

INVITED SOJOURNERS:
A SURVEY OF THE TRANSLATIONS INTO TURKISH OF NON-FICTION
LEFT BOOKS BETWEEN 1960 AND 1971

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Faring forth by critiquing those metaphors of and approaches to translation which are orientated by difference-centred theories, this thesis starts by turning this negating critique into an immanent path. The present study focuses on another metaphor of translation which may have a utopian blossom with an endeavour to learn from “others” in order to explore the alterity in “ourselves” and also to comprehend the commonalities that we have with others, in terms of the translation of non-fiction left books between 1960 and 1971, which can be seen as a certain concrete representation of such an ideal. If we leave aside the 1930s, left books were translated tenously in the early Republican history until the 1960s. But when the door was opened with the 1961 Constitution and the stimulation of international dynamism and internal social struggles emerged, the rate of production of such books began to escalate when compared with the past history of the Left in Turkey. In this direction, first of all, the translated books that were produced by the left movement in the early Republican period are browsed. Then the left books that were translated in the 1960s are subjected to a quantitative description. Following these two overviews, the contours of the translated literature are examined critically in terms of a product and problematic based framework. What are exposed afterwards are the sources of the political movements that could not find a representation among the political configurations of the time and accordingly were excluded from the canon, and also art criticism which increasingly was scaled down to the back of the political agenda. This thesis points at a tendency for the dissident translation activities to inspire or contribute to some theoretical debates revolving around “nativity” in the first part of the decade, but also indicates a proclivity for a direct subordination to problems of political strategy and search for models in the following years. The study comes to an end by putting forward the observation that the intellectually occlusive effect of translation, whose ambiguous character has been frequently emphasised throughout the whole thesis, began to generally overbalance at the end of the period.

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Başlık: Davetli Misafirler: 1960 ile 1971 Arasında Türkçeye Çevrilen, Kurgusal
Nitelikte Olmayan Sol Kitaplara Dair Bir İnceleme

Farklılık merkezli teorilerin yön verdiği çeviri metaforu ve yaklaşımlarının eleştirisiyle yola çıkan bu tez, söz konusu olumsuzlayıcı eleştiriyi içkin bir yola çevirerek işe başlıyor. Bu çalışma, “başka”larından öğrenerek “kendimizdeki” farklılıkları keşfetme ve başkalarıyla olan ortaklıklarımızı anlama çabasıyla ütopyik bir uç verebilecek bir başka çeviri metaforunu, bir diğer deyişle sol enternasyonalizmi, bu idealin bir tür somut temsili olarak görülebilecek kurgusal olmayan sol kitap çevirileri çerçevesinde, 1960 ila 1971 yılları arasında odağa almayı amaçlıyor. 30’lu yılları dışarıda bırakırsak, Cumhuriyet tarihinin 60’lara kadar geçen döneminde seyrek bir seyir izleyen sol çeviri kitaplar, 1961 Anayasası’yla açılan kapıya varıp uluslararası devingenliğin ve ülkedeki toplumsal mücadelelerin tetiklemesiyle, solun geçmiş tarihi açısından bakıldığında niceliksel bir artışa geçmişti. Bu minvalde, ilk olarak erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki sol hareket tarafından üretilmiş çeviri kitaplar gözden geçiriliyor. Ardından, 60’lı yıllardaki sol çeviri kitaplar niceliksel bir betimlemeye tabi tutuluyor. Bu iki genel bakışın sonrasında ise, önce mevcut çeviri literatürünün ana hatları ürün ve sorunsal odaklı bir çerçeve içinde eleştirel bir şekilde inceleniyor. Daha sonra ise dönemin siyasi kümelenmelerinde temsil bulamayarak kanon dışına itilen siyasi hareketlerin ve siyasi gündemin gitgide arka sıralarına düşmüş olan sanat eleştirisinin kaynakları serimleniyor. Onyılın ilk yarısında “yerlilik” odaklı bazı teorik tartışmalara esin vermiş, ya da katkıda bulunmuş muhalif çeviri faaliyetlerinin, yıllar ilerledikçe siyasi strateji sorunları ve model arayışlarına giderek dolaysızca bağımlı kılındığı şeklindeki bir eğilime işaret eden bu tez, müphem niteliğinin altı sıklıkla çizilen çevirinin entelektüel açıdan kapatıcı etkisinin dönemin sonunda genel olarak ağır basmaya başladığı gözlemini öne sürerek sona eriyor.

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PREFACE

In general terms, the focus of this study is an exposition of the translations into Turkish of non-fiction left books between 1961 and 1971. What generally comes to mind when translation is referred to are some comparisons between source texts and target texts, problems in terminology and equivalences, in semantics and syntax, et cetera. I will not deal with the issue in such a fashion (though if the documentations exposed throughout the thesis may serve as occasions to such studies, which seem to be very feeble with respect to leftist translation activities, I would be gratified). Here I rather instead engage in a descriptive survey of the period in a product-oriented framework. The impulse behind such a research is the need for critical dissections of the 1960s. Academically speaking, the literature on this decade is not unfruitful. We have a number of monographs and dozens of articles on particular distinguished figures, political organizations and journals. Though most of those books have their own critical perspectives, their description is naturally limited with their specific objects of analyses. It seems to me that a more holistic delienation of the making of the Turkish leftist thought in those years is a necessary step, which entails a divulgation of the whole political-intellectual panorama. Certainly, this is not the aim of the thesis and the scope of a master's thesis is not adequate for such a project. However, an illumination of the vessels of "theoretical" influences would rather be a feasible task. So-called non-fiction books are also, of course, a work of "fiction" and works of "literature" are also capable of helping us see the world, which is the etymological meaning of the term theory. But making a pragmatic distinction between works of literature and those which declare themselves not to be

so would narrow the scope and focus of the thesis. That is why I chose to focus on “non-fiction” left books in my research. It goes without saying that this specific look should not hide literary books from view. Moreover, the significance of such books for the 1960s makes a future analysis of them all the more relevant.

In times of actual social change and the presence of social and political movements, the milieu for intellectual discussion and the need for learning various sources sometimes tend to revive, which was also valid for 1960s Turkey. In this sense, translation serves a serious function in such processes. In the case of 1960s Turkey, this function was largely realized by radical publishing houses. The whole of their editorial programs was “political,” in the broad sense of the term, but most of them also kept a relative autonomy from the political organizations, though they drew in the same breath with them. That always seemed to me to be a significant part of the opportunity for the left movement to forge a public discussion in the bulk of the decade. Nonetheless, the absence of a detailed description or discussion of this issue in the existent literature is striking. This circumstance led me to think that a descriptive composition of the non-fiction left books (which are conventionally called “intellectual” books in Turkish) might be a beneficial task, throwing light on prospective studies grappling to make a much wider sense of this period and the history of leftist thought in Turkey. As ideas and theories change during their travels, the need for more attentive analyses of native intellectual environments and products clearly manifests itself. I think the research phase of this thesis may contribute to such studies. The interviews which I endeavoured to make with some figures and the list of non-fiction left books that I composed by drawing on secondary sources, journals of the period, public and personal libraries, bibliopoles and internet resources were the two main forms resorted to surpass the non-existence of a discourse on leftist

translation practices. I hope these may help fill this void. But another aim of the thesis is to add an interpretive look at the formation and evolution of the general literature. The absence of any secondary source in this regard again constrained me and this difficulty led to an eclectic approach. However, it seems to me that only an eclectic method could emerge from such a lacuna. I am aware that this situation may have brought about both fruitful and limiting consequences, but I felt that risking such likelihoods was unavoidable and undertake the responsibility stemming from this venture. Nonetheless, I think it would be important to make more detailed, topical discussions of the resources incorporated within the thesis. For instance, such headings like political economy, philosophy, and history can be taken detachedly and analysed in their own right with a special focus on their receptions. Here I rather tried to pore over the moments of the general thread of the production of translated literature. In other words, this study does not purport to exhaust the issue in anyway.

Invited Sojourners is composed of five chapters and an epilogue. In the introduction, I try to discuss some theoretical premises of particular metaphors of translation and bring into play my own views on the relation between politics and translation. Notes on the historiography of translation in Turkey follow this section. What ensues the introduction are two, relatively short chapters, which may be read as portrayals of a general background. In the second chapter, there is an overview of the books translated by the Turkish left movement between 1920 and 1960. I have organized this part in order to present the historical background of left practices of translation. On the other hand, in the third chapter I take a look at some general observations with regard to the translations of the 1960s and supplement some figures and tables with respect to the condition of libraries, general translations and the translation of non-fiction left books. Having passed these tracks, we come closer

to the critical exhibition of translated literature. In the fourth chapter, I endeavour to chart the contours of dissident translation activities. This narrative is organized around a number of problematics which occupied a significant place in the agenda of the left movement at the time. In the next chapter, I try to show the translated sources of a series of “heterodox” political movements and also lay out the works of aesthetics, which was increasingly pushed to the margins of the literature. And finally in the epilogue, I try to sum up the tendencies in the patterns of the translations in the left field.

I have attached two appendixes at the end of the thesis. The first appendix includes the list of the translations that were taken as a foundation for the accounts put forth in the third and fourth chapters. I may advise to have a look at the list itself before reading the accounts over the books covered in the fourth and fifth chapters. And in the second appendix, there are the front and back covers of a number of books, which have been put forth with the expectation that they may be helpful in visualizing the aura of the world of translated left books in the 1960s.

Like people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel – from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to another. Cultural and intellectual life are usually nourished and often sustained by this circulation of ideas, and whether it takes the form of acknowledged or unconscious influence, creative borrowing, or wholesale appropriation, the movement of ideas and theories from one place to another is both a fact of life and a usually enabling condition of intellectual activity. Having said that, however, one should go on to specify the kinds of movement that are possible, in order to ask whether by virtue of having moved from one place to another an idea or theory gains or loses in strength, and whether a theory in one historical period and national culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation. There are particularly interesting cases of ideas and theories that move from one culture to another, as when so-called Eastern ideas about transcendence were imported into Europe during the early nineteenth century, or when certain European ideas about society were translated into traditional Eastern societies during the later nineteenth century. Such movement into a new environment is never unimpeded. It necessarily involves processes of representation and institutionalization different from those at the point of origin. This complicates any account of the transplantation, transference, circulation, and commerce of theories and ideas.

Edward Said, “Traveling Theory,” in *The World, The Text and The Critic*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: TRANSLATING THE WORLD INTO ANOTHER THROUGH TRANSLATIONS?

What do we do with “knowledge”? Why do we need it? Then, how and why does the translator assume the role of an “interceder” for establishing communication between people unable to understand each other, enabling access to knowledge, not just a transmission of “information”? For whom and for what does the translator –in our case, the book translator– write? Is it possible for a translator to involve in a liberating process by means of his/her vocation? Hence, the title of this introductory chapter.

Feeling the burden of such questions over itself, this study will try seek for insights by surveying a case in which the self-initiative of the receptors carried much weight in the act of translation. Namely, the bulk of the following thesis will comprise a specific period in the Republican Turkish history, the bustling 1960s and the focus will be on a specific “leftist” cultural activity, i.e., the translation of non-fiction left books into Turkish from miscellaneous sources.¹ As these years can be seen to have served as a “midwifery” for the rapid emergence of translated literature within the left movement, a particular analysis of the issue appears to be necessary. However an initial discussion on the theoretical level in order to explain the rationale for and a number of concerns of the study at hand may take some air into the writing.

¹ In this juncture, the definition of what is “left” what and what is not may be questioned. When I use the term “Left” throughout the thesis, I adopt a flexible, bounteous definition and imply those multifarious ideas and movements that are, or claim themselves to be, against the established order (capitalism), aiming at self-determination to create a world in which it may be possible for all people to unveil their creative potentialities. Accordingly, I here bring those (“left”) books together which, by and large, have such a topical concern in their content.

Therefore, I want to begin by visiting some of those ideas produced to grapple with such questions I raised at the beginning. Then let us get on our way.

Some Metaphors and Uses of Translation

The ebbs and flows of some epochs give birth to diverse conceptualizations of themselves, most of all signified in miscellaneous metaphors, in the sense of a concentration of meanings. These metaphors that are envisaged to depict the living time have a symptomatic nature for analyzing the periods to which they refer. For instance, the metaphor of “progress” was in wide circulation throughout the nineteenth century and the metaphor of “the mole” has been a figure of modernity.² Our time does not seem to be exempt from this aura either: some uses (and misuses?) of translation.

Translation seems to have become a concept frequently used and delineated, so to say, as a “solution” to the problems of the twenty-first century. Ranging from ethnic to cultural conflicts and the preservation of distinct identities, this metaphor created around translation serves to imagine a supra-national world, breaking up erstwhile constricted national borders. It is thought and hoped to give breath and guide to a world devoid of stable understandings and constructive relationships among its people. As a symptomatic exemplification of this contemplation, here is what Hasan Bülent Kahraman observes:

Translation has always been a condition pertaining to humanism; now the point is that the human being is translated with all the necessary intellectual elements... it is now time to argue that the only remedy for

² Daniel Bensaid, “The Mole and the Locomotive.”
Available at: http://www.europe-solidaire.org/article.php3?id_article=1414

the existing problems of humanity is translation. This is what we can term translation at large.³

From a rather different angle, Yıldırım Türker describes, in a querulous way, the choky atmosphere of the field of social communication which is rife with rigid jargons, making it impossible to understand each other:

In so far as what we lost in translation augments, our life becomes barren. As our languages are made short-breathed, our thoughts become stifled. It is naturally hard to try to understand, to give ear in a steadfast and curious fashion, to read, to feel freely, to be the meticulous translator of the other. But there is the likelihood to break away from the cell and hold on to the world.⁴

The virtue of these two quotations lies in their conspicuity and laconic phrasing of the problem at hand. Their common denominator is the diagnosis of the deep-rooted difficulties of the social terrain and the blockage of a *language* that would pave the way for the resolution of the tensions underlying those hardships. It is within this framework that translation is regarded as an enabling category, which stands for a meta-language, presumably the new ‘Esperanto’ at the beginning of the twenty-first century. But how convenient is this metaphor for our times? If it can be

³ Hasan Bülent Kahraman, “Translating Translation”. Available at: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-01-08-ribeiro-en.html>. Eurozine, which is a network of European cultural journals, organized a volume consisting of articles on the relevance of translation for creating a European public space that respects diversity. As it seems connected with our discussion, I want to quote at length from their editorial titled “Politics of Translation”: “Translation points at how different languages, different cultures, different political contexts, can be put together in such a way as to provide for mutual intelligibility but without having at the same time to sacrifice difference in the interest of a blind assimilation. Translation, in this sense, is about the creation of new cultural and political maps, the establishment of shared territories, and the points of articulation, the development of a border reason, as opposed to the simple acceptance of the reason of borders. It is about the right to be different, where homogenization would be an offence, and the right to be equal, where the dwelling upon difference would be synonymous with oppression or with the prevalence of power politics.”

⁴ Yıldırım Türker, “Lost in Translation,” *Radikal İki* (November 6 2005) p. 5 (“*Tercümede yitirdiklerimiz çoğaldıkça hayatımız çoraklaşıyor. Dilimiz tık nefes edildikçe düşüncelerimiz boğuluyor. Anlamaya çalışmak, sabır ve merakla dinlemek, okumak, özgürce hissetmek, ötekinin titiz mütercimi olmak güç elbet. Ama hücreden kurtulup dünyaya tutunmak var.*”)

really made servicable to dissolve social rigidities, how to specify it? Now let us look at the issue from a different angle.

Ranjit Guha, one of the leading spokespersons of the Subaltern School, who has composed a philosophical critique of the British Empire's encounter with India in the framework of history and historiography, enunciates a short but an emphatic remark in his study *History at the Limit of World-History*: "... translation followed conquest as an exercise in violence rather than anything like a voluntary exchange between languages in a condition of political neutrality."⁵ If there is any merit in this statement, then it would be possible to make extrapolations about the relation between translation and language too, to whose relation it was referred to in the abovementioned quotations. To put briefly, whereas somewhere translation can be seen as a "remedy for the existing problems of humanity" and highlighted for its "absence", in another specific context it can be perceived as entangled in violence and barbarity as well. What this counter-argument tells us is the exigency for a scepticality toward any use of metaphor and the need for an inquiry into its construction. So now let us take a step from the end of the "progressive" nineteenth century to the dynamic present.

In the above mentioned quotation, Guha is talking about the mercantile era. Yet is today's world immune to colonial practices that characterized the former century, so that translation can ultimately achieve its status as a "benign negotiator"? The relevance of colonialism today, its resurgence in new registers under the guise of modernization theory, its political practices carried on mainly by the United States⁶

⁵ Ranjit Guha, *History at the Limit of World History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 51 (emphasis added).

⁶ Harry Harootunian, *The Empire's New Clothes: Paradigm Lost and Regained* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004).

with the aim of “translating the world into democracy everywhere” constitutes another encounter between the West and the Other (that is non-West), a recurrent binary inherited from the vocabulary of the Cold War. Paradoxically, the translation metaphor conceived as a dialogical skeleton key may be said to be conspicuous by its absence in the current conjuncture, when looked from a different angle. But it occurs to me that there is a risk here in the form of adopting a sanguine attitude towards language and politics. If not specified, the roads are open for a non-historicized understanding of translation and neglect of its ambivalent character.⁷ Moreover, it becomes difficult to imagine such a liberating metaphor and its material repercussions, which is in fact the purpose of the comments alluded to above. In that case, it seems necessary to look at some sources which seek to connect translation and politics in a more elaborate manner, which may complement the critique with an affirmation and help us to develop an immanent criticism.⁸ In this manner, it may be possible to take a step towards a conceptualization of the mutual interaction between social transformations and translation both as a metaphor and an activity *per se*, which is our basic concern.

If we can talk about a translation activity entangled with power relations, we owe much of this insight to feminist and post-colonial literature. Authors from these traditions have been the foremost upholders in pointing at the way language in

⁷ Bearing in mind that language cannot be reduced to any simple pole as ‘positive’ and ‘negative’, I want to point at the slippery character of it by drawing on the insights of Gilles Deleuze, whose work is regarded within an *anti-linguistic turn* when compared with the analytic tradition and continental philosophy. See Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *Deleuze and Language*, (London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). Lecercle’s discussion over the affinity between Deleuze and Guattari and Marxism in terms of their defense of a view of language based on *agon* not on *eirene* (that is, their seeing the basic type of utterance not as proposition or statement but as a slogan) can be found here: “Deleuze, Guattari and Marxism”, *Historical Materialism* 13, no. 3 (2005), pp. 35-55. However, the earlier most comprehensive work is that of V. N. Voloshinov’s: *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, translated by Ladislav Matejka and I.R. Titunik, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁸ We may follow Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar in identifying these sources as ‘critical translation studies’ as opposed to descriptive ones. See her *Kapılar: Çeviri Tarihine Yaklaşımlar* (Istanbul: Scala Yayıncılık, 2005) especially pp. 22-28.

general is circumscribed by a struggle over meaning, rather than mostly enriched by cooperation and dialogue. In *Kapılar* (Doors), translation scholar Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar enumerates some of the representatives of these schools: Rosemary Arrojo, Lawrence Venuti, Tejaswini Niranjana, Gayatri Spivak, Eric Cheyfitz and Vicente Rafael.⁹ According to her, the common feature of these authors is their sceptical approach to descriptive translation studies (by implication, neutrality, “scientific” disciplinarity, et cetera) and a faith in overcoming social and cultural asymmetries by means of translation.¹⁰ I would say that the approaches of the “critical voices” are characterized much more by an awareness of the political character of translation and a corresponding attitude towards it both theoretically and practically, rather than a belief in the emancipatory prospect of this activity, since most of them diverge in their outlook and strategies. For instance, whereas Venuti champions a “minoritizing” strategy where it would be possible to resist the “fluent”, “reader-friendly” way of translation imposed by the dominance of target cultures,¹¹ Niranjana elaborates on the English translations of Indian laws and literature, thus investigating the assimilation of particularities into the vocabulary of “World History”, to speak like Hegel, from the prose of the world into the prose of history,¹² or Spivak searches for ways to surpass the obstacles against the enunciation of the voice of a Third World woman in English, which has been deeply bedraggled by the dirty hands of an Empire.¹³

⁹ Ibid., pp. 22 -25.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

¹¹ Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).

¹² Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

¹³ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “The Politics of Translation” in *Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 397-416.

Even these brief references may suffice to show that these authors do not have a particular faith in exceeding social and cultural barriers via translation alone. More precisely, what they mutually argue is the existence of translation intertwined with politics in general and the *partial role* that translation can play both in resisting particular sorts of domination or the share of it in the creation of a domination.¹⁴ As is evidently clear, these discrepant strategies disclose the contradictory and context-bound character of translation and bring forth the question of “why and how to translate.” Based upon a conception of a translation process as an indecision to be resolved throughout struggles, not as a neutral textual transfer, this problematic of decision is apparently related to the realm of ethics. In this context, the partial uncertainty in the realm of politics combines with the open-endedness of a translational act. Therefore, contextualizing radical textual exchange requires a consideration on ethics.

The ethical roots of postcolonial and feminist approaches can be traced back to the eminent scholar Jacques Derrida, who mostly engages in the question of translation and ethics through the method of deconstruction. Though mainly grounded in an awareness of difference and the notion of undecidability, he has much more to say on the subject. Kaisa Koskinen, the author of one of the very few writings on this theme, summarizes Derrida’s position as:

condensed in his definition of translation as ‘productive writing called for by the original text’. First of all, translation is productive, not *reproductive*. A translator does not code pre-existing and stable meanings (since there are none) but produces a new text in a process of writing that is not qualitatively different from other kinds of writings. But, more importantly, the process is not random. Deconstruction is not tantamount to giving license to translators to do whatever they please. To be a translation, the translation has to cultivate a particular relationship with

¹⁴ For a broad introduction and condensed criticisms to these sorts of studies, see Douglas Robinson, *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997).

the source text. The translation is *called for* by the original text, and the writing process has to take into account this call: it adds to replace, it fills to fill a void.¹⁵

On the other hand, Rosemary Arrojo, a student of Derrida in the field of translation studies, makes the implications of the theoretical stake more pellucid. According to her, “the explicitness of the translator’s intervening voice in the translated text and of the translation scholar’s perspectives and allegiances which will help us build a more cogent discipline of translation studies, free from the impossible dream of transcendence and absolute values or of a blind, authoritarian universalism which is to be strictly followed by everyone.”¹⁶

The further suggestions of such thoughts brings us to a defence of the visibility of the translator and his/her intervention in the context. They give a tangible space, a likelihood of bringing into play his/her own subjectivity so as to operate in a responsible way. Still, what may be laudable in its own may not satisfy some other conditions, as being responsible subsumes having a decision anyway and the contexts for making a decision are multiple just as there are multiple combinations of factors for decisions to be taken.

To simplify, this sensitivity on particularity – in our case, translators’ subjectivity – is welcome after an era of choking reductionisms. But in my view, the problem here is the extent and the content of the emphasis on the particular. While pointing at things that were ignored before, this stress is suggestive; however, this condensation may also circumscribe the explanatory power and thus obstruct the process of analyzing the different but inherently related aspects of a specific case,

¹⁵ Kaisa Koskinen, *Beyond Ambivalence: Postmodernity and the Ethics of Translation* (Tampere: Tampere University, 2000) p. 36. Available at: <http://acta.uta.fi>.

¹⁶ Rosemary Arrojo, “Asymmetrical Relations of Power and the Ethics of Translation,” *TEXTconTEXTII=NF1* (1997), p. 23.

thereby ignoring the concept of totality. When it comes to stand against the all-encompassing wings of Hegel's World-history or the history written by the oppressors, this approach has a value in striving to give voice to the downtrodden or evoke the voices of the past. But apart from the so-called Benjaminian "rescuing critiques" made towards the past, this view risks fixating on the minority or the Other at a time when today's colonization assimilates all Others into each other, nullifying all differences into a Difference, into an "invisible unity". While giving us insights into a politics of difference, this difference-oriented approach does not open up any way for "unity" (i.e. in becoming majority) or sameness (it should be bear in mind that there are "different unities" just as there are "different differences") or a dialectical relation between difference and unity.¹⁷ If we turn to our specific concern, then what would the translator, a sibling of the historian, do in order to transfer similar dissimilarities?

Differentiating between moralism and morality, relating politics and ethics not in an oppositional way and designating the basis of ethics as the abundance of life and self-realization, Terry Eagleton makes a sharp-edged criticism against the kind of ethics as propagated by Derrida. Thus,

We can note, to begin with, what an *imposing* conception of morality this is, in every sense of the word. It reworks in new language the rather antiquated idea, nowadays much under fire, that morality is mainly about imposition or obligation. But it is imposing in the sense of being sublime, edifying, high-minded. It forgets, in other words, the sheer *banality* of the ethical. Like some religious thought, it sees ethics more in relation to the eternal than to the *everday*. The ethical is a privileged realm in which the Other turns his luminous face to us and places upon us some inscrutable but ineluctable claim.¹⁸

¹⁷ See Alain Badiou for his notion of sameness and truth and his critiques against multiculturalism and cultural pluralism: *Etik: Kötülük Kavrayışı Üzerine Bir Deneme*, translated by Tuncay Birkan (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2005), especially pp. 38-41.

¹⁸ Terry Eagleton, *After Theory* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 153 (emphasis added). See also his article "Self-Realization, Ethics, and Socialism," *New Left Review*, no. 237 (1999), pp. 150-161.

Accordingly, Eagleton goes on to complement his critique with an affirmation where he dwells on an elaboration of morality which is “basically a biological affair” and adds that “it is the mortal, fragile, suffering, ecstatic, needy, dependent, desirous, compassionate body which furnishes the basis of all moral thought.... It is because of the body, not in the first place because of an Enlightenment abstraction, that we can speak of morality as universal.”¹⁹

What specific relation does this opposition and wager of ethics have to do with translation? What kind of insights does it give for our thoughts over translation and ethics? We can say that the fulcrum of this position is that it does not attribute to “ethics” a primary space above all other phenomena and counterpose it to others, among them politics. And in my opinion this is a kernel which smooths over more successfully the post-structuralists’ justified anxiety over some transcendental, abstract universalist values. As Eagleton sets forth, it is the impersonality of the body that is concretely universal and and we are all dependent on each other. It is for this sake that one’s self realization necessitates a reciprocity. What sort of clues such a “political ethics” gives to us in general is open to question. Presently I will confine myself to try to knit these insights together with the field of translation.

In an age of culturalist orthodoxy²⁰ there is an heterodox agenda that waits to be explored within such a “cultural” study like translation. Therefore, it seems that there is a need for a more relational and materialist analysis of the matter. As was mentioned, there is a close connection between translation and decision, just as there is one with decision and ethics. “For in the realm of ethics”, acutely states the

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 155.

²⁰ For instance see Kaisa Koskinen, “Shared Culture? Reflections on Recent Trends in Translation Studies,” *Target* 16, no.1 (2004), pp. 143-156.

Hungarian Marxist Gyorgy Lukacs, “there is no neutrality and no impartiality; even he who is unwilling to act must be able to account to this conscience for his inactivity.”²¹ If decision making implies a possibility, it is within this realm that one has an attitude which claims for responsibility and if there is some way to go beyond the realm for the recognition of difference, this path may lie where different moral bodies might come together for a self-realization. And this milieu might provide some opportunities for these constituencies to have space, as Derrida would say, for calling for a translation. Therefore, the “work of translation”, which in our times predominantly has become a commodity under the capitalist mode of production by being subordinated to exchange values, may also have a use value. But this realization ultimately demands politics with the translator acquiring, what may be called an “extra-vocational character”, differentiating him/herself organically within a class position²² and setting forth the question of ideology in the course of events and translation processes whose consequences are partially indeterminate from the beginning.

This extra-vocational character of the translator may reveal itself in very different ways and contexts. It may be reflected in the translation strategy followed in a particular text or in the way how certain “foreign” texts are chosen and presented as proper nominees to “fill the gaps” of a particular literature. Such a differentiation may take place in a setting where the act of translation wraps itself up into an actively resistant register. Maria Tymoczko, even though she does not

²¹ Gyorgy Lukacs, “Tactics and Ethics”
Available at: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lukacs/works/1919/tactics-ethics.htm>

²² This problem is related with the distinction Antonio Gramsci makes between ‘traditional’ and ‘organic’ intellectuals. See Peter Ives, *Language and Hegemony in Gramsci* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), pp. 70-77. Since translators are intellectuals with a knowledge at least of two languages, the role they play among specific social relations is a significant matter.

approach the issue from a similar political vein that has been pursued here, ambitiously deals with the way how translation (and thereby, translators) assumes a role in social transformations, which she illustrates in her study of the revolutionary nationalist Irish struggle against the British. In order to specify the function of translation, she develops a notion of “engagement” and commitment to certain political goals, which she demonstrates in the case of textual struggles. However, after all those pages devoted to showing the relevance of translation in social struggles and movements, towards the end of her article she de-emphasizes the importance that this sort of cultural struggle might assume by a note, which she frames in a form of advice: “I personally would recommend that if a person were interested in being engaged, he or she should undertake direct action rather than sublimated textualized political involvement.”²³ Her insistence on direct action may be understandable when the concept of engagement is taken into consideration. But do all engaged translational activity bound to be a sublimated version of resistance, a satisfaction of suppressed dissatisfactions? Or can translation not be a “direct” action in its own way at least for a specific time and place? Questions are destined to be enumerated; yet, this discussion proves us, at least, the possibility of a conception of a translator cognizant of her own activity, sensitive to the world around her and actively taking part in its constitution “directly” or “indirectly”, both through translations and other forms of struggle.

Up to now, I have dwelled on the complex character of translation in order to oppose the conventional perception of it as a neutral and mechanic transfer between two languages. I have also tried to point to its politic, ethical aspects and suggested that a proper analysis should view together the particularity and the universality of

²³ Maria Tymozeko, “Translation and Political Engagement: Activism, Social Change and the Role of Translation in Geopolitical Shifts,” *The Translator* 6, no. 1 (2000), p. 41.

specific case, for this interaction will pave the way for an act of translation able to be a kind of fight in its own right. But before whetting our argument, naming the sort of struggle we will be surveying in this study, which is – of course – only one form of possible conceptions of dissident translation practices, might prove to be convenient. Having mentioned some usages of metaphors of translation, then here is another one as enunciated by Eagleton: “Universality today is in one sense a material fact. The aim of *socialism* has been to *translate* that fact into value. The fact that we have become a universally *communicative* species- a fact which, by and large, we have capitalism to thank for- should lay the basis for a global order in which the needs of every individual can be satisfied. The global village must become the co-operative commonwealth. But this is not a moral prescription. ‘Ought’ implies ‘can’.”²⁴ To this metaphor, one just needs to add, within the parameters of this paper, the existence of such a translational activity as to promote this ideal for this utopia to come into being. As was put at the beginning, this utopia was, arguably, vividly alive in Turkey throughout the 1960’s. However, few things have been written on this phenomenon. And up until a surge of interest over the different aspects of translation was brought into light, this infertility was also the case with the historiography of the translation of political texts.

Notes on the Historiography of Translation in Turkey

There is a set of reasons for this surge to come into the fore. With the opening of translation departments at universities after 1980,²⁵ discourse on

²⁴ Eagleton, *Ibid.*, p. 161 (emphasis added).

²⁵ The first departments of translation and interpreting were established at Boğaziçi and Hacettepe universities, respectively in 1983 and 1984. At the moment there are thirteen translation departments in Turkey, four of which located in private universities. See Işın Bengi Öner, *Çeviri Kuramlarını Düşünürken* (Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 1999), especially pp. 61-77.

translation found the opportunity to move into the boundaries of academia. This establishment has helped in the production of academic analyses on translation that rarely was done before. On the other hand, the publication of *Yazko Çeviri* (Yazko Translation) between 1981 and 1984 and *Metis Çeviri* (Metis Translation) between 1987 and 1992 (journals exclusively restricted to translations and diverse articles on translations) increased the awareness of readers, practitioners and scholars. This shift has helped in broadening the range of studies and the perspectives. Third, the intellectual climate of North America and continental Europe characterized by the so-called “cultural” turn also echoed in Turkey. Intellectual searches for a fresh breath in the gloomy period after the 1980 coup coalesced with this global tendency. Or to be more exact, it might be said that there was a close relation between the retreat of hopes and the narrow expectations that small cultural studies could give. And the effects of this transformation have been felt on studies done over translation. For the moment, it is difficult to have a comprehensive view of the current state of practice.²⁶ But it is evident that the early linguistically oriented studies have given way to a more extensive scope. The cultural and political implications of translation, which were previously not much touched upon, have begun to be dealt with in a number of researches.²⁷ Jean Luc Godard once said, “we

²⁶ Though it does not focus on translation, see Gönül Pultar and Ayşe Lahur Kılınç, “Cultural Studies in Turkey: Education and Practice,” *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies*, vol. 26, pp. 129-153. For a critical discussion of the cultural studies in Turkey see, Tuncay Birkan, “Solun Son Sözü Kültürel Çalışmalar mı?,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 94 (2002), pp. 6-15 and Necmi Erdoğan, “Kültürel Çalışmalar, (Kendiliğinden) İdeoloji(si) ve Akademya,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 97 (2003), pp. 43-64.

²⁷ For some distinctive works on this matter, see Arzu Eker, “Publishing Translations in the Social Sciences since the 1980s: An Alternative View of Culture Planning” (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2001), Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, “The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey (1923-1960) (Unpublished P.H.D. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2002), Özlem Berk, *Translation and Westernization in Turkey from the 1840s to the 1980s* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2004) and Başak Ergil, “The Image of Nazım Hikmet and His Poetry in Anglo-American Literary Systems in 2002” (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2005).

need to shoot films in a political way, rather than have political films *per se*.”²⁸ This assertion indicates the need for academic studies designed in a political way, rather than just focusing on “political” issues. However, the prevailing tendency in Turkish translation studies has been to concentrate upon literary works and this leaves open the field of “political” texts, which may be distinguished from the other by its explicit acknowledgement of its character. As Christina Schaaffner observes, “politics” is a “rather wide and flexible notion... Nevertheless, there are some types of texts that either discuss political ideas, beliefs, and practices of a society or some part of it (e.g. textbooks, academic papers, essays), or texts that are crucial in constituting a political community or group (e.g. treaties, a manifesto of a political party, a speech by a politician).²⁹ In this context, let alone the analysis of leftist translation activities, there are few evaluations of the politics of translation and translation of politics. It is quite astonishing that this field is absent from our literature at a time when interests on it have begun to multiply.³⁰

Nevertheless, while translation usually has been seen as a companion of the modernization process and the relation between them has not been much problematized,³¹ what seems urgent for investigation are the multiple ways of the appropriation of translation for dissident ends and the various positions formed *vis a vis* modernization when compared with the liberal-humanist translation activities. It

²⁸ Quoted in Uğur Kutay, “Sinemasal ‘Politik Yöntem,’” *Birgün* (9 December 2005), p. 10.

²⁹ Christina Schaaffner, “Political Discourse Analysis from the point of view of Translation Studies” *Journal of Language and Politics* 3:1 (2004), p. 119.

³⁰ For an exposition of such issues see the collection, *Nation, Language and the Ethics of Translation*, edited by Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

³¹ On this issue there is a doctorate thesis in progress, the suppositions of which are unknown to me. Müge Işıklar, “Problematizing Translation in Relation to Texts Translated for/on Women within the Project of Modernization in Turkey”. Boğaziçi University Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies.

is obvious that the scope of such activities is open-ended, ranging from literary works to different kinds of radical textual exchange.

In this direction, I want to take a specific case, pursuing the track of the translation activities of the Turkish left movement and especially focus on the period between 1960 and 1971, times when demand for translation rose to unprecedented levels. As Schaaffner states, “at times of social change, translations may thus move from the periphery into the center of a socio-cultural polysystem.”³² Yet, in terms of a discourse on political translation, the barrenness in the academic realm conjoins with the sterility in the leftist writings devoted to translation. There are only short comments or explanations squeezed into footnotes, based either on pure negative critiques or sole lauds. However, this lacuna is paradoxical in two respects. On the one hand, according to the original thinkers of socialism the Left was – or should be – internationalist to the core. In other words, its viewpoint embraced the whole of the world, not just a single country. Rosa Luxemburg once said, “all the places of the world where there are clouds, birds and people are my country” and this was emblematic of the horizons of socialism. Or he was walking in much the same road when Antonio Gramsci wrote; “one may in fact say that only in the philosophy of praxis is the ‘translation’ [between different civilizations] organic and thoroughgoing, whilst from other standpoints it is often a simple game of generic ‘schematisms’”.³³ In this vein, just one language was not enough to understand and share other’s concerns, learn from each other, to find remedies for social problems. So it was necessary either to be bilingual, multilingual or to make translations for those dependent on their mother tongue. On the other hand, in the eyes of the most of

³² Schaaffner, p. 140.

