



The Journalist Cases in Istanbul and Eastern Independence Tribunals According to the Reports of American Diplomats

Amerikan Diplomatlarının Raporlarına Göre İstanbul ve Şark İstiklâl Mahkemesinde Gazeteciler Davası

Dr. Ayşe BEDİR¹

Abstract

The abolition of the sultanate but the caliphate was left behind for a while after the War of Turkish Independence, the dissolution of the Parliament itself, the renewal of the elections, the establishment of the People's Party, the declaration of the Republic caused the reaction of the Istanbul press. These developments led to the establishment of İstiklâl Mahkemeleri (*the Independence Tribunals*) in Istanbul. Moreover, on 4 March 1925, with the decision of the Assembly, the Eastern Independence Tribunal was established to suppress the Sheikh Said Rebellion. In the trial process, Sheikh Said claimed that some of the newspaper publications had dragged them to the rebellion and that had been effective in their being against the government. These developments led to the establishment of the Independence Tribunals in Istanbul and El-Aziz. The trials which are known as the *Gazeteciler Davası* (*the Journalist Cases*) and the developments on the subject were frequently included in the reports of that period of American diplomats serving in Turkey. In this study, how the developments of the *Journalist Cases* seen in the Independence Tribunals reflected in the reports of the American diplomats will be examined. In general, the diplomats' approach to the Journalists Cases is judgmental. Although the diplomats stated the legal dimension of these cases, they evaluated and interpreted them as political cases on the grounds that there was not enough evidence. Moreover, along with *The U.S. National Archives (NARA)*, the related news in the newspapers of that era, the memories of the journalists and the members of the Independence Tribunals, and the relevant literature will also be referred.

Keywords: Atatürk era, Independence Tribunals, Mark L. Bristol, Jefferson Patterson, Sheldon Leavitt Crosby

Paper Type: Research

Öz

İstiklâl Savaşı'nın kazanılmasından sonra saltanatın kaldırılıp halifeliğin bir süre daha geride bırakılması, Meclis'in kendisini feshetmesi, seçimlerin yenilenmesi, Halk Fırkası'nın kurulması, Cumhuriyetin ilanı gibi kısa bir sürede vuku bulan gelişmeler İstanbul basının tepkisine neden olmuştur. Bu gelişmeler İstanbul'da bir İstiklâl Mahkemesi'nin kurulmasına yol açmıştır. 4 Mart 1925'te Meclis kararıyla Şeyh Said İsyanı'nı bastırmak üzere Şark İstiklâl Mahkemesi kurulmuştur. Bu mahkemedeki yargılama sürecinde Şeyh Said, bazı gazete yayınlarının kendilerini isyana sürüklediği ve hükümete karşı cephe almalarında etken olduğunu iddia etmiştir. *Gazeteciler Davası* olarak bilinen yargılamalar ve konuyla ilgili gelişmeler, Türkiye'de görev yapan dönemin Amerikan diplomatlarının raporlarında da sıklıkla yer almıştır. Bu çalışmada İstiklâl Mahkemeleri'nde görülen *Gazeteciler Davası'nın* Amerikan diplomatlarının raporlarına nasıl yansdığı incelenecektir. Genel olarak, diplomatların *Gazeteciler Davası'nın* yaklaşımı eleştireldir. Diplomatlar bu davaların hukuki yönünün olduğunu belirtmelerine rağmen yeterli delil olmadığı gerekçesiyle davaları, siyasi davalar olarak değerlendirmiş ve yorumlamışlardır. Amerikan Milli Arşivi'nin yanı sıra, dönemin gazetelerinde yer alan ilgili haberlere ve yargılanan gazeteciler ile yargılamayı yapan İstiklâl Mahkemesi üyelerinin hatıralarına ve konuyla ilgili literatüre de başvurulacaktır.

¹Türk Tarih Kurumu, a.bedir34@gmail.com

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Atatürk dönemi, İstiklâl Mahkemeleri, Mark L. Bristol, Jefferson Patterson, Sheldon Leavitt Crosby

Makale Türü: Araştırma

Introduction

The Independence Tribunals, having their origin from Tribunal Révolutionnaire's (Soboul, 1969, p.326) extraordinary jurisdiction after French Revolution were one of the most remarkable, intriguing and controversial issues in recent Turkish history. These courts were established to prevent deserters, providing authority and security, and also strengthening the Army in the face of the issues that occurred during the Turkish War of Independence. It is possible to consider *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri (the Independence Tribunals)* in two terms as of the term they were established: the National Struggle period (1920-1922) and the Republican period (1923-1927).

The Powers that caused the disintegration of the Ottoman State, by taking advantage of the chaos that emerged with the actual end of the Ottoman Empire after the Armistice of Mudros, had completely dragged the country into disorder. In order to take the country out of this chaos further riveted by the occupation of Istanbul, to ensure the safety of authority safe and to carry out the National Struggle for the preservation of the soil, the National Grand Assembly was established in Ankara on 23 April 1920. Afterward, the government of the Assembly, which took action in Ankara, enacted the Law No. 2 on Treason (for Hıyanet-i Vataniyye Law, see *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi* (hereafter *TBMM ZC.*), Period 1, 3. Session (25. 4. 1336), pp. 63-66; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 4. Session (26. 4. 1336), pp. 79-84; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 5. Session (27. 4. 1336), pp.99-109; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 6. Session (28. 4. 1336), pp. 115-122, 127-134; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 7. Session (29. 4. 1336), pp. 137-145), on April 29, 1920, in order to overcome the security problems caused by the deserters. Because of the reason the fact that after four months of implementation, this law was not effective in solving the problem, the Assembly adopted the Law No. 21 on the Fugitives on September 11, 1920 (For *Firariler Hakkında Kanun (the Law on Fugitives)* see *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 61. Session (8.9.1336), pp. 22-23; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 62. Session (9.9.1336), pp. 46-57; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 63. Session (11.9.1336), pp. 84-101). The law stated that the Independence Tribunals would be established and their decisions would be final in the trials of the deserters and their collaborators.

In this regard, Eskisehir, Isparta, Konya, Sivas, Kastamonu, Pozanti, Diyarbakir, and Ankara Independence Tribunals were established by being accrued with various regions around them. These tribunals ruled the cases as deserters, public order, and espionage. Unlike other tribunals, Ankara Independence Tribunals also heard the cases of people such as Damad Ferit Pasha, Rıza Tevfik, Çerkez Ethem, and British spy Mustafa Sagir. Those outside Ankara were abolished on February 17, 1921, after being completed the hearings. But the Ankara Tribunals continued their existence until 31 July 1922. However, over some time, a number of several problems reappeared, and by the decision of the Assembly, three new tribunals were established in Konya, Samsun, Kastamonu, on 5 August 1921. On the same date and with the Commander-in-Chief Law (*Başkomutanlık Yasası*), the Assembly assigned its powers to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Accordingly, the tribunals were directly linked to Pasha, as well. Based on the law, another new tribunal was established in Yozgat on September 8, 1921. The lawsuits of those who never complied with the *Tekalif-i Milliye Emirleri (National Taxes Orders)*, which were declared to provide resources for the National Struggle for the preparations for the Battle of Sakarya, were included in the scope of the Independence Tribunals. On July 31, 1922, *İstiklâl Mehâkimi Kanunu* (the Law on Independence Tribunals) (For the Law on Independence Tribunals see *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 81. Session (27. 7. 1338), p. 9; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 82. Session (29. 7. 1338), pp. 34-45: 47-64; *TBMM ZC.*, Period 1, 83. Session (31. 7. 1338), pp. 77-103.) No. 249 was adopted. Thus, the establishment, duties, and powers of these courts were

identified. Though upon the rebellious operation of Pontus Greek gangs, a tribunal was established in Amasya but was soon abolished in October, 1922. Among them, also el-Cezire Tribunals was established by the Assembly on 22 January, 1923 to hear the deserters' lawsuits in its region including Diyarbakir, El-Aziz, Van, Malatya, Siirt, Bitlis, Maras, Antep, and Hakkâri. These courts had been active for two months and virtually closed on May 11, 1923.

