the public opinion, the Senate, and the Parliament. Since the mechanism included multiple authorities, the author of the thesis intends to explore their conflicts, policies and the role of censors in the censorship mechanism by providing a few examples throughout the thesis. Secondly, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* as the newspaper which at first had the anti-occupation character, and later, became the supporter of the Anatolian Movement, will be thoroughly examined by using a specific nomenclature as the first and the second phase of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. Those phases will make up the focal points of the third and fourth chapters of the thesis. The breaking point that was used for the aforementioned classification will be the closure of the newspaper after *de jure* occupation of Istanbul (16 March 1920), which has caused the gap in publications for thirteen months. Consequently, the third chapter will try to deal with a long period from November 1918 to April 1920 by focusing on themes such as the transition period, the peak points of blank spaces, censorship regime during the Congresses and the final stage of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. Additionally, the thesis will strive to understand the content that was set to be censored by providing the examples from the newspaper. The changing censorship regime that was imposed on the Istanbul press will

be the major theme of this chapter. Finally, the fourth chapter will endeavor to study the implementation of censorship policies in Istanbul, by putting the emphasis on the second phase of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* in the period from the mid-1921 until the Great Offensive (*Büyük Taarruz*)¹. The main questions that the study will try to answer in this part will be: (1) what the reasons behind the loosening of censorship intensity in the newspaper were, (2) why *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* (Unity of Ideas) was able to publish a huge amount of nationalistic news in spite of the Interallied censorship, (3) if the censors did not remove the agitative news that may cause several consequences for an occupied city, what they censored, and finally (4) how the press censorship in Istanbul was terminated. To concentrate on these questions, a very brief overview will be provided to the censorship regime during the thirteen months of closure in the newspaper and then, the censored news in the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper from June 1921 to August 1922 will be attempted to examine. Besides, even though the examination of censored news in the newspaper focuses on the time period until August 1922, the data for the average amount of all censorship types for *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* will be provided until November of the same year. It was the month in which the Interallied censorship was abolished. Lastly, the attempt to explore the official lifting of pre-print censorship in Istanbul will be done by examining the news from several newspapers in order to ensure the integrity of the press censorship in Istanbul.

1.2 Attempt to Count Invisible in Columns: How?

Pre-print censorship in occupied Istanbul between December 1918 and November 1923 can be seen, most of the time, via the visible signs of censorship, manifested as “white gaps” in the newspapers. This allows quantifying the blank spaces in the newspapers and reaching a conclusion to find out in which period the newspapers suffered from the censorship intensely. However, as expressed by Baykal, measuring the levels of censorship is not an easy task for a large period of time because of the sheer number of

¹ The selection of the last month for the analysis of the newspaper was decided as the beginning of the Great Offensive (*Büyük Taarruz*) because while the research was carried out, it was seen that the censorship instances in the newspaper had similar content that manifested the role of Interallied censorship. That is why due to not to confer similar examples, the analysis of the newspaper will be finished on August 1922 and passed to the question of how pre-print censorship in Istanbul was lifted.

newspaper pages that have to be evaluated (Baykal 2013, 226). Furthermore, since quantifying the blank spaces is limited to visible instances only, the data about subtler forms of restriction, self-censorship or threats of violence cannot be obtained through this method (Baykal 2019, 322) and have to be ignored. In my point of view, dealing with non-existent writing in the published newspaper is an additional problem for this study. Since the content of the censored parts is unknown due to the lack of news drafts, the analysis, the data collection, specifying the censorship level and the selection of the censored news are completely dependent on the judgment of the author. However, it is possible to infer what was censored by a close evaluation of the news published on a daily basis.

In this study, in the quest to find out the frequency of blank spaces in the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper, Baykal's methodology was adopted with several alterations, made in order to accomplish much better results. For the method, there is the compulsory use of the visual appraisal concerning the amount of censorship because of the non-availability of censored drafts, hence Baykal devised a system called "weighted system" that takes into account both frequency and the amount of the censoring applied² (Baykal 2013, 226). In

² Erol A.F. Baykal evaluates three dailies *İkdâm*, *Peyâm-ı Sabâh* and *Vakit* (Baykal 2019, 324) in his methodology which is very beneficial to understand the differences on pre-print censorship policies of occupied Istanbul on its press that several newspapers were hit. Even though his work is very important, his method has shortcomings. In his methodology, first of all, he only examines the censorship amounts of the newspapers' front pages and assumes the result of the front page as equal to the whole one-day issue which has usually four pages (Baykal 2013, 226; 2019, 322). Although he accepted that censorship was not limited to the front page, he stated that subsequent pages usually involve serials, advertisements, short news, encyclopedia articles, letters from readers, and announcements (Baykal 2019, 322). However, as for two-page newspapers, the second page had as much important censorship examples as the front page and had very small amount of advertisement. In regard to newspapers that had four pages, the news of the foreign newspapers that exposed to apparent Interallied censorship were published from the second page at least for *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. Besides, neither the structure of the front page nor the censorship amount was as the same as the latter pages. Furthermore, the front page included serlevha and more pictures than the latter pages which led to reduction in the number of lines for the first pages. Since those lines formed the base for the small, medium and large censorship points, it also caused decrease in the censorship result. Besides, the newspapers' page numbers could differ from two to usually four pages so ignoring the censorship points of the latter pages would also decrease the result. Finally, he used a different methodology that required the equitation of all the censorship points into small points. As a result, he considered two small points were equal to one medium point and four small points to one large point. By doing so, he deduced a final censorship score for a certain page which considered as the censorship point of the whole issue. The method is disputable because according to his explanation one-line can also be considered as a small point (Baykal 2013, 226; 2019, 323). In parallel to this, four one-line small points should also be regarded as equal to one large point which ranges from half of one column to full column. Therefore, it will not have a correct result because according to his explanation, the result (four lines) should still be equal to one small censorship point. The integration of all censorship types into one final censorship score also leads to the ignorance of the occurrences of an extensive amount of small censorship after 1921. Nevertheless, he regards the imbalance between the entirely available month and the months that have missing issues. Therefore, in order to prevent the miscalculation, his description of the mathematical process for the final censorship score described as follows: dividing the final censorship score by the available number of issues (Of) and then multiplying them by 30 (the average month). Hence, it would give the result as Corrected censorship (Cc) (Baykal 2013, 226-28; 2019, 324). However, in his table, the multiplication of the average month is not seen (Baykal 2013, 230; 2019, 325). Also, in his last table, he multiplied his corrected result (Cc) which acquired by dividing the final censorship score to the available number of issues, with hundred (Baykal 2013, 230; 2019, 325). The reason for multiplication with hundred could not be understood because his corrected result had already been in its percentage form.

the method, the gaps were called as small, medium, large and largest³ in accordance with the length of the blank spaces, not their importance. To specify the terminology, the small censorship is the removal of lines from one to six, which is comparable to three centimeters in one column. The medium type of censorship is the removal of six lines to half of one column. Thirdly, the large censorship is marked as the removal of half of one column to one full column. Lastly, the largest censorship refers to the gaps which are bigger than one full column regardless of its length. However, a question can be raised of how to correctly assess how many lines of the paragraph were erased, if the content cannot be seen in the newspaper.

Here, it is important to explain the specific features of the methodology. Firstly, the measuring was done by comparing the censored part with lines fully printed and counting their numbers. However, the problem appeared especially at the end of the columns. If the gap was smaller than three lines at the end of the column, it was very hard to guess whether it is censorship or the end of the article, hence in order to solve this dilemma, these small gaps were not included in the small types of censorship. Another problem with the small censorship occurs in the instances where the censorship was reduced to the words, not the lines, it again brought uncertainty whether this might have been the mistake of the printing press or the instance of censorship. Thus, the word censorings were ignored inside the article but taken into consideration specifically in the titles and headlines. Thirdly, in the newspaper, there are also censored pictures that could not be classified within the censorship types framework, as it was impossible to guess whether there are pictures in places with totally blank columns. Fourthly, all the headings were counted as the small censorship because their font types were bigger than the normal font and if they were reduced to normal size, their length would not have been bigger than six lines. Lastly, the number of columns is one of the invariable in the examined newspaper. *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* has six columns for all of its pages. Thus, if the newspaper has a censored article in a latitudinal form such as two half-columns next to each other, the approach was to infer how many numbers of full columns were actually censored so the main measurement for the censored gap was the length of one column, and the gap was defined accordingly.

³ The term largest was not used by Baykal and the line number for the small point is five in his method.

After clearing out the definitions regarding the censorship types and their features, the most important point for the methodology is how the statistical data was accumulated.⁴ While the research was carried out, it was seen that combining all the censorship types into one big “censorship” rate is misleading and has errors within itself. In order to increase the correctness of interpretation, occurrences of all censorship types were indicated differently in the charts and separately evaluated. However, there were two points from the statistical standpoint. The first one was the availability of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* to the author which was also the concern mentioned by Baykal (Baykal 2019, 324), and the second one was the existence of fluctuations in the page numbers in the newspaper.

The research was carried out for the period from November 1918 to November 1922 which covers thirty-five months of published *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, benefiting most of the time from the digitized collection of *Hakkı Tarık Us*⁵, and then, *Milli Kütüphane* (National Library) and *İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı* (Atatürk Library) at Taksim whose small numbers of issues were beneficial to compensate for the missing issues of the newspaper. The publications for nine hundred eighty-five days were found in the three collections available, out of the total number which is one thousand forty-five days of publications. As far as the missing days are concerned, it can be inferred that thirty-seven issues which will be discussed during the thesis, were subjected to suspensions at some point, however, there must have been other instances of suspension as well and it is plausible that the newspaper could not announced them.

Thus, in total, ninety-four percent of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was included in the statistical results, which means the missing sixty days (%6) would not have a significant impact on the peak points but would only have affected the number of censorship very slightly. However, the six percent presents a problem for the comparison between a month that has publications available only for fifteen days and a month which has publications available for thirty days. Understandably, the latter has more news and may have more censorship types which may lead to an error in the interpretation of the results. Hence,

⁴ For the mathematical process of the methodology, I have greatly indebted to my dear friend from Middle East Technical University the Department of Physics, Özün Candemir.

⁵ The most extensive collection of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper belongs to *Hakkı Tarık Us* digitized collection which is currently kept at the Beyazıt State Library in Istanbul. It has 83 percent of the newspaper in its depo and they are digitalized. However, it does not include all the issues of the newspaper, and even the available ones have material defects such as tears, splits, cuttings of specific pages, tape marks or the blurry photo shoots. However, it is the best of the available collections. The Beyazıt Library also includes the *Zaman* and *Tasvir* newspapers, published by Ebüzziya family. They are not in a digitalized form, but open to access.

in order to solve this problem, the author decided to ignore those unavailable issues (not the suspensions) and to conduct the procedure just for the days in which the publications were available. Thus, a clear result for the ratio of the censorship types in the available issues is attained. As is mentioned before, the second problem was the newspaper did not consist of the same number of pages from December 1918 to November 1922. This feature of the newspaper is important because the higher the page number is, the more news and the potential censorship instances could be found. To solve this problem, the erratic number of pages was put into consideration as a factor during the research process.

Having in mind these two conditions, the statistical procedure to overcome them was defined. According to the method, at first, the available issues were multiplied with the page number of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* for that month. This gave the author an understanding of how many pages that are available for one month were exposed to censorship. This eliminates the problem of both the page numbers and unavailable issues. Secondly, to find out the average number of censorship types for one month, the number of all types that were accumulated by adding each day's censorship type results were separately divided to the first result which was supplied by multiplying the page numbers with the available issues. This gives the author the average amounts of all censorship types for three-thousand-two-hundred-twenty-two pages, which is the page number of all months of the available newspaper in three collections for the period. Thus, the result gives the average number of each visible censorship types separately for each month considering the available issues and unsteady page numbers, so it shows the complete process for each censorship kinds applied in the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper. Besides, by the more flexible method of characterization of the censorship types, the study was able to clearly show both the censorship peak and the low points, which could not have been possible by Baykal's statistical method.

1.3 Where is *Matba'a-i Ebüzziya*?

The location of the printing house of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper “*Matbaa-i Ebüzziya*” has special importance in this thesis to highlight the confusion in the secondary sources. At the top of the newspaper, the address is indicated as *Nuruosmaniye, Şeref Sokak*. Reşat Ekrem Koçu gave the same address in his unfinished encyclopedia of Istanbul under the *Ebüzziya Matba'ası* article by adding the information that shortly afterwards the death of Ebüzziya Tevfik in 1913, the printing house was inherited by his sons Talha and Velid and moved to the aforementioned address with the door numbers 35/37. However, Koçu indicated the location as *Münif Paşa Konağı* (Koçu 1968, v. 9, 4874). The information of *Münif Paşa Konağı* was followed by Alim Gür in his PhD dissertation (Gür 1990, 387) and by Turgut Kut in the article of *Matba'a-i Ebüzziya* in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Kut 2003, v. 28, 114), and by *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* which also added the information that they moved to the place on February 22, 1913 (v. 6, 160).

However, at that time, *Münif Paşa Konağı*⁶ or *Kızıl Konak* was the headquarter of the Union and Progress Party (Karay 2009, 49-54) and their last congress was also held in the same building which was described as *Merkez-i Umumi* (the headquarter) in front of the building of *Duyun-u Umumiye* (the Public Debt) on November 1, 1918 (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 1 November 1918, 2). Furthermore, according to the Istanbul map of 1340⁷, *Münif Paşa Konağı* was on *Sultan Mektep Sokak* (the Sultan Mektep street), not *Şerefefendi* which is today's name for *Şeref Sokak*. Besides, when the confiscation of the Union and Progress Committee's possessions was started, *Kızıl Konak* was among the confiscated property and it is understood that it was called as the place of *Nuruosmaniye Kulübü* (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 23 February 1919, 2). The news stated that *İttihad ve Terakki Nuruosmaniye Kulübü* (Nuruosmaniye Club of Union and Progress) was allocated to

⁶ According to the Istanbul guide/map (*rehber*) of 1340, the street of *Münif Paşa Konağı* was *Sultan Mektep Sokak* which carries the same name today. It was demolished in February 2019 by *Istanbul 4 Numaralı Koruma Kurulu Heyeti* (The Commission of Istanbul Number Four Protection Council) and nowadays it is used as a car park. The avenue (*cadde*) in front of *Duyun-u Umumiye Kapısı* (the Public Dept gate), today's *Istanbul Erkek Lisesi*, was *Çifte Saraylar Caddesi* which is now *Türk Ocağı Caddesi*. The north of the *Duyun-u Umumiye* was *Cağaloğlu Sokak*. *Münif Paşa Konağı* was on the intersection of *Sultan Mektep Sokak*, *Çifte Saraylar Caddesi*, and *Cağaloğlu Sokak*.

⁷ The Istanbul guide of 1340 was found in ISAM during the research and as far as I could ascertain not included in any secondary sources and will be used for the first time in this study. I have many thanks to Neslihan Aracı who allowed me to see the original version of the map because of not having digitized version.

Darü'l-muallimin-i 'Aliye and they began to settle into the building (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 23 February 1919, 2). On the following day, the newspaper suggested that *Münif Paşa Konağı* should be given to *Darü'l-muallimin-i 'Aliye* (Teacher training school). However, the government did not even allow for the Martial Court to establish their offices in the *Konak* (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 24 February 1919, 1). In the end, it was occupied by the French on February 20, 1919, (20 February 1919, 2) and turned into the French police station (Shaw 2000, v. 1, 145). Thus, the question arises where the *Matbaa-i Ebüzziya* was.

The newspaper *Tasvir* which began to be published in April 1945 by Ziyad Ebüzziya and Cihat Baban, after Velid Ebüzziya died on January 12, 1945, (Yazıcı 2011, v. 40, 140) also indicated the same address together with the door number “35” (e.g. *Tasvir* 2 July 1945, 1). Furthermore, Tarık Zafer Tunaya also referred to the printing house of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, when he gave the address of building of *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*⁸ as *Cağaloğlu (Nuruosmaniye), Şeref Sokağı*, in front of the printing press of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, No: 39 (Koçak 2006, 197; Tunaya 1989, v. 3, 276). The address given by Tunaya must have been the aforementioned building of *Darü'l muallimin-i 'Aliye*, which is described as *İttihat ve Terakki Merkez-i 'Umumisi* on *Nuruosmaniye, Şeref Sokağı*⁹ in the Istanbul map of 1340 (ZE 3529, 2). Istanbul map also clearly indicated the location of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* in front of *İttihat ve Terakki Merkez-i Umumisi*¹⁰ (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 24 February 1919, 1). Consequently, as it is indicated by the map and the news, the address of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* on *Nuruosmaniye Caddesi, Şeref Sokak*, door number 35 was not *Münif Paşa Konağı* as was stated by Koçu, Gür and Kut but a building¹¹ in front of

⁸ For the pictures of *Münif Paşa Konağı* and *Darü'l-mu'allimin-i 'Aliye*, see. (Appendix A).

⁹ *Şeref Sokak* is now called as *Şerefefendi Sokak*. It is the first street in the north of *Nuruosmaniye Caddesi*. In the map, the street eastern end was *Bab-i Ali Caddesi* and its western end was *Nuruosmaniye Caddesi* which is now *Vezirhan Caddesi* and *Nuruosmaniye Camii*. The location of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was indicated in between *Şeref Sokak* and *Nuruosmaniye Caddesi* and together with its eastern end *Bab-ı Ali Caddesi*. On its western side, there was the building of *Tedkik-i Hesâbât Komisyonu*. *İttihat ve Terakki Merkez-i Umumisi* was in front of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* on the southern bank of *Nuruosmaniye Caddesi* circled by *Valide Mektebi Sokak* which is now *Türbedar Sokak* and *Vezir Han* and [unread] street which is now *Adem Yavuz Sokak*. Today, there is no remnant of neither *Tasvîr- Efkâr* nor *İttihat ve Terakki Merkezi 'Umumisi*.

For the information about nowadays location, I cannot express my gratitude to Hüseyin Edebalı “Hüseyin Dede” who helped me always without showing any boredom to my endless questions.

¹⁰ For the photographs of nowadays location of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* and *Merkezi Umumi* that were taken during the research on March 2019, see. (Appendix B).

¹¹ In the book of Koloğlu, Halil Lütfü Dördüncü gave a significant information about the building of the printing house of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* when he told the establishment of the *Son Posta* newspaper. Accordingly, the newspaper was established in the building of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* in 1931 (Sertel 2013, 168) by making an agreement with Velid Ebüzziya. It was an old building in *Nuruosmaniye, Şeref Sokak*. Two rooms in the upstairs were used as the editorial office and in downstairs, there was their administration office next to the street door in which the Byzantine sewage was passing

İttihat ve Terakki Merkez-i 'Umumisi where the newspaper was published and sent its news drafts to the censorship committee.

1.4 Notes on Primary Source: The *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* Newspaper

Although the publication life of the examined newspaper *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* starts with the year of 1862 under the headship of İbrahim Şinasi (Şapolyo 1971, 120), this thesis deals with its latter period under the directorate of Ebüzziyazade Talha and Velid.¹² The research period for the analysis part was the term between November 1, 1918, and August 30, 1922, when the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper was published under the motto of “*Müstaki'l-ül-efkâr Gazete*” (the Newspaper of Independent Thoughts) from the issue number 2547 to the issue number 3467-439. The title of the newspaper was changed several times because of suspensions¹³ over the course of four years and witnessed a closure for thirteen months on April 17, 1920, after *de jure* occupation of Istanbul. When Ebüzziyazade Velid who returned from Malta in 1921, could not obtain the permission for the name of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, he bought the license for the name *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* from his friend Babanzade Şükrü and the newspaper started to be published on

and had lots of flies. The letter cases were also in the downstairs in wooden floor (Koloğlu 1998, 35). It is also known Ebüzziyazade Velid Bey had bedroom and library within the printing press (Til 2004, 182).

¹² In the secondary literature, Ebüzziyazade Velid is studied more than his big brother due to the probable reasons of being more active in the newspaper and the short life of Ebüzziyazade Talha. However, the news of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* “Gazetemiz için bir Ziyâ’-ı Elîm” dated as of December 25, 1921, the documents of Ziyad Ebüzziya collection and the Taha Toros archive can be benefited for more information about him. Besides, Reşat Ekrem Koçu’s *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* under the heading “Ebüzziya” gave important information about the life of Ebüzziyazade Talha, together with the Ebüzziya family and the printing house (Koçu, v. 9, 1968, 4867-82). On the other hand, the secondary literature offers plenty of information on the life of Ebüzziyazade Velid. For instance, the article of Ragıp Pıgar “Abdurrahman Velid Ebüzziya” (1982) and the article called “Velid Ebüzziya” written by Ziyad Ebüzziya (1994, 371-73) in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* have very valuable information about his life and the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper. Enis Tahsin Til also mentioned Velid Ebüzziya (2004, 177-190) in the book called *Gazeteler ve Gazeteciler*. Besides, M.A thesis of Ahmet Temiz titled *Velid Ebüzziya’nın Lozan Mektupları* (2007) dealt with the Ebüzziyazade Velid’s letters during the Conference of Lausanne. It later turned into a book. *Başyazar Velid Ebüzziya’nın Milli Mücadele Hatıraları Yeni Türkiye’nin Kuruluş Destanı* (2015) written by Mehmet Emin Gerger as six volume can also be added to the secondary literature. Furthermore, in 2014, Bengül Bolat published her significant article “Milli Mücadele Taraftarlığından Cumhuriyet Karşıtlığına Velid Ebüzziya” and three years later, Safiye Kıranlar (2017) wrote about the lawsuit between Vasıf Çınar and Velid Ebüzziya. Barış Fındık (2018) also points out Velid Ebüzziya in his article titled “Milli Mücadele’de Aktif Bir Kişilik: Velid Ebüzziya”. Finally, Neslihan Kılıç after her unpublished PhD dissertation *Abdurrahman Velid Ebüzziya: Dönemi ve Gazeteciliği* (2019) published several beneficial articles such as “Gazeteci Velid Ebüzziya’nın Türk Basının Gelişimine Katkıları” (2019) and “Velid Ebüzziya ve Ona İfade Edilen Eserler Hakkında Bazı Dikkatler” (2019).

¹³ For example, on January 24, 1919, the newspaper was suspended for one day together with the *Vakit* newspaper (Özbeý 2016, 174) and changed its name from *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* to *Tasfîr-i Efkâr* (26 January 1919, 1). On February 6, 1919, it would return to the title of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (6 February 1919, 1).

June 2, 1921¹⁴ (Koçak 2018, 4; Pıgar 1982, 22). Although there is a record of the name changes for this newspaper, the title of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was decided to be used in this thesis since its owners also returned in times when it was exposed to the suspensions and the closure (e.g. after the closure of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*).

The newspaper was sold to forty *para* from November 1918 until February 1, 1919. From February 1, 1919, until its closure in April 1920, the price was two *guruş* and from 1921 until the end of the period covered by this research, it was sold for one hundred *para*. The responsible directors of the newspaper in the chronological order were; Avni (-26 February 1919), Burhaneddin (27 February- 22 March 1919), Velid (23 March-22 April 1919) and Arif Oruç (23 April 1919-April 1920) and for *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*; Velid (2 June 1921-4 August 1921) and Hayri Muhiddin (5 August 1921-). From 1918 to 1920, the licensee (*sahib-i imtiyaz*) was Ebüzziyazade Talha while his younger brother Ebüzziyazade Velid was the chief-writer. However, because of his health problems, Ebüzziyazade Talha decided to transfer the license to his brother and disengage from the newspaper on June 23, 1919 (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 23 June 1919, 1).

The *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper as a material production¹⁵ has the following features: the length of the newspaper changes from fifty-five-point-four/eight to fifty-six centimeters (together with its *serlevha*) for the first page. Without its *serlevha*, it ranges from fifty centimeters to fifty-two-point-five centimeters. The length of the second page ranges from fifty-five-point-five to fifty-six-point-seven centimeters. The width of the newspaper changes from thirty-eight-point-one to thirty-nine-point-seven depends on the end of the sentence but usually thirty-nine centimeter. The newspaper consisted of six columns in total, but it could change according to the editing of the news. Finally, the width of one column is six centimeters. The important point here is that six lines in one column are three centimeters in every page of the newspaper which means that the beginning point for the medium type of censorship is very clear and one of the invariable in the newspaper.

¹⁴ The *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper was closed on March 4, 1925, after the revolt of Şeyh Said by depending on the Law for the Maintenance of Order (*Takrîr-i Sükûn Kanunu*). Later, it was re-published under the name of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* on May 2, 1940, by Velid Ebüzziya and his nephew Ziyad Ebüzziya. In January 1945, after Velid Bey died on January 12, 1945, the newspaper was printed under the name *Tasvir* by Ziyad Ebüzziya and Cihat Baban until 1949 (Yazıcı 2011, v. 40, 139-40). For further information see. (Ebüzziya 1994, 372).

¹⁵ I have many thanks to the Librarian of the Bayezid Library Erol Atmaca who allowed me to measure the newspapers in their depots.

Other than the collection of *Hakkı Tarık Us, Ziyad Ebüzziya Evrakı* (the Documents of Ziyad Ebüzziya) which was compiled by Ebüzziyazade Talha's son Ziyad Ebüzziya, in İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM) has very fruitful documents on both the newspaper and the family's history. In total, this collection includes three-thousand-eight-hundred-seventy document's classifications. Among them, there is a wide range of materials from the time of Ebüzziya Tefvik to the 1960s. The Istanbul map of 1340 and the censored news drafts (*prova*) of July 1919 which would be used for the first time in this research were found in that collection. While the map helped to locate the place of *Matbaa-i Ebüzziya* and the headquarter of the Committee of Union and Progress Party, the drafts of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* demonstrated the practice of censoring in an original document.

In the secondary literature, after the license of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper¹⁶ passed to Ebüzziya family, the period of Ebüzziya Tefvik and his very important contributions to the printing press technology of the time¹⁷ occupy a significant place in several encyclopedia articles.¹⁸ However, those articles include very few and repeated pieces of information, especially after the period of Ebüzziya Tefvik, who died on February 23, 1913. Nonetheless, the attempt was made to fill this gap with several M.A. theses starting from the beginning of the 2000s. At first in 2007, an M.A. thesis on the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper was written in English by Serkan Gül (2007) who focused on the news about the Armenian question for the period between 1914 and 1918. Three years later,

¹⁶ The first written document on the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper was done by its directors İbrahim Şinasi and Namık Kemal as *Müntehabât-ı Tasvîr-i Efkâr Birinci Kısım: Siyasiyat* (1303), *Müntehabât-ı Tasvîr-i Efkâr İkinci Kısım Mübahâsât-ı Edebiyye* (1304), and *Müntehabât-ı Tasvîr-i Efkâr Üçüncü Kısım: Edebiyat* (1311) (Yazıcı, 2011, 139). Nejdet Hayta's book *Tarih Araştırmalarına Kaynak Olarak Tasvîr-i Efkâr Gazetesi (1278/1862-1286/1869)* (2002) which is the collection of news between 1862-69 without analysis could be given as one of the example of secondary sources on the newspaper before the directorate of Ebüzziya family.

¹⁷ There are important studies on the life of Ebüzziya Mehmet Tefvik and his printing press activities. To illustrate, "Ebüzziya Mehmet Tefvik" article in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* written by Ziyad Ebüzziya (1994) has valuable information. Fahriye Gündoğdu wrote an important thesis called "Ebüzziya Tefvik'in Türk Basıncılığına Getirdiği Yenilikler ve Türk Kütüphaneciliğine Katkıları" in 1962. Also, the PhD dissertation of Alim Gür written in 1990 "Ebüzziya Tefvik'in Hayatı, Dil, Edebiyat, Basın Yayın ve Matbaacılığa Katkıları" is among the significant works on the life of Ebüzziya Tefvik. Özgür Türesay starting from his PhD dissertation titled *Être intellectuel à la fin de l'Empire ottoman: Ebüzziya Tefvik (1849-1913) et son temps* in 2008 studied Ebüzziya Mehmet Tefvik Bey in detail and has contributed to the field with very valuable articles about him and the printing press of *Matbaa-i Ebüzziya* in French, English and Turkish.

¹⁸ *Türk Ansiklopedisi* "Tasvîr-i Efkâr" article (v. 30, 1981, 478-79), *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* "Tasvîr-i Efkâr" written by Nesimi Yazıcı (v. 40, no. 138-140, 2011, 18-140), *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* "Tasvîr-i Efkâr" article (v. 8, 279-80), *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* "Tasvîr-i Efkâr" written by Orhan Koloğlu (v. 7, 1993-95, 219-20), *Yeni Türk Ansiklopedisi*, "Tasvîr-i Efkâr" article (v. 10, 3995-96) give small entries about the newspaper.

the article of Serpil Sürmeli (Bahar 2010, 103-116)¹⁹ was published and covered the thesis research period in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. The main topic was the British Raid on Şehzadebaşı Police Station and the role of Ebüzziyazade Velid in the dissemination of news. This event marked the end of the first phase of the newspaper before thirteen months of closure. Another M.A. thesis was carried out on *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* by Orhan Topuz (2011) who evaluated the approach of newspaper towards the World War II. Finally, the first book on the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper in the period of Ebüzziya family's directorate was published in 2014 by Mithat Atabay. However, this book also looked at the newspaper as a medium to see news about the Gallipoli Wars. In 2016, Ali Satan and Yasin Özdemir also published a crucial article about *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* and dealt with the censorship practice that was applied to the letter of Ebüzziyazade before Istanbul was evacuated. Lastly, in 2018, Meltem Koçak wrote her M.A. thesis about *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* and it is very beneficial for getting insight into the nationalistic news in the newspaper chronologically. Although she showed the propaganda news of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, the issue of censorship was not mentioned. As can be seen that while the article of Sürmeli and the M.A. thesis of Koçak are dealing with different subjects in regard to the newspaper, the article of Satan and Özdemir concentrates on a very limited period on the censorship affair and thus has deficiencies. Consequently, there exists no in-depth analysis and research on the censorship mechanism and its regime exemplified by the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper while focusing on the period between 1918 and 1922.

1.5 The Censorship in the Ottoman Studies

In the Ottoman studies, while the subject of the history of the press has a very big corpus,²⁰ the issue of censorship²¹ occupies a limited space. This limitation is part of a

¹⁹ It is important to mention that although Serpil Sürmeli indicates the name of the newspaper as *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, the title of the newspaper was *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* during that time.

²⁰ The historiography on the Ottoman press starts with the Ahmed Emin Yalman's PhD dissertation that he wrote in the Columbia University *the Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press* in 1914. From that day onwards, an enormous corpus of literature accumulated on the history of press which includes invaluable reference books. For instance, Selim Nüzhet Gerçek published *Türk Gazeteciliği* on 1931 as sort of an introduction to the newspapers. Server R. İskit's great book *Türkiyede Matbuat Rejimleri* (1939) offers a wide range of collection of laws, codes and minutes on the printing press, the press, copyrights and analysis on the topics. His other publication *Türkiyede Neşriyat Hareketlerine Bir Bakış* (1939) concentrated on the Anatolian press and what it is called "the Censorship of Vahdettin" very briefly for the period 1918 and 1922. Fuat Süreyya Oral's book *Türk Basın Tarihi* in three-volume is among the highly cited works. It published in 1967 and also focused on "the Censorship of

problem in the secondary literature, which is criticized in the academy circle. For example, Nesimi Yazıcı points out that although the history of the press is studied a lot, there are still deficiencies²² in the already written works which made tendencies to focus only on some specific parts in the field (Yazıcı 1986, 195-196). Tellan also adds that the lack of comprehensive and meticulous work on the topic is very obvious since fundamental studies are weaseling, and they are away from the scientific approach. By referring to each other, they are circulating the same mistakes²³ (Tellan 2017, 171-172).

Vahdettin” in a small paragraph. Another important book is *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönü ile Basın* written by Enver Behnan Şapolyo in 1969. It gives significant information about the newspapers and the journalists. Hasan Refik Ertuğ contributed to the field of research with numerous works particularly with his book *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*. Orhan Koloğlu also wrote about the history of the press and gave various precious works to the field, especially *Osmanlı’dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi* (2006). *II Mahmut’tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi* (2003) written by Hıfzı Topuz and *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi* (2002) written by M. Nuri İnuğur are among the general histories of the press. Last but not least, it is important to mention *Türk Basın Tarihi I, II, III* (2018) prepared by Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi. It is the collection of articles for several periods and has very useful articles about specific subjects from the 18th to 20th centuries of Ottoman press. Lastly, the PhD dissertation of Erol Baykal *the Ottoman Press 1908-1923* (2013/2019) covers different subjects in his work from censorship to pricing policies of the newspapers.

²¹ In the history of the Ottoman press, the emergence of the private press that did not follow the official lines and did not have official subsidies provoked the state to create a legal framework (Baykal 2013, 19). Particularly, the increasing number of Ottoman Turkish written newspapers that criticized the government had an important role in this issue starting from the first independent Turkish newspaper *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl* in 1860, and two years later *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. For instance, in the same year of the publication of *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*, the criminal code of 1858 was extended to press affairs and crimes concerning the press were set out (Boyar 2006, 421). Furthermore, the increasing criticisms prompted the state to take more elaborate steps to create a legal framework for the press to operate in (Baykal 2019, 20). Therefore, the idea of creating *Matbû’ât Nizamnamesi* (the Press Law) was offered to Padişah by the Grand Vizier in 1864 which remained in force until 1908 (Oral, 87-88). However, it was not able to stop the criticisms of these newspapers and *Kararnâme-i Âli* (Ali Ordinance) was issued in 1867 (Yosmaoğlu 2003, 18). It was the first serious attempt to block publications against the governing elite (Boyar 2006, 421), and it issued on the pretext of certain publications were hostile to the general interest of the country, spreading harmful thoughts and fabricated news (İskit 1939, 26). Therefore, its arbitrary use of closure and exile led the journalist to go foreign countries and became expatriate journalists (Ceylan 2006, 145). Nevertheless, after Ali Ordinance in 1867 and the death of Ali Paşa, the number of newspapers continued to grow, and the exiled journalists began to return from Europe and to open their own newspapers²¹ again. Consequently, the first Censorship Decree (16 Rebi’ü’l-ahir 1293) was issued in 1876 during the vizirate of Mahmud Nedim Paşa on the pretext of the need to control the newspapers due to “the importance of the contemporary situation” (*ahvâl-i hazrânın ehemmiyeti*) (Banoğlu, 151; Boyar 2006, 421-22; İskit 1939; 38; 698) and lasted for three days. In the regulation, it was ordered that all newspapers that were published in Istanbul and the provinces would be inspected either by the Administration of Press Affairs or by the officials that were appointed by the state. The inspection would be done before their printing (İskit 1939, 698; 40). On the same day, *Sabah* under the administration of Şemseddin Sami left the censored spaces blank as a protest to the implementation of the censorship decree, and the practice of leaving the censored part blank was used for the first time in the Ottoman press (Kudret 2000, 13). On December 23, 1876, the proclamation of *Kanun-i Esâsi* (The Basic Law) guaranteed a degree of liberty to the press that stated: “press is free within the limits of law” (Yosmaoğlu 2003, 19). However, the arbitrary use of censorship continued during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II. Nevertheless, the strict censorship practice was ended with the promulgation of Constitution in 1908 and the freedom of press that led to the press boom of 1908 followed it (Baykal 2019, 60). However, the restrictive measures towards the press continued that even showed itself as the murder of journalist during the time of Union and Progress. Furthermore, the Press Law of 1909 (*1909 Matb ü’ât Kanunu*) (14 Recep 1327) was also entered into force after the incident of March 31 (İskit 1939, 707-14). Finally, the Ottoman press witnessed both the civil and the military censorship during the time of the Great War (Kalemlî 2018, 513; Baykal 2019, 124).

²² He listed several reasons behind the deficiencies such as not entering the archives, the insufficiency of coordination between the researchers which causes repetitive works, and the varied classifications in the archives that lead the researchers not to reach the document (Yazıcı 1986, 195-196).

²³ The books of M. Nuri İnuğur and Hıfzı Topuz are good examples for this problem. *II Mahmut’tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi* written by Hıfzı Topuz and *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi* written by M. Nuri İnuğur share almost the same classification which cannot be seen in other works about the Istanbul press for the period between 1919-1923. In this categorization, İnuğur puts *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* into the category of the newspapers that sometimes gave support to Istanbul

Furthermore, Baykal shares the same criticism by stating some of the general histories of the press are so similar that many of them are overlapping each other and do not offer any additional piece of information that is substantially different from one another (Baykal 2013, 5).

The censorship studies in the Ottoman historiography are in the circle of the repetitive works because they have a great focus on the censorship policy during the period of Sultan Abdülhamit II²⁴ and for the most part, there are two conflicting positions on the topic. While one group of writers is very critical of the censorship policies under the Sultan, the other scholars are challenging their views on the issue. This circumstance leads the period of Sultan Abdülhamit II well covered and explored, while the other periods are mostly neglected. In my point of view, another problematic aspect of the historiography of the censorship in the time frame of Istanbul under the Allied occupation is that the majority of writers and scholars prefer to focus on the newly established Anatolia press. Especially the newspapers²⁵ like *İrade-i Milliye* and *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* are very attractive research areas for the studies in the field.

Nevertheless, there is a certain number of existing works that in one way or another touch upon the press censorship during the period of Armistice. If the categorization

and sometimes to Anatolia, from time to time had sympathy towards the movement in Anatolia (İnuğur 2002, 344). This categorization was also shared with a slight difference by Topuz by putting the newspaper to the category of having a sympathy towards the National Struggle. Therefore, it was not put among the ones that support the National Movement (Topuz 1996, 71; 2003, 98). In my point of view, this approach might have been derived from the future stand of Velid Ebüzziya as being critical towards the policies of Ankara.

²⁴ For example, the period of Sultan Abdülhamit II is represented as the darkest age of the Turkish Press by Hıfzı Topuz (Topuz 2003, 53). Süreyya Oral's book even includes insults to his press regime (Oral, 126-27) without any evaluation. Cevdet Kudret also looked at the restrictive side of Sultan's press policy in his small books *Abdülhamit Devrinde Sansür I, II*. (Kudret 2000) This problem is tried to be solved by several studies which are highly beneficial to understand the censorship regime during his reign. Firstly, "Ottoman Censorship in Lebanon and Syria, 1876-1908" written by Donald Cioeta in 1979 focuses on another subject except for the strict censorship regime. Azmi Özcan "The Press and Anglo-Ottoman Relations, 1876-1909" (1993), İpek K. Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed World: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913" (2003), Ebru Boyar "The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship between Abdülhamit II and the Press, 1876-1908" (2006), Ali Birinci, "Osmanlı Devletinde Matbuat ve Neşriyat Yasakları Tarihinde Medhal" (2006) Özgür Türesay, "Censure et production culturelle. Le champ éditorial ottoman à l' époque hamidienne" (1876-1908) (2009) are very crucial secondary sources to understand the period fully.

²⁵ Fethi Kardeş *60 Yılın Hikâyesi* (1980), *Atatürk Döneminde Basın ve Basın Özgürlüğü* (1981) published by Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları, *Kurtuluş Savaşı İdeolojisi: Hakimiyet-i Milliye Yazıları*, by Hadiye Bolluk, (2003), Kadir Kon, *Zwischen Imperium und Republik Mustafa Kemals Zeitung Hakimiyet-i Milliye (1920-1924)*, (Kon 2016). Aytül Tamer, *İrade-i Milliye Ulusal Mücadelenin İlk Resmi Yayın Organı* (Tamer 2004), Hüseyin Yıldırım, "İrade-i Milliye Gazetesi", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VIII/23, (Mart 1992, 325-330). Yücel Özkaya's *Milli Mücadelede Atatürk ve Basın I, II* (2007) are among the secondary literature. The literature also has lots of articles about activities of the local newspapers. To illustrate, Osman Sami Coşar's book called *Milli Mücadele Basını* (1964) holds a very significant space in the literature which evaluates wide range of newspapers that was published in Anatolia. However, it does not include the Istanbul press. Zeki Arkan's book *İzmir Basın Tarihi 1868-1938* (2006) is also on the same path as Coşar's work.

attempted to be made, three categories of academic writing about the topic can be seen and they are; (1) the books/thesis that mentions the issue on their chapters, (2) independent researches for the censorship during the period of Armistice and (3) the articles that mention the issue of censorship policies while focusing on another subject. Yet, as far as their content is concerned, the majority of the literature on the press censorship for the period focused on its restrictive feature on the news about the Anatolian Movement.

To illustrate, a very significant book of Server R. İskit *Türkiyede Matbuat Rejimleri* (the Press Regimes in Turkey) (1939) which is one of the most fundamental books on the topic holds a special place in the literature as a reference guide for the studies on the censorship issue. In his book, İskit offers a very precious overview of topics to the readers about the laws and enactments of the press, of the printing house and of the copyright from the Ottoman times to the early Republic of Turkey. He furthermore focused on the proposals (*teklif layihâsı*) of the government, and the negotiation minutes of the parliament and the Turkish Grand National Assembly. In regard to the censorship affair, other than the censorship enactments of the period, he also analyzes the issue of the censorship in his book “Analysis and History” part. In the related section, he deals with the censorship policy of the Ottoman state during the period by specifically mentioning *Vahdettin Sansürü* (the censorship of Sultan Vahdettin) whose denomination also used by Fuat Süreyya Oral (224), since he focused on the enactment of February 1919 (1939, 112). Although the main focus of İskit's book is placed on the positive developments in Anatolia, such as the establishment of the independent press directorate or the abolishment of press censorship on October 7, 1923, by the Ankara government (İskit 1939, 137, 139, 145), he also speaks about the restrictive censorship policies of Istanbul, especially against the Anatolian Movement (1939, 140). İskit does not analyze the mechanism and its policies for the entire term but concentrates on the strict period of censorship after *de jure* occupation of Istanbul (March 16, 1920) which leads him to ignore the lightened censorship practices that occurred during specific phases. Therefore, his favorable attitude regarding the National Movement was dominant in his book. Finally, while there is no information about the termination of Interallied censorship in his work, there is a part speaking about the complete removal of the press censorship on October 7, 1923 (1939, 145).

Another scholar Nur Bilge Criss in her book *Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918-1923* (1999) covers the press censorship under the chapter titled “Press”. Although her chapter seems more like a collection of the introduction of the newspapers published during the period of Armistice (1999, 45-48), it contains some very significant points regarding the censorship practices of the period. For instance, she reveals that the Allies in the censorship mechanism was much more interested in suppressing the Nationalist Movement rather than implementing censorship to their national newspapers (Criss 1999, 49). However, her focus was on the censorship regime of Istanbul after the period of *de jure* occupation as well. Her findings of content that was marked to be censored are particularly important because they are very detailed and gave crucial insights on the subject (1999, 49). Yet, the chapter does not, as is not aimed, offer more information on the censorship mechanism of Istanbul.