³³ Antonio Gramsci, *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Derek Boothman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), p. 307.

the commentators of the Right wing, the Left has always been orientated by some breeding places “outside” the country. It was never deemed to be “local” enough. That is, leftist thought has usually been seen as an unfamiliar entity and never allowed any subjectivity with which it wished to identify itself. The roots of the thoughts that were supposed to take hold in “this” country were “actually” in other realms. For the elites of other countries too, the provenance was in fact located in other places and this vicious circle went on and on. In short, there is an exigency for internationality for the Left and the claim for an “original” national culture for the Right. It is certain that this situation has some bearing on translation, which is a way of a collectivization of each other’s words. The absence of a full-fledged examination of the leftist translation activities (or conspiracies of silence over translated left books) in Turkey is ironic when the oppressive and ideological apparatuses of the state capable in controlling knowledge production and the right wing thinkers addicted to conspiracy theories are taken into account. The fact that most of the analyses on the Left by the leftists themselves, which should have an internationalist essence, consolidates the void with respect to translation activities makes taking a step toward this issue necessary.

Now let us fare forth by casting an eye over the works of translation produced with an expectation to realize a “utopian” effect.

CHAPTER TWO

BROWSING BETWEEN 1920 and 1960

It is possible to trace the “roots” of the Ottoman left back to the end of the nineteenth century.³⁴ However, as we are going to look over the books translated into Turkish,³⁵ it seems necessary to draw off the line of this history to the beginning of the establishment of the Republican Turkey. The foundation of the Turkish Communist Party on 10 September 1920 at the Baku Congress is widely regarded as the inauguration of the modern “Turkish” left.³⁶ Born as a child of the Third International established after the triumphant October Revolution, this party opened its eyes to a geography in turmoil and a country experiencing a war of national liberation. Starting with discussions over how to approach the struggle going on in Anatolia, it found itself pressed by the material existence of the emergent Turkish government from the beginning of its institutionalization. The party decided to give an optimistic or naive support to the incipient power, basing this decision on the so-called anti-imperialist attitude of the National Struggle. Nevertheless, the government responded by drowning fifteen members of TKP (Turkish Communist Party), among them the leader of the party, Mustafa Suphi. Nevertheless, the

³⁴ For a collection of articles regarding the history of this period see *Workers and the Working Class in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic (1839-1950)* edited by Donald Quataert and Erik Jan Zürcher (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), *Socialism and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire (1876-1923)*, edited by Mete Tunçay and Erik Jan Zürcher (London: British Academy Press in association with the International Institute of Social History, 1994) and Mete Tunçay, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Sol Akımlar ve Partiler,” in *Eleştirel Tarih Yazıları* (Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, 2005) pp. 27-39.

³⁵ The history of the Republican left includes books that have been translated not only into Turkish, but also other languages like Kurdish. But since most of these translations have been made into Turkish and that I only have command on this language, our focus will be on it.

³⁶ Here I use the adjective ‘Turkish’ to characterize the leftist organizations within Anatolia. Taking into consideration the diverse nationalities under this umbrella (like the Greek, Armenians, Jews, Kurds et cetera), it would be more proper and ‘politically correct’ to call them ‘Türkiyeli’ (a person from Turkey, a citizen of Turkey). But in English it seems awkward to say “the Left of Turkey, or ‘Turkey’s left’”. Therefore, until a better description is found, I will continue to use ‘Turkish’ with the reservations specified above.

organization continued to maintain a position of rapprochement with the Ankara government in order to advance it to a next stage of social development without being subject to the pains inflicted by private sector capitalism and to approach socialism. And this situation was, by and large, related to the shift in the direction of the party from Suphi to Şefik Hüsnü.³⁷

According to Mete Tunçay, who is the most well-informed historian of this era, this attitude is not a typical one for a communist party. It was after 1925 that the TKP (or the *Aydınlık* circle) began to assume a benign position vis-a-vis the Ankara government.³⁸ While the Soviets were in the midst of degeneracy and the Comintern commissioned the defense of the “socialist mainland”, the new Turkish government restricted the field of politics in which the TKP could develop an independent political line. The effect of Comintern was reflected in a decision that was taken in 1936. This was a crucial turn for the march of the party, since in that year it was decentralized on the urging of Comintern, which was a kind of liquidation. The coercion of the state reverberated in the increasing oppression implemented in different fashions, culminating in the 1951 arrestments. And these arduous circumstances added to the incapacity of the TKP to mould a conduit by which labourers could speak out. If one bears in mind that the Turkish left was marked substantially by this organization up until 1960, the consequences of all these constraints over the realization of forging a leftist forum in this country make themselves more evident. Yet, as our discussion will be on the relation between theory and translation, we should pause for a cursory look at some representative remarks on the theoretical position of the TKP. The root of the word theory roughly

³⁷ For a critique of this change of policy see İlhan Akdere and Zeynep Karadeniz, *Türkiye Solu'nun Eleştirel Tarihi I* (Istanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 1996), pp. 142-160.

³⁸ Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar-I (1908-1925)* (Istanbul: BDS Yayınları, 2000) p. 226.

means “to look” (gaze, observation, contemplation et cetera) in Greek. Then how did TKP see the world around it? How did the eyes of this little baby seem?

Perhaps it is the depredation that the dual restraint imposed by abroad from the Comintern and the Turkish government from inside that leads most commentators to claim that the TKP was devoid of intellectual depth. Tunçay asserts that Turkish leftist thinking has always been affected by other countries in some way or another. Though he states that the first leftists revised socialist theory by attuning it to the facts of the homeland and helped us understand the formation of politics in Turkey, he tells less with regard to the general traits of the Left, aside from a few implicit critiques.³⁹ The first years of the TKP was a time when all sections of the international communist movement were undergoing a hard time to decide whether to “translate” the effects of the Soviet Revolution into their own local terms or to “repeat” the Russian template. In this sense, it would be difficult to argue that the TKP revised socialist theory by attuning to the facts of Turkey since it could not shake off the double compulsion we have referred to above. On the other hand, for another author Haluk Yurtsever, who is a member of today’s TKP, the traditional foible of this organization was its underestimation of theory. According to him, the destitution in the field of theory paved the way for two outcomes. First, the theses of the Soviets or Comintern were repeated in a schematic and superficial way. Second, the acceptance of the Turkish bourgeois ideology and the ideological hegemony of Kemalism.⁴⁰ As for another author, Metin Çulhaoğlu, there are two implications of this conjuncture in terms of the development of Turkish leftist thinking in this period. In the first instance, “a serious debate between the proponents of moving towards

³⁹ Tunçay, *Ibid.*, pp. 17-26 and 224 -226.

⁴⁰ Haluk Yurtsever, *Süreklilik ve Kopuş İçinde Marksizm ve Türkiye Solu* (Istanbul: El Yayınevi, 2002) pp. 140-141.

socialism through a ‘non-capitalist path’, and those who were more receptive to the model of the classical bourgeois revolution; and second, another one between a more orthodox Marxism and the *Kadro* line.” For him, these encounters could have triggered interesting debates. But the opportunity was missed and the “vacuum that emerged was ‘filled’ with pejorative labeling and cursing so fondly adopted by the left as to become a classic.”⁴¹ However, an evaluation of the validity of these comments requires at first an empirical study of the theoretical work realized in this period. And this will necessitate to broaden our view beyond the institutional structure of the TKP. On the one hand, if one argues that there was a destitution in the level of theory, then an examination of the translated books may contribute to an overall material analysis of the construction of the theory. On the other hand, this examination may lead us to somewhere beyond the boundaries of the TKP, which would compel conventional analyses of the period. And in general, this endeavour may shed light into the ethico-political attitude of the Left towards translation. For what reasons were the translations made? Were they made in order to analyze an issue, or for what exigencies did people translate? In order to lay the ground for such work, let us review the translated books of the period, portraying them with wide strokes, so that we may have a more social or textual picture of these years.

The beginning of the establishment of the Republic witnessed great numbers of death and emigration. Despite the fact that most of the remaining cadre of the communists were of Balkan origin, the left thus became deprived of the treasure of other languages, like Armenian, Greek and Hebrew. Formed into an organization targeting the territory of the newly found Republic, the TKP had to pursue its

⁴¹ Metin Çulhaoğlu, “The History of the Socialist-Communist Movement in Turkey by Four Major Indicators,” in *The Politics of Permanent Crisis: Class, Ideology and State in Turkey*, edited by Neşecan Balkan and Sungur Savran (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002) p. 175.

publication activities mainly in Turkish after the Language Revolution that started in 1928. There are few translated books explicitly issued by the party. Yet a series of books were published under the headline *Aydınlık Külliyyatı* (Treasury of Enlightenment) between 1922 and 1925. Though most of the collection was comprised of “original” works, there were some translations published together with them. The secretary of the party, Şefik Hüsni, translated Marx and Engels’ *Komünist Beyannamesi* (Communist Manifesto)⁴² and Ali Cevdet translated *Komünizmin Elifbası* (The ABC of Communism) by Nikolai Bukharin and Evgenii Preobrazhenskii.⁴³

However, as the history of the early Republican Left was not only composed of the career of the TKP, there were some other practices which were dissociated from this sort of political pragmatism. These endeavours that thrived during the 1930’s sprung principally through two veins. The first was “Dün ve Yarın Külliyyatı” (Treasury of Yesterday and Tomorrow) that was issued by the lawyer and the “inexhaustible” translator Haydar Rifat. And secondly, the “İnsaniyet Kütüphanesi” (Library of Humanity) that was produced by Kerim Sadi, who was described by the renowned sociologist Cemil Meriç as the Plekhanov of Turkish socialism. The repertoire of Haydar Rifat was relatively more capacious. The serial ranged from Dostoyevski’s *Cinayet ve Ceza* (Crime and Punishment) to Tolstoy’s *Efendi ile Uşak*

⁴² Through the thesis, I will first present the original Turkish title of the translations, and in parenthesis I will provide a “literal” English translation of the versions used in Turkish. I will make a note only whenever I realize that there is a distinctive difference between the original title and the one made use of in the Turkish translation.

⁴³ Kerim Sadi, *Türkiye’de Sosyalizmin Tarihine Katkı* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994) pp. 586-598. Additionally, Mete Tunçay mentions that Mustafa Suphi, the former secretary of TKP, could not finish his translation of “Manifesto”. See his *Eski Sol Üstüne Yeni Bilgiler* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1982) pp. 27-47. At this juncture, we should note that mainly some pedagogical books of Comintern origin were published in the subsequent years by Moskova Ecnebi Dillerde Neşriyat Evi. *Sovyetler Birliği Komünist (Bolşevik) Partisinin Tarihi, Kısa Kurs* (The History of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union: Short Course) which was published in 1954 is a perfect example of such books.

(Master and the Servant). But much of this corpus, which also included Kropotkin's *Anarşizm* (Anarchism) incorporated socialist literature. Summary translations from Marx, which comprised *Sermaye* (Capital), Lenin's *Devlet ve İhtilâl* (State and Revolution), Stalin's *Nazari ve Ameli Lenin Mezhebi* (Theoretical and Practical Order of Lenin) and Engel's *Hayali Sosyalizm ve İlmi Sosyalizm* (Utopian and Scientific Socialism) were among the most conspicuous works of the corpus.⁴⁴ In most of these translations there was a preface by the translator, Haydar Rifat. For instance, he wrote at the beginning of his translation of *Capital*:

I myself had got into an experience in my idle days and here I translate and publish a summary, faithful to its original, of *Capital* which is 14 volumes and composed by Gabriel Dövil. If this summary was appreciated, I would start a full translation of the total 14 volumes starting from 1934 and by translating and publishing four volumes each year, will ultimately finish my project in June of 1937. I got into much trouble by making this small translation. It was necessary to find new words to new ideas, or which are new to us. The problem lied not in the natural unease that occurs when one tries to find Turkish equivalances according to the new course of our language, but from the difficulty of finding any equivalence.⁴⁵

On the other hand, even though the bulk of *Library of Humanity*, which was issued between 1932 and 1935, consisted of Kerim Sadi's trenchant polemics and critiques (which involved much information about Marx, even if not from direct

⁴⁴ Dastiyevski, *Cinayet ve Ceza* (Istanbul: Şirketi Mürebbiye Matbaası, 1933) Leo Tolstoy, *Efendi ile Uşak* (Istanbul: Şirketi Mürebbiye Basımevi, 1936) Kropotkin, *Anarşizm* (Istanbul: Şirketi Mürebbiye Matbaası, 1934) Lenin, *Devlet ve İhtilal* (Istanbul: Vakit Matbaası, 1934) Stalin, *Nazari ve Ameli Lenin Mezhebi* (Istanbul: Şirketi Mürebbiye Matbaası, 1935) and F. Engels, *Hayali Sosyalizm ve İlmi Sosyalizm* (Istanbul: Hilmi Kütüphanesi, 1935).

⁴⁵ "Ben şu boş günlerimde bir tecrübeye girdim ve 14 ciltlik sermaye nin Gabriel Dövil tarafından toplanmış sadık bir hülâsasını tercüme ve neşir ediyorum. Bu hülâsa rağbet görürse anaç XIV cildi 934 de başlayarak ve her sene dördüncü tercüme ve neşir suretile 937 haziranı nihayetinde bitirmiş olacağım. Bu küçük tercüme yi yaparken epey zahmetlere girdim. Yeni, yahut bizce yeni fikirlere yeni kelimeler bulmak lâzımdı; dert yalnız dilimizin yeni gidişine göre türkçe karşılık bulmaya dair tabii endişeden değil, herhangi bir karşılık bulmaktaki güçlükten ileri geliyordu." See Karl Marx, *Sermaye*, edited by Gabriel Dövil and translated by Haydar Rifat (Istanbul: Şirketi Mürebbiye Matbaası, 1933) p. 3.

⁵³ Selâhattin Hilâv, "Kerim Sadi'nin Bazı İnceleme ve Eleştirmeleri," in *Kerim Sadi Yazı Hayatının 50. Yılında*, edited by F. Berke (Istanbul: Hilâl Matbaası, 1969), p.100-108.

translation), among the translations published within this library Marx's *Felsefenin Sefaleti* (Poverty of Philosophy), Plekhanov's *Tarihe Maddeci Bakış* (Materialist View of History) and Kautsky's *Küçük Sanayiinin İnhitatu* (Deterioration of Small Industry) were the notable ones.⁴⁶ Another significant contribution of Sadi was the reproduction of his critiques that he channelled against the "anti-Marxists" on the translation level as well. He illustrated the mistakes of the translations of Professor Mehmet Ali Ayni, Haydar Rifat, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın and Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, to whom we will soon refer.⁴⁷ To present an illustration of his harsh critiques, here is what he said about the partial translation of *Capital* by Rifat in his leaflet "The Mistakes of a Translator" (*Bir Mütercimin Hataları*):

First of all, *Capital*, which is the famous work of Marx, does not consist of fourteen volumes but just three and Haydar Rifat's translation is the summary not of these three volumes but only the first one... In my humble opinion, the translator's capacity for attempt is very great, he has pretty respect for scientific works and his love of work is enviably excellent. But for all that, he has slight care, his Turkish is weak, his French is shabby and his knowledge about Marx's economy is under nil. And his work lends itself only to caricaturize Marx.⁴⁸

It can be observed that these critiques drew attention to the translations by Rifat which were doubted by most of the intellectuals and thereby created an awareness for the translations to be read with care and in caution. The virtue of these critiques,

⁴⁷ For a sample of these critiques see his *Bir Münekkidin Hataları*, (Istanbul Üniversitesi ordinaryuslarından Mehmet Ali Ayni Bey' in telifgerdesi olan "İntikal ve Mülahazalar" unvanlı eserin birinci babında tesadüf edilen karakteristik tercüme yanlışlarından birkaçına dair) (Istanbul: Sinan Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi, 1934).

⁴⁸ "Önce, Karl Marx'ın ünlü eseri *Sermaye*, XIV değil, sadece III cilttir ve Haydar Rifat'ın tercümesi bu üç cildin değil, yalnızca birinci cildin hülâsasıdır...Naçiz kanaatime göre, mütercimin teşebbüs kaabiliyeti çok yüksek, ilmi eserlere karşı saygısı fazla ve çalışma aşkı gıpta edilecek kadar mükemmeldir. Buna mukabil dikkati az, Türkçesi zayıf, Fransızcası ez'af ve Marx'ın ekonomisi hakkındaki bilgisi ise sıfırın da altında. Ve yaptığı iş Marx'I karikatürleştirmekten başka bir işe yaramıyor." Quoted by Alaattin Bilgi, "Kapital'in Türkçe çevirileri, Terim ve Kavram Sorunları", in *Kapital'in Aydınlığında Alaattin Bilgi*, edited by Adnan Özyalçın (Istanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2001) pp. 196-197.

which were restricted in that they were based on drawing out a fault sheet by way of taking separate parts of a specific text at random, was lying in its taking the first steps towards moulding a Marxist terminology.⁴⁹

The third main translation project of this period was “Marksizm Bibliyoteği” (Library of Marxism) and “Emekçi Kütüphanesi” (Library of Labourers). Though it was not explicitly issued by the TKP, the contributors were of party origin: Hikmet Kıvılcımlı (an original thinker and one of the future leaders of the Turkish left), Hasan Ali Ediz, Vasıf Onat and Fatma Nudiye Yalçın formed the editorial board of this library. Consisting of both original works and translations, this project was as influential for the cadres of that period as the works by Rifat and Sadi.⁵⁰

Apart from these collective projects, there were also books that were published by the singular efforts of some individuals. Sabiha Sertel translated Kautsky’s *Sınıf Kavgası* (Class War), Adoratsky’s *Diyalektik Materyalizm* (Diyalektik Materyalizm), Molotov’s *Bugünkü Sovyet Rusya ve Sovyet Esas Teşkilatı* (Soviet Russia Today and the Basic Organization of the Soviets) and also August Bebel’s *Kadın ve Sosyalizm* (Woman and Socialism).⁵¹ The preface that she wrote

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 108. According to Hilav, the other person who has significantly contributed to this endeavour is Hikmet Kıvılcımlı.

⁵⁰ (Interview with Vedat Türkali) in Emin Karaca, *Eski Tüfekler’in Sonbaharı* (Istanbul: Gendaş Yayınları, 1999) p. 140. In the same book the list of translations is presented as follows: Marx and Engels’ works: *Gündelikçi İş ile Sermaye*, *Enternasyonal İşçiler Cemiyetini Açış Hitabesi*, *Kapital (bazı fasiküller)*, *Marksizm Prensipleri*, *Ludvig Feurbach*, *Maymunun İnsanlaşma Prosesinde Emeğin Rolü*; Lenin’s works: *Karl Marx’ın Hayatı*, *Felsefesi*, *Sosyolojisi*, *Karl Marks’ın Ekonomi Politikası*, *Sosyalizmi*, *Taktiği*, see p. 262-263. For a list of Marxist works that were published between 1925 and 1940 (which also includes the ones we have alluded here), see Ahmet Oktay, *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları* (Istanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2003) p. 425. The information going to be presented here will hopefully improve Oktay’s list.

⁵¹ Sabiha Sertel, *Roman Gibi* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1987), pp. 166-175. In her memoirs Sertel states that she had also translated Lenin’s “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism” and also Stalin’s “The Problems of Leninism”, but could not publish them due to governmental and legal pressures. Having handed these translations over to her brother Neşet Deriş, she says she did not know where these books were after Deriş had died. See Sertel, Ibid., p. 222.

for Bebel's work demonstrates her devotion to the feminist politics in which she partially engaged through translation:

I have translated this book to show to the women exploited at home, at work, at the office that this life is not a stamp that fate has placed upon their foreheads, that when they comprehend this life with the consciousness of where their interests lie, they will be strong enough to pull it down.⁵²

Esat Adil Müstecaplıoğlu, on the other hand, who would establish Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi (Turkish Socialist Party) in 1946,⁵³ translated from the mid-30s such works as *Bugünün İçtimai Mezhepleri* (Today's Social Orders), *Sosyalist Şefler ve Sosyalizm* (Socialist Chefs and Socialism), *Bolşeviklik, Faşistlik ve Demokrasi* (Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy) within the Hayat ve İlim Serisi (Life and Science Series) from the Savaş Kitabevi in Balıkesir.⁵⁴ And alongside these multiple studies done by individual people, there were also single translations made by some outstanding figures of the period: Suphi Nuri İleri translated Carlo Cafiero's *Kapital*, which was a shortened version of the original work of Marx,⁵⁵ Suut Kemal

⁵² "Eyde işde, makinede, dairede sömürülen kadına, bu hayatın, kaderin alınına çizdiği bir damga olmadığını, bu hayatı çıkarımın nerede olduğunu bilinçle kavradığı gün, kendisinin yıkmaya güçlü olduğunu göstermek için bu kitabı çevirdim." Preface to August Bebel, *Kadın ve Sosyalizm* (Istanbul: Dün ve Yarın Tercüme Külliyyatı, 1935) p. 2.

⁵³ For a detailed analysis of this organization see Özgür Gökmen, "A Citmus Test of the 'Liberalization Process' in the Transition Period to Multi-Party Regime: The Turkish Socialist Party" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 1997).

⁵⁴ Gustav Leo-Gerard et.al, *Bugünün İçtimai Mezhepleri: Liberalizm, Sosyalizm, Katolisizm, İçtimai İlerleme* (1934), Greguvar Kuliçer, *Sosyalist Şefler ve Sosyalizm* (1932), Francesco Saverio Nitti, *Bolşeviklik, Faşistlik ve Demokrasi* (1934)

⁵⁵ Karl Marx, *Kapital* (shortened translation by Carlo Cafiero), translated by Suphi Nuri İleri, Istanbul: Bozkurd Matbaası, 1936. It is interesting to learn that it was an anarchist, who split from the First International with the following of Bakunin, wrote the resource from which the Turkish Left acquired the first knowledge of Capital. On the other hand, we read from the introduction to this book that "İleri Bibliyoteği" would be launched so as to render into Turkish those valuable pieces penned after the Great War. But it seems that this project failed. Additionally, Rasih Nuri mentions that his father also translated from French a book titled "Lenin ve Troçki" (Lenin and Trotsky) but could not publish it due to the 1936 Moscow Trials that pressured upon him. In like manner, Rasih Nuri İleri himself translated John Reed's "Dünyayı Sarsan On Gün" (Ten Days that Shook the World) when he was only sixteen years old. But he also could not get it into publication due to the same reason, since this book

Yetkin, an pre-eminent translator, rendered a book by A. Deschamps into Turkish,⁵⁶ Niyazi Berkes translated Harold J. Laski's *Democracy and Socialism* into Turkish and Sami Sabit Kahraman was the translator of A. E. Schaeffle's *Sosyalizmin Özü* (The Nature of Socialism).⁵⁷

The retreat of the TKP with the prescription by the Comintern was the main reason lying behind the decrease of translation work. Nevertheless, on account of the oppression which continued constantly, albeit with ebbs and flows, during the single-party period and peaked at the 1951 arrestments, open leftist activities were forcibly diminished. In parallel with this general situation, publications and translations trailed the same trend until the coup of 27 May which led the wind breeze towards the left.⁵⁸ Though these years were also a time for an intellectual accumulation for the following period, which would reflect in the rise of the 60's.⁵⁹

depicted Trotsky along with Lenin as the heroes of the October Revolution. And he adds that the version that was issued later (John Reed, *Dünyayı Sarsan On Gün*, translated by Rasih Güran, Istanbul: Ağaoğlu Yayınevi, 1967) did not include the prefaces written by Lenin and Krupskaya into the original. See Karaca, *Ibid.*, p. 58

⁵⁶ A. Deschamps, *Marksizm: Tahlil ve Tenkit* (Istanbul: Yüksek İktibas ve Ticaret Mektebi, 1937).

⁵⁷ A. E. Schaeffle, *Sosyalizmin Özü*, trans. Sami Sabit Kahraman (İzmit Selüloz Basımevi, 1947) and Harold J. Laski, *Demokrasi ve Sosyalizm* (Istanbul, Yurt ve Dünya Yayınları, 1946). In addition, Berkes also contributed to the series of classics issued by the Ministry of National Education by his translations of Aristoteles' *Politika* (Politics) and Platon's *Sokrates'in Müdafası* (Defence of Socrates). See Niyazi Berkes, *Unutulan Yıllar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997) p. 63 and p. 451. Alongside with Berkes, Behice Boran, a distinguished academic who would later be an active socialist did a literary translation: Harley Granville-Barker, *Voysey Mirası* (İzmir: Nefaset Matbaası, 1946). We also know that Zeki Başımarmar, a prominent member of the TKP, also translated a literary work, Tolstoy's *War or Peace* into Turkish. See Orhan Suda, *Bir Ömrün Kıyılarında* (Istanbul: Alkım Yayınları, 2004) p. 96.

⁵⁸ Though it is also argued that after the arrestments of 1951 translations were made in the prison as a material for education. According to Nail Satlıgan, one of the factors that would lead to the increase of translated books after 1960 are the stocks that were prepared beforehand. (Interview with Nail Satlıgan, 16 February 2006, Istanbul). Mihri Belli mentions one of such books in his memoir. G. Palocz Horvath's *Dün Köleydik Bugün Halkız: Bir Ülkenin 1500 Yıllık Köylü Hareketleri Tarihi* (Yesterday We were Slaves Today We are the People: A History of a Country's 1500 Year Old Peasant Movements) that would be published in 1966 was translated by Sevim Belli at the jail. See *İnsanlar Tanıdım II*, (Istanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık, 1999) p. 102.

⁵⁹(Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 23 May 2006, Istanbul).

As for an bird-eye's view evaluation of the track record of the translations in the period between 1923 and 1960,⁶⁰ which are generally ignored apropos of general assessments of the theoretical level of the early Republican left, we can easily see that the the political position of the communists, who were stuck between the pincers of Comintern and Kemalism and thus had difficulty in progressing along an independent road, was, to a large extent, mirrored in these works. The weakness of the proletarian class struggle was another, perhaps a fundamental factor which affected this stagnancy. When all these circumstances are taken into consideration, it would be an exaggeration to assert that there was an apparent leftist activity of reading, and long-term translation projects amid the modernizationist efforts of the government, which included the rapid translations of Western classics executed by such state institutions like the Ministry of National Education and Tercüme Bürosu (Translation Bureau). It is interesting to learn that the government who was self-assured that it had formed a unique system apart from the West decided to embrace socialism as part of its agenda of enlightenment.⁶¹ The preface that Mahmut Esat Bozkurt wrote for Max Beer's famous book *Sosyalismin ve Sosyal Mücadelelerin Umumi Tarihi* indicates the intellectual supremacy of the Turkish government:

Whether good or not, it is really not correct at all that our homeland remains uninitiated to the movements of socialism that today puzzles state authorities and nor give place to the sabotage of parvenus who do not know or understand what they say, what they want, to allow them to fish in troubled waters.⁶²

⁶⁰ Though it does not incorporate the leftist publications, see for a general and a deep analysis of this issue at hand, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, "The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey 1923-1960" (Unpublished P.H.D. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2002).

⁶¹ (Interview with Metin Çulhaoğlu, 5 May 2006, Ankara). Çulhaoğlu claims that the motivation lying behind most of the translated works from this era is the supposed necessity to know Marxism. He argues that there are just few books, like Lenin's *Proletarya İhtilali ve Dönek Kautsky* translated by Rifat that is out of the boundaries of the dominant approach to translation at the time.

⁶² "Doğru ve ya eğri ve fakat bugün devlet otoritelerini düşündürmekte olan sosyalistlik hareketlerine karşı memleketimizin yabancı kalması ve bu yüzden ne dediklerini, ne istediklerini bilmiyen, anlamıyan bazı türedilerin sabotajlarına, bulanık suda balık avlamalarına meydan verilmesi hiç te

It is as if the translator of this book, Zühtü Uray, is so worried about the potential misreceptions that he felt the need to make an explanation:

In order to come to know the mass of workers of the world who have a great stake in the construction of our modern civilization, to know the pains that they suffer, and not to allow our Turkish workers to fall into such miserable plights and therefore not to let our social and economic structure, which is so solid today to fall into weakness on account of the causes of the workers, class struggles and differences of opinion, I am convinced that this book should be read as an example with an embracing and a wide mind of understanding.⁶³

Translation activities were quite extensive during the 1930s and decreased thereafter (especially the aridity of the 1950s in terms of translation is striking)⁶⁴ and they seem not to have acquired a mass reader base. Also, the quantitative and qualitative extents of the efforts of improving left thought by way of translations is not certain. Nevertheless, some observations can still be made: There are a series of perspectives to evaluate the record of these studies. Most often published at sporadic intervals by the particular efforts of individuals who are not directly affiliated with the Turkish Communist Party, the great portion of the literature seems to be concentrated upon Marxism and many of them were mostly shortened or summarized. The milieu was already unpropitious for a “free” reading in

doğru bir şey değildir.” Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, “Önsöz,” in Max Beer, *Sosyalizmin ve Sosyal Mücadelelerin Umumi Tarihi* (A General History of Socialism and Social Struggles), translated by Zühtü Uray (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1941) p. xv.

⁶³ “Modern medeniyetimizin inşasında pek büyük hisseleri olan dünya işçi kütlelerini tanımak, çektikleri ıstırapları bilmek ve bizden olan Türk işçilerini böyle sefil vaziyetlere düşürmemek ve dolayısıyla pek kuvvetli olan bugünkü içtimaî ve ekonomik bünyemizi amele davaları, sınıf mücadeleleri ve fikir ayrılıklarıyla zafâ düşürmemek için bu kitabın ibret gözüyle, ihatalı ve geniş bir anlayış zihniyetiyle okunması icap ettiğine kani bulunuyorum.” Zühtü Uray, *Ibid.*, “Bir İzah”, p. xix.

⁶⁴ Kurtuluş Kayalı notes that the 50s were the years when the socialist abandoned writing altogether. See his “1960’lı Akademisyenlerin Üzerindeki Bir Entelektüel Silueti: Behice Boran” in *Türk Kültür Dünyasından Portreler* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002) p. 108.

consequence of the double constraint, which increasingly gained strength from 1925 on. And this limited activity of translation added to the inadequate acquisition of socialist resources. In addition to this substantial limitation, as the initiative was taken hold of by Communist Party from the Soviets, the sources that were translated by the impact of the Soviet regime already began to shape the universe of the association of ideas and the manner in which they were read. Concretely speaking, the Soviet regime began to shrink back from the initial ideals of the revolution from the beginning of the 1920s onwards.⁶⁵ This retreat resulted in a supposedly linear perception of Marx (and also Lenin) with the Stalinist regime.⁶⁶ As is evident by Rasih Nuri İleri's statements, this was a time when even a translation by Leon Trotsky was supposed to lead the translator to be labeled as a "traitor".⁶⁷ It is in this

⁶⁵ A comparative reading of the following books would endorse such a view: *The Workers' Revolution in Russia 1917: The View From Below*, edited by Daniel H. Kaiser (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), *Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War*, edited by Diane P. Koenker et.al (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) and, *Russia in the Era of NEP*, edited by Sheila Fitzpatrick et.al (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

⁶⁶ A note about "Stalinism" may be necessary here, since I will sometimes refer to this phrase in the later parts of the thesis. When I enunciate Stalinism, I imply the form of administration founded after the initiatives of the organs of self-initiative, i.e. the Soviets, were annulled. This shift in policies definitely had collateral outgrowths in the comprehension of the world, in the understanding of politics, in the connotations of the word "socialism" and had its impact on some of the socialist movements in other parts of the world. Generally speaking, Stalinism also affected the Turkish socialist movement. Without doubt, "Turkish Stalinism" has been characterized by a combination of different factors, by a past of its own and this needs to be analyzed in its own right. That is, I am aware of the fact that the sole concept of the category of Stalinism is not sufficient to have a sense of the history of the Turkish Left. But I also think that an explanation that lacks such a concept (which has been produced through historical struggles, and analyses) will fail to present a solid narrative. In this study, I will only try to look over some of the texts penned by those authors who had congruous attitudes with the politics practiced in the USSR and in its sphere of influence.

⁶⁷ Nevertheless, two books by Trotsky were translated in this period. Mete Tunçay reports that *Rusya'da Hakiki Vaziyet* (The Real Situation in Russia), which was the pamphlet co-written by Zinoviev and Trotsky for the mutual "Joint Opposition", was translated into Ottoman Turkish and published in Berlin in the year 1929. See Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar II (1925-1936)* (Istanbul: BDS Yayınları, 1992) p. 172. On the other hand, Trotsky's biography of Joseph Stalin was partially translated into Turkish in 1948. On the cover of this book it reads as follows: "The book that appalled the Communists. The work whose manuscripts were bedraggled with Trotsky's blood." ("*Komünistleri yıldırın kitap. Müsveddeleri Troçkinin kanı ile bulaşmış olan eser*") But also at the back cover of the book, there is the publicity of Victor Kravchenko's *Hürriyeti Seçtim* (I Have Opted for Freedom), the confessions of a Russian ex-diplomat gone to United States. It is possible to argue that Trotsky's book might thus have been assimilated in an anti-communist discourse. See L. Troçki, *Troçki Stalini Anlatıyor*, translated by Nedim Güzer (Istanbul: Rafet Zaimlar Kitabevi, 1948).

context that most of the translations in hand can be said to have a constitutive, even if partial role in the establishment of the hegemonic version of Marxism in Turkey. Although, as Vedat Türkali observes, the main nutrient of the communists and progressive intellectuals of the time was literary works, notably Nazım Hikmet's poems,⁶⁸ these books may be said to have had a pedagogical or didactic function in their own terms. But instead of scorning the average intellectual for his/her orientation to literature,⁶⁹ as if it is *essentially* a flight from abstract and theoretical thinking, it may be possible to argue that the prevalence of the reading of literary works was a proof of the dissatisfaction created by those "intellectual" left books.

The existence of such "warmhearted" translation practices would be felt more often in the 1960's. At the threshold of the 60's, an eminent translator Alaattin Bilgi rendered Henri Alleg's *La Question* (Sorgu) into Turkish. He wrote a preface for this book which narrated the French pressure upon those who opposed France's occupation of Algeria, and ended off his foreword as follows:

While translating the book into Turkish, we have called into mind the ones who had died during the war we had waged against the colonizers and the Turkish Nation who have not yet forgotten the War of Liberation. We wish that this disgusting war in Algeria would come to an end as soon as possible and the brother people of Algeria would gain their independence.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Karaca, *Ibid.*, p. 141. By the way, we should take notice that Nazım himself translated such figures like Tolstoy with his friend Zeki Baştınar while they were in prison and that he was offered the project of translating Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*. See Memet Fuat, *Nazım Hikmet* (Istanbul: Adam Yayınları, 2000), pp. 334-337.

⁶⁹ For instance, Metin Çulhaoğlu maintains that "nearly the half of the Turkish leftist are poets" and considers this as a consequence of educational imperfection and the implications of the acquisition of Marxism in Turkey. However, he does not utter any word with respect to the sources laid out for these acquisitions. See his *Binyılın Eşiğinde Marksizm ve Türkiye Solu* (Istanbul: YGS Yayınları, 2002), pp. 61-62.

⁷⁰ "Kitabı Türkçeye çevirirken sömürgecilere karşı giriştiğimiz savaşta ölenleri ve Kurtuluş Savaşını henüz unutmıyan Türk Ulusunu düşündük. Dileğimiz Cezayir'deki bu iğrenç savaşın bir an önce son bulması ve kardeş Cezayir Halkının bağımsızlığa kavuşmasıdır." Alaattin Bilgi, "Önsöz" in Henri Alleg, *La Question*, with a preface and translation by Alaattin Bilgi (Ankara: Açık Oturum Yayınları, 1959) p. 4.

