

VOİTİNSKY tarafından hazırlanan

Komünist Enternasyonalî Yürütme Kurulu'nun Doğu Seksiyonuna Rapor'un  
TÜRKİYE bölümü (15 Ocak 1924)

Dördüncü Kongre'nin toplandığı vakte kadar, Türkiye'de dört farklı komünist grubu vardı; 1. Anadolu Komünist Partisi [T.H.I.F.] (organı - **Yeni Hayat**), 2. İstanbul Komünist grubu (organı - **Aydınlık**), 3. Uluslararası İşçiler Birliği [B.I.I.] (organı - **Nea Antropos**), 4. Ermeni Hınçak grubu. Dördüncü Kongre'nin Türkiye sorunuyla ilgili komisyonunda, bu grupların birleştirilmesi ve bir TKP oluşturulması için karar alınmıştı. Komünist Enternasyonalî'nce, grupların temsilcilerinden bu işle görevli bir merkezi örgütlenme bürosu kurulmuştu. 1922 Aralık ayında, örgütlenme bürosu İstanbul'a gitti.

Bundan kısa bir süre sonra, Anadolu Komünist Partisi ezildi ve üyelerinin bir kısmı hapse atıldı. Sonuç olarak, Ankara örgütü ve daha birçoğu hemen hemen tamamıyla dağıldı. Bu sebeple, Anadolu'da çalışmaya aylarca olanak bulunamadı.

Büro İstanbul'da hayli iş yaptı, fakat 1923 Mayısında İstanbul örgütüne de darbe indirildi. İleri gelen yoldaşlar tutuklandılar ve hiyanet-i vataniyeden yargılandılar. Muhakeme kamuoyundan bir hayli ilgi gördü ve İstanbul işçileriyle köktenci aydınları arasında, tutuklanmış komünistlere karşı duygudaşlık doğurdu. Bununla birlikte, İstanbul'daki çalışmalar da aylarca kesintiye uğradı. Komünist grupların etkinlikleri Ağustosun önce başlayamadı, o zaman da hemen yalnızca İstanbul'la sınırlı kaldı.

Lausanne Konferansı'nda pekiştirilen ulusal devrimin zaferi, bu ülkede yeni bir anti-emperyalizm dalgasının yükselmesine yol açmıştır. İşçiler kısmen kendiliklerinden, kısmen de hatta Hükümetin deteğiyle yabancı işverenlere karşı bir grev kampanyası yürütüyorlardı. Ama bu grev hareketi çabucak milliyetçi sınırları aşmış, aynı zamanda yerli burjuvaziye karşı da yönelmiştir.

1923 güzünden beri, ülkenin üstünden 15.000 kişinin katıldığı bir grev dalgası geçmiştir. Bu hareket, İstanbul, Zonguldak (madencilik), Balya-Karaaydın (bakır ve çinko [!7 madenleri) gibi geniş endüstri bölgelerini ve belli başlı demiryollarını kapsıyordu. Yaygınlık ve örgütlenmeleri bakımından, bu grevler Türkiye için olağanüstüdür. Grevler sonucunda, 45.000 kadar endüstri ve ulaşım işçisini içinde toplayan bir Türkiye Sendikalar Federasyonu [Umum Amele Birliği] meydana gelmiştir. İstanbul'daki işçi örgütleri İzmir [İktisat] Konferansı'ndaki delegeleri aracılığıyla işçilikle ilgili çok köktenci bir yasama programı ileri sürmüşlerdir. Bu da gösteriyor ki, Türkiye'de işçi sınıfı hareketi yeni bir aşamadan geçiyor.

Durumun farkında olan Türk Hükümeti, işçi hareketini Marxist aydınların etkisinden yalıtıma çalışmaktadır. **Aydınlık** dergisi çevresinde toplanan Marxist aydınlar, işçileri siyasal ve ekonomik mücadelelerinde etkilemeye kalkışmadıkları sürece, yazınsal etkinliklerinde hükümetçe engellenmemektedirler. Marxist ve köktenci gençliğin dergisi olan **Aydınlık**, kapitalist toplumun kuramsal eleştirisini yaptığı halde, bir kez bile kapatılmadı. Fakat aydınlar işçi sınıfı hareketi üstünde her-

hangi bir etki göstermeye başlar başlamaz, Hükümet hemen baskı önlemlerine girişiyor. Geçen yılın 1 Mayısında aynı durum oldu.

Hükümetin kendisi, sendikaları Zubatov sendikası gibi örgütlemekte; Komünistlere sempatisi olan kişiler, sistemli bir biçimde hareketten dışarı atılmaktadır. Böylece, Hükümet kendi sendikalarını yaratarak ve aynı zamanda devrimci aydınları yasal Marxizm ve reformizm çizgisinde tutarak, işçi sınıfı hareketinin iğnesini çıkarmaya çalışıyor.

Türk yoldaşlarımız Hükümetin bu politikasının yeterince farkında görünmüyorlar. Devrimci aydınların işçi sınıfı hareketinden koparılmasının tehlikesini kavramış gibi hareket etmiyor ve yeterli direnişi göstermiyorlar.

