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# Newspapers Published During the National Struggle as a Historical Source of the Republic of Turkey

### Remzi Levent Zanbak, Süleyman Muftüoğlu, Arzu Zanbak

#### Mimar Sinan İmam Hatip Ortaoulu, Turkey

Among the historical sources of the Republic of Turkey, "**newspapers**" are among the important reference sources. Because it would not be wrong to say that newspapers are a kind of memory of the society. In historical studies, it is important to examine the events of the period chronologically; In this respect, newspapers have an important place as historical sources.

Thanks to newspapers, we have the chance to learn about the most influential events of the relevant period. Of course, it would not be right to say that newspapers are completely impartial and reliable. Because newspapers may give biased or incorrect information, both from those who publish the newspaper and from those who make the relevant news. To prevent this, the researcher must compare the newspaper he uses as a source with other newspapers of that period.

While some newspapers were published daily during the War of Independence; Some newspapers could only be published a few times a week due to the shortage of paper, the country being under occupation, and the pressure and censorship of the occupying powers and the Istanbul Government. Some newspapers had to suspend their publications or close down due to pressure and censorship.

It is possible to examine newspapers during the War of Independence under two main headings: "Newspapers published in Istanbul" and "Newspapers published in Anatolia". These newspapers also; We can divide it into two: "Newspapers Pro-National Struggle" and "Newspapers Against the National Struggle". Today's "Official Gazette", which is outside of this classification that we mentioned before moving on to these newspapers; Let's briefly touch on the newspapers "Takvim-i Vekayi" and "Ceride-i Resimye"

#### Takvim-i Vekayi;

In **1831, II. It started to be removed upon Mahmut's** instructions. It is our country's first newspaper published in Turkish. It is directly the official publication of the giants. II. When Mahmut saw that a French newspaper had an impact on Turkish-British and Turkish-Russian political relations, the importance and necessity of publishing a newspaper was seen by the state and II. It started to be published upon Mahmut's instructions. Takvim-i Vekayi not only identified and published the day-to-day events of that period, but also published articles responding to foreign state interventions. Apart from Turkish, French, He has also published in Armenian, Russian and Arabic languages. II. With the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, it continued to be published daily, taking the name **Ceride-i Officialiye of the Ottoman State .** It continued to be published as the official newspaper of the Istanbul Government during the War of Independence and was closed after its last issue was published on November 4, 1922.

#### **Official Ceride**

While Takvim-i Vekayi continued to be published as the official publication of the Istanbul Government, after the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1920, it began to be published once a week as the official newspaper of the Assembly. With the proclamation of the Republic, it has continued its publication life as the official newspaper of the Republic of Turkey since its 41st issue in November 1923.

#### 1. Newspapers Published in Istanbul During the War of Independence:

#### 1.1 Newspapers Pro-National Struggle:

#### Tasvir-i Efkar Newspaper:

It started to be published by Şinasi on 27 June 1862. It is the fourth Turkish newspaper published. <sup>(1)</sup> Şinasi was both the owner and editor-in-chief of the newspaper for approximately 200 issues until he had to go to Paris for political reasons. After Şinasi, Namık Kemal took over the newspaper, but when Namık Kemal had to go to Paris again for political reasons, Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem took over the responsibility of the newspaper. The newspaper, which was managed by Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem until the 830th issue, was purchased by Ebüzziyâ Mehmed Tevfik and continued to be published under the name "Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr" on 31 May 1909. In 1911, it started to be published again under the name "Tasvir-i Efkâr".

frequently censored due to the political conditions of the period, tried to publish under heavy pressure. Following the death of Ebüzziyâ Mehmed Tevfik in 1913, the newspaper, which continued to be published by his children Talha and Velid Ebüzziya, was closed in 1925. During his time broadcasting, he created a debate around the idea of national language and national identity.

followed the publication policy. The writer staff includes Celâl Nuri, Süleyman Nazif, Rıza Tevfik, Cevat

Names such as Rüştü, Ahmet Refik Altınay, Faik Ali Ozansoy, Tahsin Nahit, Suphi Nuri, Aka Gündüz, Namık İsmail and Ruşen Eşref took part. He sent reporters to the Sivas Congress and many fronts during the War of Independence. Since it was the first newspaper to print Mustafa Kemal's picture and publish his biography, it became one of the important pro-national newspapers of the period.

