

Anti-peasant policy of Kemalists in 1919-1922

Novichev, A. "Antikrestianskaia politika kemalistov v 1919-1922 godakh"
Voprosy Istorii, No.9, 1951, pp.56-75

p.57-59 / losses suffered by the Turkish peasants in World War I and later during the British and Greek occupation of Turkish territory/

p.59 The discontent of the peasantry with their intolerable conditions increased sharply and developed into a spontaneous mass movement which was agrarian in nature.

Eyewitness report as given in Zhizn Natsionalnostei, June 15, 1920 claims that sympathy for Soviet power was widespread among the peasants and urban workers in Turkey.

p.60 G.K. Ordzhonikidze's letter to Lenin and Stalin (G.Ordzhonikidze. Izbrannye statii i rechi, 1911-1937 g.g., p.94) states that "A comrade who arrived today from Aleksandropol reports that the mood of the Kemalist troops is highly friendly towards us; the soldiers wear red badges and regard themselves as Red Armymen".... The active struggle was conducted by partisan detachments and political organizations of poor peasants.

p.61 Partisan detachments became active (late 1918 and early 1919) first in the Samsun, Urfa, Ayntaba, Maras, Zile, Chorum, Koniya, Adana, Ismir, Bursa, Aydyn, and other districts of Anatolia. Undoubtedly, the partisan movement was strongest in Eastern Turkey, which was closer to Soviet Russia. (Erzberger, Germania i Antanta. Memuary, p.68, Gosizdat, Moscow, 1923) Erzberger states that "toward the end of the war hundreds of thousands of deserters roamed around in Asia Minor."

According to Captain Armstrong (Der Graue Wolf, Berlin, 1933, p.128) the mountains in the Ismir district abounded in partisans in 1919, who as he writes were the main force which resisted the Anglo-Greek invaders until 1921.

There can be no doubt that during the first years of the national liberation ~~movement~~ struggle the number of partisan troops was larger than the number of troops available to the Kemalists.

Mustafa Suphi addressed a special appeal to the Turkish peasants: "Enough suffering!. Struggle jointly with other oppressed peoples living in Turkey for your class interests while leaning on the outstretched arm of the fraternal government of the workers of Russia." He warned the Turkish peasants: "The Turkish bourgeoisie and the rich cannot take their eyes off the coppers of the British and the French; they do not lose hope that they will obtain something from there. The enemy is very shrewd."

p.62 There is reason to believe that Kemal Pasha was sent to Anatolia to do something about the unrest on the Black Sea, as was demanded by the British. Mustafa "ema" arrived in Samsun on May 19, 1919 (Cumhuriyet, May 17, 1933 cited by G.Jäschke, "Mustafa Kemal's Sendung nach Anatolien" in Taeschner .F. and Jäschke, Aus der Geschichte des Islamischen Orients, Tübingen, 1949, p.23)

In the 30ies Mustafa Kemal himself admitted to a close circle of friends that "the job which was demanded of me consisted in suppressing the partisan movement of Turks in the Samsun district" (Afet Inan, Atatürkü dinlerken. Gerilla hakkında iki hatıra, "Biletten", Gilt 1, 1937, p.23. Afet Inan was close to Mustafa Kemal.

p.63 The instructions received by Mustafa Kemal from the War Minister at the time of his appointment as inspector of the Third Army included the following duties: 1) To restore calm and order in the district to be inspected and to investigate the causes of disorders; 2) To seize immediately all arms and ammunition from the population in the district under inspection 3) "In a number of localities there are councils which recruit soldiers and are unofficially supported by the army. This kind of councils must be prohibited unconditionally, the soldiers arrested, weapons seized and contact maintained with the army." (Cumhuriyet, ~~May~~ ^{June} 17, 1933, cited by G.Jächke in Op. Cited. pp.28-29)

Later on the Kemalists and their leader made up a legend to the effect that Mustafa Kemal had dictated the above instructions himself, so as to provide him with broad authority before ~~his departure from Istanbul~~ he left Istanbul to take up the leadership of the national-liberation movement. (Kemal, Put novoi Turtsii, I, 12.)

p.64 Neither Mustafa Kemal nor his entourage had any faith in the people. According to Halidé Edib, Kysim Karabekir tried to reach Mustafa Kemal in order to warn him against arming the people (The Turkish Ordeal, p.14.) London, 1928