Erol Adnan Ferdi Baykal’s PhD dissertation *the Ottoman Press 1908-1923* (2013/2019) also focused on the censorship policy of Istanbul during the period of Armistice in his chapter of “Censoring the Press”. In his work, he follows a different structure than the other studies, and focuses on the different types of censorship implementations during the Constitutional Period (2019, 116-122). Then, he analyzes the preventive press censorship of Istanbul during the Armistice with the statistical data and the detailed examination of the *Peyâm-ı Sabah* newspaper. He demonstrates that since the combined Imperial and Allied censorship were able to deprive the National Movement of having a voice and its own propaganda, and even faced anti-propaganda in Istanbul, the Ankara government constructed its own press infrastructure in order to disseminate its message (2019, 116). Furthermore, with an in-depth analysis of the *Peyâm-ı Sabah* newspaper, he points out that the censorship regime of Istanbul was altered after the Second Battle of İnönü (2019, 136). As for the mechanism, he concentrates on the role of the Allied states in the censorship and questions the beginning of the [Inter]Allied censorship via mainly the documents of ATASE (2019, 125). However, the Interallied censorship commission was not analyzed in his PhD dissertation in detail and the question of how the mechanism worked remained unanswered. Last but not least, his methodology of counting the blank spaces, also adopted in this thesis with a few alterations, brought a new perspective to see the changing censorship frequency in the specific newspapers but does not offer the exact peak points.

As for the independent researches, *Tarih ve Toplum* periodical has a significant serial in its thirty-seven issue which is called “Basın Tarihimizde Yasaklar Dosyası” (the Files of Prohibitions in Our Press History) (1987, 42-45). While including lots of valuable articles²⁶ and censorship implementation examples, the article of Cevdet Kudret who had several studies on the subject, called “Birkaç Örnek ile Mütareke Dönemi Sansürü” (the Censorship of the Period of Armistice with a Few Examples) covers the censorship implementation during the period of Armistice from 1919 to 1922 by examining the available publication drafts of *Dergah* periodical which was used for the first time by him. After he underlined the deficiencies in the publication drafts of the news, he gave very brief and insufficient information on the mechanism only by focusing on the *Altıncı Daire* and the Armenian censor (1987, 45). However, his use of the news draft of *Dergah* periodical shed light on the contents to be censored. He listed them as the news about the Anatolian Movement, the sentences that highlighted the moral corruption of the Allied soldiers in Istanbul, and the harsh writings that blamed the press organs which supported the policy of Istanbul (1987, 44). He also includes the uncensored draft of Ömer Seyfettin’s story *Heykel* (1987, 45).

Alpay Kabacalı’s book, “Başlangıçtan Günümüze Türkiye’de Basın Sansürü” (the Press Censorship in Turkey from the Beginning to the Present) (1990) is the only book about the general history of censorship that covers the period from the 16th century to the end of 20th century. Although his main focus is the period after the Republic of Turkey, his fifth chapter deals with the censorship during the period of Armistice (1990, 101-9). In his chapter, he studies the topic of censorship by taking the February enactment of Sultan Vahdettin as a starting point and mentions about the representatives of the Allied states without giving their names. He suggests that the censorship committee was transferred and began to be controlled by the Allied High Commissioners. He furthermore indicated that the British had much more control in the mechanism (1990, 101-2). The book specifically concentrates on the difficulties of having a license for publishing a new newspaper (1990, 106-7). He also explains the striking change in the censorship regime, and, unlike the other authors, he concentrates on the difficulties of getting news from Anatolia (1990, 105-6). However, the related part consists of a collection of various information from the secondary sources with no additional

²⁶ For a few examples in the periodical on the subject, see. (Kabacalı Temmuz 1987, 42-43; Kocabaşoğlu Ocak 1987, 40-45; Toprak Ocak 1987, 45-47).

evaluation provided and is only focused on the censoring of the news about the Anatolian Movement. However, since the secondary sources are scarce, the importance of the book cannot be ignored.

Mustafa Özbey, Hülya, and Tan Baykal specifically concentrate on the press and the censorship during the Period of Armistice. In their book “*Basın Yönetiminde Sansür Mütareke Dönemi Basını*” (Censorship in the Management of Press; the Press of Armistice Period) (2016), the press censorship in Istanbul was analyzed with the *Alemdâr* newspaper being placed among the opponents of the National Struggle. Their book gave very important examples of the censorship implementation of the Interallied, the Ottoman, and the Ankara government that helped to see the different perspectives of the restrictive mechanism. It allows deepening the understanding and getting insight into different attitudes of the censorship phenomenon from different points of view that coexisted in the same period. Their work proceeds with the selected news about the censorship and points out very significant subjects such as the demand of putting more restrictions on the Istanbul press (2016, 207) or the reaction of *Alemdâr* to the establishment of the preventive censorship (2016, 212). Furthermore, the content to be censored was also examined through the guideline that was published by *Alemdâr* (2016, 187). Nevertheless, they do not analyze the censorship regime of Istanbul in detail and do not concentrate on the question of how the mechanism worked.

Ender Korkmaz is another scholar who studied the censorship during the Armistice in his article “*Mondros Mütarekesi Döneminde Sansür*” (Censorship during the Period of Armistice of Mudros) (2012, 29-56) by concentrating on the communication, the press, the theaters, and the cinema. As far as the press censorship is concerned, he contributes the academia by describing those who attended the negotiation in the mid-January 1919 (2012, 42-3). Furthermore, the contents that were tasked to be censored were defined as the news that underlined the national solidarity and value, the writings that stated Turks were subjected to injustice by the other nations, the texts about Socialism and the Greek atrocities (2012, 45-6). However, since the article covers a very long period, these generalizations with a few censorship examples are insufficient and invalid for the entire period as such in the case of the news about the national solidarity. Furthermore, in his article, Korkmaz marked the censorship of Armistice with the establishment of

the Interallied censorship (2012, 42) that led him to miss the transition period in the censorship mechanism.

As for the last category, Yücel Özkaya in his article “*Milli Mücadele Başlangıcında Basın ve Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın Basınla İlişkileri*” (the Press at the Beginning of National Struggle and the Relations of Mustafa Kemal Paşa with the Press) (1984, 871-911) speaks about the censorship affair and it was highly cited by the other scholars. While he was dealing with the censorship regime of Istanbul, his focus was on the question of how much the Istanbul press was able to support Anatolia in the midst of partial censorship. He also detected the permanent alteration in the censorship regime of Istanbul in 1921 and gave several reasons for it (1984, 872). Furthermore, he pointed out that although the significant amount of Istanbul press was sided with the National Independence, they could not express their views between 1919 and 1922 because of pre-print censorship. (1984, 872-3) Therefore, his article also demonstrates his favorable stance towards the Anatolian Movement like İskit's significant work. However, his explanation that indicated that the Istanbul press was first censored by the Sultan Vahdettin, and then by both the Sultan and the Allied Powers after March 20, 1920 (1984, 872) is problematic.

Hülya Baykal's article “*Milli Mücadele'de Basın*” (the Press in the National Struggle) (1988, 471-79) has some similarities with the article of Özkaya in the examination of the press censorship in Istanbul. After mentioning the categorization in the Istanbul press, she focuses on the strict restriction on the news about the Anatolian Movement (1988, 471-2) and indicates the permanent change in the censorship regime of Istanbul was started after the first and second battles of İnönü (1988, 473).

Like Yücel Özkaya (1984) and Hülya Baykal (1988), Zekai Güner in his article titled “*Milli Mücadele'de Türk Kamuoyunu Oluşturan Basın*” (the Press that Formed the Turkish Public Opinion in the National Struggle) (1998, 89-103) also concentrates on the restrictive characteristics of the censorship against the news about the Anatolian Movement. He also explains that the Istanbul press could not write against foreign states because of the risk of being closed (1998, 92). Like the other two scholars, he mentions the loosening of the censorship during the Amasya Protocol and the permanent change of censorship after the battles of İnönü (1998, 92).

Apart from the studies listed above, and differently from them, Ali Satan and Yasin Özdemir in their article “*İstanbul’un Tahliyesinde Yaşanan Bir Mektup Olayı: General Harington’ın Daveti ve Gazeteci Velid Ebüzziya’nın Reddi*” (An Incident of Letter During Evacuation of Istanbul: General Harington’s Invitation Declined by Journalist Velid Ebüzziya) (Bahar 2016, 7-18) focus on the latter period of censorship that was applied to *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* before Istanbul was totally evacuated by the Allied states. In fact, although their article was about another particular event regarding the evacuation of Istanbul, it furthermore evaluates a very significant case of censorship implementation in the period after the Interallied censorship was terminated. Their finding of publication drafts of the letter of Ebüzziyazade Velid in the National Archives at KEW has special importance since the Interallied censorship was lifted during the period (2016, 16-8). However, its termination was not considered by them.

Like Satan and Özdemir, Sürmeli’s article titled “*Şehzadebaşı Karakolu Baskını ve Olay Mahalline Giren İlk Gazete Tevhîd-i Efkâr*” (Raid of Şehzadebaşı Military Station and the First Newspaper Entering the Event of Place *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*) (Bahar 2010, 103-16) also emphasized the censorship regime during the period indirectly while she examined a very significant event for the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper. It was the distributions of Şehzadebaşı martyrs’ photographs that led to the exile of Velid to Malta and the closure of the newspaper. She furthermore explains the latter publication of the photos by *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* after the official termination of the press censorship in Istanbul.

Besides, the small part of “Censorship Bureau and Control of Telegram” in *Constantinople To-day, A Study in Oriental Social Life* written by Clarence Richard Johnson (1922, 116), and the scattered information in the books of Sina Akşin *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele I-II-III* (the Istanbul Governments and the National Struggle I-II-III) (2010) and M. Tayyip Gökbilgin *Milli Mücadele Başlarken Mondros Mütarekesi’nden Büyük Millet Meclisi’nin Açılmasına* (When the National Struggle Starts From the Armistice of Mudros to the Opening of Grand National Assembly) (2018) include very significant information on the issue. However, except for the censorship chapter of Baykal and the book of Baykals and Özbek which still do not analyze the whole period day-by-day, any of these books, thesis, and articles have never attempted to examine the censorship mechanism/regime in Istanbul under Allied occupation “in detail” through analyzing a newspaper from its first until its last

publication for the period between November 1918 and November 1922. Thus they were able to provide the answer to the question of how the censorship mechanism worked only in a basic way. Hence, the censorship mechanism of the Armistice Period in the Istanbul press will be held as a research topic and an attempt will be made to explore the censorship regime by taking *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* as the prime example, when it's seen insufficient, benefiting from other newspapers. Furthermore, the political documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Ottoman Archive, the documents of Ziyad Ebüzziya Collection and the Foreign Office attempted to be used in the quest to answer the research questions of the thesis together with the other archival documents.

However, since there was the difficulty of selection of news in the analysis part within enormous number of censored news, articles, notes, reports and writings, the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper will be evaluated through a careful selection of examples by the author in the following chapters of the thesis. This difficulty was tried to be cope with selecting the frequently seen censorship examples in the newspaper. Nevertheless, the thesis still does not claim covering all the censored content of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* but giving the sense of what kind of news were close to be censored, which is possible to see, because the mixed censorship committee followed a specific policy that changed from time to time.

1.6 Thesis Outline

The second chapter of the thesis will attempt to examine the censorship mechanism on the press under the Allied occupation of Istanbul by focusing on the period from December 1918 to February 1919. The main research question of the chapter is how the censorship mechanism worked in Istanbul during the Armistice Period. Furthermore, it will attempt to answer the additional questions such as who, where, when, and why. By taking them into account, firstly, it will endeavor to understand the establishment of the censorship on the Istanbul press by the Ottoman government. Secondly, it will try to track the evolution of the censorship mechanism by focusing on January and February 1919, as these were the months when the Ottoman censorship transitioned and was replaced with the Interallied censorship. In both cases, content to be censored and the organizational structure of the censorship mechanism tried to be explored.

The third chapter will endeavor to examine the censorship regime of Istanbul from November 1918 to April 1920 by taking the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper as an example. Therefore, (1) the transition period of censorship from November 1918 to February 1919, (2) the peak point of blank spaces in May 1919, (3) the censorship regime of Istanbul in the course of the congresses and lastly (4) the extended-term between the Ahmet Rıza Paşa's government and *de jure* occupation will be investigated. Hence, the goal is to try to examine and explain the changing censorship policies in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* both for the content and the intensity-wise.

The last chapter of the thesis will attempt to deal with the altered censorship regime of Istanbul in the second phase of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* from the mid-1921 to August 1922. It will begin with a very small introduction attempt to the second phase of the newspaper by focusing on the censorship regime of Istanbul and its transformation between April 1920 and June 1921 through very limited sources to understand the dramatic change in the content of the newspaper. Afterwards, the research will follow the same structure and will provide instances of the censored content in the newspaper by focusing on the periods; (1) after the second battle of İnönü until the battle of Sakarya, (2) from the Treaty of Ankara to the March 1922 and lastly (3) until the Great Offensive. Subsequent to the evaluation of the newspaper that will be done through the three sub-chapters by focusing on the aforementioned periods, the question of when and how pre-print censorship was lifted will constitute the last small part of the thesis by benefiting from the news of several newspapers and the secondary sources.

2. CENSORSHIP MECHANISM IN ISTANBUL DURING THE PERIOD OF ARMISTICE

This chapter aims to probe the censorship mechanism applied to the Istanbul press during the period of Armistice by concentrating on the following questions; when was it put into effect, how did it function, who was the enforcer, how the censors worked, where was the censorship department, and what kind of content was removed. Having taken these questions into consideration, the first sub-chapter will try to explore the censorship mechanism and the policies of the Ottoman government while the second sub-chapter will focus on the mixed censorship committee in the Istanbul press.

2.1 The Beginning: Censorship of the Ottoman Government

Even though the Ottoman press witnessed pre-print censorship²⁷ during the years of the Great War which even included a guideline (*Sansür Ta'limâtname'si*) in a form of booklet for the military censors (Baykal 2013, 93-94; Kalemli 2018, 513; *Matba'a-i*

²⁷ Pre-print or preventive censorship (*kable't-tab sansür*) is the inspection of the first editions (*prova*) of all dailies first by the paper's editor, who carried punitive responsibility, and then by the censorship officers whom drafts were sent to (Yosmaoğlu 2003, 25). The article, clause or word, considered to be removed, were marked by the censor through drawing the writing in the *prova* which was the strip of column before the printing process of the newspaper (ZE. 28/790, 14-15). If the newspaper would publish the censored part of the news and defied the censors' order, their punishment would be decided according to the degree of importance of the removed part (İskit 1939, 725; Özbey 2016, 152). In the published newspaper, the censored part was usually printed as a total blank gap, however, sometimes, the explanation of how much lines were erased could also be indicated as pointing out X satır/ makale tayy edilmiştir (X lines/article were removed) (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 2 March 1919, 3; 1 December 1919, 2; 4 December 1919, 1). In addition to the removal of censored content, the publication of writing could be postponed by the censor officers for another time as in the case of the article "Anadolu Mektubu" (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 10 December 1919, 2) However, the practice was not always allowed to be used like in the case of the World War I (Baykal 2013, 95) because they were visible signs of publication which was not liked by the censors and non-compliance (Baykal 2013, 101). At this point, Prof. Koçak's question of why the censorship committee allowed to the practice of blank spaces in Istanbul under Allied occupation could be asked. It is possible that these white gaps could be the signs of power from the Allied states's stand point, as was interpreted by Prof. Somel. In my point of view, there is also another possibility that leaving the censored part blank might have relations with the decision of the Ottoman government because the Interallied censorship decided not to interfere the censorship mechanism apart from the decided contents to be censored.

‘Âskeriyeye 1330), both the civil and the military censorship of the Ottoman government were lifted in June 1918 (Baykal 2013, 95) and on November 2, 1918 (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 2 T.S. 1918, 2) respectively, when the newspapers simply stopped sending drafts to the military censors, who not having received an official order to stop their work, continued with censoring letters and telegraphs only (Baykal 2019, 124). It seemed plausible that this positive environment for the Istanbul press would continue after the Armistice of Mudros²⁸ since the only article (the Art. 12th) in the Armistice about the censorship included the stipulation that the Allied states would assume control of the wireless telegraphy and cable stations, except for the correspondences of the Turkish government (Hurewitz v. 2, 37). Furthermore, the armistice did not mention anything about the censorship of the press.

However, after the signing of the Armistice on October 30, *de facto* occupation of Istanbul happened, which led to the installment of the censorship for the Istanbul press. The occupation began to materialize with a series of actions of the Allied Powers. At first, the clearing of the fortifications throughout the Straits was started on November 6 (Selek 1973, 188), and on the next day, the Allied fleet passed through the Dardanelles (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 8 November 1918, 2). Meanwhile, the British and French committees started to arrive at Istanbul (Selek 1973, 188), and finally, on November 13, a large Allied fleet sailed through the Straits and landed at the shore of the capital (Okyar 1980, 264). Upon the arrival of the Allied fleets, the High Commissioners and the military commanders of the Allied Powers also entered Istanbul²⁹ (15 November, 1918, 1; Okyar 1980, 264-65), and at the beginning of December 1918, the Allied military administration was installed (Baykal 2013, 96).

During these days, in the middle of November 1918, one French and one British military officials came to negotiate with the Director of Telegraph about the Armistice terms. Based on the 12th article, they stated that they have the authority to control the correspondences, apart from the official ones, and were specifically interested in the cables of Istanbul-Köstence and Istanbul-Odesa. This authorization was later enlarged by the British Admiral resulting in the control of the correspondences between Istanbul

²⁸ For a detailed information on the Armistice of Mudros see. (Bayur 1991, v. 4, 719-773; Shaw 2000, v. 1, 81-93; Tansel 1973, 24-38).

²⁹ For further information, see. (*Türk İstiklal* 1999, 179-181).

and the Allied states. They also offered to the Ottoman government that if they would want to, they could control the internal communication for the security of the state. By that time, the French military officials were also appointed to Istanbul and Beyoğlu Postal Offices (Gökbilgin 2018, 13).

On November 21, the rumor of the future installation of press censorship also took place on the second page of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper. It was the article of the Armenian newspaper *Hairenik* that elaborated on the words of a British military official. In the article, it is stated that the representatives of the Allied states would apply censorship to the press because the city was governed by the Martial Law³⁰ (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 21 November 1918, 2). However, three days later, the rumor was refuted by *Matbu'ât Müdüriyeti* (Press Directorate) (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 98; 24 November 1918, 2). Nevertheless, the news about press censorship was still continued in the newspaper. For instance, a piece of interesting news appeared on the first page of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* under the headline “Gazetelerimizden Şikâyet İngiliz ve Fransız Amiralleri Türkçe Matbû'âtın Neşriyatını Beğenmiyorlar” (Complaints about Our Newspapers the British and the French Admirals do not Like the Writings of the Turkish Press). The news was published on November 27, 1918, and stated that the British and the French High Commissioners Calthorpe and Amet complained about the tone of the Turkish press to the Ottoman government and asked for it to be changed. The news includes information about the suspension of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* which was also one of their demands, because of the news about the French corruption concerning the Armistice terms.³¹ (27 November 1918, 1) This means that although the press censorship was not indicated in the articles of the Armistice, it was requested even before the Allied military administration was installed. Their demand on the subject can also be seen in the note of the British High Commissioner Richard Webb to the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs dated November 28, 1918. He advised establishing a Turkish Press Bureau for censorship purposes since the discussion of the local press was undesirable under the existing circumstances. Accordingly, the establishment of a small committee composed of one

³⁰ *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* chose to correct the news of *Hairenik* by stating that the representatives desired to form Investigation Bureau to get informed daily from the newspapers in every language. After giving the information, the newspaper criticized the decision by stating that the censorship affair belonged to the interior policy of the state and the state was the only authority to decide on it. Furthermore, the Allied representatives gave a guarantee not to interfere on the internal affairs (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 21 November 1919, 2).

³¹ For the newspaper's answer to their demand, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 27 January 1918, 1).

representative for each of the Allied Powers to cooperate with the Turkish Press Bureau was designed to safeguard the interests of all concerned parties was seen advantageous by everyone. He also offered the Ottoman government to nominate a Turkish representative to this committee (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 3). In order to ensure that this aim was reached, an Allied censorship commission was set up in the British embassy, with the Ottoman, the British, the French and the Italian military representatives. Newspapers would be examined, and complaints were reported to the Directorate (Baykal 2013, 97). Baykal further states that the apparent aim of the Allied forces was to suppress articles that were acrimonious revolutionary or diplomatically indiscrete (Baykal 2013, 97).

One of the reasons behind their demands was also given in the interpretation of an anonymous newspaper about the communique of *Meclis-i Vükelâ* (Council of Ministers) regarding the press censorship. It stated that pre-print censorship was a compulsory act³² because Istanbul, where the frequent military movements of the Allied states existed, was seen as a base of operation against Russia, thus there was the desire to apply censorship on the newspapers to prevent the dissemination of their military activities (Gökbilgin 2018, 13).

Consequently, in Istanbul under Allied occupation, the military censorship that was removed at the beginning of November was reinstated one month later under the control of the Administration of Press Affairs³³ by the order of Ahmet Tevfik Paşa's

³² The second excuse was about the limitation of personal offenses. For further information, see. (Gökbilgin 2018, 13).

³³ *Matbu'ât Müdürlüğü* (Press Directorate) was in charge of the censorship of the newspapers, periodicals, and theaters. It was established in 1862 and equipped with a new Press Regulation in 1864 that would allow keeping closer tabs on the two privately-owned newspapers, *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl* and *Tasvir-i Efkar* in which criticism of the government was increasing (Yosmaoğlu 2003, 17). The duty of the directorate was according to the regulation of 1864 giving license in response to the petitions, (Art. 1) and collecting the signed copy of every single newspaper (the Art. 4) (İskit 1939 691-2; İskit 1939, 71-72). The official writings of the government were also sent to the newspapers through the same directorate (the Art. 8) In 1876, the first press censorship decree indicated that pre-print censorship would be carried out by the Press Directorate in Istanbul (İskit 1939, 698). However, the decree would not last long because Mahmut Nedim Paşa was discharged (Kudret 2000, 13). The Press Directorate was under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1877, but on the next year, it passed to the Ministry of Interior and continued to function under its control until 1913 (İskit 1939, 72). During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II, the inspection of all printed material, as well as printing houses and theaters, were placed under the authority of the Administration of Press Affairs, which was overseen by the Ministries of Police and of Education (İskit 1939, 73; Yosmaoğlu 2003, 24). In 1885, a new bureau was established within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, entitled *Matbu'at-ı Ecnebiye Müdürlüğü* (Administration of Foreign Press Affairs) and it was responsible for inspecting foreign language material, domestically printed as well as imported. The Ministries of Commerce and Communication were also involved in the censorship process (Yosmaoğlu 2003, 24). Since the promulgation of the Constitution, the press directorates were two, but its staff was quite reduced. With an enactment in April 1913, a bureau named *Matbu'ât Müdüriyet-i Umûmiyesi* (General Management of Press Affairs) was formed by merging the Administrations of Internal and

cabinet (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 98-99; Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 151). The demand was delivered to the Sublime Porte by the Allied Powers (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 93) and was accepted in order not to cause issues by refusing the demand (Baykal 2013, 96). Apparently, the Porte initially protested the request, but then, accepted it (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 564-65).

The installation of the press censorship in Istanbul was announced by the Press Directorate on December 2, 1919. The announcement indicated that since the publication of on-going agitative (*teheyüçkârâne*) writings in the newspapers (*evrâk-ı havâdis*) and in periodicals (*risâle-i mevkûte*) reached an unacceptable level which was harmful to the state, the government that supported the freedom of press felt the need to continue the implementation of censorship to protect the interest of the state. Henceforth, dailies (*cerâ'id-i yevmiye*), periodicals, books, and the press would be censored by the decision of the Martial Law (*İdâre-i Örfiye*) (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 98-99; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 2 December 1918, 1). The announcement also gave very important information about how the censorship would function. The censorship committee would execute the duty from a bureau (*daire-i mahsusa*) in the Ministry of Post and Telegraph (*Posta ve Telgraf Nezareti*) which was very near to *Matbaa-i Ebüzziya* and worked from 10.00 a.m. to 10.00 p.m.³⁴ (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 2 December 1918, 1). Furthermore, apparently, another bureau for the same purpose was established in Beyoğlu (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 8). It should be noted that the French military officials were already present in the Ministry even before the installment of the Interallied censorship (Gökbilgin 2018, 13).

On the same day of the installation of the censorship, in the Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusân*), the deputy of Karesi Hüseyin Kadri gave interpellation about the official declaration on the press censorship and stated that although the government took the authority from the Martial Law (*İdare-i Örfiye Kararnamesi*), it was against the last clause of the 12th article of the Basic Law which stipulated that by no means, the press be subjected to pre-print censorship and inspection (M.M.Z.C. 3/1/5/20, 216). However,

Foreign Press Affairs that had been bound to the Ministry of Interior and Foreign Affairs respectively. Afterwards, the newly established bureau was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (İskit 1939, 123; Yosmaoğlu 2003, 42).

³⁴ According to the news of December 3, 1918, the last hour limit of 10 p.m. was not sufficient for the control of the morning newspapers. Hence, the last hour limit was increased to 11.30 p.m. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 3 December 1918, 2).

his interpellation was refused (Akşin 2010 v. 1, 99; M.M.Z.C. 3/1/5/20, 218). Akşin sees the reason behind the refusal in that, that the members of the Renewal Party (*Teceddüt Fırkası*) who were the majority, apparently did not want to put further pressure on the government by accepting the censure motion (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 99).

On December 3, the type of content that would be censored was also explained by the newspapers. According to the news, the guideline was decided together with the press members and the following types of writings were marked as harmful; (1) the news about the actions of the army and navy in times of war, (2) the writings that brake the security of the state, (3) the articles that cause dissension among the Ottoman subjects, (4) the news that include disrespect to the Sultan, and the officials of the state, (5) the writings that aim to change the regime, and (6) the news or writings against the Allied states (*düvel-i mütelife*) including the movements of their army and navy (*Akşâm* 3 December 1334, 1; Akşin 2010, v. 1, 98; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 3 December 1918, 1). Two days later, another news on the newspaper announces that the Allied military censorship on the French, Greek and Armenian newspapers is true (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 5 December 1918, 1).

On December 12, a piece of interesting news was published that stated that the Press Directorate would be transferred to the Press Bureau of the Translation Office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The article furthermore made an interpretation that while how the transformation was going to be implemented was not decided yet, the ruling for its transformation had already been made (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 12 December 1918, 2). Another news on the same day mentions a rumor on the intensification of the press censorship by the Council of Ministers. However, it was again refuted by the same Directorate and it was guaranteed that the censorship would be carried out without the change in the intensity since the government wanted both to do what was beneficial for the state and to give enough space for the criticism against the government (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 12 December 1918, 2). Nevertheless, it also worried about the publication of headings (*serlevha*) of the censored news because some of the newspapers were publishing them³⁵ which allowed understanding what kind of news or articles were

³⁵ For a few examples on the condition, see. (*Minber* 3 December 1918, 1; 11 December 1918, 1).

removed. Therefore, the practice would not be allowed anymore (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 12 December 1918, 2).

During these events, on December 12, Nuri Bey from the Senate (*Meclis-i Ayan*) complained about pre-print censorship and its inspection and asked for the justification. His main arguments against the censorship were (1) the enactment was not proposed to the Parliament and to the Senate and (2) it was violating the articles of 12th and 115th of the Basic Law. He furthermore indicated that the aim of the Senate was to protect the constitution. As a response, Damat Ferit Paşa objected to the Nuri Bey's claim, by referring to the publications about the Bolsheviks and the writings instigating the participation of people in the appointment of ministers, which was against the Basic Law. He furthermore said that the Law had to be preserved and implemented as a whole, not as a selection of a few articles.³⁶ Afterwards, Abdurrahman Şeref shared his opinion and had the same idea with Nuri Bey, however, he stated that suspension, the legal proceedings towards the journalist and suing were the right of the government (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 99; M.A.Z.C. 3/1/5/15, 182-184). On December 18, Emanuelidi Efendi, individually, and Hüseyin Kadri together with his partners also asked for the interpellation by indicating the press was partially censored (M.M.Z.C. 3/1/5/27, 331-334). Finally, three days later, the answer of the government to the interpellation was declared by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mustafa Reşit Paşa. He stated that although the government was a strong supporter of the freedom of the press, the delicacy of the time and the importance of the period required restrictive policies against the writings that were aimed at the disintegration of the society and harmed the security of the state, so the government approved the censorship based on the Martial Law (M.M.Z.C. 3/1/5/29, 363).

At this point, it is important to note that, in mid-December 1918, both the British and the French representatives of the Allied censorship commission argued for the “re-introduction” of pre-print censorship as they felt the need that the current method, whose initial role was to give guidance to the censorship commission was not effective. As a result, pre-print censorship was introduced once again in December 1918, according to Baykal (Baykal 2013, 97). However, the blank spaces in the newspapers

³⁶ The interpretation of Sina Akşin in his footnote about the *Minber* newspaper (No. 71) has to be regarded for this issue. see. (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 565).

were not started with this introduction as was claimed by Baykal (Baykal 2013, 97) but with the first introduction that was implemented to the *Akşam* newspaper on December 2, 1918 (*Akşam* 2 December 1918, 1).

During that time, the Ministry of War also demanded that anyone who would publish the previously censored parts of the writings was punished. According to the news of *Alemdâr*, which could not be seen in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, some of the newspapers continued to publish censored texts, thus acting against the implemented censorship policy. The Ministry of War then said that even though the responsible individuals were punished, the current situation was not serving the purpose and was making the government look insufficient. As a result, the Ministry demanded from Padişah to issue a decree to solidify the punishment for the transgressors (*Alemdâr* 29 December 1918; Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 210). However, as stated by Baykal, the defiant attitude of the Istanbul press continued even in early February 1919 such in the case of *Sabah* and *Vakit* (Baykal 2019, 127).

Another news of *Alemdâr* about the press censorship stated that because of the current political conditions, the government needed to put restrictions on the press that mention (1) the movements of Allied Powers' mobile forces and navy, (2) the retreats or the defeats of the Allied commanders and their visitings, (3) the events in Russia, (4) the publications of notices belong to the headquarter of the Allied states, (5) the news in favors of the Central Powers and (6) the publications against the Allied Powers (*Alemdâr* 30 December, 1918; Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 211). Besides, the Press Directorate approved the preparation of some punitive measures including closure for those who do not act in accordance with the regulation (*Alemdâr* 30 December 1918; Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 211). In the research, although similar news could not be found in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, it is highly possible that it might have a relation with the Baykal's indication of "re-introduction" of censorship which clearly would propose further restrictions on the news about the activities of the Allied states.

Apparently, at the end of December, there was also a very detailed note of the High Commissioners about the future status of the press censorship that was sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It indicated that since pre-print military censorship is only

favorable to the interests of the Ottoman government, they propose draft regulations. The regulations³⁷ were briefly as follows:

“(I) The two Ottoman offices of preventive press censorship in Pera and Istanbul would be united in a single office that would be installed in Pera, (II) the new Bureau would work under the direction of an Interallied military committee composed of a British, Italian and French delegates each of whom being assisted by a duly qualified official interpreter,³⁸ (III) the Ottoman officials of the censorship office would be responsible for reading the drafts (*morasses*) and propose all the articles and news that they deemed useful to censor without being able to proceed on their own initiative to any delete to the Committee. (IV) The rules to be followed by censors were also listed as (a) ban on the publication of false news, (b) prohibition of publication of news related to the movement of troops and warships of the Allied Powers, (c) ban on the publication of biased articles seeking to put the Allied Powers in opposition, (d) prohibition of publication of articles or news tending to excite one another, the various races and beliefs of the Ottoman Empire. (V) A delegate from the Turkish censorship would submit the articles or news which would appear to him as convenient to be deleted from the Turkish constitutional point of view for the approval of the Allied delegates, and in case of acquiescence of the Committee, it would remain solely responsible vis a vis his government. (VI) In order to unify the propagation of the news arrived from TSF and to ensure a judicious distribution of them, after having drawn the number of copies for distribution to the High Commissioners, of the Army and of the Allied fleet, the Telegraph Agencies would submit a copy to the censorship office which would delete any news having a character such that they could exercise a pernicious influence on the Ottoman people or lend to a biased interpretation. (VII) The sanctions to be applied in the event of an offense would be (a) a warning (b) temporary suspension or (c) definitive suspension without being able to reappear in another form.” (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 8).

In my point of view, while the news of *Alemdâr* demonstrated the steps towards the final foundation of the censorship mechanism, the regulation predicted the official participation of the Allied states in the censorship mechanism twenty days in advance. It also suggests the mechanism started to be established before the Allied Powers officially became a part of the system.

³⁷ For the French version of the regulation, see. (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 8).

³⁸ On October 22, 1923, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* remarked that the writings in the newspapers had been removed by “the censor translators” who consisted of the Armenians and the Anatolian Greeks. They also translated those articles/news literally and sent to the embassy. Therefore, the British administration in Istanbul had knew what was written in the newspapers (Satan, Özdemir 2016, 12; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 22 October 1923, 3). It furthermore stated that the intolerance of the censorship particularly for the Turkish press was, in his words, because of the ignorant and dishonest Greeks, Armenians and even Jews that were employed by the foreigners (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 5 October 1923, 3).

2.2 *Beyne'l-Mü'telifin Sansürü* or the Interallied Censorship

On the first day of 1919, when *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* published news about the change in the censorship affair, it was also subjected to censoring and printed as a blank space (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 1 January 1919, 2). However, on the following day, another news called “the Alteration of Censorship” gave the information that a new guideline would be prepared and announced, so the press members could control their own articles to prevent being exposed to the censorship. Any attempt to oppose the given guideline would bring the press members before the Martial Court (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 2 January 1919, 2). Three days later, the news of *Alemdâr* that were dated as of December 29th partly materialized with an announcement of the Administration of General Press Affairs. It declared *Istanbul Muhafizhî* (Istanbul Guardianship) was ordered to start legal actions against any newspaper which published some of the articles and headlines that were previously removed by censorship. The newspapers in question were the following: *Vercinlur*, *İctihâd* (2 January 1335), *Akşâm* (1 December 1334), *Söz*, *Serbesti*, *'Ati*, *Sabâh*, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *'Alem* (1 January 1335) (5 January 1919, 2). Furthermore, on the 8th of January, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* published the announcement of the Ministry of Interior Affairs that the censorship would also be extended to the provinces³⁹ as well (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 8 January 1919, 2). Izmir, the second-largest press center of the Ottoman Empire, was also subjected to censorship since December 1918, and pre-print control was implemented at British request, according to Baykal (Baykal 2013, 103). In the meantime, the British High Commissioner Calthorpe heavily criticized the unsatisfactory nature of the Ottoman press censorship by referring to a passage in the *Byzantion* newspaper. According to the note of Calthorpe, the January 11th issue of the newspaper wrote that General Allenby was appointed as the Military Governor of Constantinople. For this reason, he objected to the contents of passage not only because it was incorrect, but also, they were of the most undesirable character (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 12).

³⁹ Since the newspapers in the provinces (*Vilâyât*) and in the sanjaks (*Elviye-i gayr-i mülhike*) published writings that were against the censorship instructions of Istanbul, in the places where the martial courts were applied, the newspapers was inspected by *mektupçu* in the provinces, and by the *tahrirat müdürleri* in the sanjaks until the lifting of the censorship (DABOA. BEO. 4574/343011, H-13-08-1337, 1).

Finally, on the 20th of January, the negotiations between the Ottoman government and the Allied states about the status and the politics regarding the censorship were carried out. The director of the Administration of Press Affairs Salih Bey, Miralay Hüsrev Bey⁴⁰ and Colonel Thompson attended the negotiation and indicated that an enactment was to be prepared and announced soon regarding the discussed decisions in the negotiation (*Vakit* 21 January 1919, 2; Korkmaz 2011, 42-43). Subsequently to the meeting, the director of Press Salih Bey submitted his resignation which, however, was not accepted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*İstikbâl* 21 January 1919, 1). The final result of the negotiations was that the Ottoman press was to be censored by the Sublime Porte and the Allied Powers⁴¹ starting with the January 21st onwards⁴² (*Vakit* 21 January 1919, 2).

On January 21, according to *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, the last decision on the censorship affair was published and it implied that a mixed censorship commission (*Karma Sansür Komisyonu*) would be tasked with the implementation of the practice (Kabacalı 1990, 102; Tansel 1973, 67). Besides, it would consist of three Allied military and a few Ottoman officials. The news stated that the Allied military officials would only inspect the military news and *Union Han* in Galata district would be rented as their headquarter. Until then, the censorship duty would be implemented from Istanbul and Beyoğlu Postal Offices, as it was previously done. *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* once again published the writing that a brief censorship guideline would be introduced (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 21 January 1919, 2). It is important to remark that when the Allied Powers took the control of the press censorship, one of their first action was to change the place of censorship committee to the district of Pera near to their embassies.

In *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, on January 23, 1919, a piece of news was published to announce the new Censorship Affair. Accordingly, the decision was made on four drafts, however, only two of them were published. The first one stipulated that publication of a new newspaper would be bound to the permission and to the decision of the Council of the

⁴⁰ Banoğlu indicates that Hüsrev (Gerede) Bey was the first chairman of the mixed censorship committee. When the Ottoman censor Yüzbaşı Aziz Hüdai (Akdemir) was arrested because of “Kara Bir Gün” article of Süleyman Nazif, he resigned together with other Turkish military officers and went to Anatolia (Banoğlu, 153; Kabacalı 1990, 102).

⁴¹ Lütfî Simavi indicated that due to the inadequacy of the government, the representatives of the Allied states participated both the police and the censorship or more precisely “seized” it (Simavi, 477-78).

⁴² Sina Akşin indicates that the beginning of the Interallied censorship was January 20, 1919 by depending on the *Akşâm* newspaper (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 565).

Ministers, while the other draft stipulated that if the newspapers were closed by the censor, it could not have been re-published in any name or title (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 23 January 1919, 2). *Alemdâr* criticizes the draft law by saying that with the first article, warning, suspension, and closure of the newspaper was foreseen and the fourth article stipulated that the closed newspapers would be prevented from being re-published unless they had the permission from the Council of Ministers (Baykal 2013, 96; Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 212). In fact, there was an agreement between the Allied states and the Press Directorate, not to allow the newspapers or booklets that were suspended, to be published under any other name (DABOA. BEO. 4556/341680, 4, H-18-05-1337) and apparently, these points were the drafts of the enactment of February 5, 1919.

Moreover, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* gave some further details about the censorship affair being carried out together by the Ottoman and the Allied military officials jointly since days. The officials of the Press Directorate and the British soldier Mr. Thompson, French military official Monsieur Laurent, and Italian military official Monsieur Giovanni were responsible for the duty (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 23 January 1919, 2). According to the news dated as of February 6, the Censorship Department was called as *Tedkik-i Matbu'ât Heyeti* (the Committee of Examination of Press). It was located in the upstairs of *Union Han* in Galata⁴³ and started to do its job a short time ago.⁴⁴ The aforementioned committee consisted of Hüsrev and Şefik from the military together with a few Ottoman civil officials. They reviewed the periodicals and non-periodicals that were examined by the other censor officers. They gathered with the attendance of the director of Press once or twice a week. The committee supervised the newspapers and decided whether they were in line with the censorship guideline or not (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 6 February 1919, 2).

The same news also gave an important piece of information that after the news drafts (*prova*) of the newspapers were inspected by the censor officials, the phrase “*görölmüştür. Beyne'l-Mütelifin Sansürü*” began to be written on them (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 6

⁴³ *Union Han* is also called as *Tütün Han* (Akıncı 2019). It is now the empty building behind the Sabancı University Kasa Gallery Minerva Han in Bankalar Caddesi, Karaköy.

⁴⁴ For the place of the censorship commission, Erol A.F. Baykal concentrated only on the Allied censorship commission in the British embassy (Baykal 2013, 96) and Cevdet Kudret focused on the *Beyoğlu Altıncı Daire* (Kudret 1988, 43) which was also shared by Kabacalı (Kabacalı 1990, 102). However, there is an archival document about paying the rents of *Union Han* where Censorship Committee worked dated as of April 9, 1920 (DABOA. BEO. 4629-347150, H-9-8-1338). Another archival document dated as of December 12, 1920, states that the ground floors of *Şehremaneti Beyoğlu İdare-i Şubesi* were assigned to the Interallied censorship (DABOA. DH.UMVM. 97/13, H-30-3-1339).

February 1919, 2). This clause would show itself as the stamp “Vu. Censure Interalliée” on the drafts (ZE. 28, 790). Moreover, the available news drafts of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* which were dated as of July 16th and 17th, 1919, contained the signature of the Ottoman censor “Ali” who must have been a lesser censor official. The signature suggests that the procedure of the Ottoman censors signing the news drafts⁴⁵ that was applied before, (Tokgöz 1993, 43-4) must be implemented for this period as well.

In an archival document without a date, the detailed rules for the application of Interallied military censorship can also be seen. Accordingly,

“(I)The newspapers published in the afternoon and the evening would not be accepted after 1 p.m. and the ones published in the morning would not be accepted after 11 of the previous evening. All the drafts must be supplied in four copies. (II) The drafts were read by the Ottoman censors and they would submit articles to the Interallied censors for the following rules. (a) All the news and the articles directly or indirectly concerning the Allied Powers, such as the movements of troops and naval forces, arrivals or departures, mission of the Allies, in a word everything related to their policy and their projects must absolutely be submitted to the approval of the Interallied military censors. (b) All other news and articles approved by the Ottoman censorship would appear under its own responsibility. (c) News and articles that the Ottoman censorship would like to ban would be discussed between the Allied censorship and the Ottomans and if mutually agreed, they would be censored whole or in part. The publications in question would be postponed and would be examined by the Interallied censorship committee.⁴⁶ (III) The sanctions to be applied were those of the regulations annexed to the collective note of the High Commissioners.” (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 16).

Finally, on February 5, 1919, the official enactment was issued about the publication requirements in the places where the Martial Law was carried out.⁴⁷ Its first article

⁴⁵ It is important to recall the possibility that when the “Kara Bir Gün” article of Süleyman Nazif in the *Hadisât* newspaper was allowed to be published in February 9, 1919, the officer Aziz Hüdai (Akdemir) who was responsible for the censoring of this article, might have been found out via his signature.

⁴⁶ Two points in the detailed rules were crossed out. The first one was about the censoring of the telegrams. The other one stated that the censorship were applied at the request of the Committee of Delegates. For their full version, see. (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 16).

