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Translated from the Russian by Samuel J. Hirst.

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Dear Lev Mikhailovich,

In light of my upcoming trip to Moscow and my intention to give an exhaustive oral report there, in this mail I have refrained from including answers to your questions. I think this is for the best since much, especially more practical matters, depends on the results of the Turkish delegation's visit. Therefore, in this letter I will primarily devote my efforts to the upcoming visit. You should receive this letter five days before the delegation's arrival, allowing you to make a few revisions to the schedule that you have already planned for the visit, which I thoroughly support. Before I make those suggestions for revision, I will address the composition of the delegation and the profiles of some of the significant participants.

The delegation can be divided into three main groups: 1) an official group with İsmet and Rüştü¹ at its head, 2) journalists, and 3) experts. I do not think that I need to give you a profile for İsmet or Rüştü. You know them as well as I do. I should, however, note a few of İsmet's particularities. Despite his outward charm and politeness, he is by nature suspicious and untrusting. He believes only what he sees with his own eyes. In contrast with Rüştü, he is an exceptionally keen observer, and he thinks carefully about so-called trifles. Not a single detail escapes him (this is probably his military background). Unlike Rüştü, he does not like to dash for the heavens. He is fully rooted in this mortal earth. Currently, he is primarily interested in economic questions, or, more precisely, questions about how to organize the economy. In the Soviet Union, he will primarily be interested in: 1) how the population lives, 2) how the global crisis affected our country, 3) the structure of our economy, and in particular what we managed to achieve with our five-year plans in industry and agriculture, 4) the structure of our budget, and how we are managing to generate construction on such scale while relying on our own resources, 5) the state of our military. Without question, he will approach all of these questions "practically," imagining what could be adapted for Turkish conditions, what lessons from our experience could be implemented in Turkey. Of course, he has entrusted part of this task to his experts (especially in the sphere of possible cooperation), but he will try to be personally involved in everything. He is someone with an exceptionally realist way of thinking, and conversations with him should be conducted frankly and openly. He places enormous importance on a meeting with Stalin,

¹ Tefik Rüştü Aras, Turkish foreign minister.

and I think that such a meeting would be beneficial not just for the sake of protocol but also in practical terms (I think back to the meeting in Sochi). In terms of entertainment, İsmet is particularly fond of sport, especially equestrian. We must put on races for him. He also likes ballet (a Hungarian told me that İsmet had been in raptures after seeing the ballet in Budapest). He has a child's love for crowds and spectacles (the complete opposite of Rüştü). Therefore, we need to pay more attention to these matters than during Rüştü's visit. I will not spend much time on his family. His wife is a sickly, shy Turkish woman, and she does not speak any foreign languages. She likes whatever İsmet likes. Elizaveta Nikolaevna will take full responsibility for entertaining her. His brother and cousin... [approximately 10 words here are unreadable—SJH]...are setting out as if they are visiting a wonderland. The bureaucrats of his suite are of little interest, except for Vasfi, who directs the department that handles affairs with us. Comrade Pastukhov² could use his visit to address a number of current issues.

The so-called journalistic group in reality includes the intellectual core of the People's Party. The only journalists in the strictest sense of the word come from the minority press and the newspaper *Akşam*. They were presumably included in the delegation to show us that the Turks "are not stitched together with bast,"³ that minority affairs in their country are "top-notch."⁴ Unfortunately, at the moment I cannot say anything about these individuals. I will find out something about them but I will only be able to share it upon arrival. I only know the representative of *Le Journal d'Orient*. He is an İspanyol who converted to Islam, and he is closely connected to the Italians. Despite his "apostasy," he continues to command respect in the Jewish colony in İstanbul. He is well-connected with the Levantines, and hence with the compradors. He may try to ascertain the status of the Jewry in the Soviet Union, as his newspaper represents its interests. The Turkish press is represented by almost all of the editors of the leading papers. *La République* is represented by Yunus Nadi, who is not unknown to you. In recent times, he has been almost entirely interested in economic questions. Despite all of his shortcomings (he's a self-seeker and a hustler), he is one of the most outspoken nationalists. He also possesses superb skills as an essayist, and he can string out his impressions for weeks. If we use him wisely (providing him with material, warming him up with receptions and special attention, which he is very partial to), then we can count on pages and pages of his newspaper being devoted to the Soviet Union after his return. Mahmut, the editor and owner of *Milliyet*, is also someone who is known to you, since he was part of the delegation that visited for the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. He plays a prominent role in the parliament, in the party, and in business circles. He is chairman of the committee on foreign relations, a member of the central committee of the party, and a member of the board of İş Bankası. As a journalist, he is considered a mouthpiece for the government, and they listen to his voice very carefully in the West. His connections to financial and