In a speech delivered on Oct. 12, 1918 Ordzhonikidze declared: "every day and hour the radio brings us news that all nationalities, all peoples are revolting against their governments. We received news that revolutionary troops are fighting against the troops of the Sultan on the approaches to Constantinople. (G.Ordzhonikidze, Op. cited, p.40).

p.65 Partisan detachments defended successfully Urfa, Ayntab, Maraş, Adana and other towns against the invaders (E.Müntaz. Istiklâl savaşında İkinci Kolordu. Askeri Mecmuanın Tarih kısmi. March 1, 1935, No.37. Ayntab was defended successfully during 11 months by peasants of neighboring towns against the French (Enver Behnan, Inkilâp otkünçleri, p.8, 1934)

The Yeşil Ordu was not a class organization of Turkish toiling peasantry...but it reflected the interests of the peasants and was anti-Kemalist. At first its organization and activity was influenced strongly by certain elements of the progressive Turkish intelligentsia. During the best phase of its existence the Yeşil Ordu program was not devoid of pan-Islamism and nationalism. Nonetheless the Russian November revolution had an effect on it, for it was inspired with hope and ~~high~~ aspirations of the toiling peasantry, the latter's hatred of the imperialist robbers and a deep sympathy for Soviet Russia.

Some of the major postulates of the Yeşil Ordu program were as follows:

(as reproduced in Alimov, A. "Turtsiia" in a collection of articles entitled: Ocherki po istorii vostoka v epokhu imperializma, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934 p.72)

Yeşil Ordu is a fighting organization whose aim is to drive out from Asia the aggressive imperialism of the European powers (article 1)

Yeşil Ordu is combatting irreconcilably also all imperialist tendencies in Turkey proper (Article 2)

The task of Yeşil Ordu is to put land and national wealth at the disposal of the people so that anyone could make use of them in accordance with his labor, material and spiritual inclinations (Article 3)

Yeşil Ordu regards land to be a common blessing same as ^{air}light, and water.

Cumhuriyet

*Enver Behnan
Halide Edib*

inkilâp ordusu

*capitalist
unjust domination of
and unscrupulous capital*

p.66 Land should be turned over to the people to be used without cost. This is the basic objective pursued by Yeşil Ordu (Article 4)

Yeşil Ordu demands the state's intervention in economic life but so that profit from capital investments would benefit not individuals and their families but the people as a whole (article 5).

Yeşil Ordu is for a people's government and general labor contribution (article 7)

Yeşil Ordu recognizes war and military service but only for struggle against imperialism and the abolition of private ownership - the source of all imperialism (article 8)

Yeşil Ordu is an army of the masses which are exploited and oppressed ^{by} minorities of other than the Turk nationality - the exploiters and oppressors. Its objective is to achieve the well-being and liberation of these masses (article 9) only vis-à-vis the imperialists

Yeşil Ordu recognizes capital punishment/(article 17) and those who betray the organization in the interests of capitalism (article 26)

Yeşil Ordu regards the peasants, workers and employees, who live by their own labor as its mainstay.(article 14)

Yeşil Ordu is a grateful ally of the ~~Soviet~~ Red armies of Soviet revolutions and will remain for ever linked with them (article 19).

Along with the above postulates the most basic postulates of Yeşil Ordu ~~comprised~~ included also a postulate saying that "Islam has been the basis of socialism for the past thirteen centuries" and that "socialist principles of Islam must drive out from the Asian social order the egotistic aspirations which had been imported from the west."

Yeşil Ordu was basically a peasant organization. But it also tried to draw into its ranks other toiling strata.

Criticism: The Yeşil Ordu program was hostile to all minority nationalities inhabiting Turkey; it did not denounce the racial policy of the Young Turks and the Kemalists. It did not proclaim unity of the working class with the peasantry for struggle under proletarian leadership. East was being juxtaposed to the west and no mention was made of the community of interests of the Eastern and Western toilers.

over

The Yeşil Ordu organization spread its influence ~~to~~ many peasant detachments. Its influence was particularly strong among detachments stationed in the Western portion of Central Anatolia; these detachments were also called "Yeşil Ordu".