⁴⁷ It is significant to note that the enactment of February 1919, suspended the third, the fourth and the last clause of second articles of the Press Law of 1909 in the places where the Martial Law was applied until the next decision. Therefore, the periodicals and non-periodicals, books and booklets, newspapers, every kind of documents had to receive private receipt of permission (*müsâ'ade-i tahrîriye-i mahsûsa*) from the military government or civil censorship committee. Its opposite was forbidden (İskit 1939, 725). However, except these articles, the Press Law of 1909 was still in function during this period, together with the new enactment of February 1919. That is why the parts of Ottoman Press Law; *Sûret-i Neşr* (General Legal Requirements) which has the three suspended articles, *Ahkâm-ı Ceza'îye* (Penal Provisions), *Zemm-ü Kadh* (Conditions of Libel) and *Mevâdd-ı Müteferri'â* (Miscellaneous Articles) have to be regarded in the censorship affair as well. For the Press Law of 1909, see. (İskit 1939, 707-714).

brought a ban on the publications of periodicals, non-periodicals, books, booklets, dailies and every kind of documents without the permission of the military government or the civil censorship committee. If they would be published without permission, their publications would have been collected by the police and confiscated. For dailies and periodicals, their responsible directors or representatives would be punished together with the author (*müellif ve muharrir*), the printer and the seller. According to the third article, dailies, and periodicals that were allowed to be published, required censoring control before their printing. If they act against the enactment and published the article or clause that removed by the censor, the punishment would be proportional to the degree of importance of the removed part.⁴⁸ The trials would be conducted in the Martial courts. The Ministry of War and Interior Affairs would be responsible to carry out the enactment⁴⁹ (DABOA. MVM. 250/25, H.03-05-1337; İskit 1939, 725; Korkmaz 2011, 43-44; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 10 February 1919, 1).

Six days later from the enactment, the speculation of December 12, 1918, come true with a slight difference by the announcement of the Press Directorate. According to the decision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Translation Bureau (*Tercüme Kalemi*) and the Press Directorate were combined and would function under the Administration of General Press Affairs (*Matbu'ât Müdüriyet-i 'Umumiyesi*). Salih Bey would continue his duty as the director and their salaries would be proportionate to the importance of censors' duty (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 11 February 1919, 2). Automobiles were to be given for carrying out the censorship duty also at nights (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 11 February 1919, 2).

Although it was not mentioned in the secondary sources, the notification of the Allied censors that was published on February 20, 1919, in my opinion, must have been the final version of the long-awaited censorship guideline. According to the news, the Allied censor officials and the press members were gathered and a brief declaration was given. The declaration stated that the censorship took place based on the demand of Allied states and the press would be subjected to the censorship only for the military news. The

⁴⁸ Zekeriya Sertel mentioned a significant incident of censorship concerning the issue. He stated while he and Nebizâde Hamdi were publishing the *Yeni Ses* daily, they were unable to cope with the pressure of the [Interallied] censorship. Therefore, they refused to show the drafts of the newspaper to the commission and published severe writings that called people to rise in revolt. After the daily printed and distributed, the Allied forces collected the newspapers and locked the printing house, search for them but could not find (Baykal 2013, 99-100; Sertel 2001, 74). His memoir about *Büyük Mecmu'a* also includes important information to see the act of journalist against the censorship during the period, see. (Sertel 2013, 80-81).

⁴⁹ For the punishments, see. (İskit 1939, 725).

prohibition included; (1) the news about the Allied navy and army forces, and (2) the military men of the Allied Powers, (3) any type of news defending the Germans, (4) and aggressive news concerning the Allied Powers. Although criticism on the internal affairs was not prohibited, (5) they had to be avoided from any kind of ambition at the time. Furthermore, (6) any kind of news that sow discord among the Ottoman subjects was also banned. Outside of the writings that disturb the peace and order among the Ottoman subjects, they would not be interfered. Dailies could have been published with the permission of the government and the approval of the Allied Powers and the suspended newspaper could not have been re-published with any other name (*Tasvîr-i Efkar* 20 February 1919, 1). On the same day, *Alemdâr* also stated that some periodicals and newspapers were permanently banned, even from publishing under any other name, because their writings violated the orders of the government. The number of the banned newspaper was so extensive that instead of publishing their names, only the names of the allowed newspapers were listed, included *Tasvîr-i Efkar* (Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 207).

Apart from the guidelines, the secondary sources also indicate significant topics that were subjected to censorship. For instance, Cevdet Kudret states that (1) the sentences that evoked the misbehavior of the Allied soldiers in the city, (2) harsh words blaming the press organ of Istanbul government and (3) the news about the Anatolian Movement were among the prohibited contents (Kudret 1988, 44). More importantly, Nur Bilge Criss points out some very crucial issues that will be discussed in this thesis as well. She indicates that the contents censored by the Allied states were news/articles about (1) the Greek atrocities in Bursa, İzmir, and İzmit, (2) the Greeks' recruitment of volunteers from Istanbul, (3) criticism of the Anglo-Russian commercial treaty, (4) the secret conscription of the Turkish youth in Istanbul, (5) the escape of the CUP members from Malta, and (6) the news about the foreign relations of the Ankara government⁵⁰ such as the news about the representative of Ankara in London (Criss 1999, 49).

Last but not least, it can be inferred from the report of Britain Lieutenant A.H. Ornsteen from May 1919 and that was sent to every Istanbul newspapers, that the Istanbul press could print the news from the Italian Agency and the Turkey Havas Reuter, since they

⁵⁰ For more information, see. (Criss 1999, 49).

were recognized as the official agencies. They furthermore could print the articles and news occasionally from the French High Commission, known under the initials H.C.F. However, the news from the Russian or American agencies was rigidly forbidden to be published (“U.S.S Scorpion Flagship” 31 May 1919, 2-3). The report demonstrates that the restriction of the Istanbul press started before the writing process of the news by putting restrictions on the specific agencies. It further suggests that there exists also the interest of the United States in the mixed censorship committee outside of the interest of three Allied Powers and the Ottoman government because the intelligence report was about to silence the Turkish press against the American news (“U.S.S” 31 May 1919, 1).

2.3 Conclusion of the Chapter

The main aim of the second chapter was to try to provide an answer to the question of how the press censorship was functioned in Istanbul under Allied occupation by focusing on the censorship installation process. The subject was among one of the main topics of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* and there was the scarcity of information about the issue in the secondary literature. By utilizing news, archival documents and secondary sources, it was derived that after the termination of the censorship policies introduced during the period of the Union and Progress Party, the Istanbul press enjoyed a very brief period of “freedom”. However, this period did not last long because the Armistice followed first by the installation of censorship by the Ottoman government on the demand of the Allied Powers, and then, by the installation of the censorship of the Interallied committee from January 1919 onwards. The study suggests that the installation process had phases that started with the censorship of the Ottoman government, while the Allied states were giving guidance through the British embassy. Afterwards, pre-print censorship was re-introduced/intensified through additional restrictions by the Allied Powers and the Ottoman government, and then finalized with the establishment of the Interallied censorship commission. These amendments show that shortly afterwards the Armistice, the censorship mechanism went through a transition period with the participation of the Allied states. Particularly, the new agent on the censorship affair brought re-organizations and reforms for the censorship mechanism. For example, the location of the censorship commission was changed since the time the Allied states

became involved in the censorship commission. Furthermore, its working hours changed, the alterations in the guidelines occurred, and the censorship department was enlarged with the additions of the representatives. Besides, in this chapter, the censored content was tried to be followed chronologically through the help of the news and the secondary sources. The emergence of the new censored content was also seen in this chapter and indicated as any news against the interests of the Allied states in Istanbul. Finally, the news and the drafts of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* brought fresh information about the functioning of the mixed censorship committee and practices of pre-print censorship in the Istanbul press under Allied occupation.

3. THE FIRST PHASE: THE EXAMINATION OF *TASVÎR-İ EFKÂR* NEWSPAPER FROM NOVEMBER 1918 TO APRIL 1920

This chapter aims to examine the censorship regime of Istanbul by taking the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper as an example from November 1918 to April 1920. In this regard, both the third and the latter chapter of the thesis should be considered as a very small part of an enormous subject which includes all the Ottoman, Armenian, Greek and other foreign-language newspapers that were affected by the policies of the press censorship under the Allied occupation in Istanbul. Besides, the abundance of censored news and the total removals of articles from the newspaper lead the research to the selection of specific news whose content is predictable and ignoring, most of the time, the full removals in the newspaper, due to the difficulty of assuming their contents. However, the charts within the chapters will make it easy to see censorship intensity points in the research. To this end, the third chapter of the thesis will endeavor analyzing; (1) the initial period of censorship on the press between December 1918 and February 1919, (2) the peak period of the censorship intensity in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* on May 1919, (3) the strict censorship on the news about the Anatolian Movement during the second and third cabinet of Damat Ferit Paşa and lastly (4) the period between Ali Rıza Paşa's government and the final days of the newspaper in 1920.

3.1 The Transition Period of Censorship in the Istanbul Press

As is mentioned before, after the Armistice of Mudros was signed between the British and the Ottoman delegates on October 30, 1918, the Ottoman press was also freed from the censorship regime of the Union and Progress Party and the censorship-free atmosphere lasted until its re-establishment on December 2, 1918. This implies that, as

it could be seen from the chart, the month of November passed without any application of censorship. However, the full-fledged freedom was not enjoyed by the Istanbul press since, for instance, on November 8, 1918, the newspaper *Âti* were suspended by *Istanbul Muhafızlığı* based on the decision of the Martial Law (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 8 November 1918, 2). Yet, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was not subjected to blank spaces in all of its available issues for November 1918. The fact that the newspaper was not subjected to censorship at the time is very significant, as there was an abundance of news about the military activities of Allied Powers within the state, particularly in Istanbul. The news about the Allied Powers started at the beginning of November by announcing the arrival of the British commission to Istanbul by giving a very detailed information about the event from the name of the ship to the military commanders. On the same page, the news of the landing of British troops in Çanakkale was given and the question of when the Allied navy will come to Istanbul was raised (8 November 1918, 2). It also stated that the British military officials were accommodated in *Bristol* and *Croecker Hotel* at Beyoğlu and even some of them were already involved in a conflict between Greek and German military officials at a beerhouse on Beyoğlu district (8 November 1918, 2).

From that day onwards, the news about the Allied states was frequent, and some of the headlines such as “İngiliz ve Fransız Heyetleri Şehrimizde” (the British and French Commissions are in Our City) and “Fransız Gemisinde” (on the French Ship) can be seen on the front page of the newspaper. Both of the news provided plenty of details to inform the public opinion together with a few photos about the British and the French commissions that arrived at Istanbul the day before the publication of the newspaper, while the second article was an interview with the French Admiral (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 9 November 1918, 1). Furthermore, the press also started to engage in writing about the military activities of the Allied states in Çanakkale and the Straits which would not be possible to see once the censorship was put into effect. For instance, on November 10, the newspaper mentions an important detail about the Allied fleet. It said that the fleet consisted of one hundred twenty-five ships together with the Greek ones. Another news on the same page announced the occupation of the fortifications in Çanakkale. The news “Şehrimizde İtilaf Heyetleri ve Mütareke Mesâ’ili” (the Allied Commissions in Our City and the Armistice Affairs) also gave very detailed information about the daily activities of the British and French committees, detailing everything from their lunch to their accommodation place, the *Pera Palas* (10 November 1918, 2). On the next day,

the newspaper announced the arrival of the French and British torpedo boat at the harbor of Istanbul with photos of them and declared that the occupation of Çanakkale completed (11 November 1918, 1). Furthermore, the missions of the British and the French commissions were published together with the names and the numbers of commissions' members (11 November 1918, 2)

The turning point in the tone of the newspaper towards the activities of the Allied states, was the day of November 13, 1918, *de facto* occupation of Istanbul. The nuance of victimhood was also added to its informative trait of the newspaper. On November 13, while the newspaper announced underneath the front page that the Allied fleet was coming to Istanbul, Ebüzziyazade published a sorrowful leading article titled "Kendi Kendimizi Kurtaralım" (Let's Save Us by Ourselves) (13 November 1918, 1). On the second page of the newspaper, another news indicated the Allied fleet had arrived at the city together with one Japanese and the Greek military ships. The British money began to be used in Istanbul after being converted to Ottoman *guruş*. The description of the mission of the Allied commission can also be seen on the same page (13 November 1918, 2).

The news "İtilaf Filosu Nereye Gidecek?" (Where will the Allied Fleet Go?) is among one of the significant instances of this study because of its content which would be seen harmful by the Allied states. The news indicated a rumor that the part of the Allied fleet in Istanbul would stay in the city or in the Marmara Sea, and that the remaining ones would depart to the Russian harbors. The ones that would go to the Black Sea would occupy the Russian ports and put pressure on the Bolsheviks to enforce them to leave the government (13 November 1918, 2).

On the next day of *de facto* occupation of the capital, *Tasvîr-i Efkar* announced from its front page that the Allied fleet was docked on the harbor of Istanbul with the large photo of Greek cruiser *Averof*. The news included full of details on different topics such as the duties of the Admirals and the Greek demonstrations in the city (14 November 1918, 1). Later on, the newspaper announced the arrival of British High Commissioner Admiral Calthorpe to Istanbul (15 November 1918, 1) and the occupation of İskenderun from its first page (16 November 1918, 1). During these days, the leading articles of Ebüzziyazade were about his opinions in regard to the Allied occupation of Istanbul

such as “Bu da Geçer” (All Things Pass) (15 November 1918, 1), “Bu da Geçer Ama Biçer de Geçer” (All Things Pass But Also Destroy) (16 November 1918, 1), “Ne Yapacağız Nasıl Kurtulacağız?” (What will We Do, How will We Be Freed?) (17 November 1918, 1).

On November 18, a noticeable transformation in the agenda of the newspaper’s front page could be seen. The news about the Allied states were replaced with the news about the internal policy and the government affairs such as the statistics about the populations of Istanbul and Izmir (23, 24, 26 November 1918, 1), and these topics began to occupy the front pages. However, despite the shift in the agenda, the news about the Allied Powers also continued to be published, particularly on the second pages of the newspaper. It is important to recall that the first constraint regarding the news about the Allied Powers was put on December 2, 1918, and the decision was made to prohibit any type of publications that were speaking against the Allied states (*Akşâm* 3 December 1334, 1; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 3 December 1918, 1).

On the day that the Ottoman government began to implement pre-print censorship in Istanbul, the *Akşâm* newspaper was exposed to intense censorship implementation and it was published with several blank spaces in its pages. For instance, the news called “Ma’hûd Usûller” (Promised Methods), “Kuttü’l Âmâre Esirleri” (The Captives of Kuttü’l Âmâre) and “Sabah Gazeteleri” (the Morning Newspapers) were erased except for their headlines (*Akşâm* 2 December 1334, 1-4). However, the problem was that although the article “Kuttü’l Âmâre Esirleri” was translated from *the Morning Post* and published by *Tercümân-ı Hakikât* without exposing to censorship, the same article published in *Akşâm* suffered from white gaps. This led to the appeal from the newspaper and the Press Directorate accepted their application. On the next day, the censored leading article of Necmettin Sadak was allowed to be re-published in the newspaper (*Akşâm* 3 December 1918, 1).

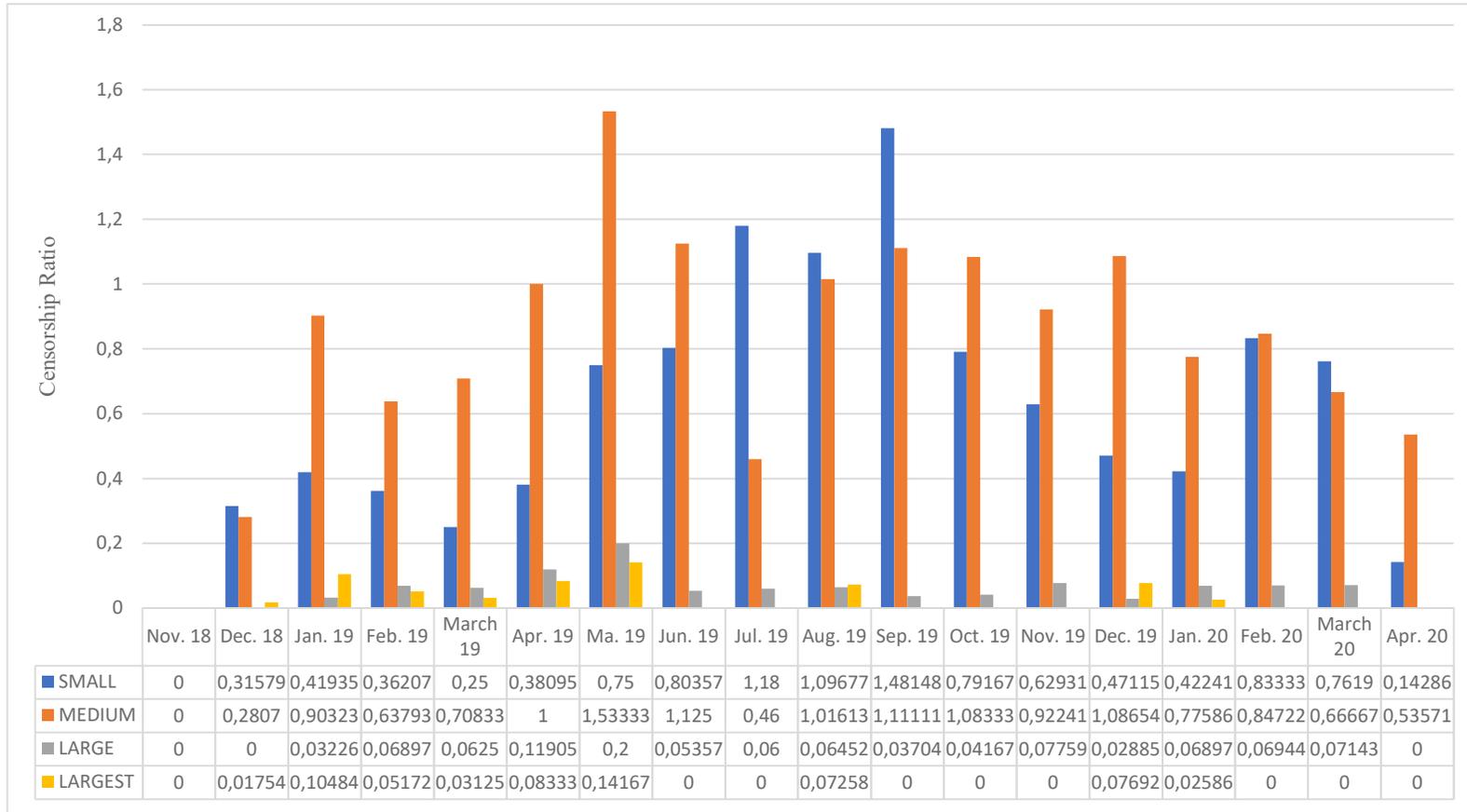
As is understood from the uncensored version, Sadak criticized both the government and the supporters of the implementation of censorship by referring to article twelve of the Basic Law “the press is free within the limits of law by no means can it be subject to prior inspection and examination” (*Akşâm* 3 December 1918, 1). However, this criticism against the censorship is not seen in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. On the contrary, the newspaper saw

ensorship as a necessary tool because of the activities of the Greek newspapers.⁵¹ Furthermore, according to the *Minber* newspaper, it became clear that the only newspaper that supported the censorship was *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* and it was not welcomed by other press members on December 16, 1918 (*Minber* 16 December 1918, 1; Özkaya 1984, 874).

It is significant to mention that Yücel Özkaya (1984, 877) and later Zekai Güner (1998, 93) insisted *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* did not support the censorship on the Istanbul press because their view based on the later history of the newspaper particularly to the censorship regime during the Ali Rıza Paşa's government (Özkaya 1984, 877). However, their position lacks the recognition of the circumstances in which Ebüzziyazade expressed the support for the censorship policies at the beginning only when the Ottoman government was in charge of its implementation. The moment the Allied states became the part of the mechanism, the tone and the support shifted and Ebüzziyazade openly stood against the application of the censorship policies.

⁵¹ For further information on the view of Ebüzziyazade, see. ("Yine Sansür Meselesi" 15 December 1918, 1; 22 December 1918, 1).

Table 3.1 The Average Amount of Censorship in the First Phase of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*



The first visible censorship implementation in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* took place on December 15, 1918, thirteen days after the installation of censorship. Ironically, the first instance of censorship was applied to the leading article of Ebüzziyazade titled “Yine Sansür Meselesi” (the Censorship Affair Again) from which the two lines were removed. In the article, he defended the government against the accusations regarding the installation of censorship, since it was not enforced by the will of the government, but, as a result of the demands of the Allied Powers (15 December 1918, 1).

The first days of censorship in the newspaper were characterized by some special situations. The comments of the newspaper on a few censored content that was not seen in its later periods can be seen. For example, while the news called “İzmir’de İtilaf Donanması” (the Allied Navy in Izmir) was fully removed by the censor officials, under the blank space, the informative interpretation could be seen. It stated although the news was proved by their reporter with the necessary information, it was still removed by the censorship (16 December 1918, 2).

On December 27, the first largest censorship in the newspaper could be noticed on “Zavallı Gülhane Hastanemiz” (Our Miserable Gülhane Hospital), however, because of its full removal, it is not possible to know what the content was (27 December 1918, 1). The next day, the leading article “Neden İşlerimiz Kötü Gidiyor?” (Why are Our Affairs Going Bad?) was also subjected to censorship. The article criticized the government for not making enough effort for the future peace conference and not defending the rights of the state. It added that the use of Wilson Principles could affect the peace conference (28 December 1918, 1). Before the article was subjected to another censorship, Ebüzziyazade indicated that the newly established commissions, the press, and the government had to do something for the future peace conference, and then the article was interrupted (28 December 1918, 1).

In January 1919, the ratio for all types of censorship experienced its first peak period which is the smallest in comparison to the other peak terms. The underlying reason behind the high level of censorship application stemmed from the censorship intensity after January 10. For example, on January 10, the leading article of Ebüzziyazade “İşte Hakikâten Beceriksizlik Var” (There is Surely a Clumsiness in the Affair) was exposed to various censorship types. The writing spoke about the criticism of the so-called

“Değirmen Meselesi” (the Mill Affair)⁵². Ebüzziyazade accused Ahmet Tevfik Paşa’s government for not taking sufficient precautions concerning the problem (10 January 1919, 1). On January 14, when the second cabinet of Ahmet Tevfik Paşa was formed, there was still criticism towards his government because he did not discharge the responsible ministers. In the same news, another medium type of censorship can be seen (14 January 1919, 1). Finally, three days later, the news announced the agreement was achieved by renouncing the bid from the contractors and accepting it as the government’s own responsibility (17 January 1919, 1).

Another important example for this study is the news under the headline “Kilikyâ’nın Tahliyesi” (the Evacuation of Cilicia). It was published with huge two white columns on the second page of the newspaper on January 18. Only its headline and subheadings were allowed to be published and these parts were; the evacuation of Pozantı, the governorate of Nihat Paşa and the words of French General (18 January 1919, 2). In the next issue, it could be understood from the interpretation of the newspaper that they applied to the Director of Press Salih Bey for the censorship removal, and eventually obtained the permission to re-publish the article without blank spaces (19 January 1919, 2). From the uncensored version, it is seen that it was the letter of reporter Safvet Arif from Pozantı. It includes news about the Allied representative’s decision concerning the seizure of Toros tunnels, the conditions of the remaining soldiers, the provisions, and the necessary properties in the region and the evacuation manner of Pozantı (19 January 1919, 2).

On January 20, another full censoring of news can be seen under the heading “Trakya Hakkında Rumca Gazeteler Ne Diyorlar?” (What do the Greek Newspapers Tell about Thrace?) (20 January 1919, 1) Although it is not possible to identify the exact context of the censored news, the probable content can be anticipated from the news of January 22 “Trakya’nın Ahvâline Bir Nazar” (A Glance at the Condition of Thrace). In the article, it is stated the Greek newspapers mentioned that the Supreme Military Command of Allied Army of the Orient (*İtilâf Şark Ordusu Başkumandanlığı*) decided to take

⁵² The agreement between the millers and the government that offered to release the government’s twenty percentage of wheat share to the millers as a provision of grinding, caused rumors. Therefore, the minister of Provision Raşit Bey resigned from the duty. However, the responsible ministers who made the agreement the Minister of Public Work Ziya Paşa and the Minister of Finance Abdurrahman Efendi were still on their position (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 120). For the name of millers, see. (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 569).

temporary military precaution in some parts of Thrace (Çatalca and Hadımköy) via the Greek corps. The news of the Greek newspapers was about religious ceremonies, their sacrifices, and the collected subsidies (22 January 1919, 1). However, the question of why they did not erase this small part of the next issue could be raised.

Another important leading article subjected to censorship was “İstanbul’un Âsayişi” (the Security of Istanbul) and it was written as a response to the news of *the Morning Post*. In the article, Ebüzziyazade stated that after the arrival of the Allied Powers to Istanbul, the security of the city was corrupted because the behaviors of the Ottoman state subject became defiant. Furthermore, he maintained the view that the Ottoman public was always against the war and only when the war started, the state aimed to protect its land, which was a known fact by the Allies. That is why they had approached the Ottomans in a much more moderate way but later on, their attitude changed, and they wanted to hold the Ottoman state more responsible than it actually was, which is where the article was subjected to censorship (21 January 1919, 1). It is important to note that on January 21, the Allied states officially became part of the censorship affair which meant the press started to be examined by the mixed censorship committee.

On January 22, Ebüzziyazade furthermore criticized the government in another leading article titled “İmkansızlık mı Beceriksizlik Mi Var” (Is There Impossibility or Clumsiness?) about the provisioning of the state and it was again exposed to medium level of censorship (22 January 1919, 1). Two days later, *Yenigün*, *Protodos* and one newspaper whose title is illegible were subjected to three days suspension and *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *Evkât* and *Alemdâr* newspapers were suspended for one day (Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 174; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 24 January 1919, 2). However, instead of ending its publication activities, the newspaper changed its name to *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* and continued to publish their writings.

On January 25, for the first time in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, the news about Russia was also subjected to censorship. Although the beginning of the article was removed, the part about the proposal of American President Woodrow Wilson, whose name was also removed, for a conference on the islands about the future of Russia, remained (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 25 January 1919, 1). Two days later, another news titled “Rusya’da Lenin ve Troçki İhtilâfi” (The Disagreement between Trotsky and Lenin in Russia) was also

erased from *Tasfîr-i Efkâr* and it is understood that the same news was also published by *Vakit* and subjected to censorship (Korkmaz 2011, 46). The article was cut after it stated that Lenin might have changed his form of governance to avoid an economic boycott (27 January 1919, 1).

As far as the month of February is concerned, the frequency of the blank spaces in the newspaper decreased. At the same time, it was the month that the Sultan's decree for the press censorship was issued on February 5, 1919. Among the notable peculiarities of February, the news about the arrest of the Unionists were frequently censored by small and medium types (1, 4, 5, 8 February 1919) together with the disappearance of writings about the Allied states within Istanbul. Besides, there were many other contents subjected to censorship. For example, a piece of interesting news titled "Belde-i Mutahhara'nın 'Âkıbeti" (the Future of Medina) that was published on February 2 on the front page of the newspaper, is one of the examples. It was the written statement of Yüzbaşı Ziya who was sent to inform Mustafa Fahri Paşa about the Armistice condition and the evacuation of Medina (*Tasfîr-i Efkâr* 2 February 1919, 1). Previously, the announcement that declared his appointment for the duty had already subjected to full censorship on December 25, 1918 (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 25 December 1918, 1). In the article, the parts after the diplomatic note of the British and the aftermath of Fahri Paşa's learning the condition were removed (*Tasfîr-i Efkâr* 2 February 1919, 1).

On the second page of the same day, a new serial called "Şam-Halep Seferi" (the Damascus-Aleppo Voyage) started to be published in the newspaper, however, except its headline, all the text was removed as the result of pre-print censorship (*Tasfîr-i Efkâr* 2 February 1919, 2). Nevertheless, on the next day, the uncensored version of the same writing can be seen without blank space. Although there exists no interpretation of the newspaper regarding the re-printing of the serial, it must have shared the same experience as the former article titled "Kilikyâ'nın Tahliyesi". From the uncensored version of the serial which is barely readable because of the blurry photo, it is understood that it was about the British General Allenby's military report on the last battle in Syria⁵³ (3 February 1919, 2).

⁵³ For further information, see. (*Tasfîr-i Efkâr* 3 February 1919, 2).

On February 7, an interesting case appears on the second page of the newspaper. In the news, the Press Directorate refuted *Tasfîr-i Efkâr* because of its article on February 4, 1919 (7 February 1919, 2) which states that the former commander of Automobile Salâhâddin Bey detained and send to *Bekirağa Bölüğü* due to dealing with the complex issues during his duty (*Tasfîr-i Efkâr* 4 February 1919, 2). The day after the rebuff, the newspaper began to be published with its previous name *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* which suggests the newspaper was exposed to closure and it was re-published with another name.⁵⁴

An important leading article of Ebüzziyazade titled “Matbû’âtımızın ilk Muvaffakiyeti” (the First Achievement of Our Press) on February 19 declared the consequence of the decisions of the Press Congress (*Matbu’ât Kongresi*) which was gathered on February 14⁵⁵ due to the recent condition regarding the censorship. The decision of the congress was that, when necessary, the press members would suspend the newspapers collectively as a reaction to the current censorship policies. The committee, that would be formed in the Congress, would notify the government about their decision to suspend their activities. In the leading article, it is seen the government took their notification into account and created a commission that consisted of the Ministers of Interior and Foreign Affairs and the press members who agreed to accept the approved censorship method. However, the article was again exposed to censorship in its final part (19 February 1919, 1). Akşin states that this was the reaction to the enactment that was put into effect on February 5, which proposed intensification of the censorship on the periodicals and non-periodicals in the places where Martial Law was applied (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 132).

3.2 The Censorship Peak Point: May 1919

In *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, the highest number of visible blank spaces for the research period is seen in May 1919⁵⁶ most of which were full censoring that made it very difficult to

⁵⁴ For an example of the practice, see. (Toprak 1987, n. 37, 45-47).

⁵⁵ For the decisions of the congress, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 15 February 1919, 2).

⁵⁶ During that time, the newspaper published as two pages for the whole month, and it had the highest number of large (12) and largest censorship (8,5) types. Even though the occupation of Greeks had already started from January

detect the context in which the blank spaces have occurred. For this reason, the previous months gain a lot of significance and help to understand both the change in the newspaper's content and the censorship regime.

In this context, one of the particularities of the newspaper which was the result of the declaration of American President Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points must be highlighted. During the period, the news about the populations of several regions, mostly the eastern provinces and Thrace covered the pages of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* with big headlines such as “Vilâyet-i Şarkiyede Ekseriyet Müslümanlardadır” (The Population Majority of the Eastern Provinces Belongs to Muslims) (14 January 1918, 1), “Adanalıların Muhik Feryâdı” (the Rightful Clamor of People of Adana) (15 December 1918, 1), “Memleketimizin Her Tarafında Ekseriyet Müslümanlarda” (The Population Majority of All State Belongs to Muslims) (19 December 1918, 1). Those articles were supported by the statistical data and were exposed to a few censorship applications. It is important to note that they were going hand in hand with the news about American President Woodrow Wilson.⁵⁷ Furthermore, when *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* published the names of the members of the Society for Wilsonian Principles (*Wilson Prensipleri Cemiyeti*) on December 15, its own name could also be noticed together with the names of lots of other newspaper⁵⁸ (15 December 1918, 2).

Another significant issue was the news about the Greeks of Anatolia (*Rum*) in Izmir which had begun to be published on November 12, 1918, and continued with several dimensions⁵⁹ particularly at the newspaper's section reserved for the latest news. At the beginnings, these kinds of news⁶⁰ were able to be published without being exposed to

onwards on the western Thrace, since the frequency of censorship amount reached its highest point for the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper on May 1919, only the occupation of Izmir would be focused. For the further information, see. (Bıyıkhoğlu 1955, v. 1-2; Shaw 2000, v. 2, 463-469).

⁵⁷ For more examples, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 14, 18 December 1918, 2; 15, 16, 18 December 1918 1).

⁵⁸ Halide Edip Hanım, Doktor Celâl Muhtar, Refik Halit, Hüseyin Bey. Editor in chief of *Âti* and *İkdâm* Celâl Nuri; editor in chief of *Akşâm* Necmeddin Sadak; editor in chief of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* Velid; editor in chief of *Zamân* Cevad; editor in chief of *Sabâh* Ali Kemal; editor in chief of *Vakit* Ahmet Emin; editor in chief of *Yeni Gazete* Mahmud Sâdik and lots of writers (15 December 1918, 2).

For a salient example of the promotive article about American President Wilson in the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper, see. (“Akvâm-ı Mazlûmenin Ümidi Wilson'da” 15 March 1919, 1)

⁵⁹ For further examples, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, 28 November 1918, 2; 19, 20, 28 December 1918, 2; 2 March 1919, 2).

⁶⁰ For several examples of uncensored news about *Rum*, see. (“Yunan Propagandaları Artıyor” 12 March 1919, 1; “Rum Çeteleri” 12 March 1919, 2; “İstanbul Civarında Rum Çeteleri” 13 March 1919, 1; “Rum Tezâhürâtı Kiliseler Birer Mahfil-i Siyâsi Oldu” 16 March 1919, 2).

any censorship in the newspaper, however, as their number gradually increased, they were subjected to some limitations as well. For instance, on March 13, the leading article of Ebüzziyazade titled “Asayış Mesele-i Mühimmesi” (The Important Affair of Security) pointed out the contents of these kinds of news and exposed to blank spaces. In the leading article, he criticized the cabinet of Damat Ferit Paşa by stating that one of the most important duties of the cabinet was to deal with the security affairs. However, the security of Istanbul and its neighborhood had already been corrupted because the *Rums* were carrying out planned propaganda, and then, the article was interrupted (13 March 1919, 1).

Moreover, one of the first notable censorship implementations towards the news about *Rums* is implemented in the article titled “Rum Taşkınlıkları Karşısında” (In the Face of Intemperance of Rums) on the second page of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. Although the removed part’s content cannot be understood, the entire article was about the recent activities of *Rums* in the churches during the Peace Conference (19 March 1919, 2). Another significant censorship example could be noted under the headline “Rumların Münâsebitsiz Taşkınlıkları” (the Impertinent Intemperance of Rums). In the article, after the part of “Venizelos Şarkıları” (the Songs for Venizelos), the news indicates the *Rums* were printing postcards to propagate the conversion of Hagia Sophia to the Church, and publishing epics, writing songs and poem books for Venizelos. When the author of article attempted to publish some of the translated examples of these cases, the article was exposed to censorship. Only one of the book covers could be seen in the writing (20 March 1919, 1).

However, on the other side, news about the declaration of *Trabzon Muhâfaza-i Hukûk-u Milliye Cemiyeti* (Society for the Preservation of National Rights of Trabzon) and the appreciative writings of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper related to this declaration were published on the second page of the newspaper without white space (21 March 1919, 2). The newspaper also conducted an interview with the delegate of the Society Ömer Fevzi and the interview was printed in the newspaper without being subjected to censorship (23 April 1919, 1). Furthermore, on April 7, the declaration of *İzmir Müdâfa’-a-i Hukûk Cemiyeti* (Society for the Defence of Rights of Izmir) sent by Cami (Baykut) Bey to the newspaper was also published with photos of the society’s members without censorship

(7 April 1919, 1). It is important to remark that there were very few censorship implementations in the newspaper and the news about these societies.

Here, it is significant to mention a very crucial point that was announced on the first page of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* on March 11 that is about the alteration of censorship policies. According to the announcement, the government that guaranteed to recognize the significance of the freedom of press, would undertake necessary attempts to loosen up the current censorship policies. The newspaper interpreted the condition that the censorship would be altered and alleviated (11 March 1919, 1). This allowed for easier tracking of events in the Peace Conference and publishing of the news about the internal affairs of the state without being exposed to white gaps. Nevertheless, the newspaper also saw its most intense censored day of March, twenty days after the announcement. On that day, the newspaper was published with two large censorship applications on its front page (23 March 1919, 1), and it is seen that *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, together with the *Hadisât* newspaper were punished with suspension for an indefinite time and prohibited to be published under any other name (DABOA. BEO. 4560/341993. H-20-06-1337). However, one week later, on March 30, the newspaper began to be re-published with its 2690 issue. The reason for suspension for both newspapers were publishing a telegram that questioned the appointment of the governor of Bursa Ebubekir Hazım (Tepeyran) Bey to the Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ağaoğlu 2010, 56). Four days later, an unusual case of suspension is also noticed on the first page of newspaper under the small title “Düinkü Ta’tilimiz” (Our Yesterday’s Suspension). The news states that *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* could not have been published the day before, due to the suspension of the Press Directorate. Since the notification by the Directorate that indicated that the suspension was not necessary arrived late, the newspaper could not be published on the following day, as the writers and the typesetters had already left the printing house prior to the notification⁶¹ (3 April 1919, 1).

Simultaneously to the publication of this news in the newspaper, particularly at the end of April, at the Peace Conference, there was a serious conflict between Italy and Greece about the share of Izmir together with the critical role of American representative President Woodrow Wilson (Helmreich 1974, 84). After a long discussion about the

⁶¹ To have a brief glance on the life of journalist during the period, see. (Karay 2009, 111-116).

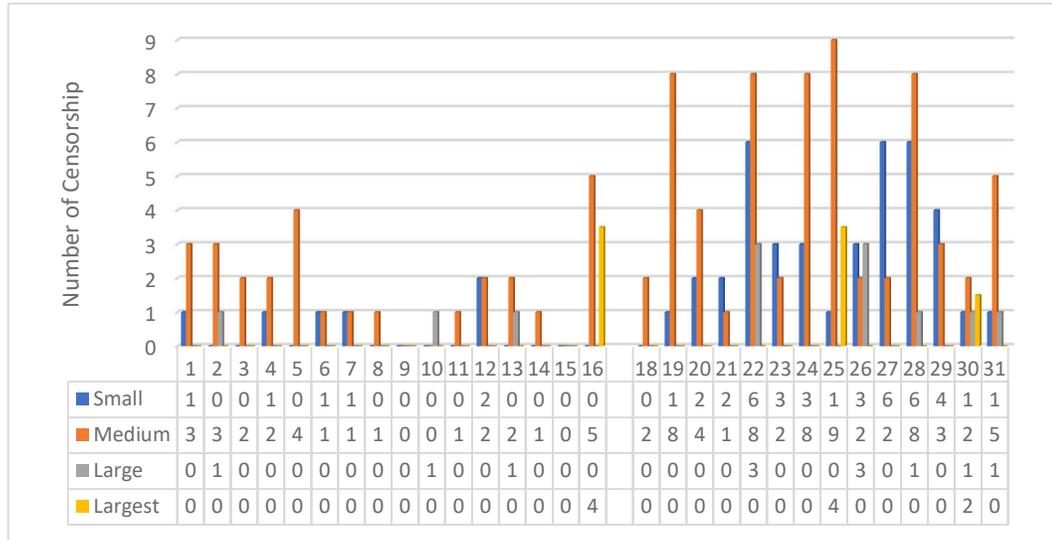
occupation of the city, the breaking points for the conflict at the conference were, firstly, the departure of the Italian President Orlando from the Paris Peace Conference as a protest to the Fiume conflict⁶², and then, the Italian occupation of the several cities in Anatolia.

To clarify, the Italians occupied the city of Antalya on March 28 and then, expanded the occupation to Köyceğiz, Bodrum, Alanya, and Marmaris on April 23, and finally reached to Konya on April 24, 1919 (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 234; Smith 2002, 115). These expansions manifested themselves in Paris as increasing fear of occupation of Izmir by the Italians (Cebesoy 2000, 75). The report of Italian cruisers in İzmir on May 2 that was received by the American representative untied the knot on the issue and four days later from this event, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, and Georges Clemenceau decided to greenlight the occupation of İzmir by Greece⁶³ (Shaw 2000, v. 2, 487; Smith 2002, 114-19). Three days later, the desire of Venizelos materialized, and the city was occupied by the help of the Allied Powers on May 15, 1919 (Gökbilgin 2018, 92-93). As far as *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* is concerned, the month of May was dominated by two main subjects. The first one was the news about the Paris Peace Conference and specifically, the Fiume question, and the second part was the intense news on the occupation of Izmir and the public demonstrations. The below chart also shows this distinction in the number of blank spaces within the month of May.

⁶² Fiume (Rijeka) question was a post-war conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia over the control of the Adriatic port of Fiume. The port was a city that the majority of the population was Italian but an overwhelmingly Croatian hinterland. It was assigned to Croatia in the treaty of London on April 26, 1915 (Tillman 1961, 318). After the Great War, it was demanded by Yugoslavia as the only good port on its Adriatic coast. However, Italian annexation of Fiume and its surrounding would mean the inclusion of Yugoslavians in Italy and it was opposed to the American President Wilson principles. However, Italy continued its demand at the Paris Peace Conference by depending on the principle of self-determination. Finally, the city was decided to be the independent Free State of Fiume with the Treaty of Rapallo 1920 (Britannica, “*Fiume Question*”).

⁶³ For the process at the Paris Peace Conference, see. (Smith 2002, 96-125).

Table 3.2 The Amount of Censorship on May 1919



The briefly mentioned events in Paris could also be seen on the pages of *Tasvîr-i Efkar*, particularly the conflict of Fiume between Italy and the United States constituted a very hot issue in the newspaper. The first news was titled “İtalya’nın Fiume’ye ‘â’id Mutâlebi ve Amerika” (the Demand of Italians on Fiume and America) and it was also subjected to censorship. In the article, the disagreement between Italian and American Presidents on Fiume was presented. Accordingly, the Italians aimed to protect their interests on its coasts and Woodrow Wilson defended his principles and stated since the area was populated mainly with Croats, it had to be given to the government of Yugoslavia. The article also indicated the departure of Italian representatives Orlando and Sonnino from the Paris Peace Conference (28 April 1919, 1). The news about Fiume continued to be given and accounted for the newspaper’s agenda for the first half of the month.⁶⁴

On May 15, on the same day of occupation of Izmir, no articles about the event were published in the newspaper since the telecommunication lines were cut. The newspaper published without any blank spaces and one of the headlines dwelled on the trials of the Unionists in the Martial court like before (15 May 1919, 1). However, on the next day, the leading article of Ebüzziyade “İzmir’in İşgâli” (the Occupation of İzmir) announced the event and expressed reproach towards the unprovoked occupation of the

⁶⁴ For further examples of news, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkar* 29 April 1919, 2; 30 April 1919, 1; 1, 2 May 1919, 2; 8 May 1919, 1)

city. He stated that their expectation that the Wilson Principles could also be used for them, was a mistake. The article was interrupted after indicating that the Wilson Principles were used to support the rights of people of Fiume in the conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia and the right of people of Danzig in dispute between Germany and Poland despite the existence of previous conflicts between Germany and the USA. It furthermore expressed that the Turks are an unfortunate nation (*Tasvîr-i Efkar* 16 May 1919, 1).

Another news that was probably about the occupation was also subjected to heavy censorship. Since the beginning part of the article was completely removed, neither its heading nor its subheadings can be read. However, below the blank space, the seventh article of the Armistice of Mudros could be read without any interpretation (16 May 1919, 1). In the following part, the article “İzmir Kimindir?” (To Whom İzmir Belongs to?) defended the view that the Muslim population of the Aydın province was six times bigger than the other subjects of the state. After providing the statistical data for the population numbers of Muslims, the *Rums* and the other subjects, it indicated that in addition to being the majority in the region, from the civilization and the historical standpoint, Aydın province belonged to the Turks. The article brought up an interesting point that although the Greek people conducted commerce in the area, they did not have the right to claim the territory because they had never had a permanent state in the region not then nor in the period of Ancient Greece. There were the only mergers of some of the Greek refugees that moved to the big coastal cities for the purpose of conducting trade. Nevertheless, the people in the Aydın province were descendent from the Arians and had connections with the Iranians, not with the Ancient Greeks. The control of the area later passed to the Roman Empire. After detailing the Turkish history of the province of Aydın, the article was cut (16 May 1919, 1). On the same page, the article titled “Yine Eytâm Meselesi Hakkında” (About the Orphan Affair Again) which may have a connection with the previously published article named “Patrikhânedeki Eytâm” (Orphans in the Patriarchate) (14 May 1919, 1) was subjected to the full removal (16 May 1919, 1).

