

ON THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE KEMALISTS AND THE BOLSHEVIKS DURING THE TURKISH WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

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This article aims to bring together some important documents pertaining to the relations between the new Ankara Government and the revolutionary Bolsheviks during the crucial years of 1919 - 1922, with references to their Soviet sources. The documents include the English translations of correspondence between the Kemâlists and the Soviet leaders, reproductions of two important letters signed by Mustafa Kemâl and Lenin respectively, as well as an autographed portrait of the Turkish leader presented to the Soviet Ambassador Aralov. They were traced during research done at the central *Gosudarstvannaya Biblioteka imeni V.I. Lenina* in Moscow.

They all pertain to mutual requests to establish normal —more truly friendly— relations, which culminated in the signing of a Treaty of Friendship and Fraternity on March 16, 1921. The documents that accompany the explanatory article may or may not encompass all the correspondence; nevertheless, they are the translations of the full texts available in the Soviet academic circles. Hence, there are additional references in the article to other writings whose complete texts are not reproduced here.

The events leading to the 1921 Treaty are well-known.¹ It is not the purpose of this article to trace their development or discuss the consequences. However, the correspondence, that developed along, needs more attention. Therefore, emphasis may be put here only on that correspondence.

It is common knowledge that the Ottoman Empire was fighting in

(1) For that, see: M.V. Frunze, *Sobraniye Sochineniy*, T.I, Moskva, 1929, str. 356 - 359; A.M. Shemseddinov, *Natsionalno-Osvoboditelnaya Borba f Turtsii: 1918 - 1928*, Moskva, 1966. Also, see the works of M.P. Pavlovich, G. Astahov, G. -Kriazhin, A. Melnik, A. Alimov and the like.



**Mustafa Kemâl's autograph to "Comrade Aralov",
the Soviet Ambassador to Ankara.**

the First World War on the side of Germany and that she was a participant at the Brest Litovsk peace negotiations as well. It also follows that the Sultan's Government in İstanbul continued to fight against Russia in the first few months even after the October Revolution. The Quadruple Alliance, however, lost the war and Turkey shared the fate of her allies. The Turkish ruling circles, which had brought the country to the brink of disaster, were now in cooperating terms with the occupying powers.

It is also well-known that, in protest against the conditions to be imposed on Turkey by the foreign governments, a revolutionary movement, headed by Mustafa Kemâl (Atatürk), was started in Central Anatolia, and hence another government was formed in Ankara on April 23, 1920. On April 26 or only three days after the formation of the Grand National Assembly of the Kemâlists, the Turkish leader communicated with Soviet Russia, offering to establish diplomatic relations and reach an agreement. This initial letter of Kemâl Pasha is missing in the collection, for I am told by Soviet colleagues that it was lost or remained in the possession of an official (probably Karakhan) and was not filed properly.

The Soviet reply² of June 2, 1920, (numbered 11/551) refers to Mustafa Kemâl's initial letter, almost quoting several sentences and certainly giving an idea of its contents. The acknowledgement by the Kemâlists of this reply is proof of the existence of the initial Kemâl Pasha letter. In the Soviet answer of June 2, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs informed Mustafa Kemâl that the Soviet Government had with satisfaction acquainted itself with the principles underlying the foreign policy of the new Turkish Government. The Soviet Government took due note of the decision of the Grand National Assembly to concentrate its work and military operations against the imperialist states with the lofty ideal of liberating the oppressed peoples. The Soviet Government was ready to establish diplomatic and consular relations with Turkey without delay. The reply added that the Soviets could act as a mediator in talks between Turkey and the Dashnak Armenians as well as Iran. It declared that the Soviet Government was watching the heroic independence struggle of the Turkish people with keen interest.

The reply of July 4, 1920, by Bekir Sami Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, appreciated the offer of mediation. The Turkish National Assembly was confident that in this unequal struggle and on whose outcome depended its existence as well as the common cause of all suffering mankind, it would have the utmost support of the Russian Soviet Republic. On July 2, the Soviet Government wrote to Mustafa Kemâl informing him that its representative was on his way to meet the Kemâlists in Ankara. A Turkish delegation, headed by Bekir Sami Bey, came to Moscow, where the draft of a Turkish-Russian Treaty was agreed upon. In the meantime, the Sultan's government in İstanbul had signed the Sèvres Peace Treaty, which aimed to deprive Turkey of much territory and the right to live independently.