² Sergei Konstantinovich Pastukov, a prominent Soviet Orientalist with a long career in Soviet diplomatic service.

³ This is a very direct transliteration of the Russian saying, to give some sense of the colorful nature of Surits's language. The phrase invokes a method of shoe-making associated with the poor, and it means something like, "no worse than others."

⁴ Surits again uses creative wording here, but the phrase is impossible to translate directly into English and I convey only the meaning here.

industrial circles have merged with connections to foreign capital, and the latter ties have given a somewhat pro-Western tinge to his previously radical nationalism. This is noticeable in all of his recent articles about foreign capital, and in particular in his writings about the League of Nations. Nevertheless, he remains a supporter and an advocate of friendship with us (without exaggerations or excesses). During the visit, he will primarily be interested in how we handle financial affairs, and in particular the nature of our banking system. I will not spend time on Falih Rifki—you know him from his last visit to the Soviet Union and from his book about us. I will just note that his position in society has fallen recently after the discovery of significant mismanagement (of a financial nature) in the newspaper that he runs. His position also suffered because many considered his advocacy of a “new” political line to be too radical. Therefore, we can assume that he will be more reserved on this visit and that he will refrain from publishing anything new about the Soviet Union. But his visit could be useful in terms of strengthening ties between TASS and Anadolu Ajansı, which he officially represents on this trip. Perhaps the most colorful intellectual figure in the group is Yakup Kadri, one of the most prominent Turkish poets and writers. In the past, he has sinned towards us more than once. It was he who seconded Hamdullah Suphi in the latter’s polemical duel with the communists. But in recent years he has gone through some sort of radical transformation. He now is one of the leaders of the “youth,” and he is among the organizers of the journal *Kadro*. He commands great respect among the Turkish intelligentsia, not only for the talent of his pen but also because he is considered to be extremely principled in his political convictions and courageous in his advocacy of them. He is visiting us while at some internal crossroads on his “quest.” He is one of those who has irrevocably lost faith in the capitalist system’s sustainability, and more importantly in its “moral foundations” (his own term), but he is unsure that we have found a better solution. It would pay to make extra efforts with him. He will be primarily interested in our cultural achievements, in the role and status of writers in the Soviet Union, and in the philosophical-sociological (if one can use such a term) underpinnings of our system. It would be good to acquaint him with our Communist Academy and other academic organizations.

Ruşen Eşref, secretary of the Meclis, is a brilliant “maverick” and one of the people closest to the Gazi. He is someone with a court mentality. He is exceptionally literarily cultivated, and he is the primary force (in his role as a translator) bringing Western literature into Turkey (incidentally, he is a serious admirer of Gorky and has translated Gorky’s work into Turkish). First and foremost, he is an aesthete. He does not have his own political visage, although there can be no doubt that he inclines towards the West. During his visit, he will be most interested in the arts, and in particular the theater. If we feed him the proper tunes, then when he returns to Ankara he will sing our praises like a wind-up music box. We need to introduce him to writers, artists, and theater directors.

Hakkı Tarık, the editor of *Vakit*, is the exact opposite of Ruşen Eşref: a dry, obdurate, extremely closed, and unfriendly person. A typical party bonze. Recently, he has made rapid advances in the Party, and he was appointed to head the press department. He is particularly interested in questions of organization and rationalization, and in particular the organization of communication between the center and the localities. Perhaps more than anyone else, he will be interested in public education. He

has also been interested in establishing a museum of the Turkish Revolution. He is extremely xenophobic. He was one of the first to begin the press campaign against Claude Farrère, for which he suffered physical reprisals. *Akşam* is sending Vâlâ Nureddin, who writes vulgar, superficial novels under the pseudonym Vâ-Nu. He lived in Russia at some point and speaks decent Russian. He personifies the eclectic nature of the newspaper that he represents. I do not know him well.

