

Temmuz 1920

Beschlüsse de ersten K. p. 367

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Not

Extracts from An ECCI Appeal on the Forthcoming Congress of Eastern Peoples at Baku

"Bela Kun spoke on Soviets in the East: the Soviet system, he argued, could be established in pre-capitalist conditions, as the dictatorship of the poor peasantry. His theses on 'The Soviet system of government in the East' were adopted unanimously." \*\*\*

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"It was as a result of the Baku Congress that an Institute of Oriental Studies was established in Moscow in 1920, and in the following year the Communist University of Toilers of the East, where instruction in political work was given to the students, who came from countries as well as from Russia, in their own languages." \*\*\*

TO THE OPPRESSED POPULAR MASSES OF PERSIA,  
ARMENIA, AND TURKEY

Spector

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Peasants of Anatolia! The English, French, and Italian Governments are keeping Constantinople within range of their guns. They have made the Sultan their prisoner; they are forcing him to agree to the dismemberment of purely Turkish land, they are forcing him to surrender the country's finances to foreign capitalists so that they can the better exploit the Turkish people who have been impoverished and beggared by six years of war. They have occupied the coal mines of Herakleia and they are sending their troops to your country and trampling down your fields; they are dictating their alien laws to the peaceful Turkish peasants; they want to make beasts of burden of you and put all loads on you. Some of the Effendis and

108  
Beys have sold themselves to the foreign capitalists; others have called you to arms and are organizing you for the fight against the foreign invaders; but they do not allow you to take government of your country into your own hands, to take for yourselves the fields which the Sultan presented to his parasites; to grow corn in these fields ~~which the~~ and to feed yourselves. And tomorrow, if the foreign capitalists should grant your masters better peace terms, your present leaders with the help of the foreigners, will again put you in chains just as the large landlords and the former officials are doing in the areas where the foreign armies are in command."

x x x

"Peasants of Anatolia! You have already been called to the standard of Kemal Pasha, to fight the foreign invaders, but at the same time we know that you are trying to form your own people's and peasants' party, which will be able to fight on alone even if the Pashas make peace with the Entente despoilers."

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... örgütlenir, silahlanır, Kızılardıyla birleşirseniz, Süzmanlarmızı yenerseniz. "Then the wealth of your country will be yours."

Dezras, Com. Intern. S. 368-370

25 Eylül 1922

Imprekor, ii, 189, p. 1251, 27 September 1922

### ECCI Manifesto on Turkey

Not

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Yunan ordusu yenilmiştir. Fakat İstanbul ve Boğazlar  
halâ İngilizlerin elinde. Sovyet Rusya, İngiliz politi-  
kasını Rus ve Türk çıkarlarına karşı tehditkâr  
buluyor. Bu manifesto'dan bir gün önce İngiliz,  
Fransız v. b. hükümetlere bu konuda bir nota vermiştir.

Peace To The Turkish People  
War On European Imperialism

Men & Women Workers!

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"The Turkish Government is not a government of intellectuals,  
workers and peasants; it is a government of the officer class, a government of  
a government which certainly does not correspond to our ideals.  
There is therefore no doubt that as Turkey develops econo-  
mically the Turkish working class will have to fight against  
the government. But the Turkish workers understand that,  
whatever their attitude to this government Turkey's fight  
is the fight of a poor peasant people against enslavement by  
international capital, and the international proletariat must  
in its own interest and regardless of its attitude to the  
Turkish government, do everything it can to prevent European  
imperialism from taking up arms against Turkey  
and from shedding the blood of the European proletariat  
once more in the interests of English world domination."

Open Letter to the Communists and Working People  
of Turkey Adopted at the Fourth Comintern Congress

20 November 1922

Thesen und Resolutionen, IV, p. 119

Note:

"For a brief period the Turkish Government had permitted the Turkish Communist Party to exist legally; it was outlawed in October 1922. Having defeated Greece, and gained the acquiescence of the Allied Governments to the abrogation of the Sèvres treaty, the Turkish Government was no longer in need of Russian diplomatic support, and was anxious not to arouse antagonism before the Lausanne conference by maintaining close ties with Russia. The Turkish delegate who moved the resolution gave a long account of Kemal Pasha's betrayal and persecution of the Turkish communists. In the debate on the theses on the eastern question Radek said: 'We do not for a moment regret telling the Turkish communists that their first task after the formation of the party was to support the national liberation movement....

