

p.5 I. Introduction.

Mentions the crisis of feudal landholdings in the Eighteenth Century and deals with the beginning of the peasant movement in the Nineteenth century and certain reforms in the feudal institutions.

p.7 II. The constitutional movement in 1876-78.

Discusses the economic conditions of the country preceding the 1870ies. The Young Turks' leadership of the constitutional movement. A bloc of old-Turks and Young Turks assumed control over the government. The overthrow of Sultan Murad and the ascension of Sultan Abdulhamid (autumn 1876). The Serbo-Montenegrin War and the Constantinople Conference 1876. The promulgation of a Constitution (Dec. 1876). Opening of the first Turkish Parliament on March 19, 1877. The war of 1877-78. Turkey was defeated. Berlin Treaty by which Bulgaria was to be a Turkish protectorate and Bosnia and Herzegovina were ceded to Austria, Serbia given independence; Greece and Montenegro were ceded Turkish territory, Bessarabia was given to Russia.

p.15 III. Transformation of Turkey into a colony.

A table of foreign loans received by Turkey from 1854 to 74. Foreign railroad construction. The effect of all these loans on the living conditions of the Turkish peasantry.

p.22 IV. Revolution of 1908.

p.30 From 1893 on, the Macedonian-Odrin revolutionary organization became active in Macedonia; this was a revolutionary democratic mass organization. But it relied on the support of the Great Powers....

p.31 The peasant ~~movement~~ unrest in Macedonia constituted the background against which the movement led by the Union and Progress party became strengthened in the towns of European Turkey... But in Asia Minor the movement was lagging far behind with the exception of the Erzerum events which have not been entirely analyzed.....

p.34 Until 1905 the center of the Union and Progress party was outside Turkey. By the end of 1905 and beginning of 1906 this center was transferred to Saloniki and contact was established with the Macedonian revolutionary organizations. Branches of the party were set up in various towns of European Turkey....

p.39 Soon all of European Turkey became an insurgent camp....

p.51 Conflict with Italy in Sept. 1911. War against Italy. The Balkan-Turkish wars of 1912-1913; the World War I.

p.55 V. National liberation movement in Turkey.

The effect of the November 1917 revolution in Russia upon Turkey and the effect of the Russian resistance to the forces of intervention upon Turkey. Excerpt from Lenin's speech to the Moscow Soviet: "And if heretofore the peoples of the East have been merely small sheep before the imperialist wolf, Soviet Russia has been the first to demonstrate, that in spite of her unheard of military weakness it is not that easy to claw and bite her. Great many peoples have become contaminated by this example of Soviet Russia, regardless even of whether they sympathize with the "Bolshevik whisperers" or not. Much is being said about these whisperers all over



the world. We are even being called evil whisperers with regard to Turkey.... The looting to which the imperialist ~~states~~ governments have doomed Turkey has called forth a resistance and this resistance has compelled even the most powerful imperialist powers to take their hands off."(Lenin, Soch. XXVI, third ed. pp.176-77 )

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p.56 According to the Mudros armistice terms Turkey not only was being deprived of her army, but was transformed into a country entirely at the mercy of the imperialists.

..... The World War I introduced substantial changes in the economic and political status of the country.... Foreign competition was ~~abolished~~ abolished by the efforts of the Union and Progress party. It raised the duties on imports....

p.58 During the world war the agricultural economy of Turkey had deteriorated with lightning speed.....

p.59 In anticipation of defeat in the war the Union and Progress party fled from Constantinople after ceding power to the "Freedom and conciliation party.... which after the Mudros armistice permitted the victorious Allies to occupy the districts around Constantinople. Thus it avoided a revolutionary crisis.....

Anatolia reacted differently to the Mudros armistice and the initiated occupation of the country by the Entente troops. The effect of the anticipated partitioning of Turkey

p.60 In view of all these facts Anatolia arose and first and foremost its peasant stratum. Awakened by war and the November Revolution in Russia the Turkish peasantry ( the retruning war prisoners from Russia were the major source of information on the events in Soviet Russia) constituted the basic force of the national liberation movement. At first the movement was spontaneous..... only later on the national liberation movement established an army of its own from the scattered peasant detachments and remnants of the regular Turkish army. The leadership over the spontaneous/peasant movement became transferred to the bourgeoisie, which did not permit the movement to become a powerful agrarian revolution. It set up as the main objectives the struggle against imperialism and against its domestic hirelings - the Greeco-Armenian bourgeoisie.

In order that the Anatolian peasant movement might have become a powerful agrarian revolution proletarian leadership was required. Early in 1919 the small Turkish proletariat, almost entirely non-organized was unable to take upon itself the leadership



Furthermore the most important workers' centers such as Constantinople and Smirna were occupied by the Allies. In addition the ties between the proletariat and the peasants were very weak. The Turkish industrial workers were mostly former urban artisans.

Under ~~the~~ conditions of foreign occupation the Turkish proletariat could not become a significant ~~factor~~ leader even though the revolutionary "Worker-Peasant party of Turkey" was established in 1919.

The other force was the Anatolian commercial bourgeoisie, whose interests were threatened by the foreign occupation. It was this bourgeoisie which began to set up all kinds of societies - The Society of ~~Erakia~~ Thrace-Pashaeli in Adrianople; The Society for the protection of the rights of the Eastern Vilayets in Constantinople and Erzurum; The Society for the protection of rights in Trabzon, etc. Later these societies fused into the Society for the protection of the rights of Anatolia and Rumelia.