On the list of experts there are two names who do not really fit into that category: Recep, the general secretary of the Party, and Ali, deputy from Afyon-Karahisar. After the Gazi and İsmet, these two men are currently among the most important figures in the Party. In the past, Recep has occupied posts in the military and in public works, and he served as minister of the interior. He is recognized as one of the most energetic proponents of Kemalism. He was chosen to be general secretary of the Party at the moment when the emergence of Fethi's supporters exposed the extreme organizational fragility of the People's Party. By education, he is a military man (a former general of the general staff), and he was one of the most prominent of Kemal's supporters in the latter's struggle with the Unionists. Until recently, he had a strong reputation as a radical "leftist" Kemalist, but, since he became general secretary, he has clamped down on the leftist wing in defense of what he now calls orthodox Kemalism. His visit to us is of great significance. First and foremost, his trip itself is a political statement (in the diplomatic corps, there is talk of Recep being İsmet's "commissar," but this, of course, is nonsense). The formal explanation for his participation is his interest in the structure of our party, in the organization of work with the masses, agitation, propaganda, ties between the center and the localities, etc. After İsmet, it would be worth paying him second-most attention. Ali from Afyon-Karahisar was recently the terror of Turkey when he headed the Independence Tribunals and dealt so harshly with the Unionists. He is one of the Kemalist old guard, like Recep a former general of the general staff who participated in the struggle against the Greeks (it was he who first opened fired on Greek troops). At the moment, he is chair of the Party's administrative council and leader of the Party's parliamentary group. He is also often the chair in the Party's so-called "great central committee." The external impression that he presents is always deceiving. He seems to be a kind-hearted simpleton. He has almost never been outside of Turkey. He speaks French with difficulty. He's a typical Eastern politician. He is shrewd and vindictive. He will primarily be interested in our villages and the status of the peasantry.

Among the experts in the narrower sense of the word, one of the more interesting figures is Alaaddin Cemal, who is the ideologue of the Turkish cooperative movement. He will be primarily interested in our agricultural cooperatives. I am not sure, however, whether the current form of our agricultural cooperatives will be of any relevance for Turkey. The Ministry of Agriculture will be represented by the practically-minded parliament member Tahsin, who manages all of the Gazi's estates. We need to take this into account. I will discuss how to make use of him below. From the industrial sphere, there are four: Şerif, who is a bureaucrat but has a relatively broad perspective. He will be primarily interested in questions about the general organization of our industry. The director of the large Uşak sugar factory, former parliament deputy Fuad, is a big-time hustler. And there are two more from the textile industry. A doctor, Fuad, will be coming from the Ministry of Health. He specializes in hygiene, and

he will be particularly interested in questions of public health, maternal welfare, and orphanages (for Angora's conditions, he created a pretty superb orphanage). From the Ministry of Education, the general director İhsan will come. Given the enormous significance of this last group, I will continue at some length with proposals as to how we might effectively use the experts' visit.

In terms of industry, the Turkish delegation will be primarily interested in the following branches: textile, sugar, and tractor production. I will focus in particular on the textile industry, and I should note that the Turkish textile industry is already decently developed (of course, this is relative to the general level of industrial development in Turkey). There are several factories that clean and process wool (with roughly 300–400 employees, which, by Turkish standards, is considered a major factory). There are several factories and smaller *artels* for the processing of silk and silk products, perhaps even enough for the Turks. But there is absolutely no production of cotton cloth. If you take into account the fact that cotton cloth is the largest item of Turkish import (in normal years, Turkey imports cotton textiles in the amount of 30–40 million lira, which is 20–25% of Turkish imports), then you will understand why the Turks are primarily interested in the cotton-textile industry, which they are trying to build from scratch. With regard to the wool industry, the only option there would be to re-equip existing factories. Of course, it would be very enticing if the Turkish delegation could be acquainted with the *mélange* complex in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the *Trekhgornaia* Factory in Moscow. It is extremely important to show the Turkish not only our textile-producing factories but also the factories that produce equipment (machines, lathes) for the textile-producing industry. The Turks will only be convinced of our capacity to help them establish their own textile industry if they see the latter kind of factory.