Even now, with the persecutions, we say to our Turkish comrades, do not let the present moment blind you to the near future. Defend yourselves against your persecutors... but do not forget that historically <sup>the</sup> time has not yet come to take up the decisive battle; you have still far to go.'

At the twelfth congress of the Communist Party Bukharin said that, despite the persecution of the communists Turkey was playing a revolutionary part because it was an instrument in the destruction of imperialism."

Text:

## Open Letter ...

"The fourth congress of the Third International, which coincides with the fifth anniversary of the great proletarian revolution, sends its warmest greetings to the workers and peasants of Turkey on the success of their heroic struggle for independence against western imperialism. Turkish comrades! It is you who have given the entire enslaved East and all colonial countries the living example of a revolutionary independence movement.

But the latest events have shown that the nationalist bourgeois Government wishes to appropriate to itself the fruits of this victory won at the cost of your immense sacrifices. The nationalist Government in Ankara is ready to come to terms with the imperialists for the sake of certain concessions in favour of the Turkish grand bourgeoisie.

It is inaugurating this new policy by dissolving the party, suppressing all its organizations, making mass arrests, treating the arrested comrades barbarously, and finally by closing down the Turkish workers' union in Constantinople. The Communist Party of Turkey has always supported the bourgeois national Government in the struggle of the working masses against imperialism. The Communist Party of Turkey even proved its readiness, faced by the common enemy, to make temporary sacrifices in regard to its programme and ideals.

The attitude of the Government towards the Communist Party can be [381] explained by the fact that they want to get rid of the class-conscious representatives of the working class and the peasantry, who will demand the fulfilment of the promises of democratic reforms made in order to win

Text:  
( devam )

## Open Letter...

— our support, and to appear at the Lausanne conference as a truly bourgeois Government. The bourgeois Government of Turkey dares to commit crimes against you and your representatives which are bound to arouse the greatest indignation among the entire world proletariat, at whose head stands the Russian proletariat who, at the most difficult moment, when all the imperialist and capitalist classes joined forces to strangle the working people of Turkey, shrank from no material sacrifice.

In preparation for an understanding with imperialism, the nationalist Government wants to annihilate your real representatives and separate them from your friends outside.

The fourth congress of the Communist International protests emphatically against this barbarous act and considers it its duty to declare solemnly that it is willing to support any government or political party which does not play the part of gendarme of imperialism, which will continue the fight against imperialism and reaction, and will bring about democratic reforms in favour of the Turkish working masses.

Arrested comrades! The Communist International, as the general staff and defender of the entire world proletariat, greets in you with the greatest warmth the class-conscious and most devoted representatives of the Turkish working masses.

Do not forget comrades, that the darkness of prison can never blot out the sun of revolution.

Do not forget comrades, that on the eve of the victory of the revolution the powerlessness of the ruling class is expressed in their greater brutality. At the moment when capitalism is breaking down under the weight of its own internal contradictions, and the conflicts within imperialism reach their highest point, the internal bourgeoisie double their persecutions of the protagonists and builders of the new Communist society.

Text:  
[Lou]

Open Letter...

— But no white victory can intimidate those who believe in inevitable and final victory. And in the place of every comrade thrown into prison or shot, hundreds of comrades come forward from the ranks of the exploited proletarian masses to carry on the struggle for liberation with greater strength.

Comrades! The Third International considers it its most important task to do everything it can to rescue you from your executioners."