#### İkdam Newspaper:

It started to be published by Ahmet Cevdet on July 5, 1894. <sup>(2)</sup> The newspaper included political, economic, historical, social, military and religious topics as well as literary and historical articles and conversations in its publications. Among the writer staff; Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Recâizâde Mahmut Ekrem, Abdülhak Hâmid Tarhan, Sâmipaşazâde Sezai, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Cenab Şehabettin, Ahmet Rasim, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Ahmed Emin Yalman, Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu. It contains many important writers. Ikdam has adopted Turkism as one of its indispensable principles throughout its publication life. İkdam is the first newspaper in the Turkish press to include the phrase *"It is a political, scientific and economic Turkish newspaper" on its pages.* The newspaper supported the "Freedom and Entente Party" when it was first published; During the armistice period, he started to support the national struggle under the leadership of Yakup Kadri. It would not be wrong to say that the newspaper, which did not give up supporting the War of Independence despite facing many pressures and difficulties throughout its publication life, fulfilled its responsibility to provide news during the War of Independence, believing in the independence of the nation and the integrity of the homeland. However, interestingly, because of the publication of the letter sent by the leader of the Ismailia sect, Aga Khan, who was in London, and the Indian Emir Ali, to Prime Minister Ismet Pasha in December 1923, requesting that *"the caliphate and caliph be elevated to a position worthy of the trust and respect of the Muslim nation"* <sup>(3)</sup>. İkdam's chief writer Ahmet Cevdet and its responsible director Ömer İzzettin were tried in the Independence Courts. It was closed in 1928.

#### Yeni Gün Newspaper

It started to be published by Yunus Nadi on September 2, 1918. Yunus Nadi was also the chief writer of the newspaper. The newspaper started to be published in Istanbul with the occupation of Istanbul; He ended his publishing life in Istanbul in 1921.

It continued to be published in Ankara. It went down in history as the first daily newspaper published in Ankara. The newspaper, which includes important names such as Aka Gündüz, Enver Behman Şapolyo, Şükrü Kaya, supported the War of Independence until the end. After the establishment of the Republic, it continued its publishing life in Istanbul under the name "Cumhuriyet" as of May 1924.

#### Vakit Newspaper

The newspaper, which started to be published by Filip Efendi in 1875, took a break between 1884 and 1917; it was restarted in October 1917 by Ahmed Emin Yalman and Mehmet Asım Us. The newspaper, which includes important names such as Ahmet Emin Yalman, Ahmet Şükrü Esmer, Reşat Nuri, Enis Tahsin, Ali Ekrem Uşaklıgil, Hakkı Tank Us, Ahmet Rasim, Ruşen Eşref, Ziya Gökalp, Halide Edip, Hüseyin Cahit, followed the publication policy during the War of Independence. He supported the War of Independence and became the voice of Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Istanbul. Despite the censorship applied to the press during the War of Independence , he kept the people of Istanbul informed about the developments in Anatolia and fulfilled his duty to inform the people of Istanbul about the Anatolian resistance.

#### Forward Newspaper:

The newspaper, which started its publication life on January 1, 1918, continued its publication life until December 2, 1924. Although the newspaper, of which Celâl Nuri (Îleri) was the editor-in-chief, was pro-National Struggle from the moment it was first published; Due to the pressure of the Union and Progress governments, it could not provide sufficient support to the War of Independence in the beginning. However, starting from 1921, he started to make effective publications supporting the War of Independence. <sup>(4)</sup> In fact, it went down in history as the first newspaper to give front-line news. In the writer staff; Celal Nuri (Forward), Süleyman Nazif, Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı), Cevad Rüştü, Ahmed Refik (Altınay), Faik Ali (Ozansoy), Samih Rıfat, Tahsin Nahit, Ercüment Ekrem (Talu), Suphi Nuri, Aka Gündüz, Namık İsmail and Ruşen Eşref (Unaydın) were present.