If, in the case of the cotton-textile industry, the Turks have to start from scratch, the situation is a little bit different with the sugar industry. Currently, Turkey already has two well-equipped sugar factories, which at full capacity can supply 40% of the Turkish market. By this point, the Turks are quite experienced in equipping factories in this sphere. During their visit, they will primarily be interested not so much in how to establish new factories but in how to organize the broader process, in particular the conversion of loose sugar into refined lump sugar. They will be interested in how to lower the cost of production, especially how to rationalize and expand the raw beet supply. But in spite of all this, we should only show the Turkish experts the newest and best-equipped factories, where production is organized at the highest level.

It seems to me that the Turks should be interested in our agricultural machinery industry. The dire need for equipment is one of the greatest obstacles preventing the development of the Turkish village. For a number of years, Turkish governmental circles and elites have been discussing the need to provide the countryside with agricultural machinery on a relatively broad scale, with help either via the government budget or the banking system. But so far this question has not moved beyond the stage of general discussion. And without help from either the government or the banking system, the integration of agricultural machinery into the countryside will remain extremely limited. İsmet's visit with agricultural experts would seem like an opportunity to broach the possibility of our willingness

to conclude a large-scale agreement with either the Turkish government or the banking system to sell our agricultural machinery on credit. Of course, it would only make sense to raise this issue if we are ready to make the commitment. The net balance agreement, according to which our trade is structured, means that we would have to help the Turks pay off the credit by buying Turkish-made products in Turkey. Independent of the larger question, the Turks will be interested in seeing our factories that produce equipment that could be used in Turkey: ploughs and what are referred to as mini-ploughs, [several words describing types of agricultural machinery are unreadable here—SJH], and, if nothing else, then the system “Kommunar,” and also *lobogreik*⁵ of moderate size (specifically, machines that are not large) that could be horse drawn (and even those moved with human strength), cotton seed drills, and so on. You can get more information on this from the office of “Agricultural Imports” in Moscow. I do not know the geographical distribution of our agricultural machinery factories, but, if there is one suitable in Moscow or near Moscow, it would be worth showing it to İsmet. For the experts who stay longer, it will be critical to show them factories like the ones in Liubertsii and Rostov, the Kharkiv plant (I believe this is the former Gel’ferikh-sade plant, if my memory serves me). Employees of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry and Agricultural Imports can explain all of this to you in more detail. But we need to prepare for all of this in advance, and we need to prepare very thoroughly. It would be ideal if the experts could receive advice in Moscow about how to most effectively distribute agricultural machinery in the countryside in such a way that the interests of the state budget and the banking system received maximum protection. Our experience from 1923–1926 would probably be useful, and, if there are any studies of this issue in the USSR, studies of NEP and the agricultural bank (I do not know if there are any such studies), it would be useful to pass them on.

In my opinion, the most realistic prospects lie in the establishment of contacts on questions of actual agriculture (agronomy, the struggle against pests, drought-resistant plants, various types of fibrous plant surrogates, [2 words unreadable—SJH], and also animal husbandry. Above, I already indicated to you that this delegation is practically minded. First and foremost, they will be interested in our agricultural practices. Nevertheless, it would also be extremely desirable to acquaint them with the work of our academic agricultural institutes, plant breeders, and so on. It would be good if we could assign to them an academic like Zhukovskii,⁶ who is familiar with Turkish circumstances. Due to my lack of information, I cannot pick from here. The People’s Commissariat for Agriculture will be best able to tell you which kinds of agriculture to show them, but I would think that it would be good to show them one large *sovkhos* and one large *kolkhos*.