Mustafa Kemal took steps to liquidate the Yeşil Ordu

After the democratic leadership of Yeşil Ordu was thrown in prison, agents-provocateurs - among them the renown Kemalist and a rich man, Yunus Nadi, the reactionary pan-Islam philosopher and editor of the Pan Islamic journal Sebil ul Reshad, Memed Akif, the adventurists Edhem and his brothers, as well as others - managed to carry out Mustafa Kemal's scheme. These agents provocateurs who were also members of the Kemalist "Communist Party", managed to split the organization. They seized into their own hands the Seyyare Yeni Dünya and turned it into a filthy police organ of the ~~government~~ official communist party. (Iust, K. Anatoliiskaia pechat, Tbilisi, p.96)

The revolutionary segment of Yeşil Ordu fused late in 1920 with the People's Communist Party set up largely by the democratic intelligentsia.

The Yeşil Ordu regards the peasants, workers & employees as its mainstay by their own labor means (article 14)

intimidatory orderment ->

p.69 Only the Communist and closely related newspapers - Emek (Labour), İşçive Keilü (Worker and Peasant), Kurtuluş (Liberation) stressed the peasant movement and its needs.

The victory of Soviet power in Azerbaijan promoted also the growth of the revolutionary movement in Turkey.

p.70 The Kemalists have been intentionally linking the so called Green Army - the largest segment of partisan detachments in the Kütahi-Eskişehir sector of the front with the name of the adventurist Edhem, who was in command of this army. As was mentioned earlier Edhem was Kemal's agent provocateur of the official Communist Party. At odds with Mustafa Kemal, Edhem betrayed his country and fled to the Greeks. (K.Iust, Op. cited, p.109)

p.71 The treason committed by their own ~~agent-provocateur~~ agent-provocateur was laid on the door-steps of the entire partisan movement. The scheme by which the Green army (partisan detachment of Edhem, etc.) was to be routed, was worked out personally by Mustafa Kemal (Burhan Cahit, Gazi Mustafa Kemal, Istanbul, 1930, p.28)

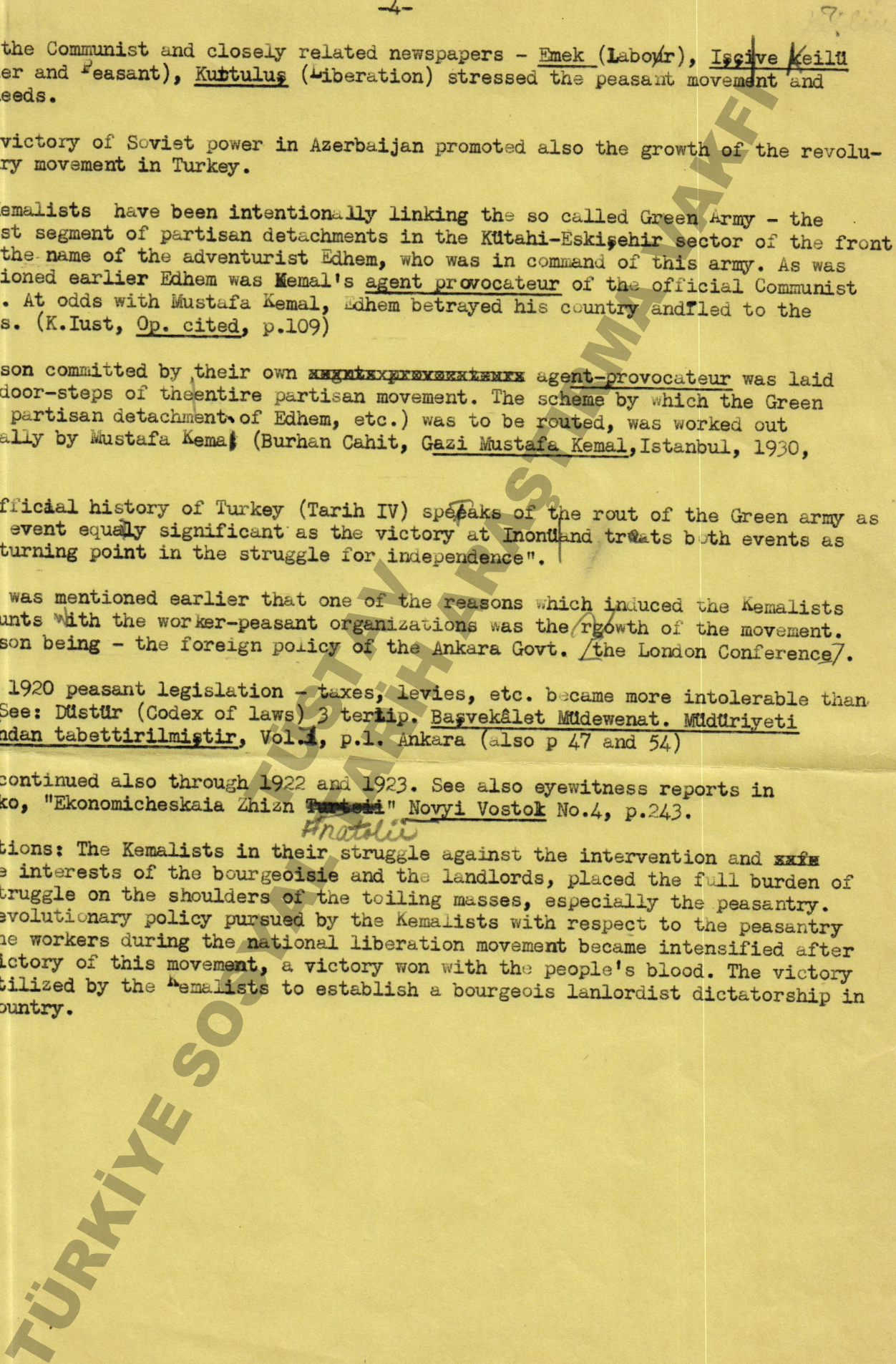
p.72 The official history of Turkey (Tarih IV) speaks of the rout of the Green army as of an event equally significant as the victory at Inönü and treats both events as "the turning point in the struggle for independence".

