

14 January 1966

Dear Mete Bey,

Your very interesting letter came a few weeks ago, but as I was then just putting the finishing touches on my first draft, I decided to wait until I could send it before replying. However, I do appreciate your answering my questions, especially as working at this distance it is not always easy to get the necessary information. I have requested a friend to attempt to get the microfilms of the material you located for me, and I hope this will be in hand soon. As you will note, I have written the draft in some places on the basis of what you told me. I may not have fully understood you or used your comments in a way that the evidence would not support. If so, I will change these sections on the basis of your further comments or the microfilmed material I will receive.

I would appreciate your comments in as much detail as you are willing to make. I am planning to begin revising this draft during February, and hope to have the final manuscript at the printers by the first of March. So I naturally would like to hear your reactions sooner rather than later. You will note that I have mentioned you in a few footnotes. If you are not averse to being cited, would you please tell me the title your forthcoming work will have so that I can include it accurately. And speaking of titles, I plan to change mine to "The Origins of ~~Turkish~~ Communism in Turkey".

I will try to have some of the Comintern material reproduced here to send you. You can get a better idea than I was able to give before of my sources for this from my pertinent footnotes. I'm almost sure you can find the series of useful volumes by Jane Degras (editor) called the Communist International. This has some information on the Comintern Congresses; also you may be able to get Eudin and North's Soviet Russia and the East, 1920-1927. This last, while containing some factual errors about events inside Turkey also reproduces some Comintern material. Minutes of the Second, Fourth, and Fifth Congresses were more or less fully rendered in English. I have used Russian texts for Mustafa Subhi's speech to the First Congress and Suleyman Nuri's to the Third. I will enclose a copy of my English translation of this last item. Actually, the Fourth and Fifth probably are the most interesting for you, especially the latter which mentions Aydinlik.

I was particularly interested in Nusirevan's article in Ddrak on May 10, 1919. I wonder if you could have it reproduced for me. As you will perhaps note, I have mentioned it on my p. 27, but of course I would like to read it, if I am going to use it.

It was very helpful to hear that I was misreading the A.C. which should have been Ali Cevdet. Unfortunately I can not add anything about him either. On the other hand, I presume that it was Ahmet Cevat Emre who wrote articles in Sabah on August 6, 21, 1909. Do you know the whereabouts of Emre after April 1920 when he was ostensibly still in Baku? Was he among those arrested in May 1923 or May 1925? No

You are so right in deploring the quality of research, particularly on the Communist movement. Short of going back to the original sources there is no hope of avoiding serious error. I, too, had fallen into the error of accepting Nadi's document as written by Arif Oruç. I am now awaiting microfilms of Yarin to try to make sure I understand this point correctly. Meanwhile I have tried an interpretation. Do you agree with what I say on this (pp. 44-45, 56-57)?

Can you tell me when Serif Manatov was expelled from Anatolia in 1920? By the way, was he one of the two Communist leaders Subhi reported at the First Party Congress in Baku to have gone to Anatolia in mid-1919? Did Manatov remain in contact with Subhi? Is it fair to call him an arm of Subhi's Baku party? ~

I'm not entirely sure that I agree that there is no evidence connecting Arif Oruç to the secret TKP. In Yakin Tarihimiz Salih Hacıoglu indicates that he worked closely with Oruç for at least a time. Biyiklioglu, whom I tend to trust more than others, says on p. 68 of his Ataturk Anadoluda that the Soviets were in contact with Ethem through Oruç. Do you reject this? Perhaps Arif Oruç

was not an "agent" of the party; certainly his light sentence in May 1921 would suggest that the Kemalists had some reason to believe that he was less at fault than the others. Nevertheless, Oruc certainly saw himself as a "Bolshevik" (even the heading of Seyyare-i Yeni Dunya indicates this) and it seems highly unlikely that he was not in contact with the Soviet mission, particularly after Yeni Dunya moved to Ankara in December 1920.

As to your question about Capt. Ismail Hakki, I too have read Ethen's memoirs -- I somehow feel it is necessary to point out that these hatiralam may not be entirely genuine, though I admit that in the main they seem so. There was an Ismail Hakki involved in the Baku party; Cebesoy indicates he was from Kayseri. I doubt he was the one in question as the Capt. Ismail Hakki of Ethen's Bolsevik taburu was probably already in Anatolia when the Kayserili Ismail Hakki was still in Baku. But this may not be true. Cebesoy could and would probably answer this question for you. By the way, have you seen the article in Milliyet of 9 Mayis 1933. It also mentions an Ismail Hakki -- which one I don't know. Sevkât Sureyya might also know whether Ismail Hakki was at the Baku Congress or not.

By the way, I am coming to Turkey, or rather through Turkey in the spring of this year. I will by all means plan to see you at that time. I am not sure of the date just yet, so I have not written Halil Inelcik. I would prefer to let him know myself, so that I would appreciate it if you did not tell him first. I must be finished with my book before I leave on this trip, however, so it is unfortunately not convenient to wait until then for your reactions to my draft.

Most sincerely,

George Hanks

I was particularly interested in Wahman's article in Enkân on May 10, 1922. I wonder if you could have it reproduced for me. As you will perhaps note, I have mentioned it on my p. 27, but of course I would like to read it, if I am going to use it.

It was very helpful to hear that I was misreading the A.G. which should have been Ali Cavdar. Unfortunately I can not find anything about him either. On the other hand, I presume that it was Ahmet Cavdar who wrote articles in Sabah on August 6, 27, 1922. Do you know the whereabouts of him after April 1920 when he was ostensibly still in Baku? Was he among those arrested in May 1922 or May 1923?

You are so right in deploring the quality of research, particularly on the Communist movement. Short of going back to the original sources there is no hope of avoiding serious error. I, too, had fallen into the error of accepting Wahman's document as written by Ali Oruc. I am now waiting for a translation of Yeni Dunya to make sure I understand this point correctly. Meanwhile I have tried an interpretation. Do you agree with what I say on this (p. 27-28)? Can you tell me when Geni Manastov was expelled from Anatolia in 1920? By the way, was he one of the two Communist leaders Suhri mentioned at the First Party Congress in Baku to have gone to Anatolia in mid-1919? Did Manastov remain in contact with Suhri? Is it fair to call him an arm of Suhri's Baku party? I'm not entirely sure that I am sure that there is no evidence connecting Ali Oruc to the secret T.P. In Yeni Dunya's Suhri mentions that he worked closely with Oruc for at least a time. Yeni Dunya, when I read to Oruc more than others, says on p. 68 of his Ataturk Anadoluda that the Soviets were in contact with Ethen through Oruc. Do you reject Oruc's Fernanq Ali Oruc?