Baskı sonucu TKP sayıca azalmış durumdadır, fakat en sadık ve bilinçli üyelerini muhafaza etmiştir. Parti, şimdiye değin ilişki kurmadığı İzmir, Zonguldak, Kayseri vb. gibi bazı sanayi merkezleriyle temas etti. Partinin birçok tahrikçi (ajitator) ve propagandacısı vardır, fakat bunları yeteri kadar kullanmıyor.

Partinin acil ödevleri, bütün enerjisini fabrikalarda ve ulaştırma hizmetlerinde işçi çekirdekleri oluşturmaya ayırmak; içeriden çalışmak üzere, hükümet sendikalarına ve Türkiye Sendikalar Federasyonu'na sızmak; ilk önce, hiç değilse haftalık çıkacak bir işçi gazetesi kurmaktır.

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of the Far East; in Canton and Vladivostok these organizations might be linked up among themselves and with us. It would be desirable that there should be representatives of the American, Canadian and Australian Unions. Representatives of the Russian transport workers should of course also be present at the conference.

The conference should be summoned by the Profintern and preparations should be proceeded with immediately. If the conference is to consist only of delegates of the transport workers of India (Lascar seamen and railwaymen), Java, the Phillipines, China, Japan and Russia, the expenses, if the conference is to meet in Canton, would amount to about 12 to 15,000 roubles.

TURKEY. Up to the time of the Fourth Congress, there existed four different communist groups in Turkey: 1) the Anatolian Communist Party (organ - the "Nispet Khayat"); 2) the communist group of Constantinople (organ - "Aidyalyk"); 3) the Union of International Workers (organ - "Naos Antropos"); and 4) the Armenian group "Hochak". In the Commission on the Turkish question at the Fourth Congress, a decision was taken to unite these groups and to form a Communist Party of Turkey. From the representatives of the groups, there were set up a central organising bureau who were entrusted with this work by Comintern. In December 1922, the organising bureau went to Constantinople.

Shortly after, the Anatolian Communist Party was crushed, and a number of its members flung into prison. As a result of this, the Ankara organisation and several others were almost completely broken up. For this reason, work in Anatolia was for many months impossible.

The bureau did considerable work in Constantinople, but in May 1923 the Constantinople organisation was smashed. The leading comrades were arrested and sent to trial for high treason.



The trial attracted considerable public attention and aroused the sympathies of the Constantinople workers and radical intellectuals towards the arrested communists. However, the work in Constantinople was interrupted for several months. It was not until August that the activity of the communist groups recommenced and then was confined almost exclusively to Constantinople.

The victory of the national revolution, which was consolidated at the Lausanne Conference, aroused a fresh wave of anti-imperialism in the country. The workers, partly spontaneously, and partly even with the support of the Government, ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> conducting a strike campaign directed against foreign employers. This strike movement ~~will~~ <sup>could</sup>, however, quickly pass beyond nationalist limits and ~~will~~ <sup>was</sup> be directed also against the native bourgeoisie.

Since the autumn of 1923, a strike wave passed over the country in which some 15,000 persons were involved. The movement embraced the large industrial areas, such as Constantinople, Zunguldak (mining), Bali-Kara, Edin (copper and zinc mines) and also the chief railways. In their extent and their organisation, these strikes are for Turkey exceptional. Resulting from the strikes there came into existence the All-Turkish ~~xxxxxxx~~ Federation of Trade Unions, embracing about 45,000 industrial and transport workers. The workers' organisations of Constantinople through their delegates at the Bayrna Conference, advanced a very radical programme of labour legislation. This goes to show that the working class movement in Turkey is passing through a new phase.

The Turkish Government, aware of the situation, is attempting to isolate the workers' movement from the influence of the Marxist intellectuals. The Marxist intellectuals, grouped around the paper "Aidnlyk" are not hindered by the government in their literary activities as long as they refrain from attempting to influence the workers in their political and



economic struggles. The "Aidyalyk", the paper of the Marxist and radical intellectual youth, has not been suppressed once, even though it is engaged in a theoretical criticism of capitalist society. But as soon as the intellectuals begin to display any influence on the working class movement, the Government immediately resorts to repressive measures. ~~such as~~ <sup>the same</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>state of affairs</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>like</sup> ~~May of last year.~~ <sup>Zubatoff's union</sup>

The Government is itself organising trade unions from which are systematically expelled persons sympathising with the communists. Thus the Government is trying to take the sting out of the working class movement by creating its own unions, and at the same time keep the revolutionary intellectuals in the path of legal Marxism and reformism.

Our Turkish comrades do not seem to be sufficiently aware of this policy of the Government. They do not seem to recognise the danger of severing the revolutionary intellectuals from the working class movement and are not displaying sufficient resistance.

As a result of suppression, the Turkish Communist Party was numerically reduced, but it retained its most loyal and conscious members. The Party has again established contact with a number of industrial centres, with which hitherto connection did not exist, such as Smyrna, Muguldak, Kaisaria, etc. The Party has a large number of agitators and propagandists, but does not make sufficient use of them.