After the War of Independence, controversy over which one was the legitimate political power came to the agenda: Istanbul Government or Parliament? Thereupon, the Sultanate was abolished in November, 1922. As a result of this development, some political unrest had happened. Thus, the regulations were made 1st and 8th articles of Hıyanet-i Vataniye Kanunu (the Law on Treason) No. 334 and 335 on April 15, 1923, and those who were engaged in activities reinstating the sultanate were brought to the scope of the law (Aybars, 2009, pp.15-16; Küçük, 2001, pp. 350-351; Koçin, 2015, pp. IX-X). So, the first period of the Tribunals, namely the National Struggle Period, based on the statutory of the Law on Treason, the Law on Fugitives, and the Law on Independence Tribunals terminated.

The developments mentioned above in regards to the abolition of the sultanate on November 1, 1922, and the proclamation of the Republic caused some reactions in political circles like in Assembly, and Istanbul Press. Those including Rauf Bey and some others around him thought the proclamation of the Republic was rushed and presented with a *fait accomplie* that caused harsh discussions in the Assembly (Aybars, 2009, p.163; Satan, 2008, p.199; for the statement of Rauf Bey see *Vatan*, 1 Teşrin-i sani 1339 (1 November 1923); for the discussions see Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Grup Toplantısı Tutanakları (Republican People Party Group Meeting's Minutes), (1923-1924) 2002, p. 27). These discussions and dissociations sparked imminently off the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party imminently. Also, the Istanbul press expressed their reactions against the issue. Some columnists wrote that on the one side the republic was declared timeless and in a hurry, on the other side the method was not correct. Moreover, they warned that these developments could further result in the abolition of the Caliphate². Meanwhile, the letter of Aga Khan and Emir Ali on behalf of the Indian Muslims to the President and the Prime Minister regarding the importance of the caliphate institution and the benefits of its stay on Turks and urging not to be demolished was published by the Istanbul Press before arriving at whom it concerned. This attitude of the press was perceived by the government as a reactionary movement against the Revolutions. Ismet Pasha stated, subsequently, at the Assembly's 8 December 1923, that those people are being supported by the British administration and also the publishing of the letter was a crime in accordance with the 1st article of Law on Treason. So, he bade for the reestablishing of the Independence Tribunals in Istanbul. Thus, the proposal was accepted and the foundation of the Independence Court in Istanbul was decided (Çulcu, 1993, pp. 28-32). This tribunal tried the cases of the journalists who published the letter, Lütfi Fikri Bey, President of Istanbul Bar Association, and the claims to annihilate the Republic (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 2006, pp. 86-87; Villalta, 2014, pp. 352-354; Atay, 1984, p. 374; Koçin, 2015, p.XI; p. XI; Küçük, 2001, pp. 351-352).

Another development in this period was the outbreak of Sheikh Said Rebellion on February 13, 1925. The fact that Ismet Pasha's and a group of deputies' claims that the measures taken by the Prime Minister Fethi Bey were insufficient had created pressure and eventually Fethi Bey left the office and Ismet Pasha was appointed. Then, in pursuit of Ismet Pasha's bid, the Assembly enacted the Law on The Maintenance of Order (Takrir-i Sükûn) No. 578 on March 4, 1925. On the same day, again by the proposal of the Prime Minister regarding the establishment of the Tribunals in Ankara and in the rebellious regions, Ankara and Eastern

² The Istanbul press thought that Caliphate Institution would be abolished with a *fait accompli* (Satan, 2008, p.197). Istanbul Bar Association President Lütfi Fikri wrote an open letter to the caliph, stating that the caliph should not resign to protect his office, dynasty, and the Islamic world (Tanin, 10 Teşrin-i sani 1339 (10 November 1923)). Hüseyin Cahit wrote that if the caliphate disappeared, Turkey with a population of five million would no longer matter in the Islamic world and would become worthless in terms of European politics (Tanin, 11 Teşrin-i sani 1339 (11 November 1923)).

(Rebellion Region) Independence Tribunals were reinstated with the act of the Parliament No. 117. According to the resolution, the Ankara Tribunals' decisions could be executed only after the Parliament approved them, but the execution orders taken by the Eastern tribunals would be directly approved by the tribunal itself (Tunaya, 1952, p. 614; Küçük, 2001, p. 352; Akşin, 2010), p.209; Koçin, 2015, p. XI-XII).

In this framework, during the second period between 1923-1927, namely the Republican period, Istanbul, Ankara, and Eastern Independence Tribunals were enacted on the basis of the laws mentioned to rule the cases of reactionary movements against the new regime and the revolutions. According to Rustow A. Dankwart (1959, p. 547) "the special Independence Tribunals which the Ankara regime established to try cases of treason or rebellion were no courts-martial but rather civilian tribunals composed of members of the Grand National Assembly." In this respect, Istanbul tribunals tried the *Gazeteciler Davası* (the *Journalist Cases*); Eastern tribunals heard the cases of the Sheikh Said Rebellion and also the other journalists; Ankara tribunals ruled the cases of the deserters, the Progressive Republican Party lawsuits, Izmir Assassination, the opposition to the Hat Act, and press crimes. The two tribunals Ankara and the Eastern courts were closed on 7 March 1927 with a parliament decision after serving for two years. However, the Law on the Maintenance of Order remained in force till the 4 March 1929; but the absolute termination of the tribunals was realized after the Law on the Abolition of the Independence Tribunals and Its Supplemental, No. 5384, on May 4, 1949 (Küçük, 2001, p. 354; Koçin, 2015, p. XII; Gün, 2020, p.58).

In the light of the historical background mentioned above, Journalist Cases, one of the cases heard in Istanbul and Eastern courts, constitute the general subject of this study. The developments in Turkey and the journalists' case were discussed on various platforms, especially in the Turkish Parliament, and echoed in the press of the period. In addition, this issue was followed with interest by the representatives of the foreign embassies working in Turkey at that time. The American administration, through its diplomatic missions in Turkey, pursued the developments that started with the Turkish National Struggle and continued with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey and the events related to the new regime in Turkey. The cases known as Journalist Trials and related developments were frequently included in the reports of American diplomats working in Turkey at that time. The contribution of this study to the field is that, for the first time, the reports of American diplomats in the *US National Archives* will be used on the case of journalists in the Istanbul and the Eastern Independence Tribunals. Although there are various researches published on the subject, archival documents in the *American National Archives* regarding the Journalists Cases have not been used until today. In this study, the cases of journalists in Istanbul and the Eastern Independence Tribunals will be discussed and evaluated in the light of American diplomat reports, which have not been used in any research so far. Thus, the perspective of the diplomat reports on the case will be determined, a comprehensive perspective on the cases will be presented, and a gap in the literature will be filled. Another contribution of the study to the field is that the diplomat reports show the change experienced by the newly established state, namely its revolutions, and how the said change was interpreted and perceived by the West (USA), and whether this perception offers a new perspective on the subject.

