

IN(DIRECT) (RE)TRANSLATIONS OF LEFTIST NON-FICTION

IN TURKISH (1921-2016): ACTORS AND NETWORKS



MUAZZEZ USLU

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

2018

IN(DIRECT) (RE)TRANSLATIONS OF LEFTIST NON-FICTION  
IN TURKISH (1921-2016): ACTORS AND NETWORKS

Thesis submitted to the  
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Translation Studies

by

Muazzez Uslu

Boğaziçi University

2018

(In)Direct (Re)Translations of Leftist Non-Fiction  
in Turkish (1921-2016): Actors and Networks

The thesis of Muazzez Uslu  
has been approved by:

Prof. Özlem Berk Albachten  
(Thesis Advisor)




---

Assist. Prof. Jonathan M. Ross



---

Assist. Prof. İsmail Kaplan



---

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Şahin  
(External Member)



---

Assist. Prof. Müge Işıklar Koçak  
(External Member)



---

December 2018

## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Muazzez Uslu, certify that

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- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....M. Uslu.....  
Date .....19.12.2018.....

## ABSTRACT

### (IN)DIRECT (RE)TRANSLATIONS OF LEFTIST NON-FICTION

#### IN TURKISH (1921-2016): ACTORS AND NETWORKS

This study surveys the retranslations of the leftist non-fiction books in Turkish from 1921 to 2016 and scrutinizes the reasons for the second wave retranslations. As *The Communist Manifesto* was the most frequently translated work, with 38 translations, six translations of the work were analyzed in the framework of an eclectic method based on actor network theory, critical discourse analysis, and an adapted version of Antoine Berman's translation criticism path. An ideological clash between the first wave indirect and second direct translations was detected in the "voices" rising from paratextual elements. The predominant leftist ideology of the 1960s and the translations its actors produced were being challenged with criticisms and alternative readings and an increasing accumulation of knowledge of Marxism. As a case in point, the corpus of *The Communist Manifesto* indicated a rejuvenation movement in the Marxist oeuvre because the direct retranslations outnumbered the relay translations in the market in the second wave. Moreover, Turkish leftist discourse was evolving, with reiterations and inculcations.

## ÖZET

### SOL YAZINDA KURMACA DIŐI ESERLERİN DOĐRUDAN VE ARA DİLDEN TÜRKÇE'YE (YENİDEN)ÇEVİRİLERİ (1921-2016): AKTÖRLER VE AĐLAR

Bu çalışma Türkçe'de 1921 ve 2016 yılları arasındaki kurmaca dışında kalan sol yayınların yeniden çevirilerini ve ikinci dalga yeniden çevirilerin nedenlerini arařtırmaktadır. *Komünist Manifesto* otuz sekiz çeviri ile Türkçe'de bu alanda en sık çevrilen eser olduĐu için, bu eserin altı yeniden çevirisi, aktör aĐ teorisi, eleřtirel söylem çözümlemesi ve Antoine Berman'ın çeviri eleřtirisi modeli çerçevesinde incelenmiřtir. Birinci dalga ara dilden ve ikinci dalga asıl kaynak dilden çeviriler arasındaki çatıřma yeniden çevirilerin yan metinlerinden yükselen pek çok seste saptanmıřtır. 1960'ların baskın sol ideolojisi ve aktörlerinin ürettiĐi çevirilere; eleřtiriler, alternatif okumalar ve Marxism üzerine artmakta olan bir bilgi birikimi ile meydan okunmakta idi. Bir örneklem olarak Komünist Manifesto bütüncesi, ikinci yeniden çeviriler dalgasında, asıl kaynak dilden çeviriler ara dilden çevirilerin sayısını ařtıĐı için; Marxist külliyatta bir gençleşme hareketine ve buna ek olarak Türk sol söyleminin yinelemeler ve telkinlerle evrilmekte olduĐuna iřaret etti.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: Muazzez Uslu

### DEGREES AWARDED

PhD in Translation Studies, 2018, Boğaziçi University

MA in Translation and Interpreting Studies, 2007, Muğla University

BA in English Language Teaching, 2003, Middle East Technical University

### AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Translation history, translation criticism, hermeneutics, discourse analysis, translation sociology, translation of philosophical texts.

### CURRENT PROFESSIONAL POSITION

Lecturer, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University, 2004- present

### GRANTS

Emuni Stridon Translation Studies Doctoral and Teacher Training Summer School Grant, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2013

### PUBLICATIONS

#### *Journal Articles*

Uslu, M. (2017). Sol yazında yeniden çeviriler. In Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar and Zehra Toska (Eds.) *Saliha Paker Armağan Kitabı I- Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları (Journal of Turkish Studies*, 48 (December), Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations Harvard University, 369-386.

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### *Book Chapters*

Uslu, M. (2019) (Forthcoming). The indicative role of retranslations for the Turkish leftist discourse: using Berman's translation criticism path to analyze *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* as a case. In Özlem Berk Albachten and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (Eds). *Retranslation in Turkey*. Springer.

Uslu, M. (2014). A translational Reading of *Heart of Darkness*. *New Horizons in Translation Research and Education 2* (27-47). University of Eastern Finland: Joensuu.

### *Conference Preceedings*

Uslu, M. (2016). A Comparative Stylistic Analysis of *Pride and Prejudice* in its Turkish Translations. İstanbul Aydın University 3<sup>rd</sup> Translation Conference: Challenges in Literary Translation (18-19 April), 97-123.

Kınsız, M., Uslu, M., Gök, C. (2008). Yabancı Dil Öğretiminde Çevirinin Yeri. *Yabancı Dil Bölümleri ve Yüksekokullarının Yabancı Dil Öğretimindeki Sorunları: Kurultay Bildirileri* (7-8<sup>th</sup> May). Muğla University, 230-243.

### *Papers Presented*

Uslu, M. (2015). The Indicative Role of the Retranslations in the Formation of a Turkish Leftist Discourse: The *Communist Manifesto* as a Case. *Retranslation in Context II - Yeniden Çeviri ve Bağlamları II*, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi.

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### *Translations*

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## Projects

Uslu, M. (Translator and editor) (2017). *Adım Adım İlerle Projesi* (Step by step project). Fethiye Kaymakamlığı Fethiye İlçesi Uyuřturucu İzlem ve Koordinasyon Kurulu, prepared and coordinated by Psychological Consultant Betül Toker, Fethiye Muęla.

Uslu, M. (Researcher) (2013-2016). *A Descriptive and Critical Look at Retranslation: Retranslated Works in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey* (funded by the Boęaziçi University Research Fund).

## Seminars attended

Muęla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi Fethiye Saęlık Yüksek Okulu. Komřu Komřu Hu!: Çocuk Geliřimi ve Eęitimi Semineri. 20.12.2012

Boęaziçi Üniversitesi Çeviribilim Bölümü Çeviri Eęitimi Platformu. Türkiye. 06.12. 2010

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Most of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Prof. Özlem Berk Albachten, for her academic support and meticulous editing. This work would not have been possible without her guidance. She has always been a source of inspiration for me. Next, I would like to express my appreciation to former committee members, Prof. Ebru Diriker, Prof. Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, Prof. Turgay Kurultay, Assos. Prof. Yeşim Tükel Kanra, Assist. Prof. Arzu Akbatur and jury members Assist. Prof. Jonathan Maurice Ross, Assist. Prof. İsmail Kaplan, Assist Prof. Müge Işıklar Koçak and Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Şahin, for their constructive criticisms, and all the professors of the department, especially Prof. Saliha Paker and Prof. Suat Karantay, for their contributions in the course of my academic journey and for their invaluable emotional support during my illness. My special thanks to my classmates, Fazilet Akdoğan Özdemir, Ceyda Özmen, İrem Üstünsöz, Rana Marcella Özenç, Sevda Ayluç Tarhan, Burç İdem Dinçel and Alaz Pesen for creating an invigorating intellectual atmosphere in our classes and for their sincere friendship. I will always be grateful to Keith Gardiner for his editorial help and heartfelt company right through the last stage of this work and to Yavuz Uğurlugil for being my German teacher. I would like to thank my parents, my brother and my sister, and my colleagues at Muğla University, Gül Bahar Edik Kayhan, Sevda Altunbaş, Hürriyet and Faruk Coşkun, Nejat and Yeşim Toğay, Betül Toker, and Kerziban Çoban, for always being there for me whenever I needed encouragement. Last but not least, my daughter deserves my blessing for being the joy of my life.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The 1960s were the most productive times of a (re)translation movement for the books of leftist non-fiction in Turkish. Three reasons could be given for this. Firstly, 1961 saw the introduction of a new constitution which was less repressive than its predecessors. Secondly, the 1960s were a period of domestic social and political unease leading people to ask questions and seek political solutions. Thirdly, this decade witnessed a considerable dynamism in the left wing throughout the world. The internal social chaos which was stimulated by an international dynamism gave rise to the translations of many books as well as the production of various indigenous writings, especially in the periodicals (Ünal, 2006, p. iii). After this fertile period, the books of socialist and communist movement have been translated tenuously since the 1980s. Apart from very few retranslations, the years between 1980 and 2000 can be described as a period of silence. Once again in the 2000s, readers' attention was attracted to discussions and debates on the retranslations of leftist non-fiction. It is questionable whether these debates were the result of a rise in the number of the leftist non-fiction books, a change in the quality of retranslations or a new interpretation of these books or a change in the surrounding discourse. Thus, these developments make the readers ask the question why these works are being retranslated at that certain time period rather than any other. How are the translations of non-fiction leftist books produced in the 1960s and their retranslations published in the 2000s related? Could we trace any kind of polarizations or similarities between the two translation waves in terms of translational approaches?

The last one and a half decades from 2000 onwards were very fertile and gave rise to many similar questions. The translations of V. I. Lenin's *What is to be done?* were the first to attract attention. The translators, readers and publishing houses seemed to be clashing for translational or political/ideological reasons over this case. If at the times of social change, translations may thus move from the periphery into the center of a social-cultural polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1990), is it possible to consider the retranslations of *What is to be done?* a sign of such a change? Is the socialist movement going through a radical change, rejuvenation or re-interpretation phase that gives rise to the retranslations?

The second book was *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*<sup>1</sup>, which has been translated into Turkish numerous times. The newer versions of the book were particularly intriguing. *The Communist Manifesto* which was originally the size of a booklet in its original format has been getting thicker and thicker in its latest retranslations. This leads one to question the discourse or concerns that led to these retranslations. Karl Marx's other books, especially *Capital*, seemed to be related to the network of *The Communist Manifesto* in this corpus in terms of the agents that collaborated.

While non-fiction leftist books were tools of resistance to the policies of dominant state ideologies in the first wave of retranslations, have they been commercialized or canonized in the second wave? In order to make a claim, the non-fiction leftist books that had been translated and retranslated needed to be documented. Only after the compilation of such a catalogue and a comparison of retranslations

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<sup>1</sup> In this dissertation, the English title of the work, *The Communist Manifesto*, will be used to refer to the work.



produced after the 2000s with their previous translations published in the 1960s and 1970s, some facts can be revealed such as the frequency of the publications and the social ideological flows of the era and the relations among them. It was easy to anticipate a network including polarizations or similarities between the translations and the retranslation of leftist non-fiction and a continuing cross-reference among them. The data collected for this study include an elaborate survey and catalogue of the retranlations of leftist non-fiction books up to 2016 in the Republican era. Furthermore, the quantitative data can be used to support the claims of the study. A rejuvenation period in terms of retranlations of these books has been taking place. In 2000, there were signs pointing to the start of a reproductive period of retranlations of the non-fiction left books. Thus, it is worth researching how the representation of non-fiction leftist books changed. Various translations seem to have been done in the 1960s and 1970s started to be retranlated in this period. The retranlations done around 2000 demanded their own space among the already accepted and almost canonized translations that were done almost fifty years previously and had established an iconic state among the leftist translations. As a result, the previous translations took a rival and self-defensive position against the newly launched translations of the 2000s. The ideological conflict between these two eras was reflected in the form of translation criticisms, reviews and comments.

A debate on V.I. Lenin's *What is to be done?* and reviews of K. Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital* indicated the ideological load the translators and the publishers as active agents bring to translation. This study aims to reveal the network among the translations done in the first period and the recent retranlation period to see the relations and continuity, cooperation and rivalry among them. It furthermore aims to

demonstrate the motives behind the retranslations through a critical discourse analysis because the retranslations done in the first wave and second waves seem to be done for different purposes and for a different readership. As I will argue and indigenous writings imply, this alteration seems to be the result of a rejuvenation and re-interpretation phase that once interrupted leftist discourse is going through by making use of the accumulated knowledge over successive generations.

Finally, the thesis intends to illustrate how this renewal is reflected in the approaches of the agents, e.g. translators, publishers and editors, who took part in the network of (re)translations. The active part various agents play in the above-mentioned material needs to be problematized. The role of the translators and publishers as individual agents and their resistance to dominant ideologies and political currents have been the concern of translation studies for a very long time (Venuti, 2007, Tymoczko, 2010). Retranslation of leftist non-fiction is a fertile area to reveal such relations.

Keith Harvey describes the translation's role as an event shaped by the factors of influence and causality as well as its interactional and innovative dimension that allows for the agency:

Conceived as an event, a translation has the potential to reveal challenges, transgressions, contradictions and fissures, all of which are outcomes of the interaction between, on the one hand, and on the other, the irruption of alterity within a domestic sphere. In short, a translation-as-an event is not exclusively or primarily the sum of its target systematic pressures. Rather- to borrow Steiner's metaphor to account for the fourth stage of his "hermeneutic motion"- a translation can be seen as "a mirror not only reflects but also generates light" i.e. as not merely the outcome of established determinations/manipulations in the receiving socio-cultural system but as an event opening up the possibility (however minor) of ideological innovation. (Harvey, 2003, p. 45-46)

In accordance with his comment, I believe via the retranslations of the leftist non-fiction in Turkey, a discourse has been created, and this discourse gave way to many articles in

local magazines and newspapers like *Birikim*, *Atılım*, *Yeni Dergi* and *Cep Dergisi*, etc. This discourse is the product of an ideological innovation that tries to accumulate symbolic and cultural capital (Serry, 2003, p. 103). Making a reference to Pierre Bourdieu, Sharon Deane-Cox states that, symbolic capital can only be “accumulated over a course of time by the action of successive generations (Deane-Cox, 2014). Thus, she comments on the retranslations not only as a series of distinct interpretations but also as an accumulative entity. Deciding whether the goal of accumulating symbolic capital is achieved or not is only possible with the reception of the works which can take place subsequent to many reiterations of the same sources in the form of retranslations. However, their reception can only be observed in indigenous writings published in the target system, which will exceed the scope of this study. Rather, this study intends to reveal the reasons of retranslations that constructed the new Turkish leftist discourse surrounding the retranslations together with its agents who enabled the retranslations to come to the fore.

Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro state two important factors that determine the constraints of production and circulation of literary/symbolic goods are: politicization and commercialization (Heilbron and Sapiro, 2007, p. 97). Following this argument, I will question whether the retranslations were done with other different social, ideological or commercial purposes. It is necessary to keep in mind that even if the retranslations are produced due to several reasons, the circulation of them is inevitably commercial. Moreover, the emphasis placed on the historical contexts of the retranslations indicated that the translators and the publishers of the books intended a more scholarly, scientific and historical approach from the readership despite the fact

that translation is always a political act from a descriptive perspective (Álvarez & Vidal, 1996, p. 1).

If the fruitfulness of the studies done concerning translation and ideology -with a broad definition of political and sociological tendencies- is taken into consideration, the realm of retranslations is a field that cannot be left aside. Obviously, the choice of the text to be translated and published implies not only an individual choice, but it also indicates an inclination or preference of a collective ideology and a re-contextualization of a source text among a network of other target texts; composed of translations and indigenous writings. In other words, the bonds, links and ties among different retranslations of a work always bring multivocality that stems from the variety of the source text's versions and indigenous writings, such as criticisms and reviews, etc. Even when a retranslation seems to ignore a previous translation, a conflicting ideology or a polarity may have been concealed.

Regarding the research done so far on ideology and translation, the topic I propose can be very illuminating as it increases the visibility of the translators. As in oppressive regimes, translation was thought to be a crime committed by a subject with a negative conscious or some political and economic agendas (Schäffner, 1996, p. 1), it was often severely punished. These negative implications of the term ideology bring an extended visibility to the translators as suspects and victims who can be held responsible for the disapproved acts. When the translators were concealed, the publishers were certainly the second subjects to be blamed. Even the readers of such translations were treated as potential suspects when leftist non-fiction was in question. In the 1960s and 1970s, the translations of leftist non-fiction were clamped in this frame. Recent debates in Turkey indicate that translators and publishers of the leftist works still have the same

visibility, but they do not suffer from the same vulnerability because they do not have to defend themselves from state oppression anymore, as was the case in the previous eras. Also, this is due to the fact that communism is no longer considered a realistic threat. The qualities of their translations and their approaches to translation have started to be questioned more textually in comparison with the previous translations. The clash of the ideologies is carried to a more textual and more commercial arena. Translations of the leftist non-fiction dating back to the 1960s and 1970s are now treated as canonized books to be protected from textual deformation and commercial interests though they are still commercial objects. Although it is rarely pronounced, the readers are more or less aware of the fact that recent (re)translations are produced in a different state of mind that expresses the interests of the period and inclinations of the reshaping Turkish left.

The 1960s and 1970s in Turkey can be considered a period when translations were instrumental in changing the society. Translations were tools of resistance in this period. There was such a rapid rise in the translated leftist non-fiction that it should be called a translation movement. The active agents of the movement participated in ideological and political dialogue and struggle. Therefore, the use of translation in this period challenged an ideological oppression and “cultural straitjacket” (Tymoczko, 2010, p. 1) and illustrated a politically activated translation movement though it did not lead to a direct liberation and cultural shift due to state oppression. Moreover, it is not difficult to anticipate many secret publishing and distribution networks, which were pushed underground because of the oppression in the form of legal punishments and imprisonment the translators and publishers faced. Thus, translators of the period can be recognized as crucial agents of political activism for social change and translations can be documented as “central cultural expressions rather than a derivative, peripheral or

marginalized productions” (Tymoczko, 2010, p. 3). The partisanship of the translators and publishers certainly results from their political partiality. Tymoczko considers that such a partiality is not a defect but a necessary element of the task of translation, arguing “partialities are what differentiate translators, enabling them to participate in the dialectic of power, the ongoing process of political discourse and strategies for social change” (Tymoczko, 2010, p. 9).

However, the following period of silence starting from 1980 until the end of the 1990s in terms of the production of retranslations of non-fiction leftist books, which went underground, is not less significant. As Tymoczko claims “what is not translated in a particular context is often as revealing as what is translated” (Tymoczko, 2010, p. 7). Thus, silence and gap in this particular field between the years 1980 and 2000 is meaningful for the politics of translation in this particular cultural context and the Turkish political history. Like Tymoczko, Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva finds the absence of retranslations noteworthy, commenting on the absence of retranslations as a sign of the absence of translations: “The non-existence of retranslations under particular circumstances should be given the importance it merits in translation research. This of course raises a methodological problem, since it is often the existence of things that draws the attention, but not otherwise” (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 138).

As the main core of this study deals with a third period which implies another movement of translation in terms of leftist non-fiction, it will also cover the previous periods, as it is impossible to make such a claim otherwise. If the previous translators are accepted as activists and the previous translations are considered forms of resistance, how are the recent translations and the translators are to be positioned? Are they still engaged in the same political (re)action? Is it considered legitimate to be totally

impartial when translation and publication of leftist non-fiction is in question? This thesis will offer some answers to these and some similar questions.

As the core corpus of this study, six retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto* will be subject to translation criticism as it has been the most frequently retranslated book of the last century into Turkish with over thirty versions. The indirect translations by Süleyman Ege (Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publications, 1968/2009), Muzaffer İlhan Erdost (Sol Publications, 1976/2005), Celal Üster and Nur Deriş (Aydınlık Publications, 1979/2013) from the first wave and the direct translations by Erkin Özalp (Yazılama Publications, 1998/2011), Levent Kavas (İthaki Publications, 1998/2003) and Nail Satlıgan (Yordam Kitap, 2008/2010) from the second wave of retranslations will form the main material cases for the historical analysis.<sup>2</sup> This historical overview will shed light on the choice of the material to be studied and the discourse surrounding these retranslations. The retranslations chosen to be examined can be divided into two groups composing of three indirect retranslations from English dating back to first wave on the one hand and three direct retranslations translated from German from the second wave on the other. The rationale behind this choice is the clash between these two waves of retranslations due to ideological reasons and concerning the source language of the translated texts. To be specific, these two waves seemed to clash over terminological reasons as the retranslations from the 1960s were done from English -a relay language in our case- and the rest of the retranslations from the second wave have been translated from German, which is the original source language. This clash was only the tip of the iceberg. An ideological conflict came to the surface almost simultaneously regarding the

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<sup>2</sup> As all the retranslations above have reprints in the market, reprints are used for analysis in this study and thus the dates of the reprints are provided.

fractions in the Turkish left. The above mentioned translations are chosen to examine the implications of this direct and indirect translation clash on discursive and textual levels. Although the main problematisation of this study- the poor quality of the indirect translations- came from the new generation actor-network composed of translators, editors, publishers and even critics, one should be precautious while approaching this problematisation. The clash between these two sets of translations leads one to question the so-called borderline or secondary status of indirect translations. When retranslation is considered from a descriptive point of view as a process, exclusion of indirect translations from retranslation corpora will create artificial gaps in (re)translation history. As the scope of retranslation - whether direct or indirect pleads for further descriptive analysis, this study intends to explore how this work were translated and retranslated into Turkish over the years. The corpus of *The Communist Manifesto* provides us with solid reasons to argue that the order of publication between the direct and indirect translations depend on the historical circumstances of the target system and the dominance of foreign languages over the target language. Recently, as German started to gain ground over Turkish due to an international Marxist revival, the original German source text has entered a subsequent phase of canonization, and accompanying a strict understanding of fidelity in translations. An inclination to translate from the original source text has come forth. However, as the English translation of the book which was approved by Engels was not considered less significant than the original German source text, a clash between the protagonists of the direct and indirect translations has arisen. Moreover, some translations of the book into Turkish can be considered as consecrated versions because they demand a canonical status in comparison with other versions, which makes the case even more complicated.



With these theoretical concerns in mind, the second chapter of this study will scrutinize the definition and scopes of retranslation and relay translation with a fresh review of the phenomenon in addition to the dichotomy of domesticating and foreignizing translation strategies in Antoine Berman's and the other scholars' ideas on retranslation. Next, retranslation as an indicator of change in discourse and canonization in the target system together with the reflections of voices of the authors, translators, publishers etc. on paratextual material will be reviewed. Afterwards, the methodological framework of the study, which is based on historical/descriptive translation studies, actor network theory, critical discourse analysis and Berman's translation criticism path, will be explained.

The third chapter aims to provide a historical survey of retranslations of the non-fiction leftist books in Turkish from 1921 to 2016 and a literature review summarizing the studies done on retranslation as topic in general in Turkish regarding this genre and the others. Moreover, three cases, namely; the (in)direct (re)translations of *What's to be done*, *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital* that attracted attention to the retranslation as a concept with debates in Turkish will be dealt to provide evidence regarding the circumstances in which (in)direct retranslations evolve.

In the fourth chapter, six retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto* which is the most frequently (re)translated work into Turkish will be examined textually and paratextually. These retranslations are vying with each other in the market seem to be fit for such a descriptive analysis with a view to examining the reasons for retranslations. Berman's translation criticism path will be adopted as a retranslation analysis model and adapted according to the nature of the material in hand. Finally, the finding and the

conclusions which this study suggests will be summarized in the form of a productive criticism in the fifth chapter.



## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 Retranslation or relay

As this study is based on a deviant case between retranslations and relay translations in the field of leftist non-fiction, it is essential to draw the theoretical borders of these two areas of research, which sometimes overlap. First of all, the definition of the term retranslation needs to be discussed in comparison and contrast with relay translation. In Mona Baker's second edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2009), like Paloposki and Koskinen (2010), comments on the term in a more traditional sense, distinguishing it from relay/indirect<sup>3</sup> translations, which are done from a mediating language. She defines retranslation as the act or product of translating a previously translated text from the original source language. Although other scholars like Gambier (1994, p. 413), Koskinen and Paloposki (2010, p. 294) also excludes relay translations from the definition of retranslations, the controversy does not seem to be settled. James St. André, for example, comments on relay translation as a subset of retranslation (2009, p. 230). André, quoting Dollerup (2006) considers relay translation at the limit of retranslation.<sup>4</sup> Martin Ringmar discusses whether relay/indirect translation is a borderline case or a perfectly normal phenomenon so common that hardly noted at all (2007, 2). Thus, exclusion of relay translation from the scope of

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<sup>3</sup> These two terms are used interchangeably in this study.

<sup>4</sup> André even separates indirect translation from relay translation stating that in the first case the translation is not intended for publication. This distinction is first made by Cay Dollerup (2000) and later studied by Kelly Washbourne (2013). But generally, these two terms, indirect and relay translation, are used interchangeably.

retranslation is an evasive way to simplify and standardize the borders of these two terms which otherwise can give rise to complexities.

In order to demonstrate how little attention relay translation has received from critics, theoreticians and historians of translation, André portrays how “disdain and mistrust of translation has been replicated in a disdain and mistrust of relay translation” (Ringmar, 2007, p. 230). Nonetheless, from a target oriented view, relay translations can stand out in their own rights as (re)translations. Ringmar reminds us Toury’s opinion of indirect translations “second-hand translation is not some kind of disease to be shunned, as has long been the dominant attitude” (Toury, 1995, p.129). From a descriptive point of view, the lack or scarcity of works on this field proves the repudiation of the topic (Ringmar, 2007, p.130). Another scholar who tries to destroy taboos against translations from intermediary languages is Kelly Wasbourne. She explains how she adopts a view that is in alignment with Toury (1995, pp. 129-130) in the following words:

T2 [relay and indirect translation] is figured either as a cryptozoological curiosity or as a shameful pathology (...). Toury writes of how the phenomenon has long been characterized as “illness” rather than the more accurate “symptom” or “syndrome”, a “juncture where systemic relationships and historically determined norms intersect and correlate. (Wasbourne, 2013, p. 609)

When the reasons of relay translation are examined, the dominance or prestige of a mediating language is the first and most remarkable underlying reason. In addition, the lack of people who have proficiency in the original source language, economic constraints or the aim to minimize the costs can be listed as subsequent reasons (André, 2009, Ringmar, 2007). When it is considered within translation hierarchies, different conclusions can be drawn from the contexts when a direct translation or an indirect translation is preferred. Ringmar argues “we can also expect ITr [indirect translation] to

occur when acceptability is the dominating translational norm in the target culture (or a part of it); when adequacy is the norm ITr tends to be hidden” (Ringmar, 2007, p. 5). This particular point is going to be discussed in detail in the following pages of this study.

Provided that the original source language starts to gain ground in the international space, relay translations from mediating languages are eliminated most of the time, and an inclination to canonization together with a strict understanding of fidelity accompanies the process. That kind of elimination is not done silently. The target system or the publishing market witnesses the rivalry of direct and indirect translations. This rivalry camouflages the nature of the struggle between direct and indirect (re)translations. At this point, we have to ask whether it is all right to list relay translations as retranslations and examine the dynamics among them. As Rosa, Pieta, Maia write, “historically, ITr appears to decrease when adequacy or source-orientedness prevails, but increase when acceptability or target orientedness prevails” (2017, p. 114). In our case too, due to the canonization of the book, retranslations from the original source language were frequently launched in the second retranslation wave of the non-fiction leftist books in Turkish.

Indirect translations can even pave the way for blurring the sacredness of the source texts. A relay translation can be modified and revised after an editing process that compares the translation with the original source text. In such a case, the end product, a reprint, is a real hybrid version of relay translation, which is capable of forcing the borders of a retranslation. Moreover, the use of multiple source texts, including the original source text and mediating one, is frequently done for marketing purposes, especially when an established relay version from a dominant language exists. A

division between relay translations and retranslation is an artificial easy-cut. In terms of translation history, all the translations of the same text into the same language, whether they are from the original source text or not, should be studied together as they also bear intertextual references among them. Excluding relay translations from retranslations can lead to a disruption in the flow of translation history. As it is difficult to examine the course of retranslations and the evolution of the discourse surrounding them with such a division, relay translations and direct translations are examined together in comparison and contrast to discover the nature of rivalry between them.

## 2.2 Retranslation hypothesis and hermeneutics

Under this heading, I aim to discuss the scope of the so-called retranslation hypothesis and its development. Although the criticisms directed to it by various scholars have been caught in the dichotomy of domestication vs. foreignization for a long time, recent reviews have started to be done in a fashion that translation studies can benefit from.

Whether retranslation hypothesis suggests an understanding of history in a unidirectional move needs to be dealt with systematically and with proper hereuristic tools. Berman's works should be elucidated as an oeuvre to uncover his ideas on retranslation. As a scholar who was affected by German Romanticism and hermeneutic tradition it gave rise to, his hermeneutical perspective to translation had a key role in his development of translation criticism path which can be considered a retranslation analysis model as well.

### 2.3 Retranslation hypothesis and its criticisms

There is an accumulating bulk of studies on retranslation. As it inspired many studies afterwards, Antoine Berman's retranslation hypothesis (1992/1984) deserves a detailed explication. However, it should be kept in mind that Berman did not constitute his ideas on retranslation as a hypothesis. This was done later by other scholars. It was Andrew Chesterman (2000) who first called Berman's ideas a hypothesis in his famous article entitled "La retraduction comme escape de la traduction", published in a special issue of *Palimpsestes* (1990), and went on to discuss the distinction of the first and second translations. Together with the trials of verification, refutation and rebuttal, it created a fertile context for discussions of the concept of retranslation. As Massardier-Kenney stated, Berman, as a thinker of translation, led to an entire discourse with this article alone, and became the most quoted author on this subject (2015, p. 74).

Berman attributes a complementary role to retranslation as he thinks a literary translation can only be complete with retranslations (Berman, 1990, p. 1). He mentions the higher probability of failure of first translations, than the retranslations, and states that retranslation is necessarily born from the desire to reduce the amount of failure (Berman, 1990, p. 1). He implies that a thoroughly accomplished translation or retranslation is out of question. In Françoise Massardier-Kenney's account, Berman mentions that in the aftermath of "blind" and "hesitating" first translation, the possibility of an "accomplished" translation rises, and notes the "lack" and "deficiency" of first translations (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 73). Koskinen and Paloposki also question the idea of deficient first translations because this leads to this assumption of "a linear progress" in the following retranslations (Koskinen and Paloposki, 2010, p. 11). This

claim was also expressed by other scholars (Brisset, 2004, Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, Von Flotow, 2009).

The oppositions directed towards Berman's hypothesis result from the fact that the hypothesis does not have the necessary heuristic tools (Deane-Cox, 2014) and lacks the empirical evidence to prove itself (Desmidt 2009, p. 4). Isabelle Desmidt criticizes Berman's model strongly, arguing that the hypothesis does not have a general value and "may be valid to some extent but only if it is not formulated in absolute terms" (Desmidt, 2009, p. 669). However, in order to make such a conclusive claim, we should be able to refute it in the same empirical fashion with appropriate heuristic tools. It is a long-debated topic and has been subject to some descriptive studies (Mathijssen, 2007, Dastjerdi and Mohammadi, 2013, Pokorn, 2012 and 2014, Susam-Sarajeva, Ş., 2003 among others). The retranslations that are going to be analyzed in the translation criticism aims to do this.

Berman's claim is often considered an overgeneralization and therefore criticized. The conclusion derived from Berman's understanding of translation is reduced to the deficiency of first translations or domesticating translation strategies in the first translations and foreignizing in the following retranslations. However, in the same article, one can pinpoint the core of his hermeneutical turn because he highlights the agency of a passionate and devoted retranslator who appreciates the first translation(s) and learns from them, assesses the socio-cultural parameters in the right way, catches the right historical moment, builds up a true connection with the original text and brings it to the agenda of the target culture (1992/1984, pp. 1-3). These kinds of great retranslations are not very difficult to spot because of the reaction they create in the



target language and culture due to their systematicity of language that makes them compatible with the original works and resistant to aging (Berman, 1990, p. 2).

Desmidt summaries the outlines and claims of Berman's hypothesis as follows:

In Translation Studies there is in fact the so-called retranslation hypothesis according to which retranslations tend to be more target culture oriented than first translations. First translations, the hypothesis runs, deviate from the original to a higher degree than subsequent, more recent retranslations, because first translations determine whether or not a text (and its author) is (are) going to be accepted in the target culture; the text is therefore adapted to the norms that govern the target audience. At a later stage, when it has become familiar with the text (and author), the target culture allows for and demands new translations – retranslations – that are no longer definitively target oriented, but source text oriented. (Desmidt, 2009, p. 671)

This paragraph by Desmidt describes very well how Berman's view was first conceived. However, as Berman designates the goal of constructing a history of translation in retrospect as the first task of the theory of translation, it would be contradictory for Berman to shape his retranslation hypothesis as a "history-as-progress model".

Depending on the writings of Berman, we cannot very easily argue that he is evidently against "the (relative) unpredictability of cultural evolution" (Desmidt, 2009, p.671) or he tries to discover universal truths. In this dissertation too, Berman's "teleological view of retranslation as a unidirectional move towards 'better' target texts" is problematized and critiqued (Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 2, Tahir Gürçağlar, 1992: 233). But in this study also a rebuttal is aimed. Berman's views on retranslation require another reading and interpretation that translation studies can benefit from.

Koskinen and Paloposki write that recent research "has provided ample evidence both in support and in opposition to the Retranslation Hypothesis (e.g. Brisset, 2004, Brownlie, 2006, Paloposki & Koskinen, 2004)" (2010: p. 10). Isabelle Vanderschelden, going one step further, finds evidence in support of Berman's claim in her article "Why

translate the French Classics?: The Impact of Retranslation on Quality” (2000). Here, she attempts to justify how and why the first translations cannot be great. She sees Berman’s view in a broad sense arguing that it is difficult to do something very well when it is done for the first time. She further admits that it is not possible to confirm this plausible hypothesis without descriptive research, maintaining, “the comparative study of several translations of the same ST [source text] can provide an insight into the historical evolution of translation as a process” (2000, 13).

In spite of all refusals of a certain improvement, the scholars accept that there will inevitably be some changes between first translations and retranslations. Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki (2010) list two main reasons for retranslations: ageing and alleged outdated features of the previous translations, and the increased knowledge of the source text and author. However, as these two reasons are very basic and almost always for granted causes, the writers remind us that any case study is therefore likely to reveal a web of multiple causations, which are “rhizomatic” (Koskinen and Paloposki, 2010, p. 10). They state that “rather than a matter of gradual completion, retranslation is a result of shifting needs and changing perceptions” (Koskinen and Paloposki, 2010, p. 10). It is apparent that this is a direct criticism of Antoine Berman as he claims retranslations show the characteristics of “more complete” texts. However, this plain fact is not sufficient to refute Berman’s hypothesis.

The dispute between the adherents and opposers of Berman stems from the concept of history in social sciences. The real question should be whether history is leading anywhere or whether it has any teleological or eschatological characteristics. Once we start to realize the endless, continuing and contemplative features of history, we are left with the change itself. So, it seems futile to search for any order in history.

The only role of history can thus be revealing the social and aesthetic reasons of historic moments and texts. There is a disagreement between Marx and Weber which stems from their understanding of history. George Friedman explains that the history moves beyond itself and abolishes itself from the point of Marx. It does not repeat itself but there is progress in it. On the other hand from Weber's perspective, the order in history is aesthetic and lacks an end because he finds social science contemplative (Friedman, 1986, p. 186).

The negative criticisms expressed against Berman reject the first view, Marx' understanding of history, while showing similar characteristics with Weber's. However, apart from illustrating which social circumstances lead to which results in retranslations, this view cannot serve to any other ultimate purpose. But sorting out the social reasons of an era, which has remained in the past, is not an easy task and will potentially bring about many intricacies. Thus, it is time for us to concentrate on Berman's view from this angle and try to think over alternative readings.

In their reading of Berman's 1992 article, Paloposki and Koskinen (2010) argue, that if there is a cultural gap between the source text and target text culture, the first translations, which function as introductions, follow a domesticating translation strategy. This conclusion can simply be a reflection of the research concerns of translation studies as a discipline, which depends on binary oppositions or dichotomies. Because Koskinen argues that "these two categories are not historically stable: what was once considered foreignizing may later be considered domesticating" (Koskinen, 2012, p. 3). She also tells us, while these two concepts; foreignizing and domesticating, were being absorbed, how Venuti, as the inventor of these concepts, started to use "minoritizing" and

“resistant” translation (Koskinen, 2012, p. 4). Thus the discussion of retranslation is dragged into an even more slippery context. We can certainly not argue that Berman implied a foreignizing strategy as suggested by Lawrence Venuti in 1995. It is true that Berman explicates the words “das Fremde” and “die Fremdheit” (Berman 1992/1984, p. 154), but not “foreignizing” in his 1985 article. He could have inspired Venuti, but we cannot assume that he meant to designate the borders of the concept of foreignizing the same way Venuti did. We have to keep in mind that Venuti’s 1995 book, the *Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, was published a decade later. Kaisa Koskinen writes that the boom of discussion concerning these terms, which are taken as binary oppositions, took place in the 1990s (Koskinen, 2012, p. 2). Furthermore, neither Berman nor Venuti nor any other scholars provide us with a scale to measure the degree of foreignizing and domesticating features of a translation. On the other hand, it is questionable whether all translation is domesticating in its essence and foreignizing in terms of its inspiration. Berman is criticized by Annie Brisset as “lack” or “inachievement” is essential for any translation or human act (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 76). She tries to undermine the binary oppositions; lack of accomplishment in the first translations vs. eternal glory of the great translations.

### 2.3.1 Domesticating vs. foreignizing in retranslation

Moreover, we can question if “complete” in Berman’s terms necessarily means “foreignizing”. The idea of translation changes depending on the ages, thus every era has an understanding of an ideal translation, which is relative to its own time. Berman opens a path distinct from the dichotomy of “domesticating” vs. “foreignizing” translation or treason vs. fidelity as he writes in the introduction of his 1984 book (Berman, 1992/

1984, p. 3). Whatever choice s/he makes, s/he may always be suspected of a crime or at least an offence for making either choice. Rather than getting stuck in a dichotomy, Berman tries to explain how multilingual the atmosphere of translating is, and how much it is embedded in the histories of nations, which are motivated by narcissistic resistances (Berman, 1992/ 1984, p. 2).

It is also essential to critique Venuti's understanding of the foreignizing translation because he got involved in Berman's works by translating him. Translating Berman's article, "The Trial of the Foreign" (2000/1985), must have been influential for Venuti and could have played a remarkable role in his criticism of the fluent, readable translations that create an illusion of transparency (Venuti, 1995, p. 1). His translation precedes his 1995 work, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, and proves how deeply he internalized the author he translated. Berman describes very clearly that the negative analytic of a translator primarily underlies ethnocentric, annexationist and hypertextual translations in which deformations are fiercely exercised (Berman, 2000/1985, p. 242). In a similar vein, Venuti pinpoints the final ethical responsibility of the translator as "to prevent the translating language and culture from effacing the foreignness of the foreign text" (Venuti, 2004, p. 36). Both of them find the foreign elements of source texts valuable and they are in favor of retaining them.

Furthermore, in analogy with Berman, Venuti asserts that retranslations are designed to challenge the former translations of the same work (Venuti, 2004, p. 32). It is apparent that Venuti was inspired by Berman's work at least as a topic as he later writes the article titled "Retranslation: The Creation of Value" (2004). Furthermore, in his article, Venuti describes translation as a "value-creating process" that leads us to

reconsider our own values and subsequently change them in a way (2004, p. 25).

According to Venuti, all retranslations mirror their producers' intentions, which are articulated according to a different set of values than the prior translations (2004, p. 29).

However, he clearly expresses that the values retranslations create are likely to be domestic, and that both the translator of a work and its previous translators deploy these values (Venuti, 2004, p. 25). From his point of view, the values that the retranslations create are "doubly domestic" when they are compared to the values translations' create (Venuti, 2004, p. 25).

Another aspect of Venuti's article (2004) that shows similar characteristics with Berman is his approach towards history. Making clear the historical link every translation has with its own time, Venuti emphasizes the historical understanding that is a prerequisite for modern hermeneutics, which formed the contextual base for Berman's comments on retranslation as well as translation history. Detecting discursive strategies as a way of revealing historicity of translations he tells us that "translations are not merely historical in their affiliations with a specific moment, but historiographical in their effort to signal and rationalize their differences from previous versions through various narrative genres and often through a mixture of them" (Venuti, 2004, p. 35). He elaborates on the time gap; "the passage of time" (Venuti, 2004, p. 35) that retranslations try to mark to distinguish themselves from the previous translations. This gap is often indicated in the form of several discursive translation strategies and stylistic devices such as archaism. Moreover, he emphasizes the intertextuality between translations and retranslations.

Venuti also explains how retranslation can be effective in identity formation of a group and acquisition of a group's values. Moreover, the retranslation can maintain or

challenge a certain text's interpretation among the members of a special group (Venuti, 2004, p. 26). He foresees an intertextual reference among various versions of the same work and a network among agencies that play a part (Venuti, 2004, p. 27). Although Venuti is considered to be in favor of Berman's idea of progression in the retranslations in general, he tries to point out the existence of social reasons or cultural political agendas behind translations as well as "aesthetic motivations" (Massardier-Kenney 2015, p. 74) and increasing self-consciousness of the retranslators. We should also note that from Venuti's viewpoint retranslators always enjoy "a greater visibility", which can explain the "impression of a wave" of retranslations (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 75).

As the reasons of retranslation cannot be reduced to aging of the earlier (re)translations or temporal improvement in the quality, which would lead us to the teleology of perfection, the subject deserves a deeper look, which can penetrate into the historical and socio-cultural aspects of the matter. Otherwise, all the studies will be drowned in the dichotomy of being old/outdated/grotesque or new/revised/avant-garde. Sharon Deane-Cox explains the complexity of the subject in her book *Retranslation: Translation and Literature* by looking outwards from the text and placing emphasis on the socio-cultural factors as the driving force behind the shape and substance of retranslation (Deane-Cox, 2014, p. 7). She writes:

Retranslation resists easy delineation, marked as it is by a mercurial inconstancy with regard to frequency, behaviour and motivations. There is usually no discernible rhythm to retranslation, with intervals between the appearance of new target texts ranging from the sporadic to the periodic and simultaneous. Nor are the unique dynamics of retranslation straight-forward to unravel, for the practice yields multiples of one which relate not only to the source text but also to each other. To this already complex configuration can be added those socio-cultural factors which facilitate or obstruct retranslation in particular contexts and at particular moment. (Deane-Cox, 2014, p. 1)

However, revealing the socio-cultural reasons would not be enough from a scientific perspective if we do not have the aim to discover the inherent nature of the phenomenon in itself and as a part of translation. Researching the socio-cultural reasons does not mean that the researchers should totally turn their back on the texts, the real bodies of retranslations. Rather, translation studies scholars are very much aware of the fact that the texts and *outer texts* require digging if we have the aim of discovering the socio-cultural motives of the retranslations. Hence, we need a macro- and microanalysis for the most reliable results. For such a microanalysis Berman provides us with a framework in his translation criticism path. As it is appropriate to consider the whole corpus of a writer's works as a complete body just as the definition of the word "oeuvre" implies, we can apply Berman's translation criticism path to test his ideas on retranslation. Both of his works *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany* and *Towards a Translation Criticism: John Donne* indicate how much attention he attributes to German Romanticism and modern hermeneutics, while he was proposing both his retranslation hypothesis and translation criticism model. There are helpful insights about retranslations in his translation criticism path. Nonetheless, we do not have a retranslation criticism model, which could shed light upon a descriptive analysis.

### 2.3.2 Berman's hermeneutical approach to (re)translation analysis

Berman tries to explain German Romanticism with all of its conflicts, creative potentials and impressive characteristics. His writings make us question if it is a way of simplification or rationalization to make use of solely Schleiermacher's lecture "Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens" (1813) as a representative of the concept



of translation in German Romanticism. Furthermore, we cannot leave the rest of the inhomogeneous features of German Romanticism and hermeneutic tradition it gave rise to. Making a judgment of this period in the frame of our contemporary perspectival understanding of translation is not very appropriate. He tends to put forward a psychoanalytic hermeneutic approach to examine and criticize a translation, being conscious of historical discourses that surround the writer and the translator. The translator analysis he suggests starts from the exploration of the era the translator lived in because a psychoanalytic hermeneutic analysis by definition is based on the real circumstances of the period the translation is done.

Furthermore, in Berman's idea "successive retranslations" determine the very life of a translation in a language. Thus, retranslation analysis is a hermeneutic process in his view. Siobhan Brownlie notes that according to Berman "the improvement in retranslations is realized as the successive translations come closer to conveying the essence of the source text" (Brownlie, 2006, p. 147-148). That can mean a survival in a better-articulated language and in a different form that encapsulates, despite opposing, the former perspectives. In a way Berman believes in the incompleteness of (re)translation (Berman, 1990, p. 2), which is a very humble and realistic view, and he believes in the collective force in/of a community that would merge in the search for a meaning. It is expected if a handful of retranslations appear in a certain era that the translators are likely to approach to a better understanding of the source text because they will be likely to enter into an atmosphere of reading, rereading and discussion, which can be helpful for the understanding of the source text. Each and every reiteration will contribute to the effort to make the work intelligible to the target readership up to a certain extend. These translators, hand in hand with the other cultural intermediaries,

such as the publishers, editors and critics, who trigger the publication and circulation of the translation, will shape the psyche of the era. The translators of the later translations will obviously be at a more advantageous starting point than the previous ones because they are most likely to be aware of the previous translations and have the opportunity to make use of them unless they deliberately deny them. That can be the reason why Berman assumes there will be an improvement from one translation to the next. This comment makes his theory seem like a history in progress model and give rise to criticism.

However, it should be kept in mind that when Berman is talking about successive retranslations, he assumes that the translators of these retranslations will be of a similar frame of mind as they come from the same era or familiar historical contexts. It is generally accepted that an ideal translator is supposed to make a research of the previous translations under ideal circumstances. Thus, an attempt to analyze retranslations of a certain work will serve to expose the principles of retranslation, and this is what Berman does with his criticism of John Donne. In Berman's own words: "the very life of the translation lies in the unpredictable plurality of the simultaneous or successive versions of the same work" (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 78). From a certain point, this statement makes the revitalizing role of each and every retranslation more evident. Although the term "great" translation is abstract, we can at least assume that they are the ones read widely in the target community and create an effect on the readers. Moreover, as Isabelle Vandershelden notes, not all retranslations can be great. A retranslation, which makes use of the knowledge accumulated through various and abundant translations can be great (Vandershelden, 2000, p. 11). However, this does not necessarily nullify the fact

that various versions of the same text can potentially complement each other if the concept of retranslation is examined synchronically. She also reminds us that, according to Berman, various great retranslations coexist when the retranslations are examined diachronically (Vandershelden, 2000, p. 12).

Berman's "retranslation theory" is very insightful as it draws the lines of retranslation not only as a self-standing act, but also as a process. Choosing a process as the object of material is a very well calculated initial step from a descriptive point of view. In this way, the researchers find themselves in a time span, with a certain starting point and an end, embedded in a historical context. They can point out the specific features of each and every retranslation as well as commenting on the general features of the process, both of which will contribute to the development of the theory.

Berman also defines the features of the time span in question starting with a first translation followed by the retranslations and a canonical one as follows:

First there is a courageous 'introduction' without literary pretension (usually for those studying the work); then comes the time of the first translations with literary ambition – they are generally not complete translations, and as is well-known, full of flaws; then come the (many) retranslations... Eventually a canonical translation may be produced which will stop the cycle of retranslations for a long time. (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 42)

When the process of retranslations comes to an end temporarily with a canonical retranslation, he assumes that there will be a time gap until another cycle of retranslations begins. From that perspective, the next cycle can start with its own strengths and weaknesses, presumptions and biases, which will require further solutions. In a way, he tries to tell us the historical relativity of each retranslation cycle to its time. Moreover, he does in no way make an assumption regarding how long a circle might

last, or when a canonical translation might appear, which can create any conditioning on the researchers.

Emphasizing the inevitable drive to change/translate and get to know the other cultures, Berman considers “cross-breeding” between languages indispensable although it is violent. He agrees German Romantic poet Johan G. Herder to resemble a language or a culture that has not been translated to a young virgin and finds the idea “as fictitious as pure race” (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 4). He questions more creative potentials of translation than a mere reading or criticism of the original text, such as; “revealing another side of the text”, “potentiation”, “regeneration”, and “the power to awaken” (Berman, 1992/ 1984, p. 7). Instead of building walls based on metaphysical ethical purposes, like surrendering to or denying the ontological superiority or inferiority of one’s own language or the other language which can lead to hatred of one or other kind, he suggests surpassing unrealistic ethics and presents “the desire to establish a dialogic relation between the foreign language and the native language” (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 9). Berman argues that the essence of the drive to translate is always “a refusal of the indigenous well-being of language” or to see what the mother tongue is deprived of (1992/1984, p. 8). Just after this awakening that comes after the motivating force of translation, the translator admires the linguistic wealth of the foreign work and language. This endeavor to achieve the potential of the foreign tongue can be, what Berman calls, “translational mimesis” which is the outcome of a natural drive of translation (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 8-9).

In Berman’s description of “ideal translation”, the reader should be able to see the borders of self and the other or the translator and the author in the translation. As he clearly expresses on the first pages of his book, the aim of translation is “diametrically

opposed to the ethnocentric structure of every culture, that species of narcissism by which every society wants to be a pure and unadulterated whole” (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 4). Venuti in his 1991 article entitled “Genealogies of Translation Theory: Schleiermacher” points out Berman’s inclination towards translation ethics. He explains that Berman turns to Emmanuel Levinas’ ethics of “the other” against ethnocentric translation. According to Venuti, Berman declares the impossibility of communication of a source text as a whole by way of translation (Venuti, 1996, p. 127). Rather, translation can be a representation of the other in one particular way. Therefore, it is natural that the discourse that surrounds a retranslation highlights the novelty it manifests. Various retranslations mean a versatility of manifestations or representations in a determinate discourse.

In analogy with Venuti, Massardier-Kenney aims to show the iterable characteristics of a literary text’s retranslation as emphasized by Berman. She claims that Berman has an expressive conception of literature rather than a mimetic or teleological one (2015, p. 76). While examining the causes of this claim, she refers to a paradigm shift in the nineteenth century German philosophy put forward by Johann Gottfried von Herder. According to Herder, “...thought is considered dependent on language and a word’s meaning depends on its usage, not on predetermined ideas or concepts” (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 76). In other words, the translation of literature is not assessed with its closeness to the source text, which could be associated with a mimetic mode of translation or a closed space of meaning, but unique but mutable understanding of a reader who is caught in his/her perspectival understanding. Therefore, repetition, iterability and reiteration can become instinct characteristics of a retranslation in a translational space or tradition. With constant revisions and reversions,

a retranslation's sophistication and scope is apt to change, and this view makes coexistence of rival and conflicting versions in a target system possible (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 77). Massardier-Kenney comments on the singularity of any translation that makes the source text open to new contexts. In a way, she intends to indicate Berman's idea of translated text that is in conformity with Derrida's understanding of literature in his interview "The Strange Institution Called Literature" (1992), not as a "closed space" of meaning but as "an inventive experience" (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 76). Furthermore, Berman makes use of Goethe's concept of *Weltliteratur*, which makes the relation with "the other" more welcoming and respectful, rather than "one of refusal, or of misunderstanding, or of disfiguring or parodistic annexation" (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 64). He attributes special importance to Goethe's concepts of participation, mirroring, rejuvenation and regeneration and even influence, focusing on the connection of it with the disease influenza (Berman, 1992, p. 65).