The immediate tasks of the Party are to devote all its energies to the creation of workers' nuclei in the factories and transport services; to penetrate into the government trade unions and the Turkish Federation of Trade Unions, so as to conduct the work from within; to set up a workers' paper, at first, at least, a weekly.

EGYPT. In 1923 the political life of Egypt entered on a new phase. In April, a constitution was granted in accordance with which a Ministerial Council is being introduced with



the Ministers responsible to a Parliament consisting of two Houses, a House of Deputies elected by a double ballot, and a Senate, elected by triple ballot. Martial Law was abolished, amnesty granted to political prisoners and exiles, and permission to return to Egypt extended to the Wafdi leaders, at the head of which was Zaglul Pasha. Last autumn there took place the first stage in the elections to Parliament, at which the Zaglulists obtained a decisive victory (the final elections were fixed for the middle of January 1924). Simultaneously with the preparations for the transition to the "constitution" régime, ~~his~~ <sup>royal</sup> Majesty's Government promulgated a number of laws (regarding meetings, press, etc), introducing various limited liberties intended to restrain the ardour of the nationalists and workers. The crown of this pre-parliamentary legislation was the royal decree of September 9th, 1923, imposing severe penalties for the propaganda of "destructive ideas contrary to the fundamental principles of the constitution", for strikes in enterprises of social importance, for the destruction of landmarks, the possession of explosives, etc.

The British Government, apparently, have reconciled themselves to the ~~unavoidable~~ inevitability of a government headed or at least led by Zaglul, in spite of the externally irreconcilable position taken up by the latter on his return to Egypt. Zaglul's uncompromising attitude concerns only the internal and not the external affairs of Egypt, and will ~~not~~ reconcile itself to the recognition of special interests of England and with the resulting consequences.

In the summer of 1923 the Egyptian communist organisations, consisted of 1300 members, but no party in the real sense of the word exists. Owing to its varied social composition, the organisation does not possess a tried nucleus and ~~not~~ a body of intellectuals educated in Marxism. The organisation was therefore not sufficiently active in the work of organising the town proletariat and was unable to exercise influence upon the national movement.



The leaders were not able to take up a correct position towards the new political situation described above; and failing to take into account the significance of the new contradictions created after the granting of the constitution, decided to boycott the elections to the House of Deputies. In spite of the fact that the Eastern Section gave instructions that this decision should be abandoned, and that the elections should be participated in, for the purposes of agitation, etc., it does not appear that our Egyptian comrades have so far been very active in this respect.

During the last few months the contact between Comintern and Egypt, which was always weak, completely broke down; no replies are received to our letters and enquiries, and we receive only casual information regarding the situation in Egypt.

Our efforts at the present time are directed towards setting up a tried nucleus of reliable comrades, who will be capable of guiding the Party and the work in the trade unions, and to exert influence on the national movement. Measures must be taken to reestablish the interrupted communications and to strengthen the Egyptian Communist Party by sending to Egypt several comrades and students from the Eastern University, fully trained for the work.

PALESTINE. Last only the two contending Communist groups were fused into a single Palastinian Party. The new united Communist Party of Palastine entered into close contact with us, purged itself of opportunist elements, and established close contacts principally with the Jewish workers. The Party is now taking the first steps towards penetrating the Arab proletariat, for which purpose it is obliging its officers to learn Arabic, the lack of knowledge of which make it difficult to attract Arab workers into the Communist organisation.

The <sup>Jewish</sup> Hebrew working class movement of Palastine is gradually emancipating itself from Zionist and nationalist illusions. The exploitation by <sup>Jewish</sup> Hebrew "national" capital, with the aid of the

British occupying forces, of the labour of the <sup>Jewish</sup> Hebrew workers, serves as the best schooling against ~~the~~ the poisoning influence of Zionism. The recent elections to the "Workers' Council" of Palestine, in which the petty-bourgeois opportunist parties were triumphant, showed that a large number of votes were given ~~xxx~~ to the candidates of the Communist Party.

The estrangement of the Arab working population from the <sup>Jewish</sup> Hebrew, resulting from the high politics of Zionism, which is itself a screen for British imperialism in Palestine, is a great hindrance to the union of the <sup>Jewish</sup> Hebrew and Arab proletariat ~~xxx~~ in the fight against capitalism. The national revolutionary movement of Palestine has hitherto been carried on without the participation of the Communist groups. Only since the formation of the Palestine Communist Party are attempts being made to achieve close contact with the Arab national movement. The Communist Party regularly publishes manifestoes in Arabic, unmasking the treacherous part played by King Hussain, the puppet of England.

The tactics of British imperialism, which counts upon the division of the Arab movement, is severely criticised in all the speeches and writings of the Communist Party, which latterly has been able to overcome the mistrust towards it displayed by the Arab national organisations. A great event in the political life of the country was the organised boycott of the elections to the National Assembly by the Arab population, which, under the conditions prevailing in Palestine, signified a conscious attitude towards the policy of the imperialists.

A wise attitude towards the struggle against British imperialism will enable the Party to win over to its side the 40,000 Arab and Hebrew proletarians. We must increase the influence of the Communist Party of Palestine upon the national revolutionary movement of the country.

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