In this study, it will be examined how the developments in the Journalist Cases in Independence Courts were reflected in the reports of the American diplomats Mark L. Bristol, Jefferson Patterson, Sheldon Leavitt Crosby. First of all, the historical background of the Independence Tribunals will be presented. Then, in the light of these historical data, the reflection of the developments regarding the Journalists' Case in Istanbul and the Eastern Independence Tribunals on the reports of the American diplomats, the issues discussed in the reports, how these issues were debated, will be examined within the framework of the literature, archival sources, and developments in the press. In addition, diplomats' approach to cases, their evaluations and opinions on the subject, the findings, and the results will be emphasized.

1. The Journalist Cases during the Republican Period (1923-1927)

1.1. The Journalist Cases in Istanbul Independence Tribunals

The effectuation of the abolition of the Sultanate soon after the National Struggle's ending up in victory caused dissidence among the leaders carried out the Struggle and this seperation began to become more prominent in the process of the proclamation of the Republic and the removal of the Caliphate institution. This development paved the way for an opposition group called the Second Group in the 1st Period Grand National Assembly with the support of the former members of the Committee of Union and Progress. As the Turkish revolutions took place, these kinds of developments not only caused opposition in the political sphere and Assembly but also resonated in Istanbul Press. In this context, some newspapers brought out critical articles about the issues in their columns (Aybars, 2009, pp. 281, 401-403). When the caliphate discussions started in the second half of 1923, the Istanbul press opposed the abolition of the caliphate and the first trials of the Journalists' case began in the Istanbul Independence Court (Gün, 2018, p.53).

The first issue that led to these lawsuits, which was reflected in the report of the American diplomats on the case, was the events during the proclamation of the Republic. In this regard, American diplomat Jefferson Patterson³ states in his diplomatic notes that the process eventuated to the declaration of the Republic caused a serious opposition against the new regime in the Assembly, press, and the political sphere of the country, in general (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00 / 2063, pp. 2, 6). In his article titled "The Last Status" *Tanin* Editor-in-Chief Hüseyin Cahit had corroborated Rauf Bey who thought that the declaration of the Republic was being rushed, as to the report. He had also added in this article that the proclamation of the Republic was a good job, but the path followed in that was at fault (*Tanin*, 1 Teşrin-i sani 1339 (1 November 1923). According to Patterson, "the aforementioned Rauf Bey incident was closely followed by another whereby legal measures were taken against editors prominently identified with the Union and Progress Party, although the action was not openly directed against them as adherents of that political organization. The occasion arose by the publication early in December in three Constantinople newspapers..." (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00 / 2063, p. 13.) In some Istanbul press agents such as *İkdam*, *Tevhid-i Efkar*, and *Tanin* some critical articles were published on the topics 'the way' of the proclamation of the Republic, the change of the form of the state by the later amendments in the Constitution (Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu), and the 'timeless' proclamation of the Republic 'by rushing' (For discussions about the proclamation of the Republic and the regulations on the subject made in the Constitution (The Supreme Organization Law) see *İkdam*, 12 Teşrin-i evvel 1339 (12 October 1923); *İkdam*, 13 Teşrin-i evvel 1339 (12 October 1923); *Tevhid-i Efkar*, 13 Teşrin-i evvel 1339 (13 October 1923); *Tanin*, 25 Teşrin-i evvel 1923 (25 October 1923). In this context, Mustafa Kemal Pasha remarks on the approaches of the Istanbul press of the period towards the new regime in his Speech, namely *Nutuk*, and mentions some critiques of the journalists from Istanbul newspapers due to the concerns about the declaration of the Republic (Atatürk, 1969, pp. 815-816).

One another issue that led to the establishment of the Istanbul Independence Tribunal and the Journalist Cases was the letter sent by Aga Khan and Emir Ali regarding the Caliphate. In respect to the letter, Patterson mentions that though it was sent to Ankara by Aga Khan, who was the President of the British Islamic Association and had a great influence on the Indian Muslims, and Emir Ali, who had a significant position in the Indian Government, the letter was published by *Tanin*, *Tevhid-i Efkar*, and *İkdam* even before the government handled it, and adds that the owners of the letter on the one side had shared their friendly feelings towards the government and sympathy with the country's desire for independence, on the other side they had underlined the uncertainty situation of the Caliphate because of the steps taken by the Assembly. The report also highlights that the uncertain status of the caliphate could not only

³ Jefferson Patterson was the second secretary in the American Embassy in Ankara between 1926-1930.

weaken the authority of the caliph but also result in compromising the interests of Sunni Islam as a whole. Additionally, the exclusion of the caliph from the Turkish political ground would cause the loss of the moral power of Islam in the idea of being the spokesperson of the Indian Muslims. Since the caliph had revived the unity of all Sunni Muslims, this exclusion would lead to the ultimate dissolution of this moral power (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, p. 13). On the same topic, the British Annual Report on Turkey for 1924 (Satan, 2013, p.5) underlined that *the Aga Khan's letter, which was published in the Turkish Press early in December, may well have given concern to the directors of Turkish policy, but if the instant despatch of an Independence Tribunal to Constantinople indicated some momentary alarm, the menacing nature of the gesture also served a useful purpose in the future, and acted as a warning to journalists and others that the Government would be prepared.*"

Relating to this topic, Çulcu (1993, pp. 9-11,13) also referred that over making provisions for the abolition of the caliphate, Indian pro-caliphate leaders' letter⁴ mentioned above published by the Istanbul press before falling into the Government's hands the letter in question, sent from London on 28 November 1923, was published in *Tanin* (5 Kanun-ı evvel 1339 (5 November 1923) and *İkdam* (5 Kanun-ı evvel 1339 (5 November 1923) on 5 December 1925, and the day after, published in *Tevhid-i Efkâr*⁵ (6 Kanun-ı evvel 1339 (December 6, 1923), *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (6 Kanun-ı evvel 1339), and *İleri* (6 Kanun-ı evvel 1339). Upon this incident, publication of the letter in the press before they were handled by the authorities in Ankara was claimed to be a crime or *the last straw*⁶ by the government and the bid of Ismet Pasha to establish an Independence Tribunal in Istanbul was approved by the Assembly. Eventually, the proclamation of the republic and the dissenting articles of some journalists only shortened the life of the caliphate (Satan, 2008, p.201; Gün, 2020, p.67). Therewith the Istanbul Tribunal constituted and started the hearings. The editor-in-chief of *Tanin* Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın⁷, and of *İkdam* Ahmed Cevdet⁸, and of *Tevhid-i Efkâr* Velit EbuZZiya⁹, and managing editors of these newspapers were detained and arrested (Çulcu, 1993, pp. 12, 32-38). Thus, the trials of the Journalist Cases during namely the Republican period had begun with the first hearings there.