It was mentioned earlier that one of the reasons which induced the Kemalists to settle accounts with the worker-peasant organizations was the growth of the movement. the other reason being - the foreign policy of the Ankara Govt. [the London Conference].

p.73 /In 1920 peasant legislation - taxes, levies, etc. became more intolerable than ever. See: Düştür (Codex of laws) 3 terlip. Başvekâlet Müdewanat. Müdüriyeti tarafından tabettirilmıştır, Vol.1, p.1. Ankara (also p 47 and 54)

p.74 This continued also through 1922 and 1923. See also eyewitness reports in Koliadko, "Ekonomicheskaja Zhizn Türkii" Novyi Vostok No.4, p.243.

p.75 Deductions: The Kemalists in their struggle against the intervention and ~~safe~~ in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, placed the full burden of the struggle on the shoulders of the toiling masses, especially the peasantry. The revolutionary policy pursued by the Kemalists with respect to the peasantry and the workers during the national liberation movement became intensified after the victory of this movement, a victory won with the people's blood. The victory was utilized by the Kemalists to establish a bourgeois landlordist dictatorship in the country.



While infiltrating his own agents into the Yeşil Ordu organization, Mustafa Kemal and his friends intended to blow it up from within, to get control over it, to liquidate its revolutionary nucleus and to put it at the service of his own interests. In particular, according to Mustafa Kemal's intentions the Yeşil Ordu had to become a tool in the creation of armed forces which would be faithful to him. However, as Mustafa Kemal had to admit himself he failed in this objective....The Yeşil Ordu exceeded its boundaries and began to defend the interests of poor peasants. It was then that Mustafa Kemal took measures to liquidate it by means of his own provocateurs and repressive measures against the revolutionary nucleus of the Yeşil Ordu. The agents-provocateur who included Yunus Nadi, Memhed Akif, ~~anarchist~~ Adventurist Edhem and his brother and others, managed to ^{carry out} Mustafa Kemal's plan after the democratic leadership of the Yeşil Ordu was thrown into prison. The agents-provocateur who were simultaneously members of Kemal's Official Communist Party managed to split the Yeşil Ordu. They took the control of Seyyare Yeni Dunya into their own hands and turned it into a filthy police sheet of the Official C.Party, established by the Kemalists for struggle against the workers' movement and the growing influence of the real Communist party. (Yust, K. Anatoliiskaia pechat, Tbilisi, 1922, p.96) The revolutionary segment of the Yeşil Ordu in the end of 1920 fused with the Halk Istirakiyun Firkasi an organization established primarily by the democratic intelligentsia.

The Kemalists tried to impress the workers and peasants with the idea that Turkey doesnot have ay class struggle, nor capitalists, ^{and} bourgeoisie and that those who speak out to the contrary are " enemies of the nation."

Suphi, p.16

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