On the next day, the news titled “Sevgili İzmir’imizin İşgâli Etrâfında” (On the Occupation of Our Beloved İzmir) was also witnessed the medium type of censorship. In the article, it is stated that when the Greek soldiers occupied the telegram offices,

they also cut off telecommunication and the occupation proceeded step by step. After the part in which the news reported an unofficial rumor from the surrounding area that the Greek soldiers took over the governor's office and the official buildings, the article was subjected to censorship. There was also the uncertainty in Istanbul about whether there were the Greek soldiers in İzmir or not because of the unclear telegram sent by the governor Izzet Bey (17 May 1919, 1). On this day, a new section was opened in the newspaper under the headline "Galeyân-ı Milli" (the National Excitement) which consisted of the protest telegrams of the provinces against the occupation (17 May 1919, 2), and this section was published until the end of May with a few censorship implementations.⁶⁵

Two days later, another leading article "İzmir Bizimdir" (İzmir is Ours) declared that the occupation of İzmir had a great impact on the public opinion because the city was significant for the existence of the nation and that the news about its occupation was the last straw for the Turkish people. The article further indicated a hope that these public demonstrations would have an impact on the peace conference, especially on the Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points. He again referred to the conflict of Fiume and Danzig by stating that although the Allied states bore a great hostility towards Germany and were worried about its re-emergence as a powerful state, they still allowed it to maintain the control over the area. He hoped for the same attitude in regard to Izmir by wishing they would not be so merciless to deprive the Turks of their legitimate rights. After this sentence, the medium type of censorship can be seen in the article (19 May 1919, 1).

The front page of the newspaper on May 19, 1919, had full of news about the occupation of Izmir and the public demonstrations. One of them stated that various elements of the state had gathered in *Darü'l-fünûn* and had discussions together with demonstrations. In the end, they came up with a declaration that was planned to be sent to the representatives of the Allied states (19 May 1919, 1). The article also elaborated that this kind of reaction against the occupation of Izmir had never been witnessed before in Istanbul. Accordingly, the shops were closed, artisans stopped working,

⁶⁵ The telegram of Rize on May 19, 1919, was among the full censored examples (19 May 1919, 1).

Darü'l fünûn stopped its education, all the teachers and students made conferences about the issue, and all parties gathered together. The same article was exposed to two medium types of censorship (19 May 1919, 1). On the same day, another recent statistic for the population of Izmir was also published on the second page of the newspaper without censorship (19 May 1919, 2).

On May 20, when *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* published writings about the demonstration of Fatih complimented with big photos, the only censorship implementation was encountered under the title “Milli Kongrenin İctimâ’ı” (the Meeting of National Congress). The news called people to a meeting in the building of *Ta’lim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti* and then, the blank space which might belong to the same news or completely different one can be seen (20 May 1919, 1). Furthermore, on the second page of the newspaper, the interview of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* with those who came from Izmir with *Gülcemâl* ship could be read with several noticeable censorship implementations. The statement of an anonymous person under the heading “the Occupation and the Conflict” could be a good example of the case. It was about the first attacks of the Greek soldiers to the military barracks and their conflicts with the Turkish soldiers. After it indicated that when the Turkish soldiers retreated to the mountains where they held their positions, the Greek soldiers could not go any further, the blank space occurs. However, it is very hard to predict if the blank space belongs to the same heading or not because at the end of the blank space, there is a new heading which could mean potential total removal of an answer to a completely different question. Another removed part could also be seen in the same section under the subheading “the Declaration of the Commander of Occupation Colonel Zafirooulos” in which the interviewee claimed to have seen it (20 May 1919, 2). However, the dilemma persists if the blank space was part of this or the other article. The reporter also conducted an interview with a man called Mahmut Bey. Mahmut Bey stated that they received a piece of information on the occupation of Izmir three days before the event and indicated the laziness of the governor was true. He further gave the detailed account of events, saying that as soon as the British, French and Italian corps had landed to Izmir under the pretext of the security affairs on Wednesday, they directly headed towards their consulates and occupied the telegram office. Then, people understood and rebelled. After this information, the following section was deleted (20 May 1919, 2).

On May 22nd, the newspaper witnessed its peak in terms of censorship for one day within the month. The only two “uncensored” news of the first page were its leading article titled “İngiliz Dostluğu Meselesi” (the Issue of the British Friendship) which was also subjected to the small type of censorship, and the news about the new members of the cabinet. Beneath the part which was subjected to a large type of censorship, for the first time, the article twelve of the Wilson Principles was published without any commentary of the newspaper (22 May 1919, 1). In my point of view, it was the silent protest of the newspaper against the occupation of Izmir and it continued to be published with a frame frequently even after when the Ottoman representatives went to the Paris Peace Conference until the twenty-first of June (21 June 1919, 2). On the same page, surrounded by the large type of blank space, the only visible sentences were about the announcement on the functioning of the government, Italian occupation of Kuş Adası and one place whose name was illegible, the turmoil on the neighbor villages of Izmir, false rumors about the American protection of the city, and the application of Muslim populations who wanted to be the Italian citizens (22 May 1919,1). Another news reported that telegram communication was re-established with Izmir and that receiving information from the city became possible (22 May 1919, 1). On the second page of the newspaper, another large type of censorship is seen in the article under the title “Ayvalık İşgâl Edildi Mi?” (Was Ayvalık occupied?) It said that although there were some rumors about the occupation of Ayvalık, no news came from the commander of the regiment. After indicating the existence of the demonstrations of *Rums* in the region, the blank space appears (22 May 1919, 2).

After May 22nd, the news about the public demonstrations of Istanbul became quite visible in the newspaper without any blank spaces. For example, the meeting of Üsküdar (21 May 1919, 1) and famous gathering of Sultanahmet published on the front pages with various photos (24 May 1919, 1). Furthermore, while *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* invited its readers to join the protests after the Friday prayer (23 March 1919, 1), it was able to publish an article titled “İzmir Civarında Nereleri İşgâl Ettiler” (Where Did They Occupy Around Izmir) without exposing any removals (23 May 1919, 1). The article about the meeting of Sultanahmet indicated that in order to defend and protect the Caliphate and Sultanate, the Muslim population of the capital organized a huge protest meeting, showing that they would prefer to die instead of consenting their rights to be entrenched (24 May 1919, 1). It was very big news that covered two pages of the issue

and had a few censorship implementations in comparison to its size. The first blank space was seen in the speech of Mehmet Emin. Immediately after he described his feelings on the occupation of the city, and stated that they witnessed the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks, the speech was interrupted, and the paragraph continues with the questions: why are these atrocities happening? Was it to make İzmir a Greek city or to convert the Turks into Greeks? (24 May 1919, 1) After the questions, blank space can be seen. It can be inferred that the white gap must have been about the Greek actions in the region. Furthermore, while another part of his declaration was interrupted with a white gap in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, the same part was not exposed to censorship in the version of the *Vakit* newspaper. It was understood that the part was about the expression of the reproach of Mehmet Emin on the future miserable conditions of brides, mothers, and men because of the negative affects of war (*Vakit* 24 May 1919, 1). On the second page of the newspaper, a small part of Halide Edip's speech was also subjected to censorship, but the removed part was allowed to be published by *İkdâm* and *Alemdâr*. The uncensored version of the part reported the criticism of Halide Edip against the expansionist desire of Europe towards the Turkish lands⁶⁶ (24 May 1919, 2). Moreover, the newspaper on its second page called its readers to the meeting at Beşiktaş that would be held on the following day (24 May 1919, 2).

At this point, Baykal points out a very significant subject that the strong Allied influence on the censorship of the press affected the different newspapers through the varying levels of harshness. These differences show that some of these newspapers bore the bigger brunt of censorship, while others were treated in a milder manner (Baykal 2013, 101). In his study, he stated that the *Vakit* newspaper appeared to have encountered more censorship than *İkdâm*, while *Peyâm-ı Sabâh* almost always had significantly less text removed by the censors for the issues available for the period that his research covered. This difference coincides with the British perception of these dailies (Baykal 2013, 101). This condition is also seen in the speech of Halide Edip. Although some of the parts of her speech were censored in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, her harsh criticism towards the European policy can be seen in the *İkdâm* newspaper (*İkdâm* 24 May 1919, 1).

⁶⁶ The censored part of Halide Edip Hanım's speech shows her harsh criticism towards Europe but it was able to be published without being exposed to censorship in *İkdâm*, see. (*Alemdâr* 24 May 1919, 1; *İkdâm* 24 May 1919, 1).

On the next day of the demonstration news, while the leading article of Ebüzziyazade was not allowed to be published, the news titled “İzmir Gazetelerinde Görülen Tafsilat” (The Details that are Seen in the Newspapers of Izmir) was able to be printed after being exposed to various blank spaces. Moreover, the small news that announced the death knell of Hasan Tahsin Recep Bey, were subjected to censorship after stating the editor-in-chief of the *Hukuk-u Beşer* newspaper Hasan Tahsin Recep, who wounded Buxton brothers and escaped from the prison during the Romanian defeat, was martyred in the chaos (25 May 1919, 1). On the second page of the newspaper, the largest type of censorship can be seen before the text that mentioned while Musul and Diyarbekir were going to be given to France, the borders of Syria and Al-Jazeera were occupied by Britain based on the contract between two parts that was made in 1916 by taking into consideration the interests and benefits of the Arab population (25 May 1919, 2). Finally, on the last days of May, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* called its readers to the second meeting at Sultanahmet and asked them to show calm and solemnity during the demonstration (30 May 1919, 2). The news about the meeting would be published without exposing any blank space on the next day (31 May 1919, 1).

3.3 A Great Obstacle on Depiction of Ideas: Pre-print Censorship of June and September 1919

After the fiery agenda in May which was dominated by news about demonstrations and occupations, both the protests’ reports and the intensity of blank spaces had a downward tendency, because the public reaction had an impact not only on the policies of the Allied States but also on the press as well. First of all, after the second meeting of Sultanahmet to which *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* also invited its readers to attend, the British High Commissioner Admiral Calthorpe requested from Damat Ferit Paşa not to give permission for further meetings in the city (Jaeschke 1989, 39) that led to a reduction and then, the disappearance of news about the gatherings. Secondly, the Istanbul government was invited to Paris by the Allied states on June 1⁶⁷ (Gökbilgin 1959, v. 1,

67 There were couple reasons for the Ottoman attendance to the Paris Peace Conference: (1) the public reactions (telegrams and the demonstrations) against the occupation of İzmir by stating it was against the Armistice terms (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 277), (2) the support of the French High Commissioner DeFrance to the Ottoman government and (3) the support of Indian delegation at Paris (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 326-29).

119) which formed the new agenda as the Ottoman representatives at the Paris Peace Conference for the newspaper. The period also witnessed the unification of the Turkish National Resistance and several regional congresses in Anatolia including Erzurum and particularly, the National Congress at Sivas. In this respect, this part of the thesis will focus on the censorship implementation of two cabinets of Damat Ferit Paşa in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. Particularly the focal point will be the news, if there is any, related to the Anatolian Movement and a short glance to the writings after the huge reactions of May.

In *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, June 1919 started with the news about the invitation of the Ottoman government to the Paris Peace Conference by the French High Commissioner DeFrance,⁶⁸ with the subheading; “Finally, the Possibility to Defend our Rights Came into Existence: Our Peace Representatives⁶⁹ are Going to the Paris Peace Conference” (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 2 June 1919, 1). On the next day of the announcement, the newspaper also introduced the Ottoman representatives without being exposed to any type of censorship (3 June 1919, 1; Türkgeldi 2010, 224). Meanwhile, the news about the Martial Court against the Unionists also revived because of the trials were restarted⁷⁰ (3 June 1919, 1).

As far as the censorship affair is concerned, the selection of the Ottoman representatives who would go to the Conference created a problem in the public opinion which also reflected in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. For instance, on June 5, the leading article “Heyet-i Murahhasamız ve Hilâfet Meselesi” (Our Representative Commission and the Caliphate Affair) criticized the selection of Ottoman “defense” representatives and it had a lot of white spaces. The article stated that the selected Ottoman representatives who were called two days ago desired to go to the Conference in a hurry. However, their role at the Conference was very significant that was to change the opinion of the Allied states, by defending the importance of religion, sharia, and history. That is why his greatest concern was whether the selected commission of Damat Ferit Paşa included proper

⁶⁸ As a result, two statesmen Damat Ferit Paşa and Ahmet Tevfik Paşa would be sent to the Conference. The first one went with the French military ship “*Democratie*” on June 6 and the latter was with the British “*Ceres*” on June 14 (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 332).

⁶⁹ On June 5, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* clarified that the Ottoman representatives were a part of defence commission, not of peace one and they would defend the rights of the state against Venizelos and Nubar Paşa (5 June 1919, 1).

⁷⁰ Sina Akşin explains the condition against the Committee of Union and Progress, as the return to the Ottoman government’s pre-May policy, after the calling of the Ottoman state to the Peace Conference (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 280).

intellectuals to talk about the affair, which was existentially important, or not. Then, the paragraph was interrupted (5 June 1919, 1). Another dismissed part of the same article comes after saying that the main duty of the defense commission was to defend Islam, Caliphate, nation, and the rights of the state together with persuading the members of the conference against the propaganda of Nubar Paşa and Venizelos who were there since eight months (5 June 1919, 1).

On the next day, the elected representatives were criticized again under the leading article titled “Kabâhat Kimde?” (Whom to Blame?) The article indicated that the participation of the Ottoman representatives to the Conference was their last opportunity because any type of agreement, regardless of how cruel or unfavorable to the Ottoman State it might have been, could not have been settled unless the Ottoman representatives invited to the Conference, and the Ottoman government approved of it. However, since the defense representatives were to attend the conference, the Ottoman state would not be able to ignore any decision that would come out of it. Then, the article is cut⁷¹ (6 June 1919, 1). Nevertheless, on the same page, the newspaper announced the Ottoman representatives departed that day, and then the article was subjected to censorship (6 June 1919, 1).

Meantime, on the second page of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, a significant announcement was published, and it stated that the director of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* Ebüzziyazade Talha and the head of *Milli Kongre* Doktor Esad Paşa were detained (6 June 1919, 2; Akşin 2010, 280). Türkgeldi indicates that the reason for Ebüzziyazade Talha’s detention was the telegram that criticized the selection of the Ottoman defense representatives and it was written on behalf of *Milli Kongre*, *Sulh u Selâmet Cemiyeti*, *Milli Ahrâr Fırkası*, and *Matbû’ât Cemiyeti* (Türkgeldi 2010, 225-226). As is learned from Simavi, the letter was received on June 4 (Simavi, 508) and briefly⁷² stated that although the representatives had to be trustworthy, most of them were not trusted by the people and were not according to their preference, however, this criticism was ignored as the government insisted on the same representatives. The telegram which shared the similar criticism of the newspaper had angered both the Sultan and Damat Ferit Paşa and led to his

⁷¹ For the reaction of Damat Ferit Paşa and Sultan, see. (Türkgeldi 2010, 225-226).

⁷² For the full version of the telegram, see. (Simavi, 508-509).

detention (Türkgeldi 2010, 225-226). Nevertheless, it is important to mention the newspaper was not suspended for publishing these kind of criticisms, but only the censorship was implemented.

At the time, the main agenda of the newspaper also continued to be published and were; (1) the news about the trials of Unionists, (2) the reports about Izmir under the Greek occupation, both of them by being exposed to several instances of censorship, (3) the articles about the ongoing Conference and (4) the daily reports, particularly about planes (*tayyare*) in which editor-in-chief was interested.⁷³ Moreover, the fire of Yıldız Palace would also be printed with several censorship implementations from the front page (9 June 1919, 1).

More importantly for the censorship affair, the Anatolian Movement was growing day by day and, there was a lack of news about the subject and in particular about Mustafa Kemal Paşa⁷⁴ in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. In fact, on May 6, a very small announcement on the second page of the newspaper declared the appointment of the former commander of Yıldırım army group Mustafa Kemal Paşa as Inspector General of the 9th Army (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 6 May 1919, 2). Afterwards, the first writing about him would be observed on June 12, 1919, on the second page of the newspaper. It indicated that although one of their colleagues [*Vakit*] mentioned the inspector of Orient Army Mustafa Kemal Paşa was dismissed, according to the newspaper's investigation, the decision had not been made yet (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 12 June 1919, 2). Apparently, the news was the reflection of a couple of events after Mustafa Kemal Paşa's transfer of his headquarter to Havza on May 24, 1919.⁷⁵ In my point of view, it is important to raise the question of when the censorship started to be applied to the writings about Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the Anatolian Movement. For *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* at least until June 12, the lack of news about

⁷³ Ebüzziyazade Velid Bey had a book on the subject called *Tayyarecilik- Tayyare Sefineleri Tarihçesi- Terakkiyat-ı Hazırası, İstikbâli* printed in *Matbaa-i Ebüzziya* in 1329 (Kılıç Bahar 2019, 20).

⁷⁴ There was also an important serial that started on November 22 titled "Filistin Hezimetini Nasıl Oldu". It mentioned about the commander of seventh army Mustafa Kemal Paşa together with giving the photos of commander of fourth army Cemal Paşa, and the commander of eighth army Cevat Paşa (22 November 1918, 1).

⁷⁵ Mustafa Kemal Paşa arrived at Samsun as the inspector general on May 19, and five days later on May 24 which was also the date of Rauf Bey's leaving of Istanbul, he moved his headquarter to Havza, and the stand of Mustafa Kemal Paşa was understood as being on the side of protesters (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 304). On June 6, General Milne had ordered for the recall of Mustafa Kemal Paşa to Istanbul (Şimşir 1992, v.1, 11), and two days later, the Minister of War Şevket Turgut Paşa transmitted the order to Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Jaeschke 1989, 41). However, he refused the order, and headed towards Amasya on June 11 (Shaw 2000, v. 2, 671), where he met with Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) Paşa and Rauf Bey on June 19 (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 381-2).

Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the Anatolian Movement might be explained by the fact that the newspaper wanted to give more space to the reports about the huge reactions to the advancement of the Greeks inside İzmir,⁷⁶ bearing in mind that the newspaper had only two pages per publication. Furthermore, while the departure of Mustafa Kemal Paşa to Samsun was published by *İleri*, *Vakit*, *İkdâm*, *Alemdâr*, and *Zaman* on the following days of the occupation of İzmir (Demirel 2018, 82-83), *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* did not prefer to mention it.

For my perspective, the assumption could be made that even if the newspaper was not aware of the unusual environment surrounding Mustafa Kemal Paşa, with the announcement of June 12 and their investigation, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* also realized what was happening, as a result, a convenient topic for the newspaper occurred. It is also known that since the Anatolian Movement was seen as a resurrection of the CUP, it was naturally against the Allied states' interests and they were suitable topics to be subjected to pre-print censorship (Baykal 2013, 102-3). Nevertheless, these "predictions" do not wipe out the possibility that the full blank spaces in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* shortly before June 12 were about Mustafa Kemal Paşa because while there was a lack of writings at the end of May on the subject, a very few news was published at the beginning of June. Finally, towards the end of the same month, the news turned into negative declarations against the Anatolian Movement.

As far as the news in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* is concerned, on June 26, the declaration of the Minister of Interior Affairs Ali Kemal suddenly appeared on the front page of the newspaper without having any background context which was also the first news on the Anatolian Movement. At the beginning of the news, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* stated that one of the newspapers published the declaration of the Minister of Interior Affairs, half of which had already been removed by the censorship. In the declaration, Ali Kemal Bey indicated that the enemies of the state were not only the Greeks, but that there were

⁷⁶ After the occupation of İzmir, the problem of expansion in the occupied area emerged which led the Greek army to meet with the resistance groups in some of the cities. When the Prime Minister Venizelos ordered their troops to move forward, the British High Commissioner Calthorpe worried about the condition and proposed a limitation on their expansion even from Arthur Balfour who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Jaeschke 2011, 86). Istanbul government also sent demands to the High Commissioner to put limitations to their advancement (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 340). However, the cities like Manisa, Turgutlu and Aydın had already added to the Greek authority zone at the end of May (Selek 1973, 237).

dangerous adversaries within the state as well, the Unionists.⁷⁷ They were able to gain the support of people from the lower class, who were ready to do anything. The declaration furthermore indicated that particularly after Talat Paşa left, the Unionists had asylums around İzmit neighborhood and formed bandit groups, much the same around Bandırma and Balıkesir. The committee had lots of money (800.000 *Lira*) which was left to the Party and was then used to carry out their ominous propaganda. Lastly, the topic of elections was accentuated, and the article indicated that the election had to be postponed because (1) the Unionists could seize the opportunity to incite and mobilize the people and (2) there were also occupations in several regions (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 26 June 1919, 1). On the next day, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* publishes the news of the resignation of Ali Kemal Bey and Şevket Turgut Paşa and stated that although the reason for the resignation of Şevket Turgut Paşa was unknown, the Minister of Interior Affairs resigned because of the party affairs (27 June 1919, 1).

At the beginning of July,⁷⁸ another rare news about Mustafa Kemal Paşa could be noticed on the second page of the newspaper. It was the small news of the *Moniteur Oriental* and stated that the government called him to Istanbul through telegram and he replied (5 July 1919, 2). The same news also included the declaration of Minister of Interior Affairs Edhem Bey which indicated that Mustafa Kemal Paşa who departed to come to the capital, did not revolt against the government.⁷⁹ He also stated the commander of the Fourth Army Cemal Paşa arrived at Istanbul from Konya (5 July 1919, 2). These kinds of small news most of the time did not include blank spaces and they were very few in total. In fact, the month of July was the least censored month of this subchapter in terms of the medium and the large types of blank spaces. However, the striking feature is that there appeared no news or no articles about the Anatolian Movement, either.

⁷⁷ Particularly the proponents of the Liberal Union Party (*Hürriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası*), and the British High Commissioner Calthorpe inclined to see the movement in Anatolia as the revival of the Union and Progress (Atay 186; Zürcher 2016, 109-110). As a response to these judgments, although there were exceptions (Akal 2008, 65-66), the Anatolian Movement would put clear border between being Unionists and their movement by promising that they were not a member of the Committee (Kansu 2019, 20; Zürcher 2003, 110).

⁷⁸ Due to the problematic binding of the newspaper, the date of the news could not be detached. However, it is highly possible that it must be either five or six of July.

⁷⁹ For further news about the issue in different newspapers, see. (Demirel 2018, 95-6).

During these days, the division between Istanbul and Anatolia also escalated after the invitation for the National Congress at Sivas (Selek 1982, 322-3) and peaked after Mustafa Kemal Paşa arrived at Erzurum on July 3, 1919. Finally, five days later, he was officially removed from the army and marked as a rebel, leading him to reply by wiring his resignation to the Ministry of War (Shaw 2000, v. 2, 682; Şimşir 1989, 49). Therefore, among the heated environment between two parties,⁸⁰ the censorship implementation on the news about the Anatolian Movement was inevitable (Baykal 1988, 472). Nevertheless, on July 10, Mustafa Kemal Paşa sent a telegram to the Press Society to explain the condition in Anatolia and to ask for help in enlightening the public about their cause. However, the decisions of the Erzurum Congress could not be published in the newspapers because of the censorship, and the *İstiklâl* newspaper had to delete the decisions of the Sivas Congress on its issue dated October 5, 1919, before it could be published (*Türk Basınında* 1981, 26).

Here, it is important to remark that *Ziyad Ebüzziya* collection has very precious *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*'s news drafts (*prova*) that are used for the first time in this study. One of them shows a full removal of an article called “Vilâyât-ı Şarkıyye-i Milli Kongresi” (The National Congress of the Eastern Provinces) which was scratched by the censors and was not allowed to be published in the newspaper. The censored writing states that based on the news from a local newspaper, the Defense of Rights in the Eastern Provinces held their second meeting in Erzurum and decided to collect and investigate the atrocities done by the Armenians against the Muslims and accelerate their inquiry. The news also indicated that they were determined to stand up against all kinds of hardship to protect and to defend the rights of Muslims, instead of consenting to the foreign occupation. They also wanted to deal with the security affairs to compensate for the shortage in the Gendarmerie staff. Finally, it was stated that they made a decision to give a note to the Ottoman peace representatives (ZE. 28/790, 13). Under the

⁸⁰ In regard to Anatolia, one of the demands of the Amasya Protocol was to hold a National Congress in Sivas which required three representatives from each province immediately (Atatürk 1984, v. 1, 11). However, the call escalated the division between Anatolia and Istanbul government (Selek 1982, 322-3). Furthermore, when Mustafa Kemal Paşa arrived at Erzurum on July 3, 1919 the relations with Istanbul became so tense that, on July 8, he was officially removed from the army as a rebel, leading him to reply by wiring his resignation to the Ministry of War (Shaw 2000, v. 2, 682; Şimşir 1989, 49). Meantime, on July 23, the Erzurum Congress convened and lasted fourteen days by the financial and military support of Kazım Karabekir Paşa (Atatürk 1984, v.1, 45; Shaw 2000, v. 2, 679). On July 29, although there was the resistance of Nazım and İzzet Paşa, the decision to arrest Mustafa Kemal and Rauf was taken with the support of the Allied states and Ahmet İzzet Paşa resigned (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 439; Şimşir 1989, 54). When the Congress ended on August 7, a Representative Committee (*Heyet-i Temsiliye*) was formed in which Mustafa Kemal was elected as the head of the Committee (Selek 1982, 380).

subheading called “10 Temmuz” (July 10), the censored news also declared a piece of information from the *Selâmet* newspaper that was published in Trabzon, that a huge meeting would be held in Erzurum on July 10 and that the representatives who move to attend the meeting from Trabzon were on their way (ZE. 28/790, 13). These available censored drafts of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* in *Ziyad Ebüzziya* collection for the issues published on 15 and 16 July clearly indicate that the news about the Congresses were censored by the Istanbul mixed censorship committee. Furthermore, there is a high possibility that these kinds of writings might be removed although blank spaces could not be seen in the published newspaper. For instance, even though the implementation of censorship can be seen in the drafts of the newspaper dated as of 15 and 16 July, no white gaps that match the length of the censored writing that mentioned about the Erzurum Congress appeared in the published version of the newspaper. Although the reason for the blank spaces not being published is unknown, there were two potential reasons: (1) it was not allowed by the censorship committee or (2) it was omitted during the editing process of the newspaper due to the shortage of paper. In my point of view, the blank spaces were probably not allowed to be published in the newspaper. This circumstance could also give the reason for the low level of white gaps in the month of July for the medium type of blank spaces, despite the existence of the censorship application on such news.

Furthermore, it is seen that some of the removed parts of the news drafts were not indicated as blank spaces in the published issues of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. The draft of the news called “Bro’ën Vapuruyula” (With the Broen Ship) (ZE. 28/790, 1) dated July 16 could be given as a good example of this practice and can also show what type of content was worth removing for the censors. It announced the arrival of one group of Ottoman disabled captives from Egypt to Istanbul by the Allied states’ Bro’ën ship. The significance of the case is that although the news exposed to censorship, the removed part was not manifested as a blank space in the published newspaper. For example, while the four lines which stated because of the various reasons, the captives got very weak, feeble and were put in a miserable condition, were crossed out with a blue pen (ZE. 28/790, 1), there were neither the same sentence nor the white gap in the published article (19 July 1919, 1). Once again, the same news was subjected to another censorship implementation which was not indicated as blank space in the newspaper. The censored part in the article stated in the region, money was deprived of any formal arrangement, and one pencil was ten Egyptian money compared to forty *guruş* in the

Ottoman currency in the military headquarters. A rumor existed at the time that the newspaper was sold for two-thousand *guruş* (ZE. 28/790, 1).

The similar case of censorship which was not manifested through empty space is also noticed on the draft of the article titled “Kâbine ve Fırka” (the Cabinet and the Party) which was published on the front page of the newspaper on July 16 (16 July 1919, 1). Although the article in the newspaper was printed without any visible censorship, the *prova* shows that the censorship was applied. The removed part stated a rumor that after Damat Ferit Paşa’s return to Istanbul, there would be ministers crisis (*buhrân-ı vükelâ*) in the city, which was the reason why the Grand Vizier would resign from his duty. However, it was clarified by the authorities that he cannot resign before explaining his endeavors at Paris in the Council of Ministers (ZE. 28/790, 7).

On the same day, another white space could be seen at the beginning of the leading article called “Hükümet Mes’alesi” (the Government Affair). The article stated that when Damat Ferit Paşa left for the Paris Peace Conference, a government crisis appeared in Istanbul instigated by several underlying reasons, including the selection of the Ottoman representatives. It escalated particularly when Damat Ferit Paşa and his friends were in Paris because of the unfavored views towards Ali Kemal Bey being the Minister of Interior Affairs. The article was interrupted after saying that finally he was forced to resign (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 16 July 1919, 1). In the draft, the sentence that was crossed out indicated that some of the people claim that the first crisis occurred following the resignation of Ali Kemal, however, in contrast, his resignation was seen as a positive development, not a crisis because he was not liked either by the public opinion or by the Council of Ministers (ZE. 28/790, 15). Another news published on the same day declared the return of the Ottoman representatives with the headline “Hey’et-i Murahhasamız Dün Geldi” (Our Representatives Arrived Yesterday) (16 July 1919, 1). As is observed from the available *prova*, the white space in the newspaper mentioned that the representatives had trouble finding food on the Romanian road and experienced a heavy storm on the Black Sea (ZE. 28/790, 14).

On July 15, a significant announcement on the second page of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* announced that the newspaper had subjected to two days of suspension.⁸¹ Although the reason for the suspension was not indicated, the commentary of the newspaper can be seen. It stated that in the last six years, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* must have been suspended at least fifteen times including the last suspension. It furthermore indicated that although these interruptions caused material damages, they also empowered *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* because the newspaper was fighting for the interest of the nation and the state (15 July 1919, 2). Here, Baykal gives very crucial information that in several cities, either specific newspapers or the entire press began to be censored after August 1919, when the Anatolian Movement was making itself public through the Congresses. For instance, on August 10, 1919, an order was sent that states due to the publication of inciting news, all the newspapers in Havza must be censored. Ten days later, *İtidâl* and *İmdâd* began to be subjected to censorship in Eskişehir as well (Baykal 2013, 103).

In regard to the circumstance in Istanbul, the news about the cabinet crisis continued to be published and partly censored. Furthermore, five days after Damat Ferit Paşa had returned from the Paris Peace Conference, he dissolved his second cabinet on July 20 (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 393) and made a notice that stated that the preparations for the National Congress were against the Basic Law and it had to be prevented⁸² (Jaeschke 2011, 137; Akşin 2010, v. 1, 394). One of the measures of prevention would be the declaration of the elections by the Council of Ministers on July 30, 1919 (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 399). It would be the future agenda of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper.

During these days, the first visible harsh criticism by *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was published on July 19, 1919, against the declaration of the former minister Ali Kemal (June 27, 1919) under the headline “Dâhili Düşman Kim?” (Who is the Internal Enemy?) In the article, Ebüzziyazade stated that they did not blame the Unionists in Anatolia despite their interference with the internal affairs but blamed the fugitive Paşas who left the country. He also asserted that the ones in Anatolia [Mustafa Kemal and his companions] had never been the feared internal enemies of the state, whereas what worries people was the inadequate governance that led to the deterioration of the state’s internal and external

⁸¹ Aforementioned suspension was implemented to the issues dated July 13 and 14, 1919.

⁸² For further information on the attempts of prevention, see. (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 443-453; Selek 1973, 282).

relations (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 19 July 1919, 1). The significance of this article is that even though it criticized the former minister with being exposed to several blank spaces, it was able to be published, and apparently the newspaper did not get any suspension. Finally, on the last day of July, the prosecution orders of Mustafa Kemal Paşa and Rauf (Orbay) Bey were published on the front page of the newspaper together with their photos due to holding congress at Erzurum. In addition, Demirci Efe and Hacı Şükrü were asked to be dispatched to Istanbul (31 July 1919, 1).

At the beginning of August 1919, new declarations of Ministry of Interior Affairs continued to be seen in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. For example, on August 1, the Minister of Interior Affairs Adil Bey stated that Mustafa Kemal Paşa and his friends were not only against the government but also against the country (1 August 1919, 2). On the same page of the newspaper, one of the censorship applications could be seen in the article about future elections. The article criticized that although there was a very clear stipulation of the Basic Law (the Art. 35th) that stated that elections had to be held within four months, it was postponed for seven months before finally being scheduled. However, since there was no difference between the atmosphere in the state then and in the period of time after the war, it was clear that the elections could have been held within four months, either. Then, the paragraph was subjected to censorship (1 August 1919, 2). Two days later, another declaration of the same Minister for Mustafa Kemal Paşa and his friends could also be seen on the front page of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (3 August 1919, 1). Finally, the edict of Sultan dated August 9, 1919 (Jaeschke 1989, 56) was published four days later in the newspaper. A small announcement declared that honorary aide de camp title and the medals (*nişân*) of Mustafa Kemal Bey, who was dismissed from the position of the Inspector General of the Third Army and resigned from military service, were taken back (13 August 1919, 2).

As far as the blank spaces is concerned, on August 11, a noticeable large white gap appeared on the front page of the newspaper. Apart from two small paragraphs, the whole article was subjected to censorship including its headline. It was about the fleeing of Halil Paşa who was Enver Paşa's uncle and Küçük Talat Bey by the help of the head guardian and the officer of *Bekirağa Bölüğü*. The declaration of *Istanbul Muhâfızı* (the Guard of Istanbul) Şevki Paşa was the only visible paragraph among the blank spaces (11 August 1919, 1). Four days later, another large type of censorship can be noticed on

the front page of the newspaper under the headline “Yeni Harbiye Nâzırı’nın Beyânâtı” (the Declaration of the New Minister of War). The only uncensored paragraph stated that there was no relation among the resignation of Nazım Paşa, the condition of Anatolia and the departure of Abdullah Paşa (15 August 1919, 1). In August 1919, even though the censorship intensity recorded an upward trend, it is very difficult to envision the content of dismissed articles because of being full removals such as the first pages of August 20th and 21st (20-21 August 1919, 1). Nevertheless, it is highly possible that at least some of them, were about the Anatolian Movement.

In *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, one day before the start of Sivas Congress, the Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Paşa's declaration⁸³ to the *Reuter Agency* can be observed on the second page of the newspaper. In the declaration, he stated that the condition of Anatolia was not as serious as it was stated because the ones who operated with the money of disintegrated Union and Progress Committee were not respected by the common people. However, the Peace Conference must call the Ottoman representatives promptly so people would calm, and incitement could be ended (3 September 1919, 2). On the next day, the newspaper would also announce the transfer of the governorate of Sivas to the governor of Ma'mûretu'l-'azîz Ali Galip Bey and on the same announcement, there appeared a small type of blank space (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 4 September 1919, 1).

A different leading article that was published on September 10, “Trakya Mes’alesi” (the Thrace Affair) was also exposed to censorship after stating the Paris Peace Conference still could not solve the problem of Thrace which was under the occupation. When the newspaper began to give the phases of the Thracian affair briefly, the article was interrupted. However, censorship allowed the examination of those phases after the blank space in the same writing (10 September 1919, 1). Moreover, on the next day, the note of Thracians to the Conference which indicated a desire to have a referendum (*aray-ı amme*) on the question of the future of Thrace, was also subjected to censorship (11 September 1919, 2). Nevertheless, two days later, the declaration of *Trakya Paşaeli Cemiyeti* (Society for Thrace-Paşaeli) towards the world civilizations could be read on the front page without censorship (13 September 1919, 1).

⁸³ For another declaration of Damat Ferit Paşa submitted to the *Tan* newspaper and published without censorship, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 5 September 1919, 1).

On September 17, on the second page of the newspaper, a piece of important news appeared in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* announcing since the Ottoman government took the notice of the rumors and the baseless claims about the condition in Anatolia that were printed by several newspapers, it decided to publish a declaration to enlighten the public opinion about its policy against the condition⁸⁴ (17 September 1919, 2). Four days later, the awaited *Beyânnâme-i Hümâyûn*⁸⁵ (the declaration of Sultan) on the condition of Anatolia was published on the front page of the newspaper on September 21 (21 September 1919, 1) and following the declaration, on September 24, a very significant announcement of the Press Directorate took place on the second page of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. The announcement was briefly stated that it is witnessed regretfully that in Istanbul, a set of rumors are being spread which asserts conflicts have occurred in Anatolia. However, these kinds of false news that show the condition of Anatolia as out of order were created by ill-hearted people to deceive the public. Therefore, people should not attach importance to these kinds of fabricated news and the legal action will be taken against the ones who created such malicious rumors (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 24 September 1919, 2). This announcement was the clear manifestation of the will of the Press Directorate to put an official ban on the so-called “rumors” regarding the Anatolian Movement. However, the ban would be short-lived

3.4 The Long Period: Censorship between the Ali Rıza Paşa’s Government and the Closure of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*

After the fervent struggle between Istanbul and Anatolia⁸⁶ and then, the interruption of the telecommunication lines, the last attempt was made by Abdülkerim Paşa during the government of Damat Ferit Paşa, to restore the connections, however, he failed (Selek 1973, 301). Therefore, the increasing need to negotiate with the National Movement that was later supported by the British High Commissioner De Robeck (Akşin 2010, v. 1,

⁸⁴ The Ali Galip affair and the refusal of demand of Anatolia to make a connection with Sultan by Damat Ferit Paşa resulted with the cutting of the telecommunication lines between Anatolia and Istanbul for twenty-three days. (Selek 1973, 292-93).

⁸⁵ For the declaration, see. (Gökbilgin 2018, 267-275; Selek 1973, 298-299; Shaw 2000, v. 2, 755; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 21 September 1919, 1).

⁸⁶ For a detailed examination, see. (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 487-526).

519) led to the resignation of the Grand Vizier on September 30 (Akşin 2010, v. 1, 525), and to the establishment of the Ali Rıza Paşa's government on October 2, 1919 (Türkgeldi 2010, 249).

Since, one of the aims of the Ali Rıza Paşa's government was to smooth the relations with the Representative Committee, he announced several measurements to achieve the goal (Shaw 2000, v. 2, 758). Before the agreement was made between two groups on October 7, 1919, (Selek 1973, 307-9) one of the requests of Anatolia was concerning the censorship on the Istanbul press which was implemented by both the Istanbul government and the Allied states (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 10).

The demand of the Anatolian Movement was as follows:

“Initially, the censorship was undertaken by the Ottoman government because of the Allied states' request to put a ban on the publications of their military activities. However, through lots of interventions and pretexts, the Allied states started to take steps in the affair, firstly, by controlling the censorship of the Istanbul press, and then, by attending to pre-print censorship which wiped out the prestige of the Istanbul government. Furthermore, due to the former government illegally exploited this foreign power; today, the press becomes tragic that could not express the rightful desire of the public and to defend the sacred rights of people so the censorship's material and immaterial responsibility were put on the shoulders of the government. Thereby, we submit and propose the Ottoman state must officially finalize this situation which is against the Basic Law. If the Allied states insist on to maintain the military censorship from their points of view, this censorship must be under the exact supervision of the Administration of General Press Affairs and by allowing the Allied states to conduct the affair with definite main lines and with the principles that were known by the Istanbul press, so the Ottoman government must be freed from the responsibility of censorship in the face of public...” (Atatürk 1984, v. 3, 105).

Shaw also indicates that the efforts of Ali Rıza Paşa's government to further improve the relations with the Anatolian Movement relaxed the censorship of the Istanbul press, thus enabling it not only to attack Damat Ferit Paşa but also to inform the Istanbul public for the first time about what Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the Turkish National Forces had been doing in Anatolia during the previous years (Shaw 2000, v. 2, 759). The alteration in the censorship regime and the politics of the Istanbul government were

also reflected in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. On October 3, both the news of resignation of Damat Ferit Paşa and the formation of the Ali Rıza Paşa's new government together with the edict of Sultan were given on the first page of the newspaper (3 October 1919, 1), and on the following day, the leading article⁸⁷ titled "Ali Rıza Paşa'nın Vazifesi" (the Duty of Ali Rıza Paşa) appeared with a few blank spaces. At that time, Ebüzziyade was at least able to start expressing his ideas on the Anatolian Movement with only being subjected to slight censorship. The article criticized the policy of Damat Ferit Paşa by stating that the Anatolian Movement was not party-based or the movement of the Unionists, but it emerged as a reaction to the occupation of Izmir. Moreover, he indicated that there was a misunderstanding about the Anatolian Movement from the time it was founded. The entire responsibility for this misunderstanding does not belong to the Sultan or the leaders of the Movement but to the former Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Paşa because he allowed for the misunderstanding to drag on for a long time by some of his declarations. Then, the blank space interrupts the article before declaring that the duty of Ali Rıza Paşa to fix this misinformation (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 4 October 1919, 1). Immediately on the same day, the note of *Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdâfa'a-i Hukuk Cemiyeti Heyeti Temsiliyesi* (Representative Committee of the Association for the Defence of Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia) dated as of September 25, 1919, could be seen for the first time on the pages of the newspaper (4 October. 1919, 2).

On October 5, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, two months after publishing the prosecution order for Mustafa Kemal Paşa and Rauf Bey, printed their photos and introduced them as the leaders of the Anatolian Movement on the front page. This was the start of a prominent change in the newspaper's tone and the content that had not been allowed to be published due to the censorship previously.⁸⁸ Particularly after the publication of the uncensored greeting telegram of the Representative Committee to the Sultan for removing the Damat Ferit Paşa's government (Atatürk 1984, v. 3, 109; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 8 October 1919, 1), the introductory news on the Anatolian Movement (e.g. 8 October 1919, 1), and the declarations of Representative Committee signed by Mustafa Kemal

⁸⁷ At this point, it is important to note the problem of *Hakkı Tark Us* digitized collection. Particularly starting from October 1919, the photographs of the digitized collection got blurred which lead the newspaper's right side which also includes the leading articles to be seen as dark. There was also the binding problem. Therefore, most of the leading articles of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* could not be read at least from the digitized collection until January 1920.

⁸⁸ In this context, the criticism of *Alemdâr* dated October 5, 1919, is a very good example of the censorship practice during the Damat Ferit Paşa's government. For the article, see. (Demirel 2018, 113).

(e.g. 9 October 1919,1) would become very frequent agenda of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*⁸⁹ in October and November 1919.