#### **Evening** Newspaper

The first issue of the newspaper, whose founders include important names such as Necmettin Sadık (Sadak), Ali Naci (Karacan), Kazım Şinasi (Dersan) and Falih Rıfkı (Atay), was published on September 20.

It was published in 1918 and continued its publication life for a long time. The newspaper, which was pro-National Struggle, was subjected to a lot of pressure by the Censorship Board in Istanbul. Especially Falih Rıfkı Atay's writings supporting the Anatolian struggle are very important for the War of Independence. After the War of Independence, it pursued a publishing policy that supported the revolutions.

#### Tanin Newspaper

II. The newspaper, which started to be published on 1 August 1908 during the Constitutional Monarchy period, continued its publications as a kind of media organ of the Committee of Union and Progress. In fact, the founder of the newspaper and the one who financed it was Hüseyin Kâzım (Kadri), a member of the Committee of Union and Progress Central Committee. When it was first published, Tevfik Fikret was the editor-in-chief. After the departure of Tevfik Fikret and the founder of the newspaper, Hüseyin Kazım, it continued its publishing life for approximately 17 years under the editorship of Hüseyin Cahit. The newspaper, which was closed due to the March 31 Incident, started to be published again on October 14, 1922. As in the Ikdam newspaper; Due to the publication of the letter about "*Preservation of the Caliphate*" sent by the leader of the Ismailia sect, Aga Khan, to Ismet Pasha, and the publication of Hüseyin Cahit's article about "*The Remaining of the Caliphate in Turkey*", *the newspaper was closed and Hüseyin Cahit was tried at the Independence Tribunal in 1925*. Along with Hüseyin Cahit, the newspaper's writer staff includes important writers such as Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, İsmail Müştak (Mayakon), Muhiddin, Falih Rıfkı (Atay), Ahmed Şerif and Asım (Us), as well as Halide Salih (Halide Edip Adıvar), Cenap Şahabettin, Halit Ziya. There were important literary figures such as (Uşaklıgil), Cemil Süleyman (Alyanakoğlu), Aka Gündüz and Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç).

#### Sebilü'r-Reşat Newspaper:

The newspaper, which was a magazine, started to be published in 1908 under the name "Sırat-1 Müstakim". After the first 182 issues, it continued its publication under the name "Sebilü'r-Reşat" during the War of Independence and followed a publishing policy that tried to spread Islamic ideas. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper, where Eşref Edip serves as the chief responsible manager, is Mehmed Akif (Ersoy). Its cast includes Ömer Rıza (Dogrul), Said Halim Pasha, SM Tevfik, Bergamalı Ahmed Cevdet, Elmalılı Hamdi (Yazır), Eşref Edip, Hasan Hikmet, Ali Ekrem (Bolayır) Babanzâde Ahmet Naim, Ahmet Hamdi (Aksekili), Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Yusuf Akçura . The newspaper, which includes names such as Yer , dates back to 464-466 when Mehmed Akif went to Anatolia to support the War of Independence. numbers in Kastamonu, 467-527. published its issues in Ankara. The 490th issue (September 24, 1921) was published in Kayseri and the entire issue was devoted to the speech given by Trabzon deputy Ali Şükrü Bey at Kayseri Grand Mosque. It ceased publication on March 5, 1925, with the Takrîr-i Sükûn Law, which was enacted after the national struggle was won, citing the Eastern uprisings. The newspaper, which was published for approximately 17 years between 1908 and 1925, defended constitutionalism throughout its publication life and tried to explain the compatibility of this regime with Islam with verses and hadiths. It is one of the influential and important newspapers that support the national struggle.

#### İfham Newspaper

The newspaper, which was started to be published by Ahmed Ferit (Tek) in 1912 as the media organ of the National Constitutional Fırkası (National Turkish Fırkası), was closed after a while and started to be published again by Ahmed Ferit Bey on 23 July 1919. It is a national publication that supports the National Struggle and Mustafa Kemal Pasha in occupied Istanbul. The newspaper, which included important figures such as Y, Ahmed Ferit (Tek), Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul), Hamdullah Suphi (Tanriöver), Ömer Seyfeddin, Necip Asım (Yazıksız), İzzet Ulvi, Falih Rıfkı (Atay) among its writers, was closed in 1920.