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH  
TÜSTAN İRAN AKFI

- + Der I Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale = Protokoll der Verhandlungen in Moskau vom 2 bis zum 19 [6] März 1919. Hamburg, 1921
  - + Der Zweite Kongress der Kommunist. Internationale = Protokoll der Verhandlungen vom 19 Juli in Petrograd und vom 23 Juli bis 7 August 1920 in Moskau. Hamburg, 1921
  - + Protokoll des III. Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale (Moskau, 22 Juni bis 12 Juli 1921). Hamburg, 1921
  - + Protokoll des IV. Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale. Petrograd-Moskau vom 5. November bis 5. Dezember 1922. Hamburg, 1923
- 
- \* Manifest, Richtlinien, Beschlüsse des ersten Kongresses = Aufrufe und offene Schreiben des Exekutivkomitees bis zum zweiten Kongress. Hamburg, 1920
  - \* Theses und Resolutionen des III. Weltkongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale. Hamburg, 1921
  - \* Berichte zum zweiten Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale. Hamburg, 1921
  - \* Theses und Resolutionen des IV. Weltkongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale. Hamburg, 1923

Kommunisticheskiĭ Internatsional (Mays 1919 —)  
 ECCI'ın sıireli yayın. Petrograd - Moskova.

Russia

Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz (Eylül 1921 —) Inprekorr  
 Almanca edisyon.

International Press Correspondence (Ekim 1921 —) Inprecorr  
 İngilizce edisyon.



Depras, Com. Intern. S. 374

4<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Komintern  
(5-11-1922 / 5-12-1922)

Not:

"Reporting for the mandates commission, Eberlein announced an attendance of 394; of these, 340 had full voting rights, 48 a consultative voice, and six were admitted as guests. Four of these had come from Turkey, where there were two parties; ..."

Biri İstanbul, bir Ankara elmalı!  
TKP (Halk İştirakçisi?)

Debras, Com. Intern. s. 85/87

5 Mart [Nisan] 1920

Extracts from A Manifesto To The Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, and Turkey.

[Not'ta : Balkan Sosyal-Demokratik Federasyonu'nun 1910'da Belgrad'ta bir konferansta kurulmus, 1919'da Sofya'da bir konferansta Balkan Komünist Fed. adını almıs, 1920'de Komintern'e afiliye edilmiş. "The TCP was founded illegally in June 1920." üyelik?]

87

"The triumph and consolidation of Soviet power in Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Turkey will depend on the ability of the communists to extend the influence of their party to the peasant masses."

... Beschlüsse des ersten  
Kongresses, p. 229

Türk - gizli - TKP

Kayıtlı

HİF

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Dégras, Com. Intern. p. 227

29 Haziran 1921

229

Not [ "The paragraph on work in the Near and Far East was put forward as an amendment by the delegates from those areas. The 'national and colonial question' was scarcely touched on in the proceedings of the congress; M. N. Roy, the Indian delegate, criticised this as 'sheer opportunism' (a reference to the Soviet-British Trade agreement, which stipulated that the contracting parties would refrain from hostile propaganda, and to the agreements concluded by Russia in the spring of 1921 with Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan). "

Metin  
229

"In approving the work of the Executive in the Near and Far East, the congress welcomes the broadly conceived agitation carried on there, and thinks it essential that organizational work shall now be undertaken in these countries."

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Protokoll des III. Kongresses der  
Kommunistische Internationale  
(Moskau 22 Juni bis 12 Juli 1921.)  
Hamburg, 1921 p. 408

Extracts from *The Resolution of the Third  
Comintern Congress on the Report of  
the Executive Committee*

1 April 1922  
Degras, Com. Intern. S. 326  
327

4 Mart 1922

Impreskor, ii, 2 Sonderbeilage, p. 9

Resolution of the ECCI on the Eastern Question

Not

"In an article published later in 1922 on the work of the ECCI Zinoviev reported that 'with the help of the Executive Committee organized communist parties and groups have been formed in such countries as Japan, China, India, Turkey, Egypt and Persia, that is, in countries where even at the time of the third congress we had only weak circles of supporters. These parties are still weak in numbers, but the kernel is at least there.' The ECCI meeting the third congress appointed a special committee to reorganize the TCP and re-register its members."