After the dormancy of the preceding years had past, the Turkish left would set itself onto penning much more such “sincere” lines like the ones lying in Bilgi’s preface. But it would began to proceed in its road to freedom from the contradictory inheritance we have tried to depict in this chapter. Having noted that this description is an overview in its nature waiting to be developed by future research, we can begin to move along to our principal topic, taking along with us the implications of the legacy of the past.

CHAPTER THREE

A NUMERICAL PERSPECTIVE INTO THE 1960S

Historians like Eric Hobsbawm and Giovanni Arrighi are in conflict about how to describe the twentieth century. One characterizes it as “short,” the other as “long.” Apart from the view of any side, the tempo of history is determined sometimes by a series of ruptures which challenge the “normal” flow of things. In that sense, the 1960s can be said to have stood for a hiatus within the long duration of the whole of the twentieth century. On the one hand, it was simply “short” in terms of the number of years as included in a decade. On the other hand, it was “long” in the sense that some events which occurred during these years loomed large in the overall appearance of the century.

This was also the case in Turkey. Specifically, it might be noted that this decade was bracketed between two military coups, namely those of 27 May 1960 and of 12 March 1971.⁷¹ Moreover, it was also marked within by demographic and social mobilities, which were in due course reflected in politics. In general, the effects of the international mobility in the mediation of the initial periods of the Cold War, growing from the contest between the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the non-aligned nations also was palpable in the country. In short, this moment was a transition, in terms of a change of conjuncture. As Zafer Toprak observes, “in the 1950’s, Turkey tried to get to know herself, whereas in the 1960s she was mainly interested in getting to know the world.”⁷² And this brings us to the issue of

⁷¹ Therefore, I generally use the term “60s” in a wider sense with respect to Turkey, adjoining 1970 and the first three months of 1971 to the literal decade.

⁷² Quoted in Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, “Translator as Conveyor: Critical Thought in Turkey in the 1960s,” *Works and Days*, vol. 20 (2002), p. 260.

translation, which was one of the main vehicles for “getting to know the world.” In another article, Toprak specifies the significance of the 60’s in terms of learning and translation:

Another factor is the way the 60s functioned as a particular “era of enlightenment.” There are two periods in Turkish history that have cleared the way for enlightenment. The first one is the “Kanun-ı Esasi” years following the Young Turk revolution; the other is the years of the 61 Constitution after the 27 May. The Turkish intellectual and the youth have never read as much as they did in those years. Translations were made and the world was perceived differently in those years. In both phases, the Ottoman and the Turkish people opened up to abroad, prospectively. In the first one, they read Durkheim, Seignobos, Cauwes; in the other Marx, Engels and Lenin. The search for a nation state rendered solidarist thinking in the first. In the second, the longing for a social-state brought the class question to the fore.⁷³

However, with respect to this period, most authors who have written either on the history of translation in Turkey or the 1960s have tended to ignore the deep-rooted transformation that occurred in the decade or have contented themselves with making a few superficial references.⁷⁴ On an explanatory level,

⁷³ (“Diğer bir etmen 60’lı yılların bir tür ‘aydınlanma çağı’ işlevi görmesi. Türkiye tarihinde iki dönem aydınlanmayı getiriyor. Biri Jön Türk devrimi ertesini Kanun-ı Esasi yılları, diğeri 27 Mayıs devrimi ertesini 61 Anayasası yılları. Türk aydını ve gençliği, çağlar boyu bu dönemlerde olduğu kadar hiçbir zaman okumuyor. Çeviriler yapılıyor, dünya bir başka algılanıyor bu yıllarda. Dışa açılıyor her iki evrede Osmanlı, ardından Türk insanı. İlkinde Durkheim’i, Seignobos’u, Cauwes’i okuyor; diğeriinde Marx’i, Engels’i Lenin’i. İlkinde solidarist düşüncüyü hâkim kılıyor ulus-devlet arayışı. İkincisinde sınıf sorununu ön plana çıkarıyor sosyal-devlet özlemi.”) Zafer Toprak, “1968’i Yargılamak Ya da 68 Kuşağına Mersiye”, *Cogito*, no. 14 (Spring 1998), p. 158.

⁷⁴ For instance, in his descriptive essay on the history of translation in Turkey, Nedim Gürsel contends that “due to the freedoms gained through the 61 Constitution literary translations were replaced by translations with a political substance. In the period between 1960 and 1980, the works by such men of thought and action like Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao began to attract attention from wide mass of readers, and the translation activities shifted from literary to political works.” See his “Uygurluk ve Çeviri”, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), p. 323. Though this observation has some truth in it, it is far from explaining the complex panorama. On the other hand, Arslan Kaynardağ goes far as to assert that the 1961 Constitution was “open to all sorts of thoughts”. See his “Türkiye’de Yayıncılığın Gelişmesi ve Sorunları”, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* vol. 10 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), p. 2829. If it had really been so, many books would not have been prohibited and translators would not have been brought to trials. See Bülent Habora, *Yasak Kitaplar* (Istanbul: Habora Kitabevi, 1969). On the other hand, the only exception to this reticence on the relation between translation and the 1960s is the article penned by Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar alluded to above. This piece of writing is emphatic in highlighting the vivid translation practices of the 1960s, but it only focuses on literary journals like *Yeni Ufuklar*, *Yeni Dergi* and *Cep Dergisi*. For a brief account of the leftist publications in this period, see Doğan Özgüden,

the chief mirror in which such viewpoints show themselves is the attribution of the rise of the record of translation to the “relative freedom” provided by the 1961 Constitution. But as mentioned in the introduction with reference to Derrida, “the translation is *called for* by the original text,” and this implies that we should look for active subjects who called various sources into Turkish in the 60s, if there is to be a disagreement with the conservative theoreticians of conspiracy who are generally of the opinion that translated books are some “seeds of strife” sewed by “external forces.” It seems that an acceptable explanation for this phenomenon should stick to a dialectical combination of external and internal factors. In that sense, I think the international mobility and also the social movements that increasingly sprang up in Turkey are the two main bases of the roots for the invitation of intellectual sources for the Left. Accordingly, it would be reasonable to see the constitution as only one of the internal factors that brought forth the opportune environment for radical textual exchanges.

On a substantial level, the scope of the translation practices concerning socialist literature seems not to have attracted scholars and socialists’ attention. The non-appearance of any particular study on the issue should be counted as an indication of this observation. It goes without saying that left translation practices were being realized in complex social-political situations and were naturally reflective of such complexities. The following chapters will be attempts to incorporate these intricacies to a certain extent. But now let us try to contextualize the issue more in statistical terms.

“Türkiye’de Sol Yayıncılığın Gelişimi,” in *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988), p. 2002-2003.

The world of publication witnessed a mass circulation of books in the 1960s. Taking a look at an exposition of the condition of the libraries, the number of books in the libraries and their users would be good step to start our numerical quest. Here is an analysis prepared by the State Institute of Statistics.

Table: 1 Number of Libraries, Books, Library Users and Rate of Changes⁷⁵

Year	Number of Libraries	Rate of Change (%)	Number of Books	Rate of Change (%)	Number of Users	Rate of Change (%)
1960	152	7.0	1.369.760	7.1	1.334.525	10.5
1961	165	8.6	1.539.497	12.4	1.712.270	28.3
1962	174	5.5	1.668.639	8.4	1.903.339	11.2
1963	191	9.8	1.804.661	8.2	2.091.615	9.9
1964	211	10.5	1.923.801	6.6	2.323.384	11.1
1965	226	7.1	2.025.037	5.3	2.338.823	0.7
1966	232	2.7	2.216.557	9.5	2.480.448	6.1
1967	244	5.2	2.551.292	15.1	2.641.537	6.5
1968	266	9.0	2.712.752	6.3	2.678.213	1.4
1969	307	15.4	2.882.660	6.3	3.840.620	43.4
1970	327	6.5	3.034.387	5.3	4.192.324	9.2
1971	328	0.3	3.152.270	3.9	4.457.615	6.3

As seen from Table 1, the numbers of libraries, books and their users were in a steady rise throughout the decade. Within this decade, all the items that are subject to statistical description seem to have more than doubled. However, the document from which these figures are taken presents the annual publication of books starting only from 1978, which leaves us in the midway. UNESCO's *Statistical Yearbooks* seems to be a reliable guide in this respect. According to my estimation, totally 64, 461 books were produced between 1960 and 1971.⁷⁶ As such, the average annual book production amounts to 5,371. But as the last note suggests, the number of translations

⁷⁵ Turkish Statistical Institute, *Statistical Indicators 1923-2004*, p. 76. Available at: <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>

⁷⁶ UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbooks 1960-1971* (Paris: UNESCO). Here it seems necessary to put the note in the original text: "The data are understood, unless otherwise stated, to cover all non-periodical publications (books and pamphlets), including first editions, reprints, and re-editions of originals and translations.

are also included in this sum-total. Then we should introduce the numbers of translations, again by referring to the same source.

Table 2: Total Number of Translated Books

Years	Numbers
1960	400
1961	434
1962	488
1963	599
1964	723
1965	778
1966	660
1967	715
1968	715
1969	738
1970	616
1971	801

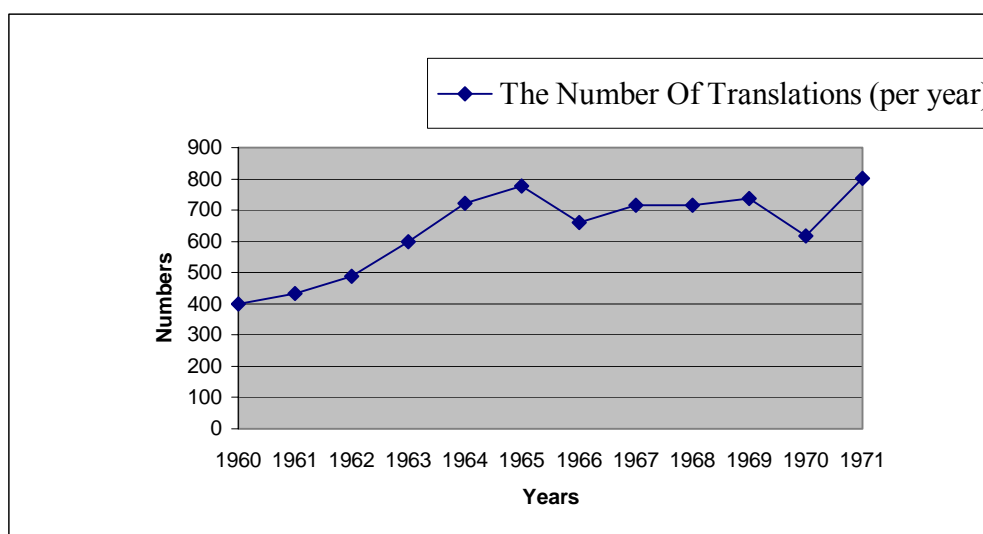


Figure 1: The Annual Distribution of Translated Books in Turkey

between 1960 and 1971⁷⁷

The total number of the translations amounted to 7,667. If we exclude this figure from the total numbers of book production, which also includes translations, we get 56,794 books and the average then would be 4,732. And

⁷⁷ This figure is organized by the help of the data comprised in the following source: UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbooks 1960-1971* (Paris: UNESCO).

accordingly, the average annual production of translations adds up to 638, 900. As seen from the table and the figure, there is a general increase in translations as the years go by, except the obvious decrease between 1965 and 1966. But after that brief slot, there is again an uptrend, which culminates in 1971 in a figure that is double of the one at the beginning of the decade. These figures should not, however, lead us to an optimistic view as to the general panorama. Özlem Berk, an historian of translation in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey thinks that it is possible to analyze the trend in the translations of books by a classification as follows: 1960-1971, 1971-1980 and 1980 and onwards. With respect to the first period, Berk states that this is “the most stable period... and especially until 1964.”⁷⁸ But in statistical terms, is this case for the publication of translated literature in the left field?

First of all, it is necessary to observe that there is not any bibliography comprising of the leftist literature of the period, leaving aside the information as included in some monographs. Metin Çulhaoğlu also complains about the non-existence of such statistics and asserts that an effort in this field may subsume significant implications for the left movement.⁷⁹ As can be expected, this absence constrains our endeavour to attain an answer to our question. But in order to exceed this difficulty, I have attempted to prepare a list of translations that were published between 1960 and 1971. For this aim, I have resorted to some public and personal libraries, bookshops, bibliopoles, internet search engines, and a number of secondary sources. The fruit of this research is exposed in the first appendix attached to the end of the thesis. In the process, I

⁷⁸ Berk, Özlem, *Translation and Westernization in Turkey from the 1840s to the 1980s* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2004), p. 181.

⁷⁹ Metin Çulhaoğlu, *Binyılın Eşiğinde Marksizm ve Türkiye Solu* (Istanbul: YGS Yayınları, 2002), p. 62.

was able to find thirty-two publishing houses that integrated more than one “dissident” works of non-fiction literature into their editorial program (those publishing houses which had only one book in their catalogue – of course, these were what I could find – have been categorized under the “miscellaneous” heading). There were many other “original” (*telif*) or some other translated books which were printed by these publishing houses; yet I have only picked those which I thought could be gathered within the scope of my research. Though I do not purport to present a thoroughgoing list, it seems that the statistics which I have strived to made may be quite representative of the whole panorama. Before the presentation of relevant numbers, it seems necessary to note that the following figures are possibly included in the total number of translations, a point that might be essential in a comparison.

Table 3: The Number of Translated Non-Fiction Left Books Between 1960-1971

<u>Years</u>	<u>The Number of Translations</u>
1960	3
1961	2
1962	8
1963	12
1964	7
1965	31
1966	56
1967	50
1968	50
1969	65
1970	36
<u>1971</u>	6
Total	326

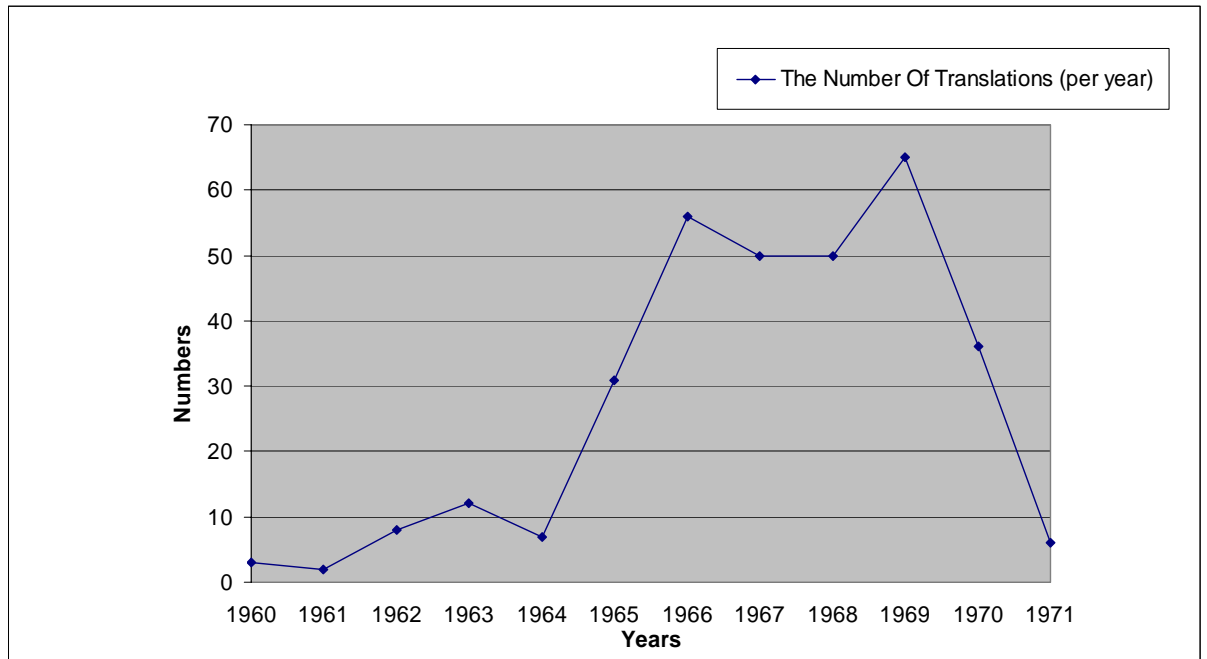


Figure 2: The Annual Distribution of Translated Non-Fiction Left Books Between 1960-1971

These are the figures of the books whose date of publication could be found. There are also twenty-one books whose dates were uncertain and which have therefore not included here (this makes the total 348). As seen in Table 3, there is not a worthwhile increase in the publication of translated books between 1960 and 1964. This is also in parallel with Berk’s observation as to the general trend in translated books. But from 1964 on, there is a great upturn until 1966. Slightly decreasing after 1966, the output of 1967 and 1968 are the same. The year 1969, which is perhaps the vertex of political radicalization, is also the peak point of the decade in terms of translated books. But after this apex, there seems to be an obvious downfall, which can be ascribed in general part to sectarianisation in socialist politics and the resultant dissolution in left public discussion. All in all, these figures may lead us to analyze the decade in two parts. If we take the years between 1960 and 1965 and 1966 and 1971, the former comprises 63 books, while the latter 263: nineteen percent and eighty-one percent prospectively. Now we may pass to a more detailed

exposition, i.e. the annual output of the publishing houses taken into account in my research.

Table 3: The Annual Distribution of Translated Books Issued by “Leftist” Publishing Houses

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	No Date	Total
Ağaoğlu	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	2	2	1	-	-	10
Anadolu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8	2	-	-	-	12
Ant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	8	7	1	-	22
Ararat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	4
Ataç	1	-	-	2	-	3	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	12
Bilim ve Sosyalizm	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	8
Çan	-	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	11
De	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	8
Dönem	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Dördüncü	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Düşün	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	4
Ekim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	4
Evren	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Gerçek	-	-	-	-	-	3	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	13
Gün	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	2	-	-	-	9
Habora	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	4	6	1	1	4	22
Hür	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
İzlem	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	7
Köprü	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Köz	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
May	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	6
Misc.	1	-	-	4	3	4	8	6	2	3	2	-	-	33
Öncü	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	4	1	1	14
Payel	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5	4	5	1	1	2	21
Pro.Dev.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Sander	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	6
Ser	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	1	4	13
Sol	-	-	-	-	-	5	12	9	6	8	7	1	2	50
Sosyal	-	-	4	1	1	3	5	3	2	2	-	-	2	23
Sos.Adalet	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Toplum	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	8
Yön	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	3	2	8	12	7	31	56	50	50	65	36	6	21	347

An interpretation of these numbers entails such information like the intermediate languages made use of in the translation processes. If we again refer to UNESCO's *Yearbooks*, we recognize the following figures: Among the 7,667 books that were translated within these twelve years, 2,626 books were translated from English (%34.2), 1,558 from French (%20.3), 707 from German (%9.2), 410 from Russian (%5.3), 141 from Italian (%1.8), 86 from Classical languages (%1.1), 79 from Spanish (%1.03), 75 from Scandinavian languages (%0.9) and 1,985 from others (%25.8).⁸⁰ Nonetheless, these figures give us clues only as to the general outlook. With respect to our specific concern, however, there is a difficulty: All the books included in the list did not contain information related with the intermediary language. This has led me to search for the "origins" of the authors in order to have insights into the matrix of the channels of influence. Even though this exposition would not compensate an analysis like the one presented above, I think it gives us satisfactory results.

Table 4: The Origins of the Authors of the Translated Books⁸¹

<u>Country</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Country (continued)</u>	<u>Number (continued)</u>
France	107	Greece	1
Germany	49	Palestine	1
Soviet-Russia	68	Belgium	2
U. S. A.	21	Austria	2
Britain	34	China	13
Poland	8	Vietnam	5
Iran	1	Hungaria	4
Cuba	6	Italy	3
Argentine	6	Canada	1
Brazilia	1	Japan	2
Venezuela	1	Georgia	1
Ghana	1	Bulgaria	2
India	2	Finland	2
Martinique	1	Total	345

⁸⁰ UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbooks 1960-1971* (Paris: UNESCO).

⁸¹ Throughout the research, I have resorted to <http://www.wikipedia.org> and <http://www.answers.com>. As I have not been able to be sure of the origins of three authors, I have left them out. If the book has two authors from different countries, I have added them separately.

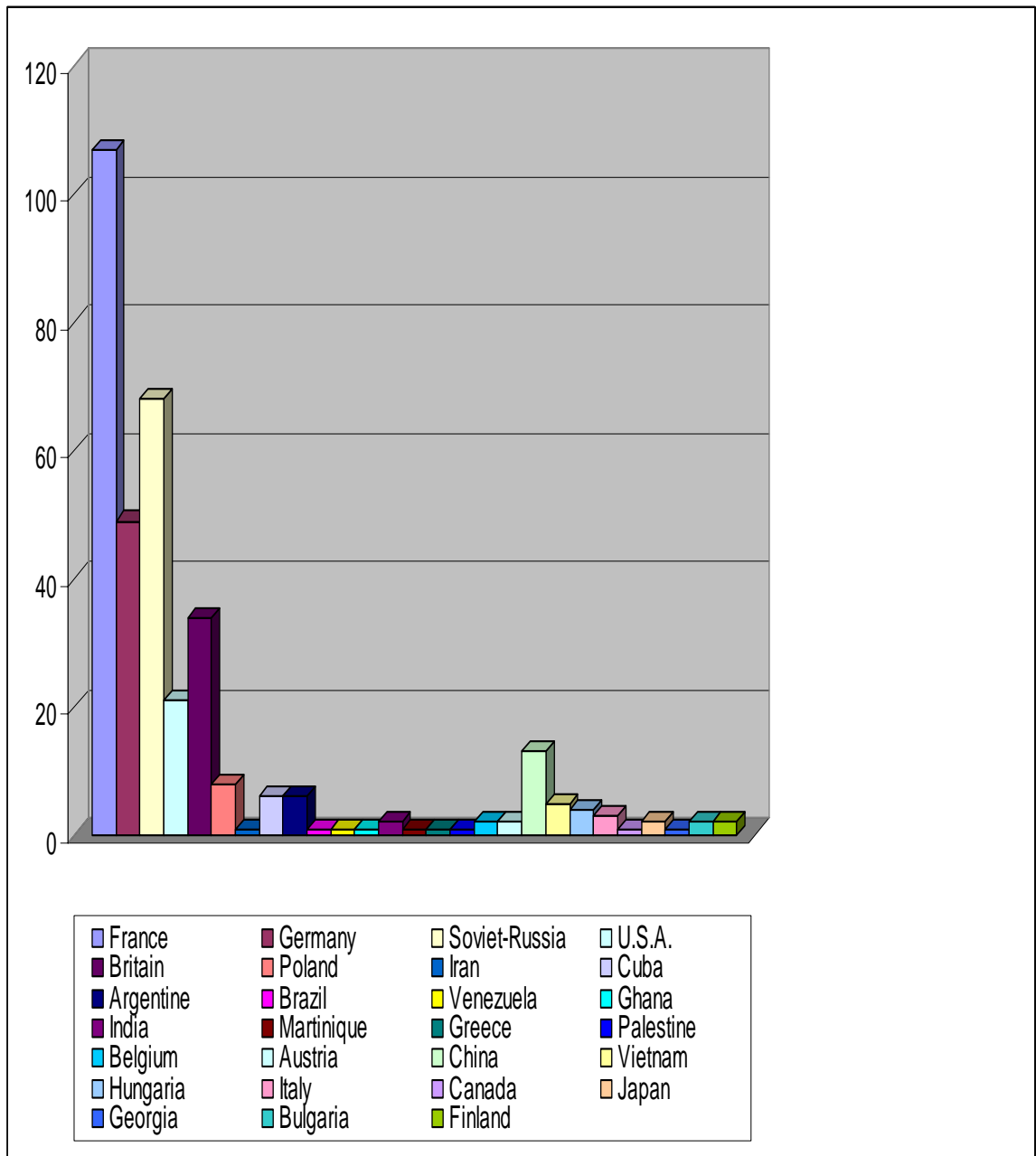


Figure 3: Distribution of the “Origins” of the Authors

If for a moment we take it for granted that the language of the “origins” of the authors stood for the original language made use in the translation process, we see that French supersedes English as the mostly used language. Whereas it was %20, 3 in the former case, here it amounts to %31. To put Britain and the U.S.A. together, their average percentage (i.e. English) is %15,9. On the other hand, Soviet-Russian is %19,7 and German is %14,2. How to interpret this shift in the channels of influence?

One fundamental reason of this change is possibly the wide use of French among Turkish intellectuals at the time. French was not only a language taught in secondary education, it was also a prestigious vehicle with which to reach intellectual sources. Additionally, there was an opportunity for young intellectuals, especially for those in the *Mülkiye* which is located in Ankara, to have an access to France thanks to subsidiary policies of the state. But more importantly and on the whole, these figures show us the significance of the effect of the French left culture within the making of leftist thought in Turkey in the 1960s.

Taken all in all, a plausible inference of all these figures and tables might be as follows: The numerical position of the translations of non-fiction left books within the general whole is not that much, though their statistical status should not undervalued as such. If we could take together all forms of leftist publication, this mentionable percentage would still increase. However, in statistical terms, the distinctive character of the 1960s for leftist translation activities is their quantitative “explosion,” if we take into consideration the past record of the left movement in producing such works, which have been surveyed in the second chapter. As these assessments would be too mechanical in themselves, we may begin to have some qualitative evaluations.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTOURS OF DISSIDENT TRANSLATION PRACTICES

Within the field of leftist publishing activity, many books were translated into Turkish in the 1960s, though, if we leave aside a few superficial observations, there seems to have been no piece of writing exclusively devoted to this issue. The poverty of the literature stands as a stumbling block against constructing a relevant narrative. Therefore, the aim of this (and also the following) chapter is to attempt to frame such a discourse. The necessity to mould a consistent whole naturally leads one to be selective in terms of the books that are going to be alluded to here. However, it seems to me that an organization of the essay according to a number of specific topics may be a good step for transgressing these difficulties.

With this aim in mind, I will present here my narrative under the heading of some problematics. Hence, this chapter will dwell on those issues which exercised a direct influence upon the Turkish Left's agenda at the time, on such books which had the capacity to create a concrete political representation or those sources which were called for with a view to forge a political representation, either intellectually or organizationally. For drawing such a picture, which I think might serve to give us a glimpse of the translatorial panorama of the 1960s, I will appeal frequently to some paratexts, like the prefaces of some translators and memoirs of some of them, reviews of translated books, the back covers of translated works, news from some political journals and additionally, I will refer to the interviews which I have made with some of the figures who lived in this turbulent decade.

The Beginnings

“We could not believe our eyes,” said Yalçın Yusufoglu, “when we saw that Engels’ book had been published.” It seems that the socialists, at least Yusufoglu, who would later be a member of the Turkish Labour Party, had not fostered much hope for the black clouds to break up immediately after the promulgation of the 1961 Constitution. “I remember embracing one of my friends blissfully after seeing the publication of this book.”⁸² It was the translation of Friedrich Engels’ *L. Feuerbach ve Klâsik Felsefenin Sonu* (Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical Philosophy) which had been brought out by Sosyal Press in 1962 about which he was talking.⁸³ However, there had been some other left books issued before in the first two years of the 1960s by different publishing houses. The first book issued by Enver Aytekin’s publishing house was John Strachey’s pamphlet *Sosyalizm Nedir?* (What is Socialism?).⁸⁴ The title of this and Plehanov’s book, published prospectively in 1962 and 1964 constituted a relevant binary in being symptomatic of the agenda of the left and the framework of most of the intellectual products in the initial years of the decade: Actually, what was socialism and what were the general problems of Marxism?

This was a time of intellectual crawling for the left, which could at last find a space for a little breathing. Nevertheless, the lines penned by Nizamettin Burhan, the translator of Engels’ book, reveals the timidity of the early efforts. “I have trusted upon the common sense of the readers and the intellectuals while translating this

⁸² (Interview with Yalçın Yusufoglu, 15 March 2006, Istanbul).

⁸³ The resemblance of the name of Sosyal Press to the one in France, *Editions Sociales* seems striking. We already noted in the previous chapter the marked impact of French leftist culture in the world of Turkish translations of books with a dissident orientation.

⁸⁴ Öner Ciravoglu, “Enver Aytekin Anısına,” in *Dostlarıyla Enver Aytekin*, edited by İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu (Istanbul: Sosyal Yayınlar, 2002), p. 56.

work,” said Burhan in the beginning of his foreword and continued as if trying to set forth a plausible justification of what he had done:

I know that daring to translate such a work is an audacity and in some respects, it is even inconsiderateness. But first and foremost, it is, after 67 years have passed since his death, a great insolence to science to ignore, not to know, not to introduce a thinker like Engels whose works have been translated over and over into all the languages of the world and were sold for millions.⁸⁵

This timidity found its reverberation also in the quantitative level of the translation work between 1960 and 1964. As referred to in the previous chapter, while totally thirty-two books were produced in these years, there thirty-one books were turned out in 1965. But still, when one looks at what was translated then, it can be perceived that the world of publication embarked on a trajectory where there were some sparks of intellectual debates. Then let us start our investigation first by taking a look at one of the most significant discussions especially of the first half of the decade.

Existentialism and Humanism

An author of an elaborate exploration of the reception of Sartre’s thoughts in Turkey observes that existentialism was efficacious in Turkey from the 1950s to the 1980s, “although it was not until the 1960s that the works of Sartre himself became popular and influential.”⁸⁶ It is true that it was mainly the works of Sartre that constituted specific viewpoints: *Varoluşçuluk* (Existentialism), *Çağımızın Gerçekleri*

⁸⁵ (“Böyle bir eseri çevirmeye kalkışmanın bir gözüpeklik hattâ bir bakıma, densizlik olduğunu biliyorum. Ama eserleri bütün dünya dillerine tekrar tekrar çevrilmiş, milyonlarca satılmış Engels gibi bir düşünürü, ölümünden 67 yıl sonar bilmezlikten gelmek, tanımamak, tanıtılmamak her şeyden önce bilime karşı büyük bir saygısızlıktır.”) Nizamettin Burhan, “Çevirenden Okurlara,” in Friedrich Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach ve Klasik Alman Felsefesinin Sonu*, translated by Nizamettin Burhan (Istanbul: Sosyal Yayınları, 1962) p. 3.

⁸⁶ Ayşenaz Koş, “An Analytical Study on the Migration of Sartrean Existentialism into Turkey through Translation,” (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004), p. 27 and p. 30.

(The Truths of Our Age), and *Materyalizm ve Devrim* (Materialism and Revolution).⁸⁷

But for instance, we do not see any approach to other chief proponents of existentialism, like Emanuelle Mounier, Juan Axelos, Maurice Merleau-Ponty.⁸⁸ Yet there were also some descriptive works, like L. Shinn's *Egsiztansiyalizmin Durumu* (The Condition of Existentialism), Jean Wahl's *Existentialisme'in Tarihi* (The History of Existentialism), W. Kaufmann's *Dostoyevski'den Sartre'a Varoluşçuluk* (Existentialism from Dostoyevsky to Sartre) and Iris Murdoch's treatise on Sartre, to which we will refer in the next chapter.

On the other hand, the existent literature indicates that this debate was interwoven with Marxism, which was as yet intellectually in the cradle. A book co-formed by such celebrated writers as J. Hypolite, Garaudy, Sartre and others on the relation between Marxism and existentialism was issued by İzlem Press in 1961. In addition to his article in this collection, Garaudy's critique of Sartre was brought out by Sosyal in 1962 with a translation by Selahattin Hilâv.⁸⁹ And five years later, De Press would feature A. Schaff and P.G. Gaidenko's *Marksizm, Varoluşçuluk ve Birey* (Marxism, Existentialism and the Individual). In a review for *Ant*, Fethi Naci wrote

⁸⁷ Dönem Press later republished *Varoluşçuluk*. In an advertisement, the publishing house states that the "beautiful Turkish" of Asım Bezirci had a role in the great attention that the book received from the readers.

⁸⁸ William S. Lewis, *Louis Althusser and the Traditions of French Marxism* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), p. 9. Lewis describes these figures as existentialist Marxists and argues that "though popular both domestically and embraced by foreign intellectuals at the time of its appearance, the general consensus now is that French Existential Marxism was a philosophy rife with internal contradictions. Principal among these was the impossibility of consistently maintaining an ontology specifying radical cognitive and ethical autonomy while simultaneously arguing for historically determination by socioeconomic factors." However, in my humble opinion, these intellectuals were pointing to a *tension*, which is worthwhile in its implications for the development of radical theory even today, which rebuts the argument that they have little lasting value.

⁸⁹ Ahmet Oktay regards the translation of this work as one of the antidotes against the "uninternalized" receptions of existentialism in Turkey. See his "Türkiye'de Düşünce Yeniden Doğuyordu," *Bilim ve Gelecek*, vol. 28 (June 2006), pp. 78-79. Affixation of a short list of terms at the end of this translation indicates the endeavor of the translator to enable a decipherable reception for readers and to form an appropriate philosophical language.

that he found this book interesting to the utmost and supposed that it would set those who followed Marxism to more thinking.⁹⁰

According to Erden Akbulut, one of my interviewees, who is among the founders of the TÜSTAV (the Turkish Foundation for Social and Historical Research), in the case of existentialism, translation engendered a “false” necessity and manipulated an unessential endeavour.⁹¹ However, Selahattin Hilâv detects a parallelism between the context in which, for instance, Sartre’s thought were formed and the circumstances in Turkey between 1950 and 1960 when intellectuals lived under the dominance of “a gloomy and a dependent power.”⁹² But more importantly, Hilâv dwells on the effect of existentialism upon Marxism in an article he wrote in 1975. According to him, the conceptual improvements and refinements realized by Sartrean existentialism did not have a great influence on a Marxist understanding in Turkey. In his opinion, if existentialism had been really assimilated, there would not have been such a vulgar and a dogmatic kind of Marxism in the later years. “If Marxism and the tradition in which it was situated had been digested as required, Sartre’s philosophy would have been understood more deeply.”⁹³ Ultimately, he saw the basic cause for this asymmetry in the historical, social and political conditions of the country, but without forgetting the responsibilities of the intellectuals and the authors. As there is a specific role of translation in the formation of such vulgarization (i.e. mechanization which naturally leads to the erasure of the humanism inherent in much French existentialism), I will necessarily turn to this issue in the following sections.

⁹⁰ Fethi Naci, “Kitap Tanıtımı”, *Ant*, no. 8 (21 February 1967), pp. 14-15.

⁹¹ (Interview with Erden Akbulut, 10 March 2006, Istanbul).

⁹² Selahattin Hilâv, “Sartre’in Düşünce Dönemleri ve Sartre Felsefesinin Ana Çizgileri,” in *Felsefe Yazıları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003) p. 227.

⁹³ Hilâv, p. 228.

Nonetheless, within the framework of translation (which is our purpose here) evaluating the discussions over existentialism in relation to Marxism(s), which increasingly gained strength among Turkish intellectuals, would be a more proper approach. Certainly, there was a merit within the existentialism debate per se. However, it was the implications that emanated from the insights of the existentialists that is more significant in this context: Elaboration of the individual, the particular, without reducing them to the characteristics of the total, the universal and also without forgetting totalisation. Apparently, these insights would entail meticulous studies bringing together the concrete and the abstract. At this juncture, it is possible to argue that existentialism, apart from its internal problematics, was palpably, and to a certain extent, effective in the *zeitgeist* of the era or in the setting of more refined discussions, to which we are beginning to refer below.⁹⁴

Nativity and Translation

In the introduction, I argued that leftist thought has usually been seen as an unfamiliar entity and never allowed any subjectivity with which it wished to identify itself. The roots of the thoughts that were supposed to take hold in “this” country were “actually” in other realms. “Not being a native”, “disconnection from the country” and “not setting foot in the land of this country” are among the critiques that the Turkish right directs at the Left heart and soul. These suggestions have the implication that the Left is not authentic, that it is based on transfer, bookishness,

⁹⁴ Aliş Sağıroğlu claims that Sartre thought that it was possible to unify the particular and Marxism’s emphasis on totality and thereby to enrich theory. And he adds that intellectuals like Selâhattin Hilâv were face to face with such an equation. According to him, they thus wanted to interpret Turkey, which had a “distinctive” history and “independent” conditions, and suggest new ways out. See his “Selâhattin Hilâv ve Sartre Üzerine,” in *Selâhattin Hilâv’a Saygı*, edited by Doğan Özlem and Güçlü Ateşoğlu (Istanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2006), p. 198.

mimicry and snobbery.⁹⁵ And this orientation usually revolves around the metaphor of “home”: It calls to the fugitive leftists to return home.⁹⁶ These are the points of departure for the commencement of the following sections.