In addition to the newspapers mentioned above; Newspapers such as Vatan (1921-1924), Memleket (1918-1919), İstiklal (1919) can be counted among the pro-National struggle Istanbul newspapers <sup>(5)</sup>

#### 1.2 Newspapers Against the War of Independence

#### Alemdar Newspaper

He published between 1909-1922. It was closed from time to time throughout its publication life; However, it continued to be published under the names "Takvimli Gazete" and "Teşrih" during these periods. The newspaper, which published against the War of Independence, adopted that the salvation of the country belonged to the British and therefore the British mandate should be accepted, and the people also

He tried to influence in this direction. The newspaper, which adopted a publishing policy opposing the Committee of Union and Progress in its early years of publication, later published publications against the War of Independence. At that time, it was one of the newspapers that had the most aggressive attitude towards Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the War of Independence led by him. The newspaper also published news originating from foreign press, and the foreign press it referenced was generally British and Armenian newspapers. It was closed in 1922.

#### Peyam-ı Sabah Newspaper

It was published daily between 16 November 1913 and 7 November 1922. The newspaper emerged by merging the "Sabah" newspaper published by Mihran Efendi and the "Peyam" newspaper founded by Ali Kemal. The responsible manager is Ali Kemal and the owner is Mihran Efendi. Like Alemdar newspaper, Peyam-1 Sabah newspaper also published pro-British mandate publications. The newspaper, which was very strongly against the national struggle, acted as the official publication of the Damat Ferid Government at that time. Peyam-1 Sabah was against the War of Independence in its publications and attempted to keep the public away from this movement and to create public opinion against the War of Independence. Especially the

newspaper's chief writer, Ali Kemal; He made the most severe attacks against Mustafa Kemal and the national struggle movement. After the War of Independence was won, the newspaper was closed and its writers were tried in the independence courts.

#### **Istanbul Newspaper**

It started to be published by Sait Molla since December 5, 1918. It is a publication organ of the British Muhipler Society. Publishing around the idea that Ottoman territorial integrity could only be preserved under British auspices, the newspaper pursued a publishing policy opposing both the War of Independence and those who supported the War of Independence. It was closed in 1921.

#### **Stamboul Newspaper**

The newspaper, which started to be published in French in 1875, created its publishing policy in line with French interests. The newspaper, which took a break from publication with the start of World War I, started to be published again in 1918 by the French Le Goff. The newspaper, which had adopted an anti-National Struggle publishing policy until 1921, saw that the War of Independence was beginning to achieve success, so it changed its publishing policy and turned to a pro-National Struggle attitude, and even started to include the victories won during the War of Independence in its columns. The newspaper continued its publication life even after the War of Independence ended; It made publications supporting the revolutions and was closed in 1964.

#### Newspapers Published in Anatolia During the 2nd War of Independence

Since the newspapers published in Anatolia outside Istanbul during the War of Independence were away from the pressure and control of the sultan and the Istanbul government, they published more independently and served to inform the public about the national struggle. There are also newspapers in Anatolia that publish "pro-national struggle" and "anti-national struggle" newspapers.

#### 2.1 Pro-National Struggle Newspapers

#### İrade-i Milliye Newspaper

The newspaper was founded by Mustafa Kemal himself to publish on behalf of the Representative Committee and started to be published in Sivas on September 14, 1919, as the first newspaper of the War of Independence. The newspaper, which was established before the congress to announce the decisions taken at the Sivas Congress to the public, could only be published 3 days after the congress ended due to various official procedures. The owner of the newspaper is Demircioğlu Selahaddin (Ulusalerk) and the editor-in-chief is Mazhar Müfid. In its first issue, the reason for the publication of the newspaper was explained as " *announcement of the national movement to the public and the world*". Most of the newspaper's editorials consist of articles dictated by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The newspaper, which initially started to be published once a week, twice a week, later continued to be published for a while after Mustafa Kemal's arrival in Ankara, lost its function after the Hakimiyet-i Milliye, which would assume this duty in Ankara, started to be published and was closed at the end of March 1922.