Berman does not only provide us with a theory of retranslation on the macro level, he also provides with a criticism model on the micro level both in *Towards a Translation Criticism: John Donne* (2009/1995) and "The Trial of the Foreign" (2000/1985). In the former book, he states that he uses a post-Heideggerian hermeneutics and Benjaminian critique (2009/1995, p. 5) while he proposes a Cartesian and psychoanalytic analytic of translation. He aims to discover "the tendencies or forces that cause translation to deviate from its essential aim" (2000/1985, p. 286) by wiping out the strangeness of the foreign both in the above-mentioned article. In *The Experience of the Foreign* (1992/1984) Berman agrees with the argument prevailing among German

Romantics that translation should expand the mother tongue even if it does this at the expense of unnatural reading:

In reality, however, the translating drive leaves any humanist project far behind. Polytranslation becomes an end in itself, the essence of which is to radically denaturalize the mother tongue. The translating drive always starts off with a refusal of what Schleiermacher has called *das beimisches Wohlbefinden der Sprache*- the indigenous well-being of language. The translating drive always posits on other language as ontologically superior to the translator's own language. Indeed, is it not among the first experiences of translator to find his language deprived, as it were, poor in the face of the linguistic wealth of the foreign work? (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 8)

As stated earlier, Berman was fascinated by German Romanticism. Modern hermeneutics was founded on the idea that every era has its own psych, and every historical period will be restricted to its own perspectival understanding, which is called "historical contextualization" by Wilhelm Dilthey in his essay "The Rise of Hermeneutics" (1972). The same idea can be traced in Gadamer's idea of *horizon*. Berman thinks that any translator produces an interpretation of the source text from the junction point of his own agency and era, which is called his *horizon* as proposed by Hans-Georg Gadamer. In his book *Truth and Method* (1975), which is an important contribution to modern philosophical hermeneutics, Gadamer was inspired by Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time* (1927) and his ontological understanding. In other words, modern philosophical hermeneutic and language philosophy were very influential on Berman while he was developing his criticism model. For Heidegger and many language philosophers in German Romanticism, language plays a significant role in our understanding as it unveils the true being of a human. Therefore, language is considered an expression or exposition of the existence of a person. Yun and Lee take Berman's translating subject as "a specific being-in-languages" (218) following his comments in *Towards a Translation Criticism: John Donne*. They try to point out Berman's figure of

the translator who accepts others and appreciate their differences. Thus they offer Berman's idea of translation as a way to open up and clarify a world in a different language, which saves the *foreign* from the position of an object that should be domesticated (Yun and Lee, 2013, p. 209-212).

Massardier-Kenney addresses Heidegger's understanding of translation and how it is integrated into Berman's understanding of translation. From Heidegger's perspective<sup>5</sup>, the process of translation is a double binding between "the language of saying" and "our mother tongue" and makes a thoughtful dialogue, or a hermeneutical process, obligatory for the translator (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 80). In Massardier-Kenney's account, Berman's retranslation is "the site where he attempts to rethink the Western metaphysical tradition through an engagement with an unfamiliar way of representing things" (2015, p. 81). Heidegger takes translation as a representation of a text and the presence of "Being" that the translator needs to cross over. While retranslating, a translator tries to understand the preceding translations and translators whose understandings are represented in their translations (Massardier-Kenney, 2015, p. 81).

Berman agrees with Heidegger's idea that every translation is an interpretation, which is the core idea in the modern hermeneutics. Seung Woo Yun and Hyang Lee examine the hermeneutic turn Berman went through in his writings (2013), especially in *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany* and *Toward a Translation Criticism John Donne*, his last books written in the last months of his life. Yun and Lee elucidate Berman's argument that to translate is to reveal and to

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<sup>5</sup> The "Anaximander Fragment", translated by Friedrich Nietzsche in 1873, was retranslated by Heidegger. Through the translation of this essay, Heidegger tries to reveal the stakes of retranslation.



manifest. In other words, translators unveil the world that the source text refers for the readers. Accordingly, Yun and Lee argue that Berman defines the emergence of a world as the core essence of the work (Yun and Lee, 2013, p. 210). In parallelism with Jena Romantics' ideas on translation, Berman believes that translation requires understanding and criticism or, put another way, translation is omnipresent in all understanding and criticism (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 86). As translators' perspectives are shaped ontologically, the readers see the text and the source text writer from their angle.

Apart from the mentioned philosophers, Walter Benjamin had an undeniable influence on Berman. However metaphysical it sounds, "messianic echo" (Benjamin, 2000) is a metaphor Berman resorts to break down the notion of the secondary or ancillary position of the translator (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 7). He concentrates on the power of the translator who is capable of either spreading the word just like a messiah, raising or muting the volume of the echo a text creates. He considers translation of a work as "a new original" (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 30) in the "Überleben" of a text, which is not a metaphor, but an objective stage of the "continued life" of the text (Benjamin, 2000) or its survival. Criticism of a translation makes this goal eligible by finding a translation "legitimate" as a work to be criticized and worthy of attention. As Massardier-Kenney, as the translator of his work, argues, Berman illustrates us the way to use translation criticism as a way of "dignification" (Berman, 2009/1995, p. xii).

Berman takes translation as an encounter of the translator with the source text author. Thus, Berman warns us against the dangers of "a fusion" a translator can go into with the source text writer as follows: "There is the threat of falling into the purely Indifferentiated, of mortal fusion with Immediacy. This is precisely the danger mentioned by the third version of 'The only one'" (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 164). This

warning or implicit criticism could have been directed towards Gadamer's idea of "fusion of horizons" (*Horizontenverschmelzung*), which was argued in his book *Truth and Method* (Gadamer, 1975, 302). According to Gadamer, while we try to understand a text we read it from our horizon, and our horizon gets mingled with the author's in our understanding. However, Berman neglects to inform us about the importance Gadamer attributes to historically effected consciousness that requires discovering a writer's horizon or intention in a regulated way. This can be just because he takes it for granted that any understanding requires a hermeneutic process, which starts in the author's historical position. Otherwise stated, the hermeneutic practice tries to solve understanding, interpreting and application which form a unified process with the awareness that every text preserves a "horizon" caught in its own historical point. As it is impossible to form a horizon of the present without a horizon of the past, the hermeneutic practitioner (who is a translator in our case) constantly encounters the past for intellectual cultivation or historical "Bildung" (Gadamer, 1975, p. 305).

However, the constant formation of a leftist discourse is only possible through a retrospective and thorough understanding of the tradition in addition to its reinterpretation. Only in this way, will the movement be able to find an opening in the present. In Berman's view, every translation is an attempt to fill a gap in a culture and this gap can only be filled with the translation of the whole oeuvre of a writer. After several attempts in various forms like adaptations and criticisms, a tradition comes to life in a space of translations. The tradition he mentions is "a long-term collective task" (Berman 2009/1995, p. 42, footnote 26) and depends on migration and mutations. He proposes the examination of each of translational spaces to find out the specificity and global characteristics of them. Thus, a great retranslation is such a remarkable

translation in a translational space that, it should have established its place in a “literary heritage” (Vandershelden, 2000, p.14) and should be very well known to the target readers.

The real and more important question we should ask is whether it is possible to reach a thorough understanding of the source text that will lead to revelation and disclosure of its essence as Berman implies. Berman can be considered an author influenced by Romantic hermeneutic tradition, as he believes in the existence of an essence intended by the author in the source text. However, every era finds an essence relative to its own characteristics, and this approach is still in complement with Berman’s admiration of the German Romantics, such as Humboldt, Hölderlin, Schlegel, Goethe<sup>6</sup> and Schleiermacher.

In this light, it is not surprising to see that he incorporates Heidegger’s and Gadamer’s ontological understanding into his theory in the form the agency of the translator. In his 1992 book, *The Experience of the Foreign*, the translator, Heyvaert informs us about Berman’s special interest in the German term “*Erfahrung*”, and how it exceeds the borders of English verb “*experience*” (Heyvaert, 1992, p. vii). Berman’s “*L’Epreuve de l’étranger*” is the French translation of Heidegger’s term “*Die Erfahrung des Fremden*” he used while he was writing on Hölderlin. Through the relationship between the self and the foreign, the experience of the foreign opens the foreign (the text and the author) to the self, who is the target readership and culture from the point of translation studies. He explains the second meaning of “the trial of the foreign” as revealing “the most original kernel of the work, its most deeply buried, most self-same,

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<sup>6</sup> For the influence of Goethe on Berman, see Desmidt (2009, p. 679).

but equally the most ‘distant’ from itself” (Berman, 2000/1995, p. 284).<sup>7</sup> Yun and Lee explain Berman’s understanding of translation as “unveiling” a concealing truth, which is an application of Heidegger’s “aletheia”, an ancient Greek word for unconcealment or truth. They reflect on Berman’s understanding of experience as follows:

For Heidegger, to undergo an experience of the language is to allow it to pass directly through our existence. Berman wanted to apply this existential stance of Heidegger directly to translation, which is defined as an encounter with “the foreign”. The foreign is no longer merely the object that must be domesticated. (Yun and Lee, 2013, p. 2009)

Berman informs us how different cultures “contemplate themselves in the mirror of others” (1992/1984, p. 64) rather than captivating the other. Goethe’s version of Hegel’s mutual recognition still bears the struggle of inter-subjective recognition that is the main core in Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit*, which will give rise to consciousness through experience<sup>8</sup>. Berman puts this into the space of world literature, claiming that “foreign literatures become the mediators in the internal conflicts of national literatures and offer them an image of themselves they could not otherwise have” (1992/1984, p. 65). The interaction between Hegel and Goethe becomes clear with the references Berman makes to the welcoming term *Weltliteratur* used in order to overcome the rejections and misunderstanding and even disfigurements of the other.

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<sup>7</sup> The depth of the influence German Romantic movement made on Berman is described by Desmidt with the terms “Volk”, “Sprache” and “Kunst”, and these entities are considered inseparable. Thus in the Romantic period, it was unnatural to translate as if the source text writer was from the target culture (Desmidt, 2009, p. 271).

<sup>8</sup> We should note that this enriching fertile encounter with the foreign, “experience” as a term is first introduced by G.W.F. Hegel (1807). This experience is bordered within content and obtained from it. Consequently, it turns into the knowledge and raises an awareness/consciousness. As the founder of the philosophy of history, Hegel considers humans as historical subjects, which is a groundbreaking view in his time because he opposed the Enlightenment ideals of timeless absolutes and universals. For Hegel the historical subject acts and experiences in a historical inter-subjective communal space. Hegel’s historical view has been a passage towards philosophical hermeneutics (Özlem, 1998).

However, Berman in no way applies Heidegger's concept of "Dasein" (being there; in the world or existence thrown into the world) to his translator (Yun and Lee, 2013, p. 210). One reason for this avoidance can be Gadamer and Heidegger's reluctance to provide a methodology for hermeneutic practices. Thus, their philosophy cannot provide the methodological tools to enable understanding of translators or translation processes.

#### 2.4 Retranslation as an indicator of change of discourse and canonization

Retranslation can indicate a change in ideological discourses in different historical contexts. Therefore, discourse analysis will be the ultimate methodological tool for this study. It is possible to find a study on the acts of a group, namely those translators who take part in social, cultural or ideological activities. Discourse analysis proves the reciprocal relation between the discursive and linguistic levels of texts. Thus, this study will be based on an analysis of the works produced by translators who are members of various ideological groups, and CDA will be a tool to do this supporting Berman's translation criticism model.

As Teun A. Van Dijk states, it is possible to bridge the notorious divide between the social and the individual (Van Dijk, 1997). He claims a link between the micro- and the macro-participants of a discourse who are individuals and group members. He argues that groups act "through" their members (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 30). The same is true for the cognitive dimension: groups think through their members. Thus, ideologies of groups organize domain-related group beliefs, which in turn influence the beliefs of their members and finally form the basis of discourse. We, thus, relate a macro-notion such as

group ideology to the micro-notion of the discourses and other social practices of its members (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 31).

In that light, the survey I have done in the field of non-fiction leftist books displayed the tendency of translating from the original source language in the retranslations done after the 2000s instead of from a relay language. Whereas the retranslations of the 1960s, particularly regarding Karl Marx's books, were translated from English, most retranslations (fourteen retranslation out of twenty-five translations of *The Communist Manifesto*) of the second retranslation wave are translated from German. Apart from these two contrasting tendencies, we see that the initial translations were either from French or their source languages are not stated. However, as the numerous retranslations after the 2000s imply, canonization inevitably forces the tradition to evolve towards this choice of the original source language, German, rather than relay languages, English or French, and more conservative translation strategies indicate this. Thus, a new meme of translation, translating from the original source language, started to be practiced, displacing the translations from English - a previously dominant relay language with regard to Marx's works.

The corpus of *The Communist Manifesto*'s retranslations gives us food for thought in comprehending the "indicative and formative role" (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006) retranslation plays in the transformation of Turkish leftist discourse in this unusually productive period. In the introduction to her book Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva explains these two roles in the following words:

Translation indicates how the system views itself, what its needs and expectations are and how it handles "interferences" from other sources.  
Translation and translator patterns - such as text selection, publication dates of individual translations, translators' professional profiles and agendas, selection of

terms - together with the meta-discourses accompanying translations, reflect and reveal how the source texts and authors are received in their environments. Yet apart from being just a symptom, translation also plays a formative role (Hermans 1999:143) in the migration of literary and cultural theories. It shapes and transforms the images of writers and texts, influences the receiving system's attitudes towards importations and contributes to the development of local (critical) discourses and terminologies. (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 1)

When we compare her thoughts with Venuti's 2004 article, it is impossible to deny his influence on her. Venuti argues that retranslations "reflect changes in the values and institutions of translating culture, but they can also produce such changes by inspiring new ways of reading and appreciating foreign texts" (Venuti, 2004, p. 36). Susam-Sarajeva explains this argument under the heading of indicative and formative role of retranslations. She adds that literary theories do not travel on their own, but often under the name of well-known writers. With this comment she introduces the concept of travelling theory. She writes that:

Retranslations do not arise only when the existing translations are deficient/ assimilative / adaptive / literal, etc., when the readers' attitudes, tastes and competence change. They may also emerge as a result of a struggle in the receiving system to create the local discourse into which these translations will be incorporated. (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p.138)

This argument explains the reason behind the abundance of the retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto* after 2000. As I have already mentioned, retranslations of the same books, being launched one after another, signaled something extraordinary in the local context, changing leftist discourse or a change of values in leftist discourse. The reprints of the translations in the first wave of retranslations were engaged in a struggle with the new retranslations on ideological and textual grounds. On the other hand, the same signal could be read as an endeavor to create a change in the target culture or form another angle of understanding that could lead to a different intellectual accumulation among the readers of the most recent generation of the leftist works.

While examining the corpus of *The Communist Manifesto*, Anthony Pym's categorization of "active retranslation" and "passive retranslation" can be helpful. He calls the versions of the same text separated by synchronic-geopolitical and dialectological boundaries as passive retranslations because he thinks there is likely to be "little active rivalry" among them - "little disturbing influence" on each other (Pym, 1998, p. 81). He calls the retranslations sharing the same cultural location or generation "active retranslations". However, in the corpus of this study, it is hard to make a sharp distinction between active and passive retranslations as reprints of the passive retranslations. Various translation criticisms relating to the newly produced retranslations constantly cause the old translations to come to the fore by making plentiful references to them in the form of comparisons and contrasts. In fact, it is really hard to call these translations passive because their translators and publishers try to consolidate their place among other recent translations. Moreover, reprints and re-editions of the earlier, almost fifty-year-old retranslations, constantly bring them to the readers' attention and revive them together within their historical contexts. The historical process the translations of the book went through is quite heroic, almost epic, due to the part they played against oppression. Pym's comments on this point are very relevant because he argues that whereas re-edition would tend to reinforce the validity of the previous translations, retranslation strongly challenges that validity. He argues that a comparison between passive retranslations (i.e. first + subsequent translations) would tend to provide information about historical changes in the target culture and thus affirms the general hypothesis that target-culture norms determine translation strategies (Pym, 1998, p. 83). He continues as follows:



The comparative analysis of active retranslations, however, tends to locate causes far closer to the translator, especially in the entourage of patrons, publishers, readers and intercultural politics (although not excluding monocultural influences from any side). The study of active retranslations would thus seem better positioned to yield insights into the nature and workings of translation itself, into its own special range of disturbances, without blindly surrendering causality to target culture norms. (Pym, 1998, p. 83-84)

Certainly, the researcher needs to be ready to come across a variety of causes that explain the motives of the translators as agents.

Susam-Sarajeva agrees with Anthony Pym's idea that retranslations are not "necessarily the consequence of 'ageing' translations or 'changing times', since more than one translation of the source text may come about within a very short time" (Pym, 1998, p. 82-84; Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 138). Apparently, a descriptive view to translation studies as a field comes to surface in her approach to retranslations because she thinks what makes a text likely to be translated is the needs and the attitudes of the receiving system. She considers retranslations as "a multiple entry visa" (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 138) into a system, and in that case, it is only the receiving system that gives this privilege. Subsequent retranslations in a short period indicate changing reader profile in these words " ...- these retranslations demonstrate the spiral-like and vertiginous 'evolution' of the indigenous literary critical discourse" (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 139)

Apart from these points, there is one aspect of retranslations that Susam-Sarajeva refers to: the terminological discussions. In her opinion, terminological discussions about the retranslations are also indicative. Regarding Roland Barthes' retranslations she remarks that their retranslations "proliferated while suitable counterparts for these terms were being suggested, debated, rejected and accepted, and retranslations continued until the 'modern' Turkish literary critical discourse itself settled down with a rather more

stable terminology” (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 139). In parallelism with her view, we see that there are several terminological discussions in the form of translation criticism concerning *The Communist Manifesto* in Turkish, which indicated a shaping discourse.

What is more, the abundance of the retranslations in such a short span of time can be considered as an indication that the work is being canonized in the receiving system. *The Communist Manifesto* is starting to be considered as a foundational work for the readers of Marxist or leftist literature in Turkish. Thus canonization in this work will be dealt as a process during which the reading practices of the whole readership, including the critics, reviewers, and scholars, is established and stabilized (Elhadji Oumarou, 2007, p. 1). Although Marx and Engels’ book was already preliminary reading material for an international readership, its legitimization as a classic in the target culture faced many handicaps and its status was found negotiable because it was among the banned books in Turkish for many years. Only in the 2000s was its status as a canonical work consolidated and several retranslations of the work were launched, as well as many indigenous works and supplementary material that accompanied these retranslations. In other words, it paved the way for the generation of further works as a literary canon usually does (Sela-Sheffy, 2002, p. 141) and this assisted the legitimization of the work itself.

As the status of a classic often promotes further retranslations (Venuti, 2004), this specific case illustrates how interdependent retranslation and canon<sup>9</sup> formation are. The results of the discourse analysis illustrate the fact that the work, written initially to

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<sup>9</sup> From the point of Piotr Wilczek, “A canon may be defined as a collection of key works of literature; it can refer to philosophical, political, and religious texts that a particular society has come by consensus to regard as foundational” (Wilczek, 2012, p. 1687).

function as a party program, shows the characteristics of a canonized work and even of a holy text in its translations. Many publishing houses launched new retranslations or re-editions of *The Communist Manifesto*. However, we cannot assume that all of them were inspired ideologically. As canonicity brings popularity, the pie grows, and many people would like to have a slice. Venuti describes the nature of the relation between commerciality and canonicity in a way that can also shed light to the scope of this study.

A commercially oriented publisher may decide to issue retranslations of foreign canonical texts that have fallen into the public domain simply because of their canonicity ensures a market demand and they are cheaper to publish than copyrighted texts, which require the purchase of translation rights from a foreign author or his assignees. Hence an ideology of commercialism will govern the selection of a foreign text for retranslation and dictate a discourse strategy that enhances the readability of the translation to ensure sales. A Publisher driven by a profit motive may in fact wish to save the expenses of commissioning a retranslation by reprinting a previous translation that has proven itself in the market-place, even in a revised version. (Venuti, 2004, p. 30)

As Ovidio Carbonell states in the article “The Exotic Space of Cultural Translation”, a process of canonization would imply a shift to more conservative translation strategies (Carbonell, 1996, p. 72). In agreement with Carbonell, Javier Franco Aixelà considers “literary promotion” of a text as a factor that requires a conservative; a much more “respectful (source-oriented)” retranslation strictly prohibiting the condensation (deletion of parts) of a source text (Aixelà, 1996, p. 69). Likewise, Susam-Sarajeva makes a few remarks on canonization giving reference to Paul de Man on the relation between translation with criticism and literary theory.

The translation canonizes, freezes as original and shows in the original mobility, an stability which at first one did not notice. The act of critical, theoretical reading performed [...] by literary theory in general- by means of which the original work is initiated or reproduced but is to some extent put in one motion, de-canonized, questioned, in a way which endures its claim to canonical authority- is similar to what a translator performs (Deman, 1985, p. 35; quoted in Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 10)

At this point, it is appropriate to ask whether the retranslators of *The Communist Manifesto* who are Marxist critics aim at the de-canonization of the previous translations.

The whole corpus of retranslations chosen for this study serves to the growth of local leftist discourse, equipped with a more complete and stable terminology, and into which the whole network of the former and recent translations and the subsequent leftist writing can be incorporated. This discourse is enriched with multiplicative retranslations, which sometimes have a reiterative role as Deane-Cox argues (2014, p. 1-3) or an alternative logic behind them that would save them from being redundant. Retranslations of this intellectual, political and historical document repeat and inculcate alternative critical readings of the same canonical work. In order to prevent deconsecration and over-familiarization, each retranslation and reprint revitalizes the work with novel paratextual material and various readings. The amount of the retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto*, which were launched in the last fifteen years, outnumbers the retranslations done in the past. This statistic indicates the fact that the work has been canonized. Moreover, the second retranslation wave of the recent years indicates that the leftist discourse is being rejuvenated and another canonized version of Marx's work is required at this historical moment.

## 2.5 Paratextual material and voice in retranslation

Ideological concerns of the translators and publishers are strongly coded in the paratextual materials. These materials can also indicate what kind of a discourse change is taking place in the target culture. Therefore, a paratextual analysis can be thought of a

prerequisite for a critical discourse analysis. Likewise, a translation criticism is likely to start with the material that accompanies the main body of the text, which is the basic level of a critical discourse analysis. According to Genette, the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public (Genette, 2001, p.1). They can be examined under two subcategories- the *epitextual* material such as reviews, criticisms, critical essays and comments and *peritextual* material inside the volume of the text in the form of footnotes, prefaces, glossaries and other commentary articles. Gürçağlar criticizes Genette as he takes translations as paratexts. In parallel with her criticism, translations will be dealt as texts in their own right in this study (Gürçağlar, 2002, p.46). Paratextual material can also reveal the differences and novelties in the retranslations. The new and conflicting features of the retranslations are first announced to the public via paratexts as they constitute the outer level. Moreover, the reception of a text can be revealed in the peritextual and epitextual material surrounding the text which provides a multi-layered opening to the characteristic of the translated text. In various forms of paratextual material, various voices can be heard.

Retranslations are also fertile for those who wish to study voices because it is helpful to establish the relations between all intra-textual, extra-textual and inter-textual voices that emerge in various forms in the translation product including the paratextual material and the main body of the text. Cecilia Alvstad and Alexandra Assis Rosa distinguish two main types of voices in translation studies: textual and contextual (Alvstad & Rosa 2015, p. 3-4). According to this classification, textual voices are those of the narrator's, characters', and the translators' textually manifested voices. The voice of the translator is difficult to manifest in the translated text, and thus more often than

not, it remains unnoticed by the readers unless translator makes himself or herself visible in specific sections like, biographies, translator's notes, prefaces, footnotes, endnotes etc. The voices of the authors are kept exempt from this classification, but one can argue that narrator's or translator's voice represents the author. Contextual voices, on the other hand, are voices of the multiple agents that produce, promote and write about translation. The editors', reviewers', proofreaders', commentators', and critics' voices can be considered among those. The corpus of the retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto* into Turkish is a case of multiple authorship and translatorship (Jansen & Wegener, 2013), which means that one can find a variety of textual and contextual voices in it. Thus, this study will explore those who have been involved in the translation and their influences in the paratextual material in the translations as well as the voices of its first and second authors which become predominant in specific sections and extracts. Furthermore, thanks to the participations even in the form of online blog debates or social media, sharing in addition to the efforts of real cultural intermediary people like translators, editors, publishers, critics and all the actors with a certain ideological consciousness, the existence of the translations and retranslations were announced to Turkish readership, and the debate topics were disseminated. Moreover, the dialogue took place in a multilingual context as Berman refers to with Western space of "colinguism" (Berman, 1995/2009, p. 40) with many languages.

## 2.6 Historical and descriptive studies

Gideon Toury (Toury 1995) and Itamar Even-Zohar (2010) paved the way to descriptive and historical translation studies. As translation studies as a discipline anatomizes the formation of a culture repertoire with imports from other systems, it provokes culture

research which is possible by way of descriptive studies. The corpus of retranslations of the non-fiction left books gives us concrete evidence for the formation of a culture repertoire and its dynamics.

Having the aim of founding an empirical science as well as testing and modifying the theory, Toury suggests setting well-defined corpuses and methodological tools for descriptive studies. Translation history has been a sub-discipline that undertakes numerous descriptive studies and creates a meta-analysis in order to legitimize translation studies' scientific existence. In a very short while, Pym (1998) has established the link between translation history and translation criticism. The ties he mentions are explicit because he takes translators as the heroes/heroines of the translation history and considers agencies of them at the core translation criticism.

As Theo Hermans argues in *Translation in Systems*, a translation studies scholar will inevitably face the problem of assessing translations or commenting on the relationship between different translations, including their relative merits (Hermans, 1999, p. 6). The translation studies scholar should approach such a problem from a descriptive and empirical point of view and use appropriate methods to define it systematically (Hermans, 1999, p. 55). Therefore, methodologically, this thesis is a historical-descriptive study. As Lambert and Van Gorp put forward, descriptive studies “suggest a systemic scheme that avoids superficial and intuitive commentaries and a priori convictions” (Munday, 2008, p. 121). I intend to draw the borders of this study by working through a critical discourse analysis and actor network theory and produce a multiple case study based on a catalogue of (re)translations of the leftist non-fiction produced in the Republican period until 2016 as a means of historical descriptive analysis.

As research on translational phenomena depends on descriptive studies, translation theories can be tested and verified only by way of descriptive analysis. The reciprocal relationship between the theoretical and descriptive branches, which is illustrated by Gideon Toury and James Holmes, is a concrete reason to conduct a descriptive study (Holmes, 1988, p. 173, Toury, 1980, p. 64-65). In Gideon Toury's words "an empirical science is initially devised to study, describe and explain in a systemic and controlled way that segment of the real world which it takes as its object" (Toury, 1985, p. 16). Depending on the findings of descriptive studies, general patterns and regularities can be anticipated. In a similar vein, this study is a systemic and controlled description and explanation of the (re)translations of leftist works. One of the most common examples of descriptive studies is the study of a corpus of translations and their source texts in which explanations for the findings are proposed. Likewise, this study is an empirical and historically oriented research that aims at describing the earlier and more recent retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto* among other retranslations of non-fiction leftist books into Turkish in the Republican era in a constantly evolving discourse.

In his 1998 book, *Method in Translation History*, Anthony Pym (1998) was very critical towards James Holmes' map that describes his conception of translation studies. Pym criticizes the map as translation history does not find a place in it. On the other hand, Pym thinks the research areas Holmes called descriptive are indeed historical. According to Pym "it [the map] delineates no ground for any specific theory of translation history nor for historiography as a way of applying and testing theories" (Pym, 1998, 5). Moreover, he criticizes Gideon Toury for seeing Holmes' map as a mandatory orientation for any work in translation history and for translation studies as a



whole. Anthony Pym has a methodological approach that requires an integrity as well as reciprocity between translation history and translation criticism, and it this integrity, which constitutes the methodological basis of this study.

Anthony Pym recommends three basic branches for translation history; translation archaeology, historical criticism and explanation. Translation archaeology requires complex detective work and it serves other areas of research. It questions who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect (Pym, 1998, p. 4). From his point, while archaeology does not have any pejorative implications, historical criticism is a very unfashionable and perilous exercise. This area of research would assess what history looks like by describing the way translations help or hinder progress. Pym suggests historical criticism to determine the value of a past translator's work in relation to the effects achieved in the past (Pym, 1998, p. 4). The last branch of history, entitled "explanation" by Pym, asks the question why, and thus it is concerned with the causation of data collected in other branches. It has a lot to do with power relations. This last field, historical criticism, has a particular importance for Pym because it is within this field, translators as social actors can be discovered. Pym thinks when a history ignores the causes of historical incidents; it will miss the human dimension in the process of change (Pym, 1998, p. 5). For this reason, this study aims to focus on the humans as actors of history and translations as witnesses of the process whether it is progressive or not.

## 2.7 Actor network theory

The integration of agents into translation history is a topic of great interest in translation studies. One of Anthony Pym's critiques is directed towards the absence of human

actors in the Holmes's map. As he elaborates in his article "Humanizing Translation History", Pym believes that people deserve to be given their place back, which was taken from them by system-based translation studies (Pym, 2009, p. 23). In accordance with Pym's criticism, this study will discuss the role of the translators as actors of social discourse in a network of cultural intermediaries. Various papers discuss the potential ways of deploying network analysis in descriptive studies that are designed to contribute to translation historiography. Moreover, there is an evident tendency to emphasize the human role, which retranslators play, among many scholars who study retranslation (Ekmekçi, 2008, Sancaktaroğlu Bozkurt, 2014, Koçak and Aydın, 2017). This tendency originates from the fact that any retranslation tries to distinguish itself from the previous ones with a claim of difference while it tries to legitimize its publication. This endeavor, which is a favorite subject, makes the retranslators' as well as the previous translators' agency even more visible, while making the studies of retranslation foregrounded on the translator's agency.

The active part various agents play in the above-mentioned network needs to be problematized. Actor-network theory (ANT) will be appropriate methodologically to discuss the nature of this network because "ANT makes use of the simplest properties of nets and then adds to it an actor that does some work" (Latour, 1997, p. 3). Latour describes this claim in the following words:

More precisely it is a change of topology. Instead of thinking in terms of surfaces - two dimension- or spheres -three dimension- one is asked to think in terms of nodes that have as many dimensions as they have connections. As a first approximation, the AT[actor-network theory] claims that modern societies cannot be described without recognizing them as having a fibrous, thread-like, wiry, stringy, ropy, capillary character that is never captured by the notions of levels, layers, territories, spheres, categories, structure, systems. It aims at explaining the effects accounted for by those traditional words without having to buy the ontology, topology and politics that go with them. AT has been

developed by students of science and technology and their claim is that it is utterly impossible to understand what holds the society together without reinjecting in its fabric the facts manufactured by natural and social sciences and the artefacts designed by engineers. As a second approximation, AT is thus the claim that the only way to achieve this reinjection of the things into our understanding of the social fabrics is through a network-like ontology and social theory. (Latour, 1997, p. 3)

Though Latour does not provide a model for the competences an actor presumably has, he nevertheless puts the actor in a central position in ANT. In his own words, “instead of constantly predicting how an actor should behave, and which associations are allowed a priori, ANT makes no assumption at all” (Latour, 1997, p. 7). From Latour’s perspective an actor plans and designs ontologically (Latour 1997: 5). The actor in a network is very similar in this sense to Berman’s translating subject because an ontological perspective can clarify his actions. This aspect of the theory can be considered strength as it prevents theory from becoming dogmatic and gives an indefinite freedom to the actor (Latour, 1997, p. 7).

Hélène Buzelin in her article “Agents of Translation” argues that the notion of network “emphasizes that the translation process is not a linear progression but rather unfolds in a recursive, looping, expanding or even, to use a Deleuzian term, rhizomatic movement” (2011, p. 9). Buzelin attracts attention to the collective nature of the translation process as well as the hybrid character of the translation agent. As regards the structure-agent relationship, actor-network theory maintains the casuality of the decisions made during the translation process and the connections between the actors who make decisions.

Likewise, in her article “Chaos Before Order: Network Maps and Research Design in DTS”, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar proposes to use mapping networks to overcome the chaotic atmosphere of the interaction among agencies who have

internalized or challenged the norms valid around their own translatorial habitus with the aim of better contextualization of social entities (2007, p. 727) in spite of the fact that Latour warns against such use (Latour, 2005, p.144, 168). Instead of a sheer abstract theorization, Tahir Gürçağlar thinks we can learn better from the interactions among various elements that can form a map of translational phenomena in a particular space and time, which might have remained in the blank spaces of the field. Although she rejects the notion of centrality among social entities, Tahir Gürçağlar makes use of social entities as gateways (2007, p. 729). Her study is an egocentric one (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 614) as its focal point is Altın Kitaplar publishing house and its four translations by four different translators. She finds ANT methodologically appropriate to find room for broader research into the translator's agency and translation process from multiple perspectives whether linguistic (empirical) or critical (post-structuralist), as recent works on triangulation in translation studies as a field imply.

Translators take part in production networks that bind translating firms or publishing houses. Translated texts can be taken as expressions of such relationships between agencies that are parts of larger production networks (Buzelin, 2004, p. 729). In their article "Managing Trust: Translating and the Network Economy", Kristiina Abdallah and Kaisa Koskinen (2007) presume the existence of some nodes in a network and links between translation nodes. Hubs are described as multiple nodes in the networks, which are composed of densely connected agencies. They agree with Albert L. Barabási (2002) on the vital importance of having a linkage to one of these nodes and hubs in order to survive in the hierarchical relations among the members of a community that is connected to a social network. Veteran members of a network who collaborate in a node can be very harsh and offensive towards new members who happen to be linked

with a rival node or vice-versa. I think the rivalry between such two nodes does not necessarily prevent them existing in the same hub though. On the contrary, a contradiction and even aggression have also the potential to bind these publishing houses to some rivals and allies, and such conflicts bear their own creative and fertile potentials in it. In our case, a member of the first wave retranslations, the Ege version, was in clash with one of the second wave retranslations, the Satlıgan version. Ege and Erdost were politically connected allies whereas Satlıgan was collaborating with Özalp for some other work in Yordam Kitap Publishing house. The other two translators, namely; Üster & Deriş and Kavas were comparatively impartial but they cannot be considered totally isolated from the network. Üster & Deriş version went through a lawsuit like the Ege version, which carries this version to the level of consecration. Kavas version on the other hand is known for its own peculiarities in terms of its language and the agency of the translator who is a philosopher.

This study will be built upon a network among humans and artefacts; the translators, publishers, critics and the translations because we can comprehend history through the examination of the artefacts produced by human actors. As the actors and producers of history, human actors create and produce artefacts (translations) and communicate with us from a context surrounded by artefacts. Thus, the most intriguing aspect of this study is hidden in the relations among the actors, including those working in the publishing houses as social institutions, and translations as artefacts or non-human actors in the process. The network between the translations of the first and second periods inevitably includes the people who took an active part in the translations and publication of the translations. In other words, the network of the retranslations is based on two actor-networks, which are not in cohesion but which clash.

The nature of the relations between the two waves of retranslations can be illustrated very effectively in a network. ANT will be very helpful to shed light on the (re)translations of the leftist works in Turkish because as Hekkanen puts it, “the approach focuses on describing actual states, without a felt need to fit these into pre-scribed categories or develop them into general theories” (Hekkanen, 2008, p. 9). It starts from a locality instead of starting from universals. ANT will provide room to explain how the actors and the artefacts interact and whether their individual characteristics can be fit together to form collective choices and preferences especially in terms of the reasons for publication.

In his article “A brief Overview of Actor-Network Theory: Punctualization, Heterogeneous Engineering and Translation”, Darryl Cressman (2009) tells the way ANT confuses the readers and potential users of it by overcoming the dichotomies of agency vs. structure, human vs. non-human, content vs. context (p. 1). Due to these characteristics, it can be called a frustrating and unique approach, which makes us use of many oxymorons. Cressman finds it intriguing, on the one hand, due to its potential to question ideas taken for granted. On the other, he finds it so liberal and democratic that it has no “other” (Cressman, 2009, p. 1-2). The potential users of ANT are spread around various disciplines because it can be used in various ways, and it is impossible to reduce it to one universally applied procedure. According to Cressman, “ANT argues both human and non-human actors can be understood within a network wherein their identity is defined through their interaction with other actors” (Cressman, 2009, p. 3-4). ANT defines a network heterogeneous because its actors can be human or non-human although non-human actors like texts and institutions have different status. However, it

is necessary to examine the development of ANT in network theories and its potential contributions to translation studies from a historical perspective.

## 2.8 Network studies and ANT

In their article “Connecting Translation and Network Studies”, Deborah Floran and H el ene Buzelin (2007) state that the development of network studies in the social sciences first started with methodological concerns. They attribute the origins of social network analysis (SNA) to social psychologist Jacop Moreno (1934) and its development to Manchester School of Social Anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s. The studies started in small communities and spread to urban settings (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 611). Social network as a notion was an escape from more deterministic approaches which were in analogy with Marxism and based on social classes for the researchers in agreement with this school, but there was another branch developed by Harrison C. White which is called “new economic sociology” (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 611). In the 1970s the research field had been established to a great extent. By the end of 1990s, it had been divided into two main groups; namely formalists and structuralists. While formalists used the analysis of a social network as an end in itself focusing on the form of the networks rather than the content, structuralist used it as a method to carry out further research on other subjects (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 612). In the structuralist network tradition, individual actors of the networks can be viewed as the focal points, and thus the studies in the structuralist tradition are termed egocentric while the formalist tradition is more sociocentric (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 614). ANT is, therefore, both a theory and method. In this study it is going to be used as a method rather than a theory as it is treated from the structuralist perspective because

this study does not aim to contribute to social network theory but use it as a means to an end. Moreover, this study is egocentric because it takes retranslations of leftist non-fiction in Turkish as a node and the corpus of *The Communist Manifesto* as its focal point.

The emergence of Actor-Network theory (ANT), which is now known as the sociology of translation, took place in the late eighties (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 614). Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law were the founders of ANT. This theory had some post-structuralist characteristics because it brought two opposing concepts together, “network” and “actor”. It found a middle way between agency/social structure debates. It does not concentrate on winners or losers and it treats nature and culture equally. Buzelin (2005) describes Latour’s understanding of ANT as a set of techniques and a method rather than as a theory. Latour describes a network as follows:

A network notion is ideally suited to follow the change of scales since it does not require the analyst to partition her world with any priori scale. The scale, that is, the type, number and topography of connections is left to the actors themselves. The notion of network allows us to lift the tyranny of social theorists and to regain some margin of manoeuvres between the ingredients of society - its vertical space, its hierarchy, its layering, its macro scale, its wholeness, its overarching character and how these features are achieved and which stuff they are made of. (Latour, 1997, p. 5-6)

This overarching character of ANT makes it prone to new research areas and prevents stratification among the disciplines involved. As Cassandra S. Crawford notes (2004), network is conceived as a heterogeneous amalgamation of textual, conceptual, social, and technical actors. She defines them as “processual, built activities, performed by the actants out of which they are composed” (Crawford, 2004, p. 1).

Therefore, ANT analyses or provides a method to analyze how networks overcome resistance, become stronger and gain stability and inner balance through



juxtaposing and converting elements (Crawford, 2004, p. 2). As a theory, it foresees that a human or non-human actor's power, status or influence cannot be permanent.

Likewise, Cressman (2009) thinks size, power and influence are effects performed by others towards an actor and their performance is not permanent. The influential actors realize the illusionary character of their power, only when people stop obeying them (Cressman, 2009, p. 5).

While mapping partial social networks in its concern, social network theory has created its own concepts like transitivity between nodes, reciprocity in two-way relationships, asymmetry in one-way relationships, bridges to link sub-networks, density and cohesion among cliques of a network. Convergence, alignment, coordination and irreversibility between nodes and links in a network are also terms relating to it. An actor can be on the periphery or center and even become a sociometric star in a central node (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 613), but it does not make this particular actor necessarily more significant than the other actors in the network.

ANT deals with translation as a social practice and translators as individuals who are members of societies despite their marginal status and help societies to form social realities with translations. According to Crawford, ANT suggests that the work of science is not fundamentally different from other social activities (Crawford, 2004, p. 1). For this reason, it gives priority to neither natural realist nor cultural social constructivist methods as scientific production. Instead, it takes science as a process of heterogenous engineering. A network is an organization wherein entities such as people, institutions and artefacts interact. Evaluations of networks can contribute to their evaluations of these. In a network, we first note the connections and then describe the nature of

connections. It can be an ideal tool to examine heterogeneous associations and power relations.

On the other hand, Latour reminds us that ANT “has very little to do with the study of social networks” (Latour, 1997, p. 2). However, the networks he mentions are different from “technical networks” such as train networks, telephone networks and computer networks because technical networks are products of engineering and have final and stable states and compulsory paths and strategical nodes (Latour 1997, p. 369). Social networks, on the other hand, engage in the social aspects of human relations. Their actors are individuals rather than groups, institutions or larger social units (Latour 1997, p. 369).

Hélène Buzelin (2005) differentiates the actor-network from these two other kinds of networks, which are social networks, and technical networks. Actor networks are composed of human and non-human actors and they are revealed only when they are activated being unsure of the results. Therefore, they emphasize the process of the networks. Buzelin explains them as follows:

Actor-networks should not be confused with technical or social networks. According to Latour (1997b), actor-networks encompass human and non-human actors, i.e., anything that can induce, whether intentionally or not, an action. As such, they are partly distinct from social networks. Actor-networks also differ from technical networks because, unlike the latter, they are not necessarily stable; they “may have no compulsory paths, no strategically positioned nodes” (Latour 1997b: 1) In other words, whereas technical networks (e.g., electrical, rail, etc.) appear as a given structure that can be extended- hence as something that can be mapped- actor networks can only reveal themselves when activated. By highlighting creativity and unpredictability, both concepts, that of actor-networks and that of translation, point to the difficulty of reifying the process by which (scientific) facts and artefacts are produced, hence the need to analyze this process from the inside, to observe how actors make decisions and interact while still unsure of the outcome, i.e., when the risks of failure are still present. (Buzelin, 2005, p. 197)

Thus, a translation, which is an artifact and non-human actor in the network of non-fiction leftist books, binds many human actors including translators, publishers, editors, reviewers and critics. With thirty-eight translations from various languages, *The Communist Manifesto* has become a focal node in this network. Marxist books can be considered as a hub while the existence of other hubs like socialism, communism, anarchism and feminism in this special network is also very visible. However, the interaction in this multi-hub network is a very broad subject and can be examined through various case studies.

One last point, to which scholars attribute importance, is that ANT takes translation as a metaphor (Folaron and Buzelin, 2007, p. 615). Abdallah (2012) clarifies that translation in ANT is not equivalent to the general concept of translation. In a network there is always a conflict to gain a focal status or authority and to persuade the other actors to accept this authority. In order to convince the other actors, a translation (in the sense of the negotiations, trials of persuasion and even violence to convert them) takes place. In ANT, translation is also used as a metaphor to conceptualize the differences among various disciplines from information theory to myth in terms of methodology. Cressman thinks translation appears as a conceptualization frame for the processes, which contribute to and result from the relationship between the social and the technical (Cressman, 2009, p. 9). Noel Carroll probes the concept of “translation” in ANT in his article, “A Bureaucratic View of Public Service Innovation”. From his point of view, “translation is a complex view of interaction (Carroll, 2014, p. 123). Carroll sets four main phrases in “translation” which he defines as the creation process of an actor-network, as did Callon in his 1986 work (Carroll, 2014, p. 124). A translation process starts with the problematisation of a feature of the network. Defining a problem brings

the opportunity to propose a solution to it. In the second phase; interestment, the actants - the objects or people who have the power to influence and encourage one another towards an objective- convince the other actors to confirm this problematisation. Those having the same interests align with these actants. In other words, they accept the problem defined by the focal actor/actant. In the following phase; enrolment, actors in a network set out to achieve interests defined by the focal actor who is surrounded by actant allies. This is a negotiation phase at which an actant tries to persuade the other actors to accept the new actor-network. In the last phase; mobilization, the focal actor or actant, ensures that it/he/she represent other actors' interests.

In the case of *The Communist Manifesto*, the problematisation was not done by one individual actor. The source language of the first wave leftist retranslations was problematized in the second wave of retranslations. It was generally accepted in the network of leftist non-fiction that the translations from relay languages led to some poor quality translations and ideological misconceptions in the target culture. The problematisation attracted the attention of many readers, reviewers and critics. This opinion was so widespread that most of the translations of Marxist books were mainly done from the original source language in the 2000s. Translating from the original German source text was an obligatory passage point to satisfy the needs of the target system. The ideological discourse embedding the controversy was a part of the negotiation phase of this “translation” in terms of ANT. As most of the translations were done from the original source language between the years 1998-2016 which comprised the second wave of retranslation of the book, this requirement is set as an “obligatory passage point” (Carroll, 2014, p. 125). In the last phase, mobilization; the focal actant - Satlıgan version in our case study- declared an intentional consciousness in

the paratextual material emphasizing the necessity of the translation of *The Communist Manifesto* from German on the 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the original text's first publication. However, this does not mean that the English version translated by Moore and approved by Engels was denied by the second wave of retranslators, because this English version was the source reference text for the prefaces and footnotes and it was also canonized from this aspect.

Whereas the retranslations in the first wave were done from English and compared to the original German text, the translations in the second wave were done from German and compared to the English version. Thus, translating the main body of the text from the original German source text, providing the prefaces and the footnotes translated from the English version and comparing the translation to the English translation of the source text became an “immutable mobile” (Carroll, 2014, p. 125). The emphasis has shifted from the English version to the original German text in the second wave of retranslations. All in all, the second wave of retranslators examined in this work started a “mobilization” which has continued until now because translating from the text from the German original source text has become a collective objective.

## 2.9 Critical discourse analysis

The ultimate methodological tool of this study is going to be a critical discourse analysis (CDA) as it can reveal the ideological aspects of the discourse that was created with the translations of the non-fiction leftist books via the change and evolution of discourse that comes with the retranslations. The ideological load these translations carry is my first reason to choose discourse analysis as a method. Even the choice of the material to translate is quite ideological as it reflects the inclinations and aims of the translators, editors and publishers as social agents who are ideologically motivated. In her work *Apropos of Ideology*, Maria Calzada Pérez states how discourse analysis has increasingly become interested in the textual or discursive manifestations of power structures and ideologies (Calzada Pérez, 2014, p. 3).

CDA provides us with the most appropriate tools to examine the research area of this study; Turkish leftist discourse in the context of *The Communist Manifesto*, as discourse is “inherently tied into politics and formulations of policy” as Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997) argue. Fairclough and Wodak claim that the distinctive characteristic of CDA is “both that it intervenes on the side of dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups and that it openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it” (1997, p. 259). From this standpoint, a critical reading aiming at CDA goes beyond the borders of hermeneutics. The comparison between these two fields is indicative of the idea that they are thought to be related. CDA teaches us to read/interpret what is written and not written, thus it carries our understanding one step further.

In the realm I would like to study, the political and ideological stances of the intermediary figures are predominant. The analysis of the translations and retranslations

of non-fiction leftist books will point out how ideologies travel between cultures and nations, and how they create different discourses. I think the period of the first translations, which was interrupted by the military coups, is very much to the interest of discourse analysis since these translations offered a certain frame and draw the borders politically. I would like to scrutinize whether these translations are initiated by analogous political and ideological aims.

Furthermore, CDA helps us to discover the socio-cultural and political dimension of the translations and retranslations since it implies a dialectical relationship between the discursive side of the translations and the situations, institutions and social structure which frame it. Undeniably, these works introduced a discourse and shaped it. However it should be kept in mind that they were the result of a discourse, too. Fairclough and Wodak think discourse is “constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transform it” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, p. 258).

The dialectical relation between the society and discourse has also been discussed quite elaborately by Fairclough and Wodak (1997). They argue that discourse is constitutive as well as socially shaped and explain the relationship between socio-cultural change and discursive change:

Discourse constitutes society and culture, as well as being constituted by them. Their relationship is a dialectical one. This entails that every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, p. 273)

Another point, which is certainly going to contribute to this study, is the Marxist roots of the theory of ideology and its account of class relations. As Fairclough and Wodak argue, ideologies are “particular ways of representing and constructing society which

reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation”

(Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 275). Additionally, they remind us that critical discourse analysis has been developed within “Western Marxism”, and language practices are shaped in accordance with economic, political and institutional objectives. They support the idea that:

Critical discourse analysis applies to language types of critical analysis which have developed within “Western Marxism”. In broad terms, Western Marxism has given considerably more emphasis than other forms of Marxism to cultural dimensions of societies, emphasizing that capitalist social relations are established and maintained (reproduced) in large part in culture (and hence in ideology), not just (or mainly) in the economic ‘base’. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 260)

In this sense, discourse analysis as a method very much overlaps with the nature of the corpus I would like to study. The context in which these works are embedded provides the necessary cultural and political background to understand the paratexts, namely; introductions, prefaces, footnotes, glossaries and the critical essays and reviews.

Fairclough’s approach is rooted in Marxism, and it is especially powerful because of its transdisciplinary nature. Moreover, neither does it give a to-do-list nor one single way to analyze a text. Rather, it stimulates language awareness and consciousness towards the social dimension of language use (Tenorio, 2011, p. 190).

Fairclough and Wodak distinguish six main types of discourse analysis as follows:

French discourse analysis (e.g. Pêcheux); the discursal-historical method (e.g. Wodak); Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive school; Fairclough’s emphasis on socio-cultural/discursive change; social semiotics (e.g. Kress) and critical linguistics (e.g. Fowler). All of them use slightly different tools and methodologies for their work. (Peréz, 2014, p. 2)

Here, I will adopt a discursal-historical method (or discourse historical approach - DHA) together with socio-cultural/discursive change because the time span in the



historical analysis of this study covers almost a century ending in 2016. In addition, I find both of these types relevant to Berman's translation criticism model because he recommends examination of successive retranslations over a time span. Moreover, according to Berman, the translator of a great work catches the right moment and appropriate timing to produce a translation which can make it known and appreciated in the target system (Berman, 1992/1984). The translator does not necessarily act in the straight jacket of socio-cultural parameters according to Berman. He calculates the timing of the translation. Thus, the translation has the most effective rhetorical influence on the audience. *The Communist Manifesto* was frequently translated by many translators in this time span. As timing has vital importance, it would be appropriate to scrutinize which translators or publishing houses caught these opportune moments via discourse analysis.

Despite the fact that the notions of ideology, power and critique are constitutive notions of all the above listed discourse analysis types, Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak declare that "the DHA adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008, p. 87). They argue that language has the power to maintain power. DHA tries to make the observers notice that linguistic and semiotic practices mediate and reproduce ideologies, which usually fight for dominance. While doing that, DHA usually depends on an apriori definition of ideology as a worldview (a set of values, opinions, (a)political approaches and similar attributes) shared by members of a group. However, Reisigl and Wodak remind us that the discourse "is never a closed unit but a dynamic semiotic entity that is open to reinterpretation and continuity" (2008, p. 90). Moreover, texts cannot be studied outside of their contexts, which are parts of

discourses. They bear certain ties between other texts and are constantly recontextualized and decontextualized which creates hybrid discourses. As it has already been stated, DHA provides the most appropriate strategies to observe how Turkish leftist discourse has been evolving via retranslations. As a methodological principle, DHA requires a problem-oriented ethnographic work and the conducting of a multidisciplinary research. It uses various accessible sources of data and an analytical perspective. Since it has interdisciplinary historical aims, a range of observation theories and methods can be integrated into DHA. This multifaceted methodological approach is called triangulation (Reisigl & Wodak 2008: 89). In the borders of triangulation, translation history, sociology and criticism can find a place for themselves.

#### 2.10 Berman's path to (re)translation criticism

In the second retranslation project carried out at Boğaziçi University, entitled “A Descriptive and Critical Look at Retranslation: Retranslated Works in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey”<sup>10</sup>, (2013-2016) in which I had the privilege of being a participant, I did the essential archival digging of the “archaeological” part, which Pym's model (1998) requires. In chapter four, I will examine the case of *The Communist Manifesto* while I try to answer the question why this work was retranslated so many times. Since his recommendation offers the skeleton for the translation criticism part, I will follow Berman's path. Methodologically, I will apply a retranslational hermeneutical criticism model to the corpus of *The Communist Manifesto* translated by a

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<sup>10</sup> The first retranslation project carried out at Boğaziçi University Translation and Interpreting Studies between the years 2011 and 2013 was entitled “Bibliographical and Analytical Research Project on Retranslations in Ottoman and Modern Turkish Societies Turkey”.

network of various agents. Over thirty retranslations of *the Communist Manifesto* into Turkish in a time span of a century have revealed that the work has gone through several interpretation phases in Turkey. The political discrepancies and the ideological clash between the publishers and the translators and the criticisms of the translations have made it evident that none of the retranslations were motivated merely by literary aesthetic concerns. While the historical embedment of recent (re)translations gives clues for a new phase in its interpretation, translation studies vehemently require a criticism model to draw the outlines of the retranslation and built a sound skeleton for description. As the translators unveil the meaning of a text for the target readers through their translations, every retranslator can be accepted as a hermeneutical practitioner who tries to find a version, which offers a more complimenting interpretation of the source text to its recent historical context.