In conclusion, let me write briefly about a few issues related to protocol. Although I am preparing our guests by telling them that we do not pay much attention to questions of protocol in Moscow, and that they should take into account the nature of our regime and our way of living, we nonetheless need to adhere to the required minimum. I would include in the minimum protocol: 1) Molotov’s presence at the train station when the delegation arrives and departs, 2) military honors at the arrival and the

⁵ A harvesting machine, a reaper.

⁶ Petr Mikhailovich Zhukovskii, a Soviet botanist who spent time in Turkey and published: P. M. Zhukovskii, *Zemledel’cheskaia Turtsiia (Aziatskaia chast’—Anatoliia)* (Moscow: Sel’khozgiz, 1933).

departure, 3) Turkish flags to decorate the piers and train stations, 4) the construction of a dedicated viewing platform for the Turkish delegation at the May 1st celebrations, separate from the general space for foreign diplomats, and Molotov's presence next to İsmet at the very least for the military parade. I consider it extremely desirable to give a lunch for İsmet in Molotov's name at the Kremlin palace. Tell Voroshilov that İsmet is also coming as a representative of the Turkish army (he asked me why he should take a military man if he himself represents the military). Therefore, I think it would be desirable to repeat the fantastic reception that we put on at one point in the Red Army building. We can work out the details of their trips within the Soviet Union when I am in Moscow.

With communist greetings,

Ia. Surits

[At the top of the page, there is what is presumably an archivist's stamp with a document number and a date, 16 August 1933]

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE BOURGEOIS LITERARY AND ACADEMIC CIRCLES IN KEMALIST TURKEY

GAZİ MUSTAFA KEMAL PASHA. Intervenes relatively rarely in the practical work of the government. He spends most of his time on historical-linguistic studies, and he has established his own historical theory with the help of a commission that includes practically all Turkish academics and some foreign ones too. The theory is designed to prove that Turks have been a cultured people since ancient times, that they inspired a number of later cultures, and that they are neither barbaric nor Asiatic (as European historians who are full of racist condescension often describe them).

MAHMUT. Editor and owner of *Milliyet*, and co-owner of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. He writes in superlative Turkish. He writes the lead editorial in these, the most important Turkish newspapers. He is an extremely cultured individual. Ethnically, he is a Kurd. He is the president of the administrative council of İş Bankası. He is extremely rich. The economic minister, Mahmut Celal, consults with Mahmut before taking any major decision. He is a 100%-supporter of İsmet, but this does not mean that he is working against Kemal. His entire policy consists of turning Kemal into a demigod and having İsmet carry out day-to-day politics. Mahmut maintains enormous influence. He is extremely popular.

FALİH RIFKI. Previously one of Kemal's supporters, now a supporter of İsmet. He writes in excellent modern Turkish, and his style is good. He wrote a book and many articles about the USSR in connection with his two visits to the Soviet Union. He was with İsmet in the USSR. He made a name for himself with his works about the USSR. After his most recent trip, he wrote a book titled, *Ankara-Moscow-Rome*. He wrote the national novel, *A Romance*. He is the official writer of the People's Party. He writes for *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Milliyet*. Falih Rıfkı is, along with Mahmut, co-owner of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.

YUNUS NADİ. A Kemalist. The owner and chief editor of the İstanbul newspaper *Cumhuriyet* and its French-language edition, *La République*. Previously, he was a Young Turk, a member of "Union and Progress." He was a terrorist, a so-called "komitacı." They use to say his character was that of a revolver. Now he is fighting against the interests of the national bourgeoisie, whose interests İsmet represents. Yunus Nadi is one of Kemal's men in the sense of his anti-İsmet politics. He is extremely rich and extremely popular. He is an excellent journalist. He is an enormous sophist. A demagogue. Especially on the peasant question, in response to peasants' letters about the crisis,⁷ he engaged in

⁷ Meaning the Great Depression.

enormous demagoguery. He speculates on the stock market. He wrote one book, *A Trip to Germany on a Zeppelin*.⁸ A major new Turkish encyclopedia is now coming out, and he is its publisher and editor.