Related to Aga Khan's letter, Patterson also emphasizes that the letter was sent from London to Ankara simultaneously with the copies sent to the Istanbul press. But it was never intended to be published in the press before it arrived at the main address, the Government. On the other hand, he states, Ankara's partial inaccessibility also prompted the Government to hear about the letter through the press before the original copy reached its hand. Consequently,

⁴ In the content of the letter, the continuation of the caliphate is requested and requested, the function and importance of the caliphate are mentioned in seven articles, and the influence of the caliphate on the Muslims of the world is emphasized. About the details of the letter, see. Çulcu, 1993, pp. 9-11; Gün, 2020, pp.62-65; Özcan, 2020, p.295.

⁵ For the letter see Appendix 2.

⁶ Hüseyin Cahit's editorials, such as the caliphate issue in *Tanin*, intra-Party negotiations, and the situation of the caliphate, played an important role in this development (Çulcu, 1992).

⁷ Hüseyin Cahit was born in Balıkesir in Turkey in 1875. After graduating from the School of Political Science (Mülkiye Mektebi) he held various positions in the Ministry of Education in the Ottoman Era. After the declaration of the second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, he had acted with the Unionists (CUP). He also published *Tanin* Newspaper in this period. But after the occupation of Istanbul by Britain, he was exiled to Malta. After the Proclamation of the Republic in Turkey, He opposed the Government and defended the Unionists. As a result, he was tried in the tribunals and acquitted. On the other side, he was elected as a deputy of the Republican Peoples Party in Çankiri, Kars, and Istanbul between the years 1939 and 1954. Later, he had had critics in *Tanin* and *Ulus* against the Democrat Party of Menderes. During this period, he was also sentenced to 26 months in prison but after about four months released. He died in 1957 (Huyugüzel, 1984; Yücebaşı, 1960; Sancaktar, 2005; Bengi, 2000).

⁸ Ahmed Cevdet, born in Istanbul, was graduated from the schools of political sciences and law. He worked as a translator and editor-in-chief in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, *Sabah*, *Tarik*, and *Saadet* newspapers. In 1894, he commenced publishing *İkdam*. He was an opponent of the Unionist Movement and later he went to Europe and continued to write in the newspaper. He was one of the Supporters of the National Struggle. Although he was tried in the tribunals during the Republican Period, he was freed after being not guilty (Yüce, 1989, pp. 55-56).

⁹ Velit EbuZZiya, born in Istanbul, in 1882, was graduated from the School of Law. He published *Tasvir-i Efkâr*. Though he was exiled to Malta soon after the occupation of Istanbul by Britain, he was freed one year later. When he returned, he was not allowed to publish the newspaper under the same name and he issued *Tevhid-i Efkâr*. He supported and concerted with the leaders of the National Struggle. As a result, he was awarded the Independence Medal by virtue of his services during this period. He, lastly, was tried in Istanbul and Eastern independence tribunals and acquitted (Ebüzziya, 1994, pp. 371-373).

the publication of the letter was perceived as an extraordinarily mysterious situation and even an indication of a conspiracy against the state by the Nationalists of Ankara, who were always suspicious and sensitive to external influences (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, p. 14). Patterson reports that İsmet Pasha perceived the issue as a threat to the security of the Republic, gave a speech in the Assembly on December 8, and indicated that the ordinary investigation procedures were not sufficient for the present case and that extraordinary measures need to be applied. Peterson also impresses on that the Assembly elected İhsan Bey, deputy of Cebel-i Bereket, with the participation of 156 deputies from 286 members, as the President of the Independence Tribunal to start its activities in Istanbul very soon. In this regard, he reports, the Court began its duty on December 9 when Hüseyin Cahit Bey from *Tanin*, his colleagues from *İkdam* and *Tevhîd-i Efkâr* were busted and get arrested in Istanbul (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, pp. 14-15). İnuğur conveys that it was natural for the government to be angry with the letters, but no one could imagine that three journalists (Ebuzziya Velid, Ahmed Cevdet, and Hüseyin Cahit) could be an instrument in British intrigues of ignorant. The court stated that the publication of the letter was guilty but that it was decided to acquit the journalists on the grounds that it was unintentional (1992, p. 252). After the arrest of the journalists, the Press Society issued a statement to the Parliament, expressing their sincerity that the journalists would not engage in any malicious or malicious action against the country's interests (Tunçay, 1992, p.80). Moreover, the trial of journalists in the Independence Tribunals had wide repercussions in the country, and the newspapers (i.e. *Resimli Gazete*, 15 Kanun-ı Evvel 1339) attached great importance to this event.

In the same report, Patterson also interprets the attitude of Hüseyin Cahit who published the letter in his agency as an opposition to the goals of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his circle¹⁰ (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, p. 4). This seems to confirm the situation mentioned in *Nutuk* (Atatürk, 1969, pp. 815-816).

Discussions regarding the abolition of the caliphate were also taken part in the report sent by the American High Commissioner, Mark L. Bristol¹¹, to the US State Department. In his report, Bristol informs that the caliphate institution will not be lifted for a while and that the Ankara Government will extend this work over some time. In this context, he adds his personal evaluations to his report the caliphate had brought about political tensions and that this might pave the way for an opposition party in the Parliament (NARA, M353, Roll 49, File 867.404/57. Letter by Mark L. Bristol dated December 3, 1923).

The hearings started on December 15, 1923, and the tribunal's prosecutor demanded that the journalists, mentioned above, be judged according to the Law on Treason¹² on the grounds that they were intentional or unintentional mediators in the propaganda of Agha Khan and Emir Ali in regards to the abolition of the caliphate. The journalists and their lawyers declared in their defense¹³ that they had accepted the letter as absurd and stated that they had published the letter for the purpose of reporting as news. By stating Hüseyin Cahit Bey's being a republican and having performed important services, the prosecutor requested the acquittal of Cahit Bey and other editorial officers (Tunçay, 1992, p. 81; Aybars, 2009, p.183). According to Mignon (2010, p. 18), "Cahit's concern was not religious, but he believed that the suppression of the caliphate would harm the standing and influence of Turkey as the leader of the Islamic world and thus diminish the country's importance in the eyes of the major European states. His stance on the caliphate would lead to his being tried by the Independence Tribunals even though

¹⁰ About the individual frictions that occurred after the proclamation of the Republic; Yalçın says in his memoirs that he actually could never understand the reasons for the conflicts though they were of the same mind (Yalçın, 2000, p. 372).

¹¹ Mark L. Bristol, had served as High Commissioner of the US in Turkey between the years 1919-1927.

¹² İsmet Pasha states that the letters were given for translation and they were published in Istanbul before the translation results came. On December 8, 1923, İsmet made a proposal at the 64th meeting of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, proposing an amendment to the first article of the Law on Treason and establishing an Independence Court in Istanbul (Çulcu, 1992, pp.151-160, 272-278).

¹³ For the topics on the Republic, caliphate and the letter in the defense of Hüseyin Cahit, see Ali Haydar, 1339, pp. 6-29, 29-34, 34-36. For an example from his defense, see Appendix 1; and also see (Çulcu, 1993).

he was acquitted in 1924.” As a result of the trials, the tribunal acquitted the journalists on January 2, 1924. Yet, the President of the Bar Association, Lütfi Bey, who was tried in the same trials for his article (Tanin, 10 Teşrin-i sani 1339 (November 10, 1923) published in Tanin as an open letter to the Caliph regarding the republican regime and the caliphate, was sentenced to hard labor for five years but was released after a while by taking advantage of the amnesty issued.