I propose to test Berman's retranslation hypothesis (1992/1984) integrated with his translation criticism model (2009/1995) to this special corpus as it is very insightful to take translation as a hermeneutical act and retranslations of a certain book as a hermeneutical process. As an author influenced by the Romantic hermeneutical tradition, Berman thinks there will be a progress of understanding from former translations to more recent ones as translators cannot ignore the previous translations intentionally. In other words, interpretation and re-interpretation of a text will create a stimulation to re-think the text in the target culture. On the other hand, while every era has the potential to create its own canonical retranslation, the canonicity of a translation will be relative to its time because it will elucidate an aspect in the text that comes forth temporarily and will inevitably fade away until another one replaces it. *The Communist*

*Manifesto*, which fosters constant revolutionary understanding, is stunningly appropriate to observe the conflicting ideological approaches in the target culture.

In this study, Berman's model will be followed, except the stage entitled "the reception of the translation" as it will exceed the borders of this study. After the readings of the original, the translating position and the translation project are going to be held together under the title of "horizon" as Berman states in his work, these are in turn caught in the horizon (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 62). It is obvious that Berman's definition of horizon, borrowed from modern hermeneutics, reflects the fundamental concepts of hermeneutics such as experience of the world, of action, of de-contextualization and re-contextualization (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 64). Thus, it is a broader concept that can cover the translating position and even translation project. Berman asserts "the horizon can be defined as the set of linguistic, literary, cultural and historical parameters that determine the ways of feeling, acting and thinking of the translator" (2009/1995, p. 63). As the commissioner's horizon of the translation project is most probably shaped by similar parameters and integrated into the translator's, the project and the translating position become mingled in the horizon of the translator's. In his definition of horizon Berman tries to be inclusive of the norms of the socio-historical context of the translation as well as the translator's agency. Still, "horizon" remains an all-inclusive term, which Keith Harvey criticizes as follows:

The question, then, is inevitably left open as to what exactly is to be considered part of a translation's horizon and, crucially, what is not deemed as a relevant part of the horizon. The notion "horizon" immediately, then, creates its own intractable problems of inclusiveness and boundary. (Harvey, 2003, p. 47)

Harvey concludes that a horizon is clearly conceived of as an endlessly deferred limit, which is, in the end, synonymous with the very limit of our powers of observation.

Similarly, Yun and Lee write that Berman's notion of horizon, the world of the translator, can be objective and/or subjective, positive and/or negative simultaneously (2013, p. 217).

Moreover, the expectations of the readership which can be taken as part of the horizon is another matter to be exploited, because readers can either shape the translatorial act or be disappointed by the translators. Harvey scrutinizes the topic as follows:

In short, then, "horizon of expectations" allows an escape from the perceived determinisms of various structuralisms and functionalisms, while nonetheless permitting the relative degree of closure that is necessary if the critical project is to gain a handle on the question of the contextual influences on the translator's work. The fundamental ambivalence of the term- encoded profoundly in the metaphor of "horizon" itself as both perceived yet illusory limit- is careful not to exclude the factor of influence and the causality, but powerfully suggests that it be supplemented with an interactional dimension allowing for agency; that is, in Fairclough's terms, that the text be seen as an event traversed not only by the forces of determinism but also, crucially, as a carrier of the forces of innovation. (Harvey, 2003, p. 48)

With these words, Harvey explains how horizon can be interpreted as a term that allows agency within a set structure. Likewise, if we accept translation as a process and undeniably as "the product of a fractured and multiple type of human agency" (Harvey, 2003, p. 45), it is going to be easier to ground the retranslations of non-fiction leftist books after the 2000s.

The translating subject in Berman's mind can make mistakes. This aspect of his approach makes the translating subject more human. Thus, he recommends finding out the reasons and systemacity that lead the translators to these mistakes. The terms Berman formulates to identify the translations with bad analytic or negative translation methods, which he calls "deforming tendencies", are listed among twelve items in his article "Translations and the Trials of the Foreign" (Berman, 2000/1985, pp. 288-297).

These tendencies cause the translator to be exposed to ethnocentric forces. Berman considers that these kinds of “deficient translations” can hinder the trial of the foreign or prevent the readers from understanding the source text author. His textual analysis is directed towards finding out the linguistic evidences underlying the approach of the translator. It aims to dig out the textual psychoanalytic evidences of distortions in the retranslations. He proposes a “Cartesian” and “psychoanalytic” model to examine a translation and calls it the “analytic of translation”. This model is designed to analyze the tendencies or forces that cause a translation to deviate from its essential aim (Berman, 2000/1985, p. 286). Yun and Lee (2013) consider this as an attempt to discourage the translators’ from arbitrary readings/interpretations and a way of regulating the translating subject. Therefore, the hermeneutic process is not left at the mercy of the intent of the translating subject. However, Berman makes it clear that more categories can be added or more than one category can be studied under a single heading according to the nature of the translation that is being criticized. This analysis model is very practical in revealing any deviations of the retranslations of the book I intend to analyze which stem from the individual characteristics of the translators.

Berman criticizes Henry Meschonnic’s understanding of criticism as it depends on “attacking” and “denouncing” the poor systematicity, which stems from biases that lead to incoherencies, even if the tracking of failings is done with meticulous precision (2009/1995, p. 33). He thinks the biases that create the translating psyche need to be revealed (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 34). In his account, for a just verdict, the bringing the anonymity of the manipulative translator to an end is not enough (Berman, 2009/1995, p.3 5). He criticizes “Henri Meschonnic’s Engagé Analyses” for not sparing time to

analyze the causes of the deficiencies of the translations and tracking the incoherencies, poor systematicity and biases of the translator (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 33).

Berman continually defends the subjective traits of the translators, that is to say, the agency which is inevitably shaped by a system of causes. In his book *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany*, Berman reminds us how German Romanticism celebrates the *willkürlich* (arbitrary) cultured subjectivity, which is associated with free choice and even caprice. Progress, as well as subjective perspective, has been the pivotal ideas of German Romanticism since Herder. In Berman's opinion *Bildung* is an attunement or acculturation process the translator has arbitrarily chosen (1992, p. 80). His translator can attune himself philosophically, critically, poetically, historically or rhetorically to ancient and modern. But the translator's subjectivity is not infinite; it is "a subjectivity capable of self-limitation" (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 81). Berman at this point emphasizes the consciousness, which is experienced in "transitory limits" or "self-limitation" which is a return to Kant's critical philosophy. The ideal subject of Romanticism from the point of Schlegel is dignified enough and capable of restricting himself even when s/he feels the most powerful (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 81). Berman's understanding of translation criticism is rooted in Schlegel's understanding of literary criticism. He refers to Benjamin who quotes Schlegel's statement that translation "will complement, rejuvenate, newly fashion the work" (Berman 2009/1995, p. 79) and he emphasizes the "the enriching power of the analysis" that can bring "the positive creative act of the translator" (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 79).

Thus, integrating the term arbitrariness into his model, Berman does not force the translator to fit in a completely determined socio-ideological position in the

straightjacket of laws and systems (2009/1995, p. 64). He deeply respects the subjectivity of the translator. He emphasizes that the translator has always a right to stand up to the original, which can be called resistance. Furthermore, his criticism of Toury and Brisset (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 37) stems from their neutralization and objectified understanding of translation in an attempt to be scientific. He accuses Toury for adopting the assertions of his teacher Itamar Even-Zohar about assigning a secondary place to translation even under the cover of “peripheral” or “epigonic” character of translated literature:

The whole schema periphery/centre needs to be revised. The fact that translation has always had a problematic status within the centre does not mean that it is at the periphery. Translated literature is neither at the periphery nor at the centre; it has been and remains that without which no indigenous literature can exist in the space of colinguism constituted by the West. (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 40)

While not denying the existence of a system of determinations and values, Berman criticizes Toury’s way of analysis, too. Although it stops being source-oriented and follows a globalizing method, he finds it too norm-governed. Berman instead argues that the fixed character of translators’ role assigned to the translators within Toury’s approach, trapped in the system of target culture and system, leaves no room for any deviation or translatorial autonomy in the accounts of this school. Therefore, Berman accuses Toury as he built schemata or laws that are questionable historically and are not in conformity with a target-oriented view of translation while he was trying to arrive at a scientific and functional “traductology”. He states “like all functional theories, this translation school, despite its sociologizing historicism, is blind to uniqueness of history” (Berman 2009/1995, p. 40). He refuses periphery/center dilemma and secondariness of translated literature because translated literature cannot belong to the same system or exist in the same space with the indigenous works. These works demand



a private space for themselves. Concerning the character of the corpus chosen for the present study within the translated leftist writing and indigenous leftist writing, I can make the claim that Marx's books have gained quite a central position as they led many writers and critics to meditate over the borders and scope of the leftist discourse.



## CHAPTER 3

### LITERATURE REVIEW ON RETRANSLATED WORKS IN TURKEY AND HISTORICAL SURVEY ON RETRANSLATIONS OF LEFTIST NON-FICTION

The realm of translation studies has been barren in terms of research devoted to quantitative studies regarding the retranslations of non-fiction leftist books into Turkish. The studies that have dealt with the Turkish translations of leftist works done so far in translation studies are few.

First of all, two Master's dissertations are worthy of mentioning. Erkal Ünal's Master's thesis entitled *Invited Sojourners: A survey of the translations into Turkish of Non-Fiction Left Books between 1960 and 1971* (Ünal, 2006) is the only study about translated leftist non-fiction and translation history, though it covers fiction as well. In the writer's own words, the translation of the non-fiction leftist books have contained the utopian endeavor of learning from others (Ünal, 2006, p. iii) in the 1960s. Although Ünal's thesis covers its scope meticulously and provides a systemic documentation, it is confined to the translations done in the period between 1960 and 1971. Another noteworthy study is Arzu Eker's Master's thesis entitled *Publishing Translations in the Social Sciences since the 1980s: An Alternative View of Culture Planning in Turkey* which deals with the network of relationships between publishers, their translated publications in the social sciences and culture planning as they chose to intervene in the cultural agenda of Turkey by means of translations (Eker, 2001, p. iv). As a third study, Bilal Çelik, in his 2014 Master's dissertation entitled *Haydar Rifat Yorulmaz'ın Çevirileri (1908-1940): Bir Sol Düşünce "Repertuarı"nın Kuruluşu* (Haydar Rifat Yorulmaz's Translations (1908-1940: Foundation of Repertoire of Leftist Thought),

examines the translation repertoire of Yorulmaz who translated a large corpus of texts including leftist works. Çelik makes a special emphasis on the agency of the translator who played a role in the shaping of Turkish leftist politics and philosophy through his translations of certain text types and series (Çelik, 2014). As Çelik studies one of the earlier examples of the leftist translators, he examines how Yorulmaz contributed to the formation of a repertoire.

As studies of translation history, Özlem Berk's and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar's published Phd dissertations are outstanding. Özlem Berk's *Translation and Westernisation in Turkey from the 1840s to the 1980s* (2004) has the broadest scope, but due to its publication date, the period it studies ends in the 1980s. It emphasizes the role of translation in the westernization movement from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century in Turkey. Moreover, she clarifies that due to a shift of power in Turkish politics, a new kind of acculturation strategy was adopted after the 1980s and a resistance to translations of leftist publications was marked as a state policy. Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar has made a remarkable contribution to the discussion of leftist non-fiction. She writes about this field in her article "Translation, Presumed Innocent; Translation and Ideology in Turkey" (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2009) and partly in her thesis *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey* (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2001). In her article, Tahir Gürçağlar discusses translation's instrumental role for the newly emerging genres, especially the novels and western-style drama and its relationship with the political and ideological flows of the Republican period, such as westernization, Marxism and Islamism. She describes the discourse the translations created and in which they were embedded as well as the roles of translating subjects in it.

In spite of the paucity of the works on leftist translations, the field of retranslations is a very fertile research area in Turkey. Two retranslation conferences, *Retranslation in Context I* and *Retranslation in Context II*, held at Boğaziçi University in 2013 and 2015 respectively, indicated the fact that retranslation is a field that unfolds many themes in translation studies. Following the retranslation projects entitled “Retranslation in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey: A Preliminary Bibliographical Study”(2011-2013) and “A Descriptive and Critical Look at Retranslation: Retranslated Works in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey”(2013-2016), these two conferences shed further light on the role and function of retranslation in Ottoman and modern Turkish societies, and many topics including the ethics of retranslations, literary and intellectual history, the history of science, non-fiction and retranslations of music and cartoons as well as power, ideology, social change, cultural rivalry and agency in retranslation were dealt in the presentations.<sup>11</sup>

When it comes to the books on retranslation, one of the most influential works on retranslation in Turkey is Şebnem Susam Sarajeva’s *Theories on the Move: Translation’s Role in the Travels of Literary Theories* (2006). She concentrates on the reception of Roland Barthes’ works in Turkey and questions the factors that lead to the abundance or scarcity of retranslations. She describes how literary theories, namely structuralism and semiotics, travel through retranslation in a literary and cultural system. *Osmanlıca’da Robenson (Robinson in Ottoman Turkish)* (2008) by Ayşe Banu Karadağ is another book that deals with the (re)translations of *Robinson Crusoe* by Şemseddin

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<sup>11</sup> The first volume comprising of contributions by some of the participants of these conferences was published (Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar, 2018), a second volume focusing on retranslation in Turkey is forthcoming (Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar, 2019).

Sami, Mehmed Ali and an unknown translator. The story is chosen as it is a myth of Western culture, and the translations and retranslations of the book witnessed a westernization, civilization and modernization movement in Ottoman culture and displayed characteristic of these movements. Aslı Ekmekçi's Master's thesis, *The Shaping Role of Retranslations in Turkey: The Case of Robinson Crusoe* (2008), also focuses on (re)translations of *Robinson Crusoe* between 1864 and 2006. The study demonstrates that the translations were done for various purposes and argues that the novel acquired the position of a literary classic thanks to different versions such as abridged and unabridged retranslations for children and adults.

“Re-Translations of Shakespeare's Drama: A Case Study on the Re-Translations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*” (2014) by Sinem Sancaktaroğlu Bozkurt is another article concentrating on literary retranslations in Turkey, namely the three (re)translations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by Nurettin Sevin, Can Yücel and Bülent Bozkurt. It concentrates on drama translation and its implications, such as aging, and whether they have been staged or not.

A more recent article on retranslations is “Science Fiction in Turkey: Through Reranslations and Reprints” by Müge Işıklar Koçak and Elif Aydın (2017). In their research, the authors reveal that via retranslations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, science fiction was introduced as an option into the Ottoman and Turkish culture repertoire. In particular, they discuss translators' and retranslators' roles in introducing, establishing and reinforcing the popularity of science fiction in Turkey as a genre, which survives in the Turkish cultural repertoire thanks to its retranslations and reprints.

One of the aims of this thesis is to fill a gap in research on retranslated leftist non-fiction by providing a catalogue of these retranslations.<sup>12</sup> Here some space will be devoted to describing the research methods applied to gather the historical data in the catalogue this study provides in Appendix A. The online catalogues of the Turkish National Library<sup>13</sup>, Boğaziçi University Library<sup>14</sup> and TBMM [Turkish Parliament] Library<sup>15</sup>, as well as of various publishers and second-hand bookstores<sup>16</sup>, were my main sources. Erkal Ünal's thesis (2006) was very useful at the initial stage because it provided a catalogue of translated non-fiction leftist books between 1960 and 1970, which could be called the golden age of the leftist translations. Having realized that this decade was also the golden age of retranslations, I also scanned all the works on the *Marxist Internet Archive*<sup>17</sup> to detect what could have been retranslated. The third bibliography I made use of was *Türkiye'de Düşünce Yayınları Kaynakçası (1839-2007)*<sup>18</sup> [The bibliography of Philosophical Works in Turkey] by Süleyman Hayri Bolay and İsmail Köz, which contained various other philosophical bibliographies. Finally, the non-fiction left books referred by other works was scanned for retranslations.

The catalogue of retranslation excludes fiction. It only includes the first translations and retranslations of Marxist, socialist and communist books. Next, it depends on a broad definition of retranslation as it covers the retranslations both from the source and relay languages. Furthermore, sometimes summaries, abridged or simplified versions or compound works in addition to comics and mangas are listed.

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<sup>12</sup> Please see Appendix A.

<sup>13</sup> See <https://kasif.mkutup.gov.tr/>.

<sup>14</sup> See <http://www.library.boun.edu.tr/>.

<sup>15</sup> See <https://kutuphane.tbmm.gov.tr>.

<sup>16</sup> See <https://www.nadirkitap.com/>.

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.marxists.org/>.

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.dombayci.com/dosyalar/giris\[1\].pdf](http://www.dombayci.com/dosyalar/giris[1].pdf).

The catalogue covers almost a hundred years between 1921 and 2016.

“Bibliographical and Analytical Research Project on Retranslations in Ottoman and Modern Turkish Societies” carried out at Boğaziçi University (2011-2016) that I participated in as a researcher, ended in 2016, thus the list ends in that year. During the project, the catalogues of Istanbul Büyükşehir Kütüphanesi Atatürk Kitaplığı<sup>19</sup> and Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi<sup>20</sup> were also scanned, and all the works found there were listed. However, the findings of my catalogue exceed the borders of the project. This periodization by no means implies that there were no other retranslations before or after these years. As the previous works were in the Arabic script and were not transliterated, except for the first translation of *The Communist Manifesto*, it was impossible for me to do further research for this period. The recent retranslations launched after 2016 are waiting to be listed by the volunteers who would like to contribute to this project.

According to the results of historical analysis, ninety-three books by forty-seven writers were retranslated over two hundred fifty times (264) between the years 1921 and 2016.<sup>21</sup> Among these retranslations of Marxist, socialist and communist works, one can come across books that were retranslated only once as well as books that were retranslated several times. *The Communist Manifesto* is on the top of the list with thirty-seven retranslations. Including the first translation, it was translated into Turkish thirty-eight times. Next, *Elementary Principles of Philosophy* by George Politzer was translated twelve times which means it has eleven retranslations. *Capital* by Marx and *The State and Revolution* by Lenin follows them with eight and seven retranslations,

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<sup>19</sup> See <http://aturkkitapligi.ibb.gov.tr/aturkkitapligi/index.php>.

<sup>20</sup> See <http://www.beyazitkutup.gov.tr/>.

<sup>21</sup> As this study aims to reveal the retranslations, 93 first translations are not included in this number. The catalogue contains 357 translations in total.

respectively. The fourth most frequently translated books into Turkish are *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* by V.I. Lenin and *Bolivian Diary* by Ernesto Che Guevara with six retranslations each. Figure 1 illustrates the frequency of the retranslations.

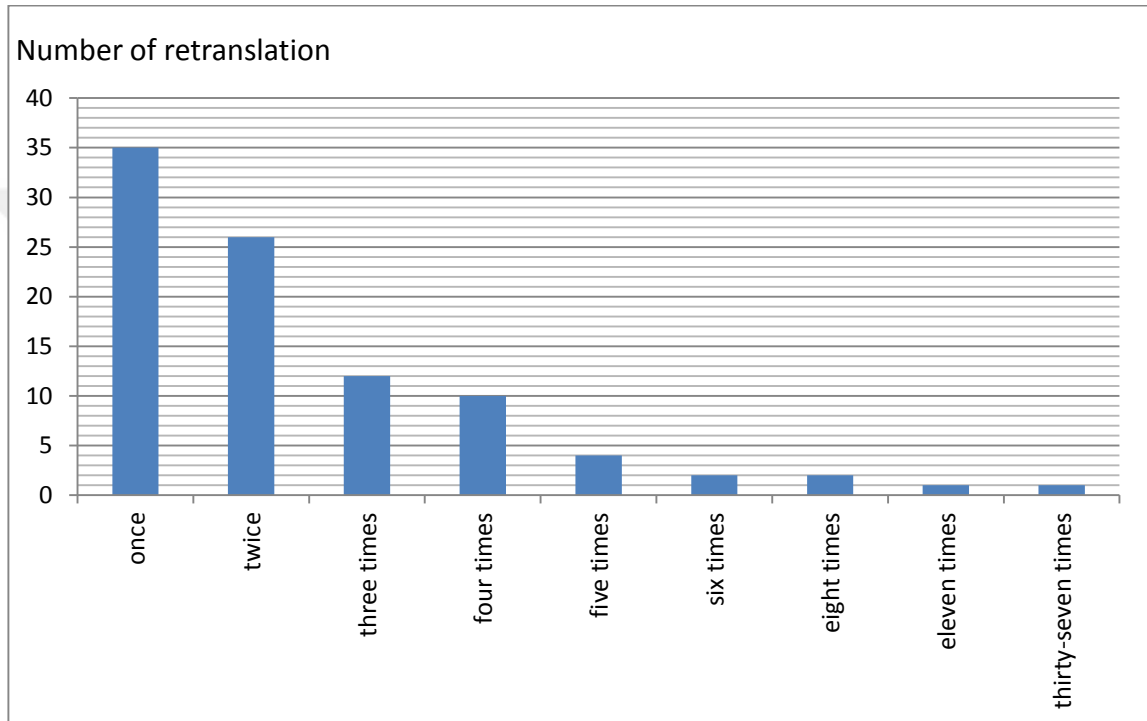


Figure 1. The frequency of retranslations between 1921 and 2016

Thirteen separate works by Karl Marx and eighteen separate works by V.I. Lenin were retranslated, thus they have a leading part in the figures. The writers that followed are Mao Tse Tung with five different books, Joseph Stalin and Ernesto Che Guevara with four different books and Friedrich Engels with three different books. Two books of Fidel Castro, Ernst Fischer, Rosa Luxemburg, Maxime Rodinson, Bertrand Russel and Leon Trotsky were retranslated, and the rest of the books in the catalogue were retranslated only once. Concerning the number of translations each translator has in the catalogue,



190 translators out of 220 have only one translation. As it is shown in figure 2, the translator of twelve translations is unknown. Twenty-three translators have more than one translation in the list. Muzaffer Erdost, the owner of the Sol Publications, has nine translations, and the translators Sevim Belli and İsmail Yarkın have eight translations each. Kenan Somer and Hasan İhsan follow them with eight and seven translations, respectively. Orhan Suda, the owner of Suda Publications, has six translations.

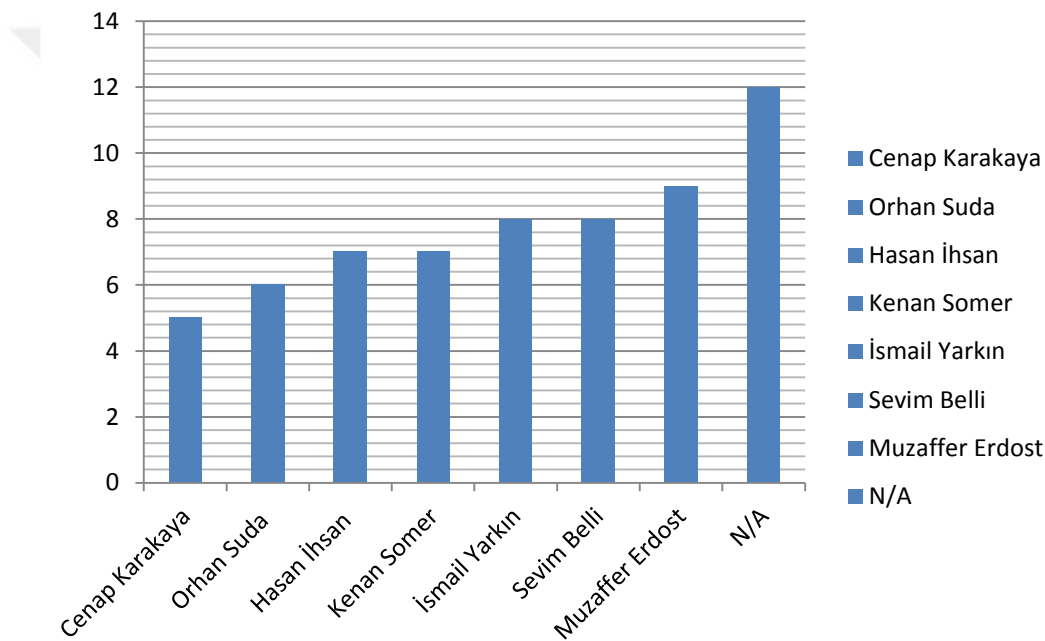


Figure 2. The most active translators

As shown in figure 3, twenty-six translators cooperated for single translations. In other words, only twenty translations on the list are collaborative works. This implies that translators work alone most of the time. However, this may not reflect the reality. The identities of the collaborating translators were not declared very often in the past because the publishers took the ideological responsibility against any potential ideological accusations. Thus the translations were published under their names as translators.

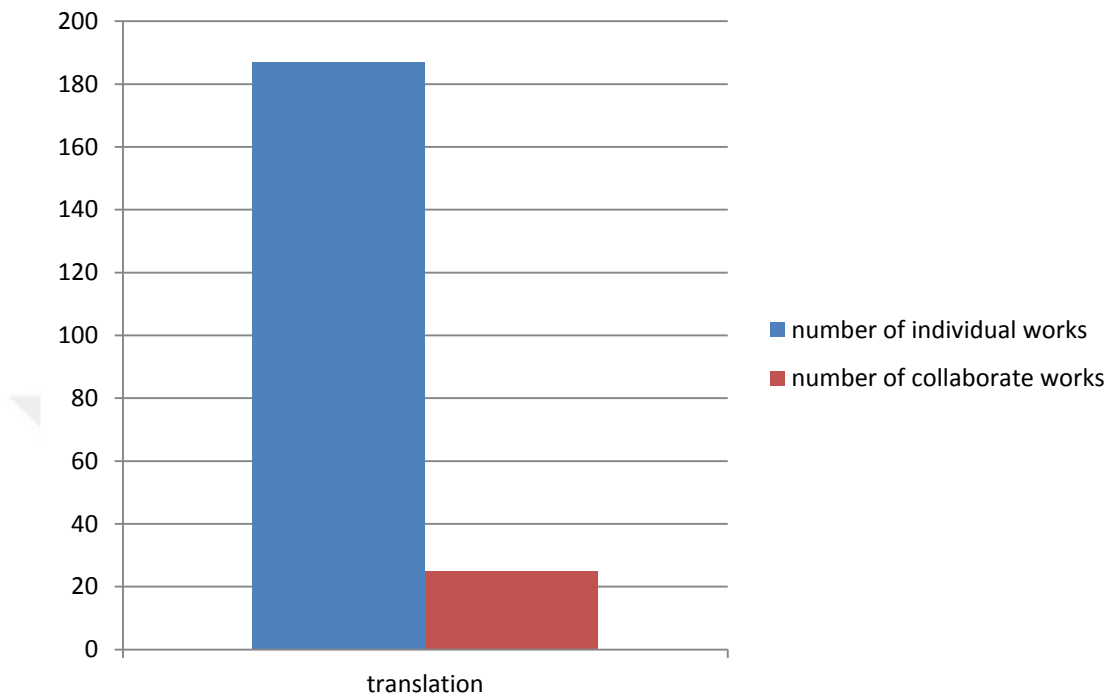


Figure 3. The rates of the individual and collaborative retranslations

Regarding the most active publishing house, Sol Publications has an undeniable role with 46 translations. 48 publishing houses that have six to twenty translations in the list have a leading role in the market. Alter, Bilim ve Sosyalizm, Evren, Evrensel, Habora, İnter, Payel and Ser are the prevailing publishing houses. 106 publishing houses out of 154 are represented with only one translation.

The distribution of the retranslations of non-fiction leftist books illustrated the fact that retranslation reached a peak level in 1970. Starting from 1960, in two decades, until 1980, a significant retranslation wave was recorded. This retranslation wave was a reflection of the boom in the translations of the concern of this study. About eighty books were retranslated in 1970, which is quite remarkable when its proportion to the

total amount of the retranslation in this field is taken into consideration. The retranslations, which were produced between the years 1921 and 1960, were very few despite a small rise in the decade of 1930-1940. The decrease can be seen very clearly after 1980. In 1985, the retranslations almost came to an end. After this period of silence in retranslations, we observe another wave of retranslations between the years 2000 and 2010. However, the revival started in the late 1990s and has not ceased yet. Therefore, it is plausible to name the last twenty years as a second wave in the retranslations of non-fiction leftist books. The outlines of the bibliographical research can be seen in figure 4.

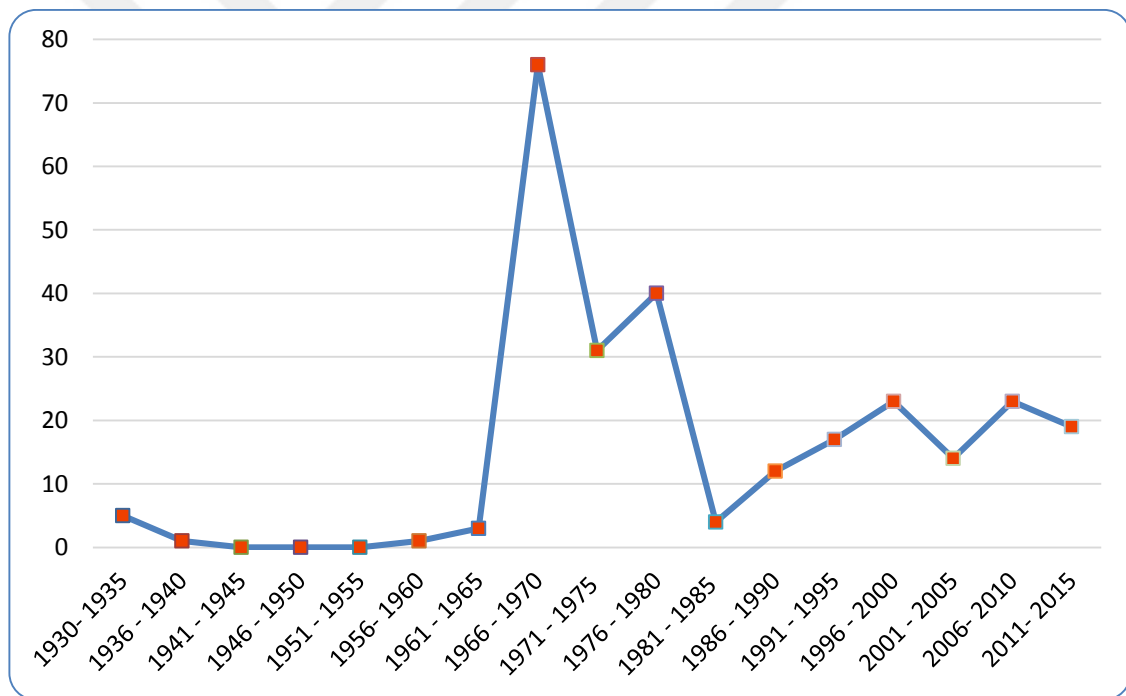


Figure 4. The number of retranslations between 1921 and 2016

I analyzed the periods when the classics of non-fiction leftist books started to be translated and the historical circumstances they were retranslated under and how they were affected by the ideological inclinations of their eras. The abundance in the

retranslations of the Marxist books, together with the outstanding number of the retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto*, led me to select this particular book for the case study. This stylistically magnetic book written as a party program gives the principles of the ideology it stems from. The rhetorical strength of the book indicates the expressive abilities of the writers. Thus, the book is on the borders of literature and politics. Political philosophy and economic history are certainly caught within the impact area of the book. Moreover, it is quoted with great respect and delicacy like a holy book because of its aesthetic qualities.

Written in 1848 in German and translated into English in 1888 by Samuel Moore in cooperation with Frederick Engels, some publishing houses in Turkey, such as Gelenek and Yordam, made an emphasis on the 150<sup>th</sup> and 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the text's first publication. This was also a reflection of the international appeal it had in the 2000s as a historical text that criticized and challenged the capitalist system in vivid descriptions, which will be discussed in the alternative readings of the text in Chapter 3. However, before starting to analyze the main case study, it is necessary to start with the three important cases that made me decide on this dissertation topic and what triggered this study.

### 3.1 Turkish (re)translations of *What is to be done?* by Vladimir I. Lenin

A claim of plagiarism, made in 2010, was the real spark, which prompted this study; Erkin Özalp's post on Haberveriyorum.net titled "Agora'dan çıkan '*Ne Yapmalı?*' bir çeviri yağması!" ["*What is to be done* launched by Agora is a translation plunder"] (Özalp, 2010a). The moderator of the site, Özalp, accused the translator, Ferit Burak

Aydar, and Agora publishing house of plagiarizing Sol Publications' translation of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* (1968), which was available online at that time. Aydar's text (2010) was found to be suspiciously similar to Muzaffer Erdost's translation published by Sol Publications. In fact Sol Publications' first translation came out first in 1976 with Muzaffer Erdost's penname, M. Kabagil. In 1977, the second edition was published with Muzaffer Ardos as the translator, another penname used by Erdost. This incident triggered a debate on the translations of Vladimir I. Lenin, which led to subsequent ideological accusations.

In the case of retranslation, as in many cases the retranslators do not deny the previous (re)translations, some aspects of former (re)translations can come forth in some parts of the new work, as a consequence of the appreciation and reverence which the (re)translators' show for the previous ones, especially when they come from the same ideological/political tradition. But this mimetic attitude always carries the risk of stepping into a risky limbo between imitation and plagiarism. To pinpoint this blurring of distinction between retranslation and plagiarism, and the contentious state of some translations, Mehmet Şahin, Derya Duman and Sabri Gürses define such activities as "plagiaristic forms of retranslation" (2015, p. 197). Furthermore, they assert that such practice might complicate the issue of voice in the translation as a term covering the purpose, approach and style of translation (2015, p. 213). Proving plagiarism in the case of literary translations is very complicated and requires the use of special software tools. However some cases might still remain questionable because plagiarism escapes easy detection (Turell, 2004, p. 1). The case of *What's to be done* is one of those cases that makes us doubtful about the involvement of the editors and the publishers in plagiaristic

activities despite the fact that the retranslation of *What's to be done* by Aydar has not been to subject to any legal systematic forensic linguistic analysis<sup>22</sup>.

Erkin Özalp accused Agora Publications of outright theft and stated that such a theft concerning the classical works of Marxism is “beneath the dignity of the left” (Özalp, 2010b). Özalp’s accusation was disseminated by other websites. One of them was *Istanbul Indymedia, Independent Media Center* that posted Özalp’s article with the heading “Troçkistlerin Ne Yapmalı Hırsızlığı” (The robbery of *What is to be done* by the Trotskyist). The publishing house, Agora Kitaplığı, and the translator, Aydar, defended themselves on several grounds and opposed the claim of plagiarism (Aydar, 2010a, 2010b; Akınhay, 2010a, 2010b). Özalp wrote another article concerning Lenin’s book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (Emperyalizm, Kapitalizmin En Yüksek Aşaması)* with the argument that it was also plagiarized from Sol Publications’ version *Emperyalizm*, translated by Cemal Süreya in 1969 (Özalp 2010d). In the interview done with Sabri Gürses, the editor, Akınhay, rejected the claim (Akınhay, 2010c). According to Akınhay, Aydar translated the book from a specific “angle”, which was clarified in the prologue, and this angle brought a new interpretation to the book, as Aydar explained in *Mesele* magazine and *Birgün Kitap* supplement (Aydar, 2010a). However, from Akınhay’s point of view, despite Aydar’s effort, the other party “unjustly” commented on this new interpretation only as a distortion, giving it no credibility (Akınhay, 2010c).

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<sup>22</sup> M. Teresa Turell’s 2004 article entitled “Textual Kidnapping Revisited: The Case of Plagiarism in Literary Translation” illustrates the application of CopyCatch to provide legal forensic data and evidence to prove or refute an accusation of plagiarism (Turell, 2004).

Later on, Sabri Gürses had an interview with Özalp for the online translation magazine, *Çeviribilim* (Özalp 2010b). In the interview Özalp stated that the editor of Agora, Osman Akinhay, and the translator, Aydar, had attacked and insulted him on various platforms claiming that he is “a slanderer” and “a class quisling” who “does not know about translation and acts politically with financial concerns” (Özalp 2010b). Özalp, a translator and an editor himself, was sure that the translation that had been published by Agora Publishing House was only an edited or slightly changed version of Sol Publications’ translation that was published in 1968. He gave several examples, which looked suspiciously similar. He called the event only an “eviri” (conversion) rather than a “çeviri” (translation). Obviously, he used the term “*eviri*” in Turkish as a euphemism for “*çeviri*” (translation) and stated that he found such an act extremely disgraceful, especially when Marxist classics are under discussion (Özalp, 2010b).

On the other hand, Özalp was in agreement with Akinhay’s criticism that Sol Publications’ 1968 translation was inadequate when “the new Marxist terminology” (Özalp, 2010b) was taken into consideration. To some extent, it was accepted by both parties that Sol Publications was not able to update itself with the changes in Turkish, and the book had to be retranslated as the translation was out of date. In fact, what Akinhay meant by “the new Marxist terminology” was quite questionable. It was unclear whether these terms reflected a political view or the changes of some Marxist terms in their Turkish equivalents over time. Apparently, the translations of the “old” Marxist terms in the book were not in line with the more recent and familiar ones. The clash between the publishing houses and the translators can be considered as an indicator of a new interpretation phase and rejuvenation in terms of Marxist theory, which might have

stemmed from a discrepancy in the political stance of the translators and publishers that had a terminological/lexical reflection in the translations.

Due to ethical and ideological reasons, the reaction to the translation grew so explosively that many critics, including Erdost himself, who was the translator and the owner of Sol publishing house, became involved and joined the debate. Muzaffer Erdost blamed Aydar in a very harsh manner for “translating translations” (Erdost 2010a). The dubious and intriguing term Erdost used, “translating translations”, can either be understood as “plagiarizing through editing” or “translating from a secondary language - indirect translation”. In both meanings, he attributed a secondary status to the term of “translating translations”. Moreover, he blamed Agora for translating Lenin not according to Lenin but according to Trotsky and named their publication a betrayal of revolutionary act and attitude (Erdost, 2010a). He furthermore stated that he found the translations very arrogant and commented on the translator/publisher of Agora as a pseudo hero who had been guided by others.

Erdost was in fact aware that his own translation was facing criticisms so he defended himself against the claim that the publishing house had not corrected the errors in his translations over the years. He stated in the interview he did with Faruk Bildirici for *Hürriyet* Newspaper that after the abolition of the penal codes 141 and 142<sup>23</sup>, they redacted the work (Erdost, 2011). Elsewhere, he stated that the more recent editions of

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<sup>23</sup> The 141. and 142. articles were adopted from the Italian Penal Code of Mussolini’s time and dated back to 1938. These articles were used to prohibit communist and Kurdish nationalist activities, respectively. They aimed at the unity of the state and banned movements that were considered to disrupt the unity of Turkey by way of class discrimination and such propaganda. They dealt with thought crimes that were directed to establish the domination of a social class over other social classes or exterminating a certain class. However, they created cases of violations of free will quite frequently.



the translation, particularly the ones after the 12th March<sup>24</sup>, were published after having gone through a redaction. However, he did not respond to textual criticisms. Above all, during the discussions, he confessed that his translation was in fact done by Mihri Belli (1915-2011) (Erdost, 2010b), who was an influential figure in the Turkish Communist Party when the translation was published in 1968. This fact was hidden to protect the translator from the political oppression of the time. Furthermore, *What is to be done?* was not the only work that was printed with the publisher's name on it as the translator, rather than the translator himself. Erdost explained that it was a common policy adopted by the publishing house to take the responsibility for the translations they commissioned in the 1960s. In that way, the actual translators were able to avoid political oppression at the expense of hiding their identity (Erdost, 2010b). Additionally, in some translations of leftist works such as *What is to be done?* Muzaffer Erdost used the name M. Kabagil as a pen name (such as the 1968 edition), which made the issue even more complicated.

Erdost responded to the accusation with a note that was posted on the same site haberveriyorum.net by Ayşe K. (2010) and expounded on the era and the publication process of the Sol Publications' translation. He stated that "they"<sup>25</sup> translated the book from the 1938 French version (Erdost, 2010b), though he did not reveal the identity of the French translator. He commented on the legal cases he went through due to five of his translations, one of which was *What is to be done?*. He was confined to 37.5 years of imprisonment because of these translations (Başlangıç, 1999). While he was under arrest

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<sup>24</sup> The memorandum of 12th March, 1971. The second military intervention in Turkey known as the "coup by memorandum" as the army gave an ultimatum to topple the government. The government was forced to resign. For further information, see Ulus (2011).

<sup>25</sup> I need to state that Erdost never claimed that he translated the book, but he always called it "our translation" implying that it was translated by the translating committee of the publishing house, a group of translators that worked for the publishing house.

because of another incident, he was also put on trial because of his translations. Among them, Lenin's book in question was the first case, which resulted in a sentence, which was approved by the Supreme Court. Consequently, he was sentenced to seven-and-half years' imprisonment. Making use of a legal pardon, he spent only one third of this legal punishment period in prison. After he was released, he realized that the same translation had already been published by two other publishing houses in Istanbul. However, they had not been condemned because the same court experts who considered his translation as a criminal act had given positive reports for these translations. He implied that these two publishing houses plagiarized "their" translation; while one of them was identical, the other one was almost identical except for a few alterations (Erdost, 2010b). With this statement Erdost made reference to the fact that Agora was not the first publishing house that had plagiarized their work.

Nevertheless, Agora Kitaplığı was accused of plagiarism. The translator, Aydar, answered the accusation via *Çeviribilim* online magazine. In the interview, Sabri Gürses conducted with him, Aydar said that in general he opposed producing retranslations while there were still several works of Marx, which remained untranslated. He referred to many other of his translations by pointing out the differences from other translations in the market in terms of their paratextual material, including the footnotes, notes and prologues (Aydar, 2010a). Elsewhere, he explained that he did not agree with the requirement of translating from the original language (Russian) when Lenin was in question (Aydar, 2010b). Although Özalp claimed that Aydar used the online version of Lenin's book for plagiarism, Aydar argued that he examined the previous translations in book format and compared his own translation to the previous translations. He added that he read the translations from German; especially the ones published by Inter

publications and made use of “Google translation” to compare these. Moreover, he stated that he also used the translations in French, even though his French was not very good. He said that he compared at least three different translations while he was translating, and he could prove this by reference to library records and e-mails (Aydar, 2010b).

Aydar boasted of his translation<sup>26</sup> referring to the renown of the source text, the variety of the secondary sources “they” used and the paratextual material “they” added to the source text via *Çeviribilim* (Aydar, 2010a). Before this interview, he had already replied to the sentence-by-sentence accusations of Özalp through *Mesele Book Review Magazine* (Aydar, 2010a). Aydar made a comparison between the two translations and the English version of the Russian source text. Aydar also depended on Akinhay’s comparison, which was also between the English and Turkish versions. None of them did resort to the French translation, which was the source text for Sol Publications’ translation, or the original source text in Russian. Erkin Özalp used an English translation while making the accusation, and the publisher and the translator of Agora publishing house replied in the same way ignoring the fact that the translations were not done from the same source text. That was the most extraordinary part of the debate. The multiplicity of languages in the source text and the multilingual character of the translations were somehow ignored.

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<sup>26</sup> Ferit Burak Aydar used a language of “we” and called the translation “our translation” which means the publishing house and the editor, Akinhay, share the responsibility of the translation with him. This makes the case look like a battle between two publishing houses as Erdost used the same “we” language, too. However, as Aydar thinks the dialogue between himself and the Publisher, Akinhay, was private, he only used “I” as the subject while he was describing how he translated.

Most important of all, “they”<sup>27</sup> translated from an indirect source, namely not from Russian, but from English. Likewise, Erdost stated that they had translated the work from the 1934 French version, but had edited it according to the German and English translations. Therefore, both of the translations were indirect translations in spite of the multiplicity of the languages the source material came from. Hence, this discussion provided ample food for thought in terms of retranslation, despite the fact that indirect translations were thought to be outside the definition of retranslation by many scholars. However, in this case, keeping the indirect translations outside the scope of retranslation was impossible. In other words, the debate unfolds the overlap of direct and indirect translations.

One of Aydar’s claims was that they emancipated the works they translated from previous Stalinist distortions (Aydar, 2010a). He accused Sol Publications and the translators of the publishing house of distorting the source text with Stalinist purposes. Aydar called the publisher and the translators and editors that took part in the publications of Sol Publications “a school”. On the other hand, Aydar argued that their own effort to make these works more “readable” [legible] attracted so much attention that they turned these translations into a corpus entitled “Lenin *külliyati*” (oeuvre). In a way, what Aydar and Agora Publishing house tried to do was to create an alternative corpus of leftist works to those of Sol Publications’, from an alternative point of view (Aydar, 2010a).

In the interview Osman Akinhay did with Aydar, Aydar clarified his ideas about the translations of leftist classics in a more detailed way (Akinhay, 2010c). He

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<sup>27</sup> As Aydar and Akinhay used a “we” language, they stand for the publisher and the translator.

problematized the traditional Stalinist ideology that had dominated the translations. He said that he detected a criticism of Trotsky in almost every leftist book he bought, whether it was relevant or not, which did not reflect the real body of the original texts. After explaining how much he appreciated the works of Sol Publications and respected their loss (implying Erdost's deceased brother who died under torture, and the pains they suffered because of the psychologically devastating imprisonment and severe trial periods the publishing house went through in the past), he stated that the reprints of their translations could not be ignored. In an indirect way, he accepted the dominant role of the translations and reprints of Sol Publications in the market and the historical role they played in the Turkish leftist discourse as they had read those in their youth. But he emphasized the requirement of new retranlations from an ideologically different angle. When it comes to the translation strategies he followed he said, he had tried to stick to the established terminology, which led to undesired criticisms (Akinhay, 2010c). According to him, using the already established terminology did not prove plagiarism. Moreover, he noted the criticism by Özalp, that was directed towards his translation was exempt from a systematic inquiry, changes of the words and changes in the word order, and even "more eloquent expressions" were used against him as if they were enough to prove plagiarism. He thought the real problem the "slanderers" had was ideological, and he claimed they misinterpreted Trotsky. He noted that Sol Publications' politically and ideologically partial perspective towards the material Aydar translated was reflected in the epilogues. Furthermore, according to Akinhay Sol Publications published collections instead of translating the whole body of the source materials according to the some partial ideological choices. Akinhay stated that Turkish Nationalist Revolutionists commented on Trotsky's view as if Trotsky was against a national revolution. Aydar

targeted the National Democratic Revolutionary Movement, which was represented by TKP and Sol publishing house. Eventually, from his point of view, the Lenin corpus launched by Agora Publishing house did not serve the ideals of Sol Publications who had been supporters of NDR movement and created an ideological conflict among leftist fractions. From his point of view, the only way of blemishing their works was through a plagiarism scandal, which would discredit all translations of the Agora Publications. He explained that Sol Publications forced them to remove all the books of the corpus from the market (Akinhay 2010c).

The accusation of plagiarism was the only visible part of the iceberg. This case reflected the conflict Turkish leftist discourse was going through. It presented clear signs of the fact that the leftist discourse of the 1960s, which was created by the biggest retranslation wave in terms of leftist works in Turkish, was now being challenged by an alternative and contemporary ideological view, and another retranslation wave.

Likewise, Aydar focused on Lenin's opposition to the idea of revolution in one country and his repeated emphasis on a global revolution. The translator claimed that Lenin's texts had been suppressed in Turkish by Sol Publications. He added some distortions were made to legitimize the "Stalinist dictatorship" and "bureaucratic red tape" via Lenin's works. Aydar stated that these distortions led them to retranslate *The State and Revolution* by Lenin. Moreover, Aydar referred to some non-orthodox quotations from Lenin about Trotsky including some compliments and praise (Aydar 2010a).

Osman Akinhay made a similar point explaining that Sol publishing house had the idea that Lenin's legacy was based on patriotism and revolution in one country in the same way it is in Stalinism in Turkey and Sol Publishing House reflected this view in

their works. But this standpoint was attributed to a particular political party, and Sol publishing house was supported by “this political party”<sup>28</sup> (Akınhay, 2010c). Akınhay stated that as a comparatively small publishing house, they had never had such a political organ behind them financially. Akınhay implied that Sol Publication’s approach to non-fiction leftist books was a misrepresentation of the texts, and there were other approaches to leftist literature apart from theirs (Akınhay, 2010c). This point is also discussed by Kaya Genç in an article entitled “Çeviride *Ne Yapmalı* Tartışması” (The Debate of *What is to be done* in translation) where he argued that, according to Osman Akınhay, the claim of plagiarism reflected that the Turkish Communist Party was bothered by the Lenin Corpus published by Agora Publishing simply because the translations were done from an anti-Stalinist perspective (Genç, 2010).

According to Akınhay, Sol Publications did not want their adherents to read the book and learn that Lenin mentioned a world revolution in his speeches after the October Revolution (1917) as there was a rising of Russian chauvinism. Moreover, he referred to Trotsky’s role in the communist revolution as a soldier and underlined his contribution to the suppression of the White Army as the commander of the Red Army during the civil war (Akınhay, 2010c).

Osman Akınhay also discussed the quality of the translation criticisms that were directed at their translation (Akınhay, 2010c). Distinguishing the features of translation criticism according to text types, fiction and non-fiction, he particularly emphasized differences in terms of the stylistic features between these two text types. According to him, even though similarities at the sentence level in the translations of nonfiction books

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<sup>28</sup> Apparently, he meant the Turkish Communist Party.

might raise doubts, they could not be accepted as definite evidences for plagiarism alone, because the language in these works did not display the stylistic features of a literary style. According to him, Lenin used a very plain prose for propaganda and agitation in order to be clearly understood by his target audience, who were mainly workers. Akınhay made use of an example from the translations to prove that such a sentence would not change in any translation as it is a stock phrase (*darb-ı mesel*) for the leftist movement of the 1980s, and it did not necessarily imply plagiarism.

“Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes.”

Erdost: “İleriye doğru atılan her adım, her gerçek ilerleme, bir düzine programdan daha önemlidir.”

Ferit [Aydar]: “İleriye doğru atılan her adım, her gerçek ilerleme, bir düzine programdan daha önemlidir.” (Akınhay, 2010b)

As can be seen above, the translations by Erdost and Aydar are identical. This is surprising because a literal translation would start as “Gerçek hareketin her adımı, bir düzine programdan daha önemlidir” in Turkish. Both of the translators reworded “step” (*adım*) and used “improvement” (*ilerleme*).

Özalp’s criticism was basically constructed on similarities. However, he used not only identical phrases and sentences, but also longer examples while he was trying to prove his claims, such as:

ME [Muzaffer Erdost]: Mutlakiyet egemen iken, bütün Batı Avrupa burjuvazisi, işçileri, devrim yoluna “sürükledi”, bile bile sürükledi. Ama biz sosyal-demokratlar bununla yetinemeyiz. Ve eğer herhangi bir biçimde, sosyal-demokrat siyaseti kendiliğinden trade-unioncu siyaset düzeyine düşürürsek, burjuva demokrasisinin ekmeğine yağ sürmüş oluruz.

FBA [Ferit Burak Aydar]: Mutlakiyetçiliğin egemen olduğu dönemde, bütün Batı Avrupa burjuvazisi işçileri devrim yoluna “sürükledi”, hem de bile bile. Ancak



biz sosyal-demokratlar bu kapsamla yetinemeyiz. Eđer herhangi bir biçimde sosyal-demokrat siyaseti kendiliğinden sendikalist siyaset derekesine düşürürsek, burjuva demokrasininin ekmeğine yağ sürmekten başka bir şey yapmamış oluruz.

İNGİLİZCE ÇEVİRİDEN [From the English translation]: When absolutism reigned, the entire West-European bourgeoisie “impelled”, deliberately impelled, the workers on to the path of revolution. We Social-Democrats, however, cannot be satisfied with that. And if we, by any means whatever, degrade Social-Democratic politics to the level of spontaneous trade-unionist politics, we thereby play into the hands of bourgeois democracy. (Özalp 2010c)

The most striking difference between the two versions is the change of “trade-unioncu” (trade-unionist) to “sendikalist”. In the rest of the paragraph, there are only minor differences, and there is a striking similarity of sentence structure and word choice.

In some of the examples, he did not need to give the source text, as he thinks it is impossible for two people to translate such long and complex sentences so alike.