YAKUP KADRÎ. A famous literary figure. A rich and prominent businessman. He is prominent in cultured circles. His writings are directed against imperialism. For example, his book *Sodom and Gomorrah* describes life in İstanbul when it was occupied by the imperialists. But the masses do not read him. He writes a lot: about literature in general, about various social questions. But he specializes in the psychological novel. He imitates French novelists. He writes in *Milliyet* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.

ABDÜLHAK HÂMÎT. He is considered the greatest Kemalist national writer. He is an old man. He writes poems, novels, and plays. He has written a lot. He is entirely under French influence. His wife is French. She also writes a bit. He knows French very well. His specialty is the psychological novel. He writes in old Turkish, and he is popular among the intelligentsia. He used to oppose Kemal's innovations, but now he exclusively writes things that please Kemal and İsmet.

CELAL NURÎ. Pamphleteer. Previously a member of the Young Turk organization Union and Progress. His French is literary. A committed Kemalist, though he also works for Zionist organizations for money. He was the chief editor of the journal *Jeune Turc*, which was financed by the Zionists. Currently, he writes articles on sociological issues and is working on his memoirs about the Abdulhamid era. He is egotistical. Money is everything for him. He used to be popular, but his popularity has now fallen significantly.

KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FUAD. A professor of İstanbul University. A turcologist. An Orientalist. A linguist. In 1926 he was at the linguistic conference in Baku, together with the Austrian Paul Wittek. At that point, he spoke out against the language revolution that Kemal was pursuing. Now, under pressure from the Kemalists, he supports the innovations. He is the only academic in Turkey who is working with language on the basis of science. He is a major academic figure in Turkey, the only of his kind.

MAZHAR OSMAN. A professor of medicine at İstanbul University and the director of Cerrahpaşa Hospital. A psychiatrist. Extremely popular. He is renowned for the medical advice that he offers in newspaper columns. He writes in an accessible way, and his popularity is widespread.

BESİM ÖMER PAŞA. A surgeon. Professor of İstanbul University. Widely popular. A serious academic.

ERTUĞRUL MUHSİN. The best popular actor in film and theater. The general director of the national theater, the center of the artistic world—Dârülbeyt. Muhsin Ertuğrul is extremely energetic.

⁸ I have translated literally the Russian-language title given here. The actual title is *Kırkdokuz saat zeplin ile havada* ("Forty-Nine Hours in the Air in a Zeppelin").

He is a talented director-pioneer. Extremely popular and beloved. He is cultivating the German school and fighting against French influence.

AHMET İHSAN. Chief editor and owner of the weekly *Servet-i Fîinân*. He used to be a Young Turk, but now he is a Kemalist. He will write anything for money. He is open about his pen being for sale. His publishing house is significant. He is extremely rich and quite popular. He is an excellent journalist and writes great articles about all kinds of subjects.

HAYDAR RÎFAT. Lawyer. Translates German and French literature into Turkish. He translated a book about Lenin and the Soviet Union from French. He translated a book by Emil Ludwig. He is very popular among the intelligentsia. Haydar Rifat is fully Kemal's man, and his energies are directed against İsmet. When he translates, he knows how to sterilize the content well.

BURHAN CAHÎT. A well-known literary figure. He writes book about the Independence War. He wrote a book called *A Novel about İzmir*, which is very popular and describes the Smyrna population's struggle against foreign occupation of the city.

NİZAMETTİN NAZÎF. An essayist. A plagiarist. A typical Kemalist. He writes in *Akşam*, *Milliyet*, and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. He writes poor novels in the style of French boulevard novels. He is popular and beloved as a novelist. He has written: *Tears in the Eyes*, *Black Davut*, *A Nation Awakes*, and others. Except for the last one (which is a national novel), these are superficial little boulevard novels.

BURHAN CAHÎT. He writes in the same style as Nizamettin Nazif. He wrote the novels: *Young Girls*, *A Hospital with Six Beds*, *A Dandy from the Villa*, *Şeyh Zeynullah*, *My Neighbor's Romance*, *The Man with a Sharp Eye*, *A Love for Politics*, *Lieutenant Celal*, and others. He is just as popular and of the same type as Nizamettin Nazif.