Shortly after the acquittal of the journalists with the decision of the Istanbul Independence Tribunal, which allegedly aimed to intimidate the opposition Istanbul press (Aybars, 2009, p. 288) the President of the Tribunal (Topçu) İhsan Bey brought together Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Istanbul press (Hüseyin Cahit, Velit Ebüzziya, Ahmed Cevdet, Celal Nuri, Necmettin Sadak, and so on) at a meeting in Izmir on February 4/5, 1924. In this meeting, Gazi Pasha referred to the innovations he wanted to realize and asked for the support of journalists on this issue (Yalman, 1997, p. 16). The same topic was also covered in the British Annual Report on Turkey for 1924 (Satan, 2013, p.6). According to the report, “*It was the beginning of the month of February the newspaper editors of Constantinople were invited to meet the President and to discuss matters with him. On the journalism of Constantinople the visit had its due effect, for the newspaper writers, when they returned to their desks, perhaps flattered, perhaps frightened, poured out encomiums on the President, and laid the blame for the bad administration of which they did not cease the complaint, on his advisers and Ministers.*”

Though there had been a short silent period after the closure of the case in the Tribunal by the acquittal of the journalists, the Journalist Cases become a current issue again with the outbreak of the Sheikh Said Rebellion.

1.2. The Journalist Cases in Eastern Independence Tribunal

As mentioned earlier, İsmet Pasha was appointed as Prime Minister with the government reshuffle that took place on February 13, 1925, since the measures of the Fethi Bey Government were not deemed sufficient to suppress the Sheikh Said Rebellion. İsmet Pasha proposed the enactment of the *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu (the Maintenance of Public Order Law)*¹⁴, which brought serious restrictions to the press on March 4, 1925, and this proposal was accepted by the Assembly. The Assembly, on March 4, 1925, upon the proposal of İsmet Pasha, adopted the Law. Accordingly, the Eastern Independence Tribunal was established to suppress the rebellion¹⁵. In addition to the trials related to the Sheikh Said Rebellion, in the Eastern Independence Court, the Journalist Cases, known also as the Matbuat Case, were also gone to trial.

In this second period of the Independence Tribunals, the American diplomat Patterson argues in his report that by the *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* enacted by the Parliament on March 4, some extraordinary powers were given to the Government to combat destructive or disobedient groups against its authority, the once in force administration (martial law) was reappplied, the newspapers were put under pressure, and Istanbul with its press was taken under control. He also gives details about the tribunals by stating that two Independence Courts were established, one for the Eastern provinces where the uprising continued and the other for the rest of the country (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, pp. 32, 48). *Tevhid-i Efkâr, İstiklâl, Son*

¹⁴ In the first article of the *Takrir-i Sükûn*, it is mentioned that "The publications that lead to reactions, rebellions, and, provocations, incentives and attempts violating the social order of the country and peace, tranquility, security and order, are, with the approval of the President, ex-officio and administratively empowered to ban by the government having a title to entrust those who commit these acts to the Court of Independence." TGNA RB. Term 2, 69th Meeting (4.3.1341), p. 129; Over the reasons for the enactment of the law, Recep Peker states that the Law of *Takrir-i Sükûn* was never a law against the rights and freedoms of citizens, but against the axis of evil and to eliminate the means of them. See Örguevren, 2002, pp.76-77); In addition, Peker mentioned that among the reasons, the abuse of the Istanbul press was also in question (Örguevren, 2002, p. 76).

¹⁵ Upon the resignation of the President of the Tribunal, Hacı Muhittin Çarıklı, the delegation of the Eastern Independence Tribunal was re-established under the presidency of Mazhar Müfit Kansu that Ahmet Süreyya Örguevren appointed as prosecutor; Ali Saib Ursavaş, Lütfi Müfit Özdeş and Avni Doğan Bozok as members. Örguevren, 2002, p. 88; Tunaya, 1952, p. 614; Akşin, 1997, p. 61).

Telegraf, Sebilürreşad, Orta Çekiç, Aydınlık, Sayha, Kahkaha, İstikbal, Press De Soir, and the newspapers and magazines as such were closed indefinitely on March 5, 1925, with the establishment of the independence tribunals in pursuit of the adoption of the law. According to Ergün Aybars, though the Sheikh Said Rebellion was the main reason for the enactment of *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* and accordingly the establishment of the tribunals, thanks to it not only the impediments in front of the regime were removed but also the opposing elements were eliminated for ensuring the revolutions (Aybars, 2009, pp. 204, 218). Gün (2018, p.53) also said that this was commented as the total liquidation of the opposition in the British Annual Report on Turkey for 1925-1926 (Satan, 2013, p.159) also confirmed what Aybars said that “*İsmet Pasha’s Government set to work at once, and the Assembly passed a Law for the Stabilisation of Tranquility to remain in force for two years in virtue of which the Government subject only to the President’s approval, received the widest and vaguest Powers conceivable for dealing with any event likely to disturb the tranquility of the State.*”

Tanin was closed indefinitely since it announced the search of the Progressive Republican Party’s head office in Istanbul under the title "Yesterday Night Terakkiperver Party was raided", on April 16, 1925. The owner and also editor-in-chief of the newspaper Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın was arrested. The related trials were concluded on May 8, and Yalçın was sentenced to exile in Çorum pursuant to the Article 17 of the Press Law (Türker, 2000, pp. 219-237). However, Hüseyin Cahit, sentenced to exile, was acquitted in the decision hearing held on December 26, 1926 of the cases at the Ankara Independence Court (Bengi, 2000, pp.255-256). The American diplomat Patterson’s report on the closure of newspapers and the arrest of journalists has a similar approach to the issue. It is mentioned in the report that the Istanbul headquarters of the Terakkiperver Party was raided and documents were taken, newspapers were put under pressure, their owners and editors were arrested, and Hüseyin Cahit, a talented journalist, was constantly exiled to Çorum. He claims that the decisions in the tribunals were obviously ‘political’, ‘not based on the evidence which were presented’. Additionally, he emphasizes that despite the danger of creating an underground opposition, there is a clear intention to eliminate all opposition in any way (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, pp. 33-34). In his report, Peterson mentions while commenting on the abolition of Hüseyin Cahit Bey's sentence that as a strange result of the hearings at the Ankara Independence Court, the exile sentence of Hüseyin Cahit in Çorum was lifted. NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, p. 45).

During the trials, Sheikh Said made a statement that the publications of some newspapers such as *Tevhid-i Efkâr, Sebilürreşad, Tok Söz, Son Telgraf* provoked them. Subsequently, President of the Court Mazhar Müfit Kansu asked the prosecutor's office for an opinion on the issue¹⁶. Thereupon, on June 7, 1925, Abdülkadir Kemali Ögütçü, owner of the *Tok Söz*, Velit Ebüzziya, owner of the *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, Fevzi Lütfi Karaosmanoğlu, owner of the *Son Telgraf*, and Sadri Ethem Ertem, a writer of *Son Telgraf*, were brought as defendants in custody for instigating the revolt and put on trial. During this period, the Court decided to be brought the issues of newspapers such as *Sebilürreşad, Tevhid-i Efkâr, Tanin, Vatan, Son Telgraf, Tok Söz, İstiklâl*, and *İleri* as of January 1924 for review. Thus, the second period of the Journalist Cases started in the Eastern Independence Tribunal (Örgeevren, 2002, pp. 280-281). After the execution of the death sentence against Sheikh Said and his friends, the court and the detained journalists passed to El-Aziz on 11 July 1925 and the Al-Aziz trials started. The hearings, which started after the imprisoned journalists passed to El-Aziz on July 11, 1925, coincided with the following the execution of the death sentence against Sheikh Said and his followers.