ME: Lütfen söyleyiniz, duvarcıların, şimdiye kadar görülmedik büyüklükte kocaman bir yapının çeşitli bölümlerine tuğlaları yerleştirdikleri zaman, tuğlaları koyacakları doğru yerleri bulmalarında onlara yardımcı olsun, diye, ortak işin nihai amacını kendilerine göstereceğini diye, sadece her tuğlayı değil, önceden ve sonradan konulan tuğlalara harçla yapıştırıldığı zaman tam ve kesin bir çizgi teşkil edecek her tuğla parçacığını bile kullanabilmek için, bir ipten yararlanmaları "kırtasiyecilik" midir?

FBA: Lütfen söyleyiniz, duvarcıların, şimdiye kadar görülmedik büyüklükte kocaman bir yapının çeşitli köşelerine tuğlaları yerleştirdikleri zaman, tuğlaları koyacakları doğru yerleri bulmalarında onlara yardımcı olsun diye, ortak işin nihai amacını kendilerine göstereceğini diye, yalnızca her tuğlayı değil, önceden ve sonradan konulan tuğlalara harçla yapıştırıldığında tam ve sürekli bir çizgi teşkil edecek her tuğla parçacığını kullanabilmek için bir ipten yararlanmaları ‘kağıt üzerinde bir iş’ midir? (Özalp, 2010a)

I would suggest that it is suspicious to come across that much similarity between two versions. From Akınhay’s standpoint, these similarities did not mean much because the genuineness of the translation lay in the appropriateness of the terms and concepts with regard to political theory (Akınhay, 2010). At that point, Akınhay made a direct

reference to Sol Publications' translation of *What is to be done?*. He noted that in the 2008 edition of this book, Sol Publications stuck to the loan term "trade union", the same as in their first translation of the book in 1968, after all the theoretical debates that lasted for forty years among the Turkish left. Erdost's translation was done from French, yet the loan word was taken from English. In a way, Akinhay criticized Sol Publications' indifference to the terminological matters, as there is a current Turkish equivalent for this phrase, namely "sendika", which has consolidated its position as a new term in the Turkish jargon of Marxist theory since the 1960s. To do justice to Akinhay's criticism, I should add that "sendika" is more comprehensible for the 21st century Turkish readers of Marxist works in Turkish despite the dominance of English as a foreign language. However, Aydar made use of French derivations of the term. Instead of using "sendikacı" and "sendikacılık" for trade unionist and trade unionism he preferred "sendikalist" and "sendikalizm" which are direct transfers of French equivalents "syndicaliste" and "syndicalisme". Although he translated from English, he preferred not to use "trade-union". "Sendika" (syndicate) as a loan word from French has replaced the former loan word "trade union" from English. But the term could be used with Turkish suffixes "-cı" instead of "-ist" and "-cılık" instead of "-ism". Nevertheless, "sendikal" was derived with an English suffix "-al" as the same suffix is used in Turkish with the same function as it is in "legal", "verbal", "institutional" "-al/el" as in "yasal" (legal), "sözel" (verbal), "tüzel" (institutional). However, "syndical" (sendikal) is not very common in English. "Unionist" is preferred instead of "pertaining to syndicate". Akinhay advocated the translator, Aydar, for his choice because he depended on Lars T. Lih as the translator of the source book- *Lenin Rediscovered: What is to be done?* (Akinhay 2010c). Even so, it was obvious that there was a multiplicity of

loan words in both of the translations. The debate took place over the Marxist terms in a multilingual lexicon regardless of the original source language of the book, which is Russian. When we remember that both English and French were relay languages, one can argue that they are contemporary to their own era.

However, the debate did not end with the discussions on the text but continued with other accusations of plagiarism. Subsequently, someone who posted on *Sol Defter* on the 9th of August, 2010, claimed that Özalp might have plagiarized Marx's *Louis Bonaparte'in 18 Brumaire (The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon)* which was translated by Sevim Belli and published by Sol Publications. In the post it was claimed that Özalp might have plagiarized in the same way and with the same methods (Anonymous, 2010). Another reader sent an e-mail indicating that the first four sentences of Erkin Özalp's *Fransa'da Sınıf Mücadeleleri (The Class Struggle in France)* were almost identical, with the exception of a few words and one footnote, to the version translated by Sevim Belli and published by Sol Publications. Sevim Belli, Mihri Belli's wife, was a renowned leftist figure who worked with Sol Publications. Ferit Burak Aydar, in an article (Aydar, 2010b) posted on *Sol Defter*, which is a news platform for workers and left wing supporters, gave similar examples to the ones Erkin Özalp provided to prove this last claim of plagiarism.

This debate has attracted my attention from a translational point of view. As a case, it was the spark for the development of my proposal on the (re)translations of leftist works as a dissertation topic. As a deviant case, which has almost turned into a scandal, it has revealed that the translations of the leftist movement are going through rejuvenation. Though I do not intend to make a comparative textual analysis to discover

whether the translations are plagiarized or not, I find several hints of ideological conflicts in the discourse of the translations, which is in analogy with the main argument of this work.

First of all, Erdost's translation was a covert resistance to the state ideology and the legislation of the era because leftist translations were censored and subject to legal trial. Likewise, Aydar's translation was a covert resistance to the dominant leftist and Stalinist ideology of the era in which Erdost's translation appeared. During the first wave of the retranslations of non-fiction leftist books in the 1960s and 1970s, the "national revolutionary movement" in Turkey, which was substantially Stalinist, played an important part in the publications. In those years, Trotskyism was either totally ignored or devalued due to current political approaches, or simply erased from the leftist discourse. This is why Aydar harshly rejected the argument that Trotsky had done nothing in the Russian Revolution which led to the rise of Soviet Union. Using quotations from Stalin, he strived to prove how Stalin appreciated Trotsky as a communist leader and regretted his assassination (Aydar, 2010b).

Additionally, the features of an "ideal" translation criticism came forth because apart from the blame, the critic- Özalp, a translator himself, remained indifferent to the other features of the translation in question. Furthermore, the debate has also demonstrated how fruitful the realm of translations of leftist works can be in terms of translation history and translation criticism. It was clear there was a tension between the translations that were done in the first place in the first big wave of retranslations and the ones, which have been retranslated more recently. The reaction to new translations, which are turning into a second wave, indicated the rivalry between them. Apart from the accusations of plagiarism and the other criticisms concerning the "quality" of the

translations, the case revealed that both of the fractions in the left wing try to publish Marxist books from their specific point of view. Thus, the translators and publishing houses of new retranslations are considered as rivals by the old ones. This deviant case implies a new phase for the translation movement of leftist works. In short, it indicated the answer to one of the main questions of this study; whether the socialist movement in Turkey is going through a change, a new phase, rejuvenation or re-interpretation that give rise to retranslations.

### 3.2 Turkish (re)translations of *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

The second book that attracted attention during the same period was *The Communist Manifesto*. Yordam Publication launched a new translation from German by Nail Satlıgan in 2008. In the preface, Turkish readers were reminded of the earlier translations of the book. In addition to this short introduction, some articles appeared concerning the “adventure” of the book in terms of its Turkish translations. One of these articles was entitled “Komünist Manifesto’nun Türkçe’deki Serüveni” (The Adventure of *The Communist Manifesto* in Turkish) by Hamit Erdem at toplumsol.org (Erdem, 2015). Another article entitled “Komünist Manifesto’nun Türkiye’deki Serüveni” (The Adventure of *The Communist Manifesto* in Turkey) by Hayri Doğan and Mete Tunçay was published by *Kitap* supplement of Cumhuriyet Newspaper (Doğan, 2008). In this light, the history of the translation and its translators, as well as the publishers became visible.

Although, it is not in Turkish and the text has never been found, an Armenian translation, which dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is worth mentioning. In the preface of

*The Communist Manifesto*'s 1988 English translation, Friedrich Engels points out the fact that this Armenian translation was not published because the publisher could not dare to publish a work by Marx. Thus, the publisher proposed to publish it under the translator's name, but the translator did not accept this. The same Armenian version was brought to the attention of the readership by Şefik Hüsnü, one of the leaders of the *Türkiye Komünist Partisi* (Turkish Communist Party) (TKP) in the preface to his own translation that was published in 1923 (Üster, 2008). Another person making a reference to this legendary Armenian translation is Rasih Nuri İleri (2010). He wrote an article about the versions of *The Communist Manifesto* in Turkish for Yordam Kitap's translation entitled *Komünist Manifesto ve Hakkında Yazılar* that was published in 1998. However, he admitted that he could not find the Armenian translation, but it ought to be investigated further. All the above-mentioned references prompted me have a deeper look at the translation to gain a wider perspective over all the versions.

The first attempt to translate *The Communist Manifesto* into Turkish came from Mustafa Suphi (1882-1921), one of the first leaders of the communist movement in the Ottoman Empire. Though the translation was incomplete due to his assassination, along with some of his friends in the Black Sea in 1921, and it was never published as a separate book. We can find the translation in prominent leftist scholar Mete Tunçay's book *Eski Sol Üstüne Yeni Bilgiler (New Information on The Old Left)* (Tunçay, 1982, p. 27-46). Tunçay's book was also one of the banned books in the 1980s. Mustafa Suphi was a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) during his university education, but he later became a political dissident against the party, which was the dominant political party of the late Ottoman Empire. According to Tunçay, Mustafa Suphi could speak French quite well as he had studied political

sciences in Paris. Fleeing from Sinop to Crimea, where he was sent into exile as a political criminal and which was under Russian rule at the time, he could hardly speak Russian (Tunçay, 1982, 48). However, it is possible that he later gained a degree of fluency in Russian. In Tunçay's book, (Tunçay 1982) Mustafa Suphi himself reports that in Russia many communist books including translations and original works in Ottoman Turkish, and even a newspaper called *Yeni Dünya* (1918) which was founded by Mustafa Suphi himself were published because there were many Ottoman/Turkish people there who were taken slave during the wars and many others who were sent into exile to Russia. As a matter of fact, this interaction with Russia resulted in the first congress of the Turkish Communist Organization in 1918 (Tunçay 1982: 68) as well as many conferences regarding Marxism and communism (Tunçay 1982: 67) in Russia, which eventually led to the foundation of *Türkiye Komünist Partisi* (Turkish Communist Party) (TKP) in 1920. After the second congress of the party in 1922, the party was closed by the newly formed Turkish government in Ankara. Mustafa Suphi and his friends' premature decease and this first closure which caused an interruption in the leftist thought and publications were self-protection tactics of the regime and started the first confrontation between the two ideologies. Nevertheless, the first communist formation and all the people involved in had a positive effect on Russia's financial support for the Kemalist Government which was of critical help throughout the Independence War (Şişmanov, 1978).

The second translation of the book was done by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü Değmer (1887-1959) and was published by Aydınlık Publications in 1923 under the title of "Komünist Beyannamesi", seventy-five years after the publication of *The Communist Manifesto* in German. It is generally accepted that Değmer completed Mustafa Suphi's translation.

This fact is usually considered as “comradeship collaboration”. The transcription of this version from the Ottoman script into the Latin alphabet was done by Şeyda Oğuz, and Yordam Kitap publications included the transcription in its 1998 version of the work. The Ottoman original script is in Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırma Vakfı (Tütsav) online archive.<sup>29</sup> Değmer was another esteemed leader of the leftist movement who acted as the party secretary of both Türkiye İşçi ve Çiftçi Sosyalist Fırkası (TİÇSF) [Turkish Workers and Farmers Socialist Party] and TKP. He served in the World War I and Dardanelles War as a doctor. His translation was the first complete version and could reach its readers only for two years as the government banned all leftist works under the law of “Takrir-i Sükun” (The Law for the Maintenance of Order) in 1925 (İleri, 2010, p. 17), a law enacted by the Republican government to maintain order in the country. The same law aimed at preventing any communist, socialist, civil and political organizations in Turkey. Değmer was sentenced to two years' imprisonment due to his violation of the 313<sup>th</sup> article of the Turkish Penal code. Before that punishment, in 1923 Değmer and his friends were on trial under “Hıyaneti Vataniye Kanunu” [The law of treason] (Gürel, 2015, p. 178) though they did not receive any penalty.

The third translation came from Ahmet Nevzat Cerrahlar published with his penname Kerim Sadi (1900-1977) in 1936. The book was published under a pseudo-title, *Tarihi bir Vesika* (A Historical Document). It was launched by İnsaniyet Kütüphanesi whose owner was also Kerim Sadi. He became a member of TKP in the 1920s, but his relations with the party were always controversial. He wrote for leftist magazines like *Aydınlık*, *Orak Çekiç*, *Yoldaş* and started many ideological polemics

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<sup>29</sup> See [http://www.tustav.org/yayinlar/kutuphane/aydinlik-kulliyati/komunist\\_manifesto.pdf](http://www.tustav.org/yayinlar/kutuphane/aydinlik-kulliyati/komunist_manifesto.pdf).



using the pen name A. Cerrahlar (Çetinkaya & Ünivar, 2015, p.186-188). However, the translation was banned in the same year by a decision of the Cabinet (2/4253) on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1936 (Karaca, 2012). I consider these three translations the initial translations. All of them were treated with extensive negative reaction and restriction by the state. The form of censorship applied to leftist works especially in the 1930s aimed at punishing both the publishers and the translators who were influential figures of the era in terms of the leftist movement. Instead of censoring the translations before publication, the state generally confiscated and banned the works as well as imprisoning the publishers and the translators, which led to financial loss and public humiliation (Karaca, 2012, p. 66).

*The Communist Manifesto* was not retranslated in the following 32 years. The reason behind the silence between the years 1936-1968 for 32 years was partly the printing regulation, which took effect in 1931. The regulation enabled the cabinet to censor “undesired” publications. Hence it restricted freedom of expression to a great extent. The law was strengthened twice in 1932, once in 1933 and 1934 respectively and finally the last time in 1938 (Güçtürk, 2005, p. 100, footnote 64). The printing regulation was one of the tools of oppression used by the state. Another noticeable reason behind the silence was “decentralization” or “separation” of the TKP from Comintern (1935), which caused all the political practices of the party to come to an end, and the party to go underground. The supporters of the party were encouraged to take part in CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - Republican People’s Party) politics including membership of the cabinet and mass organizations like the People’s Houses (Halkevleri) (Gürel, 2015, p. 238), which meant that they played a role in disseminating the principles and reforms

of the government which was formed by CHP<sup>30</sup> and in creating a uniformity and sense of nation in the society, including the lower classes and the ruling elite.<sup>31</sup>

In 1943 the decentralization period ended with the dissolution of Comintern by the Stalinist bureaucracy (Gürel, 2015, p. 240). Gürel lists all the suppression the party went through in Turkey. The historical TKP trial in 1944, which started against Mihri Belli and İleri Gençlik Birliği in 1945, and another trial in 1947 against TKP that also included Esat Adil Müstecaplıoğlu - the founder of Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi, and Şefik Hüsnü- the founder of Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi led to stagnation in the left wing. Another arrest campaign led all main functions and organs of the party to move abroad in 1951. TIP (Türkiye İşçi Partisi - Turkish Workers Party) was founded in 1961 and TKP's foreign office supported this party from the 1960s and until 1971 indirectly. In 1971, TIP was closed after the 12<sup>th</sup> March military intervention (Gürel, 2015, p. 241).

During the monoparty era in Turkey, after the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938 and during the presidency of İsmet İnönü (1938-1950), and later throughout the Democrat Party period (1950-1960), Marxist works were under state pressure. Berk writes how the influence of the United States increased in the years 1946-1960. She argues that “ideologically, anti-communism became a state policy, hence censorship was enforced on the press and the leftist publications” (Berk, 2004, p. 175). She also adds how the people who had socialist sympathies were seen as potential traitors in the climate of the Cold War (Berk, 2004, p. 176). The socio-political circumstances of the

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<sup>30</sup> For further information see Tahir Gürçağlar (2008).

<sup>31</sup> For further information see Berk (2004).

era were influential for many reasons. During the Cold War years, the regime took extraordinary precautions to protect its stability.

The 141<sup>th</sup> and the 142<sup>th</sup> articles of the penal code were resorted to on several instances by the state, and these articles required severe penalties for those who were ideologically inclined to leftist politics. These articles forbade the control of one class over another and banned any social community or association that gathered and led people for this purpose. Moreover, it is thought that the whole body of the political system was under state protection thanks to this law because it aimed at preventing any attempt to topple the state organs. From five to twelve years of imprisonment was given to those who were convicted to use violence in order to achieve these aims (Örnek, 2014, p. 118). Many intellectuals, translators and editors were prosecuted for attempting to spread communist propaganda through books, which were mainly translations. In 1963 TİP appealed to the Constitution Court for the annulment of these articles and lifting of the ban on leftist publications. Although the articles were not annulled, the court judged that the articles did not cover scientific works, but they banned propaganda. This verdict was published in the official gazette two years later in 1967 (Erdem, 2015). Thus in terms of timing, it is not very surprising for Süleyman Ege to choose the year 1968 to publish the new retranslation of *The Communist Manifesto* after this long period of silence. He had prepared his legal defense arguing that the book was published for purely scientific reasons (Ege, 1997). These articles were abolished on the 31<sup>th</sup> of March 1991 when a new law for the “Struggle against Terrorism” came into force.

Cangül Örnek, in her article “State and Classes in the Debates on Articles 141 and the 142 of the Turkish Penal Code” questions the reasons behind these articles and the predominant state understanding of the social classes and politics that followed in

this direction. She argued that it was an issue of debate whether the leftist publications could be taken as acts of crime in spite of the fact that they were not straightforward acts of violence. Having a wide impact area and obscure definition, these two articles were used as an oppressive apparatus against leftist publications and anybody who was involved in leftist politics, translation and writing (Örnek, 2014, p.133-134). Although the laws were very restrictive, this could not prevent the social leftist movement from rising in the 1970s. The only way out for the leftist publications was defending themselves as scientific works, which aimed at analyzing communism and anarchism. In theory, scientific works done for this purpose were kept exempt from the definition of crime in terms of the above-mentioned articles of Turkish penal code. Thus, some artistic and scientific texts were preferred in order to escape from the charge (Örnek, 2014, p. 124). Another aspect of the issue was the differentiation of communism from socialism. Turkish legislation did not differentiate between European democratic socialism and communism. Therefore, the books concerning socialism as well as communism were condemned with the same charges.

As already discussed, the fourth translation was published by Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publications on the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 1968. It was sued according to the 142/1 article of the Turkish Penal Code on the same day of publication for containing communist propaganda. Subsequently, Süleyman Ege, the translator and the owner of the publishing house, was arrested on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November, and the book was confiscated (Ege, 1971, p. 7-13).

Until the coup of the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1971, three editions of the translation by Bilim and Sosyalizm Publications were published. Ege was sentenced to 30 years of

imprisonment and 16 years of observation due to four translations,<sup>32</sup> which is now known as the case of Süleyman Ege. The publication of the book came to an end when the military regime of 12 September 1980 closed down Bilim and Sosyalizm Publication. I should state that the article 3/c of the Martial Law, which was changed and came into force in 1985, constituted the grounds for the seizure of one hundred thirty-three thousand, six hundred seven (133,607) books in total (approximately thirty tons) of the publishing house (Ege, 1997, p. 31). Although it was acquitted, as Süleyman Ege tells in his book *Kitabın Ateşle Dansı, The Communist Manifesto* could not escape to be burned with all the other 30 leftist non-fiction books of the publishing house in Mamak Martial Law Garrison (*Sıkı Yönetim Karargâhı*), just before the abolishment of the Martial Law. Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları was not the only publishing house whose books were seizure (Ege, 1997, p. 105), thus the total amount of the books was sufficient to be called as oeuvre. None of the books that were destroyed there had been banned beforehand. Ege lists the books that were confiscated and burned<sup>33</sup> (Ege, 1997, 9. 14) as it is shown in Appendix B. Apart from two books, *Komünist Manifesto Belgeler* and *Devlet İhtilal Belgeler*, this list comprises of translations. These two books include the translations of the books *The Communist Manifesto* and *The State and Revolution* in addition to the formal documents of the legal cases started against these translations, and therefore can be considered as memoirs of Süleyman Ege. It was also prohibited to have any of these books in personal libraries or commercial stock. In 1989, the translation of *The Communist Manifesto* was published again as the publishing house was reactivated

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<sup>32</sup> These are *Devlet ve İhtilal (State and Revolution)*, *Bütün Ülkelerin İşçileri Birleşiniz (All the Workers of the World Unite)*, *Bolşevik Partisi Tarihi (The history of Bolshevik Party)* and *Komünist Manifesto (The Communist Manifesto)*.

<sup>33</sup> The list of the confiscated and burned books of Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları is provided in the Appendix B.

by the publisher. In 1990, when martial law ended, the publisher won a case for compensation and a libel suit for 133,607 books from the Prime Ministry against the state in 1985 (Ege, 1992, p. 162).

The most extraordinary thing about Ege's version is the discussions concerning its translator. In the preface he wrote for the translation of *The Communist Manifesto* published by Yordam Kitap in 2008, Rasih Nuri İleri claimed that the real translator of the book published by Bilim and Sosyalizm Publications was Mete Tunçay, who was then a young lecturer. It was intriguing that for the first time the identity of the book's translator was openly questioned. Moreover, İleri argued that while the translation was being prepared for publication, the parts of the book regarding women and marriage were censored by Mihri Belli, an influential communist militant at that time (İleri, 2010, p. 16). However, Süleyman Ege rejected the claim (Ege 2009: 189). In his book *Komünist Manifesto ve Türkiye'deki Öyküsü*, he explained that they had received a translation of the book by Tunçay before the publication of their version, but the prefaces were missing, and the translation was not of a very good quality, for this reason they did not publish it. He added that when the book was sued, Tunçay withdrew his text as he was afraid that he would be charged because of it (Ege 2009: 190). Ege declared that his translation was actually produced by Mihri Belli, Erdoğan Berktaş, Pertev Naili Boratav, Korkut Boratav and himself. He named the translation as "a collaborative work" (Ege, 2009, p. 189). Although the agency of the translator was not in question for forty years, it was only due to Yordam Kitap's new retranslation that the real translators of the Ege version were revealed.

In the 1980s, many other "undesired" leftist books were recycled in Seka Paper Production Company, as they were found inconvenient due to the unstable and chaotic

political situation of the country. Most of the other publishing houses suffered the same fate and faced the financial consequences because they had no realistic expectation of winning a law case so they did not defend themselves on legal grounds.

Öncü Publishing House was another publishing house that was sued according to the 141<sup>th</sup> and 142<sup>th</sup> articles of the penal code because of *The Communist Manifesto*. As a case, it also contains a conflict between the publisher and the translator. After the translation had been commissioned and fully paid for, the translator, Tektaş Ağaoğlu made a formal protest and filed a complaint regarding the translation he had already submitted to the publishing house. He rejected any charges regarding the translation of *The Communist Manifesto* when the social and legal circumstances of the time were taken into consideration and asked the publisher, Öncü Zeki Öztürk, to stop its publication (Öztürk, 2009). However, the translation was published with the translator's name, with an additional preface written by the publisher because he thought stopping the publication would be wrong from a "revolutionary" point of view. Nevertheless, the translator must have foreseen the unfavorable political circumstances of the time as he clearly stated in the legal complaint that the work was considered inconvenient by the state. As the translator expected, the translation was confiscated and the commercial book (ticari defter) of the publishing house was seized. Öztürk was arrested on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1971. Öztürk was an active member of TİP (Turkish Workers Party) at that time. He was accused of being a Russian agent who was involved in illegal publications and actions, and thus acting against martial law (Öztürk, 2009). All the books of the

publishing house including the ones in the stock house<sup>34</sup> were confiscated and transported to Selimiye Kışlası' a well-known military quarter in Istanbul. These books were later burned in front of the eyes of the all prisoners.

Another translation of *The Communist Manifesto* by H. Onar was published in 1976 by Proleterya Yayınevi (Proletariat Publications). As the name implies, the publishing house must have been founded with a commitment to ideological pursuits. However, the publication house is not active anymore, and I could not find any information about the translation. In the same year, Sol Publications published *Komunist Manifesto ve Komünizmin İlkeleri (The Communist Manifesto and the Principles of Communism)* under Muzaffer Erdost's name. The founder of this publishing house, Erdost himself, was a close friend of Süleyman Ege. It is highly probable that the translation was published under Muzaffer Erdost's name because he was the publisher. The identity of the real translator(s) is unknown until this day. The physical shape of the book is a lot thicker than the previous ones, which were only the size of booklets. This version has different sections like the rise of *The Communist Manifesto* and its historical importance and principles of communism as well as a vow of communist faith. The format and contents of this version implies the translation becoming one of the main readings of Marxist ideology.

Another remarkable translation of the book, which was brought to the court according to the 141st and 142nd articles, belongs to Can Publications and was produced

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<sup>34</sup> *Manifesto (The Communist Manifesto)* (2978 copies), *Politika Felsefe (Political Philosophy)* (2930 copies), *Ekonomi Politiğin Eleştirisine Katkı (The Critique of Political Economy)* (2600 copies), *Kadın ve Komünizm (Women and Communism)* (2260 copies), and other books and magazines (124 copies) were seized and burned. It should be noted that *Sovyet Şairleri Antolojisi (Anthology of Russian Poets)* and Henri Barbusse's novel *Ateş (Under Fire)* were also published by Öncü Publishing House and confiscated (Öncü 2009).



in 1979 by Nur Deriş and Celal Üster who were married at that time. The book was launched in April and confiscated in May (Üster, 2008). The translation was published under Nur Deriş' name because Celal Üster was going to do his military service very soon just after the completion of the translation. Nur Deriş who had been imprisoned during the oppressive years of the 12<sup>th</sup> March Military Note, could not risk another imprisonment and fled to Switzerland when martial law was put into force in 1980 (Üster and Deriş, 2008, p. 7). As a matter of fact, she had foreseen the result of the case that was started against her owing to the translation in question. It was not to her surprise when in 1984 she was sentenced to seven and half years of imprisonment and two and a half years of observation and obligatory residency in Beyoğlu, and permanently dismissed from state employment. This translation was defended in a very similar fashion to Bilim and Sosyalizm Yayınları's translation, making the claim that the book was a scientific and historical work, and the 141<sup>st</sup> and 142<sup>nd</sup> articles do not prohibit freedom of expression. Moreover, her lawyers stated that Nur Deriş as a translator did her job, and her action was not intentionally directed towards the hegemony of one class and did not result in any negative consequences (Üster, 2008, p. 38-39).

Another significant feature of this translation is its source book. It was translated from Samuel Moore's 1888 translation into English, which was edited and approved by Engels himself. This English version contained the explanatory notes added by Engels, which were later used in the German version of 1890. Moore had already translated the first volume of *Capital* when he translated *The Communist Manifesto*. To some extent, Celal Üster and Nur Deriş made the source text of the translation apparent by pointing out the importance of this English version. Furthermore, while doing the translation, they compared their main source text to the German original (Üster & Deriş, 2008, p.

41). Ege and Erdost versions do the same; however Üster and Deriş version put extra emphasis on this matter.

The retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto* into Turkish enjoyed a boom in the 2000s with 26 new versions including two Kurdish-Turkish ones. All the versions detected so far are shown in Appendix C. The timing of the retranslations implies that the restrictions the publishing industry had endured might have eased. Comparatively, independent legal circumstances of the 2000s might have triggered this upsurge in the retranslation of the non-fiction leftist books. This boom of retranslations attracted the readers' attention thanks to a conflict between two publishing houses in particular; Bilim ve Sosyalizm and Yordam Kitap as will be clarified in the following paragraphs.

One last reason behind the boom in retranslations may be the search for a different worldview that is shaped according to the changing financial system, at variance with the rapidly developing Western capitalist model in Turkey. One can argue that people seem to be attracted to Marxist works, especially after the global economic crisis in 2008, as Marxism, as a political view, provides a distinct world view from the current capitalist one, as well as a harsh criticism towards capitalism. As Jeffrey C. Isaac states in his article "Rethinking the Communist Manifesto", there is a resurgence of interest in Marx occasioned by the world financial crisis, and there has been a spike in the sales of Marx's texts in Europe (Isaac, 2012, p.1). There seems to be a parallelism in Turkey. The pessimistic and depressing atmosphere of the global economic crisis may have led to the criticism of the current economic system.

Another important factor that led to this great increase in the number of retranslations was the 150<sup>th</sup> and the 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the book's first publication. The prologues of the retranslations revealed that especially the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary inspired

many commentaries and complementary books globally. Yordam Kitap version attached special importance to the 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary particularly as well as the reception of the book abroad as a project. The prologue is by Rasih N. İleri, and it is designed almost like a book history, that attaches importance to the reception of the book and these anniversaries. It referred to some articles at the end of the translation, which are indigenous writings from the book, *A World to Win (2000)* by influential writers of the *Left View* in addition to the indigenous writings by various foreign and Turkish writers. Thus they ornamented their version with articles by renowned Marxist theorists, scholars, economists and historians, namely; Paul Sweezy, Ellen Meiksins Wood, Anwar Shaikh, Prakash Karat, Prabhat Patnaik, İrfan Habib, Aijaz Ahmad and David Harvey in addition to three reviews of *the Communist Manifesto* in the 21<sup>th</sup> century by Turkish Marxists such as Metin Çulhaoğlu, Ertuğrul Kürkçü and Sungur Savran. This version also made the historical story of the translation visible from the perspective of the Turkish readership just as Can Publications did.

Another remarkable contribution Yordam Kitap made to this version is two glossaries provided in its version. I find the first glossary very illuminating from the perspective of the Turkish readership as it deals with Marxist terminology and is very valuable for the reception of the book. A footnote illustrates the fact that Phil Gasper's book, *the Communist Manifesto; A Road Map to History's Most Important Political Document (2005)*, was used to prepare this mini Marxist dictionary. The second one is more helpful for those readers who are interested in Şefik Hüsnü's translation, as the transcription done by Şeyda Oğuz was added to this version. As modern Turkish readers will have difficulties in understanding Ottoman Turkish of 1923, this transcription still needs intralingual translation to be comprehensible and a glossary is also added at the

end of the transcription. In all, this version was outstanding when all of its additions and size are taken into consideration. Even the hard red cover of the book with the red ribbon implies that it demands a privileged, even canonized, position among all the others. Finally, the Yordam version situated itself in a rival position against Bilim and Sosyalizm Publications' version. Rasih Nuri İleri started the discussion concerning the translator of the Süleyman Ege version. Furthermore, he claimed in Yordam version's prologue that Mihri Belli applied self-censorship in the parts of the book that concern women the Ege version. Ege's response and the debate about the agency of the translation offer valuable insights for translation studies. Satlıgan used the original German source text for his translation, but he did also not deny the other secondary sources and took all the previous noteworthy translations into consideration. In a way, these two retranslations demanded a privileged position when compared to relay translations. In addition, Satlıgan translated the first volume of *Capital*. It is also necessary to note that in Yordam Kitap publications, another *The Communist Manifesto* translator, Erkin Özalp, worked with Satlıgan as the editor of *Capital*.

Özalp's translation (1998) of *The Communist Manifesto* published by Yazılama Publications was also translated from German. Yazılama lists all the differences between the German and English texts and provides the footnotes of the English translation. The translator's commentary highlights the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the book. These two translations emphasized their source text as the distinguishing feature of their works. In this way, for the first time, a conflict between indirect translations and the direct translations has come to the surface. Furthermore, Özalp who was once a TKP member had departed from the Party. It is interesting as he cooperated with Satlıgan who came from a different fraction. The collaboration under the roof of Yordam Kitap towards a

direct translation represents an ideological separation from the mainstream Stalinist fraction in the first wave. Whether this distinguishing political stance sparks an alternative reading or a distinctive deviant interpretation in the translation is another matter. In order to answer this question, a through comparative textual analysis is required. Examining the differences between the translations in terms of their presentation and discourse can make the reasons behind their publications come to the surface. To reach a deeper perspective, we should analyze the source texts and target texts in comparison with each other. In a translation criticism in the case of this work, one will face several originals because the translations are from different reprints in two languages, the original and the intermediary language. However, the translations from German do not ignore the English translation, as it was edited by Engels. Although Engels is the second writer, and English is the intermediary language, the majority of the retranlations in Turkish are from English. I should note that some scholars consider Marx as the real author of *The Communist Manifesto* while considering Engels' contribution to the work only on the stylistic level as Engels was responsible for its eloquent language (Brian, 2016).

As far as the analysis done for this study has illustrated, the mainstream Stalinist fraction was dominant in the 1970s and cooperated with certain publishing Houses, Sol Publications in the case of *Lenin's What is to be Done* and Bilim ve Sosyalizm in the case of *The Communist Manifesto*. These two publishing houses were bound to each other in the name of comradeship. Their translations have lately been criticized. An alternative (Trotskyist) fraction should be gaining grounds in the leftist politics as the retranlations of these books indicated in the case of Yordam Kitap and Agora Kitaplığı. These two rival movements seem to be clashing with each other over the retranlations

of the Marxist Classics. This alteration may be the result of a renewal or re-interpretation phase in Turkish left, as it is visible in many indigenous writings. This rejuvenation is reflected in the retranslations. Moreover, the debate revealed the ideological load the translators and the publishers as active agents bring to the translations and the relations in the form of social networks between retranslations.

Berman's description of the retranslation process is very much to the point in the case of *The Communist Manifesto*, in Turkish (re)translations. When the early attempts to translate the book into Ottoman Turkish in the late Ottoman and the early Republican period are examined, they can be called ambitious as an introductory book was translated for the first time in the field of leftist works. The distance between the Marxist ideals and the local political and cultural context was huge. When the two dense retranslation periods following the first translations were taken into consideration, it is clear that each era produced its own canonical retranslations. The clash between these two canonical translations, namely Süleyman Ege's and Nail Satlıgan's translations, drew the borders of this study as it is very illuminating as regards the growth and progress of the Turkish left. Two retranslation waves of non-fiction leftist books in Turkish came to the surface in the historical survey conducted in this study. The times of these retranslation waves' peaks were overlapping with the publication of the two canonical retranslations that were in competition with each other. Though they were "the best" in their own era, their success can only be relative to their own time as every translation and retranslation will be subject to "aging" and inevitably followed by other retranslations that can be favored by a future readership with a different world view and a new perspective.

### 3.3 Turkish (re)translations of *capital* by Karl Marx

Translations of *Capital* led to several debates in Turkey, too. To follow a chronological order, it is essential to look back at the period of the Ottoman rule. Since the publication of the source text in 1867, for 45 years there was no attempt, to my knowledge, to translate the book. The first initiative to translate this book came from a Jewish socialist, Bohor Israel who published an initial summary translation from French titled “İktisad-ı İçtimai” (“Social Economics”) in Ottoman Turkish, in a magazine called *Ceride-i Felsefiyye* (1912) (Alkan, 1985). A number of other articles by Israel concerning economics appeared in the same issue. The magazine was published by Israel himself, and only ceased to be published after its first issue.<sup>35</sup>

The first Turkish translation of the first volume of the book was produced by Haydar Rifat Yorulmaz in 1933 and published by Tefeyyüz Kitaphanesi under the title of *Sermaye*. This first version in book form was a summary translation based on Gabriel Deville’s translation in French (1897). As the original source text is comprised of three volumes, it is an incomplete translation made from a relay language. The agency of Rifat and the whole corpus of his translations are examined and analyzed by Bilal Çelik in his master’s thesis. In Çelik’s view, Haydar Rifat Yorulmaz, as a cultural entrepreneur, introduced “new ‘options’ to the society for making a leftist thought repertoire through translation/s” (Çelik, 2014: ix).

Rifat was criticized by Kerim Sadi in three brochures entitled “Bir Mütercimim Hataları” [Errors of a Translator] (1935) published by İnsaniyet Kütüphanesi, which gives lists of lexical and syntactic errors. After his fierce criticisms, Kerim Sadi

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<sup>35</sup> See Savran and Tonak (2018) for more on Israel and *Capital*’s Turkish translations.

produced his (incomplete) retranslation from French under the title of *Kapital'dan Hülâsalar* (*Summaries from Capital*) in 1936.

It is necessary to note that Suphi Nuri İleri (1936) and Rasih Nuri İleri (1996) translated a summary of *Capital* by Carlo Cafiero, the original of which is in Italian but translated into French. The translation was done from the French translation. These two translators, father and son, two important political figures, produced two versions of the same book. The similarities and differences between the two translations can only be revealed through a translation criticism. However, it will not be the subject of this study.

The next translation came from Hikmet Kıvılcımlı in 1937. Dr. Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, an influential political figure, was the first translator who started to translate *Capital* from the German original. However, he admits that he first translated the work from French eight years prior to his translation from German (Kıvılcımlı, 2007). It is highly probable that he used the first translation as a draft and compared it to the German and produced the final version. Satlıgan argues that Kıvılcımlı's translation was definitely made from German and assumes that Kıvılcımlı might have learned German in order to translate this work (Satlıgan, 2011, p. 59). Having published the first part of the work in seven issues, Kıvılcımlı was arrested in the well-known legal case called "Donanma Davası" (Navy Case) in 1938, an important case in which Nazım Hikmet was also tried (Satlıgan, 2011).

Kıvılcımlı abided by the tradition of criticizing previous translators, and he condemned Sadi on several grounds. In *Marxism Kalpazanları Kimlerdir: Kerim Sadi* (Who are the Counterfeiters of Marxism: Kerim Sadi), Kıvılcımlı criticized several parts of Sadi's translations and argued that Sadi did not depend on the German source texts, and furthermore he distorted the texts he translated in many ways (2014). This conflict



between two translators gave rise to many debates around translations, which were initiated by differences in terms of political and ideological perspectives. Kıvılcımlı disapproved of Sadi's understanding of Marxism on several grounds and found his education, competence in language and readings insufficient to produce translations. He called Sadi only an "autodidact" in a very degrading manner. Kıvılcımlı even accused Sadi of being a "fatalist opportunist", "Trotskyist" and "an adherent of Kautsky" who distorted Leninism. Kıvılcımlı tried to prove that Sadi had plagiarized some parts of his writings in one of the brochures entitled "Anti anti Marksizm" (Kıvılcımlı, 2014, p. 13) from *The Communist Manifesto* (Kıvılcımlı, 2014, p. 23). As the founder and owner of İnsanîyet Kütüphanesi Publishing, Sadi was in a position to publish many of his own writings in brochures (Toprak, 2015, p. 8). This conflict between Kıvılcımlı and Sadi reflects the roots of the anti-Trotskyist nature of Kıvılcımlı's political stance. However, we need to keep in mind that both of the translators were owners of their own publishing houses. Kıvılcımlı was the founder of Marksizm Bibliyoteği Publishing House. Therefore, it was also a confrontation in the publishing market.

The fifth translation of the book came from Mehmet Selik (1966) who translated the first volume of the work with an academic interest (Erdost, 2012). Selik was known to be a TİP member and an academician at Ankara University Political Sciences Faculty. Having translated the first volume of the work from its German original, Selik gave his translation to Sol Publications. The translation was edited and compared to the English translation by Erdost and Erdoğan Berktaş. Therefore, while they were preparing the work for the publication, they had several terminological discussions. Erdost finds Selik's translation very problematic because of Selik's language. Thanks to the noteworthy contributions of the publisher, Erdost, and Berktaş, and despite many

handicaps of printing technology, the first volume was published in 1970 (Erdost, 2012). However, after the coup of 12 March, Erdost was arrested. While the publisher was under arrest, the translator gave the work to Doğan Publishing House, but they were not able to publish it. After a short while, the translator sold the translation to another publishing house, Odak Publications. For this reason, the translator was severely criticized by Erdost. He called the translation “dirty” and “cursed”. From Erdost’s point of view, the recent version of *Capital* by Yordam Publications in 2012 was based on the version edited and published by Sol Publications in 1970. Erdost stated that the other translator’s name, referring to Nail Satlıgan, who undertook the completion of the translation after Selik’s death in 2005, was the only addition to Yordam’s version (Erdost, 2012). This was an extremely disparaging denial of Satlıgan’s role. Selik himself was, of course, not able to answer any of the accusations against him by Erdost as he had already passed away. Therefore, we know only one side of the publication’s story. Thus, Erdost ignored any kind of contribution Satlıgan made to the first volume of the work.

The strongest objection Erdost had for the advertisements of the translation by Yordam Publications was the claim that the book had been translated from its German original for the first time. In this way, Yordam publishing house neglected Sol Publications’ effort and work for the completion of the first volume. As it was a work, which was built on the legacy of another publishing house, Erdost demanded more rights and ownership with regard to Yordam’s version. All in all, he used every opportunity to curse Yordam version of the book together with the agents that took part in the publication. It was obvious that much of his severe criticisms derived from ideological grounds.

On the other hand, Erdost praised the translation by Alaattin Bilgi published by Sol Publications in 1975, his own publishing house, though it was done from the English version, emphasizing that the English translation was revised by Engels himself (Erdost, 2012). It is possible to see two different views on the translation from English. Satlıgan thinks that it is a drawback that the English translation was not revised by the author, Marx (Satlıgan, 2011). However, both Satlıgan and Erdost agree on the point that Bilgi's translation is a very good one. I should add that the Yordam version was compared to the German source text by the editor Erkin Özalp and compared to the English translation by Oktar Türel. This means that even if the translation is from German, the English translation cannot be ignored. Therefore, there is a multiplicity of source texts. For Yordam Kitap's version, in addition to the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of *Capital*'s German translation, which was edited by Engels, two English translations are used for comparison; Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling's 1974 translation by Progress Publishing in Moscow and Ben Fowkes' 1976 translation by Penguin Books. For Alaattin Bilgi's translation, only Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling's translation published by Lawrence and Wishart Independent Radical Publishing in 1971 was used. Both Yordam Kitap and Sol Publications' versions contain a glossary. Satlıgan prepared the glossary for the Yordam Kitap version.

Some positive and negative criticisms of *Capital* by Satlıgan came from other critics, such as Kaan Kangal (2011) and E. Ahmet Tonak (2011). Tonak praised the translation especially because it has a glossary giving the definitions of the terms used in the translation. He thinks it is very beneficial for the readers to comprehend the work, and the equivalents of many terms are appropriate. However, Kangal categorized *Capital* published by Yordam Publications among other translations as “incomplete,

wrong and carelessly done” (2011). To various criticisms, which Kangal made at the word level, a noteworthy reply came from Satlıgan. Satlıgan explained the reasons for his choice by quoting from several dictionaries of philosophy, arguing that Kangal’s criticisms were baseless (2011). When Satlıgan’s own agency as a translator is taken into consideration, his self-defense was very much in accordance with scholarly stance of the translator because he refuted the critic’s claims very systematically.

Apart from the translation criticisms, a number of companion books were launched in the same period when these retranslations were published. These publications prove the fact that there was a tendency and effort to learn more about the source material, understand and interpret it better, and inform the Turkish readership. The summaries of *Capital* mentioned so far can be listed as companion books, in addition to *Kapital’in İzinde* (2012) by Sungur Savran, E. Ahmet Tonak, and Nail Satlıgan, *Yeni Başlayanlar için Kapital (Das Capital for Beginners)* (2014) by Mike Wayne translated by Kemal Ülker, *Marxist Klasikleri Okuma Kılavuzu (Guide to Read Marxist Classics)* (2013) all of which were launched by Yordam Kitap. Savran and Tonak (2018) also mention Alaattin Bilgi’s article “Kapital’in Türkçe Çevirileri; Terim ve Kavram Sorunları” (Turkish Translations of *Capital*; Terminological and Conceptual Problems) in the *Encyclopedia of Socialism and Social Struggles (Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi 8)* (1989) that aims to introduce the Marxist terms in *Capital*. It is apparent that all of these supplementary materials handle the theoretical and terminological baggage, which the Marxist source books, especially *Capital*, bring forth. They introduce and initiate the conceptual debates on Marxist theory and history. Here, translators as active participants are the core agents behind the stage.

It is likely that the debate has not come to an end. For the readers of leftist works who can in no way be considered ignorant about the discussions, this specific case is fruitful as it gives insights into the quality and ideological load of the translations, including the translators' and the publishers' source material. Moreover, in terms of translation studies, it indicates that the translations from the German source text have started to claim a superior status to the translations from relay languages. Direct translations were advertised both in the case of *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital* while in the case of *What is to be done?*, there were complaints about the lack of a direct translation. However, Alaattin Bilgi's version of *Capital* stands supreme as the only complete translation and is highly esteemed despite the fact that it is from English. This academic side of the debate was embellished with ideological and political rivalries and alliances. This movement of translation, which has a tendency towards direct translations, might have been directed by an alternative ideological approach, allegedly Trotskyist, which is in opposition to the mainstream leftist ideology of the 1970s which was Stalinist.

## CHAPTER 4

### TOWARDS A METHOD FOR A PRODUCTIVE CRITICISM

This part of the study aims to make a critical analysis of six retranslations of *The Communist Manifesto* into Turkish in the framework of the translation criticism path Berman developed in *Towards a Translation Criticism: John Donne*. To represent the biggest wave of retranslations in Turkish in the 1960s and 1970s, three indirect translations from English are selected for translation criticism. These are the retranslations by Süleyman Ege (1968), Muzaffer Erdost (1976), and Celal Üster and Nur Deriş (1979). To represent the predominance of direct retranslations in the plethora of all the translations of the book starting from the late 1990s until 2016, three direct retranslations by Erkin Özalp (1998), Levent Kavas (1998), and Nail Satlıgan (2008)<sup>36</sup> were also selected. I will investigate in what way the ideological and commercial tensions between the reprints of the indirect translations, which have established their status in the market, and the newly emerging direct translations, which are trying to accumulate symbolic capital, are reflected in the retranslations. In this last wave of retranslations, we see a tendency to translate from the original source text, which can be a sign of canonization.

Having said that, translations from English and French -although they are very few- are still being published, and most translations whether direct or indirect make use of multiple source texts. The English translation of *The Communist Manifesto*, which was the source text for a considerable number of Turkish translations, has predominance

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<sup>36</sup> See Figures D1-D6 in Appendix D for the the front covers of the books that were subject to translation analysis in Chapter 4.

over the paratextual material of the book, because this version includes Engels' prefaces and footnotes, which now constitute an inseparable part of the book. Thus, this chapter aims to reveal (if there are) any textual or ideological disparities between the translations from German and English following Berman's path. His path is very suitable to be used as a retranslation criticism model, because Berman commenced the whole discourse of retranslation hypothesis with his 1992 article entitled "La rétraduction comme espace de la traduction" in *Palimpsestes*. He has inspired numerous studies done afterwards. Furthermore, the concepts he developed and the framework he determined to study retranslations has been preliminary for those who are engaged in this field. Furthermore, he continued to develop his ideas on the mechanisms of retranslation via his translation criticism model, his works became a site for enhancing retranslation in theory and practice. Thus, his engagement in the issue in theory and its praxis is the first reason behind my choice of his model as a framework in the case study.

Berman's respect for the translator's subjectivity is another reason for choosing his model. He tries to dignify the translator via translation criticism because a translator becomes more visible when his work is found worthy of criticism, and thus the translation can enjoy more publicity, circulation and even accomplishment (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 31). His involvement with German Romanticism may be the underlying reason behind his respect for the agency of translators, which he calls "subjectivity" in this study (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 45, Berman, 1992/1984, p. 81). Berman tries to build his translation criticism model on a very positive and celebratory attitude towards translators and aims to determine the system behind their choices. In spite of the fact that disparities are natural at the micro level between the source and target text, an obsession of the critic in discovering these differences cannot be to the credit of the translator

(Berman, 2009/1995, p. 31). Thus he thinks translation criticism is supposed to aim at exploring the reasons behind the choices of translators which are based on a system and thus have a systematicity rather than being arbitrary. As he believes that the proficiency of good translations depends on a system of differences between the source text and the translation, his translation criticism path is designed to uncover the rationale behind these differences (Berman, 2009/1995, pp. xiv- 34). However, we can agree that a productive criticism can depend on a critical examination in order to find out the system of preferences of the translator/retranslator despite the fact that only a machine can operate on a complete systematicity. There are always flows and diversions within human made artefacts, which are openings to creativity and distinct historical contexts.

In Berman's opinion, a translator has the capacity to assess the socio-cultural parameters to catch the right time to produce a great translation. Therefore only at the right time, which is defined using the ancient Greek term "kairos" by Berman (1992/1984), a great translation with systematicity and proficiency comparable to the source text can be produced. He uses this term "kairos" (Berman, 1992/1984, p. 2) which also has a Biblical implication to describe this right, critical and opportune and even supreme moment of history, which is still indeterminate, but a translator takes action at that moment with immediacy and accuracy despite handicaps. In the part on productive criticism, the translations that are dealt with are examples of such remarkable translations whose translators are renowned in their fields of study, and have the capacity to influence the readers. As they take action at critical moments, translators pave the way for change. They prove that as actors, translators are not totally restricted by the norms but are capable of turning socio-cultural parameters into advantage at certain moments of history. When the translations that can be called "great" are



examined, it is not difficult to see that they have a motive force behind themselves in the target culture and discourse. In other words, some socio-cultural events generate them and accelerate their success, which can even raise them to the level of canonized translations, proving the indicative role of retranslations.

To ensure that this study is not simply a mere comparative study of retranslations that offers a set value of judgments, it is essential to set a translation criticism model that will be reciprocal. That is to say, the results of the study should reinforce the model with constructive criticism and test its validity to be used in the field of translation studies. As this study is conceived and arises from the debates relating to particular segments and phrases of the book, in the target culture and Turkish leftist discourse, paratextual material in which these debates took place is of great importance for this case study. Although Berman does not specifically attribute significance to *paratextual* material in his translation criticism path, they played an important role in the discourse surrounding this particular case. Discussions on the translations in the Turkish discourse first started over the Marxist concepts and ideas in the reviews and criticisms and reflected as debates on terms and their translations over various non-fiction left books.

The macro and microanalysis that is carried out in this chapter will cover the elements that Berman proposes in two main stages in his translation analysis path: “Towards a Method”<sup>37</sup> and “The Analysis of the Translation”<sup>38</sup>. The scope and aim of each subsection under these headings will be explained in the course of the analysis.

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<sup>37</sup> This first section of Berman’s path is composed of the following subsections; “translation reading and rereading”, “the reading of the original”, “in search of the translator”, “the translating position”, “the translating project”, “the horizon of the translator”.

<sup>38</sup> This second section comprises the subsections; “the forms of the analysis”, “the confrontation”, “the style of the confrontation”, “the foundation of the evaluation” respectively. In this study, these four subsections will be combined under one heading.

Berman's model requires a macro- level and a micro-level analysis, which are followed by "reception", the third stage of the path, and "productive criticism", the final one. However, these stages in Berman's path are not dealt with under separate headings in this study. Although, the reception of the translations can be partly assessed via the paratextual materials that pinpoint certain extracts and their reflections in the target culture, as a topic it exceeds the borders of this study. Finally, the productive criticism is going to comprise the conclusion part of this dissertation.

The macro analysis will necessarily depend on paratextual elements of the translations. As paratexts are strongly coded in terms of ideology and they indicate what kind of a discourse is aimed at in the translations, the discourse analysis will depend on paratexts. This will also help us discover the binds among the actors in this corpus. In other words, paratextual hints are checked in the first part of the path, and their indications are evaluated to choose textual samples. In the second part, a comparative analysis will shed light on textual-linguistic regularities, differences or alterations, the stylistic effect they create in the extracts of the translations detected in the first part. As Maria Tymoczko emphasizes in her article "Connecting the Two Infinite Orders: Research Methods in Translation Studies", there has been a constant debate between linguistic studies and cultural studies in translation studies (Tymoczko, 2002, p. 14). Indeed, linguistic analysis, better defined as micro level textual analysis with translational purposes, can provide invaluable data for the reflection of translation studies, especially in terms of translation criticism. Thus, Berman admits such a need in the following words: "In my article, 'La traduction et ses discours' I underestimated the contribution of linguistics to traductological reflection" (Berman, 2009/1995, p.65). He mentions the contributions of other "non-traductological discourses dealing with

translation from their vantage points” (Berman, 2009/1995, p.66). Currently, it is evident that there is a requirement for a new approach that would combine linguistic (micro level textual analysis) and cultural analysis (macro level contextual analysis) in translation criticism, and Berman provides such a structure in his translation criticism path.

Tymoczko furthermore argues for the two-way approach to test a hypothesis from the macroscopic direction to the microscopic or vice versa (Tymoczko, 2002, p.17). Tymoczko’s idea lies on the fact that linguistic anomalies and perturbations (any choice of elements on various linguistic levels) will eventually reflect cultural issues (Tymoczko, 2002, p. 18). Similarly, “Towards a Method” and “The Analysis of the Translation” sections in Berman’s criticism model are based on the same principle. Linguistic choices the translators make reflect the translators’ understanding of the target text.