Moreover, during the first days of Ali Rıza Paşa's government, the Istanbul press also began to establish relations with Mustafa Kemal Paşa. On October 6, the *İstiklâl* newspaper sent a telegram to express the concern that the Istanbul press did not receive enough information about the Anatolian Movement and asked for additional explanations to be sent to *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *Vakit*, *Akşam*, and *İstiklâl*. On the other hand, Mustafa Kemal Paşa⁹⁰ also conveyed his demand to pass the declarations of the Representative Committee to the Press Society (*Matbu'ât Cemiyeti*) (Özyürek 2018, 1102-3). Therefore, on October 9, through Ebüzziyazade who was the Head of the Society, Mustafa Kemal Paşa in the name of the Representative Committee answered the questions and explained the purpose of the Congresses of Erzurum and Sivas, made several demands from the government and indicated that it was appropriate to send a few correspondents to Sivas (Kısıklı 2011, 128). Finally, as is known, Ebüzziyazade had fulfilled this demand by sending Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın) as a reporter of the newspaper on October 10, 1919⁹¹ (Birinci 1988, 241; Kansu 2019, 407; Sağlam 2004, 35). In addition to the letters of Ruşen Eşref, published under different names and mostly under the title "Anadolu Kuvây-i Milliyesi Nezdinde" (In the Presence of the National Forces of Anatolia), *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* also published series of telegrams that were sent by the newspaper's responsible director Arif Oruç (Özkaya 1984, 877) under the headings starting with "Anadolu Mektupları" (the Letters of Anatolia) and then "İzmir

⁸⁹ The newspaper's interview with Mustafa Kemal Paşa that was demanded by Ebüzziyazade Velid on October 13, 1919 (Kansu 2019, 409-412) can be noticed on October 18, 1919 (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 18 October 1919, 1). Furthermore, on the November 23, another interview of the newspaper with Mustafa Kemal Paşa and Rauf Bey began to be published without censorship implementation together with the photos of them that was taken by the photographer of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (23 November 1919, 1).

⁹⁰ While Mustafa Kemal Paşa was in Sivas, he conducted relations with *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *İleri*, *Vakit*, *Akşam*, *Türk Dünyası* and *İstiklâl* through the help of Ebüzziyazade Velid and Ahmet Saki who was the vice-President of the Press Society (Özyürek 2018, 1102).

⁹¹ On October 8, 1919, Ebüzziyazade send a telegram to Mustafa Kemal Paşa in Sivas. It stated Ruşen Eşref would be send in the name of the newspaper to get detailed information about the National Movement and to inform them about the condition of Istanbul. Therefore, he asked which way they had to follow in order to arrive securely to Sivas. After the answer of Mustafa Kemal Paşa, on October 9, another telegram expressed Ruşen Eşref and Kenan (Hasip) would depart on the following day (Sağlam 2004, 35-36). *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* announced the first telegram of Ruşen Eşref that was reached to them from Eskişehir on October 13, 1919. The article introduced both him and the photographer Kenan and stated they were sent to explore and to acquaint with the condition of Anatolia (13 October 1919, 1). His first interview with Mustafa Kemal Paşa would be conducted in Amasya (Birinci 1988, 24) and the newspaper would publish the first photos of Mustafa Kemal and his aides Muzaffer and Cevad which were took by Kenan from the front page of the newspaper under the headline "Sivas'ta Teşkilât-ı Milliye İntibâ'âtından". The photos of one hall of *Sivas Mektebi* and the members of Anatolian National Movement could also be seen in the same article. It stated without exposing to censorship that the Anatolian Movement was the last hope of the nation (19 November 1919, 1). For detailed information, see. (Sağlam 2004, 35-48).

Mektupları” (the Letters of Izmir) and finally “İzmir Kuvây-ı Milliyesi Nezdinde” (in the Presence of the National Forces of Izmir).⁹² It is important to note that during this period, both Ruşen Eşref’s and Arif Oruç’s letters were censored first by the Telegram office⁹³ and then by the mixed censorship committee and most of the letters were allowed to be published with slight blank spaces. Nevertheless, the instances of full removals could also be seen, particularly in the telegrams of Arif Oruç Bey.⁹⁴ At about the same time, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* also announced that since the papers that they had ordered from Sweden arrived (6 October 1919, 1), the newspaper was going to be published as four pages (14 October 1919).

Although the censorship policies were loosened on the specific contents, at the beginning of this period because of the moderation between two parts (Özkaya 1989, 11), the chart 3.1 clearly indicates that the censorship was still vastly implemented. In fact, this term was among another peak points in the censorship intensity of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* for the period covered by the research. To illustrate, while the number of pages was doubled after October 14, the censorship intensity ratio witnessed one medium type of censorship per page. The peak point of the censorship frequency ratio per page for the entire period was one and a half. Moreover, when only the numbers of blank spaces were considered, the publications in the month of December, November, and October 1919 were exposed to the maximum amount of medium type of blank spaces, respectively. Finally, first and foremost, in addition to the intensity of white spaces, there was also the issue of full censoring.⁹⁵ As far as the examples of full removals are concerned, which were also seen during the previous parts of this thesis, the maximum full censorship implementation is seen during this period which erased the possibility to estimate or interpret what the censored content was. From my perspective, outside of the loosening of the censorship policies regarding the news about Anatolia, the full censorings on the anonymous contents, which this study was able to show only the high

⁹² On the last page of the newspaper, the letter of Arif Oruç which published as a serial under “İzmir Kuvây-ı Milliyesi Nezdinde” included the photos of Demirci Mehmet Efe, Sökeli Ali Efe and his friends that was took for the newspaper without exposing to any censorship implementation (24 November 1919, 4).

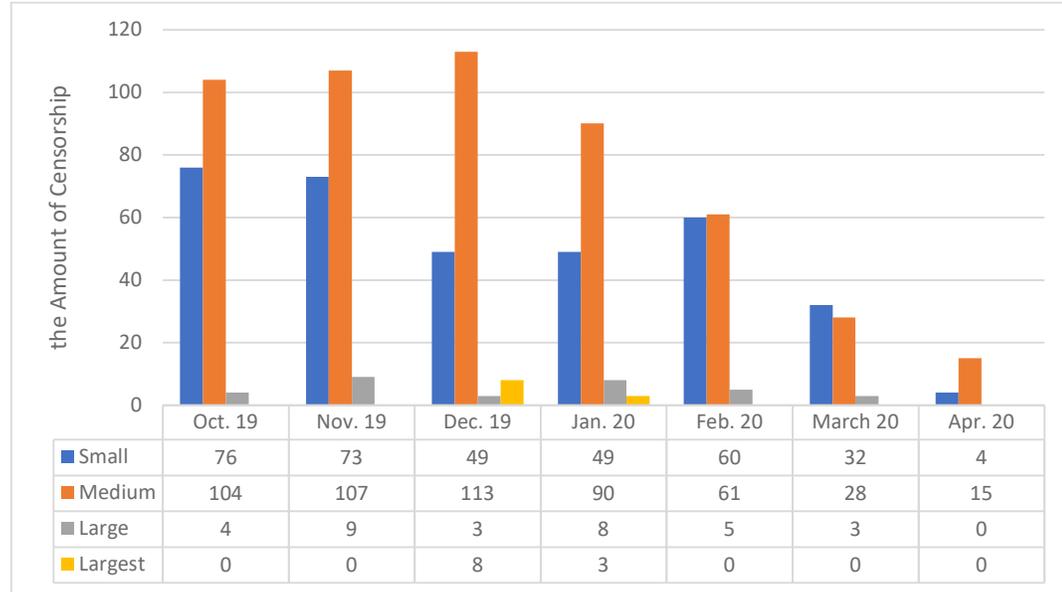
⁹³ For further information, see. (Korkmaz 2011, 31-40; Turgut 2014, 82-86).

⁹⁴ For a few examples of censorship on the telegrams of Arif Oruç, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 16, 17, 21 October 1919, 4).

⁹⁵ For the selected examples of full censoring, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 12, 17, 19, 23 October 1919; 3, 4, 5, 9 November 1919, 2, 3; 2 December 1919, 2; 3 December 1919, 1; 9 December 1919, 3; 10 December 1919, 2, 3).

number, not infer its erased context, made the censorship affair as strict as the censorship implementation of May 1919.

Table 3.3 The Amount of Censorship between October 1919 and April 1920



Although the censorship on the writings about the Anatolian Movement was noticeably weakened, the topic was still exposed to censorship. A meaningful example to support this claim can be seen under the headline “Vazi’yet-i Dâhiliyemiz ve Anadolu Haberleri” (Our Condition of Interior Affair and News about Anatolia) on October 6, 1919. In the article, in addition to giving the current updates on the negotiation between two groups, the news also tried to inform the public about how the National Forces were formed. Under the subheading which was about the formation and improvement of the National Movement,⁹⁶ thirty-seven sentences were removed by the censors, after stating although the National Movement and the Rejection of Annexation in İzmir are different, their aim is the same to defend the rights of the nation.⁹⁷ In the same news, under “the Copy of Vow and the Decisions” headline, once again, the news subjected to censorship but this time, one hundred and eighty-two lines were dismissed by the censors. While

⁹⁶ The term “*Milli Hareket*” in the newspaper was translated in this thesis as “the National Movement”. However, it was not used in the newspaper as an action to protect the nation in a modern sense but to protect the Caliphate and the lands. Since there is no countervailing to the term in full meaning, it was preferred to be translated as the National Movement.

⁹⁷ Although Yücel Özkaya states that the practice of identifying how many sentences were removed by the censor officials belonged to the censorship regime of post-1921 (Özkaya 1984, 875), it was also used in this period as it can be seen in the example of October 6, 1919. Furthermore, a few examples on the practice can also be noticed before this date.

the vow made during the Sivas Congress was allowed to be published, the decisions of Congress cannot be seen (6 October 1919, 1; Kansu 2019, 219). Moreover, on the second page of the newspaper, an interesting occurrence is noticed. Fazıl Ahmet's poem named "Birkaç Kıt'a" (A Few Verses), which was censored by the previous censorship regime almost a month ago, was allowed to be published in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (6 October 1919, 2).

As an example of full censoring, a notable implementation could be witnessed on October 15, 1919. After the telegram of Ruşen Eşref, there is seen a large blank space instead of the beginning of the article in the newspaper. The remaining part was the introduction of Kara Vasıf⁹⁸ who was assigned to be sent to Istanbul as representative of Anatolia, to the readers of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (15, October 1919, 1). Furthermore, on the second page of the same day, the article titled "Matin'in Mühim Bir Makalesi: Türk Milliyetperverlerinin Galebesi" (An Important Article of *Le Matin*: The Achievement of Turkish Nationalists) was exposed to several censorship implementations as well. The article indicated that if the Allied states helped Damat Ferit Paşa and sped up the solution for the problem of Turkey in the Paris Peace Conference, he could have established a stable government. On the contrary, they misbehaved towards the Ottoman representatives at the Peace Conference and Izmir was allowed to be occupied by Greece without any reason, so the confidence to his cabinet in the eyes of people was gone. Then, the article was interrupted (15 October 1919, 3).

While the Anatolian Movement and the daily reports (plague,⁹⁹ economic problems,¹⁰⁰ accidents,¹⁰¹ and victims of fires¹⁰²) were the main agenda of the newspaper, another frequently published topic that became prominent in the period from October 1919 to

⁹⁸ The interview of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* with Kara Vasıf Bey can be seen from the front page of the issue dated October 26, 1919.

⁹⁹ For the selected examples of plague, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 24 October 1919, 4; 3, 19, 22 November 1919, 3; 4, 5 November 1919, 1; 13 November 1919, 2; 18, 20 November 1919, 4).

¹⁰⁰ For the selected examples about the economic problems, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 20 October 1919, 2; 18 November 1919, 1; 14 December 1919, 3).

¹⁰¹ For the selected examples of accidents, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 14 November 1919, 1; 19 November 1919, 4; 27 November 1919, 1).

¹⁰² For the selected examples of victims of fires, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 13, 14, 16, 29 November 4).

December 1919 was the news about the election.¹⁰³ They were published most of the time without blank spaces since the calling for the elections and the opening of the chamber of deputies were among the main themes of the agreement between the Anatolian Movement and the Istanbul government (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 18-19).

A salient example of the news about elections could be seen on the last day of October 1919 in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. According to the news, the Turkish Socialist Party invited the workers to a meeting to discuss their policy for the future elections in the Şeref theater in Şehzadebaşı at one o'clock and the announcement was not exposed to any visible censorship¹⁰⁴ (30 October 1919, 4). Five days before the invitation, the decisions of the Congress of Laborer and Workmen in Istanbul (*Istanbul 'Amele ve İşçi Kongresi*) had also published without blank spaces on the third page of the newspaper (25 October 1919, 3). Furthermore, at the same time, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* announced the opening of the Parliament under the headline “Meclis-i Milli Bugün Merâsim-i Mahsusa ile Küşâd Ediliyor” (the National Parliament is Opening Today with a Private Ceremony) (12 January 1919, 1) and the *Ahd-ı Milli* (well-known *Misâk-ı Milli*) without being exposed to censorship (22 January 1919, 3).

For this part of the thesis, another important agenda of the newspaper was the long-overdue peace treaty of the Ottoman state and the issue of the American mandate¹⁰⁵ (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 199; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 25 December 1919, 1). A good example to understand the censorship affair at the time could be seen in two instances on the same subject; one was a complaint about the uncompleted peace treaty, published on the front page of the newspaper without being exposed to any censorship¹⁰⁶ (30 October 1919, 1), the other was an article called “Sulh ve Ordumuz” (the Peace and Our Army) witnessed several removals from the last page of the newspaper on November 12. The censored

¹⁰³ When the Representative Committee was formed after the Erzurum Congress, it was highly criticized by the Damat Ferit Paşa's government because it functioned like a chamber that was dissolved on December 21. Therefore, as soon as his third cabinet was established, the desire to go to election became apparent which materialized with a decision on July 30 (Akşin 2010, v.1, 399), and the news on the topic began to be seen in the newspaper. For several examples of news about election in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, see. (19, 20, 21 October 1919, 1; 24 October 1919, 2; 1 November 1919, 3; 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28 November 1919, 1).

¹⁰⁴ The news on the International Worker Congress also took place in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* without exposing to any censorship (31 January 1919, 3).

¹⁰⁵ For further examples on the news about the American mandate, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 26, 31 October 1919, 2; 27 October 1919, 1; 1, 9 November 1919, 1; 2 November 1919, 2; 23, 24, 25 November 1919, 1, 2).

¹⁰⁶ There are plenty of information on the topic and its evaluation. For further examples, see. (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 8 October 1919, 1; 29 October 1919, 2; 31 October 1919, 2, 3; 3, 12, 13 November 1919, 1).

article stated that even though a year passed since the signing of the Armistice, still, the peace did not appear on the horizon. However, it was wrong to wait for the peace treaty to be concluded, and then to deal with the internal problems, because the postponement of dealing with the issues was dangerous not only for the state but also, and particularly, for the army. The article also criticized the Ministry of War due to the lack of any future plan or program except for the inadequate explanations of Miralay Nazif Bey. After the criticism, the article was interrupted (12 November 1919, 4). Moreover, in the same article, another empty space can be noticed after the statement regarding the requirement of reducing the number of soldiers and asking the future conditions of the military officials. The paragraph indicated that there was neither money nor the political condition for recruiting soldiers due to the negative impact of the Great War, so it was possible to consider recruiting volunteer soldiers like the previous allies of the Ottoman state. Besides, after the article asserted that it had been one year since the war ended and that the country spent this year to consolidate itself, the blank space follows (12 November 1919, 4). On December 3, the declaration of the Minister of War Cemal Paşa was also exposed to strict censorship. As it could be understood from the subheadings of the article, the declaration included topics such as where the future peace would be signed, the question on the expansion of Greeks and the occupation of Antep.¹⁰⁷ However, none of his answers were allowed to be published by censorship (3 December 1919, 1).

While the censorship implementation was mostly done via full removals, on December 21, the announcement of suspension for *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* can be noticed on the second page of the newspaper. It declared like its previous announcement that *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* would be exposed to four-days of closure (December 17th and 20th) and together with the current one, the number of suspensions accumulated to fifteen since the government of the Union and Progress Party. Furthermore, although the newspaper does not include the reason for suspension, it indicated that these interruptions in the newspaper proved that they were loyal to their duty and the freedom of thought (21 December 1919, 2).

¹⁰⁷ The first news that announced the occupations in Cilicia took place in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* on November 24, 1919. It stated Maraş, Urfa and Antep which were under the occupation of British brigade transferred to the French, after Britain had left the area (24 November 1919, 3). On the next day, the telegram of Clemenceau on the event can be seen without censorship (25 November 1919, 2). For a leading article of Ebüzziyazade on the topic, see. ("Şark'ta Fransız Siyaseti" 28 November 1919, 1).

During these days, the aforementioned agenda topic of peace treaty transformed into pursuing the meeting of the British and the French in London (December 22-23) for the future of the Ottoman state (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 266). This news was also published with a few blank spaces in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. For instance, a relevant censorship implementation can be seen in the leading article of Ebüzziyazade on December 26. He stated that according to the telegrams that were sent from Europe, the fate of the Ottoman state could be finalized in the London Conference because the British and the French had reached an agreement in the fundamental points. However, the problem for the Ottoman state was whether the decisions would be equitable, and would it take into account the fundamentals of the Turkish nationhood. He furthermore pointed out that wars have existed since time immemorial and always resulted in defeater and defeated, yet, the victor does not deprive the defeated from its right of existence. Then, the article was subjected to censorship (26 December 1919, 1). After the white space, the article specifies that rumors about the prospects of the London Conference were futile, so he wished that the Allied states considered the problems of the near future for the Eastern Question. After the statement saying that although the Ottoman state did not control its future and defended its rights, the empty space can be noticed again (26 December 1919, 1).

In January 1920, the rumors on the discussions about the future of Istanbul¹⁰⁸ and the Vatican proposal of Lord Curzon also arrived at the city through the French press and began to be published in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* with slight censorship as the main topic on the front pages (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 226-28; Criss 1999, 7-8; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 15-16, 20 January 1920). On January 4, a piece of very explicit news was cited from *the Pall Mall Gazette* and was printed with the headline “İstanbul Hakkında Meş’ûm Bir Haber: Şehir ile Boğazlar Beyne’l-milel mi Olacak?” (Ominous News on Istanbul: Will the City and the Straits be Internationalized?)¹⁰⁹ The article stated that Istanbul and the Straits would be internationalized under the control of the British, the French and the other states and that the capital would be transferred to Anatolia. However, the Sultan would remain as the

¹⁰⁸ For further information on the discussions about the future of Istanbul, see. (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 335-360; Akyüz 1988, 138-147; Criss 1999, 6-10; Helmreich, 1974, 242-246).

¹⁰⁹ The news of the next day asserted the British newspaper's refutation of *the French Pall Mall Gazette's* claim on the changing of the capital of the Ottoman state without censorship. It declared that there was not any decision on the issue yet and could not be decided without the attendance of Italy. However, another report within the same article was subjected to censorship (5 January 1919, 1).

Caliph of all Muslims and Istanbul would remain as the capital of all Islamic states. It continued by saying that there was a significant amount of people who assumed the program would be carried out. Then, the blank space occurred in the subsequent report (4 January 1920, 1). It is important to note while these kinds of news were publishing in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* throughout January and the beginning of February 1920, the public demonstrations in Anatolia and the Sultanahmet against the rumors (30 December 1919, 1; 3 January 1920, 1; 14 January 1920, 1), the pro-Ottomanist stand of India (10 January 1920, 1), the French public opinion and the views of Italian press (11 January 1920, 1) were printed without the exposure to censorship in the newspaper. However, as mentioned previously, the full censorings still continued. Besides, it was understood from the decision of the Press Association's second meeting that the press members also had trouble with the restrictive policies, so they suggested a motion (*takrir*) to the Association proposing the suspension of all newspapers on Friday as a reaction against the tightening of the censorship ¹¹⁰ (31 January 1920, 2).

The last censorship example related to the future of Istanbul could be the declaration of Süleyman El-Biruni. He focused on the anticipations throughout the Muslim world for the decision of the Allied states about the center of the Caliphate's future. He stated that if the capital would be transferred to Anatolia and the Caliph would remain in Istanbul, there would appear a great conflict in the Islamic world. Since even though some of the Muslims were under foreign occupation, they were not worried because they knew that their Caliph in Istanbul existed and that he would help them as a father figure. After this sentence, the article was interrupted. He further specified bounding and detaining the Caliph in Istanbul would not deceive the Muslim world because they would not accept a Caliph under the control of the Christians, and he could not have been regarded as the Caliph by the Islamic Law, neither. Finally, he stated that the fate of neither the Caliphate nor its center belonged to the sole decision of the Ottoman state, but rather that it was a major issue for all Muslims. Therefore, if the Caliphate would be in a precarious situation and about to collapse, it was necessary for the Muslims to establish a center in a safer place and then, the article was cut again (27 January 1920, 2).

¹¹⁰ Ebüzziyazade Velid was chosen as the head of the Press Society on May 29, 1919 (30 May 1919, 1; Sağlam 2004, 34), and the news of January 31 gave the detail that the presidency was transferred from Adnan Bey to Ebüzziyazade Velid Bey (31 January 1920, 2). Therefore, it suggested that Ebüzziyazade was not always the president of the Association as declared by Kılıç (Kılıç 2019, 17).

When the telegram of the French President Millerand which had declared Istanbul would remain as the capital of Caliphate and Sultanate, was received on February 17 by *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (18 February 1920, 1), the newspaper was exposed to an act of censorship department again, this time in a different way than the previous ones. The notice of February 18 stated that although the telegram of Millerand was received the day before, the newspaper was not approved to be published by the censor officers because the newspaper wanted to represent the news of salvation for Istanbul in detail, but it caused tardiness in publication. Besides, a two and half-hour electric cut on the late night of that day belated the functioning of the devices. Therefore, the writings were sent a bit late to the censorship department which did not accept the drafts because of the delay and the newspaper could not be published (18 February 1920, 1).

At this point, it is important to note that January of 1920 saw a downward trend in terms of the frequency of blank spaces and it continued until the newspaper was closed on April 17. However, the developments in Cilicia, especially the retreat of the French from Maraş on February 11-12 highly affected the censorship policy of the Allied states (Gökbilgin 2018, 623). Besides, the theme of the newspaper was heavily influenced by the situation at the time, because the armed conflict in Cilicia among the National Forces, the French and the Armenians led to the publication of news about massacre of Armenians in Europe (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 301; Akyüz 1988, 182-191) which the Ottoman government wanted to refute at least in the local newspapers (M.A.Z.C. 4/1/1/16, 179).

However, according to the statement of the Council of State's vice-President Abdurrahman Şeref in the Senate on March 4, 1920, the refutation of the government was removed from the press by the censors and the only newspaper that was able to publish the news was suspended (M.A.Z.C. 4/1/1/16, 179). Here, Gökbilgin gives a piece of significant information that *Le Journal d'Orient* was subjected to suspension because of being able to publish one of the declarations of the Ottoman government on the subject (Gökbilgin 2018, 623). Sina Akşin further indicates that those declarations were only allowed to be printed in *Takvim-i Vekâyi* (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 323).

The main reason for the censorship of the news about the Ottoman position on the massacres is given by Gökbilgin, and he pointed at the role of Allied censor officers

since were the Armenians.¹¹¹ He furthermore brings up another important instance, that when an article was not allowed to be published by the Ottoman censors, it was permitted to be printed by the Allied censor officials or the vice versa¹¹² (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 323; Gökbilgin 2018, 623). The ambivalence between the Ottoman and the Interallied censor officers in the department was even discussed in the Council of Ministers during the Salih Paşa's government because the censorship reached such a point that, except for not allowing to print the refutations, the Interallied censorship department started to change the meaning of the articles on the topic by removing some of the words or sentences which made the article put forward ideas totally opposite from the original. One of the articles about the issue in the Council was the one published in *Tasvîr-i Efkar* on the front page of March 6th (Akşin 2010 v. 2, 323; Gökbilgin 623; DABOA. MVM. 218/85, H-15-6-1338). The article mentioned a declaration belonging to İzzet Paşa together with the small explanation of the former Minister of War Nabi Bey. Even though it was allowed to be published under the headline "Katli'âmlar" (the Massacres) with a very few blank spaces (*Tasvîr-i Efkar* 6 March 1920, 1), the uncensored version of the heading was "Katli'âmlar Hakkındaki Şâyi'âların Tekzibi" (the Refutation of Rumors on the Massacres) and apparently, the content of the article was also changed by removing the first lines of the article which were the refutations of the rumors¹¹³ (Akşin 2010 v. 2, 323; Gökbilgin 623; DABOA. MVM. 218/85, H-15-6-1338). Therefore, the role of the Allied censors on both not allowing the publication of refutation declarations and altering the meaning of the writings, led to the need to abolish the censorship practice of the Ottoman government and the Minister of Foreign

111 The role of Armenians in the censorship mechanism also mentioned by Ebüzziyazade in his article dated October 22, 1923. He indicated that during the most intense times of occupation and the oppressive days of the Interallied censorship (*Ecebi Sansürü*), he had not hesitated to demonstrate his grudge against the British. He furthermore stated however, most of them were caught by the censorship and could not reach to the reader. Nevertheless, some of the writings that did not caught by, published in the newspaper, but were sent to the British embassy through the translation of Armenian and Greek censor translators (Satan, Özdemir 2016, 12). Cevdet Kudret also indicated that the censor during the Armistice in Istanbul was an Armenian Istanbulite being sergeant in the British army and he was appointed because of knowing Turkish (Kudret 1988, 42). Although Kudret pointed out only one Armenian censor, there must have been more Armenian officers in the duty together with the Greek and Jewish officers (*Tevhîd-i Efkar* 5 October 1923, 3).

112 For further information for the issue, see. (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 551).

113 After a short opinion of Ahmet İzzet Paşa on the Ottoman state's borders in Thrace, Istanbul and Izmir, the majority of the censored article spoke about the Armenian affair. Accordingly, İzzet Paşa claimed the need for an inquiry commission which consisted of the Allied representatives and demanded it to be formed in order to learn the degree of the massacres on the Armenians in the region and how it was happened. He further indicated that it had been said out of twenty thousand Armenians, thirteen thousand of them were massacred. Therefore, there is a need for an inquiry in order to find out the truth behind it. The censored version furthermore indicated that the places where the Armenians were majority must be drawn and the condition between Armenia and Turkey could be healed with the population exchange. Nabi Bey also focused on the Interallied inquiry commission in the transformed article and indicated if the case was true, the Ottoman state would punish the ones who did the massacres (6 March 1920, 1).

Affairs was assigned to inform the Allied states about the decision (Gökbilgin 2018, 623; DABOA. MVM. 218/85, H-15-6-1338). Besides the same problem about the refutation declarations was indicated by Ali Rıza Paşa, while he was giving his resignation (Goloğlu 2006, v. 3, 108).

This condition in pre-print censorship was protested by the Ottoman Press Association as well through sending letter to the Allied High Commissioners on March 3, 1920, and it complained about the partial attitude of the Interallied censorship regarding the alleged Armenian massacres (Central File: Decimal File 867.918, 3 March 1920, 3). In the protest letter, it was indicated that the Interallied censorship applied to the Istanbul press since the armistice, never followed stable principles and the Turkish newspapers and their repeated requests with the Allied High Commissioners have not given any positive results. The letter further elaborated that the recent attitude of censorship regime policies against the news on the Turkish population in certain regions of Cilicia demonstrated the partiality of the press censorship since while the massacre rumors could be published in a noisy fashion in the Armenian and Greek newspapers and were transmitted to all corners of the world by provoking agencies, the official denials of the government, the refutations of the Turkish press, and even the translation of the articles from the most important newspapers were categorically suppressed (Central File: Decimal File 867.918, 3 March 1920, 2).

While the reactions against the censorship regime and the tightening of the press censorship continued, the number of blank spaces in the newspaper was decreasing. However, the ultimate oppression for *Tasvîr-i Efşkâr* and the Istanbul press started after *de jure* occupation of Istanbul by the Allied states on March 16, 1920,¹¹⁴ which led to the closure of the newspaper for thirteen months and the exile of Ebüzziyazade Velid to Malta. The reason for his detention and exile was that he gave the photos of the Şehzadebaşı Police Station martyrs, which he took by himself, to the Italian journalist on March 16 (Sürmeli 2010, 109-113). It was also the day that the Istanbul newspapers began to publish the official announcements of *de jure* occupation given by the Allies

¹¹⁴ There were several reasons for *de jure* occupation of Istanbul that were listed as (1) to punish the armed resistance (2) to impose harsh peace terms on the Nationalists, (3) the conflict between the British and the French about the controlling of Istanbul (Akşin 2010, v. 2, 335-6), (4) hoping to gain positive image both in Turkey and in other Muslim countries by upholding the rights of the Sultan Caliph so (5) splitting up the Nationalist Movement, (6) suppressing the Nationalists in the Ottoman Parliament, and (7) to improve the management of the city by introducing more effective financial and judicial control (Criss 1999, 11).

and the Ottoman government (*Akşâm* 16 March 1920, 1) However, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* did not print them¹¹⁵ on March 16 (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 16 March 1920; Criss 1999, 13), instead, would prefer to mention articles like “Avrupa’da Türk Vesikaları” (Turkish Documents in Europe), “Kürtlerin Sadâkati” (the Loyalty of Kurds) and “Türk-Ermeni İ’tilâfi” (Turkish-Armenian Agreement). (16 March 1920, 1) Besides, the day following the distribution of the photos, Ebüzziyazade was interrogated by the British and later, *Matbaa-i Ebüzziya* was raided a few times in order to find the copies of the photos (Sürmeli 2010, 113). It is significant to note that *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* issue of March 17 was not published. Finally, while the last leading article of Ebüzziyazade for *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* dealt with the occupation of Istanbul (19 March 1920, 1), on the next day, the newspaper also had to publish the declarations in the very corner of the newspaper (20 March 1920, 1). It was the day in which Ebüzziyazade¹¹⁶ was arrested from his house in Bakırköy and imprisoned to *Arapyan Han* (Şimşir 1985, 180) and the suspension of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* for seventeen days (7 April 1920, 1). One week later, on March 27,¹¹⁷ he was exiled to Malta¹¹⁸ (Şimşir 1985, 180).

After seventeen days of suspension, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* started to be published again without Ebüzziyazade Velid with a very different tone (7 April 1920). On April 11, the same newspaper that had sent a reporter to Anatolia to inform its readers had to publish the fatwa of Şeyhü’l-islâm Dürrizâde Abdullah Bey against the Anatolian Movement (11 March 1920, 1) and two days later the annulment of the Parliament was announced from the front page (13 March 1920, 1). Consequently, on April 17, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* would be closed in its 3028 issue and it also experienced examples of full censoring on its last page (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 17 April 1920).

¹¹⁵ *Vakit* and *Alemdâr* did not publish these declarations like *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* on March 16 but printed on the following day.

¹¹⁶ His big brother Ebüzziyazade Talha was arrested and kept in *Bekirağa Bölüğü* where he became ill (Koçu 1968, v. 9, 4868).

¹¹⁷ Pırgar gives the date of his exile to Malta as 23 March 1920 (Pırgar 1982, 22).

¹¹⁸ Ebüzziyazade Velid’s exile number was 2783. On September 30, 1920, he was among twenty-five people who were foreseen to be freed after the Treaty of Sevres was taken into force. However, in November 1920, when the new committee of the British High Commissariat re-visited the list of Malta exile, he was among the list “E” that stated there was no military inconvenience for their return to Turkey (Şimşir 1985, 339-40).

3.5 Conclusion of the Chapter

The aim of this chapter was an attempt to explore the censorship regime of an extended period (November 1918- April 1920) in the Istanbul press by focusing on the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper through four subchapters.¹¹⁹ The analysis of the newspaper demonstrated that the transition period in the press censorship had particular features. The first and foremost feature was the disappearance of the news about the activities of the Allied states in Istanbul. Although this kind of news could be seen in November 1918, which was the month in which the censorship was not applied, it is noticed that as soon as the censorship started to be implemented, these pieces of writings first quite reduced, and then completely disappeared. The second feature was the existence of the newspaper's interpretation on the censored writings that would not be encountered in the subsequent chapters. Furthermore, it is also observed that the attitude of Ebüzziyade on the censorship policy changed based on the authority who was in charge of the practice. Secondly, the study demonstrated that the decline in the censorship intensity during the month of March was caused by the decision of the Ottoman government to alleviate the censorship policies. As the study progressed, it was also seen that in the month of May which had the highest number of censorings, there was a change in the intensity of the blank spaces and in the content of the newspaper because of the different agenda of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. Furthermore, for the second half of the month of May, the research suggests that despite the existence of very strict censorship implementation on the criticisms against the occupation of Izmir, the newspaper was able to report the public demonstrations in Istanbul. This was possible due to the fact that the Ottoman government's negative reaction to the occupation. Besides, the differences between the censorship implementation on the same news in different newspapers illustrate the varying approach of the censorship department towards them. Thirdly, it can be concluded that the alteration in the policy of the Ottoman government towards the Anatolian Movement had a great impact on the censorship practices in Istanbul, especially in terms of restrictions on the criticism of the selection of the Ottoman representatives of Paris Peace Conference and of the news

¹¹⁹ Since the newspaper had promoted the continuation of the Ottoman state with the least loss and had a pro-Anatolian stand after a point, the research could not reflect pre-print censorship policies that was implemented to whole Istanbul press which had various tendencies.

about the Congresses. It is also indicated there was a high possibility that the censorship practices in the news about the Anatolian Movement might not have been manifested as blank spaces in the newspaper. The reasons for this claim in the thesis were; (1) the fact that the intensity of the blank spaces was very low in these months, (2) the examination of the existing news drafts of *Tasvîr-i Efkar* demonstrated some of the censored news were not reflected as blank spaces in the newspaper as in the case of the news about the Erzurum Congress and finally (3) the Istanbul press was oddly publishing only negative news and declarations against the Anatolian Movement. Lastly, the analysis of the newspaper demonstrated that during the first months of Ali Rıza Paşa's government, while the censorship on the writings about the National Movement was considerably loosened, the strict censorship still continued and was manifested as full removals of the content. That is to say, it is not possible to defend the censorship policies were completely alleviated. It is also noticed from the beginning of 1920, the Interallied censorship became more dominant in the suppression of the Istanbul press which even caused to the Ottoman government's need to lift its own censorship practice and the closure of the first phase of the *Tasvîr-i Efkar* newspaper, after *de jure* occupation. Therefore, the analysis suggests that the censorship regime has frequently changed in terms of the censored content and reflected the existence of both the increase and the decrease of censorship practices during this period.

4. THE SECOND PHASE: THE EXAMINATION OF *TASVÎR-İ EFKÂR* NEWSPAPER FROM JUNE 1921 TO AUGUST 1922

The aim of this chapter is to examine the policies of the censorship regime of Istanbul for the period from June 1921 until the start of the Great Offensive¹²⁰ by concentrating on the writings in the second phase of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. In this chapter, the main research questions will be focused on why the mixed censorship committee did not intervene in the nationalistic news in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* that might have had influenced the public in Istanbul against the interest of the Allied states and if these kinds of news were not exposed to censorship, what kind of contents were censored since the newspaper started its new publication life as a strong supporter of the Anatolian Movement.

The research conducted on the second phase of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* has shown that there were three notable features in the newspaper:¹²¹ (1) the striking fall in the censorship frequency, (2) the transformation of the dominant medium type of censorship to the small type of censorship and (3) an explicit return to the supportive news on the Anatolian Movement, but this time, with hopeful and vigorous writings and pictures. In regard to the censorship affair, in its second phase, the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper had never witnessed as many blank spaces as its first period. As can be observed from the below chart, the previously seen large and largest types of censorship almost disappeared and the frequency of the medium type of censorship gave its place to the small scale of censorship which was usually implemented by the erasing of two-three

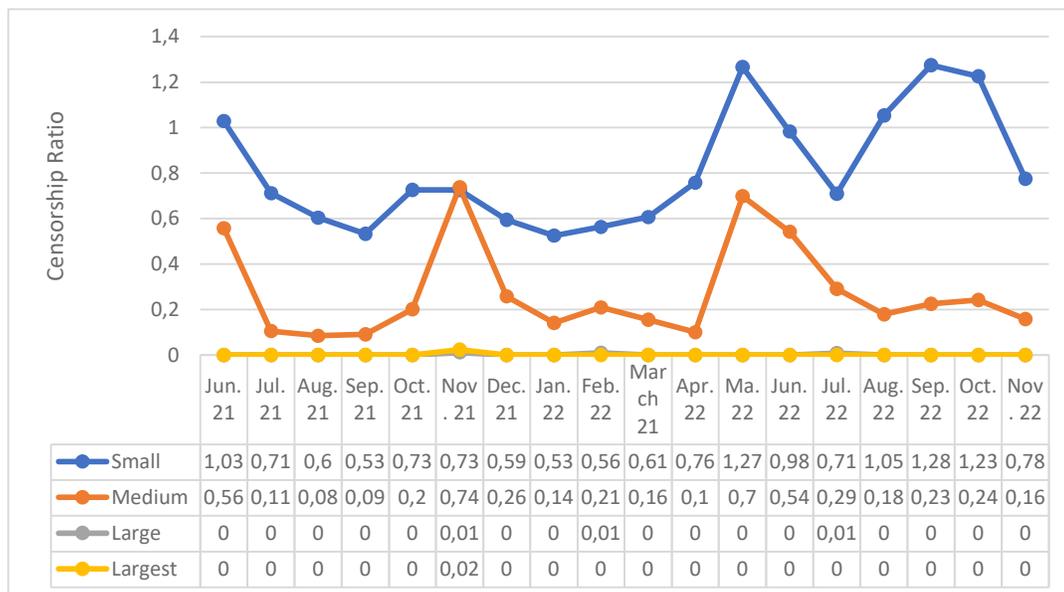
¹²⁰ Although, the statistical data for the censorship ratio of September-October and November 1922 will be given in the charts, the analysis of the censored news for these months would not be studied because of the repetition in the instances.

¹²¹ These features had also impact on the structure of the last chapter of the thesis. For instance, since the reports about the important developments in Anatolia rarely censored, the news about the battles of Kütahya Eskişehir, Sakarya and the Great Offensive will be most of the time ignored. Moreover, due to the increased amount of small type of censorship, the concentration will be given to the medium type of censorship which leads to the selection of specific news depending on the removed part's predictability.

lines. Besides, the complete deletion of an article within the newspaper also decreased to a considerable extent. The significance of the decrease in censorship was that it enabled the newspaper to be read with minor deteriorations or alterations in its meaning.

Nevertheless, interestingly enough, as is encountered before, the second period of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* also had witnessed specific peak points in its censorship ratio which will be the topics of three subsections of the last chapter. Before dealing with the censorship examples of the newspaper in these three subsections, this chapter will start with a humble glance at the censorship policy of Istanbul on its press, while Ebüzziyazade was in exile in order to understand the striking alteration in the newspaper's content. Then, the period between June and October 1921 will be the focus of the first part of this chapter and it will be examined by concentrating on the articles concerning the foreign relations of the Ankara government that were the most exposed to the censorship practices. Secondly, the censorship examples after the Treaty of Ankara until March 1922 will be embarked on by focusing on the selected instances that were encountered frequently. Thirdly, the period from March to August 1922 will be explored in order to disclose the censoring practices in the midst of news covering the Conferences in Europe. Finally, the thesis will conclude with an attempt to answer the question of how pre-print censorship was terminated in Istanbul.

Table 4.1 The Censorship Ratio of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* in its Second Phase



4.1 Few Notes on the Censorship Regime of Istanbul between 1920 and 1921

It is important to indicate that after *de jure* occupation of Istanbul, the already tightened Interallied censorship which led the government contemplating the abolishment of its own censorship practices (Gökbilgin 2018, 623), was so intensified (Varlık 1985, 1200) that caused searching of the *Matbaa-i Ebüzziya* (Sürmeli 2010, 113), the exile of Ebüzziyazade Velid to the island of Malta (Şimşir 1985, 180), seventeen days of suspension and then, the total closure of the newspaper. The strict surveillance of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was also alarming the latter censorship regime of Istanbul.

After the Allied state's forces officially occupied Istanbul on March 16, 1920, the telegram offices in the city were also taken control by them (Karay 209, 320; *Tamim* 1991, v. IV, 264) and as a reaction, on March 17, Anatolia decided to break the connection with the Istanbul offices by imposing a ban on postal and telegraph communications¹²² (Shaw 2010, v. 3, 1076; *Tamim* 1991, v. IV, 269). Furthermore, on May 6, 1920, the Grand National Assembly passed an enactment regarding the subject whose guideline's second article was concerning the Istanbul press. According to the enactment, the entrance of the Istanbul newspapers to Anatolia was forbidden and it became compulsory for the censorship headquarters¹²³ to return all those newspapers to where they were sent. Furthermore, if these official documents and the newspapers were accepted or not send back by the censors, the censor officers would be treated as traitors by the High Treason Law (*Hıyânet-i Vataniye Kanunu*) (DABCA. 30/18/1/1, 1/1/2, M-06-05-1920; İskit 1939, 138; Kardeş 1980, 16; Tunç 1999, 362-3). Two weeks later, on May 20, 1920, a Censorship Directive was also published in the *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper which instructed the post offices how censorship would be conducted, and it was made clear that allowing Istanbul newspapers into Anatolia would be considered as an act of treason (Baykal 2019, 142).

¹²² The telegraph communications between the Ankara government and Istanbul would be restored on November 8, 1921, on the condition that they would be subjected to military censorship by the Ankara government (DABCA. KDB. 30/18/1/1, 4/36/5, M-08-11-1921).

¹²³ The locations of coastal censorship headquarters were Antalya, Fethiye, Marmaris, Bodrum, Kuşadası, İnebolu, Samsun, Trabzon, Giresun, Bandırma, and Biga. For further information, see. (İskit 1939, 138).

In Istanbul, shortly after *de jure* occupation, Damat Ferit Paşa formed his last government on April 5, 1920 (Akşin 2010, v. 3, 3), and according to Sina Akşin, the aim of his new policy manifested itself in the imperial edict of the Sultan as follows: (1) to restore the order in Anatolia through several measures against the National Movement, (2) to strengthen the loyalty of people to the Sultan, and (3) establish a bond with the Allied states, (4) to defend the benefit of the state and the right of people and finally (5) to moderate the peace conditions (Akşin 2010, v. 3, 4). Akşin further expresses that the imperial edict of the Sultan was officially announcing the civil war against the National Movement (Akşin 2010, v. 3, 21). Therefore, in addition to the negative attitude of the Interallied censorship¹²⁴ against the news on Anatolia, the censorship regime of the Ottoman government,¹²⁵ in the same way as before, would also be shaped according to the policy of its cabinet.¹²⁶ As a result of this dual animosity which even manifested itself as the death warrant against Mustafa Kemal Paşa and his companions on April 11, 1920, (Jaeschke 1989, 98) it was inevitable that the censorship policies of Istanbul would tighten against the news regarding the Anatolian Movement.