¹⁶ For the memoirs of Ahmet Süreyya Örguevren, the Tribunal Prosecutor for the statement of Sheikh Said, who allegedly prompted to the trials of the journalists in the Eastern Independence Court, see Örguevren, 2002, p. 281; For a similar claim, see Fergan, 2005, p. 67; See also regarding the involvement of the press in the proceedings Akyol, 2012, p. 469.

Admiral Bristol, evaluating the situation in his report dated 30 July 1925 before the trials of the journalists started in August, notes the Independence Tribunal's continuing with its function by a unique effort. Bristol reported that "*Alone the Tribunals of Independence continue to function with unimpaired zeal. There are plans for the Angora tribunal to travel through the western vilayets stopping off for a few days at the larger provincial towns to investigate and if necessary "purify" them. Arrests are still the order of the day, chiefly at Constantinople though the public continues apathetic. The press remains well-disciplined, and makes few comments on national politics.*" (NARA, M353, Roll 18, File 867.00/1885, p.1).

As a result of the trials that started in the Court on August 11, 1925, it was decided to close the *Vatan* at the request of the court prosecutor Avni Doğan. In addition, the owner of this newspaper, Ahmed Emin Yalman, its writer Ahmet Şükrü Esmer, along with Suphi Nuri İleri, the owner of the *İleri*, İsmail Müştak Mayakon, the owner of the *İstiklâl* newspaper, and Gündüz Nadir, the owner of the *Sayha* newspaper, were also get arrested (Örgeevren, 2002, p.282). According to Eşref Edip regarding the arrests of the group of journalists, including Ahmed Emin Bey, Prosecutor Avni Bey had stated that despite writing dissenting articles, journalists still circulating freely in Istanbul also be arrested (Fergan, 2005, p.87; Demirel, 2016, p.320). In his memoirs, *Vatan* owner Ahmed Emin Yalman states that not only being given their names by some of the journalists which were tried in the first group but also the personal hostility of the court committee brought them to the tribunal (Yalman, 1997, p.1003). The closure decision and these arrests were also reflected in the report of the United States High Commissioner Sheldon Leavitt Crosby dated August 13, 1925. In the report, he shares that following Hüseyin Cahit Bey the most striking arrests were the arrests of journalists such as Ahmed Emin, Ahmed Şükrü, İsmail Müştak, Suphi Nuri Bey with the order of the Eastern Independence Tribunal. In addition, he also indicates that the aforementioned ones were taken to El-Aziz and that the printing of the *Vatan* was stopped in this process, and that the arrests caused a stir in political circles in Istanbul. Interpreting the developments as suppression of all opposition to the current regime, Crosby regards this as a situation that discredited the opposition and opposition leaders. Crosby emphasized that "*These arrests which are the most spectacular since that of Hussein Djahid have produced a considerable effervescence in political circles at Constantinople. It would be seen that the Government, no longer content with suppressing all opposition to present regime, is newly engaged in an attempt to suppress all potential opposition as an organisation, is now trying to discredit its leaders personally.*" (NARA, M353, Roll 18, File 867.00/1887, pp. 1-2). The arrests and cases of the journalists in the second group were also discussed in Crosby's report dated September 9, 1925. The report states that there was insufficient evidence regarding the arrests, and that the case was intended to form a lawsuit against the leaders of the Terakkiperver Party, especially Rauf Bey. He states that in Ahmed Emin Bey's trial, his relationship with Rauf Bey, in general, was questioned (See NARA, M353, Roll 18, File 867.00/1891, pp. 1-3).

In the same report, Crosby also includes some statements about the arrested journalists to inform the US State Department. In this case, he points out that Ahmed Emin Bey is a professional journalist educated in the United States and is one of the two editorial writers who defended the American thesis in the Fisher Case and other debates. On the other hand, he does not neglect to emphasize the following in his report that he probably visited America in an attempt to correct his political position and linked some of the non-pretentious points to America and that he is a person who associates political relations with domestic politics with the opposition. With all that, he observes that since the *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* came into effect and the journalists were arrested, he was someone who stayed away from politics in his newspaper. It is mentioned in regards to Ahmed Şükrü Bey that he was Ahmed Emin's first assistant, and a brilliant journalist and recently made a trip to Russia and sent a series of interesting secret reports to the Turkish Government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also in terms of Müştak Bey, stated to be one of the leading persons of the Union and Progress and the Secretary-General of Parliament of Turkey during the National Struggle, it is claimed that his

activities were continuously cast doubt in the presence of the Ankara Government. Finally, he states that Suphi Nuri Bey, the brother of Gallipoli deputy Celal Bey, was also a member of the former Union and Progress and also the founder of one of the opposition newspapers *Telegraf* closed by the Government after the announcement of the *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* (NARA, M353, Roll 18, File 867.00/1887, pp. 2-3).

Crosby reports in his report dated September 25, 1925, that the journalists had been acquitted in the case held in El-Aziz on September 13. The diplomat adds that it was effective on acquittal for the journalists to send their letters to the President of the Republic Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha by declaring their loyalties to the regime, stating be going to stay away hereinafter from writing anything of this nature, and indicating themselves be innocent. He also mentions that the columns of these journalists in their next journalistic activities would likely be satisfactory for the regime. In the report, Crosby said that “*The journalists had addressed a lengthy letter to the Ghazi President in which they skillfully combined references to the salutary character of the Chief Executive and of his regime with protestations of innocence and expressions of a firm intention henceforth to abstain from writing or talking in other than strictly orthodox terms. The Ghazi returned this letter to the Tribunal with the “suggestion” that a certain degree of clemency was in order. The acquittal was therefore a foregone conclusion.*” (NARA, M353, Roll 18, File 867.00/1896, pp.1-2). These letters mentioned by the diplomat are actually telegraphs which were sent to the President Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha by the journalists arrested in the second group including Ahmed Emin, İsmail Müştak and Suphi Nuri, and Gündüz Nadir on August 5, 1925, August 18, 1925, and September 13, 1925, respectively. With these, journalists declared their loyalty to the regime. These letters were delivered to the relevant court by the President (Soyak, 1973, pp.346-348; Gün, 2020, p.194). As a matter of fact, the document dated 28.11.1925 in the Republic Archives of the Presidency State Archives shows that the *Millet* might be an exception to the process. For, published on behalf of the *Vatan*, which was closed on August 11 of the same year with the decision of the Eastern Independence Tribunal, this newspaper was also closed (BCA, 30-10-0-0, 86 /566 /14, 28.11.1925 dated document).