Transfer, bookishness, mimicry... These words, which are usually expressed in an accusative rhetoric immediately evoke the issue of translation. Such a mentality perpetuates the nostalgia of an “unspoilt,” so to say, a “virgin” experience in the past. The belief in the uniqueness of one’s own being mirrors the distantiation between the “self” and the “foreign,” i.e. the “other”. It can be recognized easily that this persuasion might promptly well up to a rejection of translation, which is in a way an endeavor to explore the alterity in us by way of trying to learn from others. It is the uncanniness of our own selves that translation brings to light.

However, I also referred in the introduction to the ambiguous character of translation, which can be wrapped up in different guises depending on the concrete agents dealing with the act and the context in which this deed is realized. The views that I espoused above are, in a sense, intertwined in my own eyes and are just composed of a claim to truth, nothing else. But it must be admitted that there is an additional phenomenon that leads the Left to play into the hands of the Right: acts of translation which are realized primarily only by verging towards a *single* source. Such projects turn their backs on the particularity of the language to which translation is made and constitute a mechanical interaction, devoid of the prospect of the abolition of the subordinate relation between the positions giving birth to translation.

Yet the misapprehension in the identification of translation with mimicry is the absolutisation of such possible cases, without taking into consideration the

⁹⁵ Tanıl Bora, “Sol ve Yerlilik Meselesi,” *Birikim*, nos. 111-112 (July-August 1998), p. 47.

⁹⁶ Tuncay Birkan, “Sol: Evin Reddi,” *Birikim*, nos. 111-112 (July-August 1998), pp. 32-40.

historical conditions giving birth to them. In other words, neither the political left nor translation in general have such a peculiarity in their “essences”. As far as I am concerned, the discussions which I am going to present in the following sections are other exemplifications of the experiences of the 1960s in which people attempted to reflect on the specialties of *this* country by way of learning from *others*, at least partially through translation.

Interlude I: Religion, Islam and Socialism

Marx’s saying that “religion is the opium of the people” is much known. However, it usually is forgotten that he enunciated that opinion in a sentence where he also said that religion is also “the heart of an heartless world.” In this sense, religion occupies an ambivalent position. Similarly, in 1960s Turkey, religion, in this case, Islam, was in a parallel situation. On the one hand, when the socialists launched their legal entry into the political spectrum they encountered an anti-communist propaganda through such institutions as the *Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri* (Associations for Struggle with Communism) and the *İlim Yayma Cemiyeti* (Society for the Spread of Science).⁹⁷ But on the other hand, this was also a period when the process of decolonization gained speed in the Third World and the Turkish socialists were face to face with people whose commonsense was in some respect formed by religious practices.

It is in this context that the efforts to come to terms with Islam and religion took place. And especially translation was an operative mechanism for dealing with this matter. In this search for nativity, some discussions were able to be made thanks to its mediation. For example, the translation of Roger Garaudy’s *Sosyalizm ve*

⁹⁷ Gökhan Atılğan, *Kemalizm ile Marksizm Arasında Geleneksel Aydınlar: Yön-Devrim Hareketi* (Istanbul: TÜSTAV Yayınları, 2002), pp. 153-154.

İslâmiyet (Socialism and Islam) constituted a landmark with respect to this debate. The story of its Turkish reception is also significant for its highlighting the importance of the agent and the context of the act of translation. This book, which sprang up from an assumption on a positive relation between Marxism and Islam, first was published by Genç Sanat Press in 1960. The publishers wrote a six-page preface in which they largely summarized the main point of the work and at the end of their foreword their aim was specified: Genç Sanat wanted to provide our cultural and intellectual life with a “contribution of Garaudy,” not as an absolute truth but through his method.⁹⁸ To the end of the book were attached some documents which were written after Garaudy had converted to Islam.

But interestingly, this book only obtained prominence when it was re-issued by Yön Press, with another translation co-authored by Doğan Avcıoğlu and E. Tüfekçi.⁹⁹ This case clearly shows us the differential authorities that texts acquire when they are moulded by different subjects. Additional authority was added to this text by the prefaces penned by the translators who could then orient the intellectual debates in the left agenda. It was Avcıoğlu’s turn to have the first say:

We have forgot ourselves, we have seceded from our culture to such an extent that an İbn Haldun, who is the Montesquieu of the East, is a thousand times much more foreign to us than those of the West. We know the socialist utopia of Thomas More, but we do not even know the socialism of Sheikh Bedrettin from Simavna.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ “Yayınevinin Önsözü,” in Roger Garaudy, *Sosyalizm ve İslam*, translated by N. Şahsuvar (Ankara: Genç Sanat, 1960), p. 12.

⁹⁹ E. Tüfekçi is the pen name of Mihri Belli, who was one of the main leaders of the socialist movement and the most well known defender of the incipient thesis of national-democratic revolution.

¹⁰⁰ “O kadar kendimizi unuttuk, kendi kültürümüzden o kadar koptuk ki, Doğu’nun Montesquieu’sü olan bir İbn Haldun, Batınkilerden binlerce kat bize yabancı. Thomas Moore’un sosyalist ütopyasını biliriz de, Simavnalı Şeyh Bedrettin’in sosyalizmini bilmeyiz.” Roger Garaudy, *Sosyalizm ve İslamiyet*, translated by Doğan Avcıoğlu and E. Tüfekçi (İstanbul: Yön Yayınları, 1965), p. 5.

Wishing to stay away from both “Westernism” and “conservatism,” Avcıoğlu is of the opinion that Turkish socialists have to wage both an economic and a cultural war for independence and show in practice that socialist values are not foreign values, bearing in mind that our values form a mediation for the attainment of a real universality.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, E. Tüfekçi, that is Mihri Belli, underscores the dependent positions of the nations of the Third World and sees the current task as to unearth the values created by those people whose historical progress was stopped by imperialism and to gain a truly universal basis for socialism, by imposing socialist theory and practice to these values.¹⁰²

We have to recognize to the utmost profundity and clarity that the humanist Turkish intellectual, who is the inheritor of every positive thing in Turkish history and culture ranging from Yunus to Bedrettin and Mustafa Kemal and who regards himself as charged with creating something, cannot have something in common with the unfruitful Ottoman efendi of the yesterday, the admirer of the West, despising not only his nation, but also all the Orient.¹⁰³

It is obvious that the translation of this book is an invitation to the Turkish intellectual to revise their conventional elitist relations to Islam. However, there would be some challenges against “the positive relation that *Yön* wished to establish between socialism and ‘national culture,’ which was formed by the mediation of the negative relation between imperialism and ‘national culture.’”¹⁰⁴ For instance, Niyazi Berkes claimed that Garaudy’s views depended on false information and that Islam could not compromise with socialism, adding that Turkey should look upon

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 7

¹⁰³ “*Yunus’tan Bedrettin’den Mustafa Kemal’e kadar, Türk tarih ve kültüründe olumlu ne varsa onun mirasçısı, kendini birşeyler yaratmakla görevli sayan Türk aydınının kendi ulusuyla birlikte tüm Doğu’yu hor gören, Batı hayranı dünün kısır Osmanlı efendisiyle ortak hiçbir yanı olamayacağı bilincine bütün derinlik ve açıklığıyla varmak zorundayız.*” Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Atılgan, p. 149.

its own “national existence,” which was in the process of change and formation.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, Melih Cevdet Anday was also of the opinion that Turkey could not arrive at socialism or modernity from the path of the Arab-Islam civilization.¹⁰⁶ In addition to this debate, a mutual discussion around the themes of national culture and revolutionary culture was organized in *Yön* by the participation of well known intellectuals.¹⁰⁷

As a matter of fact, the motivation lying behind the translation of this book is to pave the theoretical way to integrate those social sectors into the national democratic struggle against imperialism. As for our purposes, it might be said that this project rested upon a *practical* urge. However, it was also an intellectual example in which translation inspired an occasion for a joint discussion over the intrinsic qualities of Turkish society. This was not an effort to expand a particular literature just for the sake of expansion or an endeavour to gain a licence for the subcontracting of an “outside” leader. Therefore, it seems paradoxical in this case that translation, which can often be expressed in pejorative metaphors like “foreignness” or “mimicry,” extended a hand to comprehend the specific characteristic of the Turkish social formation and interestingly, it was a figure from the West that triggered the conviction that oriental nations would follow a different path from the western ones.

Apart from Garaudy’s book, this period witnessed the publication of few translations on the issue of religion. M. Cachin’s *Sosyalizmin Işığında Bilim ve Din* (Science and Religion in the Light of Socialism) was issued by Süleyman Ege’s

¹⁰⁵ Niyazi Berkes, “Sosyalizm ve İslamiyet Üzerine...,” *Yön*, no. 140 (3 December 1965)

¹⁰⁶ Melih Cevdet Anday, “Değişik Üzüntüler; Sosyalizm ve İslamiyet’in Düşündürdükleri,” *Yön*, no. 142 (17 December 1965).

¹⁰⁷ Atılğan refers to the names of Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Niyazi Berkes, Mehmet Seyda, Melih Cevdet Anday, Ferit Edgü, Mehmet Fuat, Demir Özlü, Orhan Duru, Turgut Uyar, İlhan Berk, Abidin Dino and, Pertev Naili Boratav. See Atılğan, p. 150.

newly found Bilim ve Sosyalizm Press in 1965. Shortly after, Marx and Engels' writings on religion was featured by the Gerçek Press with a translation by Murat Belge. This was one of the first collections typically prepared by gathering the writings of a thinker on a specific issue. And Gerçek persistently dwelled upon such projects, perhaps in order to popularize the views of outstanding figures like Marx, Engels and Lenin. The last two books which can be evaluated within this section are Maxime Rodinson's *Hız Muhammed* (Muhammad) and *İslamiyet ve Kapitalizm* (Islam and Capitalism), brought out by Gün Press in 1968 and 1969.¹⁰⁸ This was a time when opportunities for a public discussion in the left were dwindling bit by bit due to the rising radicalization of politics. Nevertheless, such books still could find eligible recipients. As Ertuğrul Kürkçü observes, books dealing with Islam, religion and socialism appealed to most of the youth, who participated in the socialist movement after migrating to cities from the rural areas of the country where they were under the salient impact of religious practices.¹⁰⁹

Interlude II: The Past, The Present and the Asiatic Mode of Production

Another projection of the climate of inquiry, or in other words, the orientation to the particular was the debate on the issues of the Asiatic mode of production and feudalism, concepts which converge on the general heading of social formation in the Marxist terminology. Here I will not endeavour to investigate the uses of the term in Marx's and others' writings, finishing off by putting forward my own synthetic point

¹⁰⁸ For a short of biography of Rodinson and a relatively recent interview made with him on the matter of Islamic fundamentalism, see Gilbert Achcar, "Maxime Rodinson ile Yayınlanmamış Söyleşi: İslami Köktencilik Üzerine," *Yeni Yol* (Summer 2006), pp. 118-122.

¹⁰⁹ (Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 23 May 2006, Istanbul).

of view.¹¹⁰ Instead, I just want to contextualize the emergence of the discussion in Turkey by relating it to other historical developments and exhibit the role of translation in this web of theoretical linkages. It will be of interest to the whole thesis to elaborate a little on this matter.

First of all, we should note that the roots of this theoretical discussion go back to an earlier period, namely the 1920s and it was especially in the “Asian” countries that this issue was disputed feverishly: Soviet Russia, China and Japan. Joshua A. Fogel, who wrote a comprehensive article on the history of the evolution of this discussion in these countries, calls our attention to a peculiarity of the issue of the Asiatic mode of production, which is also significant for its political implications in its entry into the Turkish intellectual scene:

When something as strange as the Asiatic mode of production becomes the object of debate in modern China, a society in which the press is so closely controlled, we are well advised to look for another message. The Asiatic mode can be an important vehicle for Aesopian criticism. Through a discussion of the Asiatic mode of production, for example, one can advance a thinly veiled criticism of the tremendous despotic power of the state or its ruler (for example, Mao Tse-tung). Or it might be used implicitly to buttress the notion of China having a distinctive path to socialism. Or, a Chinese historian may be testing how far he or she can stretch the boundaries of accepted Marxist theory.... It is precisely because of the Asiatic mode’s unresolved nature within historical materialism that it can be raised and lowered for debate, used as a metaphor for something more important and beyond the ken of direct, public discussion.... It seems to appear on the Marxist scholarly agenda during periods when a Marxist orthodoxy is just taking form, is breaking down, or does not exist at all.¹¹¹

In the following sections, we will discuss the making of the “Marxist orthodoxy.” But here let us suffice with only stating that, with referral to Fogel, that

¹¹⁰ For an introduction, see Yücel Karadaş, “Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı Tartışmaları ve Marx,” in *Selâhattin Hilâv’a Saygı*, edited by Doğan Özlem and Güçlü Ateşoğlu (Istanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2006), pp. 115-132. But it must be noted that this essay is somewhat inadequate in its exposition of the political implications of the debate.

¹¹¹ Joshua A. Fogel, “The Debates over the Asiatic Mode of Production in Soviet Russia, China and Japan,” *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 1 (February 1988), pp. 78-79.

it was when the Turkish Left's intellectual vocabulary was on the threshold of the increasing influence of the "Marxist" – the nature of this characterization will be discussed later – orthodoxy that the Asiatic mode of production became an "important vehicle for Aesopian criticism." Yet initially, let us look at the historical occasions that paved the way for such a criticism to emerge in Turkey.

It should come as no surprise that this matter came to the fore in Turkey within this period under study, that is in the 1960s. As has been continuously stated, these years were a stage for an intellectual revival with all its minuses and pluses. But specifically, the conjuncture of the "international communist movement" was, more than anything else, influential in the emanation of the agenda in question. It is known that the twentieth congress of the CPSU held in 1956 had sparked off the process of de-Stalinization, with the speech made by Khrushchev disclosing the "scandals" of Josef Stalin (that is why some scholars describe this process as the "Khrushchev thaw"). At the "same" time, the occupation of Hungary by the USSR unburdened potential oppositions. Despite the fact that Khrushchev's revelation was limited in that it had not taken into consideration the phenomenon which enabled the same form of government to continue in a different guise, that is bureaucracy, it was nevertheless significant in debunking the illusions of many critically oriented intellectuals working in Communist parties, especially in the West. For instance, the British Communist Party was a conspicuous case which evidenced the resignation of some figures of importance, among whom was the distinguished historian Edward Palmer Thompson.¹¹² The same circumstances can be said to be valid also for the French Communist Party to a certain extent. Therefore, this period was deemed by many an

¹¹² See Bryan Palmer, *E. P. Thompson: Objections and Oppositions* (London: Verso, 1994), pp. 72-76. The impact of the Hungarian invasion on the Communist Party of Great Britain was such that 7,000 members left the party in 1956.

opportunity for a “return to Marx.” The repercussions of this turn would be felt in Turkey as well.¹¹³

Having outlined the international political context, it might now be maintained that the discussion over the Asiatic mode of production was the thriving of the earliest *theoretical* anti-Stalinism in Turkey, an attempt at disrupting the continuation of a conventional view of historical development and social formations, i.e. Stalin’s thesis of the essentially linear progress of five modes of production (primitive classless society, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and communism). Within the Marxist paradigm, a more consistent critique would be challenged fundamentally by Trotskyists,¹¹⁴ to which we will refer in the next chapter; however, this case is a clear-cut example of the problematization of an issue which was generally taken for granted by traditional Marxists. To appeal to one of the terms of the Russian formalists, this attempt symbolized a defamiliarizing effect.¹¹⁵ Then let us review the works translated into Turkish within this endeavour to try to understand the past in order to set the course for the present struggles, which encapsulated not only the view of the past and the determination of revolutionary strategies, but also the attitudes to be assumed in the field of art.¹¹⁶

Though quantitatively few in total when compared to their qualitative effect, the books concerning the issue of the Asiatic mode of production were published

¹¹³ Selahattin Hilâv, one of the most authoritative voices in this discussion also refers to this phrase. See his “Asya Tipi Üretim Nedir?,” in *Felsefe Yazıları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), p. 151 (originally published in *Yön*, no. 150-151 (11/18 February 1966).

¹¹⁴ For a substantive account of the view of this issue from a Trotskyist perspective, see Michael Löwy, *The Politics of Uneven and Combined Development: The Theory of Permanent Revolution* (London: New Left Books, 1981).

¹¹⁵ Here I have in mind the Turkish phrase “ezber bozmak”. I thank Tuncay Birkan for his suggestion that I have resorted above.

¹¹⁶ “Marksistler Osmanlı Düzenini Tartışıyor”, *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi (1961-1980)*, edited by Bedirhan Toprak et.al, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002) p. 122.

between 1966 and 1967, the period that witnessed the general upswing in the translated left books published per year. The first book to be published in this regard was Maurice Godelier's short book *Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı* (Asiatic Mode of Production), which was printed by Sosyal Press with the expectation that it "would make a great impact in a brief time."¹¹⁷ The other one was a collection of Marx's writings on the Ottoman Empire, issued under the title *Türkiye Üzerine (Şark Meselesi)* (On Turkey- The Eastern Question) by Gerçek Press.¹¹⁸ It is clear from the translator's, i.e. S. Hilâv's, preface that Godelier's work was known to the translator as there are parallel arguments between them. In the same year, another work was published, but this time its intellectual direction was different than the former ones. Yön Press featured d'Encausse, H el ene Carr ere and Stuart Schram's *Asya'da Marksizm ve Milliyet ilik* (Marxism and Nationalism in Asia). Another singularity of this book was its espousal of the thesis that contrary to the West, military and civil intellectuals, along with bureaucrats (who were defined as the "intermediate strata") could play a progressive role. G okhan Atılgan observes that the underlying reason for Y on Press to bring this book out was their wish to give an indirect answer to Sencer Divit iođlu's characterization of these strata as the "kapıkulu".¹¹⁹ As Dođan Avciođlu's preface to this book attests,¹²⁰ the resort to two non-Marxist scholars with respect to taking a position as to the issue of the Asiatic mode of production straightly shows us again the intellectual struggle moving around translations.

¹¹⁷ This quotation is made from the back cover of the book.

¹¹⁸ Atilla Tokatlı, "Kitap Tanıtımı", *Ant*, no. 3 (17 January 1967), p. 14.

¹¹⁹ Atılgan, p. 307-308.

¹²⁰ " ns z" in d'Encausse, H el ene Carr ere and Stuart Schram, *Asya'da Marksizm ve Milliyet ilik*, translated by Sevil Avciođlu and Adil A  ciođlu (Istanbul: Y on Yayınları, 1966), p. 6.

Shortly after, that is, in 1967, Sol Press published Marx's *Kapitalizm Öncesi Ekonomi Şekilleri* (Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations), generally known as *Formen*, the work of Marx that was first issued in Moscow in 1939. The article by Mihri Belli, the Turkish translator of *Formen*, that was issued in 1969's *Aydınlık* may be regarded as his "post-preface." As Belli was the most prominent theoretician of the thesis of national democratic revolution, a topic directly related to the current issue at hand, looking at his writing may provide us with clues as to the motivation of Belli's and Sol Press's involvement in this "translation struggle." According to Belli, the significance of the concept of the Asiatic mode of production was restricted in terms of the acquisition of Marxism; however, the underlying reason for the concern over this notion was the evolution of the Eastern people from a backward mode of production towards socialism, taking hold of the "historical initiative."¹²¹ Belli asserted that the non-publication of the *Formen* in Marx' own lifetime is demonstrative of the salience of the concept. Nevertheless, Belli, who regarded himself as "a person of an Oriental society," said that he had translated *Formen* due to the fact that the issue of the Asiatic mode of production had a special significance to Turks. But he warned that daring to explain Oriental societies outside of the methodology of Marxism added up to a denial of its universal character.¹²² In later pages, Belli criticized those who argued that the five-stage historical development fitted only with Western Europe and called them "Marxist ideologs." For Belli, K. A. Wittfogel was one of those authors. But there were also some "well-intentioned" writers, like Godelier and Yves Lacoste. However, Belli observes that he was filled with astonishment to see that it was the European, not some Asian authors, that gave

¹²¹ Mihri Belli, "Asya Üretim Tarzı Üzerine Birkaç Söz," *Aydınlık*, no. 4 (February 1969), pp. 279-280.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

such an importance to this notion in those years.¹²³ However, as Belli observed, there had also been some debates in China. In this context, the striking fact is that Belli critiqued the Chinese Trotskyists for not arguing for an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist war but an anti-capitalist one and maintained that it had been proven that this concept was “objectively wrong and politically harmful.” The last point made by the author is representative of the nature of the overall discussion, in other words, the interpenetration of an academic issue with a political concern. After thirty years Belli published his memoirs, but there he still seemed so self-assured that he could state that there was not any voice from the “Asiatics” following his article.¹²⁴ Yet in 1970, Ant Press brought out a collection of articles about the Asiatic mode of production that investigated the issue from various angles, written mostly by some French authors, but also including a Georgian and a Hungarian author.¹²⁵ At the end of his writing, Belli pointed that, “it was necessary to examine history”¹²⁶ and all these articles examined history.

Selahattin Hilâv, the initiator of the debate over the Asiatic mode of production, penned a preface to this volume. In this article dealing with the relation between the concept and the Turkish socialist movement, Hilâv argued that there seemed to be three reasons for the ignorance about this notion. The first obstacle was the intellectual repression implemented by the state between 1920-1960. Second, the

¹²³ Ibid., p. 283.

¹²⁴ Mihri Belli, *İnsanlar Tanıdım II* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık, 1999), p. 176-182.

¹²⁵ Here are the authors and the titles of the articles: Jean Chesneaux, “Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzının Açtığı Yeni Tartışma Alanları,” E. Varga, “Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı,” George Lichteim, “Marx ve ‘Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı,’” Maurice Godelier, “Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı ve Marksist Şemalara Göre Topluların Evrimi’ne Önsöz,” Jean Suret Canale, “Tropikal Afrika’daki Geleneksel Toplular ve Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı Kavramı,” Charles Parain, “Akdeniz Bölgesinde Ön-tarih Devirleri ve Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı,” Héléne Antoniadis-Bibicou, “Bizans ve Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı,” G. A. Melekechvili, “Eski Doğu Toplularında Kölelik, Feodalizm ve Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı,” Charles Parain, “Bir ‘Üretim Tarzı’ Nasıl Tanımlanır?”.

¹²⁶ Belli, Ibid., p. 286.

impossibility to test theory upon practice, which was an indirect consequence of these repressions. And third, the transformation of Marxist thought into an abstract doctrine, unilaterally moulded by the USSR, especially after 1935. But Hilâv added that an explanation content with external reasons was not adequate and therefore his readers needed to take into account the “static” intellectual traditions in Anatolia.¹²⁷ Hence, Hilâv was of the opinion that as a “hypothesis for scientific study and research” this concept might be useful for understanding Turkish history by descending to the sources of Marxist theory.¹²⁸ As confirmations of his argument, he referred to some “original” books which dealt directly with these issues and which were also the evidence of the fertility of the debate.¹²⁹ On the other hand, we also should note that one contribution of Sencer Divitçioğlu was translated into French, which is a case of a reciprocal intellectual interaction.¹³⁰

The order of the day at the end of the decade was no longer an analysis of the past, which perhaps foreclosed the development of this discussion. More importantly, the coup of 12 March had become the main impediment to such a formation.¹³¹ Perhaps today it is necessary to think, for instance, of the Ottoman past

¹²⁷ Selâhattin Hilâv, “Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı ve Türkiye Sosyalist Hareketi,” in *Felsefe Yazıları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), pp. 163-168 (this article was originally published as a foreword to the *Asya-Tipi Üretim Tarzı*, issued in 1970 by Ant Press).

¹²⁸ Hilâv, *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹²⁹ Here are the books cited by Hilâv: Sencer Divitçioğlu, *Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı ve Az-Gelişmiş Ülkeler ve Asya Üretim Tarzı ve Osmanlı Toplumunu*; İdris Küçükömer, *Düzenin Yabancılaşması*; Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*; İsmail Cem, *Türkiye’de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi*; Muzaffer Sencer, *Osmanlı Toplum Yapısı*; Tevfik Çavdar, *Osmanlıların Yarı Sömürge Oluşu*; D. Ceyhun, *Haçlı Emperyalizmi*; Emin Türk Eliçin, *Kemalist Devrim İdeolojisi*. Quoted in Hilâv, *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹³⁰ Haftanın Notları, “Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı,” *Ant* no. 36 (5 September 1967), p. 2. It is stated that Divitçioğlu’s pamphlet *Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı ve Az-Gelişmiş Ülkeler* was translated and published in *Recherches Internationales*’ 57-58. volume.

¹³¹ For a list of works concerning mode of productions and underdevelopment that were published between 1960 and 1983, see Halil Berktaş, “Tarih Çalışmaları Kaynakçası,” *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 2477-2478.

within a comparative and holistic framework¹³² and relate the discussion on the Asiatic mode of production with the insights gained from the dissections of Orientalism. But in the case of 1960's Turkey, the drive toward the particular took place at a time when efforts were being made to smoothly universalize and hitch history to gradualist-evolutionist political strategies. Therefore, today's task seems to be to differentiate between the scientific particularisms and the particular emphases that sprang forth from this debates.

“Masters”: Marx and Engels

As for the translation of leftist books in the 1960s, even putting aside all of what was done to render others' sources available in Turkish, the translation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' works never fall into oblivion in the common memory of the Left. The underlying reason for this permanence is the fact that the Turkish Left, most of the members of which had alleged to belong to Marxism, wanting in most of the writings of the founder of their schools, eventually met their “makers’,” in the jargon of the leftists, their “masters” voice in the course of the 1960s, to which they felt the need to pick up their ears in order to construct themselves as legitimate heirs. It is true that Marx and Engels had been known to many thanks to some “original texts” expounding their views through their own prisms and in part through the agency of translations to which we referred in the second chapter. But as it was stated there, these texts were often partially translated and a long way from laying out a coherent whole. In this sense, it may be argued that the translation of their works in the 1960s radically broke down this “lack of communication” once and for all.

¹³² Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Modern Devletin Doğası: 16. Yüzyıldan 18. Yüzyıla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, translated by Oktay Özel and Canay Şahin (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000), p. 19-28.

The bewilderment that surfaced for having at last picked up a book by Engels (in 1962) was apparent in the words of Yalçın Yusufoglu. But it seems interesting that we do not see any other publication of these two figures in the first half of the decade, a time when radical publishers were trying to feel their way. It appears that this lacuna can be ascribed to two main causes: First of all, perhaps the publishers did not have the self- reliance and the courage to attempt such an intellectually difficult project: “I know that daring to translate such a work is an audacity and in some respects, it is even inconsiderateness,” said Nizamettin Burhan, the translator of Engels’ first issued book. And second, it might be considered that these five years were a somewhat preparative period, both intellectually and materially. Yet from the beginning of the second half of the decade when the Turkish socialist movement set out to flourish organizationally, Marx and Engels, the friendship of whom sufficed to change the world at least a little bit, set about to “speak Turkish” more stentorianly.

While in those years the European Communist Left was trying to “return” to Marx, the Turkish Left was perhaps striving to genuinely learn him for the first time. In this context, the role of the radical publishing houses becomes truly evident. It is generally assumed that Sol Press was the sole agent in this project. However, from 1965 on, totally six publishing houses participated in this contribution: Gerçek, Öncü, İzlem, Sol, Sosyal and Bilim ve Sosyalizm, though it is true that Sol, the program of which was nearly composed entirely of translations at large, was the main component of the whole, engaging in a much more systematic line of translation.

But it should be born in mind that Muzaffer İlhan Erdost, who founded Sol Press in 1965, did not have a distinct editorial program at the beginning, since he was

unacquainted with the socialist literature at the time.¹³³ For instance, in the first year of its career they printed Arata Osada's *Atom Bombası Çocukları* (Children of the Atom Bomb), which is a far cry from a "classical" book. When the constitutive role of Sol Press is taken into consideration, this initial uncertainty tells us much not only as to the contingent character of radical publishing activity in general, but also to the later "determination" of the editorial trend, which revolved around the "transfer" of the literature of "scientific socialism" into Turkish.

If we leave aside the re-publication of *Capital's* summarized version by Sosyal Press in 1965, the following year saw the outburst of Marx and Engels' works. It was Gerçek and Sol Press that were the subjects of this enterprise. While Gerçek gave preference to some selections of Marx's writings on specific topics (colonialism, religion and Ottoman Empire/Turkey), Sol seemed to be much in favour of more complete works: *Waged Labour and Capital, the Poverty of Philosophy*, the first volume of *Capital* and *Wage, Price and Profit*.¹³⁴ The translators of these books were well-known intellectuals, which indicates us to the intellectually high level of the practice of translation: Selâhattin Hilâv,¹³⁵ Murat Belge, Atilla Tokatlı, Orhan Suda, Erdoğan Başar and Mehmet Selik. Apart from the close affinity between intellectuals and translation, these books were in themselves important for the intellectual Left. Among these books, the one which made the most impact was the first volume of *Capital*. Hilâv, in his introductory review on the

¹³³ Nejat Akfırat, "Marx'ı Bilmeden Ne Evren Kavranır ne de Toplum Kavranır - Muzaffer Erdost'la Söyleşi," *Bilim ve Ütopya*, no. 45 (March 1998). Barışta Erdost gave this interview to me on 15 May 2006. As the text was in an internet format, it is not possible to refer to the page number, though I can safely say that this quotation is made from the first paragraph of the text.

¹³⁴ In this section, I will refer to the English titles of the works by Marx and Engels.

¹³⁵ In his translation of Marx and Engels's writings on colonialism, Hilâv's surname reads as "Pilav" (which in Turkish means the food made of rice!). I am inclined to think that he resorted to this method in order to avoid a potential governmental pressure.

publication of this work which Marx defined as the “the most dreadful bullet launched at the head of the bourgeoisie and the landlords,” stresses the belatedness of the production of *Capital* in Turkish, issued nearly after one hundred years. Nevertheless, he sees it as an aspirant book of reference for the comprehension of Marxist thought and the composition of Marxist terminology and invites those intellectuals who want these thoughts to permeate into Turkey, in other words, who would like to “nativize” Marxism, to express their ideas on *Capital*, ending his review by thanking the young scholar Mehmet Selik.¹³⁶

In this juncture, an aspect of the story of the translation of *Capital* would be suggestive. The first volume was translated wholly, but it was published in five separate volumes. The second volume, however, was skipped over in order to yield precedence to the third one. And again, the second part of the third volume was prioritized, because it encapsulated issues concerned with questions of land, which were among the burning matters of the Turkish socialist agenda at the time.¹³⁷ Nail Satlıgan even asserts that the unavailability of the third volume was apparent in the famous debate between Korkut Boratav and Muzaffer İlhan Erdost on the presence of feudalism in Turkey, where Boratav could avail himself from all the volumes of *Capital* as he had command over foreign languages, while Erdost was only referring to the first volume due to his “confinement” in Turkish.¹³⁸ This case vividly illustrates not only the commitment to translation, to which was resorted to due to certain political exigencies, but also the significance of it even in its existence or

¹³⁶ Selâhattin Hilâv, “Kitap Tanıtımı,” *Ant* no.4 (24 January 1967), p. 15.

¹³⁷ (Interview with Barışta Erdost, 15 May 2006, Istanbul). The chapters between 37 and 47 in the third volume of *Capital*, the title of which is “The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole”, are in general related with the issue of rent. See Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 3 (London: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 751-953.

¹³⁸ (Interview with Nail Satlıgan, 16 February 2006, Istanbul).

absence. As for *Capital*, all three volumes were translated by Alaattin Bilgi, prospectively only in 1975, 1976 and 1978.¹³⁹

As Yusufoglu stated in our interview, the initial Turkish publications of Marx by Sol were relatively “theoretical” in character.¹⁴⁰ But shortly after this trend began to change, as the translation of *Formen* indicates, an effort undertook in fact to show the validity of the claim for the existence of feudalism in Turkey. On the other hand, in the same year Payel Press brought out Engels’ *Peasant War in Germany*, a book dealing with an issue shared by the socialist politics at the time. Again, Marx’s *Class Struggles in France* and *18. Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* were published prospectively by Sol and İzlem. Additionally, Engels’ *Anti-Dühring* and *The Origin of Family, Private Property and State*, which were issued in the same year, were examples of the fervour and the speed with which these translations were made. In this context, it might be argued that the influence of the 1950s was perceptible in the momentum of this publishing activity of the 1960s. As was implied in the second chapter by referral to Nail Satlıgan, the years spent a decade before in the prison apparently presented an occasion for socialists to make translations. For instance, Reşat Fuat Baraner’s translation of *Anti-Dühring* seems to have been such a case.

With respect to Marx’s works, it may at first glance be supposed that the publishing activity was oriented to his “mature” studies. Even though it is true that the center of gravity was such books, some of the earlier ones penned by the “young” Marx, which had a great influence in the New Left of the 1960s,¹⁴¹ were also

¹³⁹ Alaattin Bilgi, “Kapital’in Türkçe Çevirileri, Terim ve Kavram Sorunları,” in *Kapital’in Aydınlığında Alaattin Bilgi*, edited by Adnan Özyalçın (Istanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2001), p. 198.

¹⁴⁰ (Interview with Yalçın Yusufoglu, 15 March 2006, Istanbul).

¹⁴¹ For instance, Marshall Berman, an American Marxist heavily influenced by the sensibilities of the New Left, underlines the importance of his encounter with the *1844 Manuscripts* in terms not only of his acquaintance with Marxism but also of channeling the rage of the death of his father, which he

available in Turkish: *The German Ideology* and *1844 Manuscripts* were issued prospectively in 1968 and 69 by Sosyal and Payel with the translations by Selâhattin Hilâv and Murat Belge. But the publication of *Manifesto* in 1968 was perhaps much more important for the “new Left” of Turkey. As was shown in the second chapter, there were two Turkish versions of this text, written by Şefik Hüsni and Kerim Sadi and I have also mentioned that Mustafa Suphi’s translation was interrupted in the middle. After such a long period, *Manifesto* was at last featured by Bilim ve Sosyalizm Press,¹⁴² with a translation by Süleyman Ege.¹⁴³ In this juncture, touching on the foreword by the translator might provide us with clues in the motivations of the publishing house.

Ege began his preface by underscoring the fact that *Manifesto* was a historical and a scientific work, whose absence was not only a great lacuna for the world of Turkish publication but also had led to misunderstandings for the measure of communist politics. But what is more important is Ege’s connection of this text with the conjuncture of Turkey in the late 1960s. According to the translator, *Manifesto* was written in the midst of the nineteenth century when the predominant contradiction was between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. However, as Ege asserts, this was not the case in Turkey in the 1960s. It is here that the immediate ideological view of the translator finds its way into the presentation or to the “pre-emptive” defense of the publication. In Ege’s mind, Turkey was a country controlled

thinks had been caused by the effects of capitalism, to a constructive effort. See Marshall Berman *Adventures in Marxism* (London: Verso, 1999), pp. 1-18.

¹⁴² Barışta Erdost told me that *Sol* and *Bilim ve Sosyalizm* saw each other as “fraternal” publishing houses. This point should be taken into consideration when evaluating the editorial program of these two institutions. (Interview with Barışta Erdost, 15 May 2006, Istanbul).