Mustafa Kemâl's telegram dated November 29, 1920, to G.V. Chicherin, the Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R. acknowledged the appreciation of the struggle that Turkey was waging against the coalition of imperialists. Kemâl Pasha added: «The Russian people, who, not satisfied with having broken their own shackles, have for over two years been conducting an unprecedented struggle to liberate the whole world... I am deeply convinced... that on the day

(2) See *infra.*, Doc. No. 1. Also, Ministerstvo Inostrannih Dyel SSSR, **Dokumentı Bneshney Politiki SSSR**, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoye İzdatelstvo Politicheskoy Literaturı, 1958, str. 554-555: *Izvestiya*, No. 123 (970), 9 iyun, 1920. For the Russian texts of some of the following correspondence, see **Dokumentı Bneshney Politiki SSSR**, T. II-V.

when the working people of the West, on the one hand, and the enslaved peoples of Asia and Africa, on the other, understand that international capital is today using them for mutual annihilation and enslavement for the greater benefit of their masters, the day when the criminality of colonial policy is realized by the mass of the working people the world over, bourgeois rule will end...»³

The Soviet Government confirmed on December 9, 1920, the receipt of the Turkish Government's proposal for a conference between Turkey and Russia to be held in Moscow. It stressed the need for an early beginning of the conference. Another letter of Chicherin, dated December 19, 1920, emphasized the paramount importance that the Soviets attached to this conference. A Kemâlist delegation, led by Yusuf Kemâl Bey, came to Moscow to complete the treaty negotiations. In a speech delivered before the signing of the Treaty, he said that the people of both nations had died under the same bourgeois oppression and that bitter experience had taught Turkey to depend only on her own resources. He added that the Turkish people had begun to understand the essence of economic domination, and they knew now that economic independence was the main factor of a nation's life. The negotiations ended on March 16, 1921, with the signing of the Treaty, whose provisions are also well-known.

Lenin's telegram to Mustafa Kemâl and the Turkish leader's letter to Lenin, whose photostatic copies are reproduced here, may attract the attention of the reader. I believe that the original photostatic copy of the Lenin telegram is being published here for the first time in a Western source although the Russian translation has been printed before in a Soviet source.⁴ One can see Lenin's hand-writing and the short form of his signature (*Len.*) in the top left-hand corner of the paper. Above his signature, the words *T. Chicherin, soglashen s nashem projektom* (or «Comrade Chicherin, in accordance with our plan») in cyrillic alphabet may be read. The hand-made correction of a French word in the first line (*communication*) resembles his hand-writing in Latin script. In the middle at the top, words «Aliev» and «Baku» are legible while in the right hand corner above «Tsek» (in cyrillic alphabet for the «Central Committee»), at the right a note saying «page checked-up» and below «*kabichki zakrit*» (or «quotation marks to be closed») as well as «Narkomindel» (for

(3) For the Russian text of this letter, see: **Dokumenty Benschney Politiki SSSR**, T. III, str. 11-12.

(4) **Sovyetskoye Vostokovodeniye**, No. 5 (1957), str. 13-14. The author is indebted to Prof. Yuri Nikolayevich Rozaliev for the original Lenin telegram.

Angora, le 10 Avril 1922.

Mon Cher Président.

Le Traité que nous avons heureusement conclu avec la Russie ayant été suivi avec ceux intervenus entre nous et les Républiques du Caucase et subséquemment l'Ukraine, la Grande Assemblée Nationale de Turquie a ratifié récemment ce dernier Traité.

Pour procéder à l'échange des instruments de ratification une Mission Extraordinaire choisie au sein de la Grande Assemblée Nationale de Turquie et présidée par le Docteur Riza Nour Bey, Commissaire du Peuple pour l'Hygiène Publique et l'Assistance Sociale est partie pour l'Ukraine

Etant un des négociateurs du Traité de Moscou Riza Nour Bey a aussi été chargé de se rendre en mission spéciale auprès de Vous.

L'Amitié de la Russie est toujours et comme par le passé la base fondamentale de la politique du Gouvernement de la Grande Assemblée Nationale de Turquie.

J'estime qu'actuellement nos deux Pays doivent plus que jamais constituer un bloc ferme en face de nouvelles méthodes inaugurées par les Puissances impérialistes et capitalistes. L'aide que nous a apportée la Russie à maintes reprises acquiert à nos yeux une importance spéciale.

