

14 Dec. 1966
5209 Westwood Drive, N.W.,
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Dear Mete,

I'm sorry to have been so long delayed in writing to you. Your doçentlik calismasi was truly magnificent. I have never seen any work on Turkey with such detailed documentation so carefully presented. And it was especially refreshing to see a piece of research with such great reliance on primary sources. I simply can't tell you how pleased I was with it and how much it has helped my work here.

Just a comment or two on a few points of specifics where I believe you may have gone astray. The famous Communist Party Program of June 1920 bearing the legend "Ankara" which you argue must have been printed in Eskişehir: This claim I doubt very much. Erturk's book's first reference to the party program printed at Eskişehir clearly refers to the program of Ataturk's "resmi" Communist Party. The incriminating document shown to Ataturk in November 1920 (as recorded by Erturk) -- for which Şerif Manatov was expelled from Anatolia -- was undoubtedly a much later publication, I believe. Anyway, the June 1920 program has two points which to my mind conclusively indicate that it was in fact printed in Baku: 1) The fact that Baku as well as Moscow was named as the superior headquarters of the party and 2) the mention of a "Baku Congress of the Third Internation." This latter point is particularly significant -- in my opinion -- because it was only at about the end of June at the earliest that the Soviets decided to hold their Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East. Indeed, announcement of this Congress was first publicly made in July 1920. Now if the Congress mentioned by the party program was the Congress of the TKP (rather than the Congress of the peoples of the east) held in Baku starting on September 10, 1920, then this TKP Congress too was only decided on in June 1920 after Mustafa Subhi had come to Baku and reformed the local Communist Party according to his desires. In either of these two cases, it seems to me quite unlikely that word of these decisions to hold a Congress in Baku could have been gotten to Ankara -- or Eskişehir -- before the end of June 1920 in time to be included in this printed program. So for all these reasons, I am quite convinced that this TKP program was actually printed in Baku on 20 June 1920 and was one of the documents carried to Anatolia by Suleyman Sami.

The date of the closing of Yeni Hayat also seems a point that remains still in doubt. I read recently a Soviet work by R. P. Kornienko printed in Moscow in 1965 which cites an issue of Yeni Hayat in August 1922. Another new source who seemed convincingly well informed on the Turkish scene (Kord-Ruwisch in Zeitungswissenschaft, 1926, no. 4) reports that some 26 issues of Yeni Hayat appeared. This would mean that it was closed sometime in September 1922. These references are certainly not conclusive, but perhaps it would be worth asking Nizamettin Nazif exactly when the magazine was closed. Incidentally, your translation of Hacıoglu Salih's protest from German seems faulty to me. Salih dates his party's general troubles from 12 July 1922 (ie. Rauf's accession) but does not indicate that his party's organ was closed at this time, merely that it was difficult to have the party's voice heard.

I have checked the Noyvi Mir of April 1965, pp. 41-44. There is nothing here on Turkey. I have not been able to get Navshirvanov's article reproduced. Unfortunately it is not in the Library of Congress where it would be easy for me to have it copied.

By the way, I hope to finish revising my manuscript in the next few weeks. I had been too busy to finish this task before and I want to incorporate all the additional information from your work, from new sources I picked up in Turkey in the spring, and some I've located here. This material should make my final text considerably changed from the earlier draft you have. I will certainly send you a copy of my book when it comes out. Hope you will do the

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