¹⁴³ After two years, the Öncü Press issued another version of this classic text. I think that an elaborate examination and comparison not only of these two texts but also the different versions produced all along the history of the Turkish socialist movement should be an agenda of future research.

by imperialism and in which the collaborationist capital and semi-feudal relations dominated. Therefore, “our” predominant contradiction was between imperialism, collaborationist capital, semi-feudal relations and the interests of the whole of “our” people, which leads to its logical conclusion that a struggle for independence and democracy against imperialism and feudalism was the order of the day, containing not only the vanguard role of the proletariat but also the whole of the nation with its national classes and elements.¹⁴⁴ As can be understood clearly, this is a defense of the thesis of national democratic revolution which prescribes a two-stage progress in the attainment of socialism. At this point, the “morality” of such an intervention by the translator may be questioned or criticized. But what is emphasized in general terms throughout this thesis is the effort of much of the translators and publishing houses to appropriate their translations within their view of the world and political activities, which shows us again the link between politics and ethics. Even if this act could be deemed as “immoral” by those whose opinions were critiqued therein, i.e. proponents of the thesis of socialist revolution, I am inclined to state that condemning this act in itself is not sufficient and a proper ethical response should be presented in a political way, for instance either by making another translation or writing a critical review of the existent translation at hand. However, before long, the “ethics” of the state intervened into play and the translator was put on trial by the jurisdiction, which was ironically also a part of the “national whole.”¹⁴⁵ But in general terms, as attested by this preface, the case of *Manifesto*’s translation openly signifies the conjunctural and political mediation of the subject rendering it into Turkish.

¹⁴⁴ Süleyman Ege, “Yayınlayanın Önsözü,” in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Komünist Manifesto*, translated by Süleyman Ege (Ankara: Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları, 1968), pp. 3-8.

¹⁴⁵ Süleyman Ege, *Kitabın Ateşle Dansı* (Ankara: Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları, 1992), pp. 42- 43.

Though the weight of the publishing activity started to shift to those sources more directly linked to organizational questions towards the end of the decade, the translation of Marx and Engels' works did not come to a close. For instance, Öncü Press, except for a re-issuance of *Manifesto*, published a collection of Marx' writings not only on communism and the woman question, to which I will allude again in the next chapter, but also on philosophy and politics.¹⁴⁶ In addition, though the reason is unclear, *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* was published both by Öncü and Sol Press in 1970, the former translated by Orhan Suda, the latter by Sevim Belli.¹⁴⁷ And apart from Köz Press' publication of *The Civil War in France*, the rest of the existent literature was produced again by Sol Press: Marx's *The Jewish Question*,¹⁴⁸ Marx and Engels' *The Critique of the Gotha and Erfurt Programs* and a collection of their writings on philosophy were all published between 1969 and 1969. And shortly after, two constitutional works of the literature of "scientific socialism", i.e. Engels treatise on the comparison between utopian and scientific socialism and his *Dialectic of Nature* was brought out in 1970.

As this expository documentation set forths, Marx and Engels were perhaps the only figures whose whole bodies of work were translated into Turkish in the 1960s, though naturally the total sum was not consummate, as seen, for instance, in

¹⁴⁶ As I could not get access to these books, it was not possible for me to look at the original texts which were taken as foundations for the translations. It goes without saying that the analysis of the structure of these collections in terms of their editorial choices is very important in evaluating such compiled presentations not only of Marx and Engels but also other authors.

¹⁴⁷ The Öncü Press used the term "eleştirme" for critique, whereas Sol preferred "eleştirii," which is in much use today.

¹⁴⁸ It is interesting that the translator of this book is Niyazi Berkes. As mentioned in the second chapter, Berkes translated a work by Harold Laski in 1946. According to Kurtuluş Kayalı, his withdrawal from making translations had a role in Berkes' orientation to his finding time to think on the originality of the Turkish society. See his "Niyazi Berkes ya da İyimserlikten Kötümserliğe Sürüklenmesine Karşın Düşünsel Tercihinde Israrlı Bir Entelektüelin Portresi" in Kayalı, *Ibid.*, p. 103. However, it appears that, in this case, Berkes quitted his withdrawal from translation at least temporarily, at a time when he intensified his own studies.

the absence of such significant works like a Marx's *Grundrisse* or an Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Nevertheless, what was laid out constituted approximately a consistent outlook. However, the *belatedness* of the production of this literature that Hilâv emphasized was, of course, influential in the reception of these works. This belatedness is not underlined with respect to a comparison of a social development which depends upon a linear view of history but to measure their publication nearly a hundred and more years *after* their initial issuances. As Erden Akbulut implied in our interview, for a young movement which had just began to strengthen, the ultimate availability of the products of these figures was hard to assimilate.¹⁴⁹ The asymmetry between the frailty of the intellectual capacity of a movement and the theoretically substantial character of these works, to whose authority or insights the socialists urgently needed to refer to justify their positions and activities, seems generally to have prevented the opportunity of the formation of a space for a potentially more mature and critical engagement with these sources.

Soaring Radicalizations: Guerilla Warfare

Guerilla warfare (etymological meaning of guerilla is “petty war”) is the political strategy which gained the most strength in Turkey towards the end of the 1960s and the first years of the 1970s. Based upon an organization composed of a small group, this form of struggle was in fact distinguished by its criticism of traditional Communist and socialist parties and its emphasis on a type of revolution that would originate from the rural sectors of the peripheral (“Third World”)

¹⁴⁹ (Interview with Erden Akbulut, 10 March 2006, Istanbul).

countries. And its conception as a non-bureaucratic configuration was perhaps the most alluring aspect that drew the youth movement into its orbit.

In Turkey, guerilla warfare (or “focoism,” in its Latin usage, which literally means “hearth”) largely stemmed from the parallel circumstances of the places which gave birth to it. As Yiğit Akın also observes, the paralysation of the Turkish Labour Party due to its internal controversies, the National Democratic Revolution’s falling into disfavour after the 15-16 June events, which proved the existence and the autonomous initiative of the industrial working class and the feelings of despair and dereliction of the leaders of the youth movement after these political dissolutions were the main factors which resulted in the formation of guerilla type organizations.¹⁵⁰ Much has been written about THKO (the Turkish People’s Liberation Army), THKP-C (the Turkish People’s Liberation Party-Front) and TİKKO (the Liberation Army of the Turkish Workers and Peasants).¹⁵¹ Therefore, here I will confine myself with only depicting the sources which partially inspired or constituted an intellectual ground for such political thoughts and movements.

Turkish socialists had been within the axis of attraction of the guerilla movements long before they tried to materialize it in Turkey. Struggles in Algeria (1956-62),¹⁵² Cuba (1956-1959), the Palestine liberation movement in the 1960s and the Vietnamese anti-imperialist fight were the cases upon which Turkish leftists closely looked. But it seems that it was especially the charm of Ernesto Che Guevara and the stories of the Latin American guerillas that were the main focus and which

¹⁵⁰ Yiğit Akın, “Uluslararası Etkileşim Yapısı İçinde Türkiye Sol Hareketinin Önemli Polemikleri,” publication pending for *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları), p. 16.

¹⁵¹ See among others, Harun Karadeniz, *Olaylı Yıllar ve Gençlik* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1998); Koray Düzgören, *THKP-C ve Kızıldere* (Istanbul: BDS Yayınları, 1988) and Haluk Yurtsever, *Ibid.*, pp. 202-265.

¹⁵² Remember Henri Alleg’s *La Question* that we have referred to in the second chapter.

gave the most inspiration. And the translation of some books on this matter served as one of the most operative instruments in rendering the experiences of other revolutionaries intelligible to their counterparts in Turkey.

The striking fact about the translation of such books is that they were produced at a time when the annual rate of translation had just began to rise. Besides, politically speaking, they occupied a significant portion of the books translated between 1965 and 1971. I am sure that my saying “politically speaking” will draw attention. My intention in resorting to that phrase is to indicate the *meanings* ascribed to the translation of these books into Turkish. In contradistinction to the initial searches for ways to understand and change the world as reflected in the early translation efforts and at least partially, in the translation of Marxist “classics”, books on guerilla warfare was laden with a direct *organizational* meaning. In this sense, translation was beginning to be used as a vehicle for helping to directly “translate” the effects of others’ experiences into Turkey. Knowledge acquired from these books were still another kind of knowledge and their reception still represented an effort for learning. However, quests for “models” gained speed and the distance between nativity (in the sense for reflection on the specificity of a locality) and translation began to relatively and increasingly heighten.

The necessity for the attainment of the knowledge contained in such books was so great. In this respect, the account given by Ertuğrul Kürkçü, one of the prominent leaders of Dev-Genç (Revolutionary Federation of Youth) is revealing. In our interview, he told me that a group of ten students gathered at Middle East Technical University to translate Régis Debray’s famous *Revolution in Revolution?* into Turkish,¹⁵³ before it was published by Toplum Press in 1967.¹⁵⁴ This case

¹⁵³ (Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 23 May 2006, Istanbul).

nakedly points to the enthusiasm of the revolutionary youth to reach those voices they wanted to hear right at once. But as implied above, it was the books by Che that principally came forth.

It might be said that the publication of Che's books symbolized the onset of this agenda. In 1967, Payel Press featured not only Che's *Küba'da Sosyalizm ve İnsan* (Man and Socialism in Cuba), but also a collection of Mao's and Ernesto's writings on guerilla warfare. By the way, it may be surmised that the death of Che by CIA agents in that same year served as a trigger in speeding up the process of translation and/or that this translation may have been done to memorialize him, thinking that it would find a mass of audience. Shortly after, the same press issued the witness of a friend of Che, Ricardo Rojo. And in 1968 and 1969, three books were issued: The first one was composed of some recollections of war, the second was a diary and the other included writings on politics. But one should not think that all these translations were a form of "literary political resistance" by the radical publishing houses. For instance, in our interview Yalçın Yusufoglu told me that his friend Zülfü Livaneli, the founder of Ekim Press, was driven principally by commercial ambitions in bringing out Che's book on politics.¹⁵⁵ However, Ant Press seemed so exceedingly willing to publish works on guerilla warfare that Nail Satlıgan, who appeared to evaluate Ant with sympathy for their editorial expansion to the Third World, also criticized them for even encouraging the youth to "such" armed activities.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ This translation was published by the pseudonym Ali Rüzgâr. But we learn that the translator was actually Alaattin Bilgi. See *Kapital'in Aydınlığında Alaattin Bilgi*, edited by Adnan Özyalçın (Istanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2001), p. 50.

¹⁵⁵ (Interview with Yalçın Yusufoglu, 15 March 2006, Istanbul).

¹⁵⁶ (Interview with Nail Satlıgan, 16 February 2006, Istanbul).

It seems that Ant Press endeavoured to embrace much of the spectrum of various guerilla books. Alberto Bayo, a Cuban military leader, was said to be the mentor of Che and his comrades. Thus, his writings gained importance and the *Ant* journal serialized his writings consisting of short answers to specific questions. The publishing house later gathered them in a whole book with a title *Gerilla Nedir?* (What is Guerilla?). Mekin Gönenç, the translator of the book, wrote a soulful foreword depicting the relationships between Bayo and Fidel Castro and ended his words with an entreaty indicating his own devotion:

General Alberto Bayo has a significant role in the success of Fidel Castro and his friends. The only wish of this stouthearted soldier who has committed himself to overthrowing all the dictatorships in Latin America, is to see, before he dies, Spain cut itself loose from Franco's government. The realization of this wish will smother not only Bayo but also all the progressive forces on earth with an eternal blissfulness.¹⁵⁷

Ant went ahead with such an agenda. After a year, they published *Milli Kurtuluş Cephesi* (National Liberation Front), by Douglas Bravo, a Venezuelan guerilla fighter who also had contacts with Che. And the Brazilian revolutionary Carlos Marighella's *Şehir Gerillasının El Kitabı* (Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerilla) was the last book narrating Latin American experiences to be published by Ant. This book, composed of suggestions on how to disrupt authority, became famous with its front cover on which there were three bullet holes, which can be seen in the first appendix. But the final book which can be included in this section was Nayef Hawatmeh's *Filistin'de Halk Savaşı ve Ortadoğu* (People's War in Philistine

¹⁵⁷ “Fidel Castro ve arkadaşlarının başarısında General Alberto Bayo'nun önemli bir payı vardır. Kendisini Latin Amerika'daki bütün diktatörlüklerin yıkılmasına adanmış olan bu yürekli askerin tek arzusu, ölmeyen İspanya'nın Franco yönetiminden kurtulabilmesini görmektir. Bu isteğinin gerçekleşmesi, yalnız Bayo'yu değil, yeryüzündeki bütün ilerici güçleri sonsuz bir mutluluğa boğacaktır.” Mekin Gönenç, “Önsöz” in Alberto Bayo, *Gerilla Nedir?*, translated by Mekin Gönenç (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1968), p. 9.

and the Middle East), a work invited from a place whose experiences inspired some Turkish socialists and with which they had direct contacts in Al-Fatah camps.

Books that served as partial, yet significant sources for Latin American revolutionaries and inspired the works cited above were being translated at the same time. With respect to Vietnam, two books by Vo Nyugen Giap, commander-in-chief of the Viet Minh, were published in 1968 by Sol and Habora Presses, both of which dwelled on the issue of the people's war. The voice of the cult figure of the 1960's, Ho Chi Minh's *Kurtuluş Savaşımız* (Our War of Liberation), was channeled by Toplum Press, followed by a biography of Ho written by Jean Lacouture. On the other hand, with respect to China, Lin Piao's celebratory defense of the people's war was brought out by Bilim ve Sosyalizm Press in 1968. More importantly, after his co-publication with Che by Payel in 1967, Mao's writings on military questions were issued again: *Çin Kurtuluş Savaşı* (Chinese War of Liberation) by Habora in 1967, *Halk Savaşında Temel Taktikler* (Fundamental Tactics in People's War) by Ser in 1969 and his essays on the military by Sol Press in 1971. And ultimately, a collection of writings edited by William Pomeroy within the framework of the relation between Marxism and the guerilla war was made available by Ekim Press in 1969, exposing a wide spectrum of viewpoints on the matter.¹⁵⁸

As stated above, here I only try to shed light onto the general landscape, without going into an analysis of the *different* characteristics of the books referred to above in a sweeping fashion. These peculiarities echoed in the discrete receptions by

¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, I was unable to access to the original Turkish publication of this book. In the version issued by Belge Press in 1992, it is written that the English version was featured in 1969, which means that it was translated into Turkish in the same year. If there were no modification of the content of the original, then it means Turkish readers could read in those years some writings of the following figures on the question of armed war: Marx, Engels, Lenin, I. Minz, A. Fyodorov, J. Connolly, E. Lister, Tito, F. Grenier, E. Joannides, Z. Zografos, Mao, Lin Piao, Ho Chi Minh, V.N. Giap, Le Duan, W. Burchett, Hukbalahap, J. Maravilla, B. Hacı Ali, A. Cabral, K. Nkrumah, E. Che, F. Castro, R. Debray, J. Rodriguez, A. Gomez, J. Fortuny, J. Cuello, A. Dominguez, L. Corvalan and H. Winston.

various political actors. In this context, we also should bear in mind that these interactions were helpful in the germination of original works written in Turkish.¹⁵⁹ Apart from those who eagerly browsed them, the reactions given by the leaders of the Turkish Labour Party were also full of meaning. For instance, Mehmet Ali Aybar deemed these publications a trick subtly organized in order to repulse the youth from the Turkish Labour Party.¹⁶⁰ One of the leading members of the TLP, Nihat Sargın was, however, of the opinion that this circumstance was due to the fact that the party lacked periodic publications, translations, and so forth.¹⁶¹ Indeed, Sosyal Adalet Press, the publishing house of the TLP, only published three books, two by Maurice Dobb, and one by Oscar Lange and the fact that the subject matter of two of them is “development” seems striking and revealing.

On the other hand, it was these books which had a patently activist leaning that “received” the harshest treatment by the state. A glance at the pages of an average journal would pick out many reports about the prohibition of books due to allegations of communist propaganda. According to Erik Jan Zürcher, there was a fundamental role of the policy adopted by the Justice Party in this restraint. For Zürcher, there were two tactics employed by Süleyman Demirel, the head of the party, from mid-1960s onwards, in order to create a feasible co-existence among the party coalition formed by industrialists, petty merchants and artisans, peasants, landowners, religious reactionaries and Westernist liberals. The first method was his accentuation of the Islamist and pro-traditionalist character of the JP. And the second means was the attrition of the left movement. In this respect, the constraint implemented over

¹⁵⁹ For instance see Mahir Çayan, *Bütün Yazılar* (Istanbul: Atılım Yayınları, 1992) and İbrahim Kaypakkaya, *Seçme Yazılar* (Istanbul: Umut Yayıncılık, 1993).

¹⁶⁰ Mehmet Ali Aybar, *TİP Tarihi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: BDS Yayınları, 1988), p. 62.

¹⁶¹ Nihat Sargın, *TİP’li Yıllar (1961-1971): Anılar Belgeler* (Istanbul: Felis Yayınevi, 2001) p. 542.

dissident publication was a sort of reverberation of such a posture.¹⁶² For example, Mao and Che's *Guerilla War* was confiscated on the grounds that they had contradicted 142 and 311 clauses of the Turkish Penal Code.¹⁶³ Can Yücel, the translator of this book, was judged by the 4th Criminal Court on account of the same articles.¹⁶⁴ Again, Mao's *Chinese War of Liberation* was confiscated by the 2nd Magistrates' Court in Istanbul.¹⁶⁵ And after a few months, Che's *Man and Socialism in Cuba* was seized by the same court.¹⁶⁶ The books by Giap and Lin Piao's single book were also seized.¹⁶⁷ And last, Che's *Guerilla Diary* was impounded and its translator Hüseyin Güneş was put on trial.¹⁶⁸ "If you brun your mouth on milk, you will blow on yoghurt before eating it." As if calling this Turkish proverb to mind, which was literally translated here, Ant Press supplemented the declaration issued by the twenty-two French publishing houses¹⁶⁹ when it published Marighella's book, perhaps in order to guarantee itself by demonstrating a case in which it relied upon the eleventh article of the Declaration of the Human and Citizen Rights that insures the right to free expression. At a time when a number of intellectuals and also translators are being again taken to court on the grounds of an "humiliation of

¹⁶² Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, translated by Yasemin Saner Gönen (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 365-366.

¹⁶³ "Kitap toplatıldı," *Ant* no. 49 (5 December 1967) p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ "Can Yücel dâvası," *Ant* no. 98 (12 November 1968), p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ "Kitap toplatıldı," *Ant* no. 57 (30 January 1968), p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ "Kitaplar toplatılıyor," *Ant* no. 60 (20 February 1968), p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ "2 kitap toplatıldı," *Ant* no. 73 (21 May 1968), p. 3 ; "Üç Kovuşturma," *Ant* no. 74 (28 May 1968), p. 3, and "Süleyman Ege Beraat Etti," *Türk Solu* no. 59 (31 December 1968), p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ "Guevara'nın 'Gerilla Günlüğü' de toplatıldı," *Ant* no. 91 (24 September 1968), p. 6.

¹⁶⁹ These publishing houses were as follows: Aubier-Montaigne, Christian Burgois, Buchet-Chastel, Le Centurion, Le Cerf, Armand Colin, Danoel Esprit, Flammarion, Gallimard, Grasset-Fasquelle, Pierre Horray, Robert Laffont, Magnard, Maspero, Mercure de France, Minuit, Robert Morel, J. J. Pauvert, Seghers, Le Seuil, La Table Ronde, Claude Tchou.

Turkishness” or “accomplice with terrorism,” the actuality of these past experiences is understood to be still with us.

Interlude III: What Did Che Read?

These interim notes may come as surprising. However, it may also be suggestive for a prospective comparative analysis I implied above: What did Che read, the great revolutionary whose charm extended to all the corners of the world? Here I wholly rely on what Michael Löwy wrote in his short treatise on Che’s thought.¹⁷⁰ Though Löwy leaves a reserve by stating that what he accounted is not a thoroughgoing amount, the list that he prepared by looking at the books referred to in his own works and depending upon other secondary materials is largely indicative of the whole. As we are pursuing the track of non-fiction works, I now set aside the novels that Che read from various countries and will enlist the books according to their authors:

On “Marxism-Leninism”: Marx: *Capital, 1844 Manuscripts, The Poverty of Philosophy, The Critique of the Gotha Program, Manifesto, 18 Brumaire, The Civil War in France*. Lenin: *State and Revolution, Imperialism, On the Slogan “United States of Europe”, Problems of the Construction of Socialism and Communism in the USSR, The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution*. Trotsky: *The History of the Russian Revolution*. Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*. Mao: *Military Writings*. Giap: *People’s War People’s Army*. Kuusinen: *Manual for Marxism-Leninism*. On political economy: USSR Academy for Sciences: *Manual for Political Economy*. Paul Baran: *Political Economy of Growth*. Charles Bettelheim: *“The Methods and Forms of Socialist Planning and the Level of Growth of the Productive Forces*. I. Ivonin: *“Kombinats in the Soviet investments.”* Oskar Lange: *“Contemporary Problems of Economics in Poland”*. Ernest Mandel: *Manual for Marxist Economy, “Categories of Commodity in the Transitional Period*. Victor Perlo: *The Empire of High Finance*. F. Tabayev: *“Economic Research and the Management of the Economy”*. On Latin America: Simon Bolivar, Fidel Castro, Jesus Silva Herzog, Gabriel del Mazo: *Students and the Management of the University*, Jose Marti, Regis Debray: *Revolution in Revolution?* Others:

¹⁷⁰ Michael Löwy, *Che Guevara’nın Düşüncesi: Devrimci Bir Hümanizm*, translated by Aynur İlyasoğlu (Istanbul: Yazın Yayınları, 2004).

Clausewitz: *On War*. M. Djilas: *The New Class*. E. Fischer: *The Necessity of Art*. Freud, Fanon: *The Wretched of the Earth* and Sokolovsky: *Military Strategy*.¹⁷¹

As the list suggests, the scope of Che's readings is not much different from what is available to an average Turkish socialist. Of course, the difference lies in the discrete social and political conditions, the interpretation of these sources and the interaction between what is thought and what is done.

Reading Lists and Canonization

Classic: accepted or deserving to be accepted as one of the best or most important of its kind.

As was frequently observed before, Marx and Engels' works were being rapidly translated in these years. If this project was to be described literally, it could be portrayed as the translation of Marx and Engels' books or "Marxist classics": in other words, following the definition in the Oxford dictionary, one of the best or most important books of these figures. However, there are still some sources that are called "Marxist classics," which encapsulate Marx and Engels' works, but do not stop there and go beyond. For instance, in an article written in the late 1970s Çulhaoğlu spoke about the "classics of scientific socialism," scientific socialism standing for Marxism, and asserted that such classics, which were confirmed in the process of struggle, could be either accepted or denied.¹⁷² But if we are to exceed such religious terms for making sense of this question (a self-contradiction for a self-proclaimed "scientific" proposition), how can we understand what people specifically mean by referring to this phrase? How is it possible to say to what extent the boundaries of this particular literature stretch? Even if the confines of its

¹⁷¹ Löwy, pp. 137-141.

¹⁷² Metin Çulhaoğlu, "Kitaplar ve Mücadele" in *Solda Yürüyüş Polemiği* (Istanbul: Gelenek Yayınevi, 1991), pp. 142-143 (this article was originally published in *Yürüyüş*, 27 September 1977).

framework can be designated, how can one elucidate the process of its generation? Since we cannot give an ahistorical explanation as to the construction of such a *canon*, some clues can be taken from some reading lists, prepared by specific political actors in the course of struggle towards the end of the 1960s. This may be a plausible way to shed light onto the *specific* manifestation of this literature in Turkey.

Perhaps it would be inconceivable to have such lists in the beginning or even in the midst of the decade. Because, as we know, these years were the time for search or at most, for efforts to attain those voices, like Marx and Engels' works, deemed essential as the cause of the existence of the movement in general. But as the years went by, it became possible to encounter some guides for reading. In this juncture, a point about the character of such a formation is necessary. Here one will not find any pejorative evaluation of the concept of a "reading list" just in itself. It should be understandable that the amount of the total books had increased and as the following lists to which I will refer below indicate, translations occupied a substantial place in this whole. On the other hand, political radicalization came to the boil during these years, which could be observed by looking at the multiplication or sectarianisation of the political organizations. In this context, reading lists helped younger members of the organizations find a way in this hustle and bustle. But in like manner, they also served as a vehicle to lend credit to the views of those who were qualified enough to exercise command over intellectual sources by arranging a list and to the organizations of whom these people were authoritative members.

The outcome of this inclination for a *determinate* frame of reference was the condensation of the process of canonization. Rather than following the conventional way by ascribing a negative meaning to the term canon, it would be better to

deconstruct its structure, looking at what it includes and the mechanisms for exclusion. And this naturally brings us to the uses of canon. Here it can be suggestive to give our ears to Moshe Halbertal's opinions on the issue at hand:

An intuitive way to make the distinction between canonical and non-canonical works is to clarify them according to the authority and value that a community ascribes to certain texts above others. In this sense, canonization is defined in terms of the element added to the text – sacredness, authority, value, prestige, and so on. However, canonization should be viewed not only as the addition of a status to an accepted meaning but as a transformation of meaning itself. In modern approaches to meaning much has been said about the effect of context, and canonizing a text clearly involves viewing the text in a certain context. Unlike other texts, canonical texts are read with special commitments and expectations. In other words, canonization affects not only the status of a text but the way it is perceived and read.¹⁷³

When this passage is read, the need to focus on the “special commitments and expectations” springing from canonization becomes clear. Therefore, I will first dwell on these aspects of the issue and then unveil the “literary vocabulary” spread out from such mentalities. For this, two cases will be exemplified. As it is much more elaborate than the latter, our initial example will be the essay written by Şahin Alpay on “revolutionary theoretical education” in *Aydınlık*, the theoretical journal of one of the substantial Maoist groupings of the time, and the second one will be the article of Kenan Somer penned for *Emek*, the theoretical journal of the most “orthodox” wing of the Turkish Labour Party, on the issue of “what to read.”¹⁷⁴ It also should be born in mind that these two authors were also translators at the time and this fact gives the following paragraphs an additional value for the general issue we have been keeping track of throughout the study.

¹⁷³ Moshe Halbertal, *People of the Book: Canon, Meaning, and Authority* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 11.

¹⁷⁴ Şahin Alpay, “Devrimci Teorik Eğitim,” *Aydınlık Sosyalist Dergi* no.2 (December 1968), pp. 144-161; and Kenan Somer, “Önce Neleri Okumalı?,” *Emek* no. 1 (1 May 1969), p. 16.

Beginning with the epigraph of Lenin's statement "without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement," Alpay's pedagogical essay is based upon the the imperative need to inculcate "scientific socialism."¹⁷⁵ According to Alpay, Marx and Engels explored the laws of society, just as natural scientists ascertained the laws of the nature. But for him, these people were not the only figures comprising this literature, which Alpay thinks can be known only by reading these books that he regards as "revolutionary weapons." And here we begin to come closer have insights of *Aydınlık*'s frontiers:

Today it is impossible to comprehend scientific socialism without knowing the contributions of Lenin who implemented the Marxist theory to the circumstances of imperialism. In like manner, it is not possible to understand scientific socialism in general and the issues of the construction of socialism without knowing Stalin's contributions and, to understand the issues of national democratic and socialist revolution in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country without knowing Mao Tse-Tung's contributions.¹⁷⁶

When *Aydınlık*'s Maoist origins are taken into consideration, these leaps toward Mao and Stalin should not come as a surprise. But what is more important is the extent of the scope of this bound. Alpay moves along by accentuating the "class" character of ideology, by singling out two kinds of this phenomenon: bourgeois ideology and socialism, the ideology of the working class. For him, "it is impossible to conceive of a working class movement without a cadre of socialist intellectuals either worker or bourgeois in origin, equipped with scientific theory, who would be

¹⁷⁵ In our conversation Satlıgan also said that they were grown with the "self-image" of scientific socialism. (Interview with Nail Satlıgan, 16 February 2006, Istanbul).

¹⁷⁶ Alpay, p.145. "*Buğün bilimsel Sosyalizm, Marksist teoriyi, emperyalizm şartlarına uygulayan Lenin'in katkıları olmaksızın düşünülemez. Aynı şekilde, sosyalizmin kuruluşu meselelerini Stalin'in katkılarını bilmeksizin; yarı-sömürge ve yarı-feodal bir ülkede milli demokratik devrim ve sosyalist devrim meselelerini Mao Tse-tung'un katkılarını bilmeksizin, bilimsel sosyalizmi kavramak mümkün değildir.*"

an ideological vanguard for the working class.”¹⁷⁷ Alpay was of the opinion that the existent scientific socialist literature, which was constituted in large part by translations, was adequate for a revolutionary theoretical education. Warning that reading only this literature should not be sufficient for a socialist, he confines himself to laying out a suggestion for scientific socialism. To this end, he makes out a list composed of five general headings: Introduction to scientific socialism, philosophy, political economy, class struggles and socialism and, history. There are sub-headings, notes and additional explanations in this whole. But here I would like to refer only to general suggestions, which I think is satisfactory for opening out the theoretical vocabulary of *Aydınlık*. My presentation here may be long, but in my estimation, this is necessary and a more reasonable way than to squeeze them all in a footnote. As all the following books are also contained in the first appendix and also for space-saving, I will refer to the English titles of them, which I literally translate.¹⁷⁸

I) Introduction to Scientific Socialism

- 1) The ABC of Socialism, Leo Huberman
- 2) The Fundamental Book of Marxism, Emile Burns
- 3) Karl Marx, His Life and His Work, Henri Lefebvre
- 4) Utopian and Scientific Socialism, F. Engels

II) Philosophy

- 1) Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Joseph V. Stalin
- 2) The Elementary Principles of Philosophy, Georges Politzer
- 3) Theory and Practice, Mao Tse-tung
- 4) Philosophy for Socialists, Maurice Cornforth
- 5) L. Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy, F. Engels¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Alpay, p. 149.

¹⁷⁸ All of these books are in print in English. But as I am not going here to refer to them, I do not write the titles in italics.

¹⁷⁹ These books constitute the “fundamental philosophical reading”. But there are two other sections. First, “deep reading”: I) German Ideology, K. Marx and Engels (the first chapter), The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, F. Engels, Anti-Dühring (first chapter), F. Engels,

III) Political Economy

- 1) Wage, Price and Profit, K. Marx
- 2) Wage Labour and Capital, K. Marx
- 3) Imperialism, V. Lenin
- 4) The Critique of Capitalist Economy, Jean Baby
- 5) Political Economy, P. Nikitin
- 6) Capitalism, Yesterday and Today, Maurice Dobb¹⁸⁰

III) Class Struggles and Socialism

- 1) The Peasant War in Germany, F. Engels
- 2) Class Struggles in France (1848-1850), K. Marx
- 3) The Governmental Coup of Louis Bonaparte,¹⁸¹ K. Marx
- 4) Two Tactics, V. Lenin
- 5) What is to Be Done?, V. Lenin
- 6) Marxism and the National Question, J. V. Stalin
- 7) Nations' Right to Self-Determination, V. Lenin
- 8) Theory and Practice, Mao Tse-tung
- 9) Struggle Against Imperialism, Mao Tse-tung
- 10) Our War of Liberation, Ho Chi Minh
- 11) People's War, People's Army, Vo Nyugen Giap
- 12) Long Live the Victory of the People's War, Lin Piao
- 13) Either the Country or Death, Fidel Castro
- 14) Culture, Art and Literature, Mao Tse-tung
- 15) Art and Literature, V. Lenin

Philosophical Investigations, K. Marx and F. Engels, Materialism and Ampiriocriticism, V. Lenin, Marxism and Language, J. V. Stalin, The Fundamental Questions of Marxist Philosophy, Plekhanov, On Religion, K. Marx, The Jewish Question, K. Marx. Secondly, "auxiliary reading": Dialectical Materialism, Kuusinen, Historical Materialism, Kuusinen, Primitive, Slavery and Feudal Societies, Zubritski and others, Science and Religion in the light of Socialism, Cachin, Philosophy and Politics, Lucien Séve, Marx and Science, J. D. Bernal, Socialism and the Individual, John Lewis, The Materialism of the Primeval Age, Georges Cogniot, The Necessity of Art, Ernst Fischer, pp. 152-153.

¹⁸⁰ The same structure is also valid in this category. Firstly, deep reading: Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, K. Marx, Anti-Dühring (second chapter), F. Engels, Capital (first volume), K. Marx. Alpay refers to two way of reading Capital as advised by Marxologists and alludes to specific pages and chapters. Other books in this section are The Poverty of Philosophy, K. Marx, On Colonialism, K. Marx, On Turkey, K. Marx, The Issues of Socialist Economy, J. V. Stalin. Secondly, auxiliary reading: Political Economy (the first book), Oskar Lange, The Economic Theory of Socialism, O. Lange, Capitalist Exploitation, A. Barjonet (However, the only published book of Barjonet was *Ekonomi Politik*, issued by the Anadolu Press in 1967. Though Alpay also refers to this text, he cites the title of this book as "capitalist exploitation), The Current Crisis of World Capitalism, A. Arzumanyan, pp. 154 -155.

¹⁸¹ As is known, the original title of this work is "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte".

IV) History

- 1) The History of Socialism and Social Struggles, Max Beer
- 2) 1917 Russian Revolution, X. Coquin
- 3) The Construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, Fadayevev and others
- 4) The Development of the Soviet Economy since 1917
- 5) The Construction of Socialism in China, Charles Bettelheim and J. Charriere
- 6) The Planification of the Cuban Economy, C. Bettelheim
- 7) The Inside of the Chinese- Russian Conflict
- 8) Beijing- Moscow Conflict

Our second case is Kenan Somer's relatively shorter essay titled "What to read first?" At the beginning of his writing published five months after the first case that we have just surveyed, Somer refers to a similar piece written in French.¹⁸² As is understood, Goblot had made out a list, which he describes as "the package of a Marxist apprentice," originating from Marx and Engels and reaching to Lenin. With reference to Goblot, Somer contends that such a list is necessary to "come up" to the theory of scientific socialism, which depends upon two constituents: socialist science, i.e., historical materialism and socialist philosophy, i.e., dialectical materialism. Somer's list is more compact and simpler than Alpay's, consisting of twelve sources, four of which are "original" Turkish works and it is one arranged in an order of importance and difficulty:

- 1) Dialectical Materialism, Kuusinen
- 2) The Elementary Principles of Socialism, G. Politzer
- 3) Historical Materialism, Kuusinen
- 4) Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Stalin
- 5) Theory and Practice, Mao Tse-tung
- 6) Political Economy, Nikitin
- 7) The Critique of Capitalist Economy, Jean Baby
- 8) The ABC of Socialism, Leo Huberman
- 9) What is Imperialism?, Fethi Naci

¹⁸² Jean-Jacques Goblot, "Lecture de Lénine: 'aborder la Tâche,'" *La Nouvelle Critique*, no. 171, December 1965-January 1966 (Here is the list of Goblot as alluded to by Somer: From Marx: 18. Brumaire, Wage, Price and, Profit, Wage Labour and Capital. From Engels: Utopian and Scientific Socialism. From Marx and Engels: Communist Manifesto and Philosophical Investigations. From Lenin: What's to be Done, Karl Marx, State and Revolution, The Infantile Disease of Communism)

- 10) Manual for Economy in 100 Questions, Sadun Aren
- 11) The History of Dialectical Thought, Selâhattin Hilâv
- 12) Philosophical Investigations, Marx-Engels

What Somer wrote at the end of his essay provides us a convenient way to begin to compare these two lists. According to him, these books are sufficient to help prospective socialist cadres to leap up to a higher theoretical level. Nevertheless, Somer cautions his readers by remarking that it should not be thought that these sources are all laden with consummate and accurate truths which should be taken for granted. He asserts that the duty of these books is to “open up” the reader to other deeper, more theoretical works and adds that they are also open to critical re-reading of older readers. And ultimately, he refers his readers to Alpay’s systematical catalogue for additional utilization.