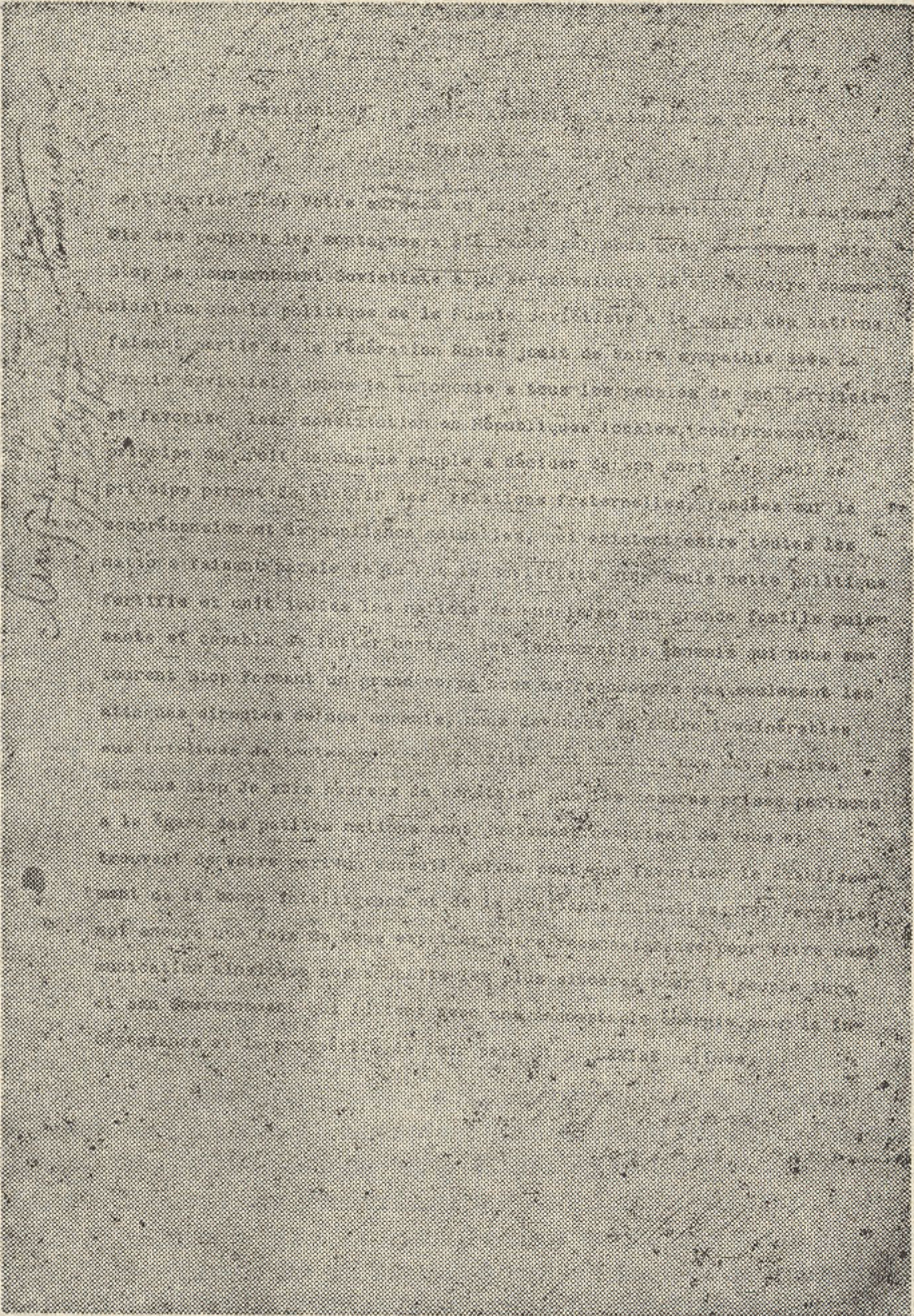
Riza Nour Bey aura certainement l'occasion de revenir à ce sujet dans ses conversations. En tout cas, je nourris le ferme espoir que cette aide ne nous fera pas non plus défaut dans les circonstances que nous traversons.

Je termine, Mon Cher Président, en Vous assurant de mon très sincère et très profond dévouement et de ma très haute considération.

Mustapha Kemal

Au Camarade Lénine,
Président du Conseil des Commissaires
du Peuple du Gouvernement de la République
Socialiste Fédérative des Soviets de Russie.