At the end of the long trials in El-Aziz, also with the effect of the mentioned telegraphs, it was decided to refer Abdülkadir Kemali Bey, the owner of the *Tok Söz*, to the Independence Court in Ankara, to release the other journalists on the condition that they would be tried again if any new evidence be found. It was stated in the discharging decision dated 13 September 1925 that there was not enough evidence that they were related to the rebellion, that his writings were unintentionally influenced in this regard, and that the telegraphs, too, confirmed this reality (Akyürekli, 2014, p.428; *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1925). In 1927, the Eastern Independence Tribunal was abolished together also with the same court in Ankara on the grounds that they completed their missions (Küçük, 2001, p.353; Bengi, 2016, p.376). After the mentioned hearing in El-Aziz, the happiness of the journalists after their absolution and the reawakening of their love for their profession were explained in detail in Yalman's memories (Yalman, 1997, p.1022).

The abolition of the courts, too, took place in the reports of the American diplomat Jefferson Patterson. Patterson asserts that many of the domestic and foreign political problems were effectively resolved, even if never satisfied all the interlocutors. Additionally, he infers that the Government removed the Independence Tribunals, established during the Kurdish uprising in March 1925, and the tribunals exactly ended on March 7, 1927 (NARA, M1224, Roll 1, File 867.00/2063, pp. 48, 62-63).

Conclusion

The Independence Tribunals were initially established during the War of Independence to try deserters and war criminals. These courts with extraordinary powers were founded by the Grand National Assembly to realize the goals such as strengthening the new regime of Turkey

by providing public security and peace of mind to plant, ensuring the security of the state, and eliminating the obstacles to the regime. Having these features, there established Istanbul, Eastern, and Ankara Independence Tribunals in the Republic period.

The articles published in some dissenting newspapers from the Istanbul press regarding the developments in the proclamation of the Republic and the abolition of the caliphate prompted the establishment of the Independence Tribunals in Istanbul and the Journalist Cases. In the first period, those tried journalists were acquitted. Although there was a short period of peacefulness following the acquittal of the journalists, upon the outbreak of the Sheikh Said Rebellion, the Eastern Independence Court was established to suppress the rebellion. During the trial phase in the court, the second period of the Journalist Cases was brought to the agenda for the reason of some newspapers in Istanbul provoked the rebellion with their publications. There had been long trials in El-Aziz. Consequently, the journalists were acquitted upon the fact that some journalists both sent telegraphs to Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha expressing their loyalty and innocence to the regime and their defense in this manner.

In this context, this study handled both how the two Journalist Cases are reflected in the reports of the American diplomats of the era and what their personal approaches to the issue are. The impacts of these reports including the diplomats' individual reviews and evaluations of the Turco-American relations of that time should be examined. Because the two Journalist Cases, too, were followed closely by American diplomats Mark L. Bristol, Jefferson Patterson, and Sheldon Leavitt Crosby, and they mentioned these cases in detail in their reports.

Some of the conclusions drawn from the diplomat reports are as follows: American diplomats comment in their diplomatic notes that the process until the proclamation of the Republic led to serious opposition to the new regime in the Parliament, in the press, and also in the country's politics in general. Regarding Aga Khan's letter, diplomats emphasize that the publication of the letter was perceived by the Ankara Nationalists, who were always skeptical and sensitive to external influences, as an extraordinarily mysterious situation and even as a sign of a conspiracy against the state. Diplomats add to their report that the caliphate caused political tensions and that this could pave the way for an opposition party in the Parliament. According to diplomats, decisions in the courts are clearly "politically", "not based on the evidence shown". They also stress that, despite the danger of creating an underground opposition, it is clear that he intends to eliminate all opposition by any means. Independence Tribunals continue to operate with unspoiled enthusiasm. The press remains disciplined and makes little comment on national policy." Concerning the arrest, they infer that the Government was no longer content to suppress all opposition to the existing regime, but it was new in its attempt to suppress all potential oppositions as an organization, and seeks to personally discredit its leaders.

If a general evaluation is made, the diplomats' approach to the two Journalist Cases is observative and critical. Although diplomats stated the legal side of these trials, they evaluated and interpreted them as politically motivated cases on the grounds that there was not enough evidence. In the reports, the opposition by the press was perceived by the new regime as a situation that threatened the security of the Republic is emphasized. In this context, they hypothesize the relevant cases as an instrument used in disciplining and controlling the press to achieve the goals of the new regime. That is to say, they interpret the situation on account of the fact that the early republican regime necessitates the maintenance of its existence. Sometimes, the position of the diplomats in the cases and their practices is critical. For them, the character of cases is interventionist and compelling. In addition, the diplomats consider the discussions in the proclamation of the Republic and the abolition of the caliphate as a signal that a new opposition Party (Progressive Party) might be born within the Assembly.

It can be said that the topics in the reports generally overlap with the Turkish literature. It can be also inferred that the change experienced by a newly established state is interpreted by

the West/America as the current conditions that produce those results, that is, there are situations that are likely to be experienced cyclically.

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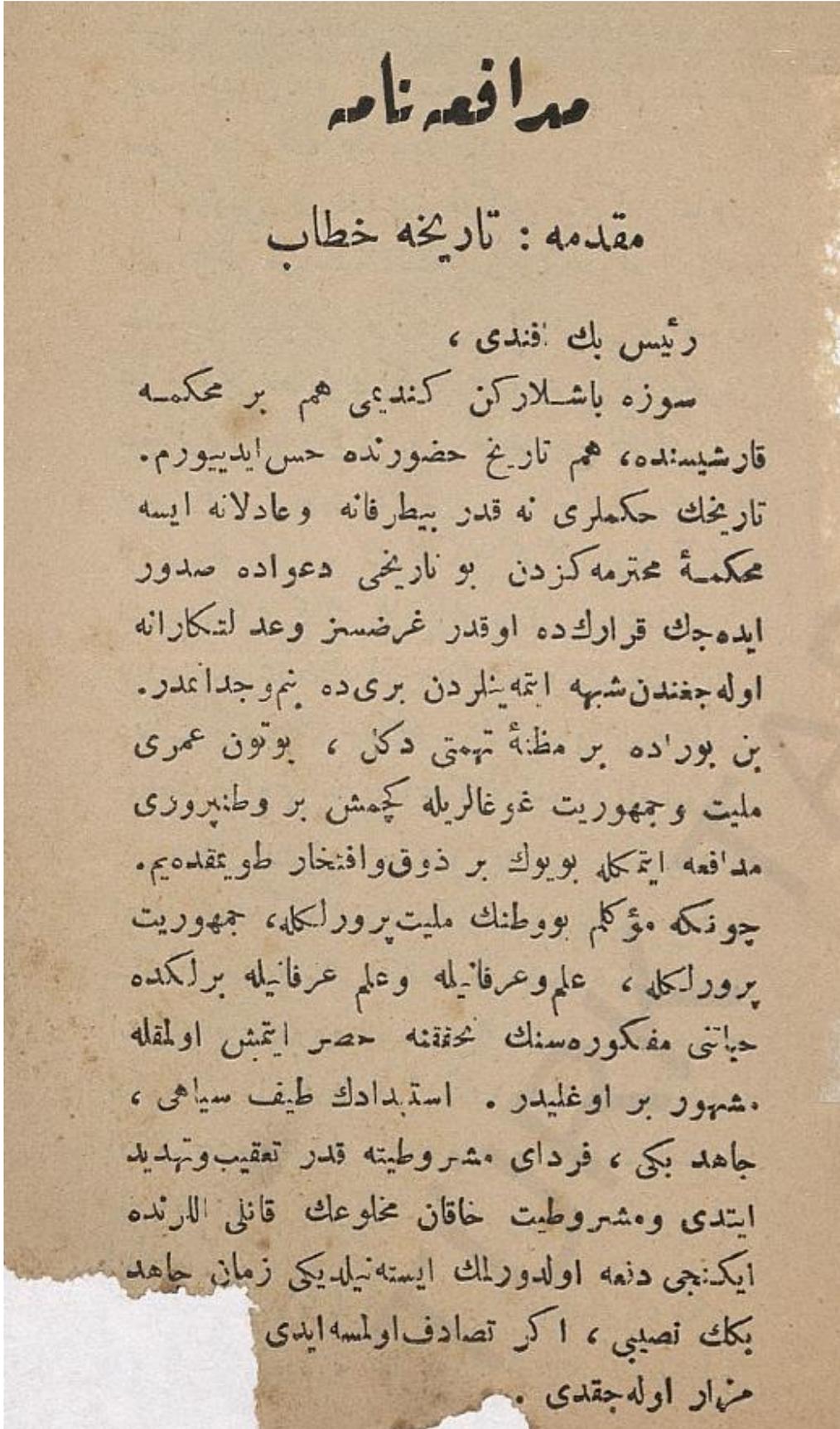
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Appendix 1: Examples from Hüseyin Cahit Bey's defense