As can be remembered, Halbertal also is speaking of the fact that “canonization should be viewed not only as the addition of a status to an accepted meaning but as a transformation of meaning itself.” And here we are face to a face with the transformation of “meaning” as expressed by “Marx-ism”. What these two reading lists share is the construction of a line of Marxism mediated through some distinct figures. For the authors we referred to, the aim was clear: the popularization of the ideas of this school of thought and movement. Then, the question should be to interrogate the figures that were hitched for this mediation, selected as proper nominees for a *representation* of Marxism. As Barişta Erdost told me in our interview, his father Muzaffer İlhan Erdost, the founder of Sol Press, which, as we have seen, was the main contributor in the divulgation of the books listed here, was of the opinion that for instance, Joseph Stalin’s books could be helpful in this

regard.¹⁸³ As distinct from Somer, Alpay left a little critical margin with respect to the reading of these sources, stating that other books should also be read along with them, but it was this bulk of works that were recommended to peruse. It is a plain fact that there are some different voices in this compass, not just consisting of Stalin's handbooks. For instance, Leo Huberman was one of the spokespersons of the *Monthly Review* school, which described itself as an "independent socialist journal."¹⁸⁴ However, in general terms, a Stalin-ist and, sometimes with a Mao-ist strain suffuse these lists. For example Otto Kuusinen, whose elementary works occupied the top of the reading lists, was one of the philosophers of the Comintern in the Stalin period. Or Politzer's *Principes Élémentaires de la philosophie*, which was perhaps the book most sold and read among the Turkish leftists, was one of the standard introductory texts to "Marxist-Leninist" philosophy widely made use of in the French Communist Party.¹⁸⁵ But Henri Lefebvre, for example, a dissident Hegelian Marxist in the PCF, could only find a place by being given the role to be

¹⁸³ (Interview with Barışta Erdost, 15 May 2006, Istanbul).

¹⁸⁴ Here it might be relevant to annotate some comments on the *Monthly Review* School. Founded in 1949, this journal has never identified itself with any specific revolutionary movement, though they have always been against American imperialism and sympathetic towards the Third World revolutionary movements and especially the Chinese and the Cuban revolutions. See Max Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?" *Radical History Review*, no. 82 (Winter 2002), p. 42. Perhaps due to their affinity with such issues, their voices also echoed in the Turkish left, mostly pre-occupied with the same matters and the issue of development. Apart from a number of articles printed in journals like *Yön* and *Ant*, a few of books were also translated. For instance, Huberman and Paul Sweezy's *Sosyalist Küba* (Socialist Cuba) and Sweezy's own *Kapitalizm Nereye Gidiyor?* (Where is Capitalism Going?) were both published in 1970, prospectively by Ekim and Ağaoğlu Press. A piece of Sweezy's writing did also appear in the famous collection *Feodalizmden Kapitalizme Geçiş Süreci* (The Process of Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism) issued again in 1970 by Proleter Devrimci Aydınlik Press. The *Monthly Review* journal is being translated into Turkish in every month for about a year and, Kalkedon Press has begun to print various books of some of the prominent members of the journal such as Robert W. McChesney and John Bellamy Foster. To make a general inference, it should not be thought that this proximity to *MR* is a novel interest for the Turkish left. At most, it is an institutionalization of an earlier connection.

¹⁸⁵ Lewis notes that "one letter by Althusser from 1966 complains to a friend that he has repeatedly been asked the question why he persists in studying Marx's work when it has already been explained satisfactorily by Politzer." *Ibid.*, p. 81. This is also very familiar to the Turkish scene, where theory was mostly transformed into a technique, perfectly formulated by a distinguished leader, ready and waiting to be implemented.

the narrator of Marx's life and his works, while he had three other books of his own translated into Turkish. Nonetheless, what Alpay and Somer advised to prospective socialists on the whole was to set out on learning Marxism from these sources. Politically legitimate in itself, the prospects of this suggestion in terms of its "opening up" is open to question.

There seems to be at least two paradoxical consequences of these circumstances. First of all, Alpay and Somer is representative of separate and vying political organizations, especially diverging from themselves on the point of the "stage" of a prospective revolution. But they converge to each other with regard to the vocabulary of a certain theoretical basis of Marxism. This aspect of the issue should set socialist and scholars into more thinking on the character of this main debate continued in the 1960s. Second, in an era when the world Stalinist movement had already entered into a phase of de-Stalinization, the Turkish Left, which had awakened after a long "sleep" and began to learn socialism and Marxism while it had the chance not to fall into the same errors committed earlier by their comrades and to start anew, often reposed on the mediation of much Stalinist sources for a proper philosophical basis. In this sense, translation, which initially presented an occasion for a theoretical ascension and variegation, ended up, generally speaking, by involving in an intellectual activity circumscribing likely horizons, which greatly compromises the potential ethical promises of translation in terms of learning and inspiration, thus paving the way for self-realization. At least one of the reasons for this shift seems to be a lack of thinking over the nature of "repetition," on the "past" (by implication, potentially actual) consequences of the texts that were translated.

In the matter of translation, this intellectual enclosure was perhaps one of the most "unappetizing" heritages of the 1960s inherited by the 1970s. But it would not

be plausible to speak of a general literature evolving from an effusive phase to a closed stage. There was room for various sources in this literary clamour and disparate editorial tendencies often intersected with each other. Though it is impossible to cover all of them, it may now be equitable to cast anchor in some of these roadsteads.

CHAPTER FIVE

OUTSIDE THE BOUNDARIES

Ludwig Wittgenstein, in a context where he gave an account of the objective of his most important book, observes as follows: “Thus the aim of the book is to draw a limit to thought, or rather –not to thought, but to the expression of thoughts: for in order to be able to draw a limit to thought, we should have to find both sides of the limit thinkable (i.e. we should have to be able to think what cannot be thought).¹⁸⁶ The aim of this chapter is similar to the one specified above.

And this is related to the concept of limit. Throughout the study, I have consistently underlined the vibrant aura of publications and translations in the 1960s, of which I am aware that it is not a new observation. However, most of the conventional interpretations of these years confine themselves to only referring to those translation activities which gained a potential for visibility and readability. But it was a combination of political factors that paved the way for *some* of the books to gain distinction and *some* others not to get entitlement to much prestige, authority or priority. The incipient canonization that started from 1965 on clearly attests to this distinction. Thus it appears necessary to throw light on those areas that are relatively less known.

However, there is also a risk for being authoritative in categorizing whole books on the basis of a notion of prestige, authority and priority, which will necessitate a strictly normative foundation. What I am going to do in this chapter instead is to try to present a narrative that is divergent from the contours of dissident translation practices explained in the previous chapter. Accordingly, this narrative hopefully will provide evidence of the élan of the world of publication of Turkey in

¹⁸⁶ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, translated by D. F. Pears and B. F. McGuinness (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 3.

the 1960s. In this sense, most of them will appear to be representatives of heterodox traditions. Furthermore, they also may indicate the possible ways for the now impossible ways for a potential development and sophistication of translation practices.

The following lines are composed of five sections. The first four include books affiliated with political movements and or schools of thought (the “New Left” in its usual understood sense, Anarchism, Trotskyism and Feminism). In a world-historical sense, these have been important components of the phenomenon we call the Left, but they seem not to have acquired a footing in Turkey’s political configurations at the time. And the last one is concerned with art criticism and aesthetics, an issue included here not only on account of all the books published under its heading, but due to the fact it had been always present on the leftist agenda but usually dropped behind.

The New Left

Semantically speaking, the term “New Left” posits an “Old Left.” And historically speaking, this description first was used to explain the distinctive character of the diverse social movements that rose especially in the 1960s of the United States and Western Europe. Specifically, this “new” Left differed from the old Left, i.e., Stalinism and social democracy, in its more varicoloured and intimate concerns, like the black liberation, women’s liberation struggles, the queer movement, anti-racism, civil rights movements, green movement, anti-nuclear movement, critique of the consumption society, the moral necessity of the revolution “here and now,” solidarity with the Third World, et cetera. Hence, it attempted to include those issues which had not been deemed “political” into the frame of the

political and to redescribe the political subject, the features of political action and and its instruments.¹⁸⁷

However, no matter how different the adjectives were, the two currents were still left and in this sense, there were both continuities and discontinuities between them.¹⁸⁸ In addition, this world-historical conjuncture, which peaked in 1968, assumed different forms in different contexts.¹⁸⁹ Comparisons of these configurations are not inessential,¹⁹⁰ but it is still necessary not to take for granted a “model” which constitutes a part of a comparison, even if the normative views of the analyst naturally enter into the construction of the research itself.

This reminder is necessary, because one of the prevailing tendencies in comparisons of Turkey’s 1968 and other experiences is to sublimate the Western model and draw a balance sheet accordingly. Even though it is agreed widely that there are some intersections of demands and general characteristics between different contexts, the distinctive aspects of the West often are highlighted, as if this experience can be deemed wholly void of “negative” consequences.¹⁹¹ Yet in this section, I will still abide by this frame of comparison – without giving up my reservations - and survey briefly those voices which are generally regarded as

¹⁸⁷ Mustafa Aslantunali and Ulus Baker, “68 ve Devrimci Bir Özne Arayışı,” *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988), p. 1527.

¹⁸⁸ For an example of such an account see Tim Wohlforth, “The Sixties in America,” *New Left Review*, no. 178 (November-December, 1989), pp. 105-123.

¹⁸⁹ For such a differentiation see Arif Dirlik, “The Third World in 1968” in *1968, The World Transformed*, edited by Carole Fink, et. al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 295-317.

¹⁹⁰ For such an account of the Turkish 1968 movement see A. Bağış Erten, “A Comparative Analysis of the 1968 Movement in Turkey” (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003).

¹⁹¹ Timothy Brennan develops a more critical examination of the 1960s. See his “Organizational Imaginary,” in *Wars of Position: The Cultural Politics of Left and Right* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 147-170.

particular to the West, in order to understand whether they echoed in the Turkish political scene or not, or if so, to get a sense of the extent of those reflections.

The case of Herbert Marcuse, one of the owners of the three big M's of the New Left (the others are Mao and Marx), seems to be a good point of departure. Marcuse, the most of political wing of the Frankfurt School, resonated with the mood of the student movements of the 1960s. Having observed that the industrial proletariat had exhausted its lifetime, he saw the marginalized sectors of society as the agents of social transformation and this was the main link between his views and the "New Left." Just at the time of his "golden age," he was introduced to Turkish readers as well. May Press, founded by Mehmet Ali Yalçın (the title of the press was composed of his acronym), was the pioneer in this endeavour. Within two years, namely between 1968 and 1969, three of Marcuse's fundamental books were translated: *Tek Boyutlu İnsan* (One Dimensional Man), *Aşk ve Uygarlık* (Love and Civilization)¹⁹² and *Sovyet Marksizmi* (Soviet Marxism). Along with these, also one collection *Görünmeyen Diktatör* (Invisible Dictator), for which he wrote an article on repressive tolerance in advanced capitalist societies, was published by Ararat in 1969 and *Yeni Dergi* issued one of his articles in 1968.¹⁹³ But it would be a far-fetched assertion to claim that he had as an analogous influence in Turkey as he had in the West.

In Europe, the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s was the debut for the exposition of the views of such "Western Marxists" like Gramsci, Lukacs,

¹⁹² The original title of this work is, as is known, *Eros and Civilization*.

¹⁹³ Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, "Translator as Conveyor: Critical Thought in Turkey in the 1960s," *Works and Days*, no. 20 (2002), p. 265.

Korsch, Althusser et. al.¹⁹⁴ Among these figures, Korsch became known to most of the Turkish readers after 1980¹⁹⁵ and Lukacs then was mainly received as a literary critic.¹⁹⁶ But the literature of the other two figures was invited, little by little. It is widely believed that it was *Birikim* journal, which was established in 1975, that publicized Althusser and Gramsci in Turkish,¹⁹⁷ but a number of Althusser's articles had begun to appear in several journals towards the end of the 1960s,¹⁹⁸ though none of his books had been translated at the time. But a story of his unpublished book appears suggestive in this respect. Kız Press, to which we will refer below, decided to issue Althusser's *Lenin and Philosophy* towards the end of the decade. Though Masis Kürkçügil, the owner of the publishing house, had not read it fully, the title seemed dramatic and excited him. An eligible translator was ultimately found and the process began. After a while, Kürkçügil wanted to inform Selahattin Hilav of this good news. Yet, Hilav gave relatively negative statements about Althusser, because this philosopher was in the opinion that there was an "epistemological break" between the young Marx and the late Marx and it is a time when Hilav continuously laid stress on the concept of alienation, exclusively ascribed to the early Marx by Althusser, who highlighted the importance of the latter. Having at last learned an

¹⁹⁴ Robin Blackburn, "A Brief History of New Left Review". Available at: <http://www.newleftreview.net/?page=history>

¹⁹⁵ For instance, see Karl Korsch, *Karl Marx, Marksist Kuram ve Sınıf Hareketi*, translated by Mehmet Okyayuz, (Ankara: Doruk Yayın no. 36cılık, 2000).

¹⁹⁶ For an in-depth biography of Lukacs, see Ateş Uslu, *Marx'a Giden Yol* (Istanbul: Çivi Yazıları, 2006). The second volume of this biography has still not been published at the time of the writing of this thesis.

¹⁹⁷ There is even such a parallel observation made in the round table discussion organized among distinguished scholars like Galip Yalman, Sungur Savran and Metin Çulhaoğlu. See "Yuvarlak Masa: Batı Marksizmi Üzerine," *Praksis*, no. 13 (Winter 2005), pp. 63-64.

¹⁹⁸ Louis Althusser, "Devrim Silahı Olarak Felsefe," *Aydınlık Sosyalist Dergi* no. 6 (1969); and "Marksist İlkeleri Nerede Bulacağız? I," *Emek* no. 5 (16 June 1969) – "Marksist İlkeleri Nerede Bulacağız? II," *Emek* no. 6 (30 June 1969). In the first article published in *Emek*, Kenan Somer wrote a very short text "Why Althusser?"

informed view about Althusser, Kürkçügil decided not to publish the book.¹⁹⁹ This case is a vivid example of the mechanisms of the world of publication woven with fortuities.

On the other hand, several books of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci were available in Turkish in the 1960s. First, his prison letters were brought out by Gerçek Press and second, a selection of his writings under the title *Aydınlar ve Toplum* was issued by Çan, with a mutual translation by Vedat Günyol, Ferit Edgü and Bertan Onaran. In a review, Mehmet Doğan euologically presented these books and hoped that other translations of Gramsci ensued.²⁰⁰ But they did not, at least not until the mid-1970s.

Apart from these distinguished theoreticians,²⁰¹ the “hot” developments of the end of the decade could also be mirrored in the catalogues. We referred earlier to Bendit’s and Duclos’s books which were published in the same volume within the Opposition Series by Ant Press. This project brings into mind that the press may have wanted to incite a discussion among the militants by way of presenting antagonistic opinions on a specific issue. Sander Press also was contributory through its translation of a book on the 1968 youth movements in Europe. In a similar vein, Jean Paul Sartre’s condemnation of the Parti Communiste Français (PCF) for its timidity in the 1968 events, with the title *Komünistler Devrimden Korkuyor* (Communists are Afraid of Revolution) was issued by Öncü Bookstore. Though the

¹⁹⁹ (Interview with Masis Kürkçügil, 16 April 2006, Istanbul). This book would be published by Birikim Press in 1976, with a mutual translation by Bülent Aksoy, Erol Tulpar and Murat Belge.

²⁰⁰ Mehmet Doğan, “Antonio Gramsci Üzerine,” *Ant* no. 30 (25 July 1967), pp. 14-15.

²⁰¹ Perhaps we should add the translation of Charles Wright Mills’ critical survey of the influential figures of Marxism by Ağaoglu Press in 1966. In addition, remember that Ant Press issued his defense of the Cuban revolution, with the title *Dinle Yankee* (Listen Yankee) in 1969. For instance, the American student movement of the 1960s was very familiar with this radical sociologist. See Wohlforth, p. 107.

book was translated by Şiar Yalçın, another translator, Muvaffak Şeref, wrote a cautionary preface loaded with reserves, where, for instance, he observed that, “Sartre’s identification of socialist planning with the operation of capitalism which transforms human beings into a plaything is without doubt his greatest mistake.”²⁰² And he puts an end to his writing with a severe warning encompassing a leitmotif of the intellectual discussions around translation:

But those who speak of a “Turkish socialism” by putting forward the particular conditions of Turkey cannot go ahead of *copying* the sources of the main capitalist western countries in theory and practice. Turkish socialists must break loose from *copying* Roger Garaudy, Henri Lefebvres, Waldeck Rochet, Jacques Duclos, René Andrieu. And of course, Herbert Marcuses and J. P. Sartres. And again, of course, after reading and criticizing these and such figures.²⁰³

We will turn to this persistent metaphor of copying later. Now let us continue with other remainders. The Prague Spring was of vital concern in the conjuncture of 1968. The supersession of Antonin Novotny by Alexander Dubček on 5 January 1968 and the commencement of reforms moved the USSR to such anger that the armies of the Warsaw Pact occupied the city and deposed Dubček. This event added to the discredit of the Soviet Union in the eyes of many people in the West. But there were some differences of opinion in Turkey. While Mehmet Ali Aybar denounced the occupation resolutely, Mihri Belli and the *Türk Solu* circle were for the occupation. The other two important figures of the TLP, Sadun Aren and Behice Boran were on similiar terms with Aybar, but when he began to articulate his discourse of “socialism with a similing face,” they began to emphasize the unity and

²⁰² Muvaffak Şeref, “Önsöz”, in Jean Paul Sartre, *Komünistler Devrimden Korkuyor*, translated by Şiar Yalçın (Istanbul: Öncü Kitabevi, 1969), p. 7.

²⁰³ “Oysa, Türkiye’nin kendine özgü koşullarını öne sürerek “Türkiye sosyalizmin”nden söz açanlar, teori ve pratikte başlıca kapitalist batı ülkeleri kaynaklarını kopye etmekten öteye gidemiyorlar. Türk sosyalistleri Roger Garaudy’leri, Henri Lefebvre’leri, Waldeck Rochet, Jacques Duclos, René Andrieu’leri kopye etmekten kurtulmalıdırlar. Tabii Herbert Marcuse’leri ve J. P. Sartre’leri da. Ve yine tabii, bunları vb.ni okuduktan ve eleştirdikten sonra.” Ibid. , p. 8 (italics are mine).

the scientificity of socialism.²⁰⁴ According to Akın, the Prague Spring led the youth in the West to cut loose of established leftist parties and the vision of “actually existing socialism.” But in Turkey, on the contrary, this occupation was denounced by those sectors which the youth movement accused of pacifism.²⁰⁵ There would be instant repercussions of this event in the field of translation. In the last month of 1968, E Press, which was headed by Cengiz Tuncer, issued a collection of articles on the Prague Spring titled *Doğmayan Hürriyet* (Unborn Freedom), with an introduction by Garaudy who was one of the dissenting voices in the French Communist Party, polarized in itself by the blows dealt by the momentous event. This book included contributions by such noted Czech figures as Dubček, Ota Šik, and Hajek. On the other hand, Habora published after a year a book by Castro, *Çekoslavakya Meselesi* (The Issue of Czechoslovakia) where he feverishly supported the occupation of the USSR. As Cuba and its leaders Castro and Che Guevara were held in high esteem at the time, the opinions of Castro immediately found sympathizers in the Turkish left, such as the followers of *Türk Solu*.²⁰⁶ The fact that it was translated by Cengiz Çandar, an ex-member of the *Aydınlık* circle, is revealing in this respect. This case is a clear example of the vying attitudes of the radical publishers and the intersecting paths of different literatures within the general whole.

While the sixties evidenced less mediated forms of class struggles and other social movements in the West,²⁰⁷ significant segments of the movements in Turkey

²⁰⁴ Akın, pp. 13-15.

²⁰⁵ Akın, p. 15.

²⁰⁶ Akın, p. 13-14.

²⁰⁷ There is a theoretical discussion over the nature of these struggles. How “new” are such struggles, are they a form of class struggle in the classical Marxist sense, if so what is the distinct quality of them that lead these movements to be differentiated, are among some of the main questions within this debate. For a critical analysis, see Gülnur Acar-Savran, “Marksizm ve ‘Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler’ Tartışması” in *Özne-Yapı Gerilimi: Maddeci Bir Bakış* (Istanbul: Kanat Yayınları, 2006).

largely condensed on worker and peasant struggles, along with the fight of the youth. However, this differentiation did not prevent the effort of learning from the experiences of the Western people. Ant's publication of *Siyah İktidar* (Black Power) was emblematic in this respect. Though there was not a strict correlative of such a struggle in Turkey, Ant's arms, like those of an octopus, clawed hold of this source and laid it down in front of Turkish readers.²⁰⁸

Feminism

Feminist consciousness implies that women recognize that they belong to a dominated social group and thus they are subjected to injustice and that this injustice is a social/cultural phenomenon, not a natural one. And feminism subsumes the fight to redress these unfair conditions by organizing an independent struggle and presenting an alternative vision of future.²⁰⁹ In Turkey such an explicit consciousness and a struggle sprang up towards the end of the 1970s and continued from then on by improving in strength.²¹⁰ It is evident by implication that 1960s Turkey seems to be well-nigh barren in terms of feminist sensibility, let alone feminist politics, if we do not count the establishment of the Revolutionary Union of Women in 1969, among whose member was Suat Derviş and some other socialist women.²¹¹ But in general terms, according to Gülnur Acar-Savran, 1968's wind, the peak point of the social

²⁰⁸ For a comparative perspective of the ideological sources of 1968, see Gün Zileli, "68'in İdeolojik Kaynakları" *Birikim* no. 109 (May 1998).

²⁰⁹ Fatmagül Berktaş, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Feminizm," in *Tarihin Cinsiyeti* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003), p. 88.

²¹⁰ Emel Akal's history of the Association of Progressive Women, which was founded in 1975 gratifyingly, depicts the initial years of the socialist feminist movement in Turkey. See her *Kızıl Feministler* (Istanbul: TÜSTAV Yayınları, 2003).

²¹¹ Akal, *Ibid.*, p. 83.

movements of the 60s, did not blow much over women in Turkey, while in the West the “second wave” of feminism rejuvenated towards the late 60’s.²¹²

This aridity predictably was reflected in the feminist works translated (or not translated) into Turkish in the lack of sufficient demand for them. But if we leave aside Bebel’s *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*, which was republished by Remzi İnanç’s Toplum Press in 1966 and look at the literature at hand,²¹³ we might see that the first flow of feminism with a different character from the Republican feminism was channeled via existentialism, which was in vogue in Turkish intellectual scene from the 1950s to the 1980s.²¹⁴ And it was mainly Simone De Beavouir’s books that triggered this flow. Her monographs on specific issues, novels and autobiography mostly were rendered into Turkish in the 1960s. For instance, her best known study, *Le Deuxième Sexe* (The Second Sex), a foundational treatise analyzing women’s oppression in detail, was translated by Orhan Suda and published by Aziz Nesin’s Düşün Press in 1962.²¹⁵ Yet, it is interesting to read Suda’s preface where he criticizes existentialism as a current trying to counter a philosophy based on an external reality:

I am against these games and such deceits. I am against Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. But this opposition is not an obstacle for me to try

²¹² Gülnur Acar-Savran, “Feminizm 68’in Çocuğu mu?,” in *Beden Emek Tarih: Diyalektik Bir Feminizm İçin* (Istanbul: Kanat Yayınları, 2004), p. 348.

²¹³ It seems striking that this book was published together with the sociologist Evinç Dinçer’s study *Türk Toplumunda Kadın Sorunu* in the same volume. At the back cover of this book, whose 145 pages were of Bebel’s and 50 pages of Dinçer’s, wrote that Toplum Press believed that this article by Dinçer added an additional significance to Bebel’s book.

²¹⁴ See Ayşenaz Koş, especially pp. 25-37.

²¹⁵ This book received a generally positive evaluation in a short anonymous essay published in *Yön*, where it was depicted as the “Manifesto of the Women’s Liberation Struggle.” See “Kadın Nedir?” *Yön* no. 14 (21 March 1962), pp. 18-19. Ergun Aydınöglü goes further and observes that *Yön* has the credit for with dealing with such new social issues like the woman question in an intensive way, see his *Eleştirel Bir Tarih Denemesi (1960-1971): Türk Solu* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1992), p. 42. However, there is not such an emphasis in the survey by Gökhan Atılğan that we have referred to before.

to understand and examine them, to recognize their positive practices in quite a few realms, some truths and beauties in their works.²¹⁶

This quotation by an eminent translator points not only to the intellectual fervour even for currents that are deemed not close to one that serves as the bridge between two cultures but also to the absence of a salient feminist request for learning. Nevertheless, apart from her novels, De Beauvoir's tract on the ethical responsibility that an individual feels to him or herself *Pyrrhus ile Cineas* (Pyrrhus and Cineas) was translated in 1963 and her autobiography *Kadınlığının Hikâyesi* (The Story of My Womanhood) in 1969, again by male translators, respectively, Asım Bezirci and Erdoğan Tokatlı.

Except for De Beauvoir, there are few studies definitively written on feminist issues. Dr. B. Muldworf's *Sosyalizm Açısından Cinsiyet ve Kadın* (Gender and Women According to Socialism), published by Gerçek Press, which was established by Fethi Naci in the mid-1960s is the sole exception. Optimistically speaking, this book, which is based upon a Marxist viewpoint, is nevertheless revealing in that an awareness, even if minute, of feminist matters began to stand out at least on the publishing level.

Eventually, there are the "Marxist classics" which can be viewed as related to the woman question. Friedrich Engels' *Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni* (The Root of the Family, Private Property and the State) emerges in this canon with its emphasis on the historical formation of the family, an issue directly concerned with the domestic labour of women. Though sublated by more sophisticated various feminist thinkers, this study is still regarded as an essential historical reading by

²¹⁶ "Ben bu oyunlara, bu aldatmacalara karşıyım. Sartre'a, Simone de Beauvoir'e karşıyım. Ama bu karşıtlık onları anlamaya, incelemeye çalışmama, birçok alanlarda yaptıkları olumlu işleri, eserlerindeki yer yer doğruları, güzellikleri görmeme engel değil." Orhan Suda, "Çevirenden Okura" in Simone de Beauvoir, *Kadın Nedir: İkinci Cins*, translated by Orhan Suda (Istanbul: Düşün Yayınevi, 1962), pages not given.

many socialist feminists. And there is also the compilation of Marx's writings on the woman question *Kadın ve Komünizm* (Woman and Communism) prepared by Öncü Bookstore in 1970.

A bird eye's view on the panorama will suffice to comprehend that feminist books or books related to women were indeed under-represented in the domestic translation literature.²¹⁷ The underlying reasons for this under-representation are primarily political factors. Feminism was only then coming into its "afterlife" in the West. But the conventional pattern made use of for charting the history of the history of the feminist movement does not conform to the making of this movement in Turkey. It seems suitable to contend that the determining factor for this "void," is the lack, not a "lateness," of a manifestly feminist demand and therefore, the patriarchal structure of the left in general. We have to bear in mind that even Behice Boran, the second head of the Turkish Labour Party and the most visible woman in the leftist political platform, was not oriented to such a differentiation in her political priorities.²¹⁸ This fragility in the feminist emphasis naturally reverberated in the editorial choices of most of the publishing houses. At this conjuncture, let alone the works of the second wave of feminism reviving mostly in the United States and Western Europe (except for De Beauvoir), but also the products of the first wave, in which we can refer, for instance, to Clara Zetkin and Alexandra Kollontai's studies, were absent. This is even reflected in the number of female translators of such intellectual books. If we take into consideration the first appendix attached to the

²¹⁷ For an in-depth archive of feminist books, see *Türkiye'de Kadın Konulu Kitapların Bibliyografyası (1729-2002)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006).

²¹⁸ For a more intricate interpretation of Behice Boran and the woman question, see Fatmagül Berktaş, "Behice Boran: 'Karar Verme Selahiyeti'ne Sahip Bir Kadın," in Berktaş, pp. 192-204.

end of the thesis, we only encounter the names of Sevim Belli,²¹⁹ İrvem Keskinoglu, Seçkin Çağan, Evinç Dinçer, Zeynep Seyhan, Sabiha Serim, Sevil Avcioglu and Şeyla Benhabib, who is at the moment one of the most renowned political philosophers of the world.²²⁰ As has been implicated at the beginning of this section, we would have to wait until the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s when an independent feminist movement worked her way up, to have feminist translators and to read feminist books from various stripes.

Trotskyism

The Trotskyist movement, or to call it by its original name, “the Left Opposition” rose against or was characterized primarily by its “opposition” to Stalinism and its critique of the bureaucratization or the degeneration of the Soviets.²²¹ Even though some followers of this movement did not come to terms with it, most of the members of the Left Opposition aimed at constructing the Fourth International, thus endeavoring to perpetuate the revolutionary period of the first four congresses of the Third International. But from the beginning, there were some dissenting voices within the movement and therefore, it would be more pertinent to say “Trotskyisms” rather than an absolute and all-embracing Trotskyism.²²² The

²¹⁹ For instance, in her memoirs, Sevim Belli does not refer to any feminist motivation in her translation experiences. See Sevim Belli *Boşuna mı Çiğnedik?* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1994), especially, pp. 440-450.

²²⁰ As the translator of Konstantin Çukalas’ *Yunanistan Dosyası* published by the Ant Press in 1970, it was only written “Şeyla”. Masis Kürkçügil, who is an old friend of Şeyla Benhabib, said that the translator’s surname was “Benhabib.” (Interview with Masis Kürkçügil, 16 April 2006, Istanbul).

²²¹ The standard thesis within the Trotskyist tradition is the one upheld by Trotsky. According to him, USSR is a bureaucratic and degenerated worker country. But there other theses like Tony Cliff’s theory of state capitalism or Max Schactman’s theory of bureaucratic collectivism.

²²² See among others, Ian D. Thatcher, *Trotsky* (London: Routledge Press, 2003); and Alex Callinicos, *Trotskyism* (Minnesota: Minnesota University Press, 1990).

underlying grounds for this conclusion is that a number of movements that are formed by reference to this label substantiate the reference in various ways.

In Turkey, this movement could just find a political base and an organizational force towards the end of the 1970s. Until then, there were only a few people flirting with some of the arguments of Trotskyism. If things had been just so, there would not have been any problem for these anti-Stalinists. But Stalinism, which nearly suffused the entirety of the Turkish left, brought about a negative appreciation of them. The term negative is in fact a “positive” one for Trotskyists, because their designation has frequently been used as a swear-word against the dissenters within the general movement. An example: In 1932 when Nazım Hikmet and friends gathered in a separate assembly, they were condemned as the “Trotskyist-Police opposition” by the central committee of the Turkish Communist Party.²²³ Or Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, the “original” thinker of the socialist left, argued, relating to Hikmet, as follows: “He was, in his social and psychological temper, a Trotsky without knowing Trotsky.”²²⁴ Therefore, in the words of Ali Rıza Tura, the ghost of this movement, which had a semi-demoniacal complexion in the common imagination of the Turkish leftists, was cruising over the vault of the Turkish left before it actually made itself visible in a concrete way.²²⁵ It would not be suggestive to characterize a political movement ahistorically and aspatially: Trotskyism may figure in a mainstream opposition somewhere, but it is safe to say that, at least as an idea, it has represented in Turkey, generally speaking, an heterodox tradition nearly up until today.

²²³ See Emin Karaca, *Sevdalınız Komünisttir (Nazım Hikmet'in Siyasal Yaşamı)* (Istanbul: Karakutu Yayınları, 2003), pp. 123-124.

²²⁴ Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, *Kim Suçlamış* (Istanbul: Yol Yayınları, 1979), p. 60.

²²⁵ Ali Rıza Tura, “Türkiye’de ‘Trotskizmin’ Serüveni,” *Sınıf Bilinci* no. 22 (Winter 1998-1999), pp. 101-106.

As was implied in the previous chapter, this stumbling block in the face of Trotskyism manifested itself in the content of the works published in the early Republican period. Then it was hard to find even a disinterested source, let alone an committed anti-Stalinist work. But this does not comprise all of the story. If we remember Rasih Nuri İleri's account, translating a work with a title like "Lenin and Trotsky" was sufficient reason to feel pressure that you one might have been stigmatized with the label "traitor" in the wake of the Moscow show trials. Or in the case of his son, Rasih Nuri İleri, a parallel dilemma is seen: When he translated John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* at the age of sixteen, he could not publish it, since Reed portrayed the two outstanding figures of the October Revolution in a positive light.²²⁶ When this book was at last published in Turkish in 1967, it would come forward without the original prefaces written by Lenin and his wife Krupskaya. But the comprehensiveness of the publishing activity in the 1960s was such that these years would witness the first stirrings of Trotskyism in Turkey, no matter how feeble they were.

"The end of the 1960s" would be more correct than to say "these years, because most of the Trotskyist works (or say, critical and anti-Stalinist voices within the Marxist paradigm) were published between 1968 and 1971. Contrary to conventional observations,²²⁷ the interesting thing is that most of these books were

²²⁶ As has been mentioned before, the exceptions to the non-appearance of his books in Turkish are the pamphlet co-written with Zinoviev and published in 1928 and his partially translated biography of Stalin, which was published in 1948.

²²⁷ The conventional observation is that K z and Suda Publishing Houses put these sources into publication. It is true that K z, which was established by Masis K rk g gil, started its activity in 1969. But, the scope of its program of publication was limited. This condition was essentially due to the fact that the 12 March 1971 coup temporarily curtailed the course of the publishing house. But on the other hand, Orhan Suda would initiate Suda Press in the midst of the 1970s and until then he scarcely had been known as a Trotskyist. This is evident in his memoirs, in which he quickly skips over his political leanings, perhaps because he does not want to remember those years. See Orhan Suda, *Bir  mr n Kiyularında* (Istanbul: Alkım Yayınları, 2004).

not published by a devoted anti-Stalinist publishing house and that they were represented among other and sometimes substantially conflicting studies. This situation is an indicator of the effort of the intellectual quest of the times and the sometimes contingent feature of publishing activity.

Before Leon Davidovich Bronstein's own works were published in Turkish, some sources which sustain a close or organic tie with his thoughts were translated into Turkish. Even though he cannot be deemed a typical Trotskyist, Belgian historian Marcel Liebman's *Rus İhtilali: Bolşevik Başarısının Kaynakları, Gelişmesi ve Anlamı* (Russian Revolution: The Sources, Development and the Significance of the Bolshevik Success) is perhaps the first book that subsumed such a critical tone. The paradoxical thing is that this book was featured by Varlık Press, which cannot be regarded as specifically "leftist." The translator Samih Tiryakioğlu began his preface with words perhaps reminiscent of the legal restraint over the publication of left books.²²⁸ He first explained that Russia and Turkey were two countries that geography "sentenced" to neighborhood. Then he went on to tell that these countries had fought with each other over centuries but thanks to Atatürk and Lenin they had entered into a peaceful period, except for Stalin's aggressive demands. "Peaceful co-existence," according to Tiryakioğlu, laid the ground for acquainting oneself with this neighbor on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution. In his opinion, the books that had been written on this topic departed from each other only in that they either extol or curse this country. Consequently, Tiryakioğlu believed that Liebman's informed but neutral position will help in understanding Russia

²²⁸ It is possible to find such unease in many translator prefaces. For instance, Güneş Şahiner, the translator of Lenin's *Sosyalizm* (Socialism) published by Habora Press in 1969, alludes to Mahmut Esat Bozkurt's preface, referred to in the second chapter, to safeguard himself from prospective charges for communist propaganda.

without recouring to others' leadership.²²⁹ And there was another commendatory preface written by another great historian Isaac Deutscher in the last days of his life. Perhaps this heralded the prospective appearance of some of his books in Turkish.

Deutscher was a Polish socialist and historian, who, after departing from the Polish Communist Party, acted together with Leon Trotsky until the foundation of the Fourth International but did not take part in the organizational realm thereafter, though he continued the defense of the kernel of Marxist thoughts and the criticism of Stalinism. Especially his historical works served, so to say, as a "teaching material" for the New Left, which had difficulty adopting Marxist views due to the identification of them with a Soviet type of Marxism.²³⁰ Just at a time when Deutscher's books were regarded in high esteem in Europe and the Unites States, they would also be introduced to the Turkish left. His enormous biographies of Stalin and Trotsky, the two master enemies, translated respectively by Selahattin Hilâv and Rasih Güran and published by Ağaoğlu Press, and his short study *Bitmemiş Devrim: Sovyet Rusya 1917-1967* (Unfinished Revolution: Soviet Russia 1917-1967), translated by Seçkin Çağan and issued by Bülen Habora's Habora Bookstore in 1969, were significant in certain respects.²³¹ First of all, these books were indicative of the receptive mood of the leftist publishers in the 1960s at a time when the reign of

²²⁹ "Çevirenin Önsözü," Samih Tiryakioğlu, in Marcel Liebman, *Rus İhtilali: Bolşevik Başarısının Kaynakları, Gelişmesi ve Anlamı*, translated by Samih Tiryakioğlu (Istanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1968), pages not given.