Mustafa Kemal's letter to V. I. Lenin, dated April 10, 1922.



V. I. Lenin's telegram to Mustafa Kemal

«*Narodnyy Kommissariat Inostrannih Dyel*» or the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs) may be seen.

Lenin's telegram in French reads as follows⁵ :

“To The President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey,

MUSTAFA KEMÂL

The Seventh of January. Your communication on the subject of the proclamation of the autonomy of the peoples of Daghestan⁶ has been received by us with joy. The Soviet Government is convinced from your communication that the policy of Soviet Russia in relation to nations participating in the Russian Federation profits by your sympathy. Soviet Russia gives autonomy to all the peoples on its territory and supports the formation of local republics, in conformity with the principle of the right of each people to self-determination. Only this principle permits the establishment of fraternal relations, founded on mutual understanding and confidence, which exist between all the nations forming part of Soviet Russia. Only such a policy fortifies and unites all the nations of Russia in a great strong family, capable of fighting against the innumerable enemies which encircle us. Forming one great corps, we shall not only repulse the direct attacks of our enemies, but, besides this, be invulnerable against intrigues of all sorts to which our common adversaries resort. I am happy to state that the steps taken by us in relation to the small nations are justly commented upon by you and are well received on your part, which can only favor the establishment of mutual understanding and confidence. Permit me to express to you once more our thanks for your communication and also our most sincere wishes to the Turkish people and its government which struggles with indomitable energy for the independence and the prosperity of their country. LENIN.»

Likewise, I believe that the original of Mustafa Kemâl's letter dated April 10, 1922, is being reproduced in the Western world for the first time. There are references in it to the Treaty that Turkey had signed with the Transcaucasian Soviet republics. It will be remembered that a Treaty, which reaffirmed the basic provisions of the Moscow Treaty of March 16, was signed at Kars on October 13, 1921, between Turkey, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. Mustafa Kemâl's letter also refers to the Treaty with the Ukraine. The official mission of Michael Frunze, who was the Commander-in-Chief in the Ukrainian SSR, was to sign a Treaty with Turkey along the lines

(5) The French text has been compared with the Russian and the word «Stop» been replaced by regular punctuations.

(6) «Daghestan» is meant by «gortsev» in Russian or «...des peuples des montagnes» in French.

of the Moscow Treaty. Kemâl Pasha attached due importance to Frunze's arrival. In a telegram to M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, and G. I. Petrovsky, Chairman of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, he said :

“The fact that with the purpose of signing a treaty of friendship with us and still more concretely reaffirming the political, economic and other relations existing between our two peoples, the Government of the Ukrainian Republic has sent to us Mr. Frunze, one of the most prominent political leaders and the Commander-in-Chief, and also one of the most valiant and heroic commanders of the Red Army, and the fact that this decision was communicated to us on the eve of the Battle of Sakarya⁷ and at a time when the enemy had announced to the world that our final defeat was a matter of the near future, evokes a particularly deep feeling of gratitude among the members of the National Assembly.»

It is not the purpose of this article to elaborate on Frunze's stay in Turkey. (8) The reader may only be reminded that an agreement repeating the main provisions of the Moscow Treaty was signed between Turkey and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic at Ankara on January 2, 1922.

Kemâl Pasha's letter to Lenin on April 10, 1922, also mentions that a Turkish delegation, led by Rıza Nur Bey, who was «one of the negotiators of the Moscow Treaty,» has parted for the Ukraine, in relation with the exchange of the instruments of ratification. He referred then to amity with Russia as being «the fundamental base of the policy of the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey» and the need to «constitute a firm bloc facing new methods inaugurated by the imperialist and capitalist Powers.»



DOCUMENTS

1. TELEGRAM DATED JUNE 2, 1920 FROM G. V. CHICHERIN, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO MUSTAFA KEMÂL, THE PRESIDENT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY

(7) The Turks defeated the Greeks at Sakarya.

(8) This topic is worth a separate research. However, for Frunze's own account of his visit, see: M.V. Frunze, *Sobraniye Sochineniy: 1905-1923*, T. I, Moskva-Leningrad, Gosud. Izd., 1929, str. 256-261, 274-351, 355-361, 368-369. Also: A.N. Heyfets, «Rol Missii M.V. Frunze f Ukrepleni Drujestvennih Sovyetsko-Turyetskih Atnosheniy,» *Voprosi Istorii*, No. 5 (1962), str. 90-104.