Appendix 2: The Letter of Aga Khan and Emir Ali about caliphate in Tevhid-i Efkâr



خبرفت مسئله سی حقنده لهنر مسلمانلرینک فکری

آغاخان و امیر علی مقام خلافتک وضعتی حقنده عصمت یازا ایه بر مکتوب کوندر دیلر

مقدمه
صفت پشاه کوندریلر انکیزجه مکتوب صورت
مترجمه سید:
۱ - جفانک حر ملتلی جمهونک مسئله
بر افضاس اولان تورکیانک دائمی دوستلری
و آماکک حقیقی طرفدارلری صفتله بزه خلیفه -
امام حضرتلرک شمه بکی مهم وضعینلرک اهل
سنتدن اولان خان اولدرنه امر ایتمک بک
اندیشه بکنن تأثیراته بویوک ملت مجلسک و
مساعده مخصوصه ککرله نظر دتنی جلب ایتک
ایلیورد.
خلیفه تک شرف و قدرته و نفوذ و تأثیرته
طاری اولان حقدن دولای ایتامی و ممنوی
بویوک برتوت حد ایدیلن اسلامک اهل سنتدن
و دین خلقت شبات واسعه میانه کوشه مکده
اولدینن کمال تأسلفه مشاهد اولدک. صحنی منالته دن
منزه اولان و قایمی اسباب مطومهدن دولای آیری
آیری ذکر ایتک ایتمه یورد.
۲ - اهل سنت ایچنده و دینت روسایه تک
بوتون مسلمانلری بویوک جمعیت شکتنده یگدیگرت
بذلای بر وابله حکمنده اولدینن سولکک حاکمیت
یوقدر. خلافت خارجی مجومله معروض بولوندی
زمان بوتون بوزنده بولومان مسلمانلرک حسابی
هایانه کشن و تورکلرک استقلال ایچون چایتمق و
اوشراشمق عینی زمانده مسامال تصدیق عینل ایدن
و ساساتی نام و کمال اولدق عافله ایتک دوتک
اولدینن فائزله هند مسلمانلری ده بویانده بوزک
دنته اظهار محبت و مروت ایتدی. بونه ککلی
زمانلرده بوزکجه دعواسی ایچون عیدینه جایلدق.
طرابلس غرب و تنزیه و قوه کان توتک. استانبول
حریتدن بری بر انکیز مسلمان مؤسس تورکلر
آراسته کی یاس و شرطلری تخفیف و تعدیل بوتون
اواسق مضر ایتدی. ایتسه بواشتار ایله بوتون
مسلمانلرله برابر دریندن علاقه دار اولدینن برسته
حقدن کی بوتون ملاحظات و تلقیناترک ذات دورتیرنک
حاکومتی طرفندن حسن قبول کوره بکنکه اعتماد
وارد.
۳ - وقوع بولایتی ملاحظه ایزدن ملت
منلری نفوذتی ذره قدر شقیس ایتک ایتمک
بر آن یکه خاطر کلمه ماید. حرمت طلب ایتک

ایتمک بکنن بی عالم اسلامک دینت دینتک
شروع شریعه کوره تم و کمال اولدق عافله سیدر.
خلیفه تک نظریه تک شقیس و بک بر عامل دینی
کمی تورکیه تفکیلات سیاسی سندن اوتک شیمی
بزم اولدرنجه اسلامک دایمیه سی اومدنوی جهان
اوتک عملی صورتده ضیای دینک اولدیندر.
بو اولد بره بویوک ملت مجلسک و نه
رئیس جمهور غازی مصطفی کمال باشا حضرتلرک
نظر دتملرکدن ممکن دکل و قیاماز.
۴ - بزم فکرمنه کوره خلیفه امام اهل
سنتک وحدتی تمیل ایدر: خلیفه تک تورک ملتندن
بفرق اولدینن تورک ده تک مؤسسلری ایتکدن
بولوغاسی ملل اسلامیه اوستنده تورککجه ایچیل
بر مواج بخش ایدر.
۵ - بو اولد دوت عصردن بری اهل
سنت آوستنده بر اساس اولدق تالی ایتکدر.
یتیم و کتلی اولان خلیفه تک جهات اسلامیه تک
امام اولدیننده اجماع امت وارد. اوتک بوتون
مؤمنین آوستنده اهل خلق یگدیگرت ربط ایدن
بر علاقه موجود. عالم اسلام ییتنده بر تالی
حاصل ایتکیز بر عنصر دینی اسلام فکرندن
بیچاره بولور اسلاماز.
۶ - خلیفه سیدین نفوذ دینیه سی غالب
ایتدیکی زمان بیل بوتون ملکلرله امیرلرک اداره
امورده صلاحتلری تأیید و عاقلده امانتی ایتا
ایتک و خود مادیلری استعمال ایچون اوتک
مساعده سی استحصا کتیلری بچور طرقلری
ذات دولتله خاطرلانه لزوم بوزدر. اگر
اسلامت دینده بویوک هر ممنوی توت اولدق
عافله ایتک ایتدورسه خلیفه تک نفوذ و شرعی
همج بر زمان بایک نفوذ و شرقتدن آراولاماید.
۷ - ییتسه بو بوتورقه سماکی دیکر اسباب
دولای تورکیانک حقیق دوستلری صفتله بزه
خلافت و امامتک مسلمان ملتلرک لغا و حرمت
لائی اولای بر موقعه وضع اولومسنی و بولاجه
بوزکجه ده توت و شرف بخش ایدلنی کمال حرمت
تورکیا بویوک ملت مجلسندن و اوتک بویوک و بیدر کاز
دؤساندن استقام ایلمز.
بزه باشا حضرتلری سزک مطایع ییتده لکون.
امضال: امیر علی آغاخان

ETİK ve BİLİMSEL İLKELER SORUMLULUK BEYANI

Bu çalışmanın tüm hazırlanma süreçlerinde etik kurallara ve bilimsel atıf gösterme ilkelerine riayet edildiğini yazar(lar) beyan eder. Aksi bir durumun tespiti halinde Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi'nin hiçbir sorumluluğu olmayıp, tüm sorumluluk makale yazarlarına aittir.