#### Hâkimiyet-i Milliye Newspaper

It started to be published in Ankara on January 10, 1920, on behalf of the Anatolian and Rumelia Defense of Rights Society Representation, as a continuation of the İrade-i Milliye newspaper published in Sivas, in line with the directives of Mustafa Kemal, with the words "Its Profession is to Make the National Will Judge". It is a newspaper published to disseminate the aims, views and decisions of the national struggle to the public. At first, articles in the newspaper were published unsigned. Most of these unsigned writings were dictated by Mustafa Kemal. *The newspaper, which is a continuation of Írade-i Milliye, 1920-1934 (1-4793 issues) Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 1934-1953 (4794-11662 issues) Ulus, 1953-1954 (1-158 issues) Yeni Ulus; It was published under the name Halkçi between 1954-1955 (numbers 159-467); It continued its publication under the name Ulus, starting from 10 June 1955, issue 11663. <sup>(6)</sup>. The main writers of the newspaper were Hamdullah Suphi (Tanriöver), Hüseyin Ragıp (Baydur), Ahmet Ağaoğlu respectively. The management of the newspaper was given to Recep Peker after 1923, to Mahmut (Soydan) from 1924 to 1931, and to Falih Rıfkı (Atay) after 1931. He writes important names such as Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt), Aka Gündüz, Falih Rıfkı (Atay), Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu), Mahmut (Soydan), Ağaoğlu Ahmet, Yahya Kemal (Beyath), Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın), İzzet Ulvi (Aykut). The newspaper served as the publication organ of the People's Party after the establishment of the new Republic of Turkey.* 

#### Öğüt Newspaper

The newspaper started to be published in Afyon by Abdülgani Ahmed from Thessaloniki in January 1918; After the occupation of Izmir, it started broadcasting in Konya. The subtitle of the newspaper includes the phrase *"It is a daily Turkish newspaper serving the national cause"*. The newspaper, which was subjected to Italian pressure in Konya, made effective publications to raise public awareness against the Allied Powers and Italian forces. It became the most important media organ of the War of Independence movement in Anatolia, supporting the National Forces and broadcasting against the British and the Allied Powers. It is an Anatolian newspaper that played an important role in the success of the War of Independence with its publications encouraging the people of Konya to participate in the War of Independence. In July 1921, the newspaper also started to be published in Ankara . For the first time, an Ankara newspaper was published in two cities, Ankara and Konya. Ahmed, the responsible manager of the Ankara edition; Tevfik, the one in Konya is Nuri Tahsin. The newspaper was closed in January 1923. <sup>(7)</sup>

#### Hukuk-ı Beşer Newspaper

It is a daily newspaper published in Izmir in 1918-1919, under the lead authorship of Hasan Tahsin (Osman Nevres), who fired the first shot at the Greeks during the War of Independence. He made effective publications to encourage the people in Izmir and its surroundings to resist the Greek Occupation and to ensure their participation in the War of Independence. The newspaper started to be published under the name "Peace and Selâmet" after January 4, 1919.

#### Ses Newspaper

It is issued weekly in Balıkesir. The newspaper, which operated between October 17, 1918-1919, supported the national struggle regionally in Izmir and its surroundings.

#### Izmir'e Doğru Newspaper

It started to be published in Balıkesir on 16 November 1919 as the publication of Balıkesir Defense of Rights Society. The newspaper, which was initially published twice a week, later began to be published three times a week and continued its publication life until the occupation of Balıkesir. The newspaper, which published a total of 74 issues during this period, aimed to enlighten the public as a supporter of the War of Independence and to defend the justness of the War of Independence. The subheading of the newspaper includes the phrase "*He is the servant and mentor of the National Action*" and the sentence "*Articles that will defend the National Action are accepted*". Towards Izmir is one of the media organs that deals with national feelings, wants to keep the excitement of the occupation of Izmir fresh, and works to popularize the spirit of the National Struggle. While its staff includes names such as the owner of the newspaper, Hüseyin Vasif (Çınar), Esat (Çınar) and Mustafa Necati; Pier Loti's articles were also published in this newspaper. The newspaper was closed following the occupation of the city on June 30.