²³⁰ For instance, in the mid-60s Perry Anderson argued, "who would deny that the only Marxist intellectual of world eminence in Britain is today Isaac Deutscher" and also suggested that Deutscher was "the greatest living historian of his time." Quoted in Paul Blackledge, *Perry Anderson, Marxism and the New Left* (London: Merlin Press, 2004), p. 3.

²³¹ Ağaoğlu Press was one of the distinct literary institutions of the time. The status of their publications is clearly outside the canon, as a quick glance will suffice to understand. However, in Habora, Deutscher was issued among such politically diverse figures like Bakunin, Mao, Castro and Stalin et cetera. According to Ertuğrul Kürkçü, this circumstance is both due to the effort to publish books for every spectrum of the left and to commercial reasons. (Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 26 June 2006, Istanbul).

Stalinism prevailed. Second, they were perhaps the most prominent heterodox books within the socialist canon. And third, despite the fact that they received ambiguous evaluations in some political journals,²³² they were influential in sparking critical questions in the minds of some intellectuals. For instance, Gün Zileli, then a member of Maoist Aydınlik (Light) and now an anarchist, underlines the importance of these books for him. He argues that even though these works did not automatically change his thoughts, he would later recognize the affects of them.²³³ Ertuğrul Kürkçü, then a leading member of Dev-Genç (Revolutionary Youth) is of the same opinion. He tells that Deutscher's books cleared the way for being meditative. And he adds that the milieu in which these books were read, i.e., the prisons of 12 March, provided some intellectuals a relatively more balanced environment to revise their previously held beliefs.²³⁴

Another outstanding book of Trotskyist origin was *Marksist Ekonomi El Kitabı* (A Handbook for Marxist Economy) by Ernest Mandel, published towards the end of the 1960s by Ant Publishing and translated by Orhan Suda. Mandel was an eminent economist and a leader of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. His viewpoints diverged from most of the books that can be categorized under political economy in that it problematized the "socialist" status given to the USSR and that it was based on a general framework in line with that analysis commenced

²³² For instance, in *Türk Solu* Deutscher's biography of Stalin is depicted by N. Yılmaz without any reservation. See N. Yılmaz, "Yeni Kitaplar", no. 69 (11 March 1969), p. 14. But after about three months when "Unfinished Revolution" was published in Turkish, the publicity would this time end with a negative statement: "It is not possible to vest with Isaac Deutscher's views from A to Z." ("*Isaac Deutscher'in görüşlerine tümüyle hak vermek mümkün değildir.*" N.Yılmaz, "Yeni Kitaplar," no. 81 (3 June 1969) p. 14.

²³³ (Interview with Gün Zileli, 11 April 2006, via Internet). In his memoirs, Zileli recalls that he had read Deutscher's biography of Stalin in its entirety. But he adds that he understood nothing from that book: "If I had understood it, would I have been a trenchant defender of Stalin for years?" See Gün Zileli, *Yarıлма (1954-1972)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 382.

²³⁴ (Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 23 May 2006, Istanbul).

by Trotsky. An anecdote narrated by Masis Kürkçügil, the founder of Kız Press, is suggestive. He rendered an account of a discussion (in his own words, an ideological wrangle”) between himself and a member of the Kurdish Democrat Party (KDP), which was a Stalinist organization in origin, while they were in prison after 12 March. They were disputing about the USSR and after a while he recognized that his interlocutor was knowledgeable in USSR politics and used concepts well familiar to himself. Then he asked him where he had learned all of these information, and his fellow prisoner cited Mandel’s work. But when Kürkçügil responded by stating that Mandel was a Trotskyist, he abruptly staggered and accused Kürkçügil of lying!²³⁵ Kürkçügil also reported that while there was a discussion over “uninterrupted revolution” in the pages of *Ant*, Stalin and Mao’s views were mixed and Mandel’s book could be presented by the observation that: “this work is one of the fundamental books that revolutionaries should definitely read, just as it should be throughout the whole world.”²³⁶

If Mandel is the most sophisticated advocate of the theory of the degenerated workers’ state, Tony Cliff is his equivalent in the theory of state capitalism. It may come as a surprise (even to old and contemporary Trotskyists), but one of his works also was translated at the time. Published by Ertuğrul Başar’s Anadolu Press and translated by Yurdakul Fincancı, this was a biography of or a treatise on Rosa Luxemburg. In the scope of the books listed in the appendix, it seems that the first book by Rosa herself, *Kitle Grevleri, Parti ve Sendikalar* (Mass Strikes, Party and the Trade Unions), was issued by Habora in 1969. Then it means that Cliff’s book was the first book on Luxemburg in Turkish. He was not presented to Turkish

²³⁵ (Interview with Masis Kürkçügil, 16 April 2006, Istanbul).

²³⁶ Masis Kürkçügil, “1960’larda Türkiye’de Sosyalist Hareketin Oluşumu,” *Yeni Yol*, no. 21 (Spring 2006), p. 92.

readers with his theory of state capitalism, which is what makes him characteristically different from many Marxists. But his emphasis on the self-emancipatory potential of the working class and his critique of substitutionism in general which he explicated in this book through the mediation of Rosa seems not to have been of much use.

And ultimately, Trotsky himself was able to be known after his disciples. The first book by him was *Ekim Dersleri* (Lessons of October) which exemplifies the beginning of his fight against the so-called “Bolshevik” faction. The lines penned by the translator Engin Atalay in his notes placed at the beginning shows that he takes heed of this study:

But it would be wrong to view the “Lessons of October” as the sole defense of Trotsky and his effort to exculpate himself by making counter assaults. Apart from the passages that are directed to individuals, one observes straight away that a mind which has perfectly grasped the dialectical viewpoint and understanding of historical materialism has thrivingly carried these into effect over revolutions in general and critical examinations of the Russian Revolution specifically.²³⁷

On the other hand, the underlying theoretical rationale of his account of the October revolution, which was against Stalin’s theory of socialism in one country, was set forth in *Sürekli Devrim Çağı* (The Age of Permanent Revolution), featured by Habora in 1971. However, both of these studies were issued by publishing houses (Ser and Habora, respectively) whose substantial program was indeed confused in theoretical and political respects.²³⁸ The publishing house which was

²³⁷ (“*Fakat, ‘Ekim Dersleri’ni yalnız Trotsky’nin savunması ve karşı hücumlarla kendini temize çıkarma çabası olarak görmek hatalı olur. Kişilere yöneltilmiş pasajların dışında, gerek anlamda devrimlerin, gerekse özel olarak Rus Devriminin eleştirisel incelemelerine, dialektik görüşü ve tarihi materyalizm anlayışını mükemmelen kavramış bir zekânın, bunları büyük bir başarıyla uyguladığı derhal göze çarpmaktadır.*”) “Çevirenin Notu,” in Leon Troçki, *Ekim Dersleri*, translated by Engin Atalay (Ankara: Ser Yayınları, 1969), p. 7.

²³⁸ In the case of Ser, Kürkçü ascribes this confusion to the shift in editorial management from Bekir Harputlu to Süleyman Ege (Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 26 June 2006, Istanbul).

established was by a “card-carrying” Trotskyist, Masis Kürkçügil, was Kız. Until the 12 March coup, they could only publish Trotsky’s *Hayatım* (My Life), apart from a few books by Marx and Engels. It was after this interruption that Kız increased its volume of publications.

Last but not least, I want now to allude to a “u-translation,” in the sense that that book was aimed to be translated but was not. As I learned in our interview, Bekir Harputlu, the editor of Ser Press, had suggested Ertuğrul Kürkçü translate the letters of Trotsky. At that point, Kürkçü said to me that he had felt like he had been admitted to a temple. This was the temple of translators, which he regarded as the place of highly significant intellectuals all throughout the Republican history.²³⁹ In this juncture, we see that the esteem of translators, which had been accorded to them in rendering classical books into Turkish between 1940 and 1966, continued and also entered into the field of the translation of left books.

These studies are nearly the sum-total of the “Trotskyist” books issued between 1960 and 1971. In comparison with the dominant canon, their number is dramatically few and their extent within their own universe is very limited. And it would not be possible to argue that they affected some political developments or configurations. But on the whole, they are indicative of the intellectual, if not political, attempts to deviate from the “ruling” left ideologies preached then.

Anarchism

If we leave aside the conventional connotations of anarchism like “chaos” and “disorder,” the diverse proponents of this bundle of thoughts which can be classified under the category of anarchism have agreed mutually on the etymological character of the word: the prefix a- which integrates a negative meaning to the noun

²³⁹ (Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 26 June 2006, Istanbul).

following it, “cratos”, which in Greek mean “power”, “government”, et cetera. Anarchism, in brief, denotes a world “without rule.”

Retrospectively seen, the anarchist movement is today mostly deemed as very discrete from its “hostile sibling” Marxism, though, for instance, the First International (“The International Working Men’s Association”) could take shape by the mutual contributions of both. Albeit the fact that they have some joint qualities which are usually not recognized (like the creation of an egalitarian society without social classes and governments),²⁴⁰ they part from each other in the point of achieving this goal, an everlasting discussion epitomized in the concept of “state.” While Marx and most of his followers have caught onto the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat,²⁴¹ anarchists resolutely have repudiated such an intermediary stage. Perhaps it is this emphasis of anarchism that has led to its intellectual and political weakness or exiguity in the Turkish left spectrum, the core of which has been inspired by Kemalism and various modes of Stalinism both of which come to an agreement regarding statism.

It was perhaps this fixation that brought about the ineffectiveness of anarchist ideas in Turkey, which was naturally reflected in the shortage, not an absence of, translated anarchist literature. We can call to mind that Haydar Rifat rendered Peter Kropotkin’s *Anarşizm* into Turkish in 1932,²⁴² or that the first, albeit summarized,

²⁴⁰ For instance, see the following work for its endeavour to give thought to both movements on the common point of “associationism”. Kojin Karatani, *Transcritique: On Kant and Marx*, translated by Sabu Kohso (London: The MIT Press, 2005) and also for the history and the analysis of the discussion between Marx and the anarchists see Paul Thomas, *Marx ve Anarşistler*, translated by Devrim Evcı (Istanbul: Ütopya Yayınevi, 2000).

²⁴¹ I say “most” of his followers, because, for example the Second International after the First World War or the some of communist parties in Europe in the mid 70s rejected this notion, while still claiming their heritage on Marxism for a time.

²⁴² But it is ironic that this book has another version, which has the same content but republished with the name of Proudhon.

version of Marx's *Capital* from which the early Turkish socialists acquired their preliminary knowledge was prepared by Carlo Cafiero, who had participated in an organization together with the Marxists but afterwards turned his face towards anarchism. But there was no other effort to come to grasp with the fundamentals of this tradition at least via translation.

Nevertheless, even though the conventional observations are to the contrary, the breadth of the intellectual of the 1960s seems to be so inclusive that some anarchist literature was able to find a place for itself within the broad field. As instance of these writings, we see that some general books on anarchism began to be published after 1965. Gerçek Press issued a short descriptive study by Henri Arvon with the title *Anarşizm Nedir?* (What is Anarchism?). In the same year, Habora published British philosopher Cyril Edwin Joad's *Sosyalizm Sendikalizm Komünizm Anarşizm* (Socialism, Syndicalism, Communism, Anarchism), which briefly explains anarchist views through the mediation of Kropotkin's ideas. After a year, *Çağdaş Düşüncede Toplumsal Tepki* (Social Reaction in the Contemporary Thought) by J. S. Schapiro was published by Köprü Press and it contained a general description of the views of Godwin, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Proudhon within its thirty-page section on anarchism. George Woodcock's *Anarşizm* (Anarchism), a momentous overview which traces the history of the tradition both as an idea and a movement, was featured this time not by a radical publisher but by the Bookselling Limited Trade Company. This is perhaps a perfect example of the energetic mood of the 1960s, since a business company could also pitch into encapsulating the intellectually seeking atmosphere. In 1969, Payel featured Howard Fast's *Sacco ile Vanzetti'nin Çilesi* (The Suffering of Sacco and Vanzetti).²⁴³ And though we will go into it in the

²⁴³ The English original version has the word "passion" instead of "suffering" in its title.

next section, in the same year Daniel Cohn-Bendit's *Anarşizm: Komünist Bürokrasiye Karşı* (Anarchism: Against Communist Bureaucracy)²⁴⁴ was issued by Ant Press together with French Communist Jacques Duclos's *Anarşizm: Sol Adına Sola İhanet* (Anarchism: Betrayal of the Left in the name of the Left) within its Oppositions Series.

On the other hand, these years were also the time for the beginning of the publication of "anarchist classics." Kropotkin's *Anarşizm* and Bakunin's *Seçme Düşünceler* (Selected Thoughts) were published by Habora in 1967. In addition, Pierre Joseph Proudhon's *Mülkiyet Nedir?* (What is Property?), on the back cover of which was stated that this rendering had been a "very late translation," was issued by Ararat in 1969. It is evident that the fundamental thought underlying these sources did not play a perceptible role in 1960s Turkish leftist thought, but as Ertuğrul Kürkçü points out, they were known and read by some university students at the time.²⁴⁵ Moreover, we know that Mehmet Ali Aybar, the head of the Turkish Labour Party, suggested to young people in a district meeting in Beşiktaş not to content themselves with reading only the works of Marx and Engels but open up themselves to the books by, for instance, Rosa Luxemburg and Bakunin.²⁴⁶

But on the whole, the whole panorama indicates that anarchist voices were overwhelmed greatly by the canon forged by the socialist movement which tried to form its worldview by mostly referring to the works of Marx, but especially to the "Marxist-Leninist" tradition, in the nature of which efforts to create an "official

²⁴⁴ Again, the title of the English version is *Obsolete Communism: the Left-Wing Alternative*.

²⁴⁵ (Interview with Ertuğrul Kürkçü, 26 July 2006, Istanbul).

²⁴⁶ Barış Ünlü, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Mehmet Ali Aybar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 267. According to Çulhaoğlu, the underlying reason for Aybar's suggestion in question is his tendency to prevent "inextricable theoretical discussions" beforehand (Interview with Metin Çulhaoğlu, 5 May 2006, Ankara).

doctrine” constituted a noteworthy portion. In this framework, anarchism was sometimes conspicuous by its absence while it stood as a rival shadow boxer. Marx’s *Poverty of Philosophy* was prepared for the reading of Turkish leftists, but there was no Turkish version of Proudhon’s *The Philosophy of Poverty*, against which Marx had penned his work as a repudiation. On the other hand, Stalin’s *Anarşizm mi Sosyalizm mi* (Anarchism or Socialism?) but also Lenin’s condemnations of anarchism in his various writings, especially “*Left-Wing*” *Communism* were consequential in the identification of it with a petty bourgeois ideology or a simple-mindedness which is incapable of analyzing the world, by creating the illusion that it is socialism that is the sole ideology of the working class, whereas, for instance, the case of the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) stood as a counter example to this assertion. Such translational moves had a role in clearing the course for only Trotskyism to emerge as the main opposition to Stalinism, though it was still not given its place in the Marxist framework, and for the erasure of such movements like council communism²⁴⁷ and anarchism from possible sources of inspiration. As Loren Goldner states, “until quite recently, the dominance of Trotskyism as the best known international left-wing opposition to Stalinism, particularly in the ‘core countries’ France, Britain and the US (but also in Latin America), has buried the memory of this experience (Ultra-Left), and most militants have never looked beyond Lenin’s 1921 pamphlet.”²⁴⁸

As the translator Yavuz Alogan observes, the leftist of the 1960s were usually stamped as “anarchists” by the establishment and the mainstream media, but they

²⁴⁷ For a precise account of the history of council communism, see Marcel van der Linden, “On Council Communism,” *Historical Materialism*, no. 12:4, pp. 27-50.

²⁴⁸ Loren Goldner, “Review of *L’Histoire Générale ‘L’Ultra-Gauche,’*” *Historical Materialism* no.14:1, p. 302.

were very far from it in intellectual and political respects.²⁴⁹ However, this does not mean that anarchist literature could not penetrate into the world of publication, though much feebly, as it has been tried to be shown here.

Art Criticism or Aesthetics

The scope of this study is confined to the translated non-fiction leftist literature produced in the 1960s. However, what also mark these years is the surge of “literature,” in its classical daily sense. There are no statistics as to the quantity of such books in this period. But with reference to our tables, it may be probable to argue that especially the first five years of the decade witnessed the rise of the production of the arts. In addition, on the one hand, our interviews also indicate a parallel conclusion. On the other hand, some memoirs endorse such a reasoning. For instance, Gün Zileli recollects that he had read books by John Steinbeck, Panait Istrati, Andre Gidé, Jean Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Franz Kafka and Samuel Beckett.²⁵⁰ Additionally, in addition to his memoir, in our interview Zileli told that the effect of existentialism on literature at the time was very sensible.²⁵¹ And Ergun Aydınöđlu, then a member of the Revolutionary Federation of Youth, observes that in those years he had found novels more political, that he had found more politics in them and had not much understood political or theoretical texts.²⁵² In this sense, it seems certain that the production of non-fiction leftist literature had an ambiguous impact at least in quantitative sense. And qualitatively, it appears that this

²⁴⁹ Yavuz Alogan, “Anarşizm: İmkânsızı İstemek,” *Kızılılık*, no. 27 (May-June 2006), p. 10. For an inside view of the reception of anarchism by the socialists of the time, see Gün Zileli, *Ibid.*, p. 314-315.

²⁵⁰ Zileli, p. 170.

²⁵¹ (Interview with Gün Zileli, 11 April 2006, via Internet).

²⁵² Ergun Aydınöđlu, *Söylenmese de Olurdu* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996), p. 109.

quantitative decrease in the production of literary work led to a shortening in the multiplicity of references for an average leftist at the time. But we will discuss the overall consequences later. And now let us leave this issue aside and pass onto the non-fiction “literature” on literature.

The knowledge of art was of vital concern to the leftist intellectual, if not the militants, of the 1960s. This realm formed an intermediary ring or a significant moment in the constitution of one’s *weltanschauung*. Politically speaking, the issue of culture, even though it was not conceived as it was in the West and the US, was deemed consequential with regard to an autonomous sensibility independent from the cultural imperialism of the First World. That is why most of the eminent journals of the time allocated a considerable share of their space to questions of varied forms of art, literature and aesthetics. For example, *Yön*, *Ant* and *Forum* were the most remarkable among them. But apart from these “political” journals, there were some magazines exclusively devoted to art, though they took pains to appear ideologically neutral (which is perhaps not possible). And it seems appropriate to assert that these journals, not books on art criticism, were the prime source in introducing contemporary foreign ideas to Turkish readers. *Yeni Ufuklar* (1952-1976), *Yeni Dergi* (1964-1975) and *Cep Dergisi* (launched in the 1960s) were the most conspicuous ones. According to Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, these new literary magazines had a “focus on critical essays that were largely translations of foreign sources” and “just like the government in the early 1940s, continued to rely on translation as an instrument of conveying new ideas into Turkish and therefore of giving a certain direction to cultural debates.”²⁵³ With respect to its coverage, *Yeni Dergi* was more pronounced in its endeavour to comprehend the meaning of

²⁵³ Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, “Translator as Conveyor: Critical Thought in Turkey in the 1960s,” *Works and Days*, no. 20 (2002), p. 261.

engagement without parting with the autonomy of literature.²⁵⁴ To this extent it even organized a special edition with the title “Marxist Criticism” in May 1968.²⁵⁵ According to Mehmet Hızlan Doğan, this journal, which embraced a cadre of translators mostly coming from academic circles, was the window opening to the world for our various artistic realms.²⁵⁶

However, the share of books on art criticism was very low (approximately two percent of the whole). Apparently, there seems to be two main reasons for this scarcity: First, as has been stated above, political magazines and exclusively literary magazines satisfied most of the interest. Second, the production of translated literature, increasingly geared to “political” concerns, circumscribed the potential energies that partially could have been invested into literary studies. But, no matter how scarce they were, now let us have a look at the existent works on art criticism.

Çan Press, established by Vedat Günyol in the early 1960s and which also was affiliated with *Yeni Ufuklar* and De Press, founded by Memet Fuat who was also the editor of *Yeni Dergi* came forth as the chief press in whose concerns literature added up to a significant portion. Çan, which was inspired by humanist and existentialist motivations at the beginning could also publish Bertolt Brecht’s *Tiyatro için Küçük Araç* (A Small Instrument for Theater) along with the books of Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus. In a similar vein, De was also under similar effects,

²⁵⁴ Atılğan Bayar ve İskender Savaşır, “1960’larda Türkiye’de Sosyalizm ve Edebiyat,” *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988), pp. 2086-2087.

²⁵⁵ Within this issue there were articles by Plehanov, Lenin, Gramsci, Marx, Chernyshevsky, Lifshitz, Lucien Goldmann. What is of equal interest to us is that Selahattin Hilav subordinated the translations of Ferit Edgü, Murat Belge and Bertan Onaran with regard to problems of terminology and mistakes in semantics. See his “‘Marxçı Eleştiri Özel Sayısı’ Üzerine” in Selahattin Hilav, *Felsefe Yazıları* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1993), pp. 96-114 (originally published in *Papirüs*, no. 26, August 1968). After Ferit Edgü and Murat Belge replied his critiques Hilav re-wrote a criticism. See “Yanlışta Yanlış”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 115-128 (originally published in *Papirüs*, no. 32, February 1969).

²⁵⁶ Mehmet H. Doğan, “1960’larda Eleştiri Ortamı,” *Üç Nokta* (Özel Sayı: 1960’larda Şiir, Edebiyat, Kültür, Sanat ve Toplum), no. 6 (July-September 2006), p. 39.

as is seen by their publication of Iris Murdoch's treatise on Sartre, where she examines his authorship and philosophy. It seems that, as the translation of Freud's study (*Literature in terms of Psychoanalysis*) in 1963 indicates, this intellectual concentration on existentialism naturally led to an interest on the individual and an effort to connect this interest with literature in general. But before long, a search for a "leftist" literary critique began to verge on a "socialist" orientation, diverging between socialist realism, social realism, modernism, and such.

As the publication of Georgi Plehanov, Jean-Louis Lecercle and Pierre Albouy's *Sanat ve Sosyalizm* (Art and Socialism) in 1962 by Sosyal and Jean Fraville's *Sosyalist Gözle Toplum ve Sanat* (Society and Art with a Socialist View) in 1963 by İzlem Presses demonstrate, the initial efforts were not exempt from a quest for socialist critique. However, it would be an exaggeration to contend that leftist emphasis was dominant in the first half of the decade. But in parallel with the political conjuncture of the second half when social movements and the TLP began to make their presence felt, the tendency towards such a move increasingly heightened, drawing most of the intellectuals to an avowedly leftist discourse. Aragon's small book *Çağımızın Sanatı* (The Art of Our Age), the renowned French Marxist Roger Garaudy's book on Kafka and his long essay on realism and also the anthropologically-oriented scholar George Thomson's *Marksizm ve Şiir* (Marxism and Poetry), respectively translated by Bertan Onaran, Mehmet Doğan and Cevat Çapan, are three instances for this evolution. Hilav, in a essay written for *Ant*, shortly introduces the book by Thomson and, after congratulating the translator for his "successful" rendering, wishes Çapan to continue his work by further translating Caudwell and Fischer, to which we will refer below.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Selahattin Hilav, "Şiirin Pratiği," *Ant* no. 3 (17 February 1967), p. 15.

This move was consolidated by the exposition of the leaders of the “socialist” worlds, namely Lenin and Mao on literary and cultural issues. Mao’s *Kültür, Sanat ve Edebiyat* (Culture, Art and Literature) and Lenin’s *Sanat ve Edebiyat* (Art and Literature),²⁵⁸ both of which are a collection of their writings, were translated by Şerif Hulusi, one of the most prolific translators of the period,²⁵⁹ respectively in 1966 and 1968. But most importantly, the publication of two books by Ernst Fischer, namely *Leipzig Duruşması* (The Leipzig Trial) brought out by Habora and *Sanatın Gerekliliği* (The Necessity of Art) issued by De Press, Gyorgy Lukacs’s *Çağdaş Gerçekçiliğin Anlamı* (The Significance of Contemporary Realism) and *Balzac ve Fransız Realizmi* (Balzac and French Realism),²⁶⁰ and last, Jean Paul Sartre’s *Edebiyat Nedir?* (What is Literature?)²⁶¹ were some signals of the diligence to deepen the theoretical perspective, to occlude the potential superficialization of a socialist critique.

At the end of the decade, Murat Belge translated Mikhail Lifshitz’s *Marx’ın San’at Felsefesi* (Marx’s Philosophy of Art) and wrote a preface for it, which is of interest to us in this section. According to Belge, Marx and Engels’ writings on literature and art constitute the fundamentals of Marxist understanding of art. But this understanding has improved by adapting itself to the changing features of the changing epochs. However, in the opinion of Belge, while it was necessary to know all the different viewpoints ranging from Trotsky to Jdanov, there could not be much

²⁵⁸ This book edited by Fraville was seized on allegations of its supposed commendation of communism. See “2 kitap daha toplatıldı,” *Ant* no. 73 (21 May 1968), p. 3.

²⁵⁹ For a short biography, see Adnan Cemgil, “Şerif Hulusi,” *YAZKO Çeviri*, no. 7 (1982), pp. 97-99.

²⁶⁰ The publisher of the latter book could not be found.

²⁶¹ Selahattin Hilav argues that this book would be most beneficial in teaching the difference between revolutionism and revolt. See his “Kitap Tanıtımı,” *Ant* no. 11 (14 March 1967), p. 15.

effort to render them into Turkish due to the reasons known to all,²⁶² whereas certain products of the leftist thought were being rapidly translated. In consequence of this insufficiency, those people reft of a knowledge of a foreign language fell under the necessity of contenting themselves with a few books. Besides, some of these books, like Upton Sinclair's *Altın Zincir* (The Golden Chain) could be presented as a viable socialist literary critic, whereas Lenin condemned him. Moreover, some people tried to construct a system by calculating upon Plehanov's newly translated study, though only those who know a foreign language could know that he was sublated by more sophisticated writers. When all was said, Belge added that in order for socialist critique to flourish, it was indispensable to translate the main resources of socialist critique of art, i.e., the works of Caudwell, Fischer and Lukacs.²⁶³ In line with this statement, at the time of the writing of this preface, as has been tried to shown here, most of these resources were not available in Turkish.²⁶⁴ But even so, these years

²⁶² However, Belge does not specifically mention these reasons that he refers to. But again, a story of an unpublished work that Belge alludes to: K6z Press decides to feature Leon Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution* and they contact with Ferit Edgü and the translation begins. However, when it is understood that their first product, Trotsky's autobiography did not sell much, they quit this project. (Interview with Masis Kürkçügil, 16 April 2006, Istanbul).

²⁶³ "Çevirenin Önsözü," in Mikhali Lifshitz, *Marx'ın San'at Felsefesi*, translated by Murat Belge (Istanbul: Ararat Yayınevi, 1970).

²⁶⁴ Fischer's works have been mentioned in this section. As has been also stated, there was only one book by Lukacs at the time, though some of his articles were translated and published in various journals within this period: "Kurtarıcı", *Yeni Dergi* 4(47), August 1968, pp. 95-100; "Marks ve Engels'in Estetik Yazıları," translated by Bedrettin Cömert and Zeki Özcan, *Forum* 21(353), 15 December 1968, pp. 17- 19; "85. Doğum Yıldönümünde Lukács ile Bir Konuşma", translated by A. G. , *Yeni Edebiyat* (7), May 1970, pp. 14 – 16 ; "Dostoyevski", translated by İsmail İzgü, *Yeni Dergi* 7(74), November 1970, pp. 330 – 343 ; "Epik ve Tiyatro: Epik ve Tiyatro Arasındaki Ayrımın Temelinde Yatan Hayat Olguları", translated by Taciser Ulaş and Bülent Aksoy, *Yeni Dergi* 7 (75), December 1970, pp. 398-414. Quoted in Georg Lukacs, *Marksist İmgelem*, edited by Ali Şimşek et. al (Istanbul: Yeni Hayat Kütüphanesi, 2004), pp. 23-27. As far as I am concerned, let alone any books, there was only one article written by Caudwell and translated into Turkish and it was published in *Yeni Dergi* in 1965. See Gürçağlar, *Ibid.*, p. 265. For the later translations of Caudwell, see *Yanılsama ve Gerçeklik: Şiirin Kaynakları Üzerine Bir İnceleme*, translated by Mehmet H. Doğan (Istanbul: Payel Yayınevi, 1974) and *Ölen Bir Kültür Üzerine İncelemeler*, translated by Mehmet Göken (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1982) (retranslated by Müge Gürsoy Sökmen and Ali Bucak and published by the same press in 2002).

served as a midwife for the emergence of the translated literature of leftist art criticism.²⁶⁵

Concluding Remarks

All the books alluded to under the heading of four political movements and also the problematic of art criticism (it goes without saying that some other issues and concerns can be included among these components) bear witness to the interstices within the general production of non-fiction translation. Though ineffectual in political and organizational representations, they, i.e. as different political movements, testify to the open windows of the publishing activity of the 1960s. On the other hand, though it was increasingly geared to unilateral political concerns, art criticism had provided an opportunity to construct a meta-theory for artistic products which have the ability to express that cannot be conveyed with an ease by some self-proclaimed “political” texts. The substantial capacity of the existent literature on aesthetics is, of course, a case in point, waiting for more informed evaluations.

Last but not the least, there is one more issue that can be related with these platforms of thought. As a whole, they might be said to constitute the first yields of the foundations of the social critique generally come to be articulated in Turkey after 1980, though somewhat indistinctly, as “libertarian socialism”, which came into existence after an interrogation of the continuing canonization that began to sustain increasingly sectarian preoccupations, consolidated by an endeavour to subsume some of the sensibilities of the claims and experiences of suppressed and despised political traditions and also the recuperative and intense effect of art (However, it should also be noted that there is always the likelihood for an heterodoxy, which is

²⁶⁵ In order to have a comparative understanding of the scene, see for a brief exposition of the main figures and concerns within this field, Terry Eagleton, *Marxism and Literary Criticism*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

rooted in open-endedness, to become a “flag” of an incipient orthodoxy).²⁶⁶ In that sense, Turkey’s “1968” has a resemblance with the 1968 of the Euro-America, but with a difference. “May 1968 saw the return of the repressed. The past of the Bolshevik Revolution had its vengeance on the formal heirs who have so totally suppressed it, producing in Russia itself the deep sickness of a society without memory. Within the student movement Communist Party [French Communist Party, E.Ü.] was unable to play a leading role of any kind and leadership passed to other currents and organizations, representative of the whole spectrum of Marxist and even extra-Marxist, anarchist thought: Maoist, Trotskyist, Situationist.”²⁶⁷ Turkey’s 1968 also saw the return of the repressed, but this was nonetheless a feeble resurrection sensed mainly in the field of translated literature and also somewhat diverging in its scope of heterodoxy. Therefore, there is a merit in calling these sources to mind not only when making a general evaluation of the history of publication in the 1960s, but also the history of the references of libertarian socialism.

²⁶⁶ For a collection of articles that might be regarded as affiliated with libertarian socialism, see David Renton, *Dissident Marxism: Past Voices for Present Times* (London: Zed Books, 2004).

²⁶⁷ “Introduction,” *New Left Review* no. 1/52 (November-December 1968), pp. 5-6.

CHAPTER SIX

EPILOGUE

Augusto Del Campos, a renowned Brazilian translator, wrote: “Translation is for me *persona*. Almost an heteronym. To enter the skin of the pretender in order to re-pretend it all over again, each pain, each sound, each color. That is why I have never proposed to translate everything. Only that which I feel.²⁶⁸ Such a self-initiative in the initiation of an act of translation is what was emphasized at the beginning of this thesis. This aspect is still more important in its provision of an insight into an engagement to translation, which distinguishes its role at times of social change, as it was generally the case in 1960s Turkey. But the problem with this outlook today, as it was yesterday, may be its ignorance about the social position making available its enunciation. That is why I argued in the introduction that a defense of translators’ visibility and active interference should be consolidated by a totality in touch with such a particularity. Theodor Adorno might succour us in this point:

“Even the so-called intellectual professions are being deprived, through their growing resemblance to business, of all joy. Atomization is advancing not only between men, but within individual, between the spheres of his life. No fulfillment may be attached to work, which would otherwise lose its functional modesty in the totality of purposes, no spark of reflection is allowed to fall into leisure time, since it might otherwise leap across to the workaday world and set it on fire. While in their structure work and amusement are becoming increasingly alike, they are at the same time being divided ever more rigorously by invisible demarcation lines. Joy and mind have been expelled equally from both. In each, blank-faced seriousness and pseudo-activity hold sway.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Quoted in Rosemary Arrojo, *Asymmetrical Relations of Power and the Ethics of Translation*, *TEXTconTEXTII=NF1*, (1997), p. 21.

²⁶⁹ Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*, translated into English from the German by E. F. N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 1999), pp. 130-131.

This quotation indicates that translation also is subjected to the general debarring process and a “willing” act of translation (“translating only that which I feel”), which is set about for attaining some political goals –in our case, leftist translation activity–, pulls down the boundaries between work and joy and mind. Generally speaking, it seems to me that the translations of non-fiction left books into Turkish between 1960 and 1971 are noteworthy in this respect: *As a whole*, they may be regarded as practices of attempts of a kind of self-realization with the aim of becoming acquainted with many theoretical/political sources and the latest developments in the theoretical and political realms. In this sense, I am inclined to think that these endeavours can be conceived as a language movement, not just for the history of the left movement in Turkey, but also for Republican history in general.²⁷⁰

Nonetheless, this language movement is also worth specific analyses and critiques. In this thesis, I tried to shed some light on the contours of the intellectual patterns in the translation of such books. It is clear that the 1960s were characterized by a quantitative upsurge of translation activity for the left movement. The revision of the period between 1920 and 1960 and presentation of the general state of affairs in the field of translation in the 1960s are sufficient supporting documents. The fourth and the fifth chapters were, however, devoted to understanding the patterns of dissident translation practices. It is possible to make some tentative inferences from these accounts: What prevailed in the intellectual level up until the end of the decade was discussions around the meaning of socialism, existentialism, efforts to comprehend the peculiarities of the country, i.e., issues of “nativity” such as Islam

²⁷⁰ I have italicised the phrase “as a whole”, because I want to have reservations to make such a sweeping assertion with respect to all cases of translation activity that were surveyed in this thesis. For a more scrupulous analysis of the issue, we need to hear more the voices of the translators, their experiences of their own endeavours.

and socialism and most importantly the debate on the Asiatic mode of production and feudalism. Translated literature was contributory, with varying degrees however, in all of these cases. They were all intellectual controversies, but also concerned with the political level. In this context, this openness to “foreign” influences in order to understand the “differences” of Turkish society, the “commonalities” of all people and the making of the left movement in Turkey might be deemed as a modality, either intentional or unintentional, of internationalism. In his account of black internationalism and translation, Michael Hanchard states that, “there must be something more to black internationalism than translation. Translation is a technique, not a politics.”²⁷¹ He adds: “The desire to articulate a shared vision of the world must precede translation, otherwise the content and object of translation becomes unintelligible.”²⁷² Hanchard is right in claiming that there is more to translation, but is wrong, in my own estimation, in perceiving translation as a technique. What he forgets is that forms of practices appealed to in order “to articulate a shared vision of the world” cannot be taken separately. Perhaps it is these forms which we call “politics” in general, translation being a part of them. But there is still a paradox in this internationalism. Hanchard mentions that “one of the key paradoxes of black internationalism is the tension between the use of the nation-state system to achieve statehood, territorial sovereignty, and recognition in the international political system, and the call for an internationalism that could subvert the nation-state system and related forms of national and international governance.”²⁷³ In the case of the Turkish leftist thought in the 1960s, the tension is between the use of translation as

²⁷¹ Michael Hanchard, “Translation, Political Community, and Black Internationalism: Some Comments on Brent Hayes Edwards’s *The Practice of Diaspora*” *Small Axe* 17 (March 2005), p. 115.