(9) The author is indebted to the Soviet Professor A. F. Miller for these documents.

The Soviet Government has the honour to confirm the receipt of the letter in which you express the wish to establish permanent relations with it and to take part in the fight against foreign imperialism, which is threatening both countries. The Soviet Government notes with satisfaction the basic principles of the foreign policy of the new Turkish Government, headed by the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, which are :

- a) the proclamation of the independence of Turkey;
- b) the inclusion of indisputably Turkish territories within the Turkish state;
- c) the proclamation of Arabia and Syria as independent states;
- d) The decision of the Grand National Assembly to give Turkish Armenia, Kurdistan, Lazistan, Batum Province, Eastern Thrace and the population of territories with mixed Turko-Arabic elements opportunities to voice their opinion as to their own destiny. It goes without saying that a free referendum will be held in these areas with the participation after their return of refugees and immigrants who had left their native country for reasons beyond their control;
- e) For national minorities within the borders of the new Turkish state headed by the Grand National Assembly, the recognition of all rights granted to national minorities in the European states with the most liberal systems;
- f) The problem of the Straits to be considered by a conference of Black Sea coastal states;
- g) The abolition of capitulations and foreign economic control;
- h) The abolition of foreign spheres of influence of any kind whatsoever.

The Soviet Government takes into due account the decision of the Grand National Assembly to co-ordinate our work and military operations against the imperialist states with the lofty ideal of the liberation of the oppressed peoples. The Soviet Government hopes that diplomatic negotiations will enable the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, on the one hand, and Armenia and Persia, on the other hand, to establish clearly defined frontiers based on justice and the self-determination of peoples. The Soviet Government is ready, if invited by the interested parties, to assume the obligations of mediator.

In order to establish friendly relations and lasting friendship between Turkey and Russia, the Soviet Government proposes the immediate establishment of diplomatic and consular relations. The Soviet Government offers the hand of friendship to all peoples of the world, invariably true to its principle of recognizing the right of every people to self-determination. It is watching the heroic struggle the Turkish people are waging for their independence with keenest interest, and in these days of difficulty for Turkey it is happy to lay a firm foundation for a friendship which will bind the Turkish and Russian peoples.

In informing you of this, Mr. President of the Grand National Assembly, I have the honour, in the name of the people of the Workers and Peasants' Federative Republic, to wish the peoples of Turkey success in their fight for their independence.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs
CHICHERIN

2. TELEGRAM DATED NOVEMBER 29, 1920, FROM MUSTAFA KEMAL, THE PRESIDENT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY, TO G. V. CHICHERIN, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R.

Mr. Commissar,

I have the honour to confirm the receipt of your letter of July 2, 1920, handed to me by the Counsellor of your Mission in Turkey, and to express my sincere gratitude for your flattering appreciation of the struggle we are waging against the coalition of the Western imperialists.

I have the utmost pleasure to tell you of the admiration that the Turkish people have for the Russian people, who, not satisfied with having broken their own shackles, have for over two years been conducting an unprecedented struggle to liberate the whole world, and who are enthusiastically bearing unheard-of privations to end oppression throughout the world forever.

Our nation fully appreciates the magnitude of the sacrifices the Russian people are making to save the human race, as it itself has fought for centuries to defend the Moslem countries, which have been the object of the greed of the European imperialists. I am deeply convinced — and my conviction is shared by all my countrymen — that on the day when the working people of the West, on the one hand, and the enslaved peoples of Asia and Africa, on the other hand, understand that international capital is today using them for mutual annihilation and enslavement for the greater benefit of their masters, the day when the criminality of colonial policy is realised by the mass of the working people the world over, bourgeois rule will end.

The high moral prestige of the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. in the eyes of the working people of Europe, and the respect the Moslem world has for the Turkish people, make us confident that our close union will be enough to unite against the Western imperialists all those who hitherto have supported their rule by submission based on patience and ignorance.

Accept, Mr. Commissar, sincere assurances of my respect.

President of the National
Assembly of Turkey
MUSTAFA KEMAL

3. TELEGRAM DATED DECEMBER 9, 1920, FROM G. V. CHICHERIN THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R. TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

The Russian Soviet Government confirms the receipt of the Turkish Government's proposal for a conference between Turkey and Russia to be held in Moscow; it welcomes this initiative with pleasure and deems it necessary that representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijanian Soviet Governments take part, inasmuch as territorial and other problems outstanding between these states, Turkey and Russia are to be resolved.