Critical discourse analysis is another area that will also prove a similar kind of reciprocal relation between the micro- and macro-contexts of a text. Thus, it will support Berman’s path of translation criticism. As Christina Schäffner comments:

Translators work in specific socio-political contexts, producing target texts for specific purposes as identified by their clients. This social conditioning is reflected in the linguistic structure of the target text. That is, the target text will reveal the impact of social, ideological, discursive and linguistic conventions, norms and constraints. (Schäffner, 2003, p. 24)

CDA elucidates that the mediation between linguistic structures is evident in a text. And the social, political and historical contexts of texts can be revealed with evidence of an applied and more concrete kind. Similarly, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak

describe critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an approach that analyzes real and often extended instances of social interaction which take a linguistic form, or a partially linguistic form (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). CDA, covering power relations among different social groups and ideological conflicts, offers much to translation studies. In translation criticism, CDA provides valuable support for the critics who wish to acknowledge the ideological load of the texts they are examining. Fairclough and Wodak assert that “Both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, p. 258). Therefore, it aims at making these opaque aspects of discourse more visible (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

In this study, the act of translating itself is a statement of political criticisms towards the established political order, which represents the status quo, because Marxist ideology has the potential to create a deviation in the existing system, which is under the control of another doctrine. Therefore, CDA can serve as a method to reveal how translation has been used as a tool in the hands of reformers and revolutionaries in order to present an alternative worldview, which might create a change in society.

One of the approaches to discourse analysis is “reading analysis”. As Fairclough and Wodak state, this approach puts emphasis on the historical dimension and hermeneutics (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 267). Thus, it can very easily be integrated into Berman’s translation criticism model, as he bases his translation criticism model on hermeneutics, focusing on the ever changing interpretation capacity of each translation embedded in its particular historical context. While analyzing a source text, a translator conducts a discourse analysis.

Moreover, Norman Fairclough and Phil Graham (2002) consider Marx as a critical discourse analyst who applies a homogenous trans-disciplinary method, which inspired many studies, including historiography. Marxist discourse analysis can pinpoint how central language is to social change. Fairclough and Graham explain that CDA views texts as moments of production and reproduction of social life that can serve as resistance to or struggle for change (Fairclough & Graham, 2002, p. 5). They consider Marx's critical approach to be based on skepticism and dialectic and against false premises, assumptions and prejudices:

Critical language analysis is central to Marx's method precisely because language is the only way we have of grasping the diachronics of changing social circumstances- not language as an abstract system of signs, but as a mutually determining product and substance of changing material circumstances and practices; not as the abstract representative of externalised ideas, but as both product, producer and reproducer of social consciousness, which in turn is in a reciprocally causal relationship with the whole of human experience. (Fairclough and Graham, 2002, p.19)

In other words, the dialectic method Marx uses is very similar to the scientific method CDA uses today, because both of them aim to challenge dogmas which are taken for granted via deconstruction and produce counter assertions. Social consciousness is reflected in language awareness mainly. Thus, practical consciousness is inherent in language (Fairclough & Graham, 2002, p. 10).

When it comes to the methodological assistance actor network theory (ANT) provides in this chapter, it gives a framework to follow the links between the publishers who are allies and rivals on the one hand. On the other hand, there are those which remain discrete and loosely connected to this struggle but which still have links to the Turkish leftist discourse. ANT helps us to visualize the case of *The Communist Manifesto* as a node among the multi-hub network of retranslations in non-fiction left

books. As various voices including the authors and previous translators can be heard in the retranslations, ANT helps us to discover the network of voices in the retranslations.

#### 4.1 Translation reading and rereading

According to Berman, critics should start their criticism by reading and rereading the target text. In Berman's translation criticism model, translation criticism starts with the target text, rather than the source, which is appropriate from a target-oriented view. This translational reading aims to identify the textual zones that are "problematic" or "miraculous" (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 50) but characteristic to the translation. Berman's translation reading also depends on a global reading that has the potential to create an impression on the critic. But this impression needs to be supported with evidence; namely with extracts from the text.

But in our case, there were a number of significant factors that directed the translation reading. As a rivalry among Bilim ve Sosyalizm and Yordam publishing houses which was revealed in paratextual material<sup>39</sup> sparked off the first discussions concerning our case in this study, the translational reading is done to follow the reflections of these debates in the main body of the text. First of all, the debates that took place in Turkish over some widely quoted and renowned extracts of the source and their translations into Turkish shaped the translation reading. Second, the controversial sections of the book that led the first translator-publisher Süleyman Ege to the court were always in question. Some extracts from his translations were considered as threats

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<sup>39</sup> As stated earlier, İleri accused the version by Ege for self-censorship in the preface to Satlıgan's version, and Süleyman Ege denied the claim in the endnote of the new reprint of his translation. The debate went on with two articles by Ege and İleri respectively on a supplement, "Cumhuriyet Kitap" of *Cumhuriyet* daily newspaper on November the 13th, 2008, and December the 4th, 2008.

to the regime because they were considered to be encouraging a class conflict. To be more specific, they were considered to be political provocations, inciting the proletariat to revolt against bourgeois. Thus, they resulted in a legal case, which is well known now because the publisher of the translation, Ege, wrote a book entitled *Komünist Manifesto ve Türkiye'deki Öyküsü (The Communist Manifesto and its Story in Turkey)* on this subject.

Moreover, some other parts concerning the role of women and children were found inappropriate to the values and socio-cultural aspects of the target culture. Apart from these, there were some frequently quoted, rhetorically, accomplished, well-known sentences and sections which are discordant with the nation building policies of the Turkish Republic. Thus, only after the explication of these textual zones in comparison and contrast, can one be sure whether his/her general impression derived from the global reading is accurate or not. The above-mentioned textual zones and general impressions of the translation will be discussed in the translation analyses and confrontation section in comparison and contrast with the source texts. As there is a rivalry between the direct and indirect translations, both the German original and the English translation of the book will be used.

#### 4.2 The readings of the original

In this section of his path, Berman recommends that the critic should make a textual analysis of the source text to bring forth its stylistic characteristics like sentence type, recurring use of adjectives, prepositions, adverbs, etc. that point to a rhythmic pattern (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 51) to understand the source text. The critic needs to turn to other studies and writers about the source text, its author and time (Berman, 2009/1995,

p. 52). Moreover, Berman proposes that the examples that are going to be analyzed should be selected on this stage of translation criticism. As it comes before the textual analysis of the target texts, Berman call this phase a “pre-analysis” (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 51-54) and the critic should prepare the readers for the “confrontation” between the source text and the target text in the form of textual analysis, comparison and contrast.

As it is well known, the *Communist Manifesto*, a pamphlet now printed in the book format, is known with its rhetorical power to arouse emotions in the readers because it aims to persuade and move people. It is a politically analytical and critical book in which Marx and Engels explain the goals of communism. It is a party program that outlines the basic principles of communism, and is considered a book on the edges of literature because of its stylistic magnetism. Yanis Varoufakis states, “As a work of political literature, the manifesto remains unsurpassed” (Varoufakis, 2018).

The authors’ controversial oratorical style can be sarcastic, ironic, and full of invectives to the capitalists in different parts. However, the eloquence of the figures of speech and the tropes they use never dominate the prevailing “lucid” (Bosmajian, 1963, p. 458) and “trenchant” (Bosmajian, 1963, p. 464) style of the document. The sample extracts that are known for their persuasiveness, clarity, irony or provocativeness, which are examples of the characteristic stylistic features of the book, will be introduced to the readers in the confrontation part and examined in comparison with the source text extract. Here instead, the scope and reception of the book will be presented as the readers need to know what kind of a text is going to be analyzed. I will focus on the historical factors that led people to read and translate *The Communist Manifesto* and its interpretations from various angles, and caused resurgence of interest in Marx’s books in general. In order to do this, one needs to make use of paratextual material the source text



is surrounded with. Thus, in a way here the reception of the book will be elaborated. However, it should be noted that the readings of the original for translation criticism purposes in the Turkish context would inevitably be shaped around the topic of social classes, because the book is accused of encouraging a certain class -the proletariat- revolt against the social order of its time, and challenges the existing social relations. According to the book, the nature of classes and class struggles were determined by means and methods of production in a specific era. In other words, when new forms of production are invented, new classes emerge. Thus the ever-changing nature of production causes a constant revolution of class relations. The dawn of every new era inevitably brings a new social/class structure in its wake. Therefore, scope of the social classes and the conflicts between them throughout the world is the most prevailing topic and covers a big space in the developmental sections of the book. The authors explain the readers the rationale behind the conclusion they draw from the development of classes.

*The Communist Manifesto* has become a topic of interest due to a few reasons recently. It has always been the most widely read and translated work of Marxist literature, because it was considered an introductory work to the Marxist corpus. In 1998, 150 years after *The Communist Manifesto*'s first publication, journals like *Constellations*, *New Politics*, *Socialist Register*, and *Socialism and Democracy* started to publish articles about the book at a time when there was a re-awakening in Marxism and an enthusiasm for Marxist works throughout the world. The Asian and Russian economic crises in 1998 might have played a role in general. The failures of neoliberalism and worldwide contests of globalization (Isaac, 2012, p. 3) led the intellectual and postmodern left to read Marx again because it seemed a political and

philosophical responsibility (Derrida, 1994, p.13). The 59<sup>th</sup> issue of *Doğu Batı* philosophical magazine in Turkey was published with the title of *Türk Sosyalizminin Eleştirisi (The Critic of Turkish Socialism)* and in 2015 *Felsefe Logos* published the 59<sup>th</sup> issue of the magazine entitled *Marksist Estetik (Marxist Aesthetics)* which showed a similar inclination.

After the 1980s *The Communist Manifesto* was laid aside due to the dissolution of U.S.S.R. (1991) and other factors, but the 2008 world financial crises brought it the forefront again most vigorously. After the collapse of the Berlin Wall (1989), which stood as a symbol of the division between communism and capitalism, it was accepted that the Soviet Union lost its influence over the Iron Curtain counties in Eastern Europe. However, classical Marxism was on the agenda again. This recent resurgence of interest in Marxism first looked like an academic phenomenon that appeared as a result of the economic crisis (Isaac, 2012, p. 2-3) because liberalism was in the ascendancy at that time. The incapability of capitalism to reproduce itself led people to question their own wish to conform to it as a prevailing system (Varoufakis, 2018). Capitalism's inherent tendency for economic crisis was clear, but the contemporary welfare state has always challenged Marx's analysis (Lanchester, 2012). Especially in times of crisis, a slavish obedience to the current greed-based system which enslaves everyone and wastes both human and natural resources seemed irrational to many people.

A series of celebrations have also brought forth Marx and his works, namely; *Capital's* 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary in autumn 2017, the 150<sup>th</sup>, the 160<sup>th</sup>, and the 170<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of *The Communist Manifesto's* first publication in 1998, 2008, and 2018 respectively, the 200<sup>th</sup> birthday of Karl Marx in 2018, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Russia's

February, and October 1917 revolutions, the 1918 German revolution, and the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the global upheaval in 1968.

A Renaissance of Marx has been triggered by many research interests, such as a critique of modern society, the capitalist system, and dialectic and historical materialism as well as a better understanding of political philosophy. An interest has been awoken in social democracy, Leninism, Stalinism, Trotskyism, feminism, and anarchism, all of which can be resorted to maintain a critique of capitalism in line with Marxism. In addition to these, cultural Marxism, which is associated with critical theory, post-modernism, post colonialism, deconstruction, and multiculturalism, was another driving force that led to various readings of Marx.

Moreover, the global ecological crisis in 2008 has resulted in Marxist environmental critique attracting attention in recent decades. The fast ecological transformation, and its potential disasters, its sociological results reminded people of Marx's critique of capitalism, which is founded on the exploitation of natural resources, which are as finite as human resources (Foster, 2015). Consumerism today confronts ecological sensitivity and the idea of ecological sustainability, which arise as a global concern.

*The Communist Manifesto* offers a critique of the discourse of political theory produced by post-Renaissance European intellectual history, which was based on the classical traditions of Greece and Rome. The aim of reaching universal rights and rational political agreement was the result of a new concept of the public sphere, arising from the critical reasoning that was core to the Enlightenment. Thus, the book displays a radical political tendency towards a struggle that is happening at present for the future (Isaac, 2012, p. 7-9). This radical tendency towards a struggle is inherent in the book due

to the historical circumstances in which it was written. The publication year of the book witnessed the Revolutions of 1848, the revolutionary wave accompanying political upheavals all around Europe that affected over fifty countries. The dissatisfaction with the political system and demands for democratic rights and political participation, mingled with an upsurge of nationalism, led to the reformation of the political system in many countries.

The book is also considered the work in which Marx and Engels started scientific socialism. The foundation of scientific socialism was completed in *German Philosophy* and it was no longer considered a utopia. A philosophical ideal was turned into a social and historical process, which is called the creation phase of historical materialism. For these reasons, readers of philosophy who are interested in scientific socialism and historical materialism are interested in the mentioned books and the other books in Marx and Engels oeuvre.

Marx's books are loaded with references to German philosophy, as this is the tradition from which it arises. First of all, Marx's theory of alienation was indebted to Hegelian historical and social dialectic philosophy could be used to support the struggle for freedom against exploitation. Dialectic as a method was used as a tool to illustrate how class struggle was always acting on the formation of new social structures. However, unlike Hegel's formation of it, alienation in Marx was not of a religious but an economic nature, as he considers the relationship embodied in contemporary forms of work alienating. Thus in his book *The Holy Family (Die Heilige Familie)*, Marx follows Feuerbach's line to humanize Hegel's philosophy and criticizes young Hegelians for dehumanizing Hegel and their idealist philosophy (Singer, 1980, p. 28-43). The people who want to examine Marxism as a philosophy and discover its humane side tend to

internalize the young Marx. His book, *The Misery of Philosophy*, is considered the book in which he departed from German idealism, and *The Communist Manifesto* was the first work in which he indicated his inclination towards political economy and thus sociology (Görür, 2018).

The transition of Marx from philosophy to political economy is thought to be a progress from orthodox Marxism to scientific socialism, despite some opposing views, which argue that his works should be approached globally. However, the theorists who were aware of his critique of alienation and humanist view in his earlier works do not believe in such a division that creates an artificial rupture between the young and the mature Marx. Despite the fact that many commenters view this as an oversimplification, Marx's philosophy is considered to be derived from German idealism, English political economy, and French socialism and radicalism (Lenin, 1977). On the other hand, whether *The Communist Manifesto* leads to the division of political and historical revolutionaries is still an unsolved debate.<sup>40</sup> People generally believe that it has the capacity to encourage people to act at some historical moments.

#### 4.3 In search of the translator: The translating position, the translation project and the horizon of the translator

Berman's gate to the agency of the translator opens under this heading with a main question: who is the translator (Berman, 2009, p. 57). This question is remarkable for our case study because the identity of the translator for Ege's version was questioned

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<sup>40</sup> For further information read Emre Görür's article "Komünist Manifesto'nun Eleştirel Edinimi" (The Critical Reception of the Communist Manifesto) at <http://teorivepolitika.org/index.php/component/k2/item/391-komunist-manifestonun-elestirel-edinimi>.

openly in Satlıgan version's preface by Rasih Nuri İleri. That was the first spark that started the rivalry between Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publications and Yordam Kitap version.

Berman's translation analysis continues with three subtitles, which are not separable from the agency of the translator: the translating position of the translator, the translating project, and the translator's horizon. In a similar vein, Berman states, the translating position and the translation project are caught in the "horizon" of the translator (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 61). In other words, the translating position and the project become mingled in the horizon of the translator which is shaped by cultural and historical parameters including the linguistic and literary ones. The translator's subjectivity, which Berman deeply respects, is also reflected in the "translating position" (2009/1995, 58-59). The commissioner's horizon which is expressed in the translation project is generally shaped by similar parameters with the translator's, its scope is covered in the horizon of the translator because both of them play an inseparable role in shaping the mode and style of the translation. However, as the relation of the translator to language(s) of the source text is reflected in the way the translation project is carried out, it can only be revealed in the confrontation part.

An important contribution of Berman to translation criticism is the integration of the hermeneutical term "horizon" to translation criticism. To prevent the subtitle of "horizon", which is adapted from Hans G. Gadamer's hermeneutics, from becoming a catchall category, some analytical stages can be set up. As a stage of translation analysis, horizon can cover the agency of the translator and her/his historical perspective, which is conditioned by the era s/he lives in, and the surrounding discourse. Therefore, one can claim that translators' literary identity and poetics of the era can be considered in the scope of horizon. The commission of translation designated by the publishers is held

under the title of the translation project, which is an immanent force to shape the horizon of the translator.

As the first main section of Berman's model entitled "Toward a Method" requires a critical discourse analysis pattern to discover a tip behind the system of the renderings of a translation, paratextual material can provide the translation critic with some indicative features of the text. Moreover, if analysis of paratextual material is integrated into this first main section, it can provide ample material to discover the horizon of the translator, the translating position, and the translation project. Methodologically, paratextual material pertaining to the critical parts of translation has the potential to lead the readings of the translation and subsequently textual analysis part entitled confrontation.

#### 4.3.1 Translators of indirect translations

As the debate concerning this book took place in the paratextual material, the paratexts have vital importance for our case study. In the Yordam Kitap version's preface entitled "Türkçe'de Manifesto" (Manifesto in Turkish), leftist Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist writer and translator, İleri made the claim that the real translator of Ege's version was in fact Mete Tunçay. Ege stated that although Tunçay submitted a translation of the book to his publishing house, it was not published due to its poor quality. In this reprint, Ege asserted the real translators and provided all the legal documents concerning the cases his publishing house went through in connection with the book in his own book *Komünist Manifesto ve Türkiye'deki Öyküsü (The Communist Manifesto and its Story in Turkey)*.

The details of the debate, which is very specific to the Turkish context, took place in the book supplement of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. In *Cumhuriyet Kitap*, a book magazine, Ege and Hayri Doğan, the publisher of Yordam Kitap, wrote articles on the subject on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November and 4<sup>th</sup> of December, 2008, respectively. Doğan's article was published with an additional note by Mete Tunçay. Tunçay insisted Ege accepted the fact that he benefitted from his translation partially, and his translation was changed and used by Mihri Belli even if it was not published as it was. Tunçay provided a sentence from his own version in comparison with Ege's version, pointing out the similarity, which included a minor change. Hayri Doğan quoted Ege's harsh criticism<sup>41</sup> from his book directly and stated that Ege was unfair to Yordam Kitap publishing house, which is supported by many communists, revolutionaries, and intellectuals all over the world.

The debate revealed the extreme legal conditions the 141<sup>th</sup> and 142<sup>th</sup> articles of the Turkish penal code, which were active between 1936 and 1991, created by banning any ideological propaganda based on class discrimination and/or struggle (Örnek, 2014, p.109). In theory, scientific works were supposed to be kept exempt from the scope of these articles according to their legal definition, despite the fact that they were subject to them very frequently in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Ege, as a publisher/translator, defended his translation on legal grounds as a scientific work. The publishers' and translators' horizon was shaped under this legal conditions and circumstances. Each of these translations should be regarded as a significant publication success for the

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<sup>41</sup> Hayri Doğan, the publisher of the Yordam version quoted Ege's assertion that the Satlıgan version and the accusations directed to Bilim and Sosyalizm Yayınları publishing house was "a sign of a retrogradation period in which depreciation in the revolutionary values hit the bottom in a country that sank into a swamp hand in hand with emperialism" ("emperyalizmle el ele batağa sürüklenmiş bir ülkede devrimci değerlerdeki aşınmanın da dibe vurduğu bir gerçilik dönemini işaret eden") (Doğan, 2008).



publishing houses, when they are assessed as translation projects. Therefore they have a legitimate pride in their work, which are also appreciated by the new generations. The publishers and translators of these three translations formed a group among the node of the translators of *The Communist Manifesto*, and they had ties and links with each other because they went through similar experiences.

The rivalry between these two versions was not between the translators.

Süleyman Ege as the publisher of Bilim ve Sosyalizm publishing house was reacting to Yordam Kitap publishing house in general for the groundless accusation but thanks to this debate the identities of the real translators have become visible for the Turkish readership as well as various aspects of local leftist discourse which was related the case - now known as the Süleyman Ege case. İleri was trying to put the emphasis on the “adventure” of the book in its Turkish translations and the accumulated symbolic power it gained through successive translations in Turkish leftist discourse. Ege was offended by the term “adventure” as he struggled against state oppression on legal grounds for the translation which in no way could be considered to have the pleasurable connotations of adventure. However, both İleri and Ege offered the readers an insight into the tradition of the Turkish leftist discourse with their opinions and memories in addition to the identities of previous translators. The whole discourse helped us to understand how translation products and processes were tools to legitimize the history of the Turkish leftist politics.

It was not only Ege’s version where the identity of the translator was debatable.

Similarly, the real identity of the translator of Erdost’s version was also unknown.

Erdost stated that the translation was done by the members of a translation board, though their names were not declared. Despite the fact that Erdost was sued for a number of

translations, he has not been subject to any trials in connection with his translation of *The Communist Manifesto*. An even more interesting aspect of his translation was about the publication date. Erdost states that they published the translation in 1976, the first record of the book in the library catalogues indicate 1991 as the publication date. If the translation was not informed to the national library at the time it was first launched, it might have skipped the attention of the authorities. If the translation was done in 1976 but was published until 1991, this can explain how it could escape a court trial.

The last translation from the 1970s was Celal Üster and Nur Deriş's version. The Üster-Deriş version is similar to the Ege version because they give some space to the legal process the translation went through in the section entitled "Explanations about the Translation" in the reprint of their translation published by Can Yayınları under Üster's and Deriş's name in 2008. Thus, only thanks to the paratextual material in the reprints and other writings could the translators of these versions be revealed. However, as was stated earlier, Celal Üster's name did not appear in the first prints. The translation could be published under Nur Deriş's name as the only translator. Deriş and Üster were married at that time but Üster's invisibility as the translator was a tactic against any potential threat. Since her identity was known, Deriş could not escape being charged under the legal code and thus, she had to flee. It was puzzling how two people, Ege and Deriş, were on trial arising from the translation of the same book while one was acquitted but the other one was sentenced to punishment. Both of them emphasized the fact that the Turkish readership could not be debarred from reading this scientific and historical book in their native language. As the only female and identified translator, she was found guilty in 1984 whereas Ege won the case as the visible translator-publisher in 1970. When the verdict of two cases were viewed in their historical contexts, we see that

the court that confined Deriş to sentence was The Martial Law Court founded after the 1980 military coup (Deriş/Üster, 2008, p. 35) which explains the discrepancy between the verdicts of two cases.

One of the Ege version's translators, Mihri Belli(1915-2011), was a leading figure in NDR movement because he is accepted as the ideologue of the movement as well as being a socialist writer and translator. Even when TKP went underground after the 1951 TKP investigation in Turkey, and the destalinization period started in Soviet Russia with Khrushchev's reports against Stalin in the 20<sup>th</sup> congress of the Communist Party, Belli<sup>42</sup> and his wife Sevim Belli, together with Erdost worked on the translation of the whole oeuvre of Stalin into Turkish (Satlıgan, 2005, p. 43). Later Belli took part in socialist Marxist political parties such as the ÖDP and SDP as a founding member. The other translators were also well-known Marxists; Korkut Boratav(1907-...) was a Marxist economist, his brother Pertev Naili Boratav(1915-2011) was a Turkish literary scholar and folklorist, and Erdoğan Berktaş(1921-1976) was a writer, translator, publisher, and editor in addition to being a lawyer.

These three indirect translations were similar because their translators were not visible, but concealed, when they were first published. Moreover, Ege, Erdost, and Üster were all engaged in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) Movement (*Milli Demokratik Devrim Hareketi*), which was a radical leftist movement started in the late 1960s by the former TKP members. Erdost was also a writer and poet who wrote for *Yeni Ufuklar*, *Yön*, *Türk Solu*, *Papirüs*, and various other leftist literary and political magazines and newspapers like *Cumhuriyet* and *Son Havadis*. Celal Üster was a writer,

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<sup>42</sup> Belli used the pen name E. Tüfekçi from time to time.

editor, and translator. Between 1960 and 1980, he translated for Aydınlık Publications in addition to various others like *Can*, *Bilim ve Sosyalizm*, *Payel*, and *İletişim. Yeni Dergi*, *Türk Solu*, *Militan*, *Türk Dili*, and *Sanat Dünyamız* are among the political and literary magazines he wrote for. He translated many leftist writers such as Lenin, Stalin, and Mao in addition to literary classic authors such as Borges, Orwell and even Roald Dahl, author of children's classics. Finally, Nur Deriş is a translator and an interpreter of French and English and a lecturer at Boğaziçi University. She translated literary and artistic books.

#### 4.3.2 Translators of direct translations

In 1998, the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *The Communist Manifesto*'s publication, Gelenek Publications published Erkin Özalp's direct translation of the book from German. The same translation was published by Yazılama Kitapevi later on in 2013. Özalp's attitude towards TKP (Turkish Communist Party), of which he, himself, was a former member, attracted attention.<sup>43</sup> He is known to be a socialist writer and translator. He wrote for *Gelenek* and other socialist magazines. In the case of *What is to be done?* he accused Ferit Burak Aydar of plagiarizing Erdost's version. On the other hand, he worked as an editor in the publication of the first volume of *Capital*, by Nail Satlıgan(1950-2013) and Mehmet Selik (DOB.?- 2005) published by Yordam Kitap publishing house.

Another translator whose translation will be subject to translation criticism is Levent Kavas. He is the only translator among these six translators who is a philosopher,

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<sup>43</sup> For further information see his article entitled "TKP'li yöneticiler bölünme süreciyle hesap vermekten kurtulmuş gibi görünüyor" published in Cafrande Kültür Sanat Magazine which is available on 17.07.2014.

writer, and translator despite the fact that he has not been engaged in active politics. He translated the main body of the work from German, prefaces of the book from their original languages, German, English, and Italian, the footnotes from English. Furthermore, the most remarkable aspect of this translation was the fact that its layout is multilingual. On the left-hand pages, one can find the source texts of every section of the book while the translated text is on the right. Although, Özalp emphasized that his translation is the first version, which was translated from German, Kavas's version came out the same year, in 1998, 150 years after the book's first publication. Kavas and Deriş-Üster versions were relatively impartial to the political conflict despite their leftist stance being clear.

In 2008, Yordam Kitap Publishing house launched *Komünist Manifesto ve Hakkında Yazılar* by Nail Satlıgan (DOD. 2013), Tekdaş Ağaoğlu (DOD. 2018), Olcay Göçmen, and Şükrü Alpagut. It was translated as a project on the 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the original book's publication. In this board of translators, Satlıgan was the leading figure in a group of translators because he was a translator, writer, devoted revolutionary socialist, Marxist economist, and political theorist. He translated the main body of the work while Ağaoğlu translated the prefaces. As stated earlier Satlıgan was among the young people interested in the NDR movement first but he was also among those who took active part in TIP, which politically rose against NDR. He was an active member ÖDP [Freedom and Solidarity Party] later.

Moreover, it was translated from German by Nail Satlıgan who was a distinguished Marxist scholar, writer, translator, economist and theorist. He was known to be a Trotskyist, although he never accepted this. Ağaoğlu on the other hand, was another publisher, writer, and translator with a socialist background. He wrote for

various magazines and newspapers including *Cumhuriyet*, *Ant*, and *Gerçek*. In accordance with article 142 of the Turkish penal code, he was arrested and sentenced to seven and a half years imprisonment due to his translation *Politika ve Felsefe (Politics and Philosophy)* that was a selection from Marx and Engels. He was released thanks to a legal pardon after six months' imprisonment.

Another disagreement between the previously mentioned translators Belli, Erdost, Satlıgan, and Korkut Boratav stemmed from their engagement with *Aydınlık Sosyalist Dergi* (Illuminated Socialist Magazine). The main cadre of this magazine was later divided into two magazines<sup>44</sup> in 1968 and Belli and Erdost remained on one side representing the socialist-Kemalist nationalist unification of NDR movement while Satlıgan and some others became inclined to the other which was social revolutionary in theory and allegedly Trotskyist. In an article written after Satlıgan's death in 2013, Demir Küçükaydın discussed Satlıgan's reformist approach, which constituted a fraction in the Revolutionary Youth Federation (Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu) (Küçükaydın, 2013). The leaders of NDR movement became prominent in this federation and the dissidents were discharged. Rasih Nuri İleri, Korkut Boratav, Metin Çulhaoğlu, Ertuğrul Kürkçü who collaborated in Satlıgan version are considered on the second side. Thus, the conflict was among the fractions of the Turkish left, which is barely known to young generations and the general readership.

The publishing houses *Bilim ve Sosyalizm* and *Sol* were engaged in the NDR movement, which was theoretically aligned with Stalinism. Trotskyism in Turkey, as Ünal (2006) states, remained as a critical but heterodox tradition because Stalinism was

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<sup>44</sup> <http://www.tustav.org/sureli-yayinlar-arsivi/aydinlik/>.

a very widespread and dominant ideology in the Turkish left. Thus, adherents of this alternative view, which is called the Left Opposition movement worldwide, were condemned in the Turkish left. Thus, as a view in opposition to Stalinism which the ruling left ideology attributed a “semi-demonical” character to it and it was seen as a ghost movement, adherents of which could be easily stigmatized with the label of “traitor” (Ünal, 2006: 106). Trotskyism is mainly known for its opposition to Stalinism. Robert V. Daniels (1991) describes how The Left Opposition criticized the dictatorship of Stalin, the anti-intellectualism of the Russian Communist Party and the dogmatization of Marxism by the party. Intellectuals, idealists, and adventurers formed the fraction. The people who were inclined to the Left Opposition criticized the Stalinist dictatorship, and advocated a permanent revolution rather than stagnation in the regime. Whereas Stalin advocated socialism in one country as a possibility, Trotsky found this view contrary to the Marxist ideal of socialism in theory and supported the idea of a worldwide revolution (Daniels, 1991).

In this aspect, Trotskyism was a very suitable tool to criticize the Turkish left, which had been of a Kemalist and nationalist character, and seemed almost in favor of militarist methods in some cases. Although the similarity of the NDR movement to Stalinism in character was multi-faceted, Stalin’s National Bolshevism and Russian nationalism were controversial and difficult to overlap with Turkish or Kemalist nationalism. The publishing activities after the 2000s seemed to have the aim of overcoming this Stalinist stagnation in the Turkish leftist discourse with criticisms and alternative views, but they had to face the reactions of the old ideologically dominant group, which identified itself mainly with an anti-Trotskyist approach.

#### 4.4 The Analysis of the Translation: Confrontation

As stated earlier, textual analysis is the phase where fragments from the translations are explicated in a dense micro-level confrontation, compared and contrasted with the source texts and each other. For Berman, clarity and transparency is important at this level (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 71). In order not to draw quick and unrealistic conclusion, the manner of analysis must be systematic.

To have a confrontation, the source text of a translation needs to be known. Sometimes several source texts can be used for translations or a certain version of the source text can gain dominance over the other source or reference texts. Cecilia Avstad and Alexandra Assis Rosa examine this multiplicity of source or reference texts in their article “Voice in retranslation” (2015). Having reminded the reader of the definition of retranslation as “a translation of translation” they write:

Additionally, the phenomenon of retranslation requires the consideration of possible relations between the retranslated text and one or several pre-existing translations, which may have been used or (in)voluntarily ignored. As a consequence, a retranslation’s comparative textual-linguistic profile may be drawn not only by mapping and comparing the source and target texts (a well-trodden path), but also by comparing the retranslation in question with previous translations. This may reveal similar or different textual-linguistic profiles, to which we can apply already available typologies for the description of shifts, strategies and the like at various levels (e.g. spelling, vocabulary, syntax, style and pragmatics). (Avstad & Rosa, 2015, p. 9)

This section aims to make such a textual-linguistic analysis on the micro/linguistic level.

However, first of all, the paratextual material needs to be analyzed to reveal how the translations are promoted. *The Communist Manifesto*’s translations in Turkish have multiple source texts. To comprehend the reasons behind this multiplicity of source texts, one needs to know the publication and translation story of *The Communist Manifesto*.



A socialist workers' group known as *The League of the Just* commissioned Marx and Engels to write a party program in London. Until the editor of Chartist journal *Red Republican*, George Julian Harney, mentioned the authors' names in the serialized English translation of the party program by Helen Macfarlane in 1850, the document had only been published anonymously (Sewell, 1998). In the preface of the book's 1883 version Engels wrote that the main idea in the party program belonged to Marx. However, despite his humility, it was generally acknowledged that the style of the text owes a lot to Engels as the editor. The stunning and penetrating style of the text is one reason for its popularity and can largely be credited to Engels. Subsequently, the authorship was a controversial issue. In spite of the fact that Marx is considered the substantive author, Engels' contribution to the survival of the text is undeniable. Later on, as Marx died in 1883, Engels wrote the prefaces of several versions including German, English, Russian, Polish, and Italian translations. He cooperated with the translator of the English version (1888), Samuel Moore, in addition to writing the footnotes for this English translation. Thus, Engels had a dominant voice in the paratextual material and in the translations of the book. The prefaces and the footnotes are now considered inseparable parts of the text, and all translations include these paratextual elements.

Additionally, many translations were done from this English translation rather than the original German text. Therefore, in the confrontation part, three direct translations into English will be compared to three indirect translations in order to see how the source text affected the translation product. In the translation project, this aspect prepared space for the retranslations in the target culture, in Berman's terms (Berman, 2009/1995, p. 7), it created the perception that this esteem to the original version must

have rejuvenated the retranslations. The confrontation part, as a cross-examination phase, have the capacity to reveal whether being a relay or direct translation necessarily lead to any specific textual-linguistic regularities.

The other aspect of the conflict was of an ideological nature. Whether the translators of the indirect translations created any kind of distortion in the translations including, self-censorship, because of the extreme legal circumstances they had to endure is another research question that is going to be tackled in the translation analysis. Here, whether being a Stalinist or Trotskyist or supporting the NDR movement, or not, creates any fundamental change or alteration in the translated texts will be examined.

To prevent deconsecration of the text in their advertising, publishing houses stressed their reliance on the original German source text for the new retranslations. Regardless of the language of the source text(s), both reprints of relay translations and direct translations ornamented their translations with various novel supplementary paratextual material such as editorial comments, prefaces, forewords, epilogues, introductions, editorial comments, biographies, translator's comments that pinpoint the previous versions, reviews, indigenous articles, glossaries, pictures in the cover, blurbs, and other typographical signs including the font type, size and layout, some of which emphasize the story of the book in its Turkish translation in the format of a book history. All these paratextual elements in addition to the use of multiple source texts made the versions examined in this study full of different contextual voices. For some of the versions, the result was compilative translations, as they made use of several primary and secondary source texts, as well as the previous interlingual and intralingual translations. Although generally the reception of the text and the accumulated knowledge and research are reasons for retranslation, the recent translations proved that

active (hot) translations (Vanderschelden, 2000, p. 9) operated within the same temporal, spatial, and social contexts (Alvstad & Assis Rosa, 2015, p.18) have the capacity to activate the previous passive (cold) translations via making references to them. In other words, there can be a two way relation between hot and cold translations.

The borders of the textual analysis were shaped by the comments and criticisms in the paratextual material and the agencies of the translators. Even before the historical analysis done for this work, it was possible to observe a contradiction between the translations from the old wave and the more recent one, seeing the latter as a new phase and rejuvenation in Turkish leftist discourse.

When a global reading is done, it is apparent that each retranslation creates an impression that makes it different from a previous one. Ege's version looks very functional in the first prints because apart from the main body of the book and the prefaces, it contains only an epigraph from Lenin, but in the reprints in the 2000s entitled *Komünist Manifesto ve Türkiye'deki Öyküsü (The Communist Manifesto and its Story in Turkey)* as can be seen in figure E 1, the translation includes the legal documents relating the legal cases the translation went through. This chapter is entitled "additional note" but constitutes almost half of the book. The reprint starts with a preface written by the publisher emphasizing the reception of the book in the world and in Turkey as the first historical book of scientific socialism, by making many references to the NDR movement and emphasizing that the translation was a publication success under the 141<sup>th</sup> and 142<sup>th</sup> articles of the Turkish penal code. There were many references to İlhan Erdost and his invaluable support in the process of his arrest and imprisonment. Ege emphasizes the binds of his own publishing house with the Sol Publishing house at every turn.

Ege's version was rendered from Samuel Moore's 1888 English translation published by the Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, or under its new name, Progress Publishers. It is compared to the original German text and the French translation of the book published by Edition Social Publishing house (Ege, 2009, p. 3). It contains Engels' own revisions and footnotes in the 1888 English version and the 1890 German version. In Ege's version, apart from Marx' and Engels' voices, the dominant voice was the publisher's who was Ege. In particular, the second essay enclosed at the end of the book under the title of "An Obligatory Note" was written in a very personal tone as a response to the accusations of İleri.

The next translation belongs to another publisher-translator, Muzaffer İlhan Erdost. Erdost's version's (1976) reprint (2005) creates the image of a classic book because it provides *The Principles of Communism*, a "communist vow of faith", in the form of a catechism written by Engels, some detailed explanatory notes, and two essays elucidating the aims of the Communist Party in German during the 1848 revolutions and the history of The Communist League in addition to the party program -the main body of the document- and prefaces, biographies, and works of Marx and Engels. The cover of the book is pink as can be seen in figure E 2, and this is not a random choice because the book was called "the pink book" in the past to escape censorship because "komünist" (communist) as term was considered objectionable and not desirable. Thus, when someone refers to the pink book in Turkish, it is known that they are talking about Erdost's version of *The Communist Manifesto* because of the cover:

The rise of communism and its historical importance are also emphasized in the introduction by Dirk J. Struik in this translation. Erdost's translation was done from the same version as Ege's; and was compared to the 1974 German original (*Marx-Engels*

*Werke*) published by Dietz Verlag and the 1976 French version published by Éditions Sociales (Erdost, 2005, p.5). In addition to Engels' footnotes to the English version, this translation contains several notes by the editor and the translator, whose identities were not stated explicitly. In the explanatory notes, it is asserted that the discrepancies between the German and English source texts are given in the footnotes. Moreover, it is noted that the 1888 English version first appeared in the 1976 Marx and Engels's collection entitled *Collected Works* published by Progress Publishers, Moscow.

The Üster and Deriş version is very much like to the Ege version because they give some space to the legal process the translation went through in the section entitled "Explanations about the translation". From this angle, these two versions position their translation historically in a struggle against state oppression in Turkey under the same articles of the penal code. However, unlike the Ege and Erdost version, whose translators are still concealed, the translators of this version are quite visible, and their voice can be heard even at the first glance at the translation because their names are printed on the cover and the front page, accompanied by their biographies. Furthermore, this version provides some notes about the history of translation written by the translators. This reprint is done as a translation project for the 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the book's first launching, and so it starts with an introduction by Üster explaining the rise of the *Manifesto* and its 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the stories of the previous translations and their translators. This version is compared to the original German source text by Alp Orçun. This version also provides the biographies of the authors as well as the shifts, additions, and omissions between the German and English source texts. Despite the fact that it is translated from English, the translators do not ignore the German original and warn the readers about the changes between these two versions.

Moreover, the book's front and back covers are folded inside like bookmarks. On the front bookmark the opening and closure paragraphs of the book are quoted while on the back short biographies of the authors are printed. On the cover, a painting of the 1848 German revolution is provided as can be seen in figure E 3. The fight between the powers of the Monarch and the revolutionaries are depicted in the painting by an unknown artist. On the back cover blurb, it is explained how the text as a historical document has been one of the most frequently read political and social documents. Despite the fact that the translation is described as the main document of the Marxist movement and a revolutionary classic on the back cover blurb, the front cover creates the image of a propaganda book with a vivid visual description of the German revolution.

The Özalp version is the first translation from German, and thus tries to highlight the differences of the German original text from the English version. Erkin Özalp's translation from German was published by Gelenek Publications in 1998 on the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*, and later published by Yazılama Kitapevi in 2013. As a translation project it is remarkable, as its timing is meticulously chosen. On the sixth and eighth prints of the translation, one can see the statues of Marx and Engels<sup>45</sup> as can be seen in figure E 4.

Özalp's version lists all the differences between the German original and English translation of the book and provides the footnotes from the English translation. The original German source text, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (1974) published by Dietz Verlag was emphasized as a distinguishing feature of Özalp's version because it

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<sup>45</sup> It is noteworthy to mention that Yazılama Publishing house has a Marxist series.

was the first translation, which was done from the original German text. Özalp worked with Satlıgan in Yordam Kitap Publishing House in the publication of *Capital*, which was also translated from the original German text. Their collaboration represents an ideologically alternative stance from the mainstream TKP fraction, which was represented by Ege and Erdost. However, whether this political stance and the difference in the source texts have led to a significant difference in the translation of the book is another matter, which is questioned in the confrontation part.

The Kavas version was published the same year as Özalp's. This translation is noted with its "pure Turkish" language. Kavas, being a philosopher translator, is in favour of purification<sup>46</sup> regarding the concepts and terms in the book. His voice as the translator is heard very clearly in the book thanks to the note he wrote at the beginning. As stated earlier, he is strict about the source text because he translated the main body of the work from the 1974 German version published by Dietz Verlag in *Marx-Engels Werke*, prefaces to the book from their original languages, German, English, French from *Marx/Engels Internet Archive*, and Italian. He translates the footnotes from *Collected Works* (1888) and refers to the changes between the 1888 and 1890 German reprints as well as the English version. Furthermore, the most remarkable aspect of this translation is its layout, which is bilingual. On the left-hand pages (verso), one can find the source texts of every section of the book while the translated text is on the right (recto). In that sense, it is very helpful for those who would like to develop an acquaintanceship with the Turkish equivalents of the original terms and concepts of Marxism. One can see a sickle and a hammer on the cover of the book as can be seen in

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<sup>46</sup> Purification is used here in the generic meaning- the removal of the loan words in Turkish and their replacement with Turkish-origin equivalents.

figure E 5. The combination of these two tools used by the workers in the factories and on the farms is considered the symbol of communism. These two symbols, sickle representing the peasantry and the hammer representing the industrial workers, were used during the Russian revolution in 1917. The symbol was banned in some countries in the 1960s because of its political associations.

Finally, Satlıgan's version has the look of a canonized work for many reasons. Its red hard cover, red ribbon, and size imply that it is a "holy book" as can be seen in figure E 6. In a way, this translation has demanded a privileged position when compared to relay translations, as they are done from the original German source text. On the back cover blurb, one can see a citation from Lenin and detailed explanation of the contents of this version. It also includes the transliteration of Şefik Hüsnü Değmer's *Komünist Beyannamesi*, the first complete translation of the book in Ottoman Script, by Şeyda Oğuz as well as a glossary that gives all the archaic Ottoman usages of Marxist concepts and terms.

Satlıgan used the same original German source text that Özalp and Kavas used for his translation, but he did not deny using the 1893 English version as a secondary source, especially for prologues, and the previous translations of the book into Turkish. The glossary and the prologues of *The Communist Manifesto* published in the Yordam Kitap version were translated by Tekdaş Ağaoğlu from English. This translation also provides some articles from renowned Marxists such as Paul Sweezy, Ellen Meiksins Wood, David Harvey, etc. translated by Şükrü Alpagut and Olcay Göçmen from the book *A World to Win* and three articles by Metin Çulhaoğlu, Ertuğrul Kürkçü, and Sungur Savran in Turkish. By providing this version with a glossary and outlining the history of the Turkish translation in the preface, the publishing house reminded the



readers of the discourse the translation is embedded in. In this version, too, several other voices were heard apart from the authors'. It informs the readers about its historical context in order to avoid anachronism and puts special emphasis on the 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the book's publication and its reception throughout the world. As a translation project, the Satlıgan version's launching date is very advantageous because it was published immediately before a number of other Marxist commemorations mentioned above.

#### 4.4.1 The title

The title of book, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, or *The Communist Manifesto* in its English translation, has become consecrated in Turkish. As so many retranslators avoid translating the title, this can be taken as an indicator of consecration. "Manifesto" and "Komünist" are loan words in Turkish. The translators prefer to leave the title untranslated. This preference may have stemmed from the assumption that these terms are comprehensible for the readers. Only in the first translation, "manifesto" is rendered as "beyanname" by Şefik Hüsnü Değmer. However, the translations provide the readers with definitions and explanations. The Ege, Üster & Deriş, and Kavas versions do not provide a definition of communism. However, Ege (2009, p. 22) and Kavas (2003, p. 153) offer a footnote devoted to the explanation of "commune" because Engels added the footnote while editing the 1888 English translation. At that point, one can be surprised to see the footnote Kavas provides because it is from the English version. However, the critic must be aware of the fact that even if the translation is from German, Kavas takes the footnotes of the English translation into consideration. Erdost's version gives the definition of communism and socialism in the explanatory notes (Erdost, 2005,

p. 207) as these two terms can be difficult to distinguish for a number of reasons, and they can be used interchangeably. Satlıgan’s version provides the concept of communism in the glossary (2005, 76). Özalp quotes the term “communism” from *German Ideology* (1998) by Marx and Engels, which concentrates on the changing character of communism as a political system in the last section entitled “About the Manifesto”, which functions as an epilogue (Özalp, 1998, p. 88).

Only in Özalp’s version, titled *Komünist Parti Manifestosu*, the word “*Partei*/party” is kept. Moreover, Özalp’s version is the first translation from German and it does not use a subtitle. The other translations are entitled as follows: *Komünist Manifesto ve Türkiye’deki Öyküsü* (*The Communist Manifesto and its Story in Turkey*) by Ege, *Komünist Manifesto ve Komünizmin İlkeleri* (*The Communist Manifesto and The Principles of Communism*) by Erdost, *Komünist Manifesto* by Üster & Deriş, *Komünist Manifesto ve Hakkında Yazılar* (*The Communist Manifesto and Articles about it*) by Satlıgan, *Komünist Manifesto* by Kavas. The other translators omit the word “party” from the title.

As the book was originally written as a party program for the Communist League’s second congress in 1947, keeping the word “party” in the title implies the actual historical circumstances of the document. Using the word “party” in the title can also be restrictive from certain aspects because it limits the intended audience. The readers of the document at the moment are not only those who would like to learn the program of the Communist League in the dawn of 1848 revolutions all over Europe and thus gain a historical understanding of the era. The “party” can refer to a specific political party in that certain historical context, but the “communist manifesto” as a term

has a generic meaning referring to the still valid set of beliefs and aims of the communists globally, whether they are members of a communist party or not.

#### 4.4.2 A spectre/ *Ein Gespenst*

One of the most striking and most frequently quoted extracts of the book is the very first sentence of the book. The book starts with the following paragraph in Table 1. For ease of comparison and contrast, starting from Table 1, all the text extracts in the translation analysis part are divided into two columns. On the left, one can see the text excerpt from the English version of *The Communist Manifesto* and the excerpts from the indirect retranslations follow them in chronological order underneath; whereas on the right, one can see the text excerpts from the German original text and the excerpts from the direct retranslations follow them underneath. In all examples, the time of the first print and the time of print that is used for the textual analysis are stated.

Table 1. Source and Target Text Excerpts Concerning a Spectre

<p>“A <i>spectre</i><sup>47</sup> is haunting Europe — the <i>spectre</i> of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to <i>exorcise this spectre</i>: Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies<sup>48</sup>” (Marx &amp; Engels, 1888/1969).</p>	<p>“Ein <i>Gespenst</i> geht um in Europa – das Gespenst des Kommunismus. Alle Mächte des alten Europa haben sich zu einer heiligen <i>Hetzjagd gegen</i> dies Gespenst verbündet, der Papst und der Zar, Metternich und Guizot, Französische Radikale und Deutsche Polizisten” (Marx &amp; Engels, 1848/1974).</p>
<p>“Avrupa’da bir heyula kolgeziyor- komünizm heyulası. Eski Avrupa’nın bütün devletleri bu heyulayı defetmek için bir kutsal bağlaşma kurdular. Papa’yla ve Çar, Metternich’le ve Guizot, Fransız Radikalleriyle Alman polislerinin casusları” (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 27)<sup>49</sup>.</p>	<p>“Avrupa’da bir hayalet dolaşüyor – komünizm hayaleti. Eski Avrupa’nın tüm güçleri, Papa ve Çar, Metternich ve Guizot, Fransız radikalleri ve Alman polisleri, bu hayaleti kovmak üzere kutsal bir ittifak kurdu” (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 9)<sup>50</sup>.</p>
<p>“Avrupa’da bir hayalet dolaşıyor - Komünizm hayaleti. Eski Avrupa’nın bütün güçleri bu hayaleti defetmek üzere kutsal bir ittifak içine girdiler: Papa ile Çar, Metternich ile Guizot, Fransız radikalleri ve Alman polis ajanları” (Erdost, 1976/2005, 21)<sup>51</sup>.</p>	<p>“Avrupa’da bir hortlak kol geziyor- komünizm hortlağı. Eski Avrupa’nın bütün güçleri, Papa ile Çar, Metternich ile Guizot, Fransız köktencileri ile Alman polisleri bu hortlağı kovmak için kutsal bir süre avında bir araya gelmiş bulunuyor” (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 67)<sup>52</sup>.</p>
<p>“Avrupa’ya bir heyula korku salıyor - Komünizm heyulası. Papa’sından ile Çar’ına, Metternich’inden Guizot’suna, Fransız Radikalleri Alman polislerine, kocamış Avrupa’nın tekmil güç odakları, bu heyulayı dualar ve tütsülerle kovmak için kutsal bir bağdaşmada el ele vermiş bulunuyorlar” (Üster &amp; Deriş, 1979/2013, p.47)<sup>53</sup>.</p>	<p>“Avrupa’da bir heyula geziyor- komünizm heyulası. Yaşlı Avrupa’nın bütün devletleri, Papası ve Çarı, Metternich’i ve Guizot’su, Fransız Radikalleri ve Alman hafiyeleri bu heyulaya karşı kutsal bir sürgün avında el ele vermişlerdir” (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 21)<sup>54</sup>.</p>

<sup>47</sup> The emphasis is added by the author of this dissertation.

<sup>48</sup> As the original German version and the 1888 English version translated by Samuel Moore and edited by Engels are available in the Marxist Internet Archive, there are no page numbers in the extracts from them. When it comes to the Turkish translations, for textual analysis in this chapter, the names of the translators are given after the quotes.

<sup>49</sup> The first print of this translation is launched in 1968.

<sup>50</sup> The first print of this translation was launched in 1998 by Gelenek Publishing House. In this study, the 2011 print published by Yazılama Publishing House is used. The translation was published by İleri Kitaplığı in 2017.

<sup>51</sup> The first print was launched in 1976.

<sup>52</sup> The first print of this retranslation was launched by Ç Yayınları in 1998 but later it was published by İthaki Yayınları.

<sup>53</sup> The first print was launched in 1979 under Nur Deriş’ name by Aydınlık Yayınları but the 2013 version was published by Can Sanat Publishings under Celal Üster’s and Nur Deriş’s names.

<sup>54</sup> Satlıgan version is published as a separate book by the publishing house as well. This version is entitled *Komünist Manifesto*. In this study, *Komünist Manifesto ve Hakkında Yazılar* version, which contains additional articles by various writers, is used.

As can be seen in Table 1, “dies Gespenst” or “this spectre” is a key metonym in the translations. It represents “communism” as a frightening threat towards the stability of the powers of the existing system or status quo, whether it refers to the historical context of Marx and Engels (as “Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals, and German police-spies” imply) or to contemporary times. Moreover, at that same time the writers must have been seeking to underline the urgency of communists’ expressing their aims and opinions because the communists in England had a program even though only pamphlet-size for the first time.

The German original and English source texts do not use the word “der Geist” or “ghost” which can be considered more common core lexical items than “dieses Gespenst” or “this spectre”. This sensitivity is reflected in Ege’s, Üster & Deriş’s, and Satlıgan’s translations, as they preferred “heyula” (fearsome apparition or the real substance of matter in Ottoman) which comes from Arabic in origin rather than “hayalet” (ghost). Moreover, “heyula” sounds more archaic in Turkish. It embodies the meaning of a frightening vision without substance while “hayalet” and “hortlak” are generally the spirit of a dead person. Therefore, as communism cannot be considered dead, it is understandable why Ege, Satlıgan, Üster and Deriş refrain from using this common word. However, as one can see in the translations, only two translators use “heyula” regardless of the source text. This choice of word creates only a slightly different meaning but represents a considerable stylistic and rhetorical difference because of the historical and archaic impact of the word. Thus, we can infer from this example that Ege, Üster and Deriş, and Satlıgan’s intentions are more than solely functional.