²⁷² Hanchard, p. 116.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

part of an effort to appreciate the “native” qualities of the country, to forge a “native Turkish Marxism” and a feeling of abstention for fear of a superficial duplication of others’ intellectual products. Both outlooks had an “authentic” desire to “originality,” which may be considered as a diligence for a theoretical sophistication, but they also risked causing the adoption of the view of incomparability (untranslatability?) of an intrinsic, self-enclosed culture, reflecting in politics as a particular form of patriotism or even nationalism. This is perhaps the repercussion of that abiding problem of “Westernization-Modernization” in the field of translation for the Turkish left movement. An outcome of this tension is a pejorative ascription to the metaphor of translation: “A translated left, a translated feminism, and so forth.” Whereas the problem lies not in the act of translation per se, but in the method of translation. Hence, this question and the case of our study may help us interrogate the reading practices of the Turkish Left. Translation usually represents a symbolic value in “knowing” the other or may be appropriated thus to gain some sorts of legitimacy or a confirmation of one’s own political position. These attitudes can lead to an estrangement from the concept of translation, but the problem is rather to question our *relation* with translated books, rather than discarding them for fear of “inauthenticity.” Seeing them as particular, mundane means to “genuinely” reflect on certain problematics, questions and agendas would be a relevant way to try to establish a more equivalent, reciprocal alimentation, thereby dispelling the clouds of disquiet felt against a dependency on “importation.” Such an awareness is more than necessary today when the pace and multiplicity of translated books are again on the rise in Turkey, a consequence of the search for a relevant analysis of and a struggle

against the current global order that is much more complex than the world of the Cold War.²⁷⁴

The relation between the Turkish Left and the translations of left books, however, began to change from the mid-1960s onwards. Different trends generally interpenetrated each other in the formation of the editorial programs of publishing houses. But what emerged was a making of an orthodoxy. Marx and Engels' works were translated after a long time, which was very influential in the emanation of Marxist socialism in Turkey. Yet this Marx-ism was subjected to a mediation, a genealogy which was designated within the existent political configurations. This time, it was a canonization of Marxism from the point of view of Stalinism and especially Maoism, whose effects are still apprehensible in today's Turkey. The appearance of reading lists at the end of the decade, which were thought to be adjuvant for the young militants in the midst of the plenitude of translated literature, was a signal of the occlusive impact of translation, which is again a case of its ambiguous, historical character. On the other hand, it is open to question whether the voluntarist recourse to several guerilla tactics as received from the abounding

²⁷⁴ The non-existence of any axial "socialist" country, the presence of a rampant imperialism, the recent emergence of an *altermondialiste* movement and the rise of particular social resistances worldwide seems to advance the process of keeping in touch with the latest intellectual and political sources. Though the number of people who have command over foreign languages is relatively high, it seems that more people tend to read in Turkish, rather than in other languages. As stated in the third chapter, *Monthly Review* was a journal closely followed by some socialists in the 1960's Turkey. Today, it is being annually published in Turkish. *Conatus*, a three-monthly, exclusive translation journal, is being published for about two years by a group of autonomist Marxists. On the one hand, by means of internet many articles, both theoretical or topical are daily translated in such web sites as www.sendika.org (Immanuel Wallerstein and James Petras' articles are regularly translated in this website) and www.bianet.org or a number of cultural/political journals like *Birikim*, *Express* or daily newspapers like *Radikal*, *Birgün*, *Evrensel* and *Gündem* make considerable room for translated articles. Even some journals directly linked to organizational ends like *Kara Kızıl Notlar*, the publication of anarchist-communists, are unsparing in their attitudes towards translated sources. One of the underlying reasons of this munificence can be the assumption that translation may be a more acceptable way to present innovative or original thoughts into a particular left culture. On the other hand, just like in the 1960s, many publishing houses continue issuing miscellaneous non-fiction left books. To name some of them: Afa, Agora, Alan, ARA-lık, Aram, Aras, Ayrıntı, Bağlam, Belge, Doruk, Dost, Epos, Everest, Evrensel, Göçebe, İletişim, İmge, İnter, İthaki, Kanat, Kaynak, Kalkedon, Kaos, Metis, Otonom, Pencere, Phoenix, Sarmal, Ütopya, Versüs, and Yordam.

literature towards the end of the decade lend itself to transgress the circumscription, or impasse of leftist intellectual horizon. It is also open to question whether various “heterodox” sources that were generally excluded from the conventional agenda were adequate to go beyond these limitations. Yet the fact which contributed most to an intellectual congestion was perhaps, as Çulhaoğlu observed, the left movement’s encounter with a “good deal of enemies” in a brief period of time, without having a sufficiently deep-rooted history and experience and its necessity to go through a process of fundamental learning and digestion within a “short” interim.²⁷⁵ But on the whole, what seems unquestionable is the overall significance of this period for the formation of leftist thought in Turkey, with translation being the cause not only of losses but also of gains.

As was denoted in the epigraph by referral to Edward Said, the travel of ideas “necessarily involves processes of representation and institutionalization different from those at the point of origin,” and “this complicates any account of the transplantation, transference, circulation, and commerce of theories and ideas.”²⁷⁶ If my partial account of the state of the 1960s’ Turkish leftist thought from the perspective of translations contributes to writing of a more elaborate history and to an understanding of the dispositions of the Turkish leftist culture, which would provide us today with relevant insights for a down-to-earth political action, this thesis will reach its ultimate goal.

²⁷⁵ Metin Çulhaoğlu, “Gerçekleri Kitaplardan Öğrenirken,” in *Solda Yürüyüş Polemiği* (Istanbul: Gelenek Yayınevi, 1991), p. 83 (originally published in *Yürüyüş*, 25 May 1976).

²⁷⁶ Edward Said, “Traveling Theory” in *The World, The Text and The Critic* (London: Vintage Books, 1983), p. 226.

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Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator’s Invisibility*. New York and London: Routledge, 1995.

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Voloshinov, V. N. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Translated by Ladislav Matejka and I.R. Titunik. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. Translated by D. F. Pears and B. F. McGuinness. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

Yurtsever, Haluk. *Süreklilik ve Kopuş İçinde Marksizm ve Türkiye Solu*. İstanbul: El Yayınevi, 2002.

Zileli, Gün. *Yarıлма (1954-1972)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002.

Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. Translated by Yasemin Saner Gönen. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 2002.

APPENDIX I*

The List of the Non-Fiction Left Books Translated into Turkish Between 1960 and 1971

Ağaoğlu Yayınevi [Istanbul]

Paul Ramadier, *Sosyalizm ve İktidar*, trans. Hayrettin Erkmén, 1965

Charles Wright Mills, *Marksistler*, trans. T. Hasan, 1966

Aleksandr Kerenski, *Kerenski ve Rus İhtilali*, trans. Rasih Gürán, 1967

John Silas Reed, *Dünyayı Sarsan On Gün*, trans. Rasih Gürán, 1967

Edmund Wilson, *Lenin Petrograd'da: Sosyalist Akımın Gelişmesi*, trans. Can Yücel, 1967

Georges Bourgin, A.Adamov, *1871 Paris Komünü*, trans. Atilla Tokatlı, Galip Üstün, 1968

Willaim L. Shirer, *Nazi İmparatorluğu / Doğu Yükselişi Çöküşü* (three volumes), trans. Rasih Gürán, 1968

Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: Bir Devrimcinin Hayatı* (two volumes), trans. Selahattin Hilav, 1969

Isaac Deutscher, *Troçki* (three volumes), trans. Rasih Gürán, 1969

Paul Sweezy, *Kapitalizm Nereye Gidiyor?*, trans. Arslan Başer Kafaoğlu, 1970

* This list, which I set out here not only for drawing a panorama but also for putting them in future use, consists of the books that I have collected during my research. During this process, I have resorted to some public and personal libraries, bookshops, bibliopoles, internet search engines and a number of secondary sources. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to get access to all of the books enlisted here, though most of them have been obtained or revised. Therefore, access to all of the books enlisted here, though most of them have been obtained or revised. Therefore, some of them have been aligned here by referral to the back pages of some other books or advertisements published in some political journals. As is clear, this list, which includes "leftist" non-fiction, translated books of multifarious publishing houses, is not consummate and open to correction and development.

Note for the organization of the books: I have categorized them under publishing houses and aligned them in a chronological way. If the translator of a book could not be detected, it is marked with an n.t. (i.e., no translator. If the date of a book lacks, it is marked with an n.d. (i.e., no date). If both the translator and the date are absent, that book has been put at the end of each list. In square brackets, I have put the literal English version of the names and also the locations of the publishing houses. But if the title belongs to a person's surname, I have written nil.

Anadolu Yayınları [Anatolia, Ankara]

Gaston Martin, *1848 Devrimi*, trans. Sevim Belli, 1967

Andre Barjonet, *Ekonomi Politik Nedir?*, trans. Erdoğan Başar, 1967

Bahman Nirumand, *Hür Dünyanın Diktatörlüğü: (İran) Epilogue* by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, trans. Arif Gelen, 1968

Henri Lefebvre, *V. I. Lenin: Hayatı ve Eserleri* (two volumes), trans. M. Reşat Baraner, 1968

Jean Paul Sartre, *J.P. Sartre Küba'yı Anlatıyor*, trans. Şahin Alpay, 1968

Tony Cliff, *Rosa Luxemburg*, trans. Yurdakul Fincancı, 1968

George Cogniot, *İlkçağ Materyalizmi*, trans. Sevim Belli, 1968

Jean Jacques Rousseau, *İnsanlar Arasındaki Eşitsizliğin Kaynağı*, trans. Erdoğan Başar, 1968

August Bebel, *Teoride ve Pratikte Politika*, trans. Arif Gelen, 1968

Lucien Séve, *Felsefe ve Siyaset*, trans. Müntekim Öçmen, 1968

Yakov Etinger and Ovanes Melikyan, *İttifaksızlar Dünyası*, trans. Yurdakul Fincancı, 1969

Jean Baby, *En Güzel Dünya*, trans. Müntekim Öçmen, 1969

Ant Yayınları [Pledge, Istanbul]

Alberto Bayo, *Gerilla Nedir*, trans. Metin Gönenç, 1968

Emile Burns, *Marksizmin Temel Kitabı*, trans. S. Ekmekçi, 1968

Ernesto Che Guevara, *Savaş Anıları*, trans. Seçkin Çağan, 1968

Ernesto Che Guevara, *Gerilla Günlüğü*, trans. Hüseyin Güneş, 1968

Yevgeni Yevtuçenko, *Yaşantım*, trans. Tektaş Ağaoğlu, 1968

Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Siyah İktidar*, trans. Can Yücel, 1968

Douglas Bravo, *Milli Kurtuluş Cephesi*, trans. Cemal Süreya, 1969

Jean Bosch, *Pentagonizm*, trans. Babür Kuzucu, 1969

Robert P. Millon, *Zapata: Meksika'da Bir Köylü Devrimi*, trans. Tektaş Ağaoğlu, 1969

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, *Anarşizm: Komünist Bürokrasiye Karşı*, trans. Sermet Çağan, 1969

Jacques Duclos, *Anarşizm: Sol Adına Sola İhanet*, trans. Babür Kuzucu, 1969

Fidel Castro, *Tarih Beni Beraat Ettirecektir*, trans. Mekin Gönenç, 1969

Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Havana Duruşması*, trans. Sezer Duru, 1969

Carlos Marighella, *Şehir Gerillasının El Kitabı*, K. Seyhanlı, 1969

Jawaharlal Nehru, *Sosyal Devrimler, Ulusal Savaşlar*, trans. Mehmet Emin Bozarlan, 1970

Vladimir Lenin, *Doğu'da Ulusal Kurtuluş Hareketleri*, trans. Tektaş Ağaoğlu, 1970

Jean Chesnaux et. al, *Asya Tipi Üretim Tarzı*, trans. İrvem Keskinoglu, 1970

Konstantin Çukalas, *Yunanistan Dosyası*, trans. Şeyla Benhabib, 1970

Nayif Havatme, *Filistin'de Halk Savaşı ve Ortadoğu*, trans. Mehmet Emin Bozarlan, 1970

A. Şnurov, Y. Rozaliyev, *Türkiye'de Kapitalistleşme ve Sınıf Kavgaları*, trans. Güneş Bozkaya and M.Anibal, 1970

Ernest Mandel, *Marksist Ekonomi El Kitabı*, çev. Orhan Suda, 1970

Victor Serge, *Militana Notlar*, trans. Hüseyin Baş, 1971

Ararat Yayınevi [İstanbul]

Jean Jaures, *Seçme Yazılar*, trans. Asım Bezirci, 1967

Herbert Marcuse et.al, *Görünmeyen Diktatör*, trans. Tanju Ekerson and Fatma Ekerson, 1969

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *Mülkiyet Nedir?*, trans. Vedat Gülşen Üretürk, 1969

Mikhali Lifshitz, *Marx'ın San'at Felsefesi*, trans. Murat Belge, 1970

Ataç Kitabevi [İstanbul]

Jean Paul Sartre, *Varoluşçuluk*, trans. Asım Bezirci, 1960

Sigmund Freud, *Psikanaliz Açısından Edebiyat*, trans. Selahattin Hilav, 1963

Jean Paul Sartre, *Siyaset Çarkı*, trans. Güzin Sayar, 1963

Pandit Nehru, *Dünya Tarihine Bakışlar*, trans. Sabiha Tuğcu, Engin Deniz Akarlı, 1965

Jean Paul Sartre, *Yahudilik Sorunu*, trans. Emin Türk Eliçin, 1965

Oskar Lange, *Ekonomi Politik*, trans. Muvaffak Şeref, 1965

Charles Bettelheim, *Küba İktisadı*, trans. Şerif Hulusi, 1966

Oskar Lange, *Sosyalizmin Ekonomi Teorisi*, trans. İsmail Oğuzkan, 1966

Mao Tse-Tung, *Kültür, Sanat Edebiyat*, trans. Şerif Hulusi, 1966

Oskar Lange, *Ekonomi Politikte Akımlar ve Bilimsel Bilgilerin Belirlenmesi*, trans. Muvaffak Şeref, 1968

Bertrand Russell, *İnsanlığın Geleceği*, trans. Memduh Balaban, n.d.

Bertrand Russell, *Varoluşçuluğun Bunalımı*, trans. Türkân Araz, n.d.

Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları [Science and Socialism, Ankara]

M. Cachin, *Sosyalizmin Işığında Bilim ve Din*, trans. Asım Bezirci, 1965

G. Paloczy Horvath, *Dün Köleydik Bugün Halkız: Bir Ülkenin 1500 Yıllık Köylü Hareketleri Tarihi*, trans. Sevim Belli, 1966

J. D. Bernal, *Marks ve Bilim*, trans. Osman Arman, 1967

Pekin Moskova Çatışması: İki Merkezin Birbirine En Ağır Biçimlerde Suçlayan Ünlü Karşılıklı Mektupları, hazırlayan Süleyman Ege, 1967

Lin Piao, *Yaşasın Halk Savaşının Zaferi*, trans. Süleyman Ege, 1968

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Komünist Manifesto*, trans. Süleyman Ege, 1968

Vladimir Lenin, *Proletarya İhtilali ve Dönek Kautsky*, trans. Arif Gelen, 1969

Jozef Stalin, *Diyalektik ve Tarihi Materyalizm*, trans. Zeynep Seyhan, 1970

Çan Yayınları [Bell, İstanbul]

Jean-Paul Sartre, *Çağımızın Gerçekleri*, trans. Sabahattin Eyuboğlu and Vedat Günyol, 1961

John Dewey, *Özgürlük ve Kültür*, trans. Vedat Günyol, 1962

Bertolt Brecht, *Tiyatro için Küçük Araç*, trans. Teoman Aktürel, 1962

Albert Bayet, *Bilim Ahlakı*, trans. Vedat Günyol, 1963

Bertrand Russell, *Dünyamızın Sorunları*, trans. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Vedat Günyol, 1963

Gracchus Babeuf, *Devrim Yazıları*, trans. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Vedat Günyol, 1964

Jean Wahl, *Bugünün Dünyasında Felsefe*, trans. Ferit Edgü, 1965

Clive Bell, *Uygarlık*, trans. Mina Urgan, Melih Cevdet Anday, Vedat Günyol, Hilmi Yavuz, and Halit Çakır, 1966

Antonio Gramsci, *Aydınlar ve Toplum*, trans. Vedat Günyol, Ferit Edgü and Bertan Onaran, 1967

Gaetan Picon (ed.), *Çağdaş Politika Sorunları*, trans. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Vedat Günyol, 1968

Jean Paul Sartre, *Sanat, Felsefe ve Politika Üstüne Konuşmalar*, trans. Ferit Edgü, 1968

De Yayınevi [Istanbul]

Simone De Beauvoir, *Pyrrhus ile Cineas*, trans. Asım Bezirci, 1963

Walter Kaufmann, *Dostoyevski'den Sartre'a Varoluşçuluk*, trans. Akşit Göktürk, 1963

Iris Murdoch, *Sartre: Yazarlığı ve Felsefesi*, trans. Selahattin Hilav, 1964

Bertrand Russell, *Sosyalizm*, n.t., 1966

Jean Paul Sartre, *Edebiyat Nedir?*, trans. Bertan Onaran, 1967

A. Schaff and P.G. Gaidenko, *Marksizm, Varoluşçuluk ve Birey*, trans. Evinç Dinçer, 1967

Ernst Fischer, *Sanatın Gerekliliği*, trans. Cevat Çapan, 1968

Mayakovski'den Lili Brik'e Mektuplar, (1917-1930), trans. Bertan Onaran, 1970

Dönem Yayınevi [Period, Istanbul]

Maurice Duverger, *Diktatörlük Üstüne*, trans. Bülent Tanör, 1965

Alain, *Edebiyat Üstüne*, trans. Asım Bezirci, n.d.

Jean Paul Sartre, *Varoluşçuluk*, trans. Asım Bezirci, n.d.

Dördüncü Yayınevi [The Fourth, Istanbul]

Paul Louis, *Fransız Sosyalizmi Tarihi (1789-1950)*, trans. Şerif Hulusi, 1966

Maurice Duverger, *Halksız Demokrasi*, trans. İsmail Özüt, 1969

Düşün Yayınevi [Intellect, Istanbul]

Jean Paul Sartre, *Materyalizm ve Devrim*, trans. Emin Türk Eliçin, 1962

Simone de Beauvoir, *Kadın Nedir: İkinci Cins*, trans. Orhan Suda, 1962

E Yayınları [Istanbul]

Alberto Moravia, *Mao'nun Kültür İhtilali*, trans. Aydil Balta, 1967

Roger Garaudy et. al, *Prag 1968*, trans. Aydil Balta, 1968

Jürgen Kuczynski, *İşçi Sınıfı Tarihi*, trans. Galip Üstün, Istanbul, E Yayınları, 1968

Arthur Rosenberg, *Bolşevizm Tarihi*, trans. Aydın Emeç, 1969

Ekim Yayınevi [October, Ankara]

Che Guevara, *Siyasal Yazılar*, trans. Şiar Yalçın, 1969

William Pomeroy (ed.), *Gerilla Savaşı ve Marksizm*, trans. Metin Altıok and Hasan Daldal, 1969

Başkan Mao Tse-Tung'un Sözleri, trans. Y. Yalçın, 1969

Leo Huberman, Paul Sweezy, *Sosyalist Küba*, n.t., 1970

Evren Yayınları [Universe, Istanbul]

Albert Norden, *Almanya'da Milliyetçi Sosyalizm*, trans. Burhan Arpad, 1965

Charles Bettelheim, *Sosyalist Planlama*, trans. Kenan Somer, 1965

Gerçek Yayınevi [Truth, Istanbul]

Roger Garaudy, *Sosyalizm ve Ahlâk*, trans. Selahattin Hilav, 1965

H. D. Malawya, *Sovyetler Birliđi ile Azgelişmiş Ülkeler Arasında Ekonomik İşbirliđi*, trans. Selahattin Hilav, 1965

Harbi, Rodriguez and Vien, *Sosyalizm ve Köylüler*, n.t., 1965

Kwame Nkrumah, *Emperyalizmin Son Aşaması Yeni Sömürgecilik*, trans. A. Sarıca, 1966

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Sömürgecilik Üzerine*, trans. Selahattin Hilav, 1966

Louis Aragon, *Çağımızın Sanatı*, trans. Bertan Onaran, 1966

Dr. B.Wuldorf, *Sosyalizm Açısından Cinsiyet ve Kadın*, trans. Atilla Tokatlı, 1966

Vladimir Lenin, *Seçme Yazılar*, trans. Atilla Tokatlı, 1966

Marx-Engels, *Din Üzerine*, trans. Murat Belge, 1966

Antonio Gramsci, *Hapisane Mektupları*, trans. Atilla Tokatlı, 1966

Karl Marx, *Türkiye Üzerine (Şark meselesi)*, trans. Selahattin Hilav and Atilla Tokatlı, 1966

Henri Arvon, *Anarşizm Nedir*, trans. Samih Tiryakiođlu, 1966

Vladimir Pozner, *Amerika Birleşmemiş Devletleri*, trans. Cemal Süreya, 1967

Gün Yayınları [Day, Istanbul]

Vladimir Lenin, *Marksizmin Kaynađı: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels*, trans. Osman Saidođlu, 1967

Jean Baby, *Çin-Rusya Çatışmasının İçyüzü*, trans. Orhan Eti, 1967

Marcel Willard, *Babeuf'tan Dimitrof'a Sosyalist Savunmalar*, trans. Şahin Say, 1967

Mao Zedung, *İhtilalin Özü*, selected by Lin Piao, trans. Şahin Say, 1967

Vladimir Lenin, *Marksist Eylemin Çocukluk Hastalığı ve Devrim Stratejisi*, trans. Osman Saidođlu, 1968

Maksim Gorki, *Halk Kültürü*, trans. Şerif Hulusi, 1968

Maxime Rodinson, *Hazreti Muhammed*, trans. Atilla Tokatlı, 1968

Rady Fish, *Nazım'ın Çilesi*, trans. Güneş Bozkaya- Kolontay, 1969

Maxime Rodinson, *İslamiyet ve Kapitalizm*, trans. Orhan Suda, 1969

Habora Kitabevi [İstanbul]

Cyril Edwin Mitchinson, *Sosyalizm Sendikalizm Komünizm Anarşizm*, trans. Oya Sencer, Muzaffer Sencer, 1966

Pyotr Kropotkin, *Anarşizm*, trans. Nedim Sel, 1967

Jean Paul Sartre, *Gizlilik*, trans. Eray Canberk, 1967

Ernst Fischer, *Leipzig Duruşması*, trans. Nedim Sel, 1967

Mao Çe-Tung, *Çin Kurtuluş Savaşı*, trans. Ahmet Angın, 1967

Bakunin, *Seçme Düşünceler*, trans. Mehmet Tuncay, 1967

Josef Stalin, *Lenin*, trans. Seçkin Çağan, 1968

J. W. Finney et. al, *Dünya Hükümeti CIA*, trans. Sabiha Serim, 1968

Fidel Castro, *Ya Vatan Ya Ölüm: Küba'nın Kurtuluşu*, trans. Ahmet Angın, 1968

Vo Nyugen Giap, *Vietnam'da Halk Savaşı ve Amerika*, trans. Nedim Sel, 1968

Rosa Luxemburg, *Kitle Grevleri, Parti ve Sendikalar*, trans. Ahmet Angın, 1969

Vladimir Lenin, *Sosyalizm*, trans. Güneş Şahiner, 1969

Roger Garaudy, *Yirminci Yüzyılda Marksizm*, n.t., 1969

Isaac Deutscher, *Bitmemiş Devrim: Sovyet Rusya 1917-1967*, trans. Seçkin Çağan, 1969

Fidel Castro, *Sosyalist Devrim*, trans. Süleyman Bayar, 1969

Fidel Castro, *Çekoslavakya Meselesi*, trans. Cengiz Çandar, 1969

Fidel Castro, *Devrim İçin Savaşmayana Komünist Denmez*, trans. Güneş Şahiner, 1970

Leon Troçki, *Sürekli Devrim Çağı*, n.t., 1971

L. Lockwood, F. R. Allemann, *Fidel Castro Konuşuyor*, trans. Nedim Sel, n.d.

Bertrand Russell, *Bolşevizm*, n.t., n.d.

Andrei Donatovich Sinyavsky, *Sosyalist Realizm*, n.t., n.d.

Charles de Gaulle, *Politika ve Üniforma*, trans. Oya Sencer, n.d.

Hür Yayınlar [Free, Istanbul]

Georg Cogniot and Guy Besse, *Engels'e Göre Tabiatın Diyalektiği*, trans. Fırtına Öztürk, 1965

Henri Lefebvre, *Sosyalist Dünya Görüşü*, trans. Erol Aydınlik, 1966

Roger Garaudy, *Kafka*, trans. Mehmet Doğan, 1966

A. Verbine, *Sovyetler Birliği'nde Sendikacılık*, Hür Yayınevi, n.t., 1967

İzlem Yayınları [Theme, Istanbul]

Jean-Paul Sartre (with R. Garaudy, J. Hyppolite, J. P. Vigier, J. Orcel) *Marksizim ve Ekzistansializm: Dialektik Üzerine Tartışma*, trans. Necati Engez, 1961

Jean Freville, *Sosyalist Gözle Toplum ve Sanat*, trans. Asım Bezirci, 1963

Jean-Paul Sartre, Francis Jeanson, Albert Camus, *Sartre-Camus Çatışması*, trans. Bertan Onaran, 1965

Charles Bettelheim and Jacques Charriere, *Çin'de Sosyalizmin Kuruluşu: (Çin Planlaması)* trans. Kenan Somer, 1966

Karl Marx, *Louis Bonaparte'in Darbesi (18 Brümer'i)*, trans. Ahmet Acar, 1967

Lev Leontyev, *Politik Ekonominin Esasları*, n.t., n.d

Frantz Fanon, *Dünyanın Lanetlileri*, trans. A. Uzunisa, n.d.

Köprü Yayınları [Bridge, Istanbul]

Harold J. Laski, *Devlet*, trans. Esin Köprücü, 1966

Jacob Salwyn Schapiro, *Çağdaş Düşüncede Toplumsal Tepki*, trans. Mehmedcan Köksal and Mehmet Harmancı, 1966

Köz Yayınları [Cinder, Istanbul]

Leon Troçki, *Hayatım* (two volumes), Müntekim Öçmen, 1970

Karl Marx, *Fransa'da İç Savaş*, trans. Zeynep Kafkas, 1970

Lenin, *Marx ve Engels* (pamphlet), trans. S. Fırat, 1970

May Yayınları [İstanbul]

Franz Altheim, *Asya'nın Avrupa'ya Öğrettiği*, trans. Emin Türk Eliçin, 1967

Herbert Marcuse, *Tek Boyutlu İnsan: İleri Endüstriyel Toplumun İdeolojisi Üzerine İnceleme*, trans. Seçkin Çağan, 1968

Herbert Marcuse, *Aşk ve Uygarlık*, trans. Seçkin Çağan, 1968

Herbert Marcuse, *Sovyet Marksizmi*, trans. Seçkin Çağan, 1969

A. Gessinovich, *Pugaçef Ayaklanması*, trans. Enver Gökçe, 1969

François Barret, *Emeğin Tarihi*, trans. Babir Kuzucu, 1970

Miscellaneous

Roger Garaudy, *Sosyalizm ve İslam*, trans. N. Şahsuvar, Ankara, Genç Sanat, 1960

Sigmund Freud, *Cinsiyet ve Psikanaliz*, trans. Selahattin Hilav, İstanbul, Varlık Yayınevi, 1963

Roger L. Shinn, *Egzistansiyalizmin Durumu*, trans. Şehnaz Tiner, Amerikan Bord Neşriyat Dairesi, 1963

Bertrand Russell, *Evlilik ve Ahlâk*, trans. Ender Gürol, İstanbul, Varlık Yayınevi, 1963

Pierre Laroque, *Sosyal Sınıflar*, trans. Yaşar Gürbüz, İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 1963

John Strachey, *Büyük Uyanış ve Demokrasinin Üstünlüğü: Emperyalizmden Hürriyete*, İstanbul, Kültür Hürriyet Kongresi, 1964

Jean Wahl, *Existentialisme'in Tarihi*, trans. Bertan Onaran, İstanbul, Elif Yayınevi, 1964

H. Louis Fischer, *Emperyalizme Karşı Silahsız Savaşçı Mahatma Gandhi*, trans. Engin Tonguç, İstanbul, Varlık Yayınevi, 1964

Max Beer, *Sosyalizmin ve Sosyal Mücadelelerin Tarihi*, trans. Galip Üstün, İstanbul, Hüsniyat Matbaası, 1965

Jean Paul Sartre, *Hürriyetin Yolları: Akıl Çağı*, İstanbul, n.t., Nobel Yayınları, 1965

Max Beer, *Sosyalizm Tarihi*, trans. A.Cerrahoğlu, İstanbul, İstanbul Matbaası, 1965

- Yves Lacoste, *Az Gelişmiş Ülkeler*, trans. Yaşar Gürbüz, İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 1965
- Charles Patrick Fitzgerald, *Çin İhtilali*, trans. Mahmut Garan, İstanbul, Kitapçılık Limited Ortaklığı Yayınları, 1966
- Rene Maublanc, *Sosyalizmin Felsefesi*, trans. Asım Bezirci, İstanbul, Oluş Yayınları, 1966
- Simone De Beauvoir, *Sade'ı Yakmalı mı?*, trans. Cemal Süreya, İstanbul, Fahir Onger Yayınları, 1966
- François-Xavier Coquin, *Rus İhtilali*, n.t., İstanbul, Kitapçılık Ticaret Ltd. Şirketi Yayınları, 1966
- Hubert Deschamps, *Sömürge İmparatorluklarının Çöküşü*, trans. Oktay Akbal, İstanbul, Kitapçılık Limited Ortaklığı Yayınları, 1966
- Henri Lefebvre, *Marksizm ve Fransız Düşüncesi*, trans. Süha Çilingiroğlu, Kovan Kitabevi Yayınları, İzmir, 1966
- George Lefranc ve Kemal Sülker, *Dünyada ve Bizde Sendikacılık*, trans. Asım Bezirci, İstanbul, Varlık Yayınevi, 1966
- Giles Radice, *Demokratik Sosyalizm*, n.t., İstanbul, Çeltüt Matbaacılık Koll. Şti., 1966
- George Woodcock, *Anarşizm*, trans. Ergün Tuncalı, İstanbul, Kitapçılık Ticaret Lim. Şt., 1967
- S. İ. Aralov, *Bir Sovyet Diplomatının Türkiye Hatıraları*, trans. Hasan Âli Ediz, İstanbul, Burçak Yayınevi, 1967
- George Thomson, *Marksizm ve Şiir*, trans. Cevat Çapan, İstanbul, Uğrak Kitabevi, 1967
- Geston Bouthol, *Savaş*, trans. Vedat Üretürk, İstanbul, Uğural Yayınevi, 1967
- Bertrand Russell, *Vietnam'da Savaş Suçları*, n.t., Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi, 1967
- Roger Garaudy, *Kıyasız Bir Gerçekçilik Üzerine: Picasso, Saint, John Perse, Kafka*, trans. Mehmet H. Doğan, İzmir, Aydın Yayınevi, 1967
- Maurice Dobb, *1917'den Bu Yana Sovyet Ekonomisinin Gelişimi*, trans. Metin Aktan, İstanbul, Özdemir Basımevi, 1968
- Marcel Liebman, *Rus İhtilali: Bolşevik Başarısının Kaynakları, Gelişmesi ve Anlamı*, trans. Samih Tiryakioğlu, İstanbul, Varlık Yayınevi, 1968

Roger Garaudy, *Karl Marx'ın Fikir Dünyası*, trans. Adnan Cemgil, Altın Kitaplar, 1969

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Roger Garaudy, *Sosyalizm ve İslamiyet*, trans. Doğan Avcıoğlu and E.Tüfekçi, 1965

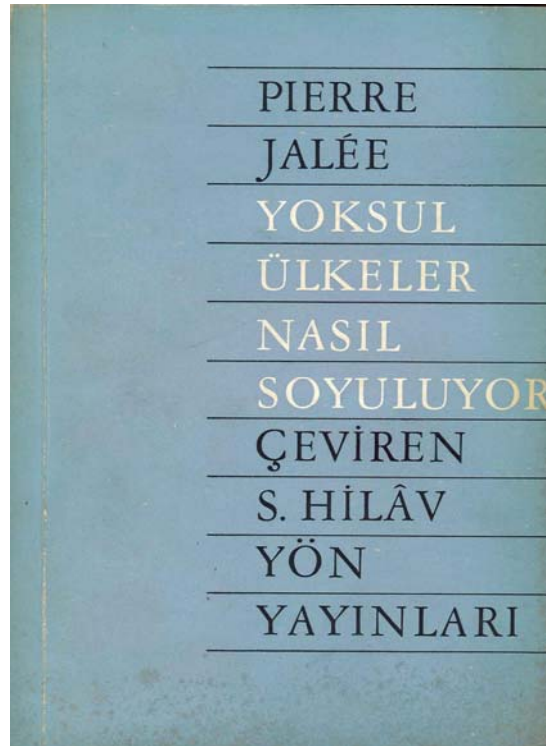
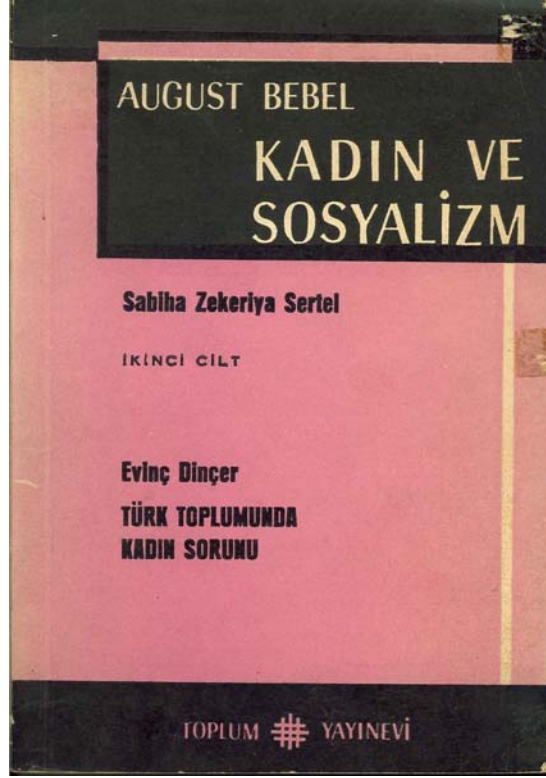
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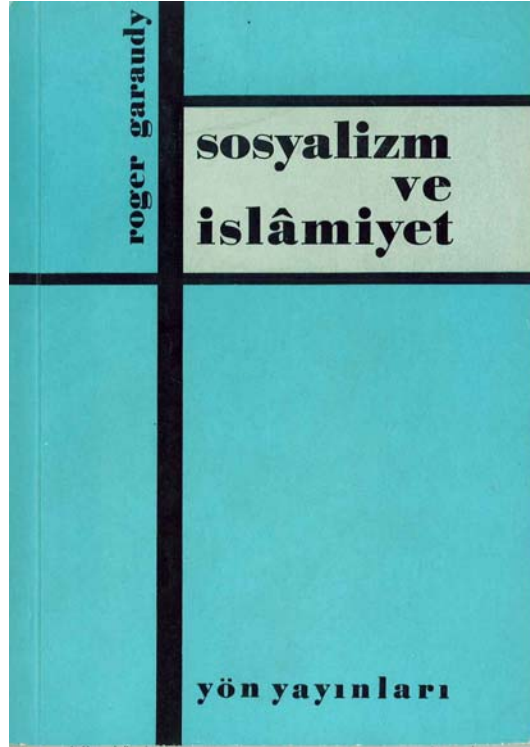
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d'Encausse, H el ene Carr ere and Stuart Schram, *Asya'da Marksizm ve Milliyet ilik*, trans. Sevil Avcıoğlu ve Adil Aş ıoğlu, 1966

APPENDIX II

Some Front and Back Covers





HAPISANE MEKTUPLARI

antonio
gramsci