The occupation of Smyrna (May 15, 1919) by the Greeks and the slaughter instituted there served as the signal for <sup>military</sup> action.....

p.62 The Erzerum Congress of July 23, 1919. The Sivas Congress Sept.4, 1919....The Turkish

p.63 national bourgeois revolution began as an anti-imperialist movement

p.64 The break with Constantinople, which supported the Allies, led to the creation of an additional front - struggle against the reactionary segment of the clergy and the feudal beys, who tried on every occasion to organize uprisings against the national movement.....

The Anatolian bourgeoisie which was basically commercial was connected by its origin with the middle landholders did not want to see an agrarian revolution and therefore guided the peasant movement into the national liberation ~~movement~~ channel. It succeeded in doing so.....

p.65 The Turkish bourgeoisie was drawing the peasantry into the struggle against imperialism by basing itself in the villages mainly on the kulaks. As a result the Turkish peasantry went to the front.....These same peasant detachments, particularly the detachments of the Black Sea Commissar Topal Osman-agi were used to drive out and exterminate the Greek population in the Black Sea districts. Other partisan detachments were used to suppress uprisings of feudal lords in various districts. With the effort of these detachments



(Cherkess Edhem's detachments) the Turkish bourgeoisie settled its accounts with those feudal elements, capable of creating a threat in the rear of the nationalists under the leadership of emissaries from Constantinople.

p.68 The establishment of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara (April 13, 1920)

p.69 The Sevres Peace Treaty.....

p.71 The Greek offensive in the summer of 1920

The Anatolian bourgeoisie became confronted with the necessity of organizing a regular army particularly so since the aroused peasantry had begun to manifest its real peasant class nature!

What forces had an influence on the peasantry? First of all the semi-proletarian urban elements and the petty bourgeoisie. On one hand, the Yeni Dünya newspaper, published in Eskişehir and on the other hand the Yeşil Ordu party set up in Ankara. Both were strongly influenced by individual proletarian revolutionaries, and were centers from which slogans were launched calling not only for anti-imperialist struggle but also for an anti-feudalist revolution.

Under the pretext of establishing a regular army the detachments of peasant guerillas in Western Anatolia were routed.. These very same partisans had previously suppressed successfully the uprising organized by Anzavur pasha. The Yeşil Ordu organization was likewise routed.

/ abridged program - see translation of Novichev's article in Voprosy Istorii/  
p.73 Yeşil Ordu went into action and selected for its mainstay the partisan detachments in Western Anatolia, detachments which also became known as the Green Army. These detachments were routed by the bourgeoisie and so did the Yeşil Ordu organization. In the rest of Anatolia the peasant detachments were incorporated into the regular army of the G.N.Assembly of Turkey.....

The proclamation of Soviet power in Armenia...stopped the further advance of Turkish troops. The threat from the East vanished. Armenia became a friend of Turkey. From that time on close ties with the RSFSR became established.....Menshevik Georgia in 1920 served as a buffer between Turkey and Soviet Russia...Only early in 1921 Turkey could be certain that ~~the~~ Allied threat from the East ~~had~~ no longer existed. Only then could Turkey



turn its forces against the West and the South.

p.74 What reasons guided the Soviet state in establishing its policy of friendship and aid vis a vis Turkey? First of all the fact that although under bourgeois leadership the national movement in Turkey was playing a revolutionary role because it was fighting imperialism and was struggling for national independence. Therefore, in July 1920 in a letter addressed to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Chicherin wrote as follows: "The Soviet Government has learned with satisfaction the basic principle of the foreign policy of ~~Turkey~~ the new/<sup>Turkish</sup> government of ~~Turkey~~ headed by the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, principles which read: 1) proclamation of the independence of Turkey; 2) the inclusion into the Turkish state of territories which are undisputably Turkish 3) abolition of capitulations and foreign control 4) annulment of the spheres of influence of foreign states of any kind.....The Soviet Government takes cognizance of the decisions of the Grand National Assembly to coordinate our work and our military operations against the imperialist governments with the sublime ideal of liberation of oppressed peoples." The reply received from the president of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal, ~~spakaxaf~~ stated that the nationalist Ankara recognizes the sincerity of the policy of workers and peasants of ~~Soviet~~ <sup>RSFSR</sup> with regard to Turkey and pointed out that the struggle led by the workers and peasants of the Soviet state served as an example for the oppressed masses of the East in the struggle against imperialism..... Thus the initiated negotiations and the established contacts culminated in the conclusion of a friendship pact with Turkey, March 16, 1921.....This pact recognized the National Pact, adopted by the Turkish Parliament on Jan. 28, 1920.....~~Now~~ Thereupon, nationalist Turkey ~~was~~ was free to use its forces in the West and the South.

p.75 This brought a reaction in the West and led to the ~~London~~ inviting of Turkey to the London Conference, March 12, 1921....The attempt to utilize bourgeois Ankara as a bastion of struggle against Bolshevism failed.

1921 was a year of complete disintegration of the united imperialist front. Italy and France actually had withdrawn from the anti-Turkish front late in 1920; Italy had evacuated its troops from Southern Anatolia, France concluded an armistice and later also a treaty, Oct. 20, 1921. The dissensions between the imperialists had reached the utmost limit...."both the French and the Italians had sold their arms to Turkey (Churchill, Mirovoi krizis, p.290) True enough the arms which were sold proved to be useless. ~~On~~ the basis of the Sevres Treaty...both France and Italy considered themselves short changed

p.77 Victory over the forces of intervention....meant also victory over the Sultan and the Califate.....For international imperialism the Sultunate lost all significance as a force.....

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL İSTİKLAL PARTİSİ