The establishment of peace and lasting fraternal communion between the peoples of the Caucasus is the ardent desire of the Soviet Government. Until recent days, Dashnak Armenia was an obstacle to the establishment of brotherhood between the nations. By the will of the Armenian workers and

peasants, Armenia has been transformed from a barrier between Turkey and Russia into a friendly link between the Russian and Turkish peoples.

The toiling Armenians do not cherish any hostility for either the Turkish or the Russian people, exactly as the Turkish and the Russian peoples want nothing but friendship and fraternity on Armenian soil, while the working people of Azerbaijan, who have already entered into close fraternal unity with the working people of Russia, likewise desire friendship and fraternity with them. The Soviet Government considered that the Moscow conference should include a representative for the Azerbaijanian people, a brother people of all the participants in the projected conference.

Convinced that the four-Power conference in Moscow will have important consequences for the liberation of the East from European militarism, which cannot even be measured today, the Soviet Government stresses the need for an early beginning to the conference.

The Soviet Government is simultaneously sending an invitation to the Azerbaijanian and Armenian Soviet Governments.

CHICHERIN

4. TELEGRAM DATED DECEMBER 14, 1920, FROM MUSTAFA KEMÂL, THE PRESIDENT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY, TO J. V. STALIN.

Baku

To Comrade Stalin

Comrade Beibut Shakhtakhtinsky has told us of your work to strengthen the ties between the Bolsheviks and Moslems. Aware of the vital necessity for the proletariat of Europe and the enslaved colonial peoples to fight the common enemy, I profoundly thank you for your efforts to spread the idea of solidarity among all these strata.

When the exploiters throughout the world are no longer able, as they now unfortunately are, to counterpose these two groups of toilers politically and economically, their reign will end. The liberal policy that you are pursuing towards the Moslems peoples will, I do not doubt, have favourable results, and Russia will overcome all the misunderstandings that our common enemies are sowing between us, and achieve the downfall of Western imperialism, the necessary prelude to the destruction of capitalism.

In anticipation of this, dear Comrade, I remain sincerely,

Chairman of the Grand National
Assembly of Turkey
MUSTAFA KEMÂL

5. TELEGRAM DATED DECEMBER 19, 1920, FROM G. V. CHICHERIN, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R., TO AHMED MUKHTAR, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

The Soviet Government considers the conference in which representatives of Turkey, Russia, Armenia and Azerbaijan are to take part to be of exceptional importance in establishing friendship and understanding between these countries.

Attaching paramount importance to this conference, the Soviet Government has appointed the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, headed by myself, as its plenipotentiary delegates.

Were the talks to be held in Baku, all those responsible for our foreign policy would be cut off from their work, which is altogether inadmissible. The Soviet Government, therefore, propose that the conference be held in Moscow instead of Baku. The Soviet Government is taking the necessary steps to establish permanent communications with Ankara through Armenia and Novorossia to Novorossiisk.

People's Commissar for
Foreign Affairs
CHICHERIN

6. TELEGRAM DATED DECEMBER 22, 1920, FROM AHMED MUKHTAR, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF TURKEY, TO G. V. CHICHERIN, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R.

Mr. Commissar,

The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has the pleasure to declare that, thanks to the Russian and Turkish people's awareness of their interests, the imperialist state's attempts to sow mistrust between us - attempts as cunning as they are treacherous - have failed. Strengthened by their victorious emergence from these trials, our bonds cannot but become daily stronger.

To study thoroughly the problems in which our interests meet and interlock, my Government has sent Yusuf Kemal Bey, People's Commissar for Economic Affairs, whom you know very well, Riza Nur Bey, People's Commissar for Public Education, and General Ali Fuad Pasha, Ambassador to Moscow, to Baku to meet the delegates of the R. S. F. S. R.

I hope that the choice of this city, situated halfway between Moscow and Ankara, will permit our delegations to communicate with their Governments on equal terms and will be approved by you, and I beg you to inform me as soon as possible of the names who will be conducting negotiations on behalf of Russia, and their approximate time of arrival in Baku. The Turkish delegates will arrive in the Azerbaijanian capital, provided there are no unforeseen circumstances, in a month's time at the very latest.