For instance, when the Grand National Assembly was opened on April 23, 1920, no news appeared either in *İkdâm* or in *Vakit* on the subject but they published only blank spaces in their leading articles (Baykal 2013, 103-104; 2019, 143). Baykal further indicates the General Director of the Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Office Refik Halit Bey informed the Ministry of the Interior Affairs that publications of the National Forces, printed in Ankara and sold openly or secretly in Istanbul, had all been collected and destroyed (Baykal 2019, 143; DABOA. DH.İ.UM 16/3/1/18, R-25-04-1336). Another document which was sent to the Ministry of Interior Affairs by the same Directorate dated May 1, 1920, employed the same policy, with the difference being that there was an additional explanation about the newspapers either being brought by the passengers or through closed envelopes that could not have been controlled since

¹²⁴ Asım Us described the Interallied censorship as *Ecnebi Sanstürü* (Foreign censorship) and indicated the Martial Court of Kürt Mustafa Paşa also interfered the censorship affair, after the writings were censored by the Interallied censorship (Us 2010, 18).

¹²⁵ For further examples on the role of the Ottoman government in the censorship affair, see. (Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 153-182).

¹²⁶ For instance, after Damat Ferit Paşa had established his new cabinet in 1920, Refik Halid (Karay) who had experience during Damat Ferit Paşa's first government as being director of Administration of Postal, Telegram and Telephone, was appointed to his previous position on April 16, 1920. Then, he was asked by the Minister of Interior Affairs to re-arrange personnel of his new bureau according to the new policy of the government (Karay 2009, 315-316).

editorship was not applied to them (DABOA. DH.İ.UM 16/1, H-12-08-1338). Besides, by the directive of the Head of Istanbul's Police Hasan Tahsin, the newspapers *Yeni Gün* and *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* were banned to be sold and carried in Istanbul. The punishment for the transgression would be immediate arrest and confiscation of the newspapers starting from April 1920 (Baykal 2019, 143-44).

Asım Us who worked in the *Vakit* newspaper during the period also pointed out important information for the censorship regime of Istanbul. He indicated that while the news about the Anatolian Movement named as *Kuvây-ı Bağiyeye* (the Forces of Rebels) was not allowed to be published in the city, not criticizing the policy of Anatolia was also seen as the cause for receiving a warning from the Press Directorate. Accordingly, he was warned by the Administrator of Press Affair Abdullah Zühtü who would be discharged on July 19, 1920, (DABOA. İ.DUİT 114/146/0, H-03-11-1338) under the pretext of not supporting the Istanbul government's policy against the Anatolian Movement. The Ottoman representative in the Interallied censorship Mahmut Sadık also approved of this warning (Us 2012, 17-18).

He furthermore stated that the censorship regime of Istanbul was intensified during the activities of Ahmet Anzavur [February-April 1920] and the expansions of the Greeks in the West [June 1920]. For example, the official declarations of the state were delivered by the private officials who came to the printing houses accompanied by armed soldiers, thus making the publication obligatory for the newspapers' owner (Baykal 2013, 100; Us 2012, 17).

Another significant instance of censorship¹²⁷ for the period was also narrated by him. He stated that although a photo of Mustafa Kemal Paşa, Fevzi Paşa,¹²⁸ and İsmet Bey that declared them as the leaders of the Anatolian Movement was able to pass the examination of the mixed censorship committee both in *Vakit* and *Bosphore*, the version of *Vakit* was caught by the Martial Court (Us 2010, 21-22). Furthermore, it was accused of the charges of using the title "Bey" and of publishing news about the *Rum* refugees which the Martial Court perceived as the support for the Anatolian Movement.

¹²⁷ For the other two censorship examples in the *Vakit* newspaper, see. (Us 2012, 22-25).

¹²⁸ The title Paşa was not used in the headline of the photo (Us 2010, 21-22).

Therefore, the newspaper had suspended for fifteen days (Us, 2012, 21-22). The *Vakit* and *İkdâm* newspapers were also suspended respectively fifteen and eight days on July 16, 1920 (Us 2010, 24). On the other side of the medal, the silence of Istanbul press towards the developments in Anatolia was frequently criticized by the Anatolian press (Demirel 2018, 9; Öztoprak 2014, 16-17).

Finally, on August 7, 1920, the further intensification of the censorship that was applied to the Istanbul press was officially announced with an enactment published in *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* (İskit 1939, 727). Enactment stipulated that if someone was to publish declarations, speeches and articles that (1) violate the security of the interior affairs and (2) the foreign relations of the state or (3) the documents about the Ottoman government in the newspapers or in the booklets, they will be fined with an additional penalty. The adjunct punishment were: for the state officials, the deprivation of jobs, the compensation (*mazuliyet*), and the right for retirement; for those who were not state officials, the prohibition from working as a government official or imprisonment. Furthermore, those newspapers would be fined with suspension from fifteen days to six months¹²⁹ (İskit 1939, 727; Kabacalı 103-104).

Criss also provides an important piece of information that according to the Allied High Commissioners joint note dated October 1, 1920, the article first of the Sultan decree about the press censorship which involved punitive actions against the journalists who defied the censor could not possibly be applied to foreign journalists (Criss 1999, 48). She further indicates that while they reiterated their position in the censorship affair, the Allied High Commissioners took the occasion to tell the Sublime Porte that they would neither accept the application of the decree to their nationals nor recognize any limitations on the powers of the Allied Commission in regards to the Press (Criss 1999, 49). In fact, as is understood from the note of the Press Directorate dated August 2, 1919, the problem was not pertained to this period. The note contained a complaint that the English written newspaper in Istanbul called "*the Orient News*" which was representing the views of the British headquarter and even included some of their military officials as writers, was published without prior sending of the newspaper to the censorship commission. It created a problem because the Istanbul press was also

¹²⁹ For further information, see. (İskit 1939, 727; 140, 41).

quoting news from the aforementioned journal which was perceived as dangerous (DABOA. HR.SYS. 2633/3, 31).

Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu) also complained about the condition of Istanbul in his article in *İkdâm* dated January 31, 1921. It was an answer to the criticism of Anadolu Agency against the Istanbul press which stated that since they have been doing their job very badly from the Armistice onwards, they should also not attempt to advocate Anatolia unnecessarily now. As a response, Yakup Kadri expressed that apart from a few newspapers, the Istanbul Turkish press should not be rebuked because they tried to defend the will of the nation despite all sorts of limitations. After reproaching to the ones in Ankara, he indicated the invisible part of the Istanbul press was in deep sorrow and that the visible cover pages of the newspapers sometimes also seemed disgusting, since they referred to the oppressed with curse, appeared to approve of the mass murders, presented the bandits as the brave, and used the space in their columns to deliver the words of some very dangerous and ugly statesmen. He suggested to the ones in Ankara to recall that they were forced to do so with brutality. He was further stating in his words that they had passed through the dirty roads, stayed in the marsh and reached several dead ends, walk side by side with the graverobbers (*kefen soyucu*) and wait for hand and foot in front of specter (*bazı hortlakların huzurunda divan durduk*)... However, they had kept their regrets in their hearts and waited for “today” to say these words (Karaosmanoğlu 1990, 29-31). In his article, he was hinting that only that time which was after the First Battle of İnönü, they were able to confess the poor condition of the Istanbul press.

As was pointed out by Yakup Kadri, at some point, the press censorship regime of Istanbul would loosen up its policies, particularly in regard to the news on the Anatolian Movement. Therefore, two questions emerge; why and when did this change occur? The consensus in academia on the topic of the shift in the censorship regime policies is that the change was instigated by the realization of Istanbul that the National Struggle would be successful. For instance, Yücel Özkaya’s article, which was among one of the first writings that mentioned the subject, points out that the Istanbul newspapers started to mention the Anatolian Movement in 1921 potentially due to the following reasons: (1) the victories in the First and the Second Battles of İnönü, (2) the achievements of the National Forces in Cilicia, (3) the peace between the Ankara government and the

French, and (4) the growing idea that the Movement would be successful in Anatolia (Özkaya 1984, 872; 1989, 12). Hülya Baykal in her article (Baykal 1988, 473) and Kabacalı in his book (Kabacalı 1990, 105) also share the same idea that the recognition of the potential success of this struggle was the key. Erol Baykal further supplements that a key characteristic of the [Inter]Allied censorship was the opposition to the news about the Nationalists which continued until mid-1921 when the Allies took a more neutral form (Baykal 2013, 103). He specifies the date of transition by particularly marking the end of March 1921 “the Second Battle of İnönü”,¹³⁰ and states that the transition was related with (1) the disappointment of the British with Venizelos who lost the election in Greece, (2) the unexpected achievements of the Nationalists which needed to be considered, and (3) their realization of pursuing the provisions of the Sevres Treaty appeared more and more unrealistic (Baykal 2013, 108-9).

In fact, although it was not mentioned by any of the aforementioned scholars, the dispatches of the British High Commissioner Sir. H. Rumbold to Earl Curzon also give a significant amount of information about the transition in the Istanbul press. For instance, one of them dated February 9, 1921, indicated that there was publicity in Istanbul which had been distributed by the Kemalists via Zonguldak. It contained the correspondences among the Istanbul and the Ankara government which stated the Turkish government was also invited to the London Conference. However, more importantly for the press censorship, the same telegrams were printed by *Tercümân-ı Hakikât* on February 7 in which the Turkish censor officers allowed them to appear, and the Allied censors, whose general instruction at present were to allow considerable latitude to the Turkish press, acquiesced. Apparently, this occurrence was seen dangerous by Rumbold who informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sefa Bey about the publication and its potential danger while it circulated in Istanbul. In response, Sefa Bey would state the telegrams were already widely known and allowed by the Acting Minister of the Interior to inform the public (F.O. 371/6466, E. 2484; F.O. 406/45, P. 82-83, No. 57; Şimşir 2000, v. III, 119-20). Rumbold gave very crucial details on the incident that answer the question of how it happened:

¹³⁰ Erol A.F. Baykal’s evaluation of *Peyâm-ı Sabah* on the transition of the censorship policy has crucial indications on the subject, see. (Baykal 2013, 103-111).

“the telegrams were submitted to the censors at a later hour than usual, and at a moment when only junior Allied representatives were present. The whole incident presents the appearance of a Nationalist *coup* in the press, such as might be expected to precede an attempt to force the Nationalist point of view on the Sultan and the Central government. It may seem incredible that the Kemalists should contemplate such an attempt while Constantinople is in Allied occupation, but Constantinople is so full of Kemalist sympathizers, the Allied forces are so reduced, and the occupation has interfered so little with the Turkish administration...” (F.O. 371/6466, E. 2484; F.O. 406/45, P. 82-83, No. 57; Şimşir 2000, v. 3, 119, 120).

Although *Tercümân-ı Hakikât* managed to publish news about the success of Ankara government on February 7 in a tricky way, another dispatch of H. Rumbold clearly illustrated the changed condition in the Istanbul press after the Second Battle of İnönü. It was sent to Curzon on April 13, 1921, and as follows.

“...since the London Conference the Turkish newspapers that already known to be Nationalists in their sympathy have come into the open. Of the nine daily Turkish papers appearing in Constantinople six are Nationalist two anti-Nationalist and one technically non-political but run in the Nationalist interest. Out of the first six four namely “Wakt” [*Vakit*], “İleri”, “İkdam” and “Akşam” [*Akşâm*] work in close co-operation. They now no longer make any secret of their devotion to the Angora government and though the Allied censorship exercises a restraining influence, it is impossible in present circumstances to attempt to do more than prevent violent explosions and the grosser forms of propaganda such as exploitation of real or alleged Greek misdeeds. Even this is increasingly difficult owing to the attitude of the French and Italian representatives on the censorship who take their cue from the higher authorities.” (F.O. 406/46 p. 22-23, No. 13; Şimşir v. 3, 2000, 287).

The explicitly mentioned change in the censorship regime of Istanbul is very significant to understand the striking alteration in the content of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* after thirteen months of closure because when the newspaper was re-published after the Second Battle of İnönü, the Istanbul press had already been allowed to print news about the military fronts of Anatolia, the Grand National Assembly, and Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Kabacalı 1990, 104; Özkaya 1984, 874).

In regard to the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper, after Ebüzziyade Velid was permitted by the British to return to Istanbul a bit earlier than the other prisoners in 1921, on the basis

that his older brother Ebüzziyazade Talha Bey was suffering from a serious illness¹³¹ (Şimşir 1985, 180; Yalman 1997, 579), he desired to re-open the closed *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. However, as is mentioned before, due to the fact that he was unable to obtain the necessary permission for the license,¹³² the concession of the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* (Unification of Ideas) title was bought from Babanzade Şükrü (Koçak 2018, 4; Pıgar 1982, 22) and the second phase of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*¹³³ was opened with a new title and encouraging pictures for the victory.

4.2 The Transformation in the Censored Content of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*: the Period after the Battles of İnönü

When the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper was re-opened with a different title on June 2, 1921, the censorship regime of Istanbul had already loosened its restrictive policies on its press in the aftermath of the military achievements of the Ankara government in the First and the Second Battles of İnönü (Baykal 2013, 101). The newly established circumstances helped the newspaper both to publish a lot of notable nationalistic news¹³⁴ from its first issue onwards and to enable that most of its articles are printed

¹³¹ Enis Tahsin Til indicated that the reason of Ebüzziyazade Velid's early return was his demand from the British because of his own illness (Til 2004, 184). Ebüzziyazade Talha died in Switzerland Agra Sanatorium on December 24, 1921. For further information the article called *Gazetemiz için bir Ziyâ'-ı Elîm* can be consulted, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 25 December 1921, 1).

¹³² As is mentioned before, the duty of giving permission for publication of a new newspaper belonged to either the civil censorship committee or the Military government (the first article in the enactment of February 1919). However, this circumstance brought difficulties to receive a permission not only for *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* but also for the other newspapers. For instance, Refik Halid (Karay) indicated that when he tried to open the humor magazine *Aydede* on January 1922, the censorship committee had already banned to publish a new newspaper, so he had to exert the influence of Enis [Tahsin Til] who was the censorship inspector at the time, to open the magazine and he achieved (Kabacalı 1990, 104-105; Karay 2009, 351-52). Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın) also pointed out the same issue with two different narration (Kabacalı 1990, 106; Yalçın 200, 364-371). Both of them implies the difficulty to receive the permission for the second publication of *Tanin*. In his second narration, he stated that because of the difficulty in the process of publishing a new newspaper, it was necessary to buy already received permissions and change its name (Kabacalı 1990, 106; Yalçın, 2000, 371).

¹³³ Meltem Koçak in her M.A. thesis states that the first issue number of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* is 1 (Koçak 2018, 1). However, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* started its publication life with the issue number 3029-1 as an indication for the continuation of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper which closed in its 3028 issue on April 17, 1920 (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 17 April 1920 1; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 2 June 1921, 1). The newspaper would continue to use dual enumeration until its closure on March 5, 1925.

¹³⁴ As is mentioned before, one of the main features of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* in this period was the publications of the supportive news about the Anatolian Movement such as publishing a serial about the battles of İnönü to inform its readers (3 June 1921, 3), printing elaborate pictures, patriotic poems and the official declarations of Ankara (2, 3, 16 June 1921, 1; 5 June 1921, 3) giving updated reports about the battles of Sakarya and the Great Offensive (11, 13, 15 September 1921, 1), focusing on the motivational news during the battle of Kütahya Eskişehir (22 June 1921, 1, 3)

with a considerable reduction in the number of blank spaces. However, as indicated in the chart above, censorship was still intensive in particular months. Even though the number of blank spaces was quite reduced, the question remains; what kind of subjects continued/began to be censored in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* and lead to these peak points.

The research conducted for the purpose of this chapter has shown that while the small and the medium types of blank spaces were less common in topics such as the daily news, updates on the lawsuits or the news about battles, there were very visible censorship practices of Istanbul which specifically applied to one general topic. It was the writings about the foreign affairs of the Ankara government with the Allied states (Criss 1999, 49), and the policy was highly related to the condition that the Allied censors only tolerated the support for the Nationalist Movement in the newspapers as long as it was not against their interests (Baykal 2013, 111). This implementation even made the month of June to be the peak period of blank spaces in the newspaper for the first part of the last chapter. Nevertheless, as is mentioned before, these censorship practices did not entail large or largest types of censorings, but rather medium or the small types of white gaps for specific points which helped to understand what the article was about. Hence, this section of the thesis will try to concentrate on them instead of the great number of articles and reports about the National Struggle.

The first blank space in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* was also implemented to the writing about the foreign affairs of the Ankara government which can be seen on the second page of the newspaper as a dismissal of the headline¹³⁵ of a group of small news. This news was about the reactions of the European newspapers in regard to the National Assembly's rejection of Bekir Sami Bey's peace attempts at the end of the London Conference.¹³⁶ One of the small censored news titled "İngiliz Gazeteleri Hakkımızda Pek Bedbîn" (the British Newspapers are Very Pessimistic about Us) was declaring that the British press was investigating the proposal of the Cilician Affair comprehensively and most of them

and calling for aids and prayers for Anatolia (6 June 1921, 1; 7 June 1921, 2; 6, 7, 9 September 1921, 1; 13 September 1921, 2). For further information on the topic, see. (Koçak, 2018).

¹³⁵ It is probable that the removed headline might be "Karşidakiler Ne Diyorlar?" (What do They Say?) because of having the similar structure with the small news of foreign newspapers in the next issues, see. (3 June 1921, 3; 4, 5 June 1921, 4).

¹³⁶ When the agreements of Bekir Sami in London on March 11, 13, and 16 were not accepted by the National Assembly due to being against the National Pact, it caused to great criticisms towards the policy of the Ankara government. These criticisms were highly published in the foreign newspapers and cited by *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* as well. For further information, see. (Sonyel 1991, v. II, 117-139).

were believing the French authorities would not accept the offer of Fevzi Paşa. Then, the sentence was disrupted with the removal of two lines from the text (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 2 June 1921, 2). On the next day, the declaration of Fevzi Paşa¹³⁷ was also be exposed to a small type of censorship. In his speech, he stated the internal and foreign policy of Ankara had not been changed and that they would continue to fight until they achieve the political, financial and the military aims proclaimed by the National Assembly. Moreover, he said that they would not refuse any kind of peace that would assure their right to freedom. Lastly, he indicated their material and immaterial strength was bound to the national defense, and it was at this point that the censorship splits the speech and the declaration continues to describe their foreign policy with the Russian Soviet government (3 June 1921, 1).

In fact, these two censorship examples signaled what the next censored content of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* would be, while allowing the serial about the battles of İnönü (3 June 1921, 3). For instance, a relevant censorship example appeared on the next day in the article called “Fransız-Türk İtilâfında Ankara’nın Şerâ’iti” (The Stipulations of Ankara in the Agreement of the French and the Turk) which had two full medium types of blank spaces in itself. Although the question of how Ankara wants to deal with the Cilician Affair could be observed as the subheading, the answer to the question cannot be seen in the article. The parts that were not subjected to the censorship were about the declaration of Doktor Nihat Reşat to *Le Petit Journal* and the news called “Matin Ne Diyor?” (What *Le Matin* Says?). To give an example, the uncensored writing of *Le Matin* indicated that the Turks had agreed to leave Iskenderun to France and that their entire proposal could not be accepted in Adana but instead, the negotiations should have been continued in Paris (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 4 June 1921, 2).

One week later, the article of *Tan* newspaper about the Eastern Question was also exposed to several censorship implementations. The article begins with white space, and the uncensored paragraph between two medium types of censorship was the statement of the correspondent of *the Daily Telegraph*. After he pointed out the idea of changing the Eastern policy of Britain attracted the attention of their consultants (*mütehassıs*), the second blank space interrupts the paragraph. After the censorship, the article continues

¹³⁷ The declaration was given in the National Assembly on May 30 and received from the Anadolu Agency which opened on April 6, 1920 (Kardeş 1980, 24).

with the statement of *Tan* saying that if the proposals that were against their peace demands and the enterprise of Mr. Lloyd George were asked to be discussed, the explanation had to be provided of how the French which used its forces in Europe, would spill the blood of their soldiers in Anatolia (11 June 1921, 3). Three days later, another significant small news of a French newspaper was subjected to the small type of censorship. It asserts that due to Mr. Lloyd George's desire to reconcile King Constantine and Venizelos, the calling of Venizelos to London was highly significant and deemed as the beginning of alteration between the relations of Britain and Greece. Then, the white gap ensued (14 June 1921, 3).

In addition to the political articles in the newspaper, a murder report¹³⁸ on the third page was censored, as well. Namely, the notorious criminal Aksaraylı Mükerrerrem went to the tavern with his friends including the state official Çakır Mehmet at night. After they got drunk, they left for the *Felek* Cinema in Şehzadebaşı and had an argument on unknown topics; that part was censored. Once the dispute escalated, Mükerrerrem attacked Çakır Mehmet and was murdered by Çakır Mehmet in front of *Ertuğrul* Cinema at Şehzadebaşı (13 June 1921, 3).

During these days, while the news about one of the main topics of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, the expected offensive of the Greeks towards Anatolia,¹³⁹ was published almost without any blank spaces in the newspaper, the writings about the positions of the Allied states in the future war experienced the medium scale of white gaps. The article of *the Daily Telegraph* "İngiltere Siyaseti Tebdil Edecek Mi?" (Will the British Policy Change?) that was printed by *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* on June 16 can be provided as an important example for this case.¹⁴⁰ It was briefly stating that Greece had been the ally of Britain until King Constantine restored his position. However, lately, the Great Council of Allied states asked for the total change of policy against them and proposed the alteration of the Treaty of Sèvres because the Greeks refused to accept the amendments in the treaty that

¹³⁸ In the newspaper, the murder news did not usually have blank spaces. Therefore, the photos of people who had badly injured or died can be seen. For a few examples, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 19 August 1921, 4; 6 October 1921, 3; 30 November 1921, 1; 21 December 1921, 2; 22 August 1922, 1).

¹³⁹ For the examples of news about the Greek advancement, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 7, 12, 15 June 1921, 1; 16 June 1921, 3)i

¹⁴⁰ For another censorship example in an article called "İngiltere ve Fransa ile Ankara Arasında; İki Bin Felâketzede Daha Geldi", see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 20 June 1921, 2).

would protect them from the Turkish attack in İzmir and decided to fight. Therefore, the Allied states declared their neutrality and determined not to provide any assistance in their war with the Turks. The article also mentions that Britain had disputes with the Turks because the Turkish nationalists had violated their agreement about freeing of the British captives by hanging the British subject Mustafa Sagir and by not giving satisfying explanations for the confiscations of the British property. The medium type of censorship was applied after the sentence the Turkish people are clearly the allies of the Bolsheviks. Subsequently to the white gap, the author stated the individuals who criticized the policy of the [British] government must restrain from doing it until they understand what the policy was since it had not been announced yet (16 June 1921, 2). On the next day, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* announced the decision of the British House of the Commons to be neutral in the conflict between the Turks and the Greeks, and the publication was not subjected to any censorship whatsoever (17 June 1921, 1).

The last selected censorship instance for June 1921 can be seen on the last page of the issue of June 22nd without a headline. It was an article of a foreign newspaper and briefly stated that the Eastern Question was as important as the affair of the Upper Silesia because Bulgaria, that was defeated, would reach an agreement with Yugoslavia very soon and the Turkish nationalists were following the opposite policy towards the West together with the Bolsheviks. After this sentence, a medium type of censorship was applied which followed with a passage that indicated the division of the Greeks as the proponents of Venizelos or King Constantine was not right (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 22 June 1921, 4).

As can be understood from the chart above, the frequency of blank spaces which was already low in the pages of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* entered a declining trend in July and it continued until the end of the first part of the chapter. The decrease in the censorship frequency of the newspaper was directly correlated with the increase of the news about the battles of Kütahya-Eskişehir and Sakarya since the newspaper was flooded with the updates of events in the battlefronts which the censorship regime had already allowed to be appeared. For instance, before the battle of Kütahya-Eskişehir started, the newspaper would focus on the re-taking of İzmit and would cover its pages with victorious discourse (30 June 1921, 1). One of the correspondents of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* would go to

the area to receive information about the evacuation of the city (30 June 1) and upon his return, the photographer of the newspaper would do the same¹⁴¹ (4 July 1921, 1).

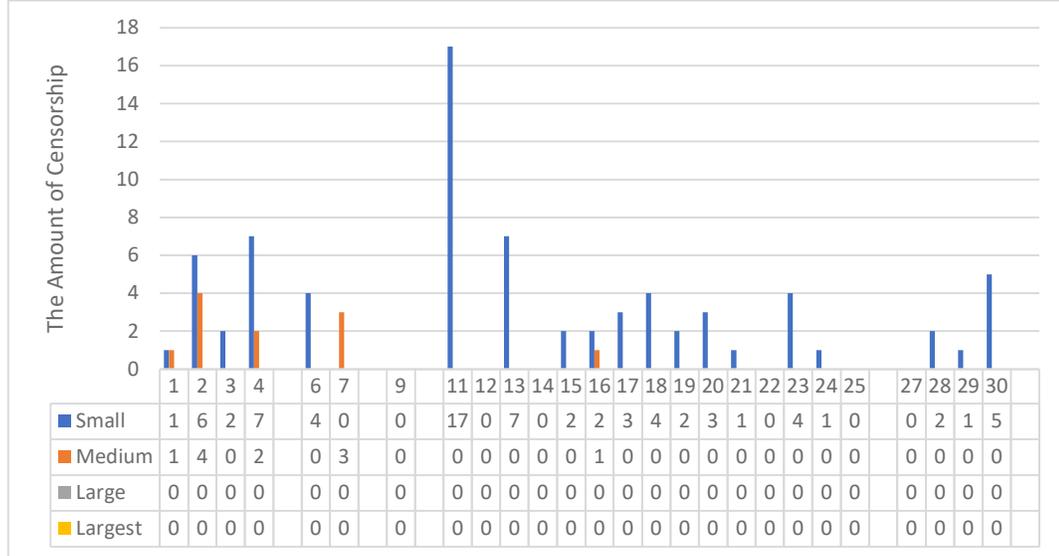
During the decrease in the censorship policies, one of the significant instances for this study could be noticed under the leading article of Ebüzziyazade called “İki Tarafta Hüsn-i Niyet Olunca” (When Both Sides Have Good Intentions). In the article, he expressed his opinion about the Ankara government’s attitude towards the Bekir Sami Bey’s peace attempts. He was of the view that for those in search of the political mistakes of Ankara, the refusal of the London Agreement by the National Assembly was a golden opportunity because the rumors appeared saying that Ankara would not favor agreeing with the Great Powers and that it was ruled by the extremists. However, Anatolia was only defending its rights and its existence in the scope of *Misâk-ı Milli*. He further stated that whenever the Ankara government saw a tendency to claim its right from the others, they would start a negotiation with them including France. He suggested France had also emphasized its desire to approve the right of the Turks in Anatolia before the London Conference with the evacuation of Zonguldak. When he indicated there were other pieces of evidence that France was the supporter of ending the war, the censorship split the paragraph and did not allow the publication of those proofs (7 July 1921, 1). In the following days, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* also announced that the newspaper had been suspended for twenty-four hours by the censorship committee, without giving the reason for the suspension (9 July 1921, 1).

On July 11th, the newspaper started to give reports about the Greek Offensive almost without any white gaps until the end of the month. The rescript (*tebliğ*) of the Ankara government and Greece (11 July 1921, 1; 12 July 1921, 1), the motivational news that emphasized the Turkish army was not defeated but retreat intentionally (22 July 1921, 2) and the calling for the prayers in the Istanbul mosques for the army were published in the newspaper (23 July 1921, 2). Speaking of the censorship practice, although the blank spaces were seen very few at the end of the month, the suspension announcements followed each other. For instance, the two suspension decisions were announced on the front page of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, the first one being 24-hour suspension on July 27, (27 July

¹⁴¹ Although their reports and the news about the evacuation was published with a few censorship practice in the newspaper (30 June 1921, 1; 1, 3, 4 July, 1921, 1), “Muharirimizin İzmit’teki Müşâhedâtı” (serial number 2) would be exposed to several blank spaces (2 July 1921, 2).

1921, 1) and the second one being the three-day suspension on August 3¹⁴² (3 August 1921, 1).

Table 4.2 The Number of the Types of Censorship in July 1921



When the battle of Kütahya-Eskişehir ended, it was finally indicated on July 27 in which *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* published the photo of the Grand National Assembly in order to emphasize the symbolic value of the building, as the decision to fight until the end was made there (27 July 1921, 1). During these days, Ebüzziyade's leading articles were also about the legitimacy of their war and had been published at most censoring of one line (27 July 1921, 1; 30 July 1921, 1).

Another highly important example of censorship for this study can be seen on the same day that *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* announced its suspension. It was the article of *Tan* with several blank spaces on the second page of the newspaper. The assertion was made that the condition of the central Anatolia was unclear because while the announcements of the Greeks were not providing information, the Turkish rescripts were received after several obstructions.¹⁴³ At the start of the second column, the article indicated that as announced via the telegram of Istanbul, the Turks decided to evacuate İzmit as they have received

¹⁴² The suspension was implemented to the issues between 30 July and 2 August 1921.

¹⁴³ For further information on the topic, see. (İnuğur 1988, 79-81; Kardeş 1980, 22-23; Koloğlu 1998, 31-34; Özyürek 2016, 1095-1115; Topuz 1976, 73). Talat Mithat Hemşehri was giving news to *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *Sabah* and *Tercüman* newspapers. (Koloğlu 1998, 33).

the news of the Greek army marching towards Adapazarı. Then, the medium type of censorship follows. Afterwards, the article furthermore argued that if the intelligence reports were accurate, the convenient number of Soviet army would not have been more than two/three hundred thousand soldiers and continued to speak about the internal policy of Russia. Another one-line blank space can be seen following the statement; it is notable that Soviet Russia was sending its army to the Caucasus, [censored] in reality they have the power to protect the profitable materials in the area and the places of petroleum are known and then, one line was censored again. After the author indicated the Bolsheviks can benefit from the Turks' preoccupation and raised the question if they intend to enter eastern Anatolia, another medium censorship ensued (3 August 1921, 2).

In *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, August 1921 was dominated by various news about the National Struggle and these kinds of writings were published almost without any censorship practice on them. The articles about the probability of Greece starting a new offensive,¹⁴⁴ the motivational news about the Turkish army focusing on its bravery, achievements, and advancement,¹⁴⁵ the reports about the Mustafa Kemal Paşa and specifically his appointment as the commander in chief of the Turkish army¹⁴⁶ can be seen on the pages of the newspaper frequently. Moreover, shortly before the battle of Sakarya started, the news of the advancement reports of the Turkish army, particularly after August 12, 1921, (12 August 1921, 1) took the place of the probable Greek Offensive. During these days, one of the significant instance of censorship for this research¹⁴⁷ is detected in the leading article of Ebüzziyade under the headline “Bir Kere de Hakkımızı Tasdik Tecrübesi Yapılsa Olmaz mı?” (Can't Our Rights Be Tried to Be Approved for Once?) In the article, Ebüzziyade claimed that the Turks had been accused as the ones who would not accept that they defeated, would not want to listen to the inputs from European countries, desire more than its share was and challenging the world. After this statement, the article has the following two lines censored. Furthermore, he continued to state there was nothing more natural than the previous sentences that were the censored part because they as a nation decided to die to protect

¹⁴⁴ For several examples of news about the new offensive, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 4, 5, 13, 15, 19 August 1921, 1).

¹⁴⁵ For a few examples of motivational news, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 7, 8, 10, 14, 15 August 1921, 1; 9 August 1921, 2; 13 August 1921, 1, 2).

¹⁴⁶ For examples of news on the subject, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 9, 10, 11, 13, 15 August 1921, 1).

¹⁴⁷ For further censorship examples, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 9, 10, 13, 15 August 1921, 2; 11 Ağustos 1921, 2, 3; 14 August 1921, 2, 3; 21 August 1921, 2, 4).

their honor and freedom. After he praises his nation and the history of the Ottoman state, he indicated that they had been an empire that included three continents and the places where the most precious lands of history like Egypt belonged to them. Afterwards, the article was censored again through the medium type of blank space. It later continued Anatolia is willing to give any sacrifice to protect its rights and freedom (22 August 1921, 1).

On August 25, the newspaper finally announces the Battle of Sakarya started (25 August 1921, 1) and the reports about the battlefields continued to be given with maps as before without having blank spaces. Moreover, the news about the aid activities of the Red Crescent began to be published in the newspaper (27 August 1921, 1, 2) and, at the beginning of September, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* also called for material assistance to Anatolia under the headline “Anadolu’ya Her Gün Bir Guruşta Mı Veremeyiz?” (Can’t We Give One *Guruş* to Anatolia Every Day?) and publish the aids of Istanbul Muslims together with their photos (6, 7, 8 September 1921, 1). The newspaper would also ask for prayers for the Turkish army that started the offensive in the battle (9 September 1921, 1). Having published a substantial number of supportive articles and news about the Battle of Sakarya, on September 8, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* received permission to enter into Anatolia by the Grand National Assembly (Baykal 2013, 115-6; DABCA, 30/18/1/1, 3/32/4, M-08-09-1921).

As can be seen from the chart 4.1, the month of September would witness the least number of medium type of blank spaces in the whole research period in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*. The decrease in the censorship frequency was again directly correlated with the huge amount of news about the battles which had already permitted by the censorship committee. However, one significant instance of censorship can be seen in the leading article of Ebüzziyazade “Tazyikin Te’sirâtı” (the Effect of Pressure). It was published on September 11, 1921, and was about a comparison between the French Revolution and the current condition of Turkey. He asserted in the article that big revolutions (*inkılâb*) occur with big pressures which were also very well known by the Great Powers because they had experienced such an occurrence in the case of the French Revolution. He was indicating briefly that after the French people revolted against their King, feudalism, and aristocrats, the alterations in their state policy allowed them to do major reforms (*inkılâb*). However, their revolution had alarmed the neighboring states

which attacked them because of the fear of the potential negative effects on their own states, but their victory against the invaders brought their revolution into success. Ebüzziyazade was resembling the aforementioned circumstance to those of the Ottoman state's case by saying the Turks, now, are also in the stage of the revolution. He indicated that the revolution started in Turkey through the first Constitutional era within the nation itself, but that it was interrupted by the punishment of Sultan Abdülhamit II. He furthermore stated that Europe seemed to appreciate the Turkish reforms at first. However, like France, the Ottoman state was also exposed to wars such as the Italo-Turkish, the Balkan and the Great War, nevertheless, they did not affect the interior reforms of the Ottoman state (*dâhili inkılâb*) since these wars did not aim to annihilate the Ottoman state. Then, the paragraph interrupts with the small type of blank space, followed by the statement that this was not a normal Greco-Turkish War because the enemies were attacking to demolish the Turkishness entirely. After the sentence, the medium type of censorship can be noticed (11 September 1921, 1).

On September 24, a very significant small announcement would be published from the bottom of the newspaper about the censorship affair. It was stated in the article that from September 25th onwards the censorship committee would also start to examine the announcements (*ilân*) that were printed in the newspapers. For this reason, individuals who wanted to publish an announcement in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* had to transmit their copies to the editorial room until midday. Otherwise, they would be published with one-day delay (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 24 September 1921, 1). Besides, as İskit reveals, an additional enactment to the Press Law of 1909 was issued and published in *Takvim-i Vekâyi* on October 23 (İskit 1939, 143). According to the enactment, the meanings of the âyat of Quran and hadiths could be mentioned in the newspapers (*cerâ'id*) along with the periodicals (*resâ'il-i mevkûte*), however, it was forbidden to print them literally.¹⁴⁸ Failure to comply with the ban would result in the responsible director of the newspaper and the author of the article to be punished with fine from ten to twenty-one *para*, imprisonment from twenty-four hours to one week or with both punishments (İskit

¹⁴⁸ An interesting and related censorship example can be seen on January 17, 1920 in the declaration of Süleyman El-Biruni that was published under the headline "Mesele-i Hilâfet ve 'Alem-i İslâm". After the medium type of censorship in his article, the newspaper publishes El-Biruni's reference to the âyat of Quran, which is *إِنَّمَا يَنْهَىٰكُمْ اللَّهُ عَنِ الذَّنْبِ الَّذِي قَاتَلْتُمْ* without censorship. However, although the meaning of the indicated âyat was censored, the continuation of the meaning was permitted to be published (*Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 27 January 1920, 2). In the detection of the âyat, I am very grateful to my dear friend from Middle East Technical University Hatice Acar.

1939, 728). The enactment was published on the last page of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* on October 24 (24 October 1921, 4).

The last notable censorship example¹⁴⁹ for this part of the chapter can be seen on the next day of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*'s announcement of the Treaty of Ankara. It was the leading article of Ebüzziyazade under the headline "Siyâsi Zafer" (The Political Victory). He was asserting that even though they did not know the details about the agreement with France and what kind of canons were provided to each part, the agreement could be deemed as a political victory of Ankara. After the statement that the new agreement would be much more beneficial than the previous agreement signed at the London Conference, the medium level of censorship, bigger than the previous ones, can be noticed. Moreover, the article continues by referring to the blank space that in respect to [the censored part], the achievement deserved to be deemed as a political victory and was probably more significant than the battle of Sakarya. Its political benefit attained through the agreement was directly related to the victory on the battlefield. After this sentence, the second medium type of censorship interrupts the article (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 25 November 1921, 1).

4.3 The Censorship Regime of Istanbul after the Treaty of Ankara

As Stanford Shaw indicates, the sympathy towards the National Forces in Anatolia had increased throughout the summer of 1921, particularly following the Turkish victories in the Second Battle of İnönü and most of all, at the Sakarya in early September (Shaw 2000, v. III.2, 1382). Even the Istanbul Martial Law Court declared that joining the National Forces was no longer a crime. Besides, *mevluds* were recited publicly at the Hagia Sophia mosque for the Turkish martyrs who died at the battle of İnönü and on September 9 at Sakarya (Shaw 2000, v. III.2, 1382). Under this circumstance, the censors were doing little to stop the nationalist newspapers since while the British still

¹⁴⁹ One of the notable censorship example can be seen in the reports of the lawsuit of Şah İsmail particularly after he was shot by Muallim Şevket Bey in the court on October 9, 1921. These applications increased the level of censorship intensity for the small type of blank spaces. For a few censorship examples on the subject, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 10, 11 October 1921, 1, 2; 13 October 1921, 2).

tried to exercise some control, the French and Italian censor officials refused to interfere with anything the journalists wished to print (Shaw 2000, v. III.2, 1382-83).

As was seen in the first part of the last chapter, the change in censorship regime had highly affected the content of the already nationalist newspaper *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* and allowed it to publish a huge amount of supportive news in great vigor. In this part of the chapter, its promotive feature continued and supplemented with the reports about the treaties of the Ankara government,¹⁵⁰ the articles on the aids of foreign states to the migrants,¹⁵¹ and the news about Pierre Loti and Calude Farrère.¹⁵² Nevertheless, the censorship regime still continued in the Istanbul press, with a difference being that one of the member countries of the censorship committee came to an agreement with the Ankara government through the treaty in October 1921.

At this point, it is significant to remark that the news about the Ankara government's relations with the other states, in contrast with the first part of this chapter, was published most of the time without any censorship. Particularly, the articles on the agreement with France that were published from October 24 onwards, would regard the treaty as the most important one which was signed by the Ankara government at the time (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 6 November 1921, 1). However, even though the presence of the positive impact of the Treaty of Ankara was tangible, as can be seen from chart 4.1, the second peak point of censorship intensity in the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper, specifically for the medium type of censorship, would be seen after the Treaty of Ankara was signed. As the research was carried out, it was observed that the main reason for the increase in the censorship intensity in the month of November was due to the high number of full censorings in the newspaper which was even manifested as a large type of full blank space.¹⁵³ Outside of those censorings whose context cannot be forecast, notable censorship instances occurred in the newspaper and their content was somehow related to the Treaty of Ankara, in particular, the British view about it.

¹⁵⁰ For a few examples on the news about the treaties, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 26, 27, 28 October 1921, 1; 1 November 1921, 1; 9 January 1922, 1).

¹⁵¹ For a few selected news about the aids of the foreign states, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 16 December 1921, 1; 2 January 1922, 1; 3 February 1922, 1; 11 March 1922, 1; 18 March 1922, 2).

¹⁵² For a few selected news about Pierre Loti and Claude Farrère, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 4, 31 December 1921, 1; 4, 5, 13, 23 January 1922, 1).

¹⁵³ For a few examples of full censorings on November 1921, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 2 November 2, 3, 4; 7, 10 November 1921, 2, 3; 22 November 1921, 3; 23 November 1921, 1, 2).

The first selected example of censorship can be seen in the leading article of Ebüzziyazade that was published on November 2, 1921, under the headline “Hâkimiyetimizin Sırrı” (The Secret of Our Sovereignty). Velid Bey stated briefly that compared with the time when the fate of Anatolia was in the hands of the foreigners right after the signing of the Armistice of Mudros and even for the two additional years, the situation in Anatolia was very satisfactory at the time that even dominated its own destiny. However, had the people not protect its existence with guns, the state would have vanished. After this sentence, one line was removed from the article and it continued speaking about when the Turks began to defend their rights due to having no other option to survive, the condition has completely changed. However, the article censored again with a medium type of blank space this time with a bigger gap than the usual ones. After the gap, Ebüzziyazade signified that soon afterwards it turned into the great combat (*mücâhede*) and the Anatolian organization with its regulation, arrangements, military power, commanders and the officials turned into a powerful government. Furthermore, it even won three battles against the Greeks that equipped its army very well (2 November 1921, 1).

Four days later, another leading article would also subject to several blank spaces. Ebüzziyazade expressed his opinions on the actions of the Ankara government and defended that the treaty of Ankara (*Ankara İtilâfnâmesi*) can open a new window to the state’s political life. He criticized any kind of argument about the text of the agreement and called it unnecessary because the essential point was the meaning and the spirit of the negotiation which was France had agreed with the Turks, even though they had been bound to the Allied states and had to follow the same Interallied policy. After this statement, the small type of censorship can be noticed in the article. Then, he further stated that although the whole agreement does not please the readers when it was first read, it’s aim was very important which could also be understood from the French press and the declaration of the French General Pellé. Both the French Press and General Pellé indicated that France was willing to establish peace in the East and wants to form a new powerful Turkey (6 November 1921, 1).

On the next day, the small news of *the Daily Telegraph* dated as of November 1 about the agreement was also exposed to the medium type of blank space. The diplomat correspondent of the newspaper stated that the text of the agreement was published

verbally and was in the hand of Britain. However, there was a big tendency not to express an opinion on the case. After he asserted the first article of the agreement was about the ending of the war between two sides, the medium type of censorship interrupts the article (7 November 1921, 2). Three days later, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* was also subjected to several blank spaces and all the white gaps on its front page were related to the Treaty of Ankara or its consequences. For instance, the report named “Şark Mes’alesi Etrâfında Fa’âliyet-i Siyâsiye” (the Political Activities around the Eastern Question) points out after the agreement between Turkey and France was achieved, clear political movements for the Eastern Question began in the European policy such as the diplomatic note of Britain, the trip of Gounaris and the maintenance of his stay at London were aimed to solve the Eastern Question. After this statement, the medium type of censorship could be noticed at the end of the news (10 November 1921, 1).