When the Turkish retranslations above are examined, one can identify the shift in the second sentence. The English translation has transformed the original; “zu einer heiligen Hetzjagd gegen” into “have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre”. All the political powers of Europe had come together to destroy this fearsome, newly rising spectre of communism. By using the word “exorcise”, the English translation adds a flavor of the demonic and thus a religious aspect to the text, which strengthens the satirical tone but can be considered a semantic shift. Translations by Ege and Erdost follow the English translation and keep the meaning of exorcise in “def etmek”, but the religious association of exorcise cannot be rendered totally by this verb. Üster & Deriş translate the expression as “dualar ve tütsülerle kovmak” (expel with prayers and incense). When it comes to translations from German, one can expect them to render the metaphorical meaning of the original German text, but Satlıgan and Kavas adhere to this meaning while Özalp translated in the same manner with the translations from English. As the book’s rhetorical style is considered very remarkable, and the translators translate in a conservative manner, Satlıgan and Kavas tried to preserve the figurative speech in “zu einer heiligen Hetzjagd gegen” in their translations “kutsal bir sürgün avı”. However, despite the difference of metaphor between the German source text and English translation, “the alliance” and “die Hetzjagd” among the old powers of Europe is “holy” / “heilig(en)”. Thus, regardless of their source language all the translations depended on this ironic sense.

#### 4.4.3 Bourgeoisie vs. proletariat

As stated in the previous pages, the fourth translator/publisher of the book into Turkish was sued according to the 141/2 article of the Turkish Penal Code on the same day of

publication, the 12th of November, 1968. Süleyman Ege, the translator and the owner of the publishing house, was arrested on the following day (Ege, 1971, pp. 7-13). As one of the extracts was thought to encourage a certain class; the proletariat, to seize power over another class; the bourgeoisie, it was regarded as a threat to the regime because a classless society was among the Republican ideals (Ulus, 2011, p. 31) while the extracts in question were considered to invoke hatred and a grudge by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and call to action. It is possible to find many extracts that can be considered a proof of this claim. Thus, the public prosecutor quoted many of these extracts in the lawsuit, and Ege quotes them in his 2009 translation of the book. I will analyze two of these sections.

The first one is from a footnote by Engels, which was written for the English version published in 1888. As it is the first footnote right after the title of the first chapter, following the preamble, it is preliminary. The example in Table 2 is remarkable because it shows us how the distinction between direct and indirect translation is ambiguous for this corpus.

First of all, as it is from the English translation, one does not expect to see this footnote in the translations from German, but it is such a notable contribution of Engels to the book that none of the translators could ignore it. Moreover, it indicates that that direct translations take the English translation into consideration because Engels as the second author did the editing and the proofreading for the book. To understand the struggle between the social classes, the definitions of the classes need to be set clearly. Engels' footnote below can be an introduction for the readers in the target culture who are not familiar with Marxist terms.

By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of *wage labour*. By proletariat, the class of modern *wage labourers* who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live". (Engels, 1888/1969, English edition - first footnote)

When the translations are analyzed, we see that there are not many tangible differences apart from the translation of the terms themselves. All translators from the first wave of retranlations; Ege, Erdost, Üster & Deriş; and Özalp, the first translator from the second wave, prefer “emek gücü” (labour power) and “emekçi” (laborer), while Kavas and Satlıgan use “iş gücü” and “işçi”. This implies that “işçi” will be replacing “emekçi” in the future translations.

Moreover, Kavas’ and Satlıgan’s translation stems from a newly emerging difference between these two terms. While “işçi” (worker) is considered to be the equivalent of laborer/worker who takes an active role in production, “emekçi” can be a civil servant, a trades- person, a shop owner, or a worker who does not produce any consumer goods but provides other services to the public.<sup>55</sup> When we search for the term “wage-labourer”, we discover that it emphasizes the exploitation of the employees as they are not in a position to ask for an increase in the wages unless trade unions function in between the employees and employers, because the employment conditions are set by the state<sup>56</sup>. In this case, “işçi” is a closer term to “wage-labourer” because “emekçi” stems from “emek” (effort) in Turkish and has a vague meaning. An “emekçi” does not necessarily have a wage or salary and thus as a term, it is not to the point in contemporary Turkish any more although it functioned in the past.

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<sup>55</sup> For further information see Musa Sala’s article “Marksizmde üretken emek ve işçi sınıfı” (2018). <http://www.teorivepolitika.net/index.php/arsiv/item/97-marksizmde-uretken-emek-ve-isci-sinifi>.

<sup>56</sup> <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/wage-labour>.



Table 2. Target Text Excerpts Concerning the Definition of Bourgeoisie

<p>Burjuvazi ile kastettiğimiz, üretim araçlarının sahipleri olan ve ücretli emekçiyi çalıştıran<sup>57</sup> modern <i>kapitalistler sınıfıdır</i>. <i>Proleterya</i> ile kastettiğimiz, hiç bir üretim aracına sahip olamamaları yüzünden yaşayabilmek için <i>işgücünü</i> satmak zorunda olan modern <i>ücretli emekçiler sınıfıdır</i>. (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 20)</p>	<p>Burjuvazi ile, toplumsal üretim araçlarının sahibi olan ve ücretli emeği kullanan modern <i>kapitalistler sınıfı</i> kastediliyor. <i>Proleterya</i> ile ise, kendilerine ait hiçbir üretim aracına sahip olmadıklarından, yaşayabilmek için <i>emek güçlerini</i> satmak zorunda olan modern <i>ücretli emekçilerin sınıfı</i>. (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 11)</p>
<p>Burjuvazi ile, modern <i>kapitalistler sınıfı</i>, toplumsal üretim araçlarının sahipleri ve ücretli emek istihdam edenler kastediliyor. <i>Proleterya</i> ile ise, kendilerine ait hiçbir üretim aracına sahip olmadıklarından, yaşamak için <i>emek-güçlerini</i> satmak durumunda kalan modern <i>ücretli emekçiler sınıfı</i>. (Erdost, 1976/ 2005, p.116)</p>	<p><i>Kentsoyluluktan</i>, toplumsal üretim araçlarını elinde tutan, ücretli emeği kullanan <i>çağcıl sermayeciler sınıfı</i> anlaşılıyor. <i>Proleterya</i>dan sa kendi ellerinde hiçbir üretim aracı olmadığından, yaşamak için <i>işgüçlerini</i> satmak zorunda olan <i>çağcıl ücretli işçiler sınıfı</i>. (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 151)</p>
<p>Burjuvazi derken, toplumsal üretim araçlarının sahibi olan ve ücretli emekçi çalıştıran modern <i>kapitalist sınıf</i> demek isteniyor. <i>Proleterya</i> derken de, hiç bir üretim aracına sahip olmadıkları için ancak <i>işgüçlerini</i> satarak yaşayabilen modern <i>ücretli emekçiler sınıfı</i> demek isteniyor. (Üster &amp; Deriş, 1979/ 2013, p. 49)</p>	<p>Burjuva denince toplumsal üretim araçlarının sahipleri olup ücretli emeği sömüren modern sermayeciler sınıfı, <i>Proleterya</i> denince kendi üretim araçlarına sahip olmadıklarından emek güçlerini satmaya muhtaç olan modern ücretli işçiler sınıfı anlaşılır. (Satlıgan 2008/2010, p. 22)</p>

However, as can be observed, Kavas and Satlıgan translate “capitalist” as “sermayeci” whereas the other translators prefer the loan word “kapitalist”. For the readers of Marxist works in Turkish this word is very familiar because Haydar Rıfat Yorulmaz’s translation of Marx’s book, *Das Capital*, is entitled *Sermaye* (1933). This word is a Persian compound noun and is an item of Ottoman lexicon, composed of “ser” (head/main) and “maya” (yeast)<sup>58</sup>. Thus it means the yeast used to ferment something or the seed money or asset used to start and run a business<sup>59</sup>. The translation of “capital” as

<sup>57</sup> In the 1968 edition: “ücretli emeği sömüren” (Ege 2009, p. 89).

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=sermaye>.

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.luggat.com/index.php#ceviri>.

“sermaye” is seemingly based on translation archaeology as a strategy. However, the term “sermaye” is still valid in modern Turkish. Thus, “the class of modern capitalists” is rendered as “çağcıl sermayeciler sınıfı” in Kavas’ translation while Satlıgan translates it as “modern sermayeciler sınıfı”, and the other four translators prefer to use exactly the same phrase “modern kapitalistler sınıfı” (modern capitalist class). While using “çağcıl” for “modern”, Kavas adopts a purist Turkish approach towards the translation. A point that attracts attention in Satlıgan’s translation is his addition of the adjective “sömüren” (exploiter) to define this modern capitalist class, which indicates a desire to agitate, and thus a more politicized translation strategy. Although the meaning of exploitation is already in the subtext of the document, it is not a word-for-word correspondence of this text extract.

When it comes to the terms “bourgeoisie” (*burjuvazi*) and “proletariat” (*proleterya*), they are cognates in Turkish, written according to Turkish spelling rules. They can be thought of as contributions of Marxist terminology to modern Turkish as two social classes standing against each other. The bourgeoisie is basically the class composed of the people who live in the borough -or market town, as “burg” which English city names imply- unlike the people who live in the rural areas, peasants. The modern English word “bourgeois” is derived from the old French word “burgeois” (walled city) or “bourg” (market town). “Bourgeois” means “town dweller” in old French. The German word, “Bürger” is of the same origin. Immanuel Wallerstein describes bourgeois as follows:

It originally designated the inhabitant of a *bourg*, an urban area, but an inhabitant who was ‘free’. Free, however, from what? Free from the obligations that were the social cement and the economic nexus of a feudal system. The bourgeois was *not* a peasant or serf, but he was also *not* a noble. (Wallerstein, 1988/1969, p. 91)

In his article “The Bourgeoisie as Concept and Reality”, Wallerstein defines this class an intermediary stratum between the aristocracy and proletariat. The members of it are neither lords, landowners, serfs, nor artisans, but “the creative entrepreneurs” (Wallerstein, 1988, p. 92) and “the dynamic force of modern economic life” (Wallerstein, 1988, p. 93). As they own the means of production, they are the engines behind capitalism.

However, to understand the fall of the aristocracy and the rise of the bourgeoisie as a class requires a historical perspective from the Turkish readership because the interaction of these two classes did not follow the same development phases that they did in Europe. Thus, the comparison of their progress in different social contexts has been subject to many studies (Harman, 1999). Chris Harman pinpoints the issue with the question of why capitalism arose in certain parts of Western Europe earlier than in other places (Harman, 2004). This question has been debated by many Marxist sociologists and economic historians. It is difficult to argue the existence of a strong bourgeois class in the Ottoman Empire. However, the republican government founded in 1923 aimed to build up a national bourgeoisie which was mainly composed of the army members who took part in the wars and the first cabinet as well as the large-land owners in Anatolia. Thus, the rise of bourgeoisie and the accompanying development of capitalism were prompted to some extent, through the policy of the Republican government to foster a national bourgeoisie (Atılgan, 2015, pp. 313-314).

After providing the readers with a definition and description of two classes in the social structure in conflict, the authors call the proletariat, as a class, the “grave-diggers” of the bourgeoisie. This striking metaphor is a reference to Shakespeare’s depiction of the gravediggers in Ophelia’s funeral in *Hamlet* (Siegel, 1982, pp. 222-223). As a visual

imagery, it has been quoted most repeatedly because it is an expression of hope and a call to action. The authors see as inevitable the victory of working men over the capitalists, who own the means of production. Paul N. Siegel finds the style of the document “hortatory and polemical as well as expository in its sketch of the anatomy of capitalism. Its prose is, therefore, vigorous, varied, and highly concrete, alive with imagery and flashing with figures of speech (Siegel, 1982, p. 23). Thus the translations of this quotation will be examined in Table 3.

Table 3. Grave-diggers in Source and Target Text Excerpts

What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. (Marx and Engels, 1888/1969)	Sie produziert vor allem ihren eigenen Totengräber. Ihr Untergang und der Sieg des Proletariats sind gleich unvermeidlich. (Marx and Engels, 1848/1974)
O yüzdendir ki, burjuvazinin ürettiği, her şeyden önce, kendi mezar kazıcılarıdır. Onun devrilmesi ve proletaryanın zaferi kazanması da aynı derecede kaçınılmazdır. (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 33)	Burjuvazi her şeyden önce kendi mezar kazıcılarını üretir. Burjuvazinin çöküşü ile proletaryanın zaferi eşit derecede kaçınılmazdır. (Özalp, 1998/2011, p.22)
Şu halde, burjuvazinin ürettiği, her şeyden önce, kendi mezar kazıcılarıdır. Kendisinin devrilmesi ve proletaryanın zaferi aynı derecede kaçınılmazdır. (Erdost, 1976/2005, p. 130)	Kentsoyluluk her şeyden önce kendi mezar kazıcılarını üretmektedir. Kentsoyluluğun çöküşü ile proletaryanın utkusu aynı ölçüde kaçınılmazdır. (Kavas, 1998/2003, p.95)
O yüzden, burjuvazi her şeyden önce kendi mezar kazıcılarını yetiştirir. Burjuvazinin çöküşü ile proletaryanın zaferi aynı ölçüde kaçınılmazdır. (Üster & Deriş, 1979/2013, p. 64)	Dolayısıyla burjuvazi en başta kendi mezar kazıcısını üretir. Burjuvazinin yıkılışı ve proletaryanın zaferi aynı ölçüde kaçınılmazdır. (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 32)

As it is obvious in the above passage in Table 3, the only alteration in Kavas’ translation is his use of a derived word; “kentsoyluluk” instead of the term, “bourgeoisie”. In many parts of the book other social classes such as aristocracy, lumpen proletariat, and petty bourgeoisie are also mentioned. As the borders are not very clear-cut and permeable, it is generally difficult to make a distinction between these classes, and thus translating

them can be challenging. When the translations are examined, one can see that Kavas stays with the same purist Turkish strategy and translates bourgeois as “kentsoylu” and aristocracy as “kenter”, both of which are derived by himself. *Kleinbürger*/petty bourgeois for example is rendered as “küçük kenter” in Kavas translation while the other five translate the term as “küçük burjuva”, the literal translation of the term. “Die feudale Aristokratie / The feudal aristocracy” on the other hand is translated as “derebeylik soyluluğu” in contrast to “kentsoyluluk” (bourgeoisie) in Kavas' version while the other five translators use the phrase composed of the loan words “feudal aristokrasi”. (Ege, 2009, p.46, Erdost, 2005, p. 145, Üster & Deriş, 2013, p. 79, Satlıgan, 2010, p.43, Özalp, 1998, p.35).

The last sentences of the book's conclusion are another frequently quoted and stylistically impressive extract. In this part, writers call on all the proletariat of the world to unite in order to overthrow the previous (existing) social conditions. It is a very plainly written call for a communist revolution. One cannot trace any kind of censorship in the translations of this extract, which implies relatively freer political conditions in the target system. However, even when it was considered a threat to the regime when the articles 141/2, 173/3 of the Turkish penal code were in act, the translators translated this passage in Table 4 in the same manner despite the consequences. These two translations prove that the book is canonized because despite the severe penalties the translation required the translators did not apply any form of self-censorship even in these politically extreme provocative sentences. The very last sentence of the document is a call to action. Just as the writers inform the readers in the preamble about the unity of the leading representatives of the ruling classes in their aim of conducting a holy war to eradicate the fearsome communist forces from Europe. Thus, in the last section of the

book they call on the members of the opposite camp to unite against the bourgeoisie. While the writers scorn the “holy alliance” which the existing forces of Europe form, they charge all working men, regardless of nationality, with the establishment of a new world order.

As the writers state that workers do not have nationalities elsewhere in the book, they try to invoke class-consciousness globally among the working class. When the translations of this passage are compared, one can see that all the translators translated in a similar way except for Kavas. The only terminological matter arising from the extract relates to the definition of “*Proletarier aller Länder*” / “Working Men of All Countries”. As workers mean “işçiler” in Turkish, we see that all the translators translated from the English version apart from Kavas. As “prolaterler” is also a loan word, it is comprehensible in Turkish, and thus Kavas does not refrain from using it directly.

Table 4. The Closing Sentence in Source and Target Texts

<p>The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working Men of All Countries, Unite! (Marx and Engels, 1888/1969)</p>	<p>Die Kommunisten verschmähren es, ihre Ansichten und Absichten zu verheimlichen. Sie erklären es offen, daß ihre Zwecke nur erreicht werden können durch den gewaltsamen Umsturz aller bisherigen Gesellschaftsordnung. Mögen die herrschenden Klassen vor einer kommunistischen Revolution zittern. Die Proletarier haben nichts in ihr zu verlieren als ihre Ketten. Sie haben eine Welt zu gewinnen. Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt euch! (Marx and Engels ,1848/1974)</p>
<p>Komünistler, görüşlerini ve amaçlarını gizlemeyi küçüklük sayarlar. Onlar, hedeflerine ancak, mevcut bütün toplumsal koşulların zorla devrilmesiyle ulaşabileceğini açıkça ilân ederler. Varsın egemen sınıflar bir komünist devrimi korkusuyla titresinler. Proleterlerin zincirlerinden başka kaybedecek birşeyleri yoktur. Kazanacakları bir dünya var. Bütün ülkelerin işçileri birleşiniz! (Ege, 1968/2009, p.57)</p>	<p>Komünistler, görüşlerini ve amaçlarını gizlemeye tenezzül etmez. Hedeflerine ancak şimdiye kadarki tüm toplum düzeninin<sup>201</sup> zorla yıkılması yoluyla ulaşabileceğini açıkça ilan ederler. Varsın egemen sınıflar bir komünist devrim korkusuyla titresin. Proleterlerin zincirlerinden başka kaybedecekleri bir şeyleri yok. Kazanacakları bir dünya var. Bütün ülkelerin işçileri<sup>202</sup>, birleşin! (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 44)</p> <p>Endnote 201; İngilizce baskıda, “tüm mevcut toplumsal koşulların” Endnote 202; Almanca aslında, “proleterleri”; İngilizce baskıda, “işçileri (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 52).</p>
<p>Komünistler, görüşlerini ve amaçlarını gizlemeye tenezzül etmezler. Hedeflerine ancak, tüm mevcut toplumsal düzenin zorla yıkılmasıyla ulaşabileceğini açıkça ilân ederler. Varsın egemen sınıflar bir komünist devrim korkusuyla titresinler. Proleterlerin zincirlerinden başka kaybedecek birşeyleri yoktur. Kazanacakları bir dünya var. BÜTÜN ÜLKELERİN İŞÇİLERİ<sup>112</sup>, BİRLEŞİN! (Erdost, 1979/2005, p. 158)</p> <p>Footnote 112: Almanca ve Fransızca baskılarda: “proleterleri”- Editor’s note.</p>	<p>Komünistler görüşleriyle amaçlarını gizlemeye gönül indirmezler. Amaçlarına ancak bugüne dek süre gelen tüm toplumsal düzeni zorla devirmekle ulaşabileceğini açıkça söylerler. Varsın egemen sınıflar komünist devrim korkusuyla titresin. Proleterlerin zincirlerinden başka yitirecekleri bir şey yok. Kazanacakları bir dünya var. <i>Bütün ülkelerin proleterleri, birleşin!</i> (Kavas, 2014, p.145)</p>
<p>Komünistler, görüşlerini ve hedeflerini gizlemekten nefret ederler. Amaçlarını ancak var olan tüm toplumsal koşulların zor yoluyla ortadan kaldırılmasıyla ulaşabileceğini açıkça duyururlar. Egemen sınıflar bir komünist devrim korkusuyla tir tir titresin. Proleterlerin zincirlerinden başka yitirecekleri bir şey yoktur. Oysa kazanacakları koskoca bir dünya vardır. BÜTÜN ÜLKELERİN İŞÇİLERİ, BİRLEŞİN! (Üster &amp; Deriş, 1979/2013, p. 92)</p>	<p>Komünistler görüşlerini ve niyetlerini gizlemeye tenezzül etmezler. Amaçlarını ancak şimdiye kadar ki tüm toplum düzeninin zorla devrilmesiyle ulaşabileceğini açıkça ilan ederler. Varsın hâkim sınıflar bir komünist devrim korkusuyla titresin. Proleterlerin zincirlerinden başka kaybedecekleri bir şey yoktur. Kazanacakları bir dünya vardır. BÜTÜN ÜLKELERİN İŞÇİLERİ, BİRLEŞİN! (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 51)</p>

However, one should be aware of the fact that the proletariat, as the bottom layer of the society in terms of classes, is not as neutral as the word “worker”. “Worker” as a lexical item of everyday language veils the specific Marxist term “proletariat”. Moreover, if the readers are not ideologically or linguistically inclined to Marxism and its terminology or they are not interested in matters of class consciousness, they may not define themselves as members of the proletariat, but as someone who is reading the book for the first time can identify her/himself with the working class more easily. Although the Erdost and Özalp versions provide a note remarking on the difference between the German and English versions, their translations depend on the English version. In this sense, it is evident that Erdost’s version, despite being an indirect translation, has been compared to the original German text meticulously and does not miss this distinguishing point. In the same paragraph, the translation of the “die Gesellschaftsordnung” (social order) into English contains a shift because it is translated as “social conditions” into English. One can see that Erdost shows the same sensitivity to this difference between the English and German source texts and translates from the original German text while the other two indirect translators Ege and Üster & Deriş translate from the English version.

The translation of “lumpen proletariat” as a term is another example, which proves that the division between the direct and indirect translations in this corpus is rather artificial. As this phrase, meaning the lowest stratum of the proletariat, was used in the original German text, one does not expect to see it in the translations from English as it is shown in Table 5. Engels explains the term in the 1888 English version as “the dangerous class, the social scum”.



Table 5. Engels' Footnote on Lumpen Proletariat in the Target Texts

<p>“Tehlikeli sınıf”, toplumun tortusu [ayaktakımı – ç.], eski toplumun en alt tabakalarının içlerinden çıkarıp attığı o kendi kendine çürüyen yığın, yer yer bir proletarya devrimiyle harekete sürüklenebilir; ne var ki, yaşama koşulları onu gerici entrikaların bir aleti olmaya çok daha fazla hazırlar. (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 31)</p>	<p>Lümpen proletarya, eski toplumun en alt katmanlarının pasif bir şekilde çürümüş bu kesimi, yer yer bir proleter devrimi aracılığıyla hareketin içine sürüklenebilir; ama, yaşam koşulları nedeniyle, gerici entrikalar için satın alınmaya daha istekli olacaktır. (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 21) Endnote 48. İngilizce baskıda, “lümpen proletarya” yerine “tehlükeli sınıf”, toplumsal tortu” deniyor.</p>
<p>“Tehlikeli sınıf”, toplumsal tortu, eski toplumun en alt katmanları bu edilgen çürüyen yığını, şurada burada, bir proleter devrim ile, hareketin içine sürüklenebilir; ne var ki, kendi yaşam koşulları onu daha çok gerici entrikaların paralı aleti olmaya hazırlar. (Erdost, 1976/2005, p. 128) Almanca baskılarda: “tehlükeli sınıf, toplumsal tortu” yerine, “lümpen-proleterya”. (editor's note)</p>	<p>Lumpen proleterya, eski toplumun en aşağı tabakalarının bu kıpırtısız tortusu, bir proleter devrimiyle yer yer devrimin içine sürükleyecek, yaşayış koşulları bakımından gerici dalaverelere satılmaya daha yatkın olacaktır (Kavas, 1998/2003, p.91). Endnote, 1888 “tehlükeli sınıf”, toplumun tortusu (157)</p>
<p>“Tehlikeli sınıf”, toplumun tortusu, eski toplumun en alt katmanlarının içlerinden def ettikleri o kendiliğinden çürüyüp giden yığın, zaman zaman bir proleter devrimiyle hareketin içine sürüklenebilir; ne var ki, içinde bulunduğu yaşam koşulları, bu yığını gerici tertiplerin satılık aleti olmaya çok daha yatkın kılar. (Üster &amp; Deriş, 1979/2013, p. 61- 62)</p>	<p>Lümpen proletarya, eski toplumun en alt tabakalarının sessizce çürüyüp gitmesiyle oluşan bu yığın, yer yer bir proletarya devrimiyle hareketin içine sürüklenebilir, ne var ki içinde bulunduğu yaşam koşulları onu gerici kışkırtmaların satın alınmış bir aleti olup çıkarmaya daha yatkın kılar (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 31). Lümpen proleterya: definition in the glossary (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 77)</p>

As one can observe in the quotations from the translations in Table 5, direct translations make use of Engels' explanation in the English version while in the Erdost version; the term itself is added to the endnotes by the anonymous editor. The Ege version adds “ayaktakımı” which is an equivalent for “scum”. As the translators compare the German and English source texts and make use of multiple source texts, this is not surprising. It is only Üster & Deriş version, which makes use of solely English version in this example.

In the sentence in Table 6, two terms; “serf” and “petty bourgeois”, are translated in a very similar fashion. When the translators’ approaches to the social classes as terms are analyzed, one can say that, there are no tangible differences between the translations from German and English. To be specific, all the translators apart from Kavas translate “Kleinbürger/ petty bourgeois” as “küçük burjuva”. Kavas remains loyal to his own purist translating strategy in this example, too. Thus, he translates this term as “küçük kenter” because it is Turkish. He also renders the title of “petty bourgeois socialism” as “küçük kenter toplumculuğu” while other five translators translate as “küçük burjuva sosyalizmi”.

When it comes to “*the serf / der Leibeigene*”, Kavas uses a pure Turkish word, “kul”, which is found in the Orhon Inscriptions. In addition, Kavas is the only translator who adheres to the literal sense of “herangearbeitet” (*Anstrengung einem Ziel nähern / pay effort to come closer to an aim*). Thus he translates the verb as “çabalamak” (try) and saves the meaning of unachieved/ uncompleted mission/task while the others translate as is if this aim was achieved. It is apparent that the other five translators opted to translate from the English version as it contains the verb “manage” and thus, their translations imply a certain development from petty bourgeois to bourgeoisie while the German version implies that they attempt to do it. However, in modern Turkish this sense of the word “kull” is hardly known, and it has a more religious connotation in the meaning of servant of God. Moreover, it does not reflect the dependence of the serf on the land.

Table 6. Serf and Petty Bourgeois in Target Text Excerpts

<i>The serf</i> , in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of the feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. ((Marx and Engels, 1888/1969)	Der Leibeigene hat sich zum Mitglied der Kommune in der Leibeigenschaft herangearbeitet <sup>60</sup> wie der Kleinbürger zum Bourgeois unter dem Joch des feudalistischen Absolutismus. (Marx and Engels, 1848/1974)
<i>Serflik</i> döneminde serf kendisini komün üyeliğine yükseltmiştir; nasıl ki feodal mutlakiyetin boyunduruğu altında <i>küçük burjuva</i> da gelişerek bir burjuva olmayı becerebilmişse. (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 33)	<i>Küçük burjuva</i> nasıl feodal mutlakiyetin boyunduruğu altında burjuva olduysa, <i>serf</i> de serflik döneminde komün üyeliğine yükseldi. (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 22)
<i>Serflik</i> döneminde serf, kendisini komün üyeliğine yükseltmiştir, tıpkı <i>küçük-burjuvanın</i> , feodal mutlakiyetçiliğin boyunduruğu altında bir burjuva düzeyine yükselmesi gibi. (Erdost, 1976/2005, p.129)	<i>Kulluk</i> düzeninde kul komün üyeliğine doğru çabaladığı gibi derebeyliğin saltıkcılığı altında da <i>küçük kenter</i> kentsoyluluğa doğru çabalamıştır. (Kavas, 1998/2003, p.93)
<i>Toprak köleliği</i> döneminde toprak kölesi kendini komün üyesi durumuna yükseltmişti, tıpkı feodal mutlakiyetin boyunduruğu altındaki <i>küçük burjuvanın</i> burjuvalığa yükselmeyi başardığı gibi. (Üster & Deriş, 1979/2013, p.63)	<i>Serflik</i> döneminde serf kendini komün üyesi durumuna yükseltmiş, <i>küçük burjuva</i> da feodal mutlakiyetin boyunduruğu altında bir burjuva durumuna yükselmeyi becermişti. (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p.32)

In this example, Üster and Deriş uses “toprak köleliği” (slavery dependent on the land) which is an explanation for “serf”. The Satlıgan version adds an entry into the glossary and explains the term as peasants who live on a piece of land and work for the landowner in the feudal system (Satlıgan 2010, p. 78). Actually, serfs used to pay a tithe and give products and livestock to the landlord and cannot leave or work for another person without the permission of him. Thus, the definition, Satlıgan version provides, does not go into detail to explain the financial relationship between the members of aristocracy and the serf as classes. In short, both of these translators suggested that the

<sup>60</sup> In addition, Kavas is the only translator who adheres to the literal sense of “herangearbeitet” (*Anstrengung einem Ziel nähern* / pay effort to come closer to an aim). Thus he translates the verb as “çabalamak” (try) and saves the meaning of unachieved/ uncompleted mission/task while the others translate as is if this aim was achieved. It is apparent that the other five translators would prefer to translate from the English version as it contains the verb “manage” and thus, their translations imply a certain development from petty bourgeois to bourgeoisie while the German version implies that they attempt to do it.

readers may not know the meaning of “serf” as a social class and at least attempted to give a definition.

#### 4.4.4 Natural superiors, philistine sentimentalism, freedoms

The paragraph in Appendix E gives us many examples of the alterations and shifts between the original German source text and English translation and their reflections in the Turkish translations. However, only a critical examination can reveal the variety in the Turkish translations which is a result of the differences between the two source texts. The choices of the translators could indicate their style and translation strategies. Therefore, a few terms will be examined in comparison and contrast.

One more example of the phrases that has a connotation with a social structure is “spießbürgerlichen Wehmut” / “philistine sentimentalism”. The sentence which this phrase is quoted from is stylistically one of the most powerful sentences of the text, I will concentrate only on the adjective in this phrase because of its social connotation. The disparity between “die Wehmut” and “sentimentalism” is another matter, which Özalp and Kavas point out with their translations; “hüzün” (gloominess, melancholia, doldrums) and “karamsarlık” (pessimism) respectively while the other translators, including Satlıgan, render it as “duygusallık” (sentimentalism) which shows a more neutral feeling in a similar vein to the English version. The loss of a pun in the English translation attracts attention. “philistine” as an adjective seem to have the same meaning with “spießbürgerlichen”. However, it does not have the same connotation because “spießbürgerlichen” is a compound noun and contains “bürgerlich” (bourgeoisie) in addition to “spieß” (pike). It attributes this trait - narrow mindedness- to the bourgeoisie as a social class in the background. The authors could have used “philtrös” which is

the German equivalent for “philistine”, but they did not. Among the six translations, it is only the Satlıgan version which brings this meaning to the surface with his rendering “*küçük burjuva duygusallığı*”, though at the cost of losing the surface meaning; being philistine; uncultured or narrow-minded. Although the translator concentrates on the inference of the phrase in the source text, which regards class relations, he misses this nuance. As the translation of puns is very difficult, this stylistic element is lost in the other translations most probably because they took the English version as their reference point. Ege uses “bourgeoisie” as the direct subject of the sentence but skips the adjective. Erdost prefers “darkafalı” (narrow-minded), Özalp; “darkafalılara özgü” (characteristic of narrow minded people), Üster and Deriş; “sığ” (shallow), Kavas; “başıbozuk” (undisciplined).

In addition, the translation of “natural superiors”/ “natürlichen Vorgesetzten” is another striking sign of Satlıgan’s utmost attention in the example above because Satlıgan translates this phrase as “tabii mafevk”, which is archaizing and hardly comprehensible in modern Turkish unless the reader is familiar with and committed to Ottoman Turkish. However, to reflect the historical embedment of the translation, his strategy is quite useful. Moreover, this usage also illustrates an intertextual reference to a previous Turkish translation of the text. Apparently, Satlıgan makes use of the Şefik Hüsnü Değmer version (1923), the first complete translation of the book in Ottoman Turkish, because Değmer translates this phrase in exactly the same manner. When we compare Satlıgan’s translation with the other translators’, we see that Kavas translates this phrase as “doğal üst” instead of using the Arabic-rooted equivalents of the words Satlıgan uses. Although both translators’ main reference text is the original German version, Kavas prefers Turkish-rooted equivalents. The other four translators prefer

rendering the phrase as “doğal efendiler” (natural masters) which is a literal translation of the English version. Satlıgan and Kavas might have avoided using “efendi” which is translated as “die Herrschaft” into German because it would lead to confusion despite the fact that both concepts relate to the social structure and its criticism. “die Herrschaft” is translated into Turkish in other philosophical texts like Hegel’s dialectic as “die Herrschaft and Knechtschaft” (master and slave) and it connotes to aristocracy, the members of whom are considered born higher in the feudal structure. The English version certainly seems to shift this striking term inside the paragraph to balance the text.

Another example of the discrepancies between the original German and English versions in the extract above relates a legal term. The semantic shift between the original and the English translation leads to variety among the translations. As Özalp’s endnote implies “der zahllosen verbrieften und wohlerworbenen Freiheiten ” is translated into English as “the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms”. Özalp points out this difference with an additional note. The German version is translated as “sayısız belgeli ve kazanılmış özgürlük ” while the English version is translated as “sayısız iptal edilemez belgeli özgürlük” by Özalp. His remark aims to make the readers notice the difference between the original German version and the English version by providing both of the translations.

The adjective “verbrieften” - the past participle form of “verbriefen”- is rendered as “chartered” because “chartered freedoms” is an equivalent phrase for “verbrieften Freiheiten” and both words indicate that these freedoms are confirmed and guaranteed by legal documents. Samuel Moore’s translation is very close to the original source text in this extract. However, “wohlerworbenen Freiheiten”, which could have been

translated as the freedoms acquired long ago, is replaced with “indefeasible freedoms” by Moore; and Engels gave his consent for this translation. “Indefeasible” can be the literal translation of “unanfechtbar” which takes the issue from a different angle. Özalp translates from the German version but provides the translation from English into Turkish in the endnotes. Satlıgan translates the mentioned phrase from German original text. He adopts an archaizing translation strategy for this extract and uses the Ottoman Turkish equivalents of “verbrieften und wohlerworbene”; “müseccel ve müktesep”. “Müseccel” means “registered” or “certified” and it is still valid in Turkish although it sounds highly legal. “Tescilli”, which is from the same Arabic root, is more commonly used than “müseccel” in Turkish. Özalp uses original Turkish rooted word- “belgeli” (documented) - for the translation. When it comes to “müktesep” (acquired), it means “kazanılmış, elde edilmiş” in modern Turkish. Özalp prefers this modern Turkish rendering of the word- “kazanılmış”. In analogy with “müseccel”, “müktesep” comes from Arabic and was used in Ottoman Turkish. From Satlıgan’s translation, one cannot infer the meaning of “indefeasible”. In this regard, Satlıgan depends on the German original and ignores the shift in the English version. When we examine Satlıgan’s style in its own right, we notice the archaizing effect it creates with the words “müseccel ve müktesep”.

The Üster and Deriş version provides a preface entitled “Çeviriyle İlgili Açıklamalar” (Notes about the translation). In this part, they explain that an extra section entitled “notes” is added at the end of the translation. While they were preparing these notes which indicate the differences between the English and German versions of the book, they made use of the notes of a political science professor, Gareth Steadman Jones, and the preface he wrote for *The Communist Manifesto*. In this supplementary

note, they make reference to a historian and social critic- Thomas Carlyle- who criticizes the individuality that unties and destroys all social ties. From this aspect, one can argue that the reception of the book and the differences between the original German text and the English version that affect the reception of the book are the main issues which concern the translators. However, this reference does not illustrate the difference between the two source versions. Even though there is a difference between these two versions, Üster and Deriş do not specify it; rather they consult a secondary source to explain it. Such a level of commitment for the interpretation of the phrase implies their awareness but their intent in including this comment remains vague. They translate according to the English version and render the phrase as “*onca kazanılmış, geri alınmaz özgürlüğün*” (so many acquired, infeasible freedoms), which indicates their dependence on the English version.

When we examine the other translations, we observe that Erdost translates the phrase as “yok edilemez” (indestructible) which implies a semantic shift from the original German source text and the English version, while Ege and Kavas render the phrase as “elde edilmiş/ edinilmiş” (vested) freedoms, which is an equivalent word to “müktesep” but certainly far more contemporary Turkish. Thus, in addition to the translations from German (Özalp, Kavas and Satlıgan), the Ege version proves that it takes the German version into consideration for this phrase. To sum up, this example indicates the adherence of the Ege version to the German source text and must be considered an indicator of the fact that the comparison was done meticulously in this version despite it is an indirect translation.

From a general perspective, the paragraph quoted and examined above has been an indicator that the voice of the first and second authors, the translator of the English



version and the previous translators, and the Marxologist reviewers could be influential in the retranslations whether they are direct or indirect. However, the direct translators who have the advantage of using the almost half century long time gap and the accumulated knowledge on the interpretation of the source text and its reflections to the Marxist literature, adopted more conservative translation strategies.

#### 4.4.5 Abolition of private property

Despite the fact that none of the translators censors or alters the extract about the abolition of private property in any way, and prefer to translate it literally, the translation of the sentence in Table 7 is one of the most controversial parts of the book in content. Marx and Engels' suggestion to overcome the supremacy of higher layers of social stratum is rather radical. Therefore they explain it in many aspects and propose a solution which is in no way acceptable for the members of a capitalist society. However, it can be considered the core of the book in theory and the ultimate aim of communism in practice despite the fact that it is understood as a threat to individual rights in other regimes and thus against the rationale of the foundations of the capitalist world.

Table 7. Abolition of Private Property in the Retranslations

“In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property” (Marx and Engels, 1888/1969).	“In diesem Sinn können die Kommunisten ihre Theorie in dem einen Ausdruck: Aufhebung des Privat eigentums, zusammenfassen” (Marx and Engels, 1848/1974).
“Bu anlamda, komünistlerin teorisi tek bir bir tümcede özetlenebilir: Özel mülkiyetin kaldırılması” (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 35).	“Bu anlamda, komünistler teorilerini tek bir ifadeyle özetleyebilir: Özel mülkiyetin kaldırılması” (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 24).
“Bu anlamda, komünistlerin teorisi tek bir bir tümcede özetlenebilir: özel mülkiyetin kaldırılması” (Erdost, 1976/2005, p. 133).	“Bu anlamda komünistler kuramlarını tek bir anlatımda, özel mülkiyetin kaldırılmasında özetleyebilirler” (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 99).
“O yüzden, Komünistlerin kuramı tek bir tümcede özetlenebilir: özel mülkiyetin ortadan kaldırılması” (Üster & Deriş, 1979/2013, p. 66).	“Bu anlamda, Komünistlerin teorisi tek bir ifadeyle özetlenebilir: Özel mülkiyete son verilmesi” (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 34).

Thus, when the translations are evaluated functionally, one can argue that translation of the text extract is quite courageous, and all six translations rendered it very much the same regardless of their source texts. We can derive the conclusion that as the quotation in Table 7 is the gist of the document, the canonicity of the text is highly respected by all of the translators. This congruence may be due to the fact that the style of the writers at this stage is very plain, with the intention of making their aim comprehensible for the readers, and this simplicity of expression is reflected in translation. However, the passive voice in the indirect translations and in the Satlıgan version attracts attention. Despite it is from the German original text, Satlıgan opted to depend on the grammatical structure of the English source text. As the theor of the Communists is generally accepted, this grammatical shift does not lead to a semantic shift or any functional deviation.

#### 4.4.6 All fixed, fast-frozen / *Alles Ständige und Stehende*

The following sentences are quoted because they are considered some of the parts that are considered among the most stylistically strong sections of the book. Another reason to analyze this section is the controversies it has created in its Turkish translations.

This paragraph deals with the constant evolution of instruments of production the bourgeoisie uses and their effects on the society as they lead to constant change in the social structure. As a result of the change in the means of production, there is nothing stable and long-standing in society, but continuous destruction and breakdown and as a consequence a reconstruction of social classes. Class struggle is the distinguishing characteristic of the epoch of the bourgeoisie. Marshall Berman finds this “dialectical motion of modernity” (Berman, 2012, p. 21) described above disadvantageous even for the bourgeoisie itself, despite the fact that this particular class is the prime mover and the engine of it.

The translation of the extract in Table 8 is problematic for a number of reasons. First of all, “die Vorstellung”, which means “concept, notion or perception” in this context, is translated into English as “prejudice”. Thus the retranlations done from the English version render it as “önyargı” (prejudice), while the translations from German translate it as “düşünce, tasarım, tasavvur” which are all equivalents for “vorstellung”. The literal meaning of prejudice would be rendered with “das Vorurteil”, however, the original German source text does not use it.

Table 8. The Reflection of All That is Solid to Target Text Excerpts

<p>All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable <i>prejudices</i> and <i>opinions</i>, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind. (Marx &amp; Engels, 1888//1969)</p>	<p>Alle festen eingerosteten Verhältnisse mit ihrem Gefolge von altehrwürdigen <i>Vorstellungen</i> und <i>Anschauungen</i> werden aufgelöst, alle neu gebildeten veralten, ehe sie verknöchern können. Alles Ständische und Stehende verdampft, alles Heilige wird entweiht, und die Menschen sind endlich gezwungen, ihre Lebensstellung, ihre gegenseitigen Beziehungen mit nüchternen Augen anzusehen. (Marx &amp; Engels, 1848/1974)</p>
<p>Bütündüragan, donmuş ilişkiler, ardisıra getirdikleri kadimve saygın <i>önyargılar</i> ve <i>düşüncelerle</i> birlikte silinip süpürülüyor, bütün yeni biçimlenmeler daha kemikleşmeden tarih oluyor. Katı olan ne varsa buharlaşıyor, kutsal olan ne varsa murder ediliyor, ve insan, en sonu yaşamının gerçek koşullarıyla ve öteki insanlarla olan ilişkileriyle doğrudan yüzleşmek zorunda bırakılıyor. (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 24)</p>	<p>Tüm sabit, paslanmış ilişkiler, beraberlerindeki eskiden saygıdeğer bulunan <i>düşünceler</i> ve <i>görüşlerle</i> birlikte çözülüyor; yeni oluşmuş olan tüm ilişkiler daha kemikleşmeden eskiyor. Sabit ve durağan olan her şey buharlaşıyor, kutsal olan her şey ayaklar altına alınıyor ve insanlar sonunda yaşam koşullarına ve karşılıklı ilişkilerine ayık kafayla bakmak zorunda kalıyor. (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 14)</p>
<p>Bütün sabit, donmuş ilişkiler, beraberlerinde getirdikleri eski ve saygıdeğer <i>önyargılar</i> ve <i>görüşler</i> ile birlikte çözülüyorlar, bütünüeni-oluşmuş olanlar kemikleşmeden eskiliyorlar. Yerleşmiş olan ne varsa eriyip gidiyor, kutsal olan ne varsa lanetleniyor, ve insan, kendi toplumsal durumlarına ve karşılıklı ilişkilerine sonunda ayık kafayla bakmak zorunda kalıyor. (1976/Erdost, 2005, p. 120)</p>	<p>Yerleşik, küflenmiş ilişkilerin hepsi, üstlerine sinmiş bir sürü eski, saygın <i>tasarımla</i>, <i>görüşle</i> birlikte çözülüyor, yeni kurulanların hepsi kemikleşmeden eskiyor. Katı, kalıcı olan ne varsa buharlaşıyor, kutsal olan ne varsa çığneniyor, sonunda insanlar kendi yaşama koşullarını, karşılıklı bağlarını ayık gözlerle görmeye zorlanıyor. (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 75)</p>
<p>Tüm kalıplaşmış, donup kalmış ilişkiler, ardı sıra gelen eski ve saygıdeğer <i>önyargılar</i> ve <i>düşüncelerle</i> birlikte silinip giderken, yeni oluşarlarda kemikleşmeye fırsat bulamadan köhneleşir. Elle tutulur ne varsa uçup gider, kutsal olan herşey ayaklar altına alınır ve sonunda insanoğlu aklını başına toplayıp yaşamının gerçek koşulları ve kenditürüyle olan ilişkileriyle yüzyüze gelmek zorunda kalır (Üster and Deriş, 1979/2013, p. 53)</p>	<p>Bütün kemikleşmiş, donmuş ilişkiler arkaları sıragelen eskidenberi saygıdeğer <i>tasavvur</i> ve <i>görüşlerle</i> birilikte silinip gider; yeni oluşarlar ise daha kemikleşmeye fırsat bulamadan eskir. Katı olan herşey buharlaşıyor, kutsal olan herşey ayaklar altına alınıyor ve insanlar nihayet hayattaki konumlarına, karşılıklı ilişkilerine soğukkanlı bir gözle bakmaya zorlanıyorlar. (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 25)</p>

On the other hand, “die Anschauungen” is translated rather smoothly. As it was translated into English version as “opinion”, translators render it as either “düşünce” or “görüş” which are Turkish equivalents. However, this is rather surprising because the

German term “die Anschauungen” is rendered as “görü” (vision, view) into Turkish from time to time, and thus misunderstandings may arise. None of the translators falls into this mistake in this text extract either because of their sensitivity to this philosophical term, which is less likely, or the explicitness of the English translation. Again for this example, the dominance of the English version is obvious, because otherwise a variation in translation would have arisen.

Moreover, all these ancient and venerable *prejudices* and *opinions* are swept away (*altehrwürdigen Vorstellungen und Anschauungen werden aufgelöst*). While this text extract was translated from German into English, the verb “auflösen”, which means to “melt or dissolve” in this context, goes through a semantic shift and becomes “swept away”, in the sense of a fast and powerful removal. While the Erdost, Özalp, and Kavas versions prefer to translate the German structure “werden aufgelöst” in its literal German meaning into Turkish as “çözülüyor”, the other translators translate from English. As the Erdost version is compared to the original German text and displays the alterations, we are not surprised to see the dependence of the version on the original German source text once again despite the fact that the Erdost version is translated from English. On the other hand, as the Ege and Üster & Deriş versions are translated from English; these translations are in analogy with the English version.

However, Satlıgan, whose main reference text is the original German text, unexpectedly prefers to translate from the English version just like Ege and Üster & Deriş. Satlıgan’s translation indicates the fact that the English version has been predominant in his translation choices. Therefore, we can say that Satlıgan applies discretionary translation strategies for different examples. In this example, as readers we do not expect to see that he chooses to translate from the English version because the

Satlıgan version is advertised particularly because it is translated from German.

However, the translator makes use of various previous versions in comparison and contrast.

In the first sentence of this extract, one more discrepancy between the German and English texts arises. To describe the relations between the social classes, the writers use “gerosteten” which was translated into English as “fast-frozen”. If one looks at this example from a functional viewpoint, we can assume that the English translation would work almost the same way. However, its reflection to the Turkish target texts is remarkable. While all the translators in the first wave who translated from the English version render it as “donmuş” (frozen), the translators who have translated from German use different words for it. Özalp translates it in its literal meaning as “paslanmış” (rusty/*gerosteten/verrosted*), Kavas chooses an adjective similar, “küflenmiş” which means “moldy/*mordig*”, and Satlıgan prefers “kemikleşmiş” (ossified/*verknöchnernt*). In this case, only Özalp depends on the German source text totally.

The translation of the following compound sentence has also been considered troublesome in Turkish (Özkan, 2018). The difficulty in translating this sentence stems from the discrepancy between the German and English source texts. As the English translation of the document is approved, and thus authorized by the second writer, Engels, the translators are compelled to take it into consideration. To describe the stagnancy of the rigidity of the old social structure and how this rigidity is broken by the new social dynamics, the bourgeoisie creates, Marx and Engels depict the continuing change in modern capitalist society. They write that “Alles Ständische und Stehende verdampft,...” / All that is solid melts into air,...”. The first thing that attracts attention in this extract is the translation of the adjectives; “ständisch” and “stehend”. They mean

steady/constant and stable/stagnant respectively in this context. “*Der ständischen Gesellschaft*” refers to feudal society. As an adjective, it can mean “joint / incorporated”, and thus can refer to the unity of the upper classes or, the state. However, in the English translation these two adjectives are rendered with one word: “solid”. The English translation omits and alters the original version destroying the criticism of the unity among upper classes. On the other hand, it creates one of the most stylistically impressive sentences of the English version, a sentence that is most frequently quoted. Although their main source text is the German original text, two translators who adopt conservative translation strategies in some other examples, namely Kavas and Satlıgan, adhere to the English version as the source text and render it as “katı olan” which is a literal translation. In other words, this sentence from the English translation cannot be altered by the above-mentioned translators. And thus it proves to us the canonicity of the English version. Ege translates this in the same way as Kavas and Satlıgan.

When one examines “katı” (solid) as a descriptive adjective, s/he will discover that it hardly ever connotes society. Kavas also adds “kalıcı” (permanent) and thus increases the structure’s resemblance to the original German text. Üster & Deriş paraphrase “solid” as “elle tutulur” (tangible). Erdost explains “ständisch” and “stehend” as “yerleşmiş olan” (settled), which indicates that he favors comprehensibility over stylistic influence and functionality of the text is important to him. Özalp in this example translates in the closest way to the original German and writes “sabit ve durağan” (stable and constant). Only Özalp’s translation reads as totally dependent on the German original, since he ignores the English translation as a source text in this example despite the loss of stylistic affect.

#### 4.4.7 Prostitution

As the writer of the preface in the Satlıgan version, Rasih Nuri İleri accused Ege of self-censorship regarding those elements in the text dealing with women's role in capitalist society, but without textual justification. One of the most controversial sentences relating to women will be analyzed in this section. This claim of self-censorship was the first spark in the controversy between Ege and Satlıgan versions. As stated earlier, Ege refused the claim in the endnote he wrote to the translation entitled “Komünist Manifesto ve Türkiye'deki Öyküsü” (*The Communist Manifesto and its Story in Turkey*). Moreover, the claim has a considerable significance, because the target culture has a special sensitivity to the subject. As the following part in Table 9 has a pointed description about the role of women in a bourgeois society, it is worth examining how it is rendered in the retranslations. Regardless of their publication date and source text, the translators rendered the text in a very similar fashion.

Before making any comments on the translations, it is necessary to explain the context, which the sentence above is quoted from. Marx and Engels describe how women are thought to be a means of production in a bourgeois society, which leads to the commodification of women in general. Therefore, as a means of production and commodities, women are shared by the bourgeoisie. According to the writers, as all means of production are common property in capitalist societies, even women of the proletariat are seduced by bourgeois men. However, it should be kept in mind that the writers' approach to the bourgeoisie is quite critical and ironic. In other words, they criticize this economically motivated social structure and human relations in capitalist societies, and all kinds of legal prostitution and concealed exploitative treatment towards women.



Table 9. Source and Target Text Excerpts Relating Prostitution

<p>“For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, <i>i.e.</i>, of prostitution both public and private” (Marx and Engels, 1888/1969).</p>	<p>“Es versteht sich übrigens von selbst, dass mit Aufhebung der jetzigen Produktionsverhältnisse auch die aus ihnen hervorgehende Weibergemeinschaft, d.h. die offizielle und nichtoffizielle Prostitution, verschwindet” (Marx and Engels, 1948/1974).</p>
<p>“Zaten apaçıktır ki, bugünkü üretim düzeninin ortadan kaldırılmasıyla, bundan doğan, kadında ortaklık, yani resmî ve gayri resmî fuhuş da zorunlu olarak kendiliğinden ortadan kalkacaktır” (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 49).</p>	<p>“Zaten, şimdiki üretim ilişkilerinin ortadan kaldırılmasıyla birlikte, kadınların bunlardan doğan ortaklaşa kullanımının, yani resmi ve gayriresmi fuhuşun da ortadan kalkacağı apaçıktır” (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 28).</p>
<p>“Zaten, apaçıktır ki, bugünkü üretim biçiminin kalkmasıyla birlikte, bu sistemden çıkan kadınların ortaklaşalığı da, yani resmi ve özel fuhuş da kalkacaktır” (Erdost,1976/2005, p. 40).</p>	<p>“Yoksa bugünkü üretim ilişkilerinin kaldırılmasıyla birlikte bunlardan kaynaklanan kadın ortaklığının, demek gerek resmi gerek gayriresmi fuhuşun da yok olacağı apaçık” (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 109).</p>
<p>“Kaldi ki, bugünkü üretim sisteminin ortadan kaldırılmasıyla birlikte, kadınların bu sistemden kaynaklanan ortaklaşa kullanımının, başka birdeyişle açık ve gizli fuhuşun da ortadan kalkacağı açıktır” (Üster&amp;Deriş, 1979/2013, p.72).</p>	<p>“Ayrıca bugünkü üretim ilişkilerinin ortadan Kaldırılmasıyla birlikte kadınların bu ilişkilerden kaynaklanan ortaklaşalığım, yani resmî ve gayriresmî fuhuşun ortadan kalkacağı kendiliğinden anlaşılır” (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 38).</p>

When the extract is examined semantically, “community” has the meaning of “common ownership” in a philosophical sense. Therefore, in all of the versions, it is translated as “ortaklaşalık”/“ortaklık” (common possession). In the Özalp and Üster & Deriş versions, it is translated as “ortak kullanım” (shared use), which is very similar in meaning. This idea, even in the form of criticism, is very degrading and radical in the target society. However, the translators display faithfulness to the content of the source text.