Accept, Mr. Commissar, the assurances of my greatest respect.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the Grand National Assembly of
Turkey
AHMED MUKHTAR

7. TELEGRAM DATED DECEMBER 28, 1920, FROM G. V. CHICHERIN, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R., TO AHMED MUKHTAR, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

The Russian Soviet Government welcomes with the greatest pleasure the sentiments regarding the inviolable friendship uniting our peoples to which our

telegram of December 22 bears witness. It will receive most cordially General Ali Fuad Pasha as the Ambassador of Turkey, and also the delegation consisting, according to your information, of People's Commissar Yusuf Kemal Bey, Minister Rıza Bey and General Ali Fuad Pasha.

We have already informed you that the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has been instructed by the Russian Government to conduct negotiations with the delegation of your Government. In view of this, it is necessary for us to receive the consent of your Government to meet your delegation in Moscow, which has radio communications with Baku and Tuapse.

Today I take the liberty of repeating this request of which I have already informed you in my previous message, while firmly hoping and believing that our meeting will exercise a most beneficial influence on the further development of relations between our two peoples.

People's Commissar for
Foreign Affairs
CHICHERIN

8. SPEECH ON FEBRUARY 26, 1921, OF YUSUF KEMÂL, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TURKISH DELEGATION AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE TURCO-RUSSIAN CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW.

Allow me, Mr. Commissar, to express myself in my native tongue. In his speech Mr. Commissar expressed admiration for the Turkish working people and soldiers fighting for the independence of their country, for which I thank him. It is necessary, however, at the same time to express admiration for the Russian people and the Red Army. People of both nations have died under the same bourgeois oppression. Our peoples were forced to fight one another for the sake of the «Eastern question». The imperialists could not solve this question and Turkey found the answer herself. Turkey was subjected to such oppression that bitter experience taught her to depend only on her own resources. The Treaty of Sèvres destroys Turkey, but it exists only in the imagination of its authors; the Turkish people will never accept it.

When they resolved to fight to the finish, the Turkish people had before them the example of another people striving for a still loftier ideal and naturally an agreement for joint action was reached between them. I am convinced that under the circumstances, historical determinism would have forced both our peoples to come an agreement even contrary to the wishes of their leaders. I shall refrain here from citing historical facts, but I can assure all the working people of Russia, the peasants, workers and soldiers, that the Turkish people are holding out their hand sincerely.

Let London revise the Treaty of Sèvres. We know only too well how it can be revised, and what prospects such a revision holds out for the Turkish people. Is it conceivable that imperialism should relinquish its demands?

But we have chosen a surer road. Geographical, historical, economic, and political conditions show us the way to Russia. Before the representatives of the new Russia I speak with the sincerity typical of the Turk: believe in us. Let those who direct world policy confer — they are powerless to turn back the wheel of history, and all their conferences will not make us deviate from the correct path we have chosen.

Let us examine the present situation : we are confronted with two noble

peoples who wish to free themselves from the yoke of world capitalism. The new Turkey possesses new sources of energy: the Turkish people have begun to understand the essence of economic domination. They know that economic independence is the main factor of a nation's life, and that an economically independent Turkey will undoubtedly be able to regain her full freedom.

As you have just declared, the identity of our peoples' interests makes us unite our efforts to give new strength to our peoples in subordinating all our first steps to unity of action and the desire for co-operation. We have had preliminary talks on a treaty; we are firmly convinced that it will grow in scope and strength. We share all your views regarding joint work. The natural treaty which exists between us shall be defined in all details and presented to the world.

The treaty between the Moscow Government, the cradle of Communism, and Turkey, the cradle of the East's desire for liberation, must not only become known to Asia, but also to the Western peoples and the imperialists. This treaty shows the entire world that in it alone lies the freedom of the peoples and the right of all to a free and independent existence in his native country, that we have none of the aims regarding this or that territory that those meeting in London cherish.

The opposition proves that we alone are the bearers of the freedom of peoples. Both our nations are fighting for an identical and common ideal, and should a treaty not be concluded between us, then the blame must rest entirely on those whose duty it is to conclude one.

The Turkish delegation, fully conscious of its duty, wishes to begin negotiations in the light of this consciousness and to arrive at a satisfactory result as quickly as possible.

9. NOTE FROM THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R.S.F.S.R., MARCH 16, 1921.

Mr. People's Commissar,

With the aim of establishing relations between Turkey and Russia on complete sincerity and the irrevocable elimination of everything that could violate absolute mutual confidence, Turkey pledges herself to inform the Russian Soviet Government immediately, without delay and in full detail, of every statement or proposal on the part of any Power, pursuing a policy in Asia differing from that of Russia, on the question of a rapprochement or agreement between this Power and Turkey, and likewise pledges herself in the future eventually to inform the Russian Soviet Government about all negotiations between Turkey and one of the foregoing Powers. Turkey also pledges herself not to conclude any treaty which could affect the interests of Russia, without the latter.

10. NOTE FROM THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R. TO THE AMBASSADOR OF TURKEY, MARCH 16, 1921.

Mr. Ambassador,

In your Note of this date you were kind enough to inform me that in order to establish relations between Turkey and Russia on complete sincerity,

finally eliminating everything that could violate mutual confidence, Turkey pledges herself immediately and without delay to inform the Russian Government in detail of all statements or proposals made by any Power pursuing a policy in Asia differing from that of Russia on rapprochement or agreement between this Power and Turkey, and likewise pledges herself in the future eventually to inform the Russian Soviet Government about all negotiations between Turkey and one of the foregoing Powers, and also that Turkey pledges herself not to conclude any treaty affecting the interests of Russia without warning the latter.

Accepting with the greatest satisfaction this communication which creates the basis for relations of complete mutual confidence between both countries, the Russian Soviet Government in its turn pledges itself to inform the Turkish Government in detail immediately and without delay of any statement or proposal concerning Turkey made to it by any other Power, which pursue a policy in Asia differing from that of Turkey on the question of a rapprochement or agreement between this Russia and this Power, and likewise pledges itself in the future eventually to inform the Turkish Government of all negotiations of a similar nature between Russia and the foregoing Powers and not to conclude any treaty which could affect the interests of Turkey without informing the latter.

11. NOTE FROM THE AMBASSADOR OF TURKEY TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R., MARCH 16, 1921.

Mr. Commissar,

In order to strengthen as much as possible the continuity of relations between Russia and Turkey in the spirit of sincere mutual co-operation, based on the complete sincerity of relations between two countries, I have the honour to inform you on behalf of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey that should the latter intend to introduce changes in the general line of Turkey's foreign policy vis-à-vis Russia in matters of principle or orientation, your Government will immediately be informed.

12. NOTE FROM THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R. TO THE AMBASSADOR OF TURKEY, March 16, 1921.

Mr. Ambassador,

In your Note of today you were so kind as to inform me on behalf of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey that should the latter intend to introduce changes in Turkey's general line of foreign policy vis-à-vis Russia in matters of principle or orientation, my Government will immediately be informed of such a decision.

I accept with satisfaction this communication, which testifies to the genuine frankness existing in our fraternal relations, and, wishing like you to see the closest co-operation in the relations between our two countries, I have the honour to inform you that should the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. intend introducing changes in matters of principle or orientation into Russia's general line of foreign policy towards Turkey, your Government will immediately be informed of such decisions.

13. TELEGRAM DATED NOVEMBER 8, 1922, FROM G. V. CHICHERIN, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R., TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

On behalf of the Russian Government, I send cordial greetings to the fraternal Turkish people and congratulations to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

After the Turkish people have overthrown the despotism of the Sultan, who acted contrary to Turkey's interests and subjected the country to the yoke of the Western Powers, we hope that the Turkish people, having ended treachery at home, will realize their desire and right to self-determination, will fully establish their sovereign rights on land and within their territorial waters, ensuring fully the defence of the Straits and the capital of the Turkish people from any encroachments by foreign enemies and counter-revolution.

CHICHERIN

14. TELEGRAM DATED NOVEMBER 24, 1922, FROM FÜSEYİN RAUF, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF TURKEY TO G. V. CHICHERIN, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE R. S. F. S. R.

I have pleasure in taking advantage of this opportunity to inform you of the gratitude of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for the telegram which you were kind enough to address to the Turkish Government on the occasion of the Assembly's latest decision abolishing personal rule. This gives me the greatest pleasure because your congratulations transcended the bounds of mere international etiquette. The Turkish Government is firmly convinced that the bounds of friendship and fraternity, so happily sealed in Moscow, will still more closely bind the Turkish and Russian peoples for the happiness and prosperity of both countries.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers
and Acting Minister of Foreign
Affairs
HÜSEYİN RAUF