Moreover, on the same page, several small white gaps can be seen in the leading article of Ebüzziyazade which was about the change in the tone of the latest article of *the Times*. He asserted that the shift in the newspaper policy against the Greeks was very significant because *the Times* stated the Greek adventure of Anatolia failed, and they had to evacuate Anatolia to save themselves from the difficult situation. After this sentence, one line was removed by the censorship. Then, it stated that if *the Times*’ previous tone was remembered, which was followed day by day, the importance in the alteration of their writings can be understood because it had always had negative tone towards the Turks since the armistice was signed, particularly after the start of the Anatolian voyage of Greece. They provided assistance to the Greeks both materially and morally and even believed Greece would emerge victorious on their last offensive. Ebüzziyazade then indicated that *the Times* was the biggest newspaper of Britain and that its writings affected both the Turks and the Greeks, and that it could be regarded as the guide of British public opinion on the matter. After the paragraph, the removal of one line can be seen (10 November 1921, 1). In my point of view, the crucial point in the writing was although Ebüzziyazade reflects the negative attitude of the British policy against the Turks, it had passed pre-print censorship with a very few blank spaces.

Almost one month later from the Treaty of Ankara, a rare declaration of France dated November 18 was published from the second page of the newspaper. Accordingly,

rumors indicated an alteration would be done in the military and the secondary gendarmerie commissions of France, Britain, and Italy in Istanbul. However, the declaration was refuting these falsehoods by saying there would be no change in the Interallied military commission in Istanbul, which was also reported to London (20 November 1921, 2). The crucial point was that France had already started to give announcements about selling their properties in the auctions (2 November 1921, 4; 5 November 1921, 4). During this time, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* would also announce on its front page that the telecommunication between Istanbul and Anatolia commenced¹⁵⁴ (22 November 1921, 1) so the already permitted news about the National Movement would be received officially.

On December 3, one of the common censorship¹⁵⁵ examples for the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper can be observed on its second page. It was the statement of an anonymous foreigner who stayed a few months in Bursa and was telling about the situation of the Greek administration in the city, the condition of the Muslim shopkeepers, the situation of the ones who wanted to migrate and of Eskişehir after it was occupied. In the middle of the article, when he began to tell the story of a Turkish immigrant whom he met in the ferry and stated the desperate man waited for six months in front of the passport bureau before finally being able to get into the ferry to go to Istanbul, the story was cut with a medium type of white gap. Afterwards, the teller mentioned a new case (3 December 1921, 2). Yet, another significant censorship example can be noticed two days later on the second page of the newspaper under the headline “Adanamızın Tâhliyesi Etrâfında” (On the Evacuation of Our Adana). It was the rescript of Anadolu Agency and the only censored part of the notification¹⁵⁶ can be seen under the subheading of “How the Turko-France Agreement was Considered in Aleppo”. The censored section was written from Cairo and stated that Monsieur Franklin Bouillon exchanged opinions with General Gouraud to implement the measures of the agreement in Cilicia and Syria as required by the treaty between Turkey and France. After the statement, the medium type of blank space interrupts the article and the sentence

¹⁵⁴ On November 20, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* also mentioned a rumor on the topic, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 20 November 1921, 3).

¹⁵⁵ Relevant censored articles in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* can be listed as “Bir Daha Tekzib” (A Refutation Once More) (5 December 1921, 2), “Haymana Kazâsında Yunan Tahribâtı” (the Greek Destruction in the Province of Haymana) (27 December 1921, 1), “Yunan İ’tisâfâtı” (The Greek’ Unwarranted Behaviors) (4 January 1921, 3).

¹⁵⁶ The other subheadings of the notification were “Mersin de Tahliye Edildi” (Mersin was Evacuated, too), and “Afv-ı ‘Umumi ve Vergi Bekâyasının Te’cili” (the General Amnesty and the Postponement of Tax Liability).

between the medium and the small type of censorship indicates France gained the favorable public opinion of the Muslims by signing an agreement with the Ankara government (5 December 1921, 2).

Even two months later, the same theme would be subjected to censorship again. The article was the news of *Le Matin* that included the opinion of Monsieur Franklin Bouillon on the Eastern Question at the Conference in a French Club. He talked about the meetings that led to the Treaty of Ankara and expressed gratitude to Monsieur Briand because of ensuring the peace of the East. After this sentence, the large type of white gap¹⁵⁷ interrupts the article (15 February 1922, 2). On the next day, Franklin Bouillon's other article about the Eastern Question would also have several small white gaps (16 February 1922, 3).

Another censorship example¹⁵⁸ for this study can be noticed on the last page of December 13. The short news indicates the distribution of woods to the ones who did not take their share would be delayed until the new ones would be cut from the Belgrade forest and brought to piers again. Then, the news ends with a medium type of white gap (13 December 1921, 4). Furthermore, another selected censorship instance can be seen under the headline "Aralarındaki Nizâ" (the Fighting among Them)¹⁵⁹ which mentioned the struggle between the Greeks and the *Rums* on the selection of a new Patriarch. According to the news, the disagreements between the Venizelist *Rums* and the Greek military commission turned into harsh disputes. While the Greek military commission sent the captured *Rums* to Athens, the Venizelist officers were doing whatever they could do to the supporters of King Constantine. After this sentence, a medium type of white gap interrupts the writing (1 January 1921, 3).

On December 23, another significant news on the daily life of Istanbul named "Men'-i Fuḥş" (Prohibition of Prostitution) was also subjected to censorship. It asserts that the

¹⁵⁷ The large type of blank space in this article was, in fact, consisted of three medium type of blank spaces. However, since the article did not progress horizontally but edited vertically and it was measured more than half of one column, it was counted as large type of censorship.

¹⁵⁸ The assassination announcement of the former Grand Vizier Said Halim Paşa can be given as a good example of word censoring and can be seen under the headline "Said Halim Paşa (...) Şehit Edildi" [Said Halim Paşa (censored) was martyred] (9 December 1921, 1).

¹⁵⁹ For another censorship example on the topic, see. ("Rumlar Bile Yunan İşgâlinde Müşteki" 28 December 1921, 1).

government and the Allied States High Commissions (*Düvel-i İtilâfiye Fevkâlade Mümessilin-i Siyâsiye*) formed a society to prohibit prostitution as an enterprise of full mobilization. American Madame İlyasko [الياسقو] and Madame Elizabeth Huntington would preside over the society. In the branch of the society which would try to ban women from prostitution, there would be several madams, Naciye Hanım and the governor of Beyoğlu Saadettin Bey. The aims of the society were to find women who become a prostitute because of the poverty, to send them to the formed workhouses (*ıslahhâne*) and to take measures for the ones who become a prostitute because of lack of morality. The police officers (*zâbita*) would also help them. The newspaper supported giving full freedom to the police officers to close the whorehouses and indicated that prostitution was mostly doing in Beyoğlu. Following the question where the society would begin to work, the medium type of censorship interrupts the article. After the blank spaces, it continues when the Ottoman police officers had been doing their job, there were not seen even one-tenth of these events (23 December 1921, 3).

On the last day of December, a very significant announcement was made under the headline “Diskonto Bankasında Ta’til-i Te’diyât” (Suspension of Payment in the Banca Italiana di Sconto) whose content continuously censored in the newspaper. According to the telegram sent from the headquarter, the Italian bank which also had a branch office in Istanbul stopped its payment and requested a moratorium. After the information, the censorship removed five-line from the end of the small announcement (31 December 1921, 4). On the next day, yet another news called “İskonto Bankası” (the Bank of İskonto) would be published from the third page of the newspaper together with blank spaces on its headline and subheading which indicates [censored] stopped the payment and closed its box offices. After the article expresses the Banca Italiana di Sconto stopped its payment, the medium type of censorship interrupts the article. After the white gap, it speaks about the ones who had money in the bank being worried and desired to take their money back from its office. After one-line removal, it indicates according to the opinion of economists and merchants, the cut of payment in the bank would badly affect the economy of Istanbul. Then, the article again subjected to the small type of censorship (1 January 1922, 3). *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* published several articles¹⁶⁰ on the topic and expressed the market was being destroyed with its moratorium (2

¹⁶⁰ For several examples of news, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 3, 4, 10 January 1922, 3; 6, 8 January 1922, 2).

January 1922, 3). Finally, on January 8, the newspaper was suspended for twenty-four-hours due to the unknown reason (8 January 1922, 1).

Besides, as is understood from one of the news that was published towards the end of the month, the Minister of Finance sued the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper, which led to the responsible director Hayri Muhiddin Bey to appear in court. The news was affirmed that they did not understand the aim of the Minister for the lawsuit because their writings were not directed to him but were exclusively talking about the reasons for the loss of the treasury [one line censored], the criticism or condemning of transactions. After it further states that these kinds of criticisms are the right and the main duty of the newspaper, three lines of censoring can be noticed. After the blank space, the news indicated they were content with the decision to be put before the trial in front of the Minister, where they could defend themselves and achieve justice since they were unable to express themselves in the newspaper due to the censorship policies. (28 January 1922, 3) The result of the lawsuit was published on May 7, 1922, and indicated that the former Minister of Finance Faik Nüzhet Efendi sued them because, according to the newspaper, instead of using his ranks (*elkâb-ı âliye*), they just wrote the title “*Efendi*” for him. Nevertheless, the lawsuit was dismissed (7 May 1922, 1).

On January 9, a notable article was printed on the third page of the newspaper with several medium type of blank spaces. The article wrote that General Frunze prepared a banquet in honor of the newly signed agreement between two parties and stated that the agreement between Turkey and Ukraine was the first step towards the brotherhood not only between two groups but also for all Eastern states by being the first link in the chain. In his speech, after the part where he expressed his hope about the unification of all Easterners soon and hinted that the world was two-part, the medium type of blank space ensued. After the white gap, the following sentence declared that their experience and hopes of [censored] would mean nothing in front of this solidarity. The same article continues with the speech of Mustafa Kemal Paşa who asserted the satisfaction of Turkey and the nation from the agreement. Then, the medium type of blank space interrupts his declaration which stated the Great War created the awakening that was desired for the Turkish nations. Yet again, the speech subjected to the medium type of censorship (9 January 1922, 3).

Besides, an important censorship example¹⁶¹ can be witnessed in the news about the strike of the tram workers. While the newspaper announced the strike was about to end with the unfavorable condition for the workers with several small types of blank spaces on February 5, (5 February 1922, 2) three days later the article about the final status of the strike was published after being subjected to a medium type of censorship which was bigger than the others. In the news, it is noted that the thirteen days of strike concluded with the victory of the workers and tramways started to function since the day before. To receive more information, one of the reporters of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* went to the undersecretary of Public Works Burhaneddin Bey and it is indicated that a meeting was demanded from the company with the workers. When the company accepted the mediation of the government, it asked for applications from the workers to return their job, and in the case, they would not apply, they would be dismissed. In response, the strikers demanded their unpaid daily wage during the strike. After Burhaneddin Bey wished the appointment of the workers, the medium type of white gap splits the article (8 February 1922, 2). On the same day, a large full censoring can also be noticed, although its content cannot be understood (8 February 1922, 3).

The last censorship example for this part of the study can be perceived in the leading article of *Tan* on the second page of the March 11th issue. It affirms that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Turkish government Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşek)¹⁶² would arrive at Marseilles and hopefully, after staying in Paris, he would go to London like his predecessor Bekir Sami (Kunduk). After the indication that his requests were the requests of all the countrymen because the Istanbul government¹⁶³ had also decided to support him, a small type of censorship can be noticed. After the gap, the uncensored one-line stated, at the time, the French government inherited a very favorable position in the east. Then, a medium type of blank space splits the article. Before the article ends with another white gap, the small paragraph stated the Greek army had to withdraw from the places they occupied. This condition was not refuted by anyone except the government of King Constantine (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 11 March 1922, 2).

¹⁶¹ For another censorship example on the daily news in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, see. ("Mihran Efendinin Sabah Gazetesine Suikast Var Mı?" 17 February 1922, 4).

¹⁶² For further information and the interview of Yusuf Kemal *Bey*, see. (Bayur 1976, 617-667; Selek 1973, 669-675; Sonyel 1991, 219-224).

¹⁶³ For another censorship example in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* whose deleted content could not be understood, see. ("İzzet Paşa Londra'ya Gidiyor" 3 March 1922, 1).

4.4 Amid the News on Conferences: The Censorship Practice until the Great Offensive

On April 4, 1922, the British High Commissioner Rumbold sent a report to Lord Curzon about the attitude of the Turkish local press from March 23 until the proceeding of the Paris Conference. In the report, he pointed out that the nationalist newspapers (all of them except *Peyâm-ı Sabah*) continued to manifest great hostility to the idea of an armistice and the emphasis was given to the determination not to lay down the weapons until the territories occupied by the Greeks were completely evacuated.¹⁶⁴ Besides, he indicated that since March 28, the main subject of the newspapers had been the peace basis elaborated at the conference (F.O. 371/7860/ E. 3780; Şimşir 2000, v. IV, 232-3).

This trend in the newspapers of Istanbul can also be noticed in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* and apparently, it was not exposed to frequent censorship but had supervision with few small types of blank spaces.¹⁶⁵ That is why, even though there was huge amount of news on the subject of conferences,¹⁶⁶ as can be seen from the chart 4.1, the month of April 1922 witnessed one of the least censored months of the research period for the medium type of blank spaces (12) including July, August, and September 1921. Particularly, the new peace offer proposed during the conference known as “*Üçler Konferansı*” in Paris, (from 28 March 1922 onwards) the reports and articles concentrating on Thrace as a response to that (2, 3 April 1922, 1), and the answers of Ankara and Istanbul governments (4-9 April 1922, 1) were the new main topics of the newspaper’s agenda with the small type of blank spaces during the period. Amid low censorship intensity, the policy of the mixed censorship committee can clearly be observed for the medium types of white gaps in April 1922. It particularly concentrated on the expected answer of the Istanbul government to the peace offer and the evacuation of the Meander by the Italians.

¹⁶⁴ For a good example on the topic, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 5 April 1922, 1).

¹⁶⁵ For the small types of blank spaces on the topic in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, see. (“Devletlerin Cevabı” 16 April 1921, 1; “Yanlış Yolda Gidiliyor” 17 April 1922, 1).

¹⁶⁶ For a few examples of news about the conference, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, 27, 28, 31 March 1922, 1; 1 April 1922, 1).

It is vital to specify that although there are lots of articles and reports about the ongoing conferences with the small types of white gaps in the newspaper, the attention of this part of the chapter will be directed to the news in which the medium type of blank space was applied. Likewise, the first censorship example for this section can be noticed on April 18 in the article which declared the Italians are evacuating the Meander vicinity. It stated that after a short period of time subsequently to the Armistice, the Italians had occupied the vicinity of Antalya, and the valley of Meander till Kuşadası. Later on, although they withdrew from Antalya, the valley of Meander and Söke have remained under the occupation. Subsequently, the news asserted that the Italian government also decided to lift these occupations recently, the medium type of censorship ends the news (18 April 1922, 1). On the next day, the newspaper published another article related to the topic, together with the map of the area and was subjected to a medium type of censorship which was bigger than the usual ones. A very small part of the text was allowed to be printed and it was the same paragraph written about the Italian army activities, on April 18¹⁶⁷ (19 April 1922, 1). Nevertheless, in the following days, the news about the evacuation was published with almost any censorship practices (22 April 1922, 1; 26-27 April 1922, 1).

The other trend in the medium type of white gaps can be observed in the news about the second response of the Istanbul government to the Allied states. After the publication of the Allies' diplomatic note on April 20 in the conference (20 April 1922, 1), the response of the Istanbul government was also expected to be published in the newspaper. For instance, on April 21, the newspaper printed the news that indicated that after the Council of Ministers had gathered under the presidency of Ahmet Tevfik Paşa the day before, they argued about how they would answer. The article continues stating that they would meet on the next day and prepare the response which would not be made public until the decision of the Ankara government was given. After this statement, the medium type of censorship interrupts the news (21 April 1922, 2). Two days later, short news called "İstanbul Hükümetinin Cevabı" (The Answer of the Istanbul Government) was also subjected to the small type of white gap after it stated

¹⁶⁷ On April 25, on the second page of the newspaper, the article called "Menderes Havâlisinin Tahliyesi Etrâfında" (On the Evacuation of the Meander Region) was also exposed to two small types of censorship (25 April 1922, 2)

that the Sublime Porte was preparing the answer¹⁶⁸ (23 April 1922, 1). Finally, the Ankara government's response was published on April 24 (24 April 1922, 1), and six days later, the response of the Istanbul government was printed without any blank spaces. (30 Nisan 1922, 1)

Besides, regarding the censorship affair in April 1922, a very crucial note of the British High Commissioner sent to Curzon on May 2 exists. In the document, he expressed the following:

“None of the leading nationalist newspapers has made any comment on the recent note of the Central government though they have printed in extenso. This ignoring of the Istanbul government is intentional and is indicative of the increasing tendency of those papers to recognize Angora as the sole Government of Turkey. The “*Tevhîd-i Efkâr*” has gone particularly far in this direction. It had the impertinence a short time ago to print under a photograph of General Pellé and General Gouraud leaving the house of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a description describing it as the residence formerly used by Ministers of Foreign Affairs. This gave great offence to İzzet Paşa who complained that the Turkish censor had drawn attention to it and that it had nevertheless been allowed by the Allied censors. On inquiry, I found that the French Censor had actually passed the matter for publication. I drew my attention to my French colleague’s attention to it and he appeared genuinely shocked, but the incident is only one of several which shows a tendency on the part of the French to uphold Angora as against Constantinople” (F.O. 371/7863/ E 4703; Şimşir 2000, v. IV, 253).

The aforementioned article was published on April 18, 1922, on the front page of the newspaper under the headline “General Goro’nun Dünkü Ziyaretleri ve Ziyâfet” (the Yesterday’s Visiting of General Gouraud and the Feast). Accordingly, the article announced that Generals visited the refugees in the barracks of Selimiye and the photographer of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* took several shots. One of the photos was taken while the Generals were coming down the stairs of the building of the Foreign Affairs and was given the title “while General Gouraud and General Pellé coming out of the banquet in the Mansion that pertained to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs”.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, as mentioned by Rumbold, no blank spaces throughout the whole article occurred (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 18 April 1922, 1) because of the “French censors”. In fact, the unconcerned

¹⁶⁸ The similar kinds of announcements about the answer of the Istanbul government were also exposed to censorship on April 28, 1922, and May 2, 1922 (28 April 1922, 1; 2 May 1922, 1).

¹⁶⁹ “Ceneral Goro ile Ceneral Pelle Sâbıkan Hariciye Nezaretine Muhâssıs olan Konakdaki Ziyâfetten Çıkarlarken.”

stand of the French censors to the news of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* might also give an answer to the low level of censorship frequency of April 1922 since the same document gives other crucial information about the newspaper. It indicated that *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* had been offensive in its view, particularly towards Armenians¹⁷⁰ and attacking them more than once since his last message on the press dated as of April 18 because the French were “at present primarily responsible for the censoring of this paper” and they have shown great laxity in the matter (F.O. 406/49, pp. 296-297, No. 109; Şimşir 2000, v. IV, 254). In my point of view, they might have been also responsible for the previous months as well, at least for March, because there was a very large number of inciting news on the Armenians in March 1922¹⁷¹ that was apparently worth for the British to warn the censor officials. However, it is important to ask the question of why this circumstance drew the attention of the British High Commissioner probably at the end of April¹⁷² and not before (F.O. 406/49, pp. 296-297, No. 109). Although neither the date of Rumbold drew attention to the issue, nor whether the French censors were still mainly responsible for the examination of the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper are not known, there was a notable increase in the censorship ratio of the newspaper for the May of 1922. As can be seen from the chart 4.1, the month of May would be the last peak point of censorship intensity in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* for the research period which also includes an enhanced amount of full medium type of blank spaces.

The first example for May 1922 can be observed in the leading article of Ebüzziyazade. It was about the murders of Talat Paşa and Bahaeddin Şakir in Berlin¹⁷³ and was subjected to two small and medium types of censorship. The article briefly emphasized that even though Talat Paşa, Bahaeddin Bey and his friends were the main reasons for the great disaster in the state during the Great War and three years of Armistice, no Muslims or Turks would ever consent to them being killed in the foreign countries regardless of their past actions. After the statement, the paragraph was interrupted with

¹⁷⁰ At this point, another significant question of whether the Armenian censors of 1920 was still working in the mixed censorship committee or not has to be asked.

¹⁷¹ For the inciting news of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* about the Armenians in March 1922, see. (“Ermenilerin Ölçüsüz Talepleri” 8 March 1922, 1; “Dünya’da Ne Kadar Ermeni Varmış” 12 March 1922, 3; “Bu Yalanlarla mı Büyük Ermenistan Teşkil Edecekler?” 13 March 1922, 4).

¹⁷² For the news about the Armenians in April 1922, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 1, 8, 18, 22, 28 April 1922, 2).

¹⁷³ On April 25, the murders of Bahaeddin Şakir and Cemal Azmi had been published in the newspaper without any censorship (25 April 1922, 1). For another censored content on the same topic in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, see. (“Su’ikast Kurbanlarının Cenaze Merâsimi” 4 May 1922, 3).

the small type of white gap. In the middle of the article, Ebüzziyazade further indicated that although Talat Paşa and Bahaeddin Şakir Bey were responsible for the war, they were responsible as the same degree as their counterparts in the other countries. However, neither victorious nor the losing states were able to solve the problem of war crimes. For instance, Germany did not submit the war criminals to the court and Bulgaria did not even conduct a proper investigation against them. However, the Ottoman state began to punish them shortly after the Armistice. Immediately after the paragraph stated the ones who were assumed responsible, the medium type of censorship could be noticed and it continues to say if they were alive, and returned to the country, people would call them into account (1 May 1922, 1).

At the time, the Conference of Genoa¹⁷⁴ proceeded and the reports from the meetings were continuously published in the newspaper.¹⁷⁵ However, the main concern for *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* was the response of the Allies to the note of the Ankara government (1 May 1922, 1). As a good example for this subject, the leading article of Ebüzziyazade which subjected to several white gaps can be observed under the headline “Cevâb-ı Notamızın İyi Netice Vereceğinden Ümitvâırız” (We are Hopeful that Our Response Note will Give Good Result). The article mentions that the last note of the National Government had not been answered yet and there was not even the slightest hint about it. However, this lack of response was not worrying because the Allied states were busy with the Conference at Genoa which was so complicated that it could have been even concluded with war rather than peace.¹⁷⁶ After mentioning they might start to prepare the response, after the Conference of Genoa, the small type of blank space is present. Then, the interrupted paragraph continues and indicates what this policy would be [by referring to the blank space], and that the good results should not be expected as it was learned from the previous experiences. He furthermore expressed that although they were thinking the worst, they cannot be pessimistic. Afterwards, the medium type of censorship splits the paragraph again (4 May 1922, 1). Another conference related news was also exposed to the medium type of censorship on May 6. It was about the

¹⁷⁴ The Conference was conducted at Genoa, Italy, between April 10 and May 19, 1922. Its aim was to discuss the economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe and to explore ways to improve relations between Soviet Russia and European capitalist regimes. (Britannica, *Conference of Genoa*) For further information see. (Fink 1984).

¹⁷⁵ For a few examples on the agenda topic of the newspaper see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 1, 2, 7 May 1922, 2)

¹⁷⁶ For a few articles that concentrated on the Conference at Genoa in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, see. (“Karışıklıklar ve Karanlıklar İçinde” 6 May 1922, 1; “Sulha İntizâr Ederken” 11 May 1922, 1).

petroleum of Caucasus and it asserted that the Soviets gave the concession of selling all the Russian petroleum¹⁷⁷ to the British-Dutch company and its management would be started immediately. After the statement, the telegram sent from Amsterdam declaring the final contract was not executed yet and that the negotiations were continuing, a medium type of white gap can be noticed. However, it might also belong to a different article (6 May 1922, 2).

Another selected censorship example¹⁷⁸ can be seen in the article that did not have any headline and had the deletion of several lines from its sub-heading. It is a big collection of reports about the response of the Russians to the offer of the Allied states at the Conference of Genoa. The main article under the headline “Rus Cevâbı Menfî mi Müsbet mi Olacak?” (Will the Answer of Russia Be Positive or Negative?) declared the majority of the Russian commission was against the acceptance of the diplomatic note of the Allied states and indicated that the conference would either end or continue to be held based on the result of that day’s meeting. However, due to not knowing the result of their answer, the conference was in doubt. It further expressed that according to their private inquiry and the agency telegrams that were attached, while some of the points would be responded as positive, in total the offer would be denied. Then, the medium type of censorship splits the short report of the correspondent. Except for the telegram of Reuters which also censored, telegrams were not allowed to be printed (9 May 1922, 1).

Although on May 16, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* announced the ending of the Conference of Genoa (16 May 1922, 1), it still waited for the response of the Allied states to the note of Ankara government. For instance, on May 15, after the newspaper mentioned the delay in the response was annoying the public, a medium type of censorship can be seen but it is not certain if the blank space belongs to the small news because it was printed in the section of the private telegrams (*Hususî Telgrafnâmelerimiz*) (15 May 1922, 2). Finally, two days later, instead of the response of the Allied states, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* published a disappointing news for them under the headline “Anadolu’da Ekâliyetlere Mezâlim

¹⁷⁷ For another censorship example on the topic in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, see. (“Rus Petrolleri” 8 May 1922, 1). For an example of uncensored news about the issue of petroleum, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, 10 May 1922, 1; 12 May 1922, 2).

¹⁷⁸ For another censored news on the Bolsheviks in the Conference of Genoa in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, see. (“Bolşevikleri Kızdırmağa Gelmez” 7 May 1922, 3).

Yapıldığı Rivâyeti” (the Rumor that the Oppression was Done to the Minorities in Anatolia) (18 May 1922, 1) which would be the new agenda of the newspaper.

However, before dealing with the articles refuting the atrocities, which was one of the censored subjects of the newspaper, it is significant to mention a few points regarding the newspaper’s content. While the reports about the Conference of Genoa continued, the newspaper expressed a very harsh criticism towards the Greeks with almost non-existing censorship¹⁷⁹ and started to publish a new type of propaganda articles at the end of April 1922 (30 April 1922, 3). The target readers were Muslims and the newspaper suggested that they should not go shopping in the month of Ramadan from the ones who supplied ammunition to the Greek army. At first, the call was repeated multiple times within this format,¹⁸⁰ however, the tone and the content slowly turned into harsh criticism against the *Rums* of Istanbul (starting from 2 May 1922, 3) and finally began to give the quantity of the money and the names of *Rums* who helped the Greek National Defense (3 May 1922, 1; 4 May 2; 5 May 1922, 3; 6 May 1922, 2). *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* also challenged to the Greek newspaper in Istanbul called *Neologos*.¹⁸¹ This case’s significance for the censorship affair was that these writings were occasionally censored.¹⁸² For instance, although some of the articles written in a similar manner can be observed without any censorship previously, the first blank space on them is noticed on the issue dated May 8 under the headline “Şehrimizdeki Kiryeler” (the Greek Effendis in our Town). It stated that according to *Neologos*, a couple of planes would be purchased with the help of the *Rums* in the city and send to the battlefield. Besides, the historical and local names would be given to these planes to boost the feeling of being Greek. After the editor of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* told that *Rums* started to collect new aids, the part is split with the medium type of censorship (8 May 1922, 2). Besides, on the next day, the same kind of writing¹⁸³ was exposed to censorship again after indicating that *Rums* who provided aid to the Greek army, were hiding their names from the Turkish

¹⁷⁹ For the examples that did not have any censorship implementation, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 9,11 May 1922, 2; 12 Mayıs 1922, 1; 13 May 1922, 1, 2). For the censored content on the subject in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, see. (“Yunanistanın Yardımına Koşalım” 13 May 1922, 1).

¹⁸⁰ For further examples, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 1,7 May 1922, 1; 2 May 1922, 3; 8 May 1922, 2).

¹⁸¹ For a few examples, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 14 Mayıs 1922, 2; 16 Mayıs 1922, 1).

¹⁸² For the uncensored examples of news, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 3 May 1922, 1; 4,6 May 1922, 2; 5 May 1922, 3; 13 May 1922, 1, 2).

¹⁸³ For the censored examples, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 10 May 1922, 1; 11, 15 May 1922, 3; 12, 14 May 1922, 2; 15 May 1922, 3; 16 May 1922, 4).

customers to avoid being boycotted. Then, the sentence is followed by the medium type of censorship (9 May 1922, 3). Later on, the main topic of the propaganda structure started to shift, and it became the alms (*sadaka*) call of the Red Crescent for the refugees from mid-May (e.g. 27 May 1922, 2-3).

As for the news refuting the claims about the atrocities, the first one was printed on May 18 on the front page of the newspaper and declared the Anatolia was rejecting the claims about any atrocities done against its minorities (18 May 1922, 1). On the next day, other related writing published under the headline “Ankara Mezâlim Şâyi’alarını Tekzîb Ediyor” (Ankara is Refuting the Rumors of Atrocities) and it can be read with a medium type of blank space. It asserted that the rumors of atrocities towards the Christians of Anatolia were put forward by an American, were discussed in the House of Commons and refuted by the Turkish press in Paris and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the National government. The report furthermore indicated that the disseminated news of the massacres in Harput was incorrect, which is followed by the medium type of censorship. In the continuation of the article, it is stated that the member of American Benevolent Association (*Amerika Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*) Navik was accused of disseminating the rumors (19 May 1922, 1). This kind of refutation news formed the new agenda of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* together with the inquiry commission which was also added to the censored content of the newspaper.¹⁸⁴ However, it is crucial to note that their refutation and criticisms, particularly about the inquiry commission, were not always subjected to blank spaces.¹⁸⁵

Another significant censorship example on the subject can be seen in the leading article of Ebüzziyazade under the headline “Anadolu’nun Sabrı Tükendi” (Anatolia Run Out of Patience). He indicated that Anatolia did not express its formal opinion about the inquiry affair yet and the only information that was received belonged to the news of Anadolu Agency and an article that was published by *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. After he expressed that although neither of them was official, the article of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* could provide insight into the opinion of the National government, the small type of

¹⁸⁴ For a few censorship examples on the subject, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 19, 20, 21, 25, 28 May 1922, 1; 4, 9, 11 June 1922, 2).

¹⁸⁵ For several examples of uncensored news on the refutation claims and the inquiry commission, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 20, 21, 24, 28 May 1922, 1; 22, 23, 26 May 1922, 1, 2; 1, 7 June 1922, 1).

blank space interrupts the paragraph. After the censorship, Ebüzziyazade stated that it was impossible not to accept the refusal of the government in Anatolia in regard to the inquiry affair since they were free to from outer influence, whereas the press in Istanbul was under the pressure [of the Allied states] so they were more inclined to make an agreement. Towards the end of the article, Ebüzziyazade stated the assertion of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* which is if the inquiry would be made, it had to be extended to all Anatolia to learn who was the real oppressed. Then, the article was censored again. Between two small types of censorship, the paragraph that expressed their understanding that there is no other option for Anatolia to go until the end can be seen (25 May 1922, 1).

On May 28, another leading article about the inquiry affair was subjected to censorship as well. It briefly stated that the position of Ankara was against accepting the inquiry because: (1) the war was ongoing, (2) the opponents were not treated as the same and (3) there was no evidence of atrocity in Anatolia. It also indicated that the inquiry could not be allowed because they made so much sacrifice. After a point, he mentioned the attempt of the inquiry had nothing to do with the peace and pointed out that if the inquiry had negative conclusion or if they said the peace agreement conditions would be hardened or softened depending on the result of the inquiry, the question should be raised would they forever prevent any opportunity for peace with the Turks. Subsequently to the question, the paragraph was interrupted with the medium type of blank space. After the gap, he asserted that Europe understood the reality and they did not implement the decision of the last Paris Conference but instead, entered a negotiation with the Turks. However, negotiations were not successful, and they were ended. Then, a small type of censorship can be noticed (28 May 1922, 1).

The inquiry affair still continued in the newspaper in July with several blank spaces. For instance, the leading article under the headline “Tahkikât Meselesi Ne Safhada” (at What Stage is the Inquiry Affair) can be noticed as a good example. It expressed that the official response of the National government to the affair was still unknown and was unnecessary since neither the conclusion of inquiry was delivered to the Ankara yet and, nor it was voted in the Assembly. Then, after stating although it was almost forgotten, Britain appealed to America, France, and Italy to form the inquiry commission for Anatolia and Izmir, the paragraph splits with the small type of white gap. He further

expressed the opinion of the Istanbul press on the affair saying that it was not dangerous for Anatolia if it was done justly and also expanded to the Greek areas. Lastly, the article indicated, however, the unofficial news that came from Anatolia did not meet the plan of the Istanbul press and it had denied the inquiry on several accounts. Then, the small type of censorship interrupts the paragraph. After the censorship, it continues to state that the official decision of Ankara was not known, and it could alter and accepted it through several conditions (12 June 1922, 1).

Although is it not mentioned by İskit, on June 22, a very significant decision that was taken by the Council of Ministers appeared on the third page of the newspaper. It declared that as was read from *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* the day before, the articles and discussions (*mebâhis*) that were related to the religion of Islam cannot be published without the approval of the Commission of Religious Written Works (*Mü'ellesât-ı Şer'îyye Heyeti*). If the writers and the printers acted against it, they would have been punished according to the third supplementary of the ninety-ninth article of the Criminal Law (*Takvim-i Vekâyi* 21 June 1922, 2; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 22 June 1922, 3). While the reasons of the decision need more examinations, it is important to recall that before the decision, the article of Abdullah Cevdet called “Behâs-ı (بهائى) Dini” in the *Ictihâd* magazine caused dissension and Abdullah Cevdet¹⁸⁶ was charged by the Second Criminal Court (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 8 June 1922, 3).

In the last days of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* that this study covered, the newspaper published many subjects and they can be listed as: the news about the journey of the French author Claude Farrère to Anatolia,¹⁸⁷ the writings about the sport competitions,¹⁸⁸ the news about the Turkish army and Mustafa Kemal Paşa,¹⁸⁹ the reports on the Greek occupation of Istanbul¹⁹⁰ and as a reaction, on the decisions of Britain and French to protect the city (2-3 August 1922, 1). These topics were subjected to minimal censorship

¹⁸⁶ For further news on the subject, see. (“Abdullah Cevdet Bey Mahkeme Huzurunda Cürretkarâne bir İnkâr” 13 Haziran 1922, 3; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 19 June 1922, 2).

¹⁸⁷ For a few examples of news about Claude Farrère see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 21, 22 June 1922, 1)

¹⁸⁸ For a few examples of news on the subject, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 July 1922, 1).

¹⁸⁹ For a few examples, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 3, 14, 21, 22, July 1922, 1; 1 August 1922, 1).

¹⁹⁰ For a few examples on the topic, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 1, 2, 3, 4 August 1922, 1; 9 August 1922, 1).

implementation, and in fact, the frequency of censorship application in the newspaper had also entered a declining trend after May 1922.¹⁹¹

At the time, the British High Commissioner of Istanbul had a correspondence with Earl of Balfour dated as of August 1, 1922. He indicated that the references in the Istanbul press in regard to General Townshend's visit were severely restricted by the British censor at first, but only allowed to be published after the telegram from London was received and clarified the attitude of the British government in regard to his journey (F.O. 371/7945/E.7838; Şimşir 2000, v. 4, 323-4). This altered circumstance cannot be grasped in the news of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* due to the fact that visible blank spaces during the period were not seen in articles about the journey of Townshend. This increases the possibility that the news was completely erased or that the newspaper preferred not to mention anything about it. The news about Townshend started with the report of the Turkey Havas Reuters on July 25 (25 July 1922, 1) and was published for most of the time without any censorship.¹⁹² In my point of view, the other significance of the correspondence is that it shows the British policy on the censorship affair was changing according to the attitude of the British government and that it was not stable. This was also important to understand the censorship policy of the mixed committee in which Britain was dominantly controlling. The French and Italians had already lost their interest in the affair.

It also has to be mentioned that on August 4, 1922, the newspaper published an important explanation on the front page under the headline "Anadolu Ajansının Gazetemiz Hakkındaki Bir Tavzîhi" (the Statement of Anadolu Agency about Our Newspaper). It stated that the misunderstanding about the serial called "İttihat ve Terakki Rû'esâsının Diyâr-ı Gurbet Maceraları" (the Adventures of Chiefs of the Union and Progress in the Foreign Lands) written by Arif Cemil¹⁹³ was not related with the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper, whose benefit to the National cause was already known (4 August 1922, 1). The serial was exposed to both multiple instances of censorship and

¹⁹¹ Although it is not given in this thesis because of the uncertainty in the censored parts, one of the significant leading articles which had several blank spaces can be seen in the issue dated July 30, 1922, under the headline "Yunan Şaşkınlığı" (30 July 1922, 1).

¹⁹² For a censored example, see. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 8 August 1923, 3).

¹⁹³ For the full serial, see. (Arif Cemil 1992, *İttihatçı Şeflerin Gurbet Maceraları*) The serial was started on May 14, 1922 and ended on July 13 (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 14 May-13 July, 3).

criticisms particularly by Falih Rıfkı (Atay) from the *Akşâm* newspaper. (Demirel 1992, 6) This case is significant since it demonstrates how powerful the National Movement became and started to affect the writings in *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*.

4.5 The Last Phase: The End of Pre-print Censorship

After the Great Offensive (August 26-September 9), even though the censorship practice in the Istanbul press continued, it was quite reduced. Furthermore, (1) the high amount of small type of blank spaces and word censorings, (2) the decrease in the amount of medium level of white gaps, and (3) the similar censored contents became the dominant feature of pre-print censorship application. These points led the research to end the analysis of the censored content, and to focus on the last research question of the thesis: how pre-print censorship in Istanbul under Allied occupation was terminated.

It is well-known that on September 9, 1922, Izmir was re-taken by the Turkish army and eight days later the Greek soldiers left the Anatolian lands (Selek 1973, 690). This was followed by the Mudanya Conference on October 3¹⁹⁴ and the signing of a new Armistice treaty on October, 11, 1922 (Shaw 2000, v. IV, 1814-60; Sonyel 1991, 280-2). In accordance with the Armistice agreement, when Refet (Bele) Paşa arrived at Istanbul to discuss the occupation of Thrace with the Allied generals, he was also appointed as the representative of the Ankara government in the city as well as Special Thrace Commissioner with the task of accepting the surrender of Eastern Thrace and taking over its administration in the name of the government of the Grand National Assembly (Shaw 2000, v. IV, 1867-8). Besides, on November 1, the Ottoman Sultanate was abolished and the Grand Vizier Tevfik Paşa transferred his position to Refet Paşa on November 5 (Sonyel 1991, 293). During these days, the Interallied censorship was still functioning.

¹⁹⁴ The conference was held at Mudanya the port of Bursa on the Sea of Marmara under the presidency of the Western Front Commander İsmet Paşa. The representatives of the Allied states were General Harrington (Great Britain), Charpy (France), Mombelli (Italy) and General Mazarakis (Greece) who arrived two days later (Shaw 2000, v. IV, 1804, 1814).

In regard to the censorship affair in the Istanbul press, after Refet Paşa arrived at Istanbul, he also expressed his desire several times to the Allied Powers for the termination of the Interallied censorship and demanded to transfer its duties completely to the Turkish government (Özdemir 2002, v. 16, 445). Having heard his satisfying explanations and actions on behalf of the Allies in Istanbul, the British High Commissioner General Harington also indicated his positive attitude about the lifting of the censorship in his letter of gratitude. Finally, after several negotiations, Refet Paşa was able to end the Interallied censorship and he assumed the control over the communication and the press (Özdemir 2002, v. 16, 445). Nevertheless, it is important to point out the fact that even though several demands were made by Refet Paşa (Özdemir 2002, v. 16, 445), the last step was taken on the next day of Sultan Vahdettin's leave of Istanbul, on November 17, 1922. Furthermore, the Grand Vizier had already left its duties to Refet Paşa on November 5, and there remained no authority that would claim power in the name of Istanbul government. It was highly possible that there might have been relation between the political condition of Istanbul and the announcement of abolishment of Interallied censorship (Somel 10 March 2020).

Consequently, the announcement of such a significant event was pronounced in the *Akşâm* newspaper on November 18, 1922. It was the notice of *Turkey Havas Reuter* and stated that the Allied High Commissioners in Istanbul decided to remove the Interallied censorship on the Istanbul press by the request of Refet Paşa (*Akşâm* 18 November 1922, 1). As can be seen from the news, Refet Paşa had conducted a meeting with the High Commissioners in his headquarter on November 18, 1922, and strongly urged for the removal of the restrictive measures (*tedâbir-i tahdidiye*) regarding newspapers at the start of the Lausanne Conference. Furthermore, he assured the Allied states that they had to trust the Istanbul press (Özdemir, 445) because he would personally inspect them. Therefore, they would not be able to publish news/articles which would endanger (1) the authority and the prestige of the Allied states (*nüfûz ve itibârını selb etmek*),¹⁹⁵ (2) the general order and (3) the security of the Allied brigade.¹⁹⁶ As a result, the High Commissioners took the words of Refet Paşa into account and decided to terminate the

¹⁹⁵ The *Akşâm* newspaper indicated this article as the writings that cause harm to their honor (*şerefîni irâs-ı mazarrat edecek*) (*Akşâm* 18 November 1922, 1). Mehmet Özdemir also uses the same phrase in his article (2010, 458).

¹⁹⁶ Özdemir states by depending on the documents of ATASE that the news about the Allied army cannot be published without having the permission from them (2010, 458).

activities of the Interallied censorship department on the night of November 19 and the newspapers began to be inspected only by the Turkish censors from November 20 onwards. Besides, to regulate the actions of the newspapers, the Administration of Turkish Press (*Türkiye Matbu'at İdâresi*) would have formed and had close contact with liaison officers who were under the supervision of the representative of the Grand National Assembly (*Akşam* 18 November 1922, 1; Baykal, Baykal and Özbey 2016, 201; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr, Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2).

As a result, the dailies and the periodicals were subjected to a new censorship policies from November 20 onwards and, according to Özdemir, the restrictions on the Istanbul press would also include the additional following points that had to be considered by the censor officials and everyone who was related to the press: (1) all kind of information that belonged to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, (2) the writings that were against the Assembly's principles and interests, (3) the meetings between Refet Paşa and the Allied generals, (4), before they announced, the dialogues of the Headquarters and the military men without signature of their own, (5) the publications and pictures that were immoral and against religion, and (6) the debates (*kalem tartışmaları*) between Istanbul and province publications (Özdemir 2010, v. 16, 458). As expressed by Özdemir, the newly established censorship committee carefully controlled the Istanbul press that was causing the discomfort to the Ankara government. For instance, the *Renin* newspaper was closed by the order of the Ankara government and had to continue its publication life with its previous title *Tanin* (Özdemir, 446).