#### **Fatherhood Newspaper**

The newspaper, which was started to be published by Yusuf Mazhar in Konya on December 25, 1910, continued to be published under the name "Turkish Word" for a short time since 1917. Later, it was renamed Babalık. Babalık, the fiercest advocate of the War of Independence, appeared twice a week, but started to appear daily as of April 5, 1921. He announced all the developments to the public free of charge, especially during the days of the great attack. His writing staff included; The newspaper, which included names such as Semizâde Süreyya, Servet İskit, Abdülkadir Efendi, Reşat Ekrem (Koçu), was closed in 1951.

#### Açıksöz Newspaper

It started to be published by Hüsnü (Açıksöz) in Kastamonu on 15 June 1919. The newspaper, which was initially published once a week, started to be published twice a week as of September 16, 1919. At the same time, he joined the ranks of the National Forces and became the publication organ of the Kastamonu Defense of Rights Society. Açıksöz newspaper together with Kastamonu and its surroundings; He also published news from provinces such as İnebolu, Zonguldak, Sinop and Bolu. When Istanbul newspapers were banned from entering Anatolia, their absence was made worse. He continued his efforts to inform the Anatolian people about every event. The newspaper provides daily information about the İnönü Victories and the Battle of Sakarya; He condemned the Greek attack and wrote articles to support the morale of the people. Its publication life lasted until 1932, and since 1937 it has been published under the name Doğru Söz.

#### Yeni Adana Newspaper

"Adana Newspaper", which was started to be published daily in Adana-Pozanti on 25 December 1918 by its owner and chief writer Ahmet Remzi (Yüregir), was closed after 3 copies were published and continued to be published under the name Yeni Adana. The newspaper attracted attention as a newspaper that shouted the Turkishness of Çukurova.

#### Yeni Gün Newspaper

The newspaper, which was started to be published in Istanbul by Yunus Nadi, started to be published in Ankara under the name "New Day in Anatolia" on 10 August 1920, after it was closed after the occupation of Istanbul. The newspaper, which includes important names such as Aka Gündüz, Nüzhet Haşim, Ziya Gökalp, Enver Behnan Şapolyo, Şükrü Kaya, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, was first transferred to Kayseri when the Greek attack approached Ankara, and continued to be published in Ankara after the Sakarya victory. Reflecting Ataturk's thoughts, the newspaper adopted the idea of National Pact and supported the War of Independence. It closed in 1924.

#### Albayrak Newspaper

It was founded by Selim Polat in Erzurum in March 1913. The newspaper, which took a break from publication after the occupation of Erzurum in the First World War, started to be published again in 1919 by Süleyman Necati. The newspaper, whose subheading includes the phrase "Vilâyât-ı Şarkiye cannot be Armenia" and defends the Turkism movement; It published as the media organ of the Vilâyât-ı Şarkiye Müdâfaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti. The newspaper is the most effective propaganda tool in the Eastern region and one of the most important historical sources of the congress period. The newspaper was published three times a week. It was announced in this newspaper in 1919 that Mustafa Kemal resigned from military service and became the head of the Erzurum Defense of Law Society. announced from this newspaper. The writer staff of the newspaper, which was closed in 1921, included names such as Süleyman Necati, Sadettin Nüzhet (Ergun), Feridun Nafiz (Uzluk), Enver Behman (Şapolyo), Cevat Dursunoğlu, Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu), Ekrem Reşat and Namdar Rahmi.

#### Ahali (Edirne) Newspaper

The newspaper, which was started to be published in Edirne by Ahali Mehmet Behçet (Perim) on September 8, 1919, stopped its publication for a short time after the occupation of Edirne by the Greeks on July 25, 1920, and then resumed its publication in Sofia. The newspaper, which published publications defending the rights of Turks, especially in the Thrace region, made great efforts to ensure that the people participated in the National Struggle. Writers: Emin Ali, Cemal Konural, Dr. It consisted of names such as Rıfat Osman, Osman Şevki (Uludağ), Cemal Ziya (Ardal), Atıf Fehmi (Ödül), Arif Dündar, Abdülhalim Hadi, Osman Nuri.