1. —

2. — ...

"The Balkan Communist Federation undertakes to concern itself with the organization of the communist movement in Turkey."

3. —

Debras, Com. Intern. S. 383

November 1922

Theses on the Eastern Question  
Adopted By The Fourth Communist  
Congress.

Not: "... Safarov, and the delegates from Turkey and Persia, reproached the communists parties with having done too little about the colonial question. Radek, replying to the discussion, suggested that some of the speakers had been too optimistic. The second congress theses which spoke of support for the movements in the East did not refer to class struggles.

-1.-



x of parties had been formed in China, Egypt, and Turkey. They were quite small, but represented a positive advance."

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Thesen und Resolutionen des IV.  
Weltkongresses der Kommunistischen  
Internationale. Hamburg, 1923, p. 42

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+ Marx, too, advocated support of the bourgeoisie so long as it was revolutionary. By carrying out their historical task of supporting the liberation movements, communists gained a firm foothold among the ~~poor~~ masses. In his report for the ECCI Zinoviev said that the 'nucleus'

x

Dogras, Com. Intern. s. 385

November 1922

Theses on the Eastern Question  
Adopted By the 4th Comintern Congress.

"... to the extent that the national liberation movements grow and expand, the religio-political watchwords of pan-Islam are increasingly replaced by concrete political demands. The struggle recently waged in Turkey to deprive the Khalifate of temporal power confirms this."

Debras, Com. Intern. s. 387

November 1922

Theses on the Eastern Question  
Adopted By The 4th Comintern Congress

"... As the second Comintern congress pointed out, it often happens that the representatives of bourgeois nationalism, taking advantage of the political authority of Soviet Russia and adapting themselves to the class instincts of the workers, clothe their bourgeois-democratic aspirations in a 'socialist' or 'communist' garb, in order — although they themselves may not always be conscious of this — to divert the embryonic proletarian

Yes! Ordu

associations from the direct tasks of a class organization (for example, the Communist colouring given by the Eshil-ordu party in Turkey to its pan-Turanianism, and the 'state socialism' preached by some leaders of the Kuomintang party in China). "

Debras, Com. Intern. s. 391

November 1922

Theses on the Eastern Q. Adopted by the 4. Kom. Cong.

The United Anti-Imperialist Front  
çiyasi sistemin mümkün olduğu kadar  
demokratlaşması için salıgilması —

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"Even in independent Turkey the working  
class does not enjoy freedom of  
association, which is an index to the  
attitude of the bourgeois nationalists  
towards the proletariat."

Degras, Com. Intern. s. 407

4-12-1922

Protokoll, iv, p. 1029

Extracts from an open letter, to the 2nd Int. and the Vienna Labour Union, to the Trade Unions of all Countries & to the Hague Int. Trade Union and Co-operative Congress

"Europe is bristling with weapons, even more than before the war. In September, during the eastern crisis, the world saw what that meant. Only the renunciation by the Turkish Government of its right to occupy its capital and to cross the Dardanelles, which gave access to it - only this renunciation by the Turkish Government of its right of self-determination saved Europe

"From a new war..."

Degras,

5-12-1922

Com. Intern. S. 419 p. 6

Thesen und Resolutionen, iv,

Extracts from The Theses on Tactics Adopted  
By The Fourth Comintern Congress

"In the Near East Entente policy has suffered complete bankruptcy. The treaty of Sèvres was torn up by Turkish bayonets. The war between Turkey and Greece, and the events associated with it, have made palpably clear how unstable the present political equilibrium is."

"The example of the national liberation movements in India, Egypt, Ireland, and Turkey shows that the colonial and semi-

colonial countries are hotbeds of a growing revolutionary movement against the imperialist Powers and represent inexhaustible reservoirs of revolutionary strength which in the given situation work objectively against the entire existence of the bourgeois world order."



Debras, Com. Intern. s. 454

4<sup>th</sup> Congress Komintern  
Among members with a consultative  
voice to ECCI was

(Turkey Salikh)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI AKF  
TÜSTAV