Since the censorship mechanism changed in Istanbul, Refet Paşa also re-established a new censorship committee in his headquarter (*İleri* 19 November 1922, 2; Özdemir 2002, v. 16, 445; *Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2) to inspect the newspapers in the frame of the censorship principles which were formulated in the meeting among the representatives of the Allied states and Refet Paşa (*Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2). Accordingly, the new censorship committee was put under the administration of Yüzbaşı Aziz Hüdayi (Akdemir).¹⁹⁷ Moreover, Nasuh and Enis (Tahsin Til) Bey who

¹⁹⁷ As is recalled, Yüzbaşı Aziz Hüdayi (Akdemir) was the censor officer in 1919, when the French General d'Esperey arrived at Istanbul. After he had allowed to publication of the article of Süleyman Nazif "Kara Bir Gün" in the *Hâdisât* newspaper on February 9, 1919, he was arrested by the French soldiers for fifteen days (DABOA. DH.KMS. 49/93, H-16.05.1337; DABOA. BEO. 4560/341981 H-20-06-1337) and then was expelled from Istanbul (DABOA. BEO. 1560/341981 H-20-06-1337).

were the foreign service officers were appointed as the censorship inspectors, the same duty that they had before (*İleri, Tevhîd-i Efkâr, Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2). Furthermore, in respect to pre-print censorship practice in Istanbul, it was decided that the evening (until 11.00 a.m.) and the morning newspapers (until 8.30/9.00 p.m.) (*Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2) would send their news drafts to the censorship committee at the Istanbul Grand Post Office¹⁹⁸ (*İleri, Tevhîd-i Efkâr, Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2) that was the first place when the pre-print censorship was installed.

The list of the censorship officers working in the new mechanism was also given in the newspapers. Accordingly, the censor officers for the Turkish newspapers were Hikmet, Nazım, Fuat, and Tahsin Bey; for the books, booklets (*resa'il*) and theaters, Şemseddin Bey was responsible; for the works in the Arabic and Persian language, the censor officer was Şemsi Bey; for the French newspapers, Guzatı (غزاتی) and Jouliti (ژولیتی)¹⁹⁹ Bey were the censors; Muhtar and İhsan Bey were the censor officers for the Greek newspapers; for the Armenian newspapers, Mithat and Süreyya Bey were responsible; and finally, for the Hebrew newspapers, the censor officer was Jak Efendi (*İleri* 19 November 1922, 2; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 19 November 1922, 3; *Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2).

On the next day of the termination of Interallied censorship, the topic was discussed in the Grand National Assembly (Özdemir 2010, v. 16, 442) because the decision to lift was made by Refet Paşa, apparently within the Ankara government's knowledge, without any consultation with the Parliament. On November 20, 1922, while Rauf (Orbay) Bey answered the criticisms towards Refet Paşa's position as the Extraordinary Representative of the Grand National Assembly (*TBMM Fevkâlade Mümessiliği*), he also informed the members of Parliament for the termination of the Interallied

¹⁹⁸ Özdemir points out that after the printing process, each newspaper and periodical had to send six copies and other publications had to send three copies to the censorship inspectorate in the headquarter (Özdemir 2010, v. 16, 458). However, on the next day of the announcement of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*, a piece of small news about the new censorship committee expressed that in spite of the previous decision that stated that the new censorship committee would work at the Istanbul Grand Post Office, it was decided the censorship department would be moved to another location in the Sublime Porte (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 20 November 1922, 3). On November 22, the last detached news about the place of censorship department stated that it was transferred from the Sublime Porte to the building of the Ministry of Interior Affairs. The same information can also be noticed in the *Akşam* newspaper (*Akşam* 22 November 1922, 3; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 22 November 1922, 3). However, as is understood from an archival document dated April 4, 1923, the department was also moved to the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later demanded to be transferred to its previous location at the time of Refet Paşa (DABOA. HR. İM. 17/184, 1 M-02-04-1923).

¹⁹⁹ In *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* and *Vakit* version, the name was written as Joleti (ژولیتی) (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr, Vakit* 19 November 1922, 2).

ensorship in Istanbul and stated that the demands of the Allied Powers were excessive. He furthermore indicated any type of publication that aimed to provoke the [Turkish] forces which were not presented as occupiers against the foreigners [Allied states], would be met with censorship. Nevertheless, the censorship would not be implemented to the writings of their newspapers and would not limit their freedom although they would be warned.²⁰⁰ He concluded by saying that any censorship action without having the Censorship Law of the Great Assembly cannot be implemented (TBMM, G.C.Z., 20 T.S. 1338, 1076).

In the Istanbul press, the termination of the Interallied censorship manifested itself as a considerable and apparent sudden decline in the amount of censoring, although it continued for another year (Baykal 2013, 98; 2019, 126). According to Baykal, the change suggests that the Allied representatives in the censorship commission were very influential and responsible for the great majority of removals (Baykal 2019, 126). Though, the news about the termination further suggests that the Allied forces were still effective and were able to influence which content would be censored for the next year.

To illustrate, the article of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* dated August 30, 1923, under the headline “General Harrington’ın Da’veti” (The Invitation of General Harrington) can be given as a significant instance of censorship regime of Istanbul after the Interallied censorship was lifted. The article mentioned the General Harrington’s garden party in Tarabya which was held for the honor of their departure from Istanbul. Lots of politicians, commanders, civil and military officials and the press members of Istanbul were invited to the party in addition to Ebüzziyazade Velid who refused to attend by sending a letter. In the article, after the description of the party, the preparations, and the guests, the rejection letter of Velid Bey also attempted to be published. However, it got caught by the censors (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 30 August 1922, 1; Satan, Özdemir 2016, 9). This censorship practice was misinterpreted by Satan and Özdemir as being carried out by the censorship commission of the Allied Powers (Satan and Özdemir 2016, 9). However, it was a very clear example of the jointly decided censorship guideline which was implemented by the Turkish censorship department. Nevertheless, interestingly

²⁰⁰ “Ecanib aleyhine oradaki işgal mahiyetinde göstermediğimiz kuvvetleri tahrik edecek hususata sansür konacaktır. Yani bizim evrâk-ı havâdisimizin lisânını kat’edecek, kıracak, yıkacak sansür mevzubâhis değildir. Fakat bi’t-tâbi onları da ikâz edeceğiz” (TBMM, G.C.Z. 20 November 1338, 1076).

enough, while the uncensored version of the letter²⁰¹ was only able to be published after Istanbul was totally evacuated by the Allied forces on October 22, 1923 (Satan and Özdemir 2016, 11), the translated version of the uncensored draft of the letter also existed in the Foreign Office (Satan and Özdemir 2016, 16-18).

Another crucial example for the censorship policies of the Administration of Turkish Press was provided by *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* in one of its article dated October 22, 1923. According to the news, former British president Lloyd George had insulted the Turkish army in one of his declarations after the victory of Izmir (September 9) and that was also received by the Istanbul press. As a response, the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper criticized both Lloyd George and the British people with very harsh words in one of its articles, even though the British administration was still in Istanbul and had the power. Regarding the censorship affair, the article asserts that although the British military officials and the British embassy was informed through the translated version of the censored article on the next day, they did not do anything except for “removing the writings” in the newspaper (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 22 October 1923, 3). This case suggested two things that (1) the British also loosened its interest or power on the affair and (2) the Allied states were somehow informed by the Administration of Press Affairs as in the case of the censored letter.

The same trend of not publishing the writings that could be against the interests or the benefits of the Allied states can also be noticed in the article about the Şehzadebaşı Police Station martyrs because the photos of the martyrs which were received from Galip Kemali (Söylemezoğlu) Bey were able to be published (Sürmeli 2010, 114; *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 5 October 1923, 1), only after the Allied forces were totally moved out of the city on October 2, 1923 (Shaw 2000, v. IV, 1963).

These instances were particularly significant because they were only able to be published after the Allied Powers totally evacuate Istanbul. Therefore, the question arises of how the Allied states were informed about the news drafts of the newspapers since they had neither censorship representative nor the censor officials in the new

²⁰¹ In the letter, Ebüzziyazade blamed the British for several reasons. These were (1) the raid to his house in Makriköy on March 16, 1920, (2) his arrest, (3) maltreating to his family particularly to his mother, (4) his exile, (5) the death of his brother and his mother. He furthermore saw Britain as the reason of the Greek occupation and of all disasters that happened to Turkey (Satan, Özdemir 2016, 8-11).

mechanism. The answer of the question and the reason for the effectiveness of the British administration on the matter of censorship after they withdrew from the mechanism was given by *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* on October 5, 1923, under the headline “Sansürün Dokuz Senelik Tarihine Bir Nazâr” (A Glance towards the Nine Years of Censorship). The article was written for the occasion of the removal of pre-print censorship in Istanbul and stated that when Refet Paşa arrived at Istanbul after the victory of İzmir, the censorship authorization was taken from the hands of *Franks*. Therefore, the frequency of the amount of censorship was also relatively loosened. The article continues to indicate that nevertheless, the Allied commanders gave the censorship power to the Turks on the condition to “protect its right of surveillance” (*hakk-ı murâkabelerini muhâfaza*). As a result, the journalists could not freely express their views in the pages of the newspapers due to the fact that some of the censor officers put a lot of effort to comply with the instructions that they received, while some of them allowed harsh but rightful criticisms in the Nationalist newspapers by taking all the responsibility on themselves. Even some of the most fervent and zealous officers were punished because of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 5 October 1923, 3) The article demonstrates that although the British withdrew from the system, they were still holding enough power at least to make particular writings removed from the columns of the newspapers through the help of the censor officers.

Finally, on October 4, 1923, the Istanbul press would be freed from pre-print censorship completely. The announcement of the removal was given three days in advance and indicated that according to the declaration of the Commandership of Istanbul (*Istanbul Kumandanlığı*) both the press censorship and the Martial Court would be lifted from October 4, 1923, onwards. (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr, Akşam, Vakit* 1 October 1923, 1) On the same day of the complete removal, the small announcement of the same commandership under the headline “Matbu’âttan Sansür Bu Akşam Kalkıyor” (the Press Censorship is Going to Be Lifted Tonight) declared the termination of pre-print censorship. The writing stated that in accordance with the provisions of the particular articles of the evacuation protocol, the procedure of evacuation of Istanbul would be finalized on the midnight of 4-5 October 1923, so the press censorship would also be lifted from the same date onwards (4 October 1923, 2). As a reaction of the complete end of the censorship regime, on October 5, *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* published two photos of Şehzadebaşı martyrs (*Tevhîd-i Efkâr* 5 October 1923, 1), and stated the removal of press censorship

was one of the greatest victories of the National Struggle and a very clear sign of the beginning of the new Turkish administration (5 October 1923, 3).

Consequently, two days after the termination, the Cabinet of the Executive Ministers issued the official enactment. It stipulated that due to the fact that the occupation of Istanbul finalized from October 2, onwards, the press censorship and the Martial Law that designed to protect the security of the region (*inzibât-ı mâhalliyi muhâfaza*) were lifted because they were no longer deemed necessary. As a result of this development, on October 7, 1923, upon the written declaration of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the Cabinet decided the abolition of press censorship and the Martial Court and the condition was written to the *Müdâfa'a-i Milliye Vekâleti* (the Ministry of National Defence) and Istanbul. Furthermore, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was informed (İskit 1939, 729). After the enactment was published on October 25, 1923, in the Official Gazette (İskit 1939, 729, 146; *Resmî Ceride* 15 October 1339 no. 37, 2), the five years of pre-print censorship in Istanbul that was started with the arrival of the Allied states end together with their departure from the city.

4.6 Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter aimed to understand the censorship regime of Istanbul after the Second Battle of İnönü until the Great Offensive by examining the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper as an example. However, before dealing with the analysis of the censored content, a very brief writing attempt tried to be conducted on the censorship regime of Istanbul while Ebüzziyazade was in exile. The two main reasons for this attempt were (1) to the answer one of the research question of the thesis; why *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was able to publish supportive news about the National Movement in its second phase, despite the presence of the Interallied censorship and (2) to ensure the integrity of the subject that is “ the press censorship in Istanbul under Allied occupation”. Therefore, firstly the reciprocal restrictions that was put by authorities in Istanbul and Ankara, after *de jure* occupation of Istanbul, tried to be mentioned and then, several instances of the Interallied censorship regime attempted to be given from various sources. Furthermore, in order to answer the aforementioned question, additionally to the answers of the various scholars

that mainly focused on the achievements of the Anatolian Movement, the dispatches of the British High Commissener tried to be demonstrated. Subsequently the writing attempt, the first subchapter of the last section dealt with the period between June and October 1921. During the research, it was seen that while the supportive news towards the National Movement continued to be published almost without any censorship practice, the foreign relations of the Ankara government were under close surveillance. This censorship application on the issue manifested the high influence of the Allied states on the censorship mechanism. Besides, this study also revealed that from September 25 onwards, the censorship committee also started to examine the announcements in the newspapers. Secondly, the thesis attempted to deal with the censorship regime policies of Istanbul for the period after the Treaty of Ankara until March 1922. The research demonstrated that although the Treaty of Ankara highly influenced the context of the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper in favor of the French policies and the supportive news towards the Ankara government, the writings about the agreement were still subjected to a high amount of blank spaces. Besides, the full censorings, the censorship practice on the daily news and on the writings about the Banca di Sconto were indicated together with the conflict of the newspaper with the former Minister of Finance. In the last part of the analysis, the time period from April 1922 to the Great Offensive tried to be studied regrading pre-print censorship in the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper and it was the period that witnessed the last peak point of the censorship intensity for the entire term that was examined in the thesis' analysis part. At first, in the midst of the low level of censorship amount, it is seen that the medium types of blank spaces were applied to the writings on the evacuation of the Meander valley and that the future answer of the Istanbul government. It is furthermore demonstrated that news on topics such as Russia in the Conference of Genoa, the *Rums*, and the refutation declarations against the claims of atrocities were among the censored content. In the course of this subchapter, the dispatches of the British High Commissioner also revealed the prominent role of the French censors and the consequence of their unconcerned attitude towards the censorship affair such in the case of the visiting of General Gouraud. Besides, the changing policy of Britain on the censorship of the news about Towshend shed light on the changable censorship regime of the period. Finally, through the news in the newspapers and the significant article of Mustafa Özdemir, the question of how pre-print censorship in Istanbul under Allied occupation was abolished tried to be deal with. In addition to the indications of Özdemir, this study provides

information on the newly established censorship commission by Refet Paşa, its members, location, working hours and its duty. Furthermore, with the help of the crucial news of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* and the new guideline, the continuing impact of the British on the censorship mechanism, after the Interallied censorship was lifted, was revealed. Therefore, this thesis claimed that the Allied forces in Istanbul were still effective in the new mechanism through the censor officers and that pre-print censorship practice was only able to be removed as soon as Istanbul was completely evacuated by them.

5. CONCLUSION

The main purpose for writing this thesis revolves around its two primary staples; the first one is to examine the censorship mechanism in the Istanbul press under Allied occupation, which included multiple authorities and several factors from changing guidelines to censor officers; secondly, to acquire understanding of the censorship regime of Istanbul through meticulous analysis of my primary source *Tasvîr-i Efkar* which was exposed to suspensions, fluctuations in the intensity of blank spaces, the alterations in the censored content and closure. In the secondary literature, apart from the PhD dissertation of Erol A.F. Baykal, the books of Nur Bilge Criss, and Hülya Baykal, Tan Baykal and Mustafa Özbey and the article of Ender Korkmaz which give very crucial and concrete information on the issue, the subject of press censorship during the period is known particularly in the works about the history of press, with the scholars being inclined to write about the specific issues such as the restrictions imposed on the news about the Anatolian Movement, and the condition after the Second Battle of İnönü. However, this inclination has left many questions unanswered on the subject such as how the censorship mechanism was functioned, where was the censorship committee, who were the censor officers, were the guidelines for the censorship of the content always the same and how pre-print censorship was abolished. To this end, this study attempted to provide an in-depth examination of press censorship and tried to answer to the questions above, by analyzing one of the most prominent newspapers of its time *Tasvîr-i Efkar*, about which there is much misinformation, even in famous encyclopedia articles. Consequently, the analysis parts of the study for the censorship regime of Istanbul, and the 2nd chapter together with the 4.5th subchapter of the thesis for the censorship mechanism of the period have the characteristic of being the first research in the literature.

Since the press censorship in Istanbul under Allied occupation has never been examined with detailed chronological examples, I intended to give as many censorship examples as possible, chosen through careful selection, for the research period and I tried to provide the charts to illustrate the data of the censorship ratios that were obtained for this study by counting a huge number of different types of blank spaces. Furthermore, I have highly benefited from the detailed reports of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper on the censorship affair and, when it was seen inadequate, I utilized several other newspapers from the *Hakkı Tarık Us* Collection, having transcribed the records in the Ottoman and the Republic Archives of the Presidency of State Archives and benefited from several available documents of the Foreign Office in the book of Bilal N. Şimşir on the purpose of filling the blank spaces in the censorship mechanism of Istanbul and its regime at least on the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper. Besides, through the close study in the Papers of Ziyad Ebüzziya at ISAM, the news drafts of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* and the unclear location of *Matbaa-ı Ebüzziya*, with additional search in the Bayezid Library were discovered for this study. As a result of this effort, I hope I have been able to bring the following contributions to the studies on the censorship and my primary source *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*.

In the second chapter of the thesis, I intended to concentrate on the censorship mechanism as an organization since this is an insufficiently researched subject. My intentions were to demonstrate (1) the change in the mechanism from the censorship of the Ottoman government to the Interallied one, (2) the demands to put a restriction on the press, (3) the reactions in the Council and the Senate and (4) the gradual process of the censorship becoming enacted through news, archival documents and the minutes. As a result, one of the findings of the research was that the censorship department of the Ottoman government had relations with the Allied Powers even before they had officially become a part of the mechanism. Parallely to the finding, the study tried to present the effort of the High Commissioners to enter the mechanism through archival documents for the first time. Secondly, after studying the location where the Censorship department had its headquarter, I discovered the department was not always in the *Altıncı Daire* but started to work in Istanbul and Beyoğlu Post Offices. Afterwards, when the Interallied censorship was officially installed, the department's location was changed to the *Union Han* and finally, it was moved to the *Altıncı Daire*, after *de jure* occupation. These alterations suggest that while the Allied states were getting more dominant in the affair, the place of the department was also moving towards the Galata

district and when the Interallied censorship was abolished, it was once again moved towards the Old Istanbul. This dynamic demonstrates that these changes occurred as a result of the shift in the real authority in the censorship affair. Furthermore, through a detailed examination, the research question about the censor officials tried to be answered to the best of the author's abilities given the sources. Even though the ones who attended the negotiations for the installation of the Interallied censorship are known thanks to the article of Korkmaz, the representatives of the Allied states and the Ottoman government in the mixed censorship committee had not been identified yet. This study attempted to disclose the names of the Allied states' and the Ottoman government's censorship representatives, their duties and the working hours in addition to the detailed rules for the application of Interallied military censorship for the first time. Besides, the role of censor officers tried to be explored in the latter chapters as well such in the case of the French and the Armenian censor officers. The study was able to provide the official name of the Censorship Department in Istanbul together with the new condition of Administration of Press Affair and other details like allocating automobiles for the censors. They were demonstrated thanks to the news in the primary source. Finally, I also tried to deal with the question of how pre-print censorship during the Armistice period was applied to a newspaper and attempted to give a plausible answer. Last but not least, important for the censorship mechanism, I have concentrated on the research question of what kind of news was subjected to censorship. To this end, I have tried to chronologically list the content to be censored in guidelines which were seen in the newspapers, the harmful subjects indicated in the secondary sources and the re-organizations that made the final form of censorship enactment. For the first time in the literature, I indicated that there was the transition period in the censorship mechanism and that its tendency to include more restrictions on the news about the Allied States in Istanbul. Moreover, I have pointed out the existence of restrictions on the Istanbul press for specific news agencies, therefore, the hands of journalists would be tied even before writing.

In the third and the fourth chapters of the thesis, the censorship analysis of *Tasvîr-i Efkar*, by using the nomenclature as the first and the second phase, was carried out by examining frequently seen censored news with the help of the statistical data which was done by counting the blank spaces throughout the whole research period (November 1918-1922). This effort was made to present the peak points in the intensity of the

editorship amount in the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper. As an outcome of this effort, an attempt to give the reasons for these peak points and for the downward trends, particularly for the second phase of the newspaper, was made. Therefore, the statistical data and the analysis revealed the editorship regime of Istanbul was not stable and directed solely to suppress the news about the Anatolian Movement but it was influenced by the motivations, the role of the editor officials, the political tendencies of the Allied Powers, the policies of the Ottoman governments and their conflicts within the editorship commission itself.

In the third chapter, I have attempted to evaluate *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* through four subheadings for the period between November 1918 until the closure of the newspaper in April 1920. In the first part, I have tried to understand the transition period of press editorship by using a primary source and to reveal the position of Ebüzziyazade on the editorship regime that was evolving. I have demonstrated two things that had not been investigated before; (1) the striking change in the news about the activities of the Allied states in Istanbul after the installation of the editorship, and (2) the interpretation of the newspaper on the censored content that was pertained to this period. Besides, this part dealt with the Mill Affair, previously indicated by Sina Akşin. Secondly, I endeavored to deal with the month of May 1919 because it was the peak month in terms of editorship ratio in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* for the entire period covered by this research. Since the period was known for its strict editorship implementation in the secondary literature, the previous months were also attempted to be examined to see the change in the editorship intensity. Therefore, with the help of the news, I have put forward the reason for the downward trend in terms of editorship in March 1919 and it was due to the government's investigation on the application manner of editorship. Besides, I have attempted to concentrate on the main topics of the newspaper; the news about the Wilson principles and on *Rums* which was exposed to editorship. Afterwards, I have turned my focus to the difference in the intensity of editorship within the month of May 1919 and dealt with the editorship examples about the conflict of Fiume. Then, I have intended to reveal the permission on the news about the demonstrations against the occupation of Izmir like the other secondary sources, but also, pointed out the editorship alteration among different newspapers which suggests while one theme was exposed to editorship in the specific newspaper, it might have been allowed/omitted in another one. Thirdly, I have examined the Interallied editorship regime during the

period of Congresses. Through the study, the censorship of the Ottoman government on the criticism of *Tasvîr-i Efkar* about the selection of the Ottoman representatives for the Paris Peace Conference was noticed. Furthermore, I strived to question whether the lack of news about Mustafa Kemal Paşa until June 12 was due to censorship or because of the busy agenda of the newspaper. I have also remarked the commonly cited information in the secondary sources that was the ban on the news about the Conferences in Anatolia with the news draft of *Tasvîr-i Efkar* that was used for the first time in this study. Furthermore, my other aim was to emphasize the criticism of Ebüzziyade against the declaration of Ali Kemal despite the existence of strict censorship. Finally, I have attempted to evaluate the censorship policy of Istanbul during the Ali Rıza Paşa's government until the closure of the *Tasvîr-i Efkar* newspaper. In this part, although the literature concentrated on the loosened censorship on the news about Anatolia, my aim was to demonstrate there was still strict censorship implemented through full removals. However, this study was unable to infer the content of these censorings. I also endeavored to indicate although the news about Anatolia was under surveillance, it was allowed to be published before the beginning of 1921 which was the result of the policy of the government at the time and the Allied states. Furthermore, towards the end of the chapter, the conflict among censor officers and the tighten censorship policy on the Istanbul press were revealed before ending the chapter with the closure of the newspaper after *de jure* occupation of Istanbul by the Allied states.

In the fourth chapter, I tried to focus on the analysis of the second phase of the newspaper under the headline *Tevhîd-i Efkar* between June 1921 and August 1922 via four sub-chapters and one additional writing. Having in mind the striking change in the tone of the newspaper's content in favor of the Anatolian Movement, I questioned how the newspaper was able to publish supportive news, despite the existence of the Interallied censorship. Therefore, the first writing attempt has become a short glance on the events related to the censorship regime of Istanbul during the thirteen months of the absence of newspaper publications, since the developments in the period caused a change in the newspaper's new publication life. In this part, differently from the secondary sources, I aimed to underline the reciprocal restrictions introduced by Istanbul and Anatolia by particularly concentrating on the pressure applied to the Istanbul press. Furthermore, this study attempted to provide an answer to the question of why the censorship policy of Istanbul was altered after some point. To disclose the

answer, I have explored the role of French censors through the dispatches of the British High Commissioner. Secondly, I have sought the information and data about the censorship regime of Istanbul between the opening of the newspaper and October 1921 through the analysis of the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper. Since the abundance of news about the National Struggle was emphasized in the literature, I have focused on one of the research questions of the thesis; what was the censored content, if it was not about the Anatolian Movement? To provide the answer, I have tried to contribute to the findings of Nur Bilge Criss that claim that the censorship particularly concentrated on the foreign relations of the Ankara government. Moreover, I have indicated the known information that the reason for the downward trend in the censorship intensity of *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* was the news about the battles that had already been allowed to be published. In this part, I have also discovered that from September 25, 1921, onwards, the censorship in the Istanbul press was applied to the announcements as well. Secondly, I have intended to examine the period between the Treaty of Ankara and March 1922, to concentrate on the question of was there any change in the censorship regime because one of the members of the censorship committee made an agreement with the Anatolian Movement. By doing so, it is revealed that although the treaty highly influenced the content of the newspaper, the censorship activity was not reduced in a high amount. Furthermore, it is emphasized that the news about the Treaty of Ankara was of the topics that were subjected to censorship in addition to the full censorings and the censorship on the daily news. It is observed that the censorship implementation on the writings about the Treaty of Ankara was done in accordance with the British interest in the censorship mechanism. Afterwards, I have sought to study the *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* newspaper from March 1922 to the beginning of Great Offensive (*Büyük Taaruz*), in which the last peak censorship implementation was identified. Within the low censorship intensity, it is perceived that the news about the evacuation of Meander and the second answer of the Istanbul government were subjected to frequent medium types of censorship. Moreover, amid the news about the Conference of Genoa, it was seen the censorship regime was directed to the news about Russia, the *Rums* for particular subjects, the refutation news of the atrocity claims made by Europe, and the different opinions of Istanbul and Ankara on the inquiry affair. Finally, it is revealed for the first time in this study that the articles and discussions related to Islam in the newspapers could not be published without the approval of the Commission of Religious Written

Works from June 21, 1922, onwards. Although the reason for restriction needs more examination, the case of Abdullah Cevdet attempted to be reminded.

In the last part of the thesis, the final research question of how pre-print censorship was abolished from the Istanbul press was preferred to be examined instead of enlarging the analysis part which the censorship examples keep demonstrating the impact of the British policy. In this part, since any research has never been attempted so far except for the article of Mehmet Özdemir that mentioned the subject very briefly, I have sought to discover the termination process by examining several newspapers both for the Interallied censorship and the Turkish one. During the study, I have discovered the new censorship representatives that were appointed by Refet Paşa, the lesser censorship officials together with their names, their duties, the place of the new censorship department and the new censorship guideline. To contribute the Özdemir's findings of new content to be censored that demonstrated the restrictive feature of the press censorship against the Turkish army and the Grand National Assembly's interests, I have attempted to indicate the new specific content that was designed to be banned and published by the Istanbul press. Therefore, I have pointed out that the new guideline, the censored news, and later, the enactment for the abolishment of the press censorship manifested that pre-print censorship was deeply correlated with the presence of the Allied states in Istanbul which focused on not allowing news that could harm to their prestige. That is why, I have emphasized that from the very beginning to the end of pre-print censorship, the main content that was subjected to a very strict restriction was not the writings about the Anatolian Movement but the ones on the activities of the Allied states in Istanbul which disappeared from the publications after the installation of censorship and started to be seen once again after its termination as soon as the Allies state's forces totally evacuated the city.

Although I have attempted to disclose and elaborate on the unclear subjects concerning the censorship mechanism/regime of Istanbul under Allied occupation by analyzing a newspaper in this thesis, it was not feasible to cover the subject in its entirety because of several reasons. First of all, this study is a small part of a very broad topic that covers lots of actors, hence it requires further research. For instance, the opponent newspapers against the Ankara government, the Armenian, the French and particularly the Greek ones could shed light on the various perspectives of the censorship in order to uncover

the topics and themes that were seen as dangerous by the authorities in Istanbul. Besides, having access to the British National Archive, which apparently has a significant number of documents from the period, could provide many more details about the censorship mechanism of the time. Secondly, the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper had several agendas, which also directed this study in the analysis part such as (1) being against the Allied occupation of Istanbul and Izmir, (2) being inclined towards the Wilson Principles in order to use them for the Ottoman state's benefit before the Anatolian Movement, (3) being against promoting the Damat Ferit Paşa's policy, (4) being a tight supporter of the National Struggle and (5) having a very hostile views against the *Rums* in Istanbul. It made the thesis incline to these contexts and exclude very valuable components in the newspaper such as the news about the lawsuits and criminals, daily life reports, the writings about the refugees, the economic and social problems of Istanbul which were very interesting topics to understand the daily life during the Allied occupation. Besides, the thirteen months of closure of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* led this thesis to pass over the period between April 1920 and June 1921 very briefly, and it should be noticed that the detailed examination of several newspapers and archival materials like the PhD dissertation of Baykal would be very beneficial for the further research in the field for this period. Finally, since this thesis had a time limitation, the censorship regime of the Administration of Turkish Press in Istanbul that was established after Interallied censorship could not be examined in detail. However, I will attempt to carry out further research on the subject.

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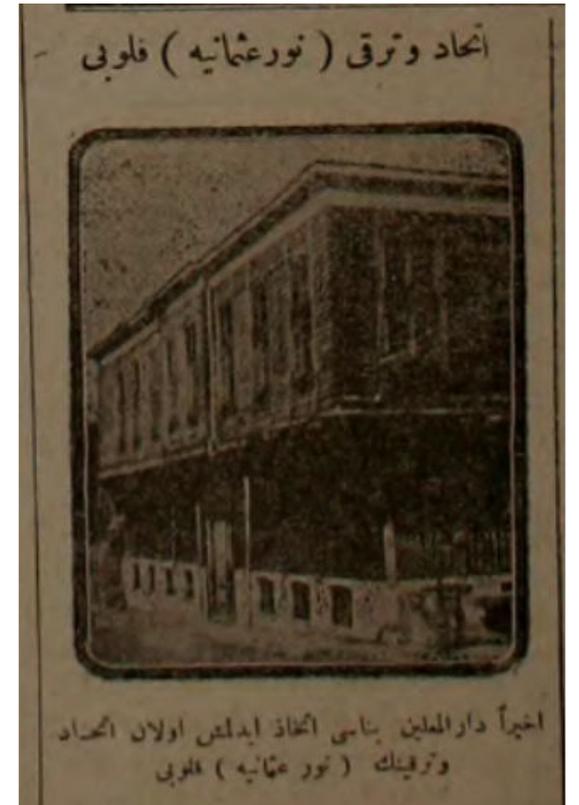
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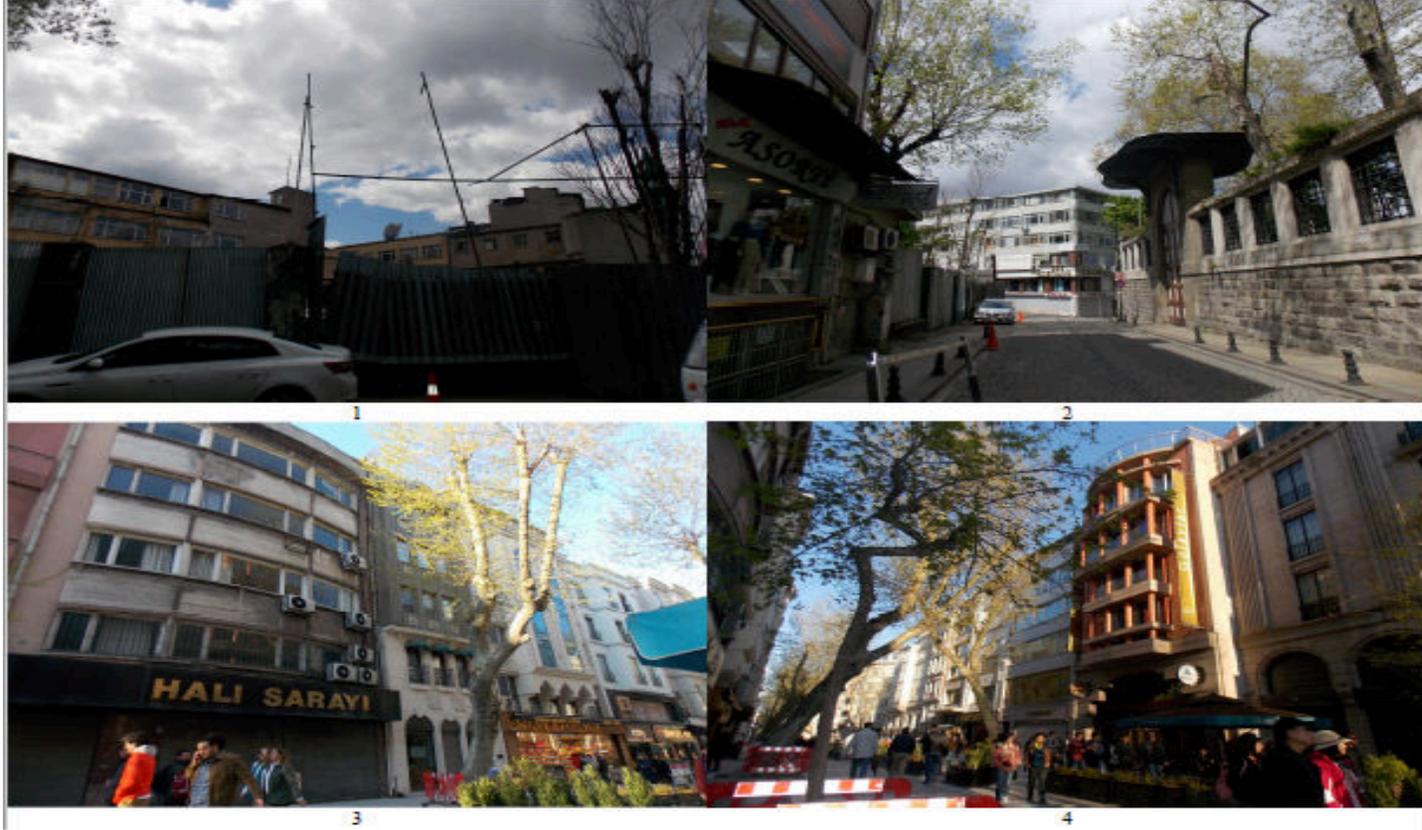
APPENDIX A

The Photos of *Münif Paşa Konağı* and *Darü'l-mu'allimin-i 'Aliye*



APPENDIX B

The Current Locations of *Münif Paşa Konağı*, *Matba'a-ı Ebüzziya* and *Darü'l Mu'allimin-i Aliye*



The first and the second photos show the current location of *Münif Paşa Konağı*. These pictures demonstrate the ground plot of *Münif Paşa Konağı* which is now used as a car park in front of *Istanbul Erkek Lisesi*. The number third is the current location of *Matbaa-ı Ebüzziya* and the fourth photo is the current location of *Darü'l Mu'allimin-i Aliye*. Photos taken by author.

APPENDIX C

The Locations of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *Darü'l Mu'âllimin-i Aliye*, *Münif Paşa Konağı* and *Posta ve Telgraf Nezareti* in 1340



The number one points out the location of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. The number two shows the place of *İttihat ve Terakki Merkez-i Umumisi*. However, there are words which could not be read at the end of the description. The number three is the plot where *Münif Paşa Konağı* was, however, the map does not indicate its name. Furthermore, the name *Sultan Ahmet Mektebi* could be seen behind the location of *Münif Paşa Konağı*. Lastly, the number four demonstrates the location of *Posta ve Telgraf Nezareti* where the censorship department of the Ottoman government functioned from December 1918 until their moving to the *Union Han*.

APPENDIX D

The *Union Han*



The building is known as the *Tütün Han* behind the Sabancı University Kasa Gallery, Minerva Han in Bankalar Caddesi, Karaköy.

A photo taken by author

APPENDIX E

The Şehremaneti Beyoğlu İdare-i Şubesi (The Altıncı Daire)



A photo taken by author

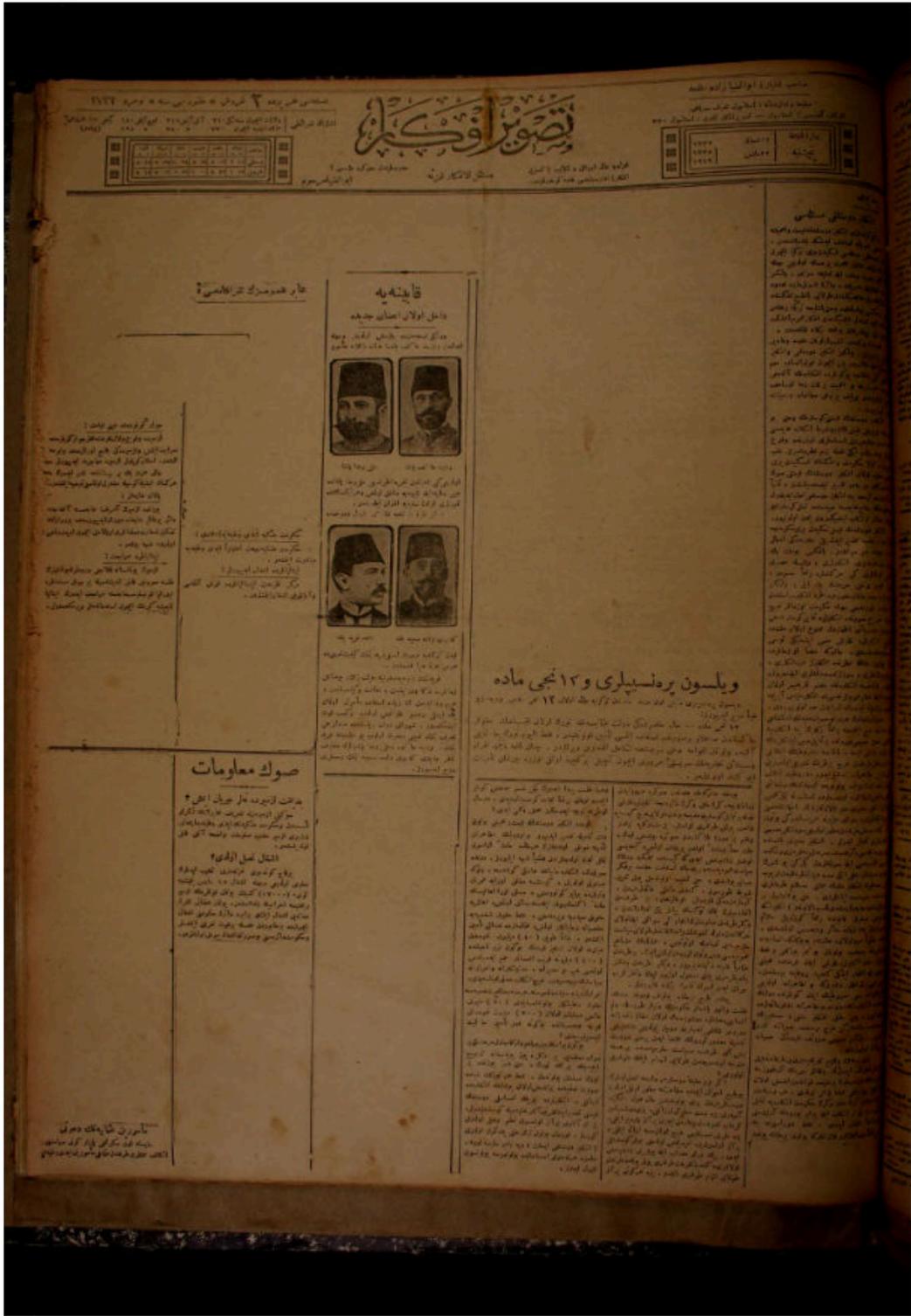
APPENDIX G

The Amount of Censorship Types for the Research Period

	TNSC	TNMC	TNLC	TNLrC	TANOD	TND	TMD	TPOAD	TPaN	TPN
Nov. 18	0	0	0	0	29	30	1	96%	2	58
Dec. 18	18	16	0	1,5	28	31	3	90%	2	56
Jan. 19	26	56	2	6,5	31	31	0	100%	2	62
Feb. 19	22	39	4	3	29	29	0	100%	2	58
Mar. 19	13	34	3	1,5	24	24	0	100%	2	48
Apr. 19	16	42	5	3,5	21	29	8	72%	2	42
Ma. 19	45	92	12	8,5	30	31	1	96%	2	60
Jun. 19	45	63	3	0	28	30	2	93%	2	56
Jul. 19	59	23	3	0	25	29	4	86%	2	50
Aug. 19	68	63	4	4,5	31	31	0	100%	2	62
Sep. 19	80	60	2	0	27	30	3	90%	2	54
Oct. 19	76	104	4	0	31	31	0	100%	17/4,14/2	96
Nov. 19	73	107	9	0	29	30	1	96%	4	116
Dec. 19	49	113	3	8	26	27	1	96%	4	104
Jan. 20	49	90	8	3	29	31	2	93%	4	116
Feb. 20	60	61	5	0	28	29	1	96%	20/2,8/4	72
Mar. 20	35	32	3	0	17	20	3	85%	13/2,4/4	42
Apr. 20	5	15	0	0	11	11	0	100%	8/2,3/4	28
Ma. 20										
Jun. 20										
Jul. 20										
Aug. 20										
Sep. 20										
Oct. 20										
Nov. 20										
Dec. 20										
Jan. 21										
Feb. 21										
March 21										
Apr. 21										
Ma. 21										
Jun. 21	107	58	0	0	26	30	4	86%	4	104
Jul. 21	74	11	0	0	24	28	4	82%	4	96
Aug. 21	64	9	0	0	23	28	5	82%	22/4,1/6	94
Sep. 21	64	11	0	0	30	30	0	100%	4	120
Oct. 21	90	25	0	0	31	31	4	100%	4	124
Nov. 21	61	62	1	2	21	30	9	70%	4	84
Dec. 21	69	30	0	0	29	31	2	93%	4	116
Jan. 22	63	17	0	0	29	30	1	96%	4	116
Feb. 22	62	20	2	0	28	28	0	100%	27/4,1/2	110
March 22	74	19	0	0	31	31	0	100%	30/4,1/2	122
Apr. 22	91	12	0	0	30	30	0	100%	4	120
Ma. 22	147	81	0	0	29	31	2	93%	4	116
Jun. 22	118	65	0	0	30	30	0	100%	4	120
Jul. 22	88	36	1	0	31	31	0	100%	4	124
Aug. 22	116	21	0	0	28	31	3	90%	4	112
Sep. 22	153	27	0	0	30	30	0	100%	4	120
Oct. 22	152	30	0	0	31	31	0	100%	4	124
Nov. 22	93	19	0	0	30	30	0	100%	4	120
Total	2425	1563	74	42	985	1045	64	94%		3222

The Number of Small Censorship/ The Number of Medium Censorship/ The Number of Large Censorship/ The Number of Largest Censorship/ The Available Number of Days/ The Number of Days*/ The Missing Days/ The Percentage of Available Days/ The Page Numbers/ Total Page Numbers *The indicated suspensions were considered.

APPENDIX I
An Example of Censored Front Page



One of the most censored day of *Tasvir-i Efkâr* dated May 22, 1919.