#### Ahali (Samsun) Newspaper

It started to be mined in Samsun in 1919 by İsmail Cenani (Oral) and Mehami Mehmet Aziz. He fought to ensure national unity in the Black Sea region, to increase support for the national struggle, and against Pontus gangs carrying out harmful activities in the region, by publishing articles.

#### Anadolu Newspaper in Antalya

It started to be published by Haydar Rüştü Bey in 1912. The newspaper, which was initially published in Izmir under the name Anadolu, started to be published in Antalya under the name Anadolu after the occupation of Izmir. It is one of the most important supporters of the National Struggle movement in our southern regions.

#### Istikbal Newspaper

"İstikbal" Newspaper, which has been published in Trabzon since December 10, 1918, was established to prevent the activities of Greek-Pontus gangs operating in the region and to ensure Turkish independence and unity. It was published by Faik Ahmet (Barutçu). The newspaper, published as the media organ of the Trabzon Protection of Law Society, encouraged the people of the region to participate in the War of Independence.

#### Satvef-i Milliye Newspaper

It is the first newspaper with cartoons published during the years of the War of Independence. It started to be published in Elazığ in 1922 by M. Hulisi Bey under the responsible directorate of Emin Hüseyin. The cartoons in the newspaper were made by Macarzâde Hakkı Bey. It is an important newspaper that supports the National Struggle in Elazığ.

#### Dertli Newspaper

The newspaper published in Bolu was started to be published by İlyaszade Mehmet Bey in 1919. It is the publication organ of the Bolu Defense Law Society. He supported the War of Independence and Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

In addition to the newspapers mentioned above, although their collections are not complete today, Tanyeri (Adana-1918), Milli Mefkure (Adana-1922), İkaz (Afyon- 1919-1928), Söz Birliği (Afyon- 1919-1921), Emel (Amasya-1920- 1928), Vilayet (Amasya- 1922-1928), Hakikat (Amasya- 1920-1921), Türkoğlu (Bolu-1921-1923), Bolu (Bolu- 1914-1921), Friend (Bursa-1922-1927), Independent Çorum (Çorum-1921-1964), Trakya Paşaeli (Edirne- 1918-1920), Işık (Giresun – 1918-1927), Kayseri (Kayseri- 1914-1950), Misak-1 Milli (Kayseri-1921-1923), İbret (Konya -1919-1920), Güneş (Ordu – 1919-1920), Mücadhede-i Milliye

Newspapers such as (Sivas- 1922-1923) can also be considered among the pro-National struggle newspapers<sup>(8)</sup>

#### 2.2 Anatolian Newspapers Against the War of Independence

#### Ferda Newspaper

When the Çukurova region was occupied by the French, it is seen that the Ferdâ newspaper emerged as a media organ supporting the French occupation in the region. Ferda

The newspaper opposed the War of Independence and supported the French occupation in its publications. It is an undeniable fact that he contributed to the settlement of the French in the region by weakening support and belief in the War of Independence with his publications. Its publication life, which started towards the end of 1918, ended with the withdrawal of the French from the region in 1921.

#### İrshad Newspaper

"İrşad" newspaper, published by Ömer Fevzi and Kadızade Hulusi, first in Trabzon and later in Balıkesir, published against the War of Independence; Its main purpose is to incite the people to revolt by provoking them against Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the War of Independence.

Apart from those mentioned above, many newspapers published anti-National War publications in order to disrupt the War of Independence in Anatolia. Among these newspapers; Hayistan (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Armenian, 1919-1921), Cilikya'nın Yankısı (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Adana and published in Armenian, 1919-1921), Kilikya (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Armenian, 1919-1921), Kilikya (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Armenian, 1919-1921), Kağakatsi (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Armenian, 1919-1921), Kağakatsi (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Adana and published in Armenian, 1919-1921), Japane (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Adana and published in Adana and published in Armenian, 1919-1921), Azad Davros (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Armenian 1920-?), Kilikya Postasi (A newspaper published in Adana and published in Armenian 1920-1921), Kürsi-i Millet (newspaper published in Bolu 1918-1919), Yoldaş (newspaper published in Bursa -1919-1927), Te'min (newspaper published in Edirne 1908-1921).