When the German original and the English versions are compared, it is easy to detect that “nicht offizielle Prostitution” is changed into “private prostitution”. One can argue that unofficial prostitution is not always private prostitution. Thus, we need to examine which translator depends on which source text, as it would create a semantic

alteration in the target text. Apparently, only in Erdost's translation, is "özel fuhuş" (private prostitution) used instead of "nichtoffizielle Prostitution" (*gayri resmi fuhuş*). On the other hand, the Üster & Deriş version explains the phrase as "açık ve gizli fuhuş" (open and concealed prostitution), which is extraordinary as a choice. While the other translators refrain from such a change even in the form of explanation, for Üster & Deriş, it is a one-time choice.

As Ege's version is compared to the original German text and the French translation, the translators of this version should have identified the difference between the source text and the English translation, and translated from the German original because Ege translated the phrase as "gayriresmi fuhuş" (unofficial prostitution). Thus, from this viewpoint, the Ege version makes use of multiple source texts, and the German original text comes to the fore in this example. Once more, the debate over the source text seems artificial in this example.

#### 4.4.8 The idiocy of rural life / *dem Idiotismus des Landlebens*

Studying the following part of the book and its translations into Turkish is necessary because of an article written by Sungur Savran, entitled "Marxism'in Kuyumcusu" (The Goldsmith of Marxism) (2013). In this article Savran, a Marxist scholar, translator, and politician, argued that the translations from the English version caused a misunderstanding. He stated that the translations from English created the image that Marx and Engels despised the peasantry and did not consider that it was "a part of the revolutionary power" (Savran, 2013). In other words, these translations were accepted as the evidence of a subsequent dismissive opinion of the peasantry among Marxists. In Savran's opinion, this view did not originate from the German text, but it was only a

misinterpretation that stemmed from the English version. Savran explained that the Satlıgan version was accurate because it was translated from German, and because Satlıgan himself was sensitive to the Marxist debates surrounding a certain quotation from the English translation of the book. Savran commented that Satlıgan made use of various sources and he understood the theoretical background while he was translating, and for this reason he translated *The Communist Manifesto* being aware of this nuance. This frequently quoted phrase he mentioned was “dem Idiotismus des Landlebens” / “the idiocy of rural life”.

Savran particularly criticized one particular Turkish translation, for the rendering of the phrase as “kır hayatının ahmaklığı” (the idiocy of rural life); however, this phrase was from a translation from German, to be specific from Özalp’s translation in our corpus. In other words, the accusation of the poor quality of translations from English was not supported with tangible evidence as he did not name any specific translation from English. However, instead of “ahmaklık” (idiocy), a very close word “bönlük” (stupid naïveté), was chosen by two other translators, Erdost and Kavas in our corpus. It should be noted that the Erdost version is from English while Kavas version is from German. Savran reported August Nimtz’ annotation of Hal Draper’s text. In his book *Marx and Engels: Their Contribution to the Democratic Breakthrough* (2012)<sup>61</sup> Nimtz proposes that “privatized isolation of rural life” would be a better translation than the already existing English translations.

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<sup>61</sup> This book is translated into Turkish by Can Saday and published by Yordam Kitap publishing house. Savran praises the translator and the translation, which was entitled *Demokrasi Savaşçıları Olarak Marx ve Engels* (2012).

Savran, likewise, argues that the most frequently referred English translation is misleading. To discover the underlying reason for this opinion, one needs to go back to the first source. In his book *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution II: The Politics of Social Classes*, Hal Draper (1977) complains about the Marxologists' disregard of the meaning of "Idiotismus" as Savran reports. Draper comments, "The testimony in German philological sources on the meaning of *Idiotismus* seems to be as unanimous as its disregard by marxologists" (Draper, 1977, p. 344). He argues that a "dubious neologism" arose in German in the nineteenth century regarding the word "*Idiotismus*". He reports that this modern meaning was quite distinct from the old- Greek-rooted meaning of the word as "seclusion from the world". Draper criticizes both the lack of philological sources indicating this meaning and MacFarlane's version, which was published in the magazine *Red Republican*. In Draper's opinion Marx, as someone who wrote his doctoral dissertation on Greek philosophy, could not be ignorant of this Greek usage. According to Draper, by "idiotes" Engels meant "the privatized person, withdrawn from public concerns, apolitical in the original sense of isolation from the sociopolitical community of the larger whole" (Draper, 1977, 344), but this sense of the word was lost in time. Now let us examine the Turkish retranslations and how the translators acted in the contexts relating to rural life.

In the quotations in Table 10, one can see that "idyllischen"/"idyllic" refers to rural life. If we take Draper's, Nimitz' and Savran's opinions into consideration, there needs to be a tangible difference between the translations from German and English.

Table 10. A Comparison of Text Excerpts Relating Idyllic Relations

<p>“The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part. The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations” (Marx &amp; Engels, 1888/1969).</p>	<p>“Die Bourgeoisie hat in der Geschichte eine höchst revolutionäre Rolle gespielt. Die Bourgeoisie, wo sie zur Herrschaft gekommen, hat alle feudalen, patriarchalischen, idyllischen Verhältnisse zerstört” (Marx &amp; Engels, 1848/1974).</p>
<p>“Burjuvazi, tarihte, tam anlamıyla devrimci bir rol oynamıştır. İktidarı ele aldığı her yerde burjuvazi, feodal, ataerkil, duygusal ilişki olarak ne varsa hepsine son verdi” (Ege, 1998/2009, p. 23).</p>	<p>“Burjuvazi tarihte son derece devrimci bir rol oynadı. Burjuvazi, iktidara geldiği her yerde, tüm feodal, ataerkil ve pastoral (****) ilişkileri yok etti” (Özalp, 1998/ 2011, p. 13).</p> <p>**** Kır yaşamının idealize edilmesine dayanan.</p>
<p>“Burjuvazi, tarihte, son derece devrimci bir rol oynadı. Burjuvazi, üstünlüğü ele geçirdiği her yerde, bütün feodal, ataerkil, pastoral ilişkilere son verdi” (Erdost, 1976/ 2005, p. 119).</p> <p>Footnote 11. İngilizcede: “idyllic”; Almancada: “idyllisch”; Fransızcada: “idyllique”; -idile (konusunu kır ya da çoban yaşamından alan sevgi şiiri) ilişkin saf ve sevimli. –ç. (the translator’s note)</p>	<p>“Kentsoyluluk tarihte alabildiğine devrimci bir iş gördü. Kentsoyluluk nerede egemen olduysa orada bütün derebeylik ilişkilerini, ataerkil, kırgıl ilişkileri yok etti” (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 75).</p>
<p>“Burjuvazi, tarihsel olarak, son derece devrimci bir rol oynamıştır. Burjuvazi, yönetimi ele geçirdiği her yerde, tüm feodal, ataerkil ve kırsal ilişkilere son vermiştir” (Üster &amp; Deriş, 1979/2013, p. 52).</p>	<p>“Burjuvazi tarihte son derece devrimci bir rol oynamıştır. Burjuvazi hâkimiyeti ele geçirdiği her yerde, bütün feodal, ataerkil, kır yaşamına özgü ilişkilere son vermiştir” (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 24).</p>

If the first extract is examined in Table 10, one can see that “idyllischen”/“idyllic” is translated as “duygusal (emotional), kırsal (rural), pastoral (idyllic)” by Ege, Erdost, and Üster & Deriş respectively. It is difficult to find a direct connection of Ege’s translation -“duygusal” (emotional)- to the discourse of the book. However, only after a few paragraphs, while the bourgeoisie is still being criticized because of the radical changes it causes in society, the writers state that the bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its “sentimental” (duygusal) veil, and has reduced family relations to mere

money relations (1848). Thus, there can be a shift from this section of the book in Ege's translation. Özalp, Kavas, and Satlıgan translated it as "pastoral, kırgıl (rural), and kır yaşamına özgü (characteristic of rural life)". Kavas' translation of the word "kırgıl" is a very uncommon derivation of "kır" (countryside, green fields and hills). Satlıgan is the only one among the translators who prefers to explain the word. But as all five translators translate in a substantially similar way, Ege can be accepted as an exception. In short, we can say that as the first example in connection with rural life is straightforward, and there is no difference between the German and English versions, the translations are close renderings of the word "idyllic"; rural, pastoral, relating to rural life. However, these renderings do not have any connotation of "idleness"; serene or peaceful lifestyle, and happy relations.

When it comes to the second extract in Table 11, "idiocy of rural life"/"dem Idiotismus des Landlebens", all the translators prefer words indicating country life, defining it with various adjectives. Ege, Erdost, Özalp, and Kavas depend on the literal meaning of "idiocy". The Üster & Deriş version emphasizes the laziness or slumber of rural life with the word "miskinlik" (indolence). Although, "idiocy" can be defined as laziness or idleness of mind, many may find it scarcely credible in this context. For instance, Jacques Rancière states that "Idiocy is not a faculty; it is the absence or the slumber or the relaxation of [intelligence]" (Rancière 1991, p. 55). However, "idiocy" in English can hardly be associated with the idleness of the rural areas or a pastoral lifestyle whether it is in a physical, intellectual, or political sense.

Table 11. Idiocy, Isolatedness and Slumber in Target Text Excerpts

<p>The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from <i>the idiocy of rural life</i>. (Marx &amp; Engels, 1888/1969)</p>	<p>Die Bourgeoisie hat das Land der Herrschaft der Stadt unterworfen. Sie hat enorme Städte geschaffen, sie hat die Zahl der städtischen Bevölkerung gegenüber der ländlichen in hohem Grade vermehrt und so einen bedeutenden Teil der Bevölkerung <i>dem Idiotismus des Landlebens</i> entrissen. (Marx &amp; Engels, 1848/1974).</p>
<p>“Burjuvazi, köyleri kentlerin yönetimine bağımlı kıldı. Koca koca kentler yarattı, köy nüfusuna göre kent nüfusunu büyük ölçüde artırdı ve böylelikle nüfusun oldukça önemli bir kısmını <i>köy yaşamının aptallaştırıcı etkisinden</i> kurtardı” (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 25).</p>	<p>“Burjuvazi, kırsal alanın egemenliği altına soktu. Çok büyük kentler yarattı, kentsel nüfusu kırsal nüfusa göre büyük oranda artırdı ve böylece nüfusun önemli bir bölümünü <i>kırsal yaşamının ahmaklığından</i> kopardı” (Özalp, 1998/2011, p. 15).</p>
<p>“Burjuvazi, kırsal alanın egemenliğine soktu. Çok büyük kentler yarattı, kentsel nüfusu, kırsal nüfusa, büyük ölçüde artırdı, ve böylece, nüfusun oldukça büyük bir kısmını <i>kırsal yaşamın bölünmüşlüğünden</i> kurtardı” (Erdost, 1976/2005, p. 121).</p>	<p>“Kentsoyluluk kırsal alanın egemenliği altına soktu. Dev kentler yarattı, kırsal nüfusa oranla kent nüfusunun sayısını büyük ölçüde artırdı, böylece nüfusun önemlice bir bölümünü <i>kırsal yaşamın bölünmüşlüğünden</i> kurtardı” (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 77).</p>
<p>“Burjuvazi köyleri kentlerin egemenliği altına sokmuştur. Çok büyük kentler yaratmış, kentlerin kırsal nüfusa oranla büyük ölçüde artırmış, böylece nüfusun hiç de azımsanmayacak bir bölümünü <i>kırsal yaşamın miskinliğinden</i> kurtarmıştır” (Üster &amp; Deriş, 1979/2013, 54).</p>	<p>“Burjuvazi kırsal alanı kent boyunduruğuna soktu. Koca koca kentler yarattı, kırsal nüfusa oranla kent nüfusunu büyük ölçüde artırdı ve böylece nüfusun hatırı sayılır bir parçasını <i>kırsal hayatının yalıtılmışlığından</i> kurtardı” (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 26).</p>

Satlıgan, on the other hand, focuses on the isolation of rural life with the Turkish word “yalıtılmışlık” (isolatedness). Therefore, we can say that Satlıgan remained sensitive to the Greek-rooted meaning of the word. From this aspect, as a direct translation his translation has created a difference in the source book’s interpretation in the target language.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In this last chapter, the findings of the historical survey of this study, its theoretical framework and methodology, and results of the translation criticism and some suggestions to improve Berman's translation criticism model will be discussed. This study started with a survey of the retranslations of the non-fiction left books in modern Turkish from the 1920s until 2016. The strongest wave of the retranslations in this field was recorded between the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Before the historical analysis, it had been anticipated that the decades between the 1960s and 1980s would be very fertile in terms of translations of this specific genre. However, it was revealed that the same period was also very productive in terms of retranslations. After this first wave of retranslations, for the following two decades retranslations of non-fiction left books were very rare because of the political dynamics of the period and the consequent state oppression. In the late 1990s, a period of revival started, which is still continuing. A series of Marxist and communist commemorations between 1998 and 2018 triggered the publication of more retranslations. The extent of this second wave can be measured only when a considerable decrease in the number of retranslations is recorded or when new retranslations will be ceased. The abundance and the scarcity of the retranslations in this span were indicative in terms of the historical circumstances of the eras and the ideological features of the target system. As *The Communist Manifesto* is on the top of the list with thirty-eight translations, including the first uncompleted translation, it has become the subject of the case study.



Thanks to the corpus of retranslations of non-fiction left books in Turkish that I compiled and a historical survey, the frequency of the retranslations between 1921 and 2016 was mapped. At the end of an archival search in various libraries, of bibliographies and internet and a subsequent catalogue of 357 books, it was observed that ninety-three books by forty-seven writers were retranslated over two hundred fifty times (264) between the years 1921 and 2015. As describing a historical process from a teleological perspective has the risks of having positive pre-suppositions, the historical and textual analysis in this study has been shaped from a descriptive point of view that concentrates on the re-shaping skills of the retranslators and other cultural intermediaries that collaborate with them. In line with the criticisms against undertaking historiography in order to form a unified and progressive past, an archeological and critical method that values conflicts and exclusions is followed in this study.

The case study revealed that *The Communist Manifesto* was translated from various languages into Turkish. The first wave retranslations by Ege (1968) and Erdost (1976), and Üster and Deriş (1979) discussed in this study, were done from English, but compared to the original German text, while the second wave retranslations by Özalp (1998), Kavas (2008), and Nail Satlıgan (2008) were done from German and compared to the English translation of the text. The struggle between the two retranslation waves displayed signs of a confrontation. As products of different historical contexts, they served different needs of the target system. However distinct they are in terms of their ideological and political inclinations, they served to the continuation of a discourse. The second wave retranslations rejuvenated the Marxist classics and aimed at the maintenance of a previously interrupted discourse. When the retranslations of the non-fiction leftist books into Turkish are taken into consideration as a whole, one can argue

that they aim at the formation and continuity of a group ideology despite the competitive characteristics of the group members among themselves. Despite the changing characteristics of the retranslations, they serve to the same discourse with reiterations. There is a network (Latour, 1997) between the rival and cooperative branches of a group and the translations of this group as the products of their ideologies. The actors of this network are politically motivated agents and they can be considered as the members of the same node. This implies that the decision to translate a text is most of the time collectively made by the members of a group and a local leftist tradition depending on the current needs of the group. As a translation undertaken by numerous translators and publishing houses, *The Communist Manifesto* as a classic work has become an integral part of the Turkish leftist discourse, and the direct retranslations of the work have more firmly consolidated its place in the network of non-fiction left books as a hub. The alterations and a variety of translation strategies applied by the second wave retranslators were all at the service of recognition of the same source corpus and aimed to prevent its deconsecration. Via numerous references to the first wave translators and retranslations, the second wave retranslations reminded the readers the existence of a leftist tradition in Turkish. The reviews, criticisms, prefaces, and translators' notes as a total re-introduced and validated a bulk of leftist retranslations, which had been at risk of sinking into oblivion. As a rejuvenation movement, the recent retranslations functioned as value-creating instruments for the former retranslations as Venuti argued (2004). In other words, they made the translators and publishers of the first wave more visible. They provided a fertile context of ideological debates and terminological discussions. The reception of the book throughout the world which have been reflected in many writings including renowned Marxists' and Marxologists' commentaries that have

accumulated in the time gap between the first and second waves were used as innovative paratextual material. Despite the disparities in terms of political views and source texts, the current ongoing retranslation wave was born thanks to the needs of the target system and a conflict with the former wave and benefitted from the long established literature of Marxist tradition of Turkey. On the other hand, newly launched retranslations had to confront and cope with the impact of the previous ones as they had established a symbolic status in the market. The pride of the first wave retranslators seemed legitimate because it was the result of the lawsuits they went through and the painstaking political endurance, which turned their translations into successful publications. While direct translators were seeking share of the market, they had to compete with the symbolic capital, which the indirect translators had accumulated over the years.

The findings of this study hinted at many intriguing results in terms of indirect translations. The corpus of this study indicated that indirect translation is an integral part of the retranslation circle, and the distinction between direct and indirect translations is rather artificial in our case from a descriptive point of view because in specific historical contexts indirect translations can potentially gain the status of canonical texts. Moreover, this study indicated that rather than the source language, the agencies of the translators and needs of the target system such as remolding of a dominant ideology or renewal of out-of-date terminology can be determining factors to raise a translation to the level of canonicity.

The canonical status of the version by Ege had also stemmed from the agencies of its translators. Mihri Belli was the leading figure among a group of translators who collaborated to translate this version. As he was the ideologue of the NDR movement, his agency was very influential for the canonicity of this version. On the other hand,

Satlıgan's agency as an esteemed scholar, his involvement in politics and his proficiency in German resulted in Satlıgan version coming to fore. Despite the fact that other translators such as Erdoğan Berktaş, Korkut Boratav and Pertev Naili Boratav and Ege himself contributed to the Ege version and Tekdaş Ağaoğlu, Olcay Göçmen, and Şükrü Alpagut translated paratextual material in the Satlıgan version, Belli and Satlıgan's agencies brought these versions reputation.

A comparative textual analysis of six translations by Ege (1968), Erdost (1976), Üster & Deriş (1979), Özalp (1998), Kavas (1998) and Satlıgan (2008) followed the historical and political context of the periods these (re)translations were produced and provided interesting insights regarding a number of issues that constituted the heart of the disputes surrounding the retranslations. One of these issues was concerning the directness or indirectness of the retranslations. The network of new generation direct translations problematized the poor quality of the indirect retranslations that stem from the alleged textual distortions - taking place due to ideological bias of the translators and publishers of the old wave-, out-of-date terminology and self-censorship in the indirect translations of *The Communist Manifesto*. However, all of these claims are refuted in the translation analysis section for the versions examined. No trace of textual distortions or self-censorship is found in the examples examined. Moreover, as the old wave indirect translations are revised and reprinted, as one can hardly come across out-of-date terminology.

A comparison of the indirect translations of *The Communist Manifesto* with the original German text revealed that the translators of the indirect translations, in the majority of cases, were in fact aware of the differences between the two versions. Even if the previous translations were made from English, they were all compared with the

German original text and thus, they hint at the semantic discrepancies between the two sources. The translators of the direct translations also indicated their awareness of the disparities between the two source versions because they compared their translations with the English version. Furthermore, the paratextual elements in the English version (1888), which was translated by Moore and approved by Engels, were taken into consideration by all six translators in the majority of the examples. On the other hand, direct retranslators had the advantage of using the previous indirect translations and the secondary sources that have accumulated in the time gap between the first wave and the second wave of retranslations. Moreover, direct retranslations carry the translations one step further by applying distinctive translation strategies such as the pursuit of the purist Turkish approach by Kavas and the archaizing strategy by Satlıgan. In addition, in some of the examples, the direct retranslators acted much more conservatively while trying to adhere to the German source text strictly in semantic and aesthetic terms, which also can be considered a sign of canonization.

The critical discourse analysis of paratextual and textual elements indicated how multifaceted the choices of the translators were depending on their readings and interpretations of the original texts. Irrespective of the indicated source texts of the retranslations, the Turkish retranslators were caught in a double bind between the original German source text and English translation. Furthermore, the tension between Ottoman Turkish, modern Turkish, and “pure” Turkish have been influential on the translation products. As I like to argue, the multiplicity of the languages of the source material enriches the tradition and offers varying angles of interpretation because retranslations, whether direct or indirect, make cross-references to both source texts.

The textual findings of this study suggest that translators allied themselves with one of the source text versions in general but can apply ad-hoc choices to deal with the discrepancies between two source texts. From time to time, the opinions of various Marxist/ Maxologist commenters are used to solve discrepancies between the original German text and the English translation. This implies the fact that Marxist concepts are being constantly validated by readers of this corpus from the academy and publishing industry. The study implied that both indirect and direct retranslators deviated between the two source texts and were in search of an invigorating and reviving effect in total under the light of recent studies on *The Communist Manifesto*.

Two translations, which stood out from two retranslation waves, the Ege and Satlıgan versions, occupied a central role in this study because they were in conflict. The Satlıgan version revealed the fact that the Ege version was translated by a group of political figures in the 1960s including Belli, an influential leader of the NDR movement. The reprints of the first wave indirect translations and the direct retranslations indicated that they are different parts of the same node in a network. Both Belli, who was thought to be the leading translator of the Ege version, and Satlıgan can be defined as sociometric stars in this focal node. Although neither the Ege nor the Satlıgan version was powerful enough to stop the cycle of the retranslations, the political agencies of the translators helped these translations come to the fore more than the other four. Belli and Satlıgan, as writer-translators, were strong agents of Marxist literature because they authored, translated, and edited many works, which strengthen their status among Turkish Marxists.

When it comes to the threads and ties between the actors of this node, Ege and Erdost can be considered allies. These two publisher-translators from the first wave were

tightly bound to each other because of their political alignment. Belli and Erdost were among the leading figures of the NDR movement, and thus they formed a front. Üster is also known to be a writer of *Aydınlık Sosyalist Dergi*, which originated from NDR movement. He took part in the so-called *Aydınlık* (Illumination) Movement and thus had an organic tie with the NDR members.

The other two translators of the second wave were Özalp and Kavas. While Özalp is known for his dissident approach to TKP tradition, Kavas stands separate from them and approaches the translation on a more philosophic and semantic level. Because of Özalp's cooperation with Satlıgan during the translation of *Capital* and their alliance as the translator-editors of Yordam Kitap publishing house, they are known for their critical stance to the mainstream Stalinist tradition.

The main translation criticism model used for the case study followed Berman's translation criticism path because he continues to contribute to the study of retranslation through his model suggested in his book *Towards a Translation Criticism: John Donne* (2009/1995). Although his model, which Berman calls a "path", was designed to be used for literary translations, it was proved to be applicable also for my corpus. One of the main points Berman emphasizes is the requirement of assessing retranslation as a process. Moreover, a historical point of view is already immanent in his hermeneutical approach. The first attempt in a hermeneutical practice always starts with setting the borders of the historical context because the writer's/translator's literary inclinations are shaped by the historical circumstances s/he lives in. In order to reach an ontological understanding of the individual writers, translators, and critics or solve the reflections of their agencies on their work, a historical analysis of their era is crucial. Thus, Berman's hermeneutical turn is the key point to appreciating his ideas on translation criticism. As

translation is commented on as an “epreuve”; an experience, an encounter and even an ordeal (Heyvaert, 1992, p. vii) with the foreign by Berman, it opens new opportunities of learning and further interrogation. Heyvaert, the translator of Berman’s *The Experience of the Foreign*, calls translation as an ordeal because of its painful and unpleasant characteristics (Heyvaert, 1992, p. vii), which also contains struggles stemming from an encounter with the foreign. Every translator unveils another aspect of the source text depending on their own experiences and their perspectival understanding. However, it should be noted that claiming that an encounter with the foreign leads to a foreignizing translation strategy could be only an overinterpretation because Berman himself never uses this exact term.

Although it does not aspire to revise retranslation hypothesis directly, this study will inevitably contribute to its verification and modification in general. Some of Berman’s insights on the nature of retranslation as a process are justified from certain aspects. Despite the fact that he is criticized for not taking historical circumstances into consideration, the ancient Greek term “kairos”, which he introduces, implies the talents of translators to take action at the appropriate and opportune historical moments. Only at such crucial times of the target system can a translation or retranslation be elevated to the status of “great” translation. Berman anticipates cycles, which could pinpoint the eras when retranslations are frequently done. The circle of *The Communist Manifesto* starts with an uncompleted translation by Mustafa Suphi, which is later completed by Değmer in line with Berman’s anticipation that a “lacking” translation can start a translation cycle. This study demonstrated that every historical era bears a retranslation cycle that has its own distinctive characteristics. As it is the core idea of philosophical hermeneutics, every era has a psyche; peculiarities that applies to the individual



representatives of it. Likewise, whereas the first wave indirect retranslations have similar tendencies, the second wave direct translations showed different ones. The first wave retranslators identified themselves with the NDR movement ideologically, the second wave exhibited a dissident or split political stance that also implied a criticism of the first wave from a historical and political perspective. As the second wave identified itself with differences, such as, the source text, a politically alternative stance, and a subsequent interpretation phase, it has become a new opening rather than a plain reiteration.

Although Berman claims that a canonical translation can stop the cycle of the retranslations, the first wave of retranslations ceased due to political reasons, especially the 1980 coup d'état which led to an abrupt silence of retranslations the effects of which continued until the late 1990s. The second wave, on the other hand, is still continuing. Therefore, its borders are not very clear-cut. On the other hand, the analysis of the translating subject, which Berman recommends, reveals that the second wave retranslators have more visibility and consciousness. Moreover, second wave retranslations increased the visibility of the first wave indirect translators even if this was done with accusations of plagiarism and censorship. When the socio-cultural reasons of the translating "drive" (Massardier-Kenney, 2009, p. xiv) are examined, we see that while the first wave of retranslations was triggered by a political movement, the second one seems to have been triggered by more academic and scientific concerns.

Berman's most important contribution to retranslation criticism is his introduction of the term "horizon" to the field, which encompasses the translation project and the translating position of the translator. As a term borrowed from the philosophical hermeneutics of Gadamer, horizon also refers to the literary identity of the

translator, which is partially shaped by the poetics and literary traditions of the era s/he lives in and its historical circumstances. In analogy with Gadamer, Berman considers translation as a fusion of the horizon of the translator with the horizon of the writer. The translation reflects a combination of the perspectival understanding of the translator and the writer's. In other words, translation is the product of their experiences, which lead to an ontological configuration in terms of the analysis of translator. However, one can claim that every translation project requires a particular awareness of a linguistic and literary kind which will eventually transform into experience. Thus, the translation process can have a shaping influence on the translator or vice versa. Despite escaping easy delineation and having indefinite borders, to describe the horizons of the author and the translator and how they mingle, the critic should have a sharp talent to observe the historical settings the source and target texts were produced.

A valuable contribution of this study pertains to the integration of paratextual elements into translation criticism. Berman suggests that when a whole corpus is translated or retranslated, many critical works accompany these translations. Likewise, this study was inspired by several critical paratextual materials surrounding the retranslations that were published on the 150<sup>th</sup> and 160<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of *The Communist Manifesto*'s first publication. The paratextual material led us to the critique of the retranslations as a corpus. Although Berman does not allocate a separate section in his translation analysis path to this, according to the findings of this study we acknowledged that paratextual material bears several indicators regarding the writer's and translator's style. As Berman argues in the "Towards a Method" section, which comprises both the readings of the original and the translation reading and re-reading, the critic needs to take the outer texts into consideration. Thus this main heading in this study acquires a

discourse analysis pattern. To discover the stylistic elements of the source text and the translation before conducting the textual critique, paratextual analysis of the target and the source texts played a vital role for this study. It led me to the most controversial parts of the study and the discrepancies between direct and indirect translations, which were examined in the confrontation or microanalysis section. Moreover, such material implies the degree and the depth of the reception of the original and the translation. Therefore, despite the fact that the “reception” section in Berman’s path is not dealt with under a separate heading, translation reading and the reading of the original illustrated how the source texts and the target texts have been received over half a century. More often than not the differences among the target texts are the reflections of reception of the source text in the target culture.

Berman’s translation analysis path aims to dignify the translators and produce a productive criticism. As he describes the translator’s as agents who evaluate the socio-cultural circumstances and make a decision to translate at critical historical moments, they are powerful subjects in his account. They are not restricted by norms on the contrary they have the ability to shape them. Likewise, the first wave translators have produced indirect translations under extreme political circumstances and went through lawsuits due to their translations however they had a following wind behind themselves in the target system which were NDR movement and Aydınlık movements. In the second wave retranslations, in addition to mentioned Marxist and communist celebrations, the criticisms and dilemmas of capitalist system which was being produced world-wide led translators and publishers to launch direct retranslations that aspire after a revival effect in the text and a re-awakening in Marxism in general.

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APPENDIX A

THE CATALOGUE OF RETRANSLATIONS

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
Arvon, Henry	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Galip Üstün	Gerçek Yayınevi	İstanbul	1966
	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Samih Tiryakioğlu	Varlık Yayınevi	İstanbul	1979
	<i>Anarşizm</i>	N/A	İletişim Yayınları	İstanbul	1991
	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Ahmet Kotil	İletişim	İstanbul	2007
Baby, Jean	<i>Pekin- Moskova</i>	Orhan Eti	Gün Yayınları	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Pekin Moskova Çatışması</i>	Attillâ Tokatlı	Özgün Yayınları	İstanbul	1974
	<i>Pekin Moskova Çatışması</i>	Süleyman Ege	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	İstanbul	1967, 1975, 1990,1998
Bayet Albert	<i>Bilim Ahlakı</i>	Vedat Günyol	Çan Yayınları, Say Yayınları, İş Bankası Yayınları	İstanbul	1963, 1982, 2000
	<i>Bilim Ahlakı</i>	Gülistan Solmaz	Alter Yayınları	İstanbul	2009
	<i>Bilim Ahlakı</i>	Hasan İlhan	Sayfa Yayınları	İstanbul	2012
Beauvoir, Simone de	<i>Kadın nedir?</i>	Orhan Suda	Düşün Yayınevi	İstanbul	1962
	<i>Kadın: İkinci Cins</i>	Bertan Onaran	Payel	İstanbul	1969
Bebel, August	<i>Kadın ve Sosyalizm</i>	Sabiha Zekeriya	Toplum Yayınları	Ankara	(5. p. )1935
	<i>Kadın ve Sosyalizm</i>	N/A	Toplum Yayınları	Ankara	1966
	<i>Kadın ve Sosyalizm</i>	Remzi İnanc	Remzi Kitabevi?	Ankara	1966
	<i>Kadın ve Sosyalizm</i>	Saliha Nazlı Kaya	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1976, 1976
Beer, Max	<i>Sosyalis[z]min ve sosyal mücadelelerin umumi tarihi</i>	Zühtü Uray	Maarif Vekilliği	Ankara	1941
	<i>Sosyalizm tarihi (resimli)</i>	N/A	İstanbul Matbaası (İnsaniyet Kütüphanesi?)	İstanbul	1964, 1965, 1974

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
	<i>Sosyalizmin ve Sosyal Mücadelelerin Genel Tarihi</i>	Galip Üstün	Sosyal Yayınlar(65), Kıtaş Yayınları(69), May Yay.(74), Can Yayınları(88)	İstanbul	1965, 1969, 1970, 1974, 1975, 1979, 1988
Bravo, Douglas	<i>Milli Kurtuluş Cephesi</i>	Cemal Süreya	Ant Yayınları	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Ulusal Kurtuluş Cephesi</i>	Celâl Cem	Arena Yayıncılık	İstanbul	1993
Castro, Fidel	<i>Çekoslavakya Sorunu</i>	Yılmaz Altuğ	Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Tarih Kurumu	Ankara	1994
	<i>Çekoslavakya Meselesi</i>	Cengiz Çandar	Habora Yayınevi	Ankara	1969
	<i>Çekoslavakya Sorunu</i>	Yılmaz Tunç	Aşama Yayınevi	(No info.)	1975
Castro, Fidel	<i>Devrim İçin Savaşmaya Komünist Denmez</i>	Güneş Şahiner	Habora Kitabevi	İstanbul	1970
	<i>Devrim İçin Savaşmaya Komünist Denmez</i>	Doğan Gün	Yar Yayınları	İstanbul	1977
Cliff, Tony	<i>Rosa Lüksemburg</i>	Metin Fırtına	Z Yayınları	İstanbul	1998
	<i>Rosa Lüksemburg</i>	Yurdakul Fincancı	Anadolu Yayınları	Ankara	1968
Darwin, Charles	<i>Türlerin Kökeni</i>	Öner Ünalın	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1970,1976, 1984, 1996, 1990, 2009, 2011, 2012
	<i>Türlerin Kökeni</i>	Murat Gülsağan	Versus	istanbul	2009
	<i>Türlerin Kökeni</i>	Orhan Tuncay	Gün Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2010
	<i>Türlerin Kökeni</i>	Hasan İlhan	Alter	İstanbul	2010
	<i>Türlerin Kökeni</i>	N/A	Gece Kitaplığı	Ankara	2014
Debray, Regis	<i>Devrimde Devrim</i>	R. Güngör	Toplum yayınları	Ankara	1967
	<i>Devrim-devrim</i>	Ferit Muzaffer	BDS Yayınları	Ankara	1990
Dimitrov, Georgi	<i>Gençlik İçin Notlar</i>	Osman Aslandere	Ser Yayınları	İstanbul	1970
	<i>Gençlik İçin Notlar</i>	Adem Artam	MaYa Yayınları, Tarihsel Yayıncılık	Ankara	1970,1974, 1992
	<i>Gençlik İçin Notlar</i>	Osman Velioglu	Evren Yayınları	Ankara	1977, 1978
	<i>Gençlik İçin Notlar</i>	İlhan Yalçın	Evren Yayınları	İstanbul	1978, 1979
Duan, Le	<i>Vietnam Sosyalist Devrimi</i>	Şükrü Doğan	Ser Yayınları	İstanbul	1970

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
	<i>Vietnam Sosyalist Devrimi</i>	F. Taner	Ser Yayınları	Ankara	1970
	<i>Vietnam Devrimi</i>	Yüksel Demirekler	Bilim ve Sosyalizm	Ankara	1978
Engels, Friedrich	<i>Anti-Dühring</i>	M. Reşat Baraner	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1966
	<i>Anti-Dühring</i>	Kenan Somer	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1975, 1977, 1995, 2003
	<i>Anti-Dühring</i>	İsmail H. Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	Ankara	2000
Engels, Friedrich	<i>Ludwig Feuerbach ve Klasik Alman Felsefesinin Sonu</i>	Cenap Karakaya	Sosyalist Yayınlar	İstanbul	1962
	<i>Ludwig Feuerbach ve Klasik Alman Felsefesinin Sonu</i>	Nizamettin Burhan	Sosyalist Yayınlar	İstanbul	1962
	<i>Ludwig Feuerbach ve Klasik Alman Felsefesinin Sonu</i>	Orhan Suda	Suda Yayınları	İstanbul	1975
	<i>Ludwig Feuerbach ve Klasik Alman Felsefesinin Sonu</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1975, 1980, 1992
	<i>Ludwig Feuerbach ve Klasik Alman Felsefesinin Sonu</i>	İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	Ankara	1999
Engels, Friedrich	<i>Ütopik ve Bilimsel Sosyalizm</i>	Sol Yayınları Yayın Kurulu	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1970, ... 2012(11. p.)
	<i>Ütopik ve Bilimsel Sosyalizm</i>	Öner Ünalın	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1970, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1990, 1993 (7. p.)
	<i>Ütopik ve Bilimsel Sosyalizm</i>	Kemal Savaş	Günce Yayınları	Ankara	1979
	<i>Ütopik ve Bilimsel Sosyalizm</i>	N/A	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1998
	<i>Ütopik ve Bilimsel Sosyalizm</i>	Yavuz Sabuncu	Bilim ve Sosyalizm	Ankara	2000
Ernest Mandel	<i>Marksist ekonomi el kitabı</i>	Orhan Suda	Ant Yayınları	İstanbul	1970
	<i>Marxist Ekonomiye Giriş</i>	Orhan Koçar	Köz Yayınları	İstanbul	1974
	<i>Marx'ın iktisadi düşüncesinin oluşumu</i>	Ardaşes Margos	Koz Yayın	İstanbul	1978

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
	<i>Marksist Ekonomi Kuramına Giriş</i>	Ali Ünlü	Art Basın Yayın	İstanbul	1998
	<i>Marx'ın iktisadi düşüncesinin oluşumu</i>	D. Işık	Yazın Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2000, 2001
Carlos Marighella	<i>Şehir gerillası, Brezilya'nın kurtuluşu için)</i>	K. Seyhanlı	Ant Yayınları	İstanbul	1970
	<i>Şehir gerillası el kitabı</i>	Mehmet Atilla	Evren Yayınları	İstanbul	1975
Fast, Howard Melvin	<i>Suçsuzlar : "Sacco ile Vanzetti"</i>	Şerif Hulûsi	Payel Yayınevi	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Suçsuzlar : "Sacco ile Vanzetti"</i>	Seçkin Cılızoğlu	Payel Yayınevi	İstanbul	1975, 1976 ,1988, 1989
	<i>Sacco ile Vanzetti</i>	Refik Evren	Haziran Yayınları	İstanbul	1977
Fischer, Ernst	<i>Leipzig Duruşması</i>	Nedim Sel	Habora Kitabevi	İstanbul	1958, 1968, 1973, 1975
	<i>Leipzig Duruşması</i>	Nedim Sel, Bülent Habora	Yar Yayınları	İstanbul	1995
Fischer, Ernst	<i>Sanatın Gerekliği</i>	Cevat Çapan	De Yayınevi, Özgür Yayınları, E Yayınları, Kuzey Yayın, V Yay., Payel Yayınevi(x2), Sözcükler Y.	İstanbul, Ankara	1968, 1974, 1979, 1085, 1993, 1995, 2003, 2012
	<i>Sanatın Gerekliği</i>	Burç Evrim	Özgür Yayınları	İstanbul	1974
Garaudy, Roger	<i>Sosyalizm ve İslâmiyet</i>	Doğan Avcıoğlu, E. Tüfekçi	Yön Yayınları	İstanbul	1965
	<i>Sosyalizm ve İslam</i>	Hasan Erdem	Rebeze Kitaplığı	İstanbul	1965 (2.p.)
	<i>Sosyalizm ve İslam</i>	N. Şahsuvar	Genç Sanat Yayınları	Ankara	1990
Gramsci, Antonio	<i>Hapishane Defterleri</i>	Atilla Tokatlı	Gerçek Yayınevi, Yalçın Yayınları	İstanbul	1966, 1985
	<i>Hapishane Defterleri</i>	Adnan Cemgil	Belge Yayınları	İstanbul	1986, 1997
	<i>Hapishane Defteri</i>	Kenan Somer	Onur Yayınları	İstanbul	1986
	<i>Hapishane Defterleri</i>	Ekrem Ekici	Kalkedon	İstanbul	2011
	<i>Hapishane Defterleri</i>	Barış Baysal	Kalkedon	İstanbul	2012, 2014
Guevara, Ernesto "Che"	<i>Savaş Anıları</i>	Seçkin Çağan	Payel Yayınevi	İstanbul	1968, 1969, 1970, 1975, 1976, 1979,1989, 2003

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
	<i>Savaş Anıları</i>	Süheyla Kaya, Nadiye R. Çobanoğlu	Yar Yayınları	İstanbul	1989, 2005
Guevara, Ernesto "Che"	<i>Küba'da Sosyalizm ve İnsan</i>	Can Yücel	Payel Yayınevi	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Küba'da Sosyalizm ve İnsan</i>	Çiğdem Öztürk	Evrest Yayınları	İstanbul	2007
	<i>Sosyalizm ve İnsa</i>	Nadiye R. Çobanoğlu	Yar Yayınları	İstanbul	1988, 1990
Guevara, Ernesto "Che"	<i>Gençlik Üzerine</i>	Yusuf Alp	Teori Yayınları	İstanbul	1979
	<i>Gençlik Üzerine</i>	Yılmaz F.	Seçki Yayınları	İstanbul	1990
Guevara, Ernesto "Che"	<i>Bolivya Günlüğü</i>	Ayda Düz	Ararat	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Gerilla Günlüğü</i>	Hüseyin Güneş	Ant Yayınları	İstanbul	1968
	<i>Bolivya Günlüğü</i>	N. Sarıali	Belge Yayınları	İstanbul	1979
	<i>Bolivya Günlüğü</i>	Ragıp Zarakolu	Belge Yayınları	İstanbul	1995
	<i>Gerilla Savaşı</i>	Eylül Sevinç	Ulusal Kültür Yayınları	İstanbul	1998
	<i>Bolivya Günlüğü</i>	Nadiye R. Çobanoğlu	Yar Yayınları	İstanbul	2005
	<i>Bir Savaşının Günlüğü</i>	Berna Burcu Arıkan	Akılçelen	Ankara	2012
Hegel, G.W. Friedrich	<i>Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni</i>	Kenan Somer	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1967, 1971, 1974, 1976 1977, 1978, 1980,1990, 1992, 1998, 2002, 2012
	<i>Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni</i>	İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	Ankara	2000
	<i>Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni</i>	Hasan İlhan	Alter	İstanbul	2009, 2012
Hoca, Enver	<i>Emperyalizm ve Devrim</i>	A. Fırat	Halkın Yolu Yayınları, Azmi Yayınları, Yıldız Yayınları	Ankara	1979
	<i>Emperyalizm ve Devrim</i>	M. Murat	Evrensel	İstanbul	1998
Huberman, Leo	<i>Sosyalizmin Alfabesi</i>	Mehmet Selik	Sol, Odak	Ankara	1966-1970, 1975-1976
	<i>Sosyalizmin Alfabesi</i>	Alaattin Bilgi	Sol	Ankara	1970, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1990, 1994, 1997

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	<i>Sosyalizmin Abc'si</i>	Hasan Erdem	Arya Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2009
	<i>Sosyalizmin Alfabetesi</i>	Tolga Eraslan	Sis Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2011
	<i>Sosyalizme Giriş</i>	Hasan İlhan, Emir Aktan	Alter Yayınları	İstanbul	2013
Jalée, Pierre	<i>Yoksul Ülkeler Nasıl Soyuluyor?(The Pillage of the Third world)</i>	Selâhattin Hilâv	Yön Yayınları	İstanbul	1965
	<i>Üçüncü Dünya'nın Yağması</i>	Aslan Başer Kafaoğlu	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1975
Kropotkin, Pyotr	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Haydar Rıfat Yorulmaz	Şirketi Mürettebiye Matbaası	İstanbul	1934
	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Nedim Sel	Habora	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Işık Ergüden	Kaos Yayınları	İstanbul	2001
	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Elif Günce	Morpa Yayınları	İstanbul	2003
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Devlet ve İhtilal</i>	Haydar Rıfat Yorulmaz	Vakit	İstanbul	1934
	<i>Devlet ve İhtilal</i>	Süleyman Arslan [Ege]	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	Ankara	1969, 1976, 1978, 1989
	<i>Devlet ve Devrim</i>	M. Halim, Celal Üster	Aydınlık Yayınları	İstanbul	1978
	<i>Devlet ve Devrim</i>	Mehmet Yurtcan	Günce Yayınları	İstanbul	1978
	<i>Devlet ve Devrim</i>	Mehmet Kaya	Emek Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Devlet ve Devrim</i>	Süheyla Kaya	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1999
	<i>Devlet ve İhtilal</i>	Kenan Somer	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	Ankara	2013
	<i>Devlet ve Devrim</i>	Tonguç Ok	Doğa Basım Yayın	İstanbul	2014
		Gaye Topuz	Alter Yayınları	Ankara	2015
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Bir Adım İleri İki Adım Geri: Partimizdeki Bunalım</i>	Yurdakul Fincancı	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1969, 19975, 1979, 1997
	<i>Bir Adım İleri İki Adım Geri: Partimizdeki Bunalım</i>	Hatice Bahar	Temel Yayınlar	Ankara	1975
	<i>Bir Adım İleri İki Adım Geri: Partimizdeki Bunalım</i>	Osman Güler	Günce Yayınları	Ankara	1979



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	<i>Bir Adım İleri İki Adım Geri: Partimizdeki Bunalım</i>	İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1994
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Kapitalizmin En Yüksek Aşaması: Emperyalizm</i>	Erdoğan Başar	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1965
	<i>Kapitalizmin En Yüksek Aşaması (deneme)</i>	Cemal Süreya	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1969, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1979, 1992, 1998 (10 p.)
	<i>Emperyalizm : Kapitalizmin en yüksek aşaması</i>	H. Avincan, M. Yurdaer	Günce Yayınları	Ankara	1977, 1978
	<i>Kapitalizmin sonuncu aşaması emperyalizm</i>	Erden Akbulut, Altuğ Yaral, Uğurhan Berkok	Sosyalist Yayınlar	İstanbul	1979, 1995
	<i>Kapitalizmin en Son Aşaması: Emperyalizm</i>	Süheyla Kaya	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1995, 2005
	<i>Kapitalizmin en Son Aşaması: Emperyalizm</i>	Kenan Somer	Bilim ve Sosyalizm	İstanbul	1997, 1998, 2014
	<i>Kapitalizmin en Yüksek Aşaması: Emperyalizm(özet)</i>	Olçay Geridönmez	Evrensel	Ankara	2008(5. p.)
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Kitle İçinde Parti Çalışması</i>	Cengiz Haksever	Ser Yayınları, Ekim Yayınları (1989)	İstanbul	1971, 1974, 1975, 1989
	<i>Kitle İçinde Parti Çalışması</i>	H. Aksoy	Ser Yayınları	Ankara	1979 (6. p)
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Kültür ve Kültür İhtilali Üzerine</i>	Ali Özer	Ser Yayınları	Ankara	1969
	<i>Kültür ve Kültür İhtilali Üzerine</i>	Ali Sepetçi	Koral Yayınları	Ankara	1976( 11. p.)
	<i>Kültür ve Kültür İhtilali Üzerine</i>	A. Yorulmaz	Arkadaş Kitabevi	İstanbul	1976 (2. p.)
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Marksizmin bir karikatürü ve emperyalist ekonomizm</i>	Yurdakul Fincancı	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1979
	<i>Marksizmin bir karikatürü ve emperyalist ekonomizm</i>	Zihni Kahraman	Koral Yayınları	İstanbul	1977, 1978
	<i>Marksizmin bir karikatürü ve emperyalist ekonomizm</i>	Tonguç Ok	Evrensel Basım Yayın	Ankara	1914
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Marksizmin Kaynağı</i>	Osman Saidoğlu	Gün Yayınları	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Marksizmin Kaynağı</i>	A. Ünal	Ulusal Kurtuluş Yayınları	Ankara	1976

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Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Materyalizm ve Ampiriokritizm: Reaksiyoner bir felsefe üzerine tenkidi notlar</i>	K. Sahir Sel	Sosyal Yayınlar		1968
	<i>Materyalizm ve Ampiriokritizm</i>	C. Karakaya	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1975
	<i>Materyalizm ve Ampiriokritizm</i>	Yüksel Güvenç	Çağrı Yayınları	İstanbul	1975
	<i>Materyalizm ve Ampiriokritizm: Gerici bir felsefe üzerine eleştirel notlar</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1976, 1993
	<i>Materyalizm ve Ampiriokritizm</i>	İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	Ankara	1989, 1995, 2001
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Mektuplar</i>	Murat Devrim	Toplum yayınları	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Uzaktan Mektuplar</i>	Arif Saygı	Ürün Yayınları	Ankara	1975
	<i>Mektuplar</i>	Alaattin Bilgi	Evrensel Basım	İstanbul	1995
	<i>Uzaktan Mektuplar ve Rusya'ya Dönüş</i>	Ferit Burak Aydar	Agora	İstanbul	2010
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Ne Yapmalı?</i>	Mümtaz Yavuz	Evren Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Ne Yapmalı?</i>	M. İlkin	Yücel Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Ne Yapmalı?: Hareketimizin Can Alıcı Sorunları</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1968, 1969 1977, 1990, 1992, 1998, 2004 (6. p.)
	<i>Ne Yapmalı?: Hareketimizin Can Alıcı Sorunları</i>	Ali Azgın, Osman Güler	Günce Yayınları	İstanbul	1979
	<i>Ne Yapmalı?</i>	İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1993, 1997
	<i>Ne Yapmalı?</i>	Arif Berberoğlu	Evrensel Basım	İstanbul	2011
	<i>Ne Yapmalı?</i>	Ferit Burak Aydar	Agora Kitaplığı	İstanbul	2010
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Nisan Tezleri ve Ekim Devrimi</i>	Saliha N. Kaya, İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1997

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	<i>Nisan Tezleri ve Ekim Devrimi</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1969, 1975, 1979, 1992
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Rusya'da Kapitalizmin Gelişmesi</i>	Şerif Hulusi	Payel	İstanbul	1997
	<i>Rusya'da Kapitalizmin Gelişmesi</i>	Seyhan Erdoğan	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1971
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Sanat ve Edebiyat Üzerine</i>	Şerif Hulûsi	Payel Yayınevi	Ankara	1975
	<i>Sanat ve Edebiyat Üzerine</i>	Bülent Arıbaş, Ataol Behramoğlu	Payel	İstanbul	1968
	<i>Sanat ve Edebiyat Üzerine</i>	Elif Aksu	Payel	İstanbul	1976
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Marksist Eylemin Çocukluk Hastalığı ve Devrim Stratejisi</i>	Osman Saidoğlu	Gün Yayınları	İstanbul	2008 (2. p.)
	<i>"Sol" Komünizm Bir Çocukluk Hastalığı</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1968, 1970
	<i>Sol Radikalizm: Komünizmin Çocukluk Hastalığı</i>	Süheyla Kaya	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1991, 1996
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	Seçkin Cılızoğlu	Ser Yayınları, Saydam Matbaacılık	Ankara	1975, 1990
	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	Ferhat Gelendaş	Başak Matbaacılık	Ankara	1988
	<i>Sosyalizm ve din</i>	Öner Ünalın	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	Ankara	1994
	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	Süheyla Kaya, İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1998
	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	Hasan İlhan	Alter Yayınları	Ankara	2013
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Seçme Yazılar</i>	Attilâ Tokatlı	May Yayınları	İstanbul	1966, 1974, 1976
	<i>Seçme Yazılar</i>	Saliha N. Kaya, Süheyla Kaya, İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1993-96
	<i>Seçme Yazılar</i>	İlhan Erman	İlkeriş Yayınları	Ankara	2009, 2010, 2011
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Revizyonizm Üzerine</i>	Tuna Gürsu	Koral Yayınları	İstanbul	1975
	<i>Marxism ve Revizyonizm</i>	Garbis Altınoğlu	Honca Yayıncılık	İstanbul	1993
Lenin, Vladimir İlyiç	<i>Paris Komünü Üzerine</i>	Mehmet Şimşek	Odak Yayınevi	Ankara	1976