SELAMÎ İZZET. Writes in the same style as the previous two. He is just as popular and the same type of writer as them. He wrote the novels: *Lunatic*, *Love*, *Fatma*, *The Chef's Thorns* (a story about İstanbul's gypsies), *The Happiness of a Young Lady*, and others.

VÂLÂ NUREDDİN. The same kind of writer as those above, but more significant, a veteran Kemalist. He has a rich past—as a profiteer, an opportunist, and a police agent. He studied at KUTV and was a member of the Turkish Communist Party. After returning to Turkey, he became an obvious police agent, participating in the interrogation of our arrested comrades and encouraging them to betray the cause. In 1932, he came to Moscow with İsmet in his capacity as a very popular writer and the editor of the well-known newspaper *Akşam* (“Evening”). To this day, he continues to work as a non-salaried employee of the police's first division, responsible for the struggle against communists. He wrote the novels: *Small Announcements*, *Pink Diamond*, *Well without a Bottom*. He writes under the pseudonym under Vâ-Nu.

VEDAT NEDİM. A member of the central committee of the Turkish Communist Party between 1925 and 1927. A leader of the Mensheviks-liquidationists. When he was a member of the central committee, he pushed the Menshevik line. At the current moment, he is popular in Kemalist and intelligentsia circles. He is secretary for the Kemalist organization “Society for National Economy and Savings.” One of the ideologues and founders of the journal *Kadro*. He constantly writes articles for the journal on economic and political questions, justifying the Kemalist regime and attacking Marxism and Leninism. He challenges Marx, Lenin, and Comrade Stalin on the questions about the national revolution and class struggle.

ŞEVKET SÜREYYA. From 1925 to 1927, he was a member of the central committee of the Turkish Communist Party. A leader of the Mensheviks-liquidationists. Expelled from the central committee and the party in 1927. Currently, he is the director of a commercial institute in Turkey. One of the founders and ideologues of the journal *Kadro*. The leader of the group of literary figures affiliated with *Kadro*. Actively fights against Marxism and communism. He argues in his articles that a supra-class politics is possible in Turkey, that the government can manage the interests of the various classes and eliminate conflict among them. He is developing a theory about the use of planning in a bourgeois economy. The theory of statism, which is being developed by the group *Kadro*, is primarily his. According to this theory, a state-capitalist economy should replace the private-bourgeois economy. In his words, the primary goal of the Turkish revolution is the struggle against imperialism, and Turkey can avoid the class conflict that is typical of developed capitalist countries. His book, *The Revolution and Cadres*, which received a lot of publicity, is written in this spirit. In this book, Şevket Süreyya polemicizes with Marx on the question of whether national-liberation movements should take precedence over class struggle, and he gives his account of the foundations of the Kemalist order, the driving forces of the revolution, and his theory of statism.

BURHAN ASAF. One of the most colorful representatives of the group *Kadro*. He harshly criticizes Marxism and communism. He challenges the basic tenets of Marxism. He criticizes the works of comrade Stalin. Sometimes he cites Stalin, twisting his words, which he did when polemicizing with comrade Safarov’s book on national-liberation revolutions.

İSMAİL HÜSREV. A prominent literary figure. Collaborates with *Kadro*. Writes about questions of feudalism, agriculture, etc.

SABİHA ZEKERİYA HANIM. A journalist. Editor and owner of the journal *Resimli Ay*. A socialist. She received her education in America. She writes very courageously. She writes about social questions, about women, children, etc.

NAZİM HİKMET. The poet most popular and beloved among the breadth of the intelligentsia, students, petit-bourgeois circles, and among skilled workers. At one point he emulated Mayakovsky. He faced trial on multiple occasions for his communist activities. A leader of the so-called Trotskyist-police opposition. He studied in Moscow at KUTV. In 1926–1927, he was a candidate member of the

international bureau of the Turkish Communist Party. In 1927, he was expelled from the party. He took with him some of the wavering workers, and, together with some provocateurs, formed a party that they called communist. In 1933, he was again arrested for communist activities, in connection with his book, *A Telegram arrived at Night*. He was sentenced to six months. He will probably be released in September.

NAIL V. Poet who emulates Nazım Hikmet. His verses are close to the working masses, and so he is popular among them.