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	<i>Paris komünü üzerine</i>	Kenan Somer	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1977
Luxemburg, Rosa	<i>Grevler, sendikalar, partiler</i>	Ahmet Angın	Habora Yayınevi	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Kitle grevleri, sendikalar, partiler</i>	Cemal Demirer	Maya Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Kitle grevi, parti ve sendikalar/</i>	Nedim Tuğlu	Z Yayınevi	İstanbul	1990
Luxemburg, Rosa	<i>Hapishane Mektupları</i>	Bertan Onaran	Yankı Yayınları	İstanbul	1970
	<i>Hapishane Mektupları</i>	Anna-Murat Çelikel	Boyut Yayınevi	İstanbul	1986
Marcuse, Herbert	<i>Tek Boyutlu İnsan</i>	Seçkin Çağan	May Yayınları	İstanbul	1968
	<i>Tek Boyutlu İnsan</i>	Afşar Timuçin, Teoman Tunçdoğan	May Yayınları	İstanbul	1975
	<i>Tek Boyutlu İnsan</i>	Aziz Yardımlı	İdea Yayınevi	İstanbul	1986 , 1990, 2010
Marx, Karl, Friedrich Engels	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Mustafa Suphi	incomplete	...	1921
	<i>Komünist Beyannamesi</i>	Şefik Hüsnü	Aydınlık Yayınları	İstanbul	1923
	<i>Manifest (Tarihi bir vesika)</i>	Kerim Sadi	İnsaniyet Kütüphanesi	İstanbul	1936
	<i>Manifesto</i>	Tektaş Ağaoğlu	Öncü Yayınları	İstanbul	1970
	<i>Manifesto</i>	Mümtaz Yavuz	Evren Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	H. Onar	Proleterya Yayınevi	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Süleyman Ege	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	Ankara	1968, 1970,1976, 1997, 2009
	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Nur Deriş	Aydınlık Yayınları	İstanbul	1979
	<i>Komünist Manifesto ve Komünizmin İlkeleri</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1976, 1991, 1993, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2016
	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Levent Kavas	İthaki Yayınları, Ç Yayınevi	İstanbul	1998, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2011
	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Cenap Karakaya	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1998 , 2003

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	<i>Komunist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	İsmail Yarkin	Dönüşüm Yayınları, İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1994, 1998
	<i>Komunist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Orhan Dilber	Tohum Yayıncılık	İstanbul	1976,1998, 2001
	<i>Komunist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Işık Soner	Kaynak Yayınları	İstanbul	2003, 2005
	<i>Komunist Parti Manifestosu, in Siyasi Yazılar,</i>	Ahmet Fethi	Hil Yayın	İstanbul	2004
	<i>Komunist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Rekin Teksoy	Oğlak Yayınları	İstanbul	2010, 2008, 2007, 2005
	<i>Komunist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Yılmaz Onay	Doğa Basım Yay., Evrensel Basım Y.	İstanbul	2012, 2011,2005, 1999
	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	N/A	Daktylos Yayınevi	Ankara	2008
	<i>Komunist Manifesto</i>	Celâl Üster, Nur Deriş	Can Sanat Yayınları	İstanbul	2008, 2009, 2010, 2015
	<i>Komunist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Cihan Çabuk	Siyah Beyaz Kitap	İstanbul	2008, 2011
	<i>Komunist Manifesto</i>	İlhan Erman	İlkeriş Yayınları	Ankara	2008 (2. p.)
	<i>Komunist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Hasan İlhan	Alter Yayınları	Ankara	2009, 2010
	<i>Manifesto : dünya'nın nasıl değiştirileceği üzerine üç klasik makale</i>	Tolga Öztürk	Nokta Kitap	İstanbul	2009
	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	İbrahim Okçuoğlu (Yay. Haz.)	Akademi Yayın	İstanbul	2010
	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Orhan Erdem	Arya Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2010
	<i>Komünist manifesto / Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels. Sosyalizmin alfabesi / Leo Huberman. Diyalektik ve tarihi materyalizm / J. Stalin</i>	K. Türel	Ulak Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2010
	<i>Komünist Manifesto Manga</i>	İnan Öner	Yordam Kitap	İstanbul	2012
	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu ve Komünizmin Temel İlkeleri</i>	Tolga Erman (Yay. Ed.)	Kitap Dostu	İstanbul	2010
	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Tolga Eraslan	Sis Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2012, 2014

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	<i>Komünist manifesto : tarihin en önemli siyasi belgesi için bir yol haritası!</i>	Kemal Ülker	Versus Kitap	İstanbul	2012
	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Sinan Jabban	Patik Kitap	İstanbul	2013
	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Erkin Özalp	Gelenek, Yazılıma	İstanbul	1998,2013
	<i>Komünist Manifesto ve Hakkında Yazılar</i>	Nail Satlıgan, Tektaş Ağaoğlu, Olcay Göçmen, Şükrü Alpagut	Yordam Kitap	Istanbul	2013
	<i>Çizgilerle Komünist Manifesto</i>	Nail Satlıgan, Kaan Emek	Yordam Kitap	İstanbul	2013
	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Murat Demir	Nilüfer Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2014
	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Doğan Görsev, Çelik Akpınar, Çelik Akpınar, Ali Söylemezoğlu, Bülent Tarakçıoğlu, Timur Turgay, Alpaslan Ünsal	Yazılıma Yayınevi	İstanbul	2015
	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Serkan Gündoğdu	Ceylan Kitap	İstanbul	2015
	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Etem Levent Bakaç	Zeplin Kitap	İstanbul	2015
Marx, Karl	<i>Sermaye</i>	Haydar Rıfat Yorulmaz	Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi	İstanbul	1933
	<i>Kapital</i>	Suphi Nuri İleri	Bozkurd Matbaası	...	1936
	<i>Kapital'dan Hülâsalar</i>	Kerim Sadi	İnsaniyet Kütüphanesi	İstanbul	1936
	<i>Kapital; Ekonomi Politîğin Eleştirisi</i>	Mehmet Selik	Sol Yayınları, Odak Yayınları	İstanbul	1966, 1970, 1974, 1975
	<i>Kapital; Ekonomi Politîğin Eleştirisi</i>	Alaattin Bilgi	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1975, 1978, 1992, 1993, 200, 2003, 2004(7. p.)
	<i>Kapital</i>	Rasih Nuri İleri	Sosyal Yayınlar, Scala Yayıncılık	Ankara	1965, 1996
	<i>Kapital; Ekonomi Politîğin Eleştirisi</i>	Mehmet Selik, Nail Satlıgan	Yordam Kitap	İstanbul	2011, 2012
	<i>Kapital; Ekonomi Politîğin Eleştirisi</i>	Mehmet Selik, Erkin Özalp	Yordam Kitap	İstanbul	2015

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	<i>Kapital Manga (Çizgi Roman)</i>	H. Can Erkin	Yordam Kitap	İstanbul	2009, 2015(3. p.)
Marx, Karl	<i>Gündelikçi İş ile Sermaye</i>	Hikmet Kıvılcımlı	Marksizm Bibliyoteği	İstanbul	1935
	<i>Ücretli Emek ve Sermaye</i>	Orhan Suda	Sol Yayınları, Suda Yayınları, İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1966, 1974, 1999
	<i>Ücretli emek ve sermaye : Ücret,Fiyat ve kâr</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1975, 1979, 1987, 1992, 1999, 2012
	<i>Ücretli Emek ve Sermaye: ücret, fiyat ve kâr</i>	İsmail Yarkın, M. A. İnci	İnter Yayınları	Ankara, İstanbul	1998
	<i>Ücretli Emek ve Sermaye</i>	Süleyman Ege	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	Ankara	2001
	<i>Ücretli Emek ve Sermaye: Derinleşen Küresel Kriz ve Türkiye'ye Yansımalar</i>	Bağımsız Sosyal Bilimciler (Korkut Boratav, ...)	Yordam Kitap	İstanbul	2011
Marx, Karl	<i>Felsefenin Sefaleti</i>	Ahmet Kardam	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1975, 1979, 1992, 1999
	<i>Felsefenin Sefaleti</i>	Erdoğan Başar	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1966
Marx, Karl	<i>Sömürgecilik Üzerine</i>	Selâhattin Hilâv	Gerçek Yayınları	İstanbul	1966, 1974
	<i>Sömürgecilik Üzerine</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1997
Marx, Karl	<i>Fransa'da İç Savaş</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1970
	<i>Fransa'da İç Savaş</i>	Zeynep Kafkas	Köz Yayınları	Ankara	1976, 2001, 2011
	<i>Fransa'da İç Savaş</i>	Arda Dağlar	Yazın Yayıncılık	İstanbul	1991
	<i>Fransa'da iç savaş ve Paris komünü üzerine belgeler ve mektuplar</i>	Tektaş Ağaoğlu	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1976
	<i>Fransa'da iç savaş : Paris komünü üzerine makaleler, konuşmalar, belgeler,mektuplar</i>	Kenan Somer	Sol Yayıncılık	Ankara	1991, 2012
Marx, Karl	<i>Louis Bonaparte'in 18 Brumaire'i</i>	Ahmet Acar	Yorum Yayınevi	İstanbul	1991
	<i>Louis Banaparte'in 18 brumaire'i</i>	Gülen Fındıklı	Köz Yayınları	Ankara	1967
	<i>Louis Banaparte'in 18 brumaire'i</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1975, 1976

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	<i>Louis Bonaparte'in On Sekiz Brumaire'i</i>	Tanıl Bora	İletişim	Ankara	2016 (4. p.)
Marx, Karl	<i>Fransa'da Sınıf Mücadeleleri</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	2010
	<i>Fransa'da Sınıf Mücadeleleri</i>	Tektaş Ağaoğlu	May Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Fransa'da sınıf savaşimleri</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1976, , 1988, 1996
Marx, Karl	<i>Felsefe İncelemeleri</i>	Cem Eroğul	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1975(2. p), 1979 (3. p.)
	<i>Felsefe İncelemeleri</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1968, 1974, 2006
Marx, Karl	<i>Gotha ve Erfurt Programlarının Eleştirisi</i>	Cem Eroğul	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1969, 1976, 1989
	<i>Gotha ve Erfurt Programlarının Eleştirisi</i>	Barışta Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	2002
Marx, Karl	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	N/A	Gerçek Yayınevi	İstanbul	1974 -2
	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	Murat Belge	Gerçek Yayınevi	İstanbul	1966, 1974,
	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	Kaye Güvenç	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1976, 1995
	<i>Din Üzerine</i>	N/A	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	2000
Marx, Karl	<i>Alman ideolojisi</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1976, 1987, 1992, 1999, 2004(5. p.)
	<i>Alman ideolojisi</i>	Sevim Belli, Ahmet Kardam (the 4. and the 5. print with Ahmet Kardam)			
	<i>Alman ideolojisi</i>	Hüseyin Boz	Taban Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Alman ideolojisi</i>	Hamdullah Erbil	Melsa Yayınları	İstanbul	1990
	<i>Alman ideolojisi</i>	Emir Aktan	Alter Yayınları	Ankara	2011
	<i>Alman ideolojisi</i>	Tonguç Ok, Olcay Geridönmez	Evrensel	İstanbul	2013
Marx, Karl	<i>Fransa'da İç Savaş : Paris komünü üzerine makaleler, konuşmalar, belgeler, mektuplar</i>	Kenan Somer	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1977, 1991, 2012
	<i>Fransa'da İç Savaş</i>	Arda Dağlar	Yazın Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2011 – 1



AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
Mill, John Stuart	<i>Hürriyet</i>	Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın	Talim ve Terbiyye Heyeti-Akşam Matbaası	İstanbul	1927
	<i>Özgürlük Üstüne</i>	Alime Ertan	Belge Yayınları	İstanbul	1985, 2014
	<i>Düşünme Tartışma Özgürlüğü Üstüne</i>	Cem Akış	K Kitaplığı	Ankara	
	<i>Hürriyet üstüne</i>	Mehmet Osman Dostel (abridged by Ömer Çaha)	Maarif Vekilliği, Liberte Yayınları	İstanbul, Ankara	1956,1963, 2003, 2004, 2009
	<i>Özgürlük üzerine</i>	Tuncay Türk	Oda Yayınları	Ankara	2015
	<i>Özgürlük Üzerine</i>	Tuğçe Kambur	Litera Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2016
Nikitin, Petr Ivanoviç	<i>Ekonomi Politiği</i>	Hamdi Konur	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1968, 1971,1974, 1975,1976, 1978, 1995, 2008, 2012 (10.p)
	<i>Ekonomi politinin ilkeleri</i>	Orhan Suda	Yar Yayınları, Suda Yayınları	İstanbul	1973, 1974
Plehanov, Georgi, J. Freville	<i>Sanat ve Toplumsal Hayat (3)</i>	Selim Mimoğlu	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1962, 1976,1987(3. p.)
	<i>Sanat ve Toplumsal Hayat</i>	Cenap Karakaya	Sosyal Yayınlar	Ankara	1987 (3. p.)
	<i>Sosyalist gözle sanat ve toplum</i>	Asım Bezirci	İzlem Yayınları, May Yayınları	İstanbul	1963, 1968
Politzer, Georges	<i>Sosyalist felsefenin temel prensipleri</i>	Cem Gün	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1966, 1974, 1976
	<i>Felsefenin başlangıç ilkeleri</i>	Cem Eroğlu	Sol Yayınları, Saygı Yayınları, Doğan Yayınları	Ankara	1966, 1969, 1970, 1974 (Saygı), 1976(Doğan)
	<i>Marxist Felsefe Dersleri/Felsefenin temel ilkeleri</i>	Galip Üstün	Sosyal Yayınlar, May Yayınları	İstanbul	1969, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977
	<i>Felsefenin temel ilkeleri</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1969, 1970, 1978, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1994, 2000, 2004 (15. Baskı)
	<i>Felsefenin temel ilkeleri</i>	F. Karagözoğlu	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1974, 1975, 1977, 1979
	<i>Felsefenin başlangıç ilkeleri</i>	Sevim Belli	Sol Yayınları	İstanbul	1974, 1976, 1979, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2002 (15.p)
	<i>Felsefenin temel ilkeleri</i>	Ayda Düz	Ararat	Ankara	1976

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
	<i>Felsefenin temel ilkeleri</i>	Erol Esençay	İlyâ Yayınevi	İstanbul	2008, 2012 (4. p.), 2013
	<i>Felsefenin Başlangıç İlkeleri</i>	Mehmet Doğan	Başak Matbaacılık	Ankara	2003
	<i>Felsefenin Başlangıç İlkeleri</i>	Hasan İlhan	Alter Yayınları, Sayfa Yayınları	Ankara, İstanbul	2012
	<i>Felsefenin başlangıç ilkeleri</i>	Hasan Erdem	Arya Yayıncılık, Neden Kitap(2012)	İzmir	2009, 2011, 2012
	<i>Felsefenin başlangıç ilkeleri</i>	Enver Aytekin	Sosyal Yayınlar	Ankara	1986, 1989, 1997, 2011
	<i>Felsefenin Başlangıç İlkeleri</i>	Deniz Kaloğlu	Nokta Yayınları	İstanbul	2012
Pomeroy, William	<i>Filipinler Gerilla Savaşı</i>	İnci Giritlioğlu	Toplum Yayınları	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Gerilla savaşı ve Marksizm</i>	Metin Altrok, Hasan Daldal	Ekim Yayınları	Ankara	1969
	<i>Marksizm'de Gerilla Savaşı</i>	Mümtaz Yavuz	Evren Yayınları	İstanbul	1976, 1977, 1980
	<i>Gerilla</i>	Şemsa Yeğın	Sosyal Klasikler Yayınevi	İstanbul	1978
	<i>Marksizm ve Gerilla Savaşı</i>	A. Sarıali	Belge Yayınları	İstanbul	1992
Proudhon, Pierre Joseph	<i>Mülkiyet Nedir?</i>	Vedat Gülşen Üretürk	Ararat	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Makaleler</i>	Mustafa Tüzel	Birey Yayınları	İstanbul	1992
	<i>Mülkiyet nedir? veya hukukun ve yönetimin ilkesi üzerine araştırmalar</i>	Devrim Çetinkasap	Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları	İstanbul	2009, 2010, 2011
Rodinson, Maxime	<i>Hazreti Muhammed</i>	Atillâ Tokath	Gün Yayın, Hür Yayın	İstanbul	1968, 1980, 1996
	<i>Muhammed'in İzinde</i>	Necmeddin Erbakan	İslam Külliyyatı: Özdemir Basımevi	İstanbul	1973
Rodinson, Maxime	<i>İslam ve Kapitalizm</i>	Orhan Suda	Gün Yayın, Hür Yayın	İstanbul	1969, 1978
	<i>İslam ve Kapitalizm</i>	Bahaeddin Yediıldız	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları	Ankara	1989
	<i>İslam ve Kapitalizm</i>	L. Fevzi Topaçoğlu	Spartaküs Yayınları	İstanbul	1996, 2002
Rousseau, j. J.	<i>İnsanlar Arasındaki Eşitsizliğin Kaynağı Ve Temelleri Üzerine</i>	N/A	Anadolu Yayınları	?	1968

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
	<i>İnsanlar arasındaki eşitsizliğin kaynağı ve temelleri üzerine konuşma</i>	Rasih Nuri İleri	Say Yayınları	İstanbul	1982(2. print), 1990, 1995, 2001, 2002
	<i>İnsanlar arasındaki eşitsizliğin kaynağı ve temelleri üzerine</i>	Hakan Zengin	Morpa Kültür Yayınları	İstanbul	2003, 2004
Russell, Bertrand	<i>Evlilik ve Ahlâk</i>	Ender Gürol	Varlık Yayınevi	İstanbul	1963,1967, 1971, 1977, 1987, 2005, 2015
	<i>Evlilik ve Ahlâk</i>	Vasıf Eranus	Say Yayınları	İstanbul	1983, 1993
	<i>Evlilik ve Ahlâk</i>	Sultan Neval Şimşek	Kaktüs Yayınları	İstanbul	1998
	<i>Evlilik ve Ahlâk</i>	İştan Gündüz	Morpa Kültür Yayınları	İstanbul	2003, 2004
Russell, Bertrand	<i>Batı felsefesi tarihi</i>	Muhammer Sencer	Kitaş Yayınları, Bilgi Yayınları, Say Yayınları	İstanbul	1969/1970, 1972, 1983, 2002, 2003
	<i>Batı felsefesi tarihi</i>	Erol Esençay	İlya Yayınevi	İzmir	2001
Sartre, Jean-Paul	<i>Akıl Çağı</i>	Gülseren Devrim	Cem Yayınevi (1. print), Can Yayınları	İstanbul	1964, 1983, 1994, 1999, 2011
	<i>Özgürlüğün yolları : 1 akıl çağı</i>	Samih Tiryakioğlu	Varlık Yayınevi, Oda Yayınevi	İstanbul	1967, 1985
Stalin, Josef	<i>Diyalektik materyalizm ve tarihsel materyalizm</i>	Zeynep Seyhan	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	Ankara	1967,1970, 1974, 1975, 2009 (11. p.)
	<i>Diyalektik ve tarihi materyalizm</i>	N/A	Proleter Devrimci Yayıncılık, Halkın Yolu Yayınları	Ankara, İstanbul	1970, 1979
	<i>Diyalektik materyalizm ve tarihsel materyalizm</i>	H. Zafer	Komün Yayınevi	İstanbul	1978
	<i>Diyalektik ve tarihi materyalizm</i>	İsmail Yarkın	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1992
	<i>Komünist manifestosu - Sosyalizmin alfabesi - Diyalektik ve tarihi materyalizm</i>	K. Türel	Ulak Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2010
	<i>Diyalektik ve tarihi materyalizm</i>	Hasan İhsan	Alter Yayıncılık	Ankara	2011
	<i>Diyalektik ve tarihi materyalizm</i>	Nadire R. Çobanoğlu	Oda Yayınları	İstanbul	2015
Stalin, Josef	<i>Nazari ve amali Lenin mezhebi</i>	Haydar Rıfat Yorulmaz	Mürettibiye Matbaası	İstanbul	1935
	<i>Lenin</i>	Seçkin Çağan	Habora Kitabevi	İstanbul	1968

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
	<i>Lenin</i>	E. Ülgen	Yol Yayınları	İstanbul	1978
	<i>Lenin</i>	Emel Tanyeri	Yorum Yayları	İstanbul	1992
Stalin, Josef	<i>Leninizmin İlkeleri</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1969(1.p.), 1974(2.p.), 1977(3.p.), 1978(4.,5.,6., p.), 1992 (7.p.)
	<i>Leninizm esasları</i>	Kemal Yusuf	Odak Yayınları	Ankara	1974
	<i>Leninizmin temelleri</i>	İsmail Yarkın, Saliha N. Kaya	İnter Yayınları	İstanbul	1997
Stalin, Josef	<i>Marksizm ve Dil</i>	Adil Onural	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Marksizm ve Dil</i>	Cenap Karakaya	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1976, 1993(3.p.)
	<i>Marksizm ve Dil</i>	Celal Üster	Koral Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Marksizm ve Dil</i>	S. Nuhoglu	Evrensel Yayınları	İstanbul	1979, 1992, 2008(4.p.)
Şeriatî, Ali	<i>Marksizm ve diğer batı düşünceleri</i>	Fatih Selim	Bir Yayıncılık	İstanbul	1985, 1988
	<i>Marksizm ve diğer batı düşünceleri</i>	Ali ErçetiN	Birleşik Yayıncılık	İstanbul	2000
Troçki, Leon	<i>Ekim dersleri</i>	Engin Atalay	Ser Yayınları	Ankara	1969
	<i>Ekim Devriminin Öğrettikleri</i>	Mustafa Sayman	Maya Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
	<i>Ekim dersleri</i>	Erdal Tan	Yazın Yayıncılık	İstanbul	1994
Troçki, Leon	<i>Sürekli Devrim Çağı</i>	Nedim Sel	Habora Yayınları	İstanbul	1971
	<i>Sürekli Devrim</i>	Ahmet Muhittin	KözYayınları, Yazın Yayıncılık	İstanbul	1976, 1995
TseTung, Mao	<i>Halk Savaşında Temel Taktikler</i>	Engin Atalay	Ser Yayınları	Ankara	1969
	<i>Halk Savaşında Temel Taktikler</i>	Fuat Sandıkçı	Koral Yayınları	İstanbul	1975, 1977
TseTung, Mao	<i>Çin Devrimi</i>	K. Sahir Sel	Sosyal Yayınlar	Ankara	1967
	<i>Çin kurtuluş savaşı</i>	Ahmet Angın	Habora	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Mao Zedung ve Çin devrimi</i>	H. Yeşil (yay. haz.)	Dönüşüm	İstanbul	1993

AUTHOR	BOOK	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	PLACE	FIRST PRINT, REPRINTS
TseTung, Mao	<i>Yeni Demokrasi</i>	Mehmet Dođu	Sosyal Yayınlar	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Yeni Demokrasi Üzerine</i>	Hasan Toprak	Eylem Yayınları	İstanbul	1976
TseTung, Mao	<i>Seçme Eserler</i>	Feridun Nefer	Ser Yayınları	Ankara	1970
	<i>Seçme Eserler</i>	N/A	Ser Yayınları, Aydınlık Yayınları, Kaynak Yayınları, Güney Yayınları	Ankara, İstanbul	1970, 1976, 1979, 1989, 1991, 1992, 2000
TseTung, Mao	<i>Teori ve Pratik</i>	N. Solukçu	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1966, 1969, 1971, 1974, 1975, 1978, 1990, 1992, 2012
	<i>Teori ve Pratik</i>	Mehmet Atilla	Evren Yayınları	İstanbul	1979
Wolfe, Bertram D.	<i>Devrim Yapan Üç Adam</i>	Ünal Oksay	Türk Siyasi İlimler Derneđi	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Devrim Yapan Üç Adam</i>	N/A	Sevinç Matb.	İstanbul	1969
	<i>Devrim Yapan Üç Adam</i>	Yunus Murat	Kuzey Yayınları	Ankara	1985 (2. p.)
Woodcock, George	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Ergün Tuncalı	? (Bahar Matbaası)	İstanbul	1967
	<i>Anarşizm</i>	Alev Türker	Kaos Yayınları	İstanbul	1996, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2009

## APPENDIX<sup>62</sup> B

### THE CONFISCATED BOOKS OF SÜLEYMAN EGE

1. *Dünya Komünist Hareketinin Ortak Belgeleri (1957-1976) [Common Documents of the World Communist Movement]*
2. *Yaşasın Halk Savaşının Zaferi (Long Live the Victory of People's War)* by Lin Piao
3. *Ütopik ve Bilimsel Sosyalizm (On Utopian and Scientific Socialism)* by Lenin
4. *Teorik ve Siyasal Düşünceler [Theoretical and Political Thoughts]* by Mao Tse Tung
5. *Viyetnam Halk Savaşının Zaferi (People's War People's Army)* by Võ Nguyên Giap
6. *Tsankov'un Kanlı Faşizmi (İzsiz Kaybolanlar) [Tsankov's Bloody Fascism: On the Tracks of the Missing The Ones Who were Disappeared without Trace]* by Nikolay Hristozov Tsankov
7. *Diyalektik ve Tarihsel Materyalizm (Dialectic and Historical Materialism)* by Stalin
8. *Komünizm ve İnsanlık Değerleri (Communism and Human Values)* by Maurice Cornforth
9. *Faşizm Üzerine Dersler (Lectures on Fascism)* by Palmiro Togliatti
10. *Dün Köleydik Bugün Halkız [Once Slaves now Folk]* by G. P. Horvath György
11. *Proleter Devrim ve Dönek Kautsky (The Proleterian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky)* by Lenin
12. *Yoldaşımız Ho Chi Minh (Collection of Letters from Ho Chi Minh)* by L. Figueres and C. Fourniau
13. *Devlet ve İhtilal (State and Revolution)* by Lenin
14. *Gölgeler Ordusu (The Army of Shadows)* by J. Kessel
15. *Bütün Ülkelerin İşçileri Birleşiniz [All the Workers of the World Unite](Mao's Selected Works- Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung) (Belgeler)*
16. *Karl Marx ve Doktrini (Marx's Economic Doctrine)* by Lenin

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<sup>62</sup> Süleyman Ege provides this list in his book *Kitabın Ateşle Dansı* (1997). The list is divided into two categories: the books with the English names of the books in parenthesis () if they are accessible and the translations of the books' names in brackets [] if the English originals are not unknown. Ege lists the books of his publishing house that were confiscated and burned were as follows (Ege, 1997, 9. 14).

17. *Marks ve Bilim (Marx and Science)* by J.D. Bernal
18. *Çağdaşımız Karl Marks [Karl Marx Our Contemporary]* by G. Cogniot
19. *Stalin (Stalin) [Biography]* by J.T. Murphy
20. *Komünist Manifesto Davası (Belgeler)*
21. *Devlet ve İhtilal Davası (Belgeler)*
22. *Pekin Moskova Çatışması Belgeler*
23. *Bilimsel Sosyalizmin Doğuşu [The Rise/Genesis of Socialism]* by Bottigelli
24. *Lenin Kooperatif Planı ve Bulgaristan Koopeartif Hareketi [Lenin's Co-operative Plan and Bulgarian Co-operative Movement]* by Stoyan Sulemezov
25. *Diyalektik ve Tarihsel Materyalizmin Alfabesi [The ABC of Dialectic and Historical Materialism]* by Boguslavsky, Karpuşin, Rakitov, Çertikin, Ezrin
26. *Ekonomi Politik (Political Economy: A Marxist Textbook)* by John Eaton
27. *Birleşik Cephe Halk Cephesi Vatan Cephesi [United Front, People's Front, Homeland Front]* by V. Bonev
28. *Portekiz Devrimi (Portugal's Revolution)* by Gil Green
29. *Asya ve Avrupa Ülkelerinde Ulusal Sorun (Sovyet Bilimler Akademisi) [The National problem in the Asian and European Countries (Soviet Academy of Science)]*
30. *Vietnam Devrimi (The Vietnamese Revolution)* by Lê Duẩn

APPENDIX C

THE TRANSLATIONS OF *THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO* INTO TURKISH

	Title	Translator	Publisher	Location	Date	Source Lge
1	<i>Komünist Beyannamesi</i>	Mustafa Suphi	...	...	1921	from French?
2	<i>Komünist Beyannamesi</i>	Şefik Hüsnü	Aydınlık Yayınları	Istanbul	1923	from French?
3	<i>Manifest (Tarihi bir vesika)</i>	Kerim Sadi	İnsaniyet Kütüphanesi	Istanbul	1934, 1935, 1936	<sup>63</sup> ?
4	<i>Manifesto</i>	Tektaş Ağaoğlu	Öncü Yayınları	Istanbul	1970	From English?
5	<i>Manifesto</i>	Mümtaz Yavuz	Evren Yayınları	Istanbul	1976	?
6	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	H. Onar	Proleterya Yayınevi	Istanbul	1976	?
7	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Süleyman Ege	Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları	Ankara	1968, 1970, 1976, 1997, 2009	from English, compared to German and French
8	<i>Komunist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Nur Deriş	Aydınlık Yayınları	Istanbul	1979	from English
9	<i>Komünist Manifesto ve Komünizmin İlkeleri</i>	Muzaffer Erdost	Sol Yayınları	Ankara	1976, 1991, 1993, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2016	from English

<sup>63</sup> The question marks (?) in the table imply that there is not any information or remark about the source language of the book or the publishing house is not active anymore or cannot be reached.



	Title	Translator	Publisher	Location	Date	Source Lge
10	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Levent Kavas	İthaki Yayınları, Ç Yayınevi	Istanbul	1998, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2011	from German compared to English
11	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Cenap Karakaya	Sosyal Yayınlar	Istanbul	1998, 2003	from French
12	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	İsmail Yarkın	Dönüşüm Yayınları, İnter Yayınları	Istanbul	1994, 1998	from German
13	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Orhan Dilber	Tohum Yayıncılık	Istanbul	1976,1998, 2001	?
14	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Işık Soner	Kaynak Yayınları	Istanbul	2003, 2005	from German compared to Aydınlık version
15	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu, Siyasi Yazılar'ın içinde</i>	Ahmet Fethi	Hil Yayın	Istanbul	2004	from German
16	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Rekin Teksoy	Oğlak Yayınları	Istanbul	2010, 2008, 2007, 2005	from Italian/ French compared to German and English
17	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Yılmaz Onay	Doğa Basım Yayın, Evrensel Basım, Yayın	Istanbul	2012, 2011,2005, 1999	from English
18	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Doğan Görsev (ed.)	Daktylos Yayınevi (Oda Kitap)	Ankara	2008	from German

	Title	Translator	Publisher	Location	Date	Source Lge
19	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Celâl Üster, Nur Deriş	Can Sanat Yayımları	Istanbul	2008, 2009, 2010, 2015	from English, compared to German
20	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Cihan Çabuk	Siyah Beyaz Kitap	Istanbul	2008, 2011	?
21	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	İlhan Erman	İlkeriş Yayımları	Ankara	2008 (2. p.)	from German
22	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Hasan İlhan	Alter Yayımları	Ankara	2009, 2010	from French
23	<i>Manifesto :</i>	Tolga Öztürk	Nokta Kitap	Istanbul	2009	?
24	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	İbrahim Okçuoğlu (ed.)	Akademi Yayın	Istanbul	2010	?
25	<i>Komünist Partisi Manifestosu</i>	Orhan Erdem	Arya Yayıncılık	Istanbul	2010	from French compared to German
26	<i>Komünist manifesto / Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels. Sosyalizmin alfabesi / Leo Huberman. Diyalektik ve tarihi materyalizm / J. Stalin</i>	K. Türel	Ulak Yayıncılık	Istanbul	2010	English?
27	<i>Komünist Manifesto Manga</i>	İnan Öner	Yordam Kitap	Istanbul	2012	from Japanese
28	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu ve Komünizmin Temel İlkeleri</i>	Tolga Erman (Yay. Ed.)	Kitap Dostu	Istanbul	2010	?
29	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Tolga Eraslan	Sis Yayıncılık	Istanbul	2012, 2014	from English

	Title	Translator	Publisher	Location	Date	Source Lge
30	<i>Komünist manifesto: tarihin en önemli siyasi belgesi için bir yol haritası!</i>	Kemal Ülker	Versus Kitap	Istanbul	2012	from English
31	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Sinan Jabban	Patik Kitap	Istanbul	2013	from German
32	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Erkin Özalp	Gelenek, Yazılama	Istanbul	1998, 2011, 2013	from German compared to English
33	<i>Komünist Manifesto ve Hakkında Yazılar</i>	Nail Satlıgan, Tektaş Ağaoğlu, Olcay Göçmen, Şükrü Alpagut	Yordam Kitap	Istanbul	2008, 2010, 2013	from German compared to English
34	<i>Çizgilerle Komünist Manifesto</i>	Nail Satlıgan, Kaan Emek	Yordam Kitap	Istanbul	2013	from German
35	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Murat Demir	Nilüfer Yayıncılık	Istanbul	2014	?
36	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Doğan Görsev	Yazılama Yayınevi	Istanbul	2015	from German
37	<i>Komünist Parti Manifestosu</i>	Serkan Gündoğdu	Ceylan Kitap	Istanbul	2015	from German
38	<i>Komünist Manifesto</i>	Etem Levent Bakaç	Zeplin Kitap	Istanbul	2015	from German

APPENDIX D

THE FRONT COVERS OF THE BOOKS IN CHAPTER 4



Figure D1. The front cover of the Ege version

K. Marx F. Engels

KOMÜNİST  
MANİFESTO  
ve  
Komünizmin  
İlkeleri



Figure D2. The front cover of the Erdost version

KARL MARX  
FRIEDRICH ENGELS

KOMÜNİST  
MANİFESTO



Çeviri: CELÂL ÜSTER - NUR DERİŞ



Figure D3. The front cover of the Üster & Deriş version



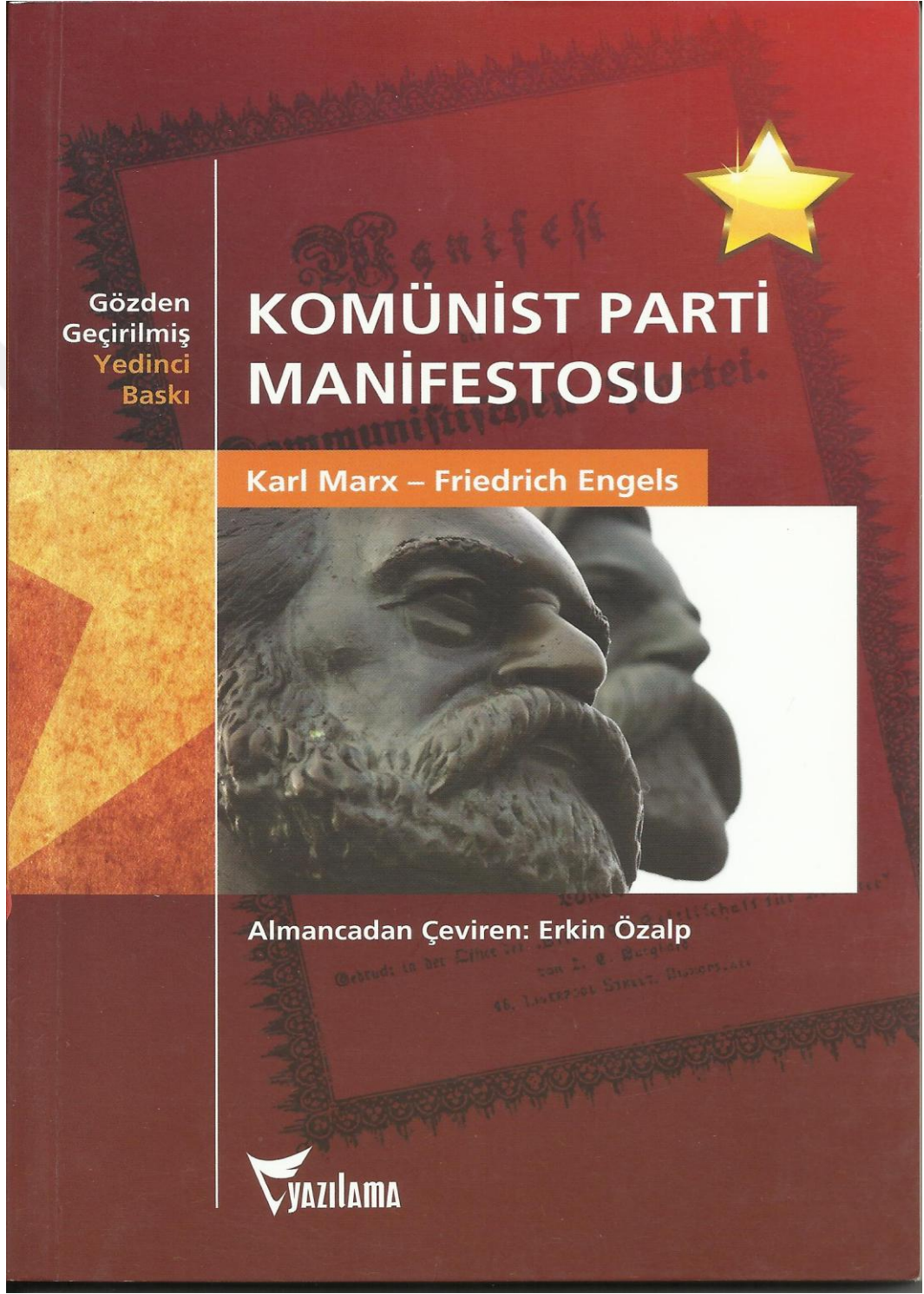


Figure D4. The front cover of the Özalp version

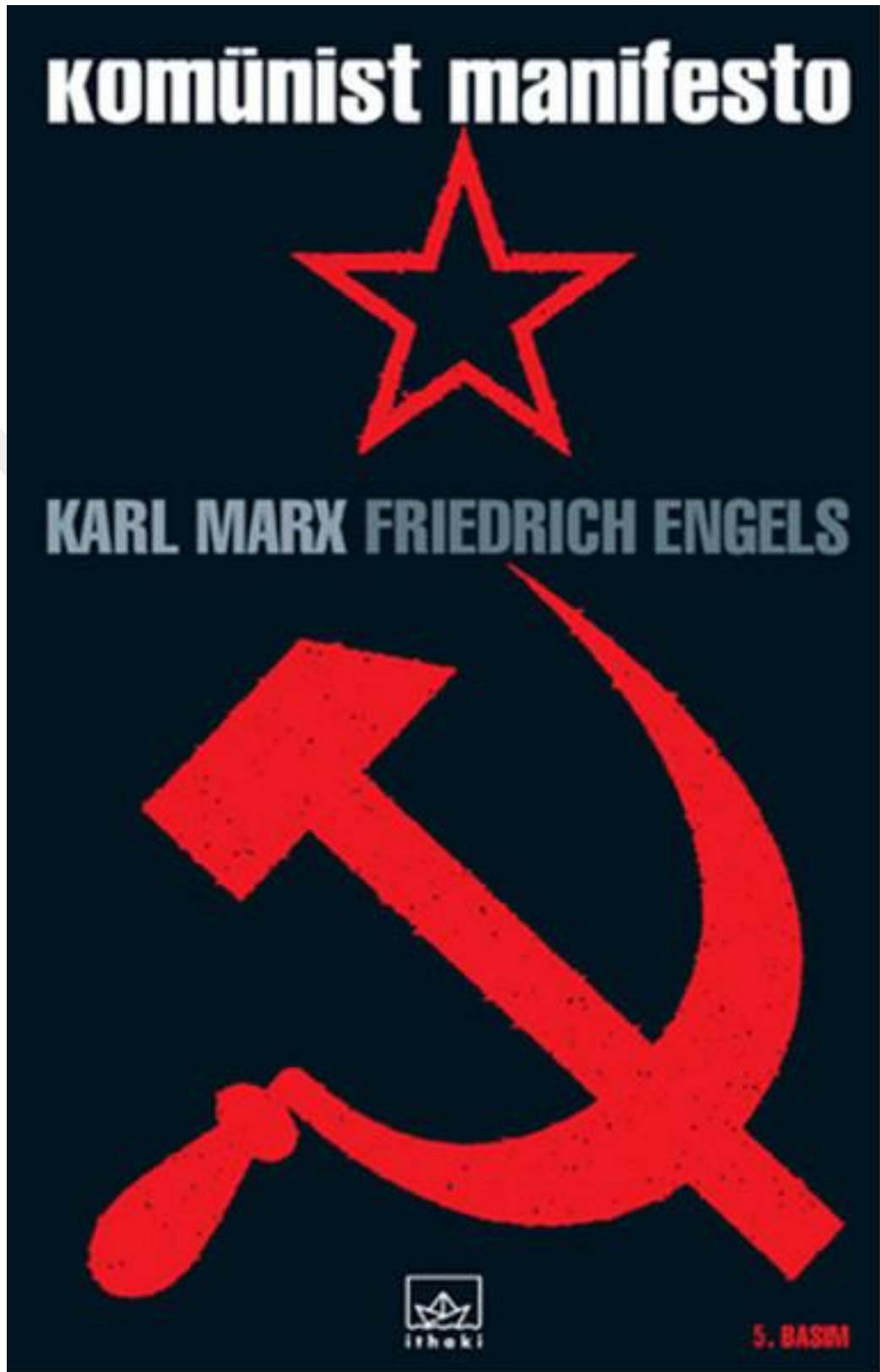


Figure D5. The front cover of the Kavayitri version



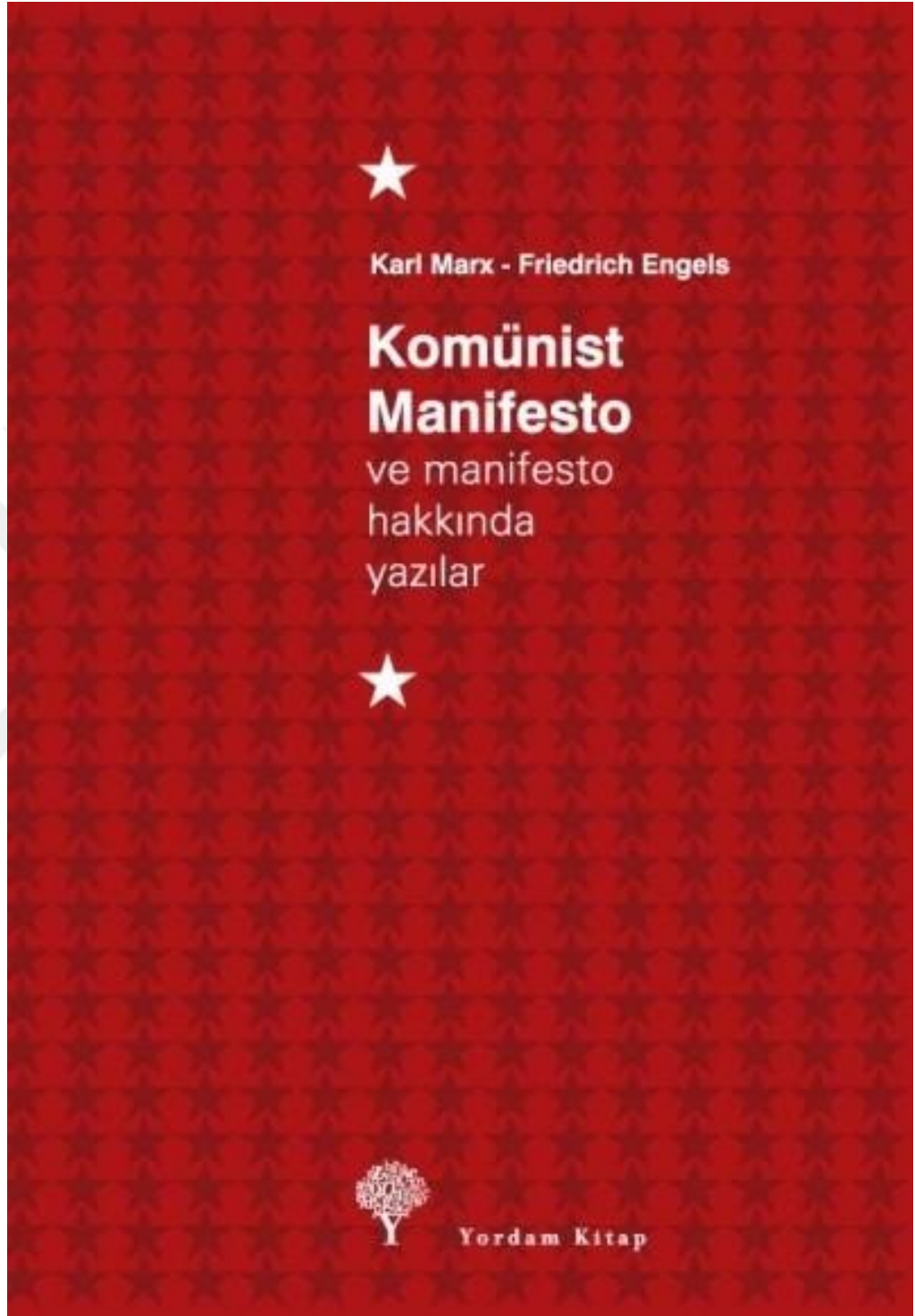


Figure D6. The front cover of the Satlıgan version

## APPENDIX E

### TABLE OF SOURCE AND TARGET TEXT EXCERPTS FROM *THE COMMUNIST*

#### *MANIFESTO* ABOUT NATURAL SUPERIORS AND FREEDOMS

<p>The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his “<i>natural superiors</i>”, and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous “cash payment”. It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of <i>philistine sentimentalism</i>, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the <i>numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms</i>, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. (Marx and Engels, 1888/1969)</p>	<p>Die Bourgeoisie, wo sie zur Herrschaft gekommen, hat alle feudalen, patriarchalischen, idyllischen Verhältnisse zerstört. Sie hat die buntscheckigen Feudalbande, die den Menschen an seinen <i>natürlichen Vorgesetzten</i> knüpften, unbarmherzig zerrissen und kein anderes Band zwischen Mensch und Mensch übriggelassen als das nackte Interesse, als die gefühllose "bare Zahlung". Sie hat die heiligen Schauer der frommen Schwärmerei, der ritterlichen Begeisterung, der <i>spießbürgerlichen Wehmut</i> in dem eiskalten Wasser egoistischer Berechnung ertränkt. Sie hat die persönliche Würde in den Tauschwert aufgelöst und an die Stelle der <i>zahllosen verbrieften und wohlervorbenen Freiheiten</i> die eine gewissenlose Handelsfreiheit gesetzt. Sie hat, mit einem Wort, an die Stelle der mit religiösen und politischen Illusionen verhüllten Ausbeutung die offene, unverschämte, direkte, dürre Ausbeutung gesetzt. (Marx and Engels, 1848/1974)</p>
<p>İktidarı ele aldığı her yerde burjuvazi, feodal, ataerkil, <i>duygusal</i> ilişki olarak ne varsa hepsine son verdi. İnsanı “<i>doğal efendileri</i>”ne tutsal eden karmaşık feodal bağları hiç acımadan kopardı ve insanla insan arasında çıplak özçıkır ve katı “peşin ödeme”den başka bir bağ kalmadı. Burjuvazi, dinsel inancın ateşli ve kutsal coşkusu, şövalyelik ruhunu, duygusallığı bencil hesabın buzlu sularında boğdu. Burjuvazi, kişisel değeri bir mübadele değeri haline getirdi ve <i>binbir güçlükte elde edilmiş sayısız özgürlüklerin</i> yerine, o biricik ve acımasız Özgür Ticareti koydu. Tek sözcükle, dinsel ve politik aldatmaların maskeleydiği sömürü yerine, zorba, utanmaz, doğrudan ve çıplak sömürüyü koydu. (Ege, 1968/2009, p. 23)</p>	<p>Burjuvazi, iktidara geldiği her yerde, tüm feodal, ataerkil ve <i>pastoral</i>(****) ilişkileri yok etti. İnsanı <i>doğal efendilerine</i> bağlayan karmaşık feodal bağları acımasızca kopardı ve insanla insan arasında çıplak çıkardan, duygusuz “nakit ödeme”den başka hiçbir bağ bırakmadı. Dinsel coşkunluğun, şövalyeye tutkunluğun ve dar kafalılara özgü hüznün kutsal heyecanını bencil hesapçılığın buz gibi soğuk sularında boğdu. Kişisel onuru değişim değerine indirgedi ve <i>sayısız belgeli ve kazanılmış özgürlüğün</i>(14) yerine tek bir özgürlüğü, vicdansız ticaret özgürlüğünü koydu. Kısacası, dinsel ve siyasal yanılsamalarla gizlenmiş sömürünün yerine açık, arsızca, doğrudan ve kaba sömürüyü koydu. (Özalp, 1998/2010, pp.13-14)</p> <p>14. İngilizce baskıda, “sayısız iptal edilemez belgeli özgürlüğün”.</p>

<p>Burjuvazi, üstünlüğü ele geçirdiği her yerde, bütün feodal, ataerkil, <i>pastoral</i> ilişkilere son verdi. İnsanı “<i>doğal efendiler</i>”ine bağlayan çok çeşitli feodal bağları acımasızca kopardı, ve insan ile insan arasında, çıplak çıkardan, katı “nakit ödeme”den başka hiçbir bağ bırakmadı. Dinsel tutkuların, şövalyece coşkunun, darkafalı duygusallığın kutsal titreyişlerini, bencil hesapların buzlu sularında boğdu. Kişisel değeri, değişim-değerine dönüştürdü, ve <i>sayısız yok edilemez ayrıcalıklı özgürlüklerin</i> yerine, o biricik insafsız özgürlüğü, ticaret özgürlüğünü koydu. Tek sözcükle, dinsel ve siyasal yanılımlarla maskelenmiş sömürünün yerine, açık, utanmaz, dolaysız, kaba sömürüyü koydu. (Erdost, 1976/2005, p. 119)</p>	<p>Kentsoyluluk nerede egemen olduysa orada bütün derebeylik ilişkilerini, ataerkil, <i>kırgıl</i> ilişkileri yok etti. İnsanı <i>doğal üstlerine</i> bağlayan rengarenk derebeylik bağlarını acımasızca kopardı; insanla insan arasında katıksız çıkardan, kaskatı ‘peşin paradan’ başka bir bağ bırakmadı. Sofuca esrimenin, şövalyelik coşkusunun, başıbozuk karamsarlığın kutsal ürpertilerini bencilce hesabın buz gibi sularında boğdu. Kişinin değerini değişim değerine doğru çözüştürdü, <i>edinilmiş, kazanılmış sayısız özgürlüklerin</i> yerine şu biricik acımasız tecim özgürlüğünü koydu. Kısacası, dinsel, siyasal kuruntularla perdelenmiş sömürünün yerine açık, utanmaz, doğrudan, kupkuru sömürüyü geçirdi.” (Kavas, 1998/2003, p. 73)</p>
<p>Burjuvazi, yönetimi ele geçirdiği her yerde, tüm feodal, ataerkil ve <i>kırsal</i> ilişkilere son vermiştir. İnsanoğlunu “doğal efendilerine” bağlı kılan çapraşık feodal bağları acımasızca kesip atmış, insanla insan arasında katıksız çıkardan, katı “nakit ödeme”den (18) başka bir bağ bırakmamıştır. Dinsel azgınlığın, soylu tutkuların sığ duygusallığın, en ulu coşkunluklarını bencil çıkarıcılığın buzlu sularında boğmuştur. İnsanoğlunun kişisel değerini değişim değerine dönüştürmüş ve <i>onca kazanılmış, geri alınmaz özgürlüğün</i> (18) yerine o tek, vicdansız özgürlüğü, Serbest Ticareti geçirmiştir. Sözün kısası, dinsel ve siyasal aldatmacaların peçesi ardına gizlenen sömürünün yerine cırlıçıplak, utanmasız, dolaysız, acımasız sömürüyü geçirmiştir. (Üster &amp; Deriş, 1979/2013, p. 52)</p> <p>18. Burada, Büyük Britanyalı tarihçi ve deneme yazarı Thomas Carlyle’a (1795-1881) bir göndermede bulunuyor. 1830’lar ve 1940’larda Büyük Britanya’nın en önemli toplum eleştirmeni olan Carlyle, bireyciliğin tüm toplumsal bağları çözüp yok etmekte olduğunu söylemişti.</p>	<p>Burjuvazi hâkimiyeti ele geçirdiği her yerde, bütün feodal, ataerkil, <i>kır yaşamına özgü</i> ilişkilere son vermiştir. İnsanı <i>tabii mafevkine</i> bağlayan karmaşık feodal bağları acımasızca kesip atmış ve insan ile insan arasında katıksız çıkardan, katı “nakit ödeme”den başka bir bağ bırakmamıştır. Dinî bağnazlığın, şövalye ruhunun, küçük burjuva duygusallığının ilahî vecde gelişlerini bencil hesabın buzlu sularında boğmuştur. Kişisel onuru mübadele değerine dönüştürmüş ve <i>sayısız müseccel ve müktesep</i> hürriyetin yerine o tek, acımasız özgürlüğü, geçirmiştir. Sözün kısası dinî ve siyasi yanılımların ardına gizlenen sömürünün yerine açık, hayâsız, dolaysız, gaddar sömürüyü geçirmiştir. (Satlıgan, 2008/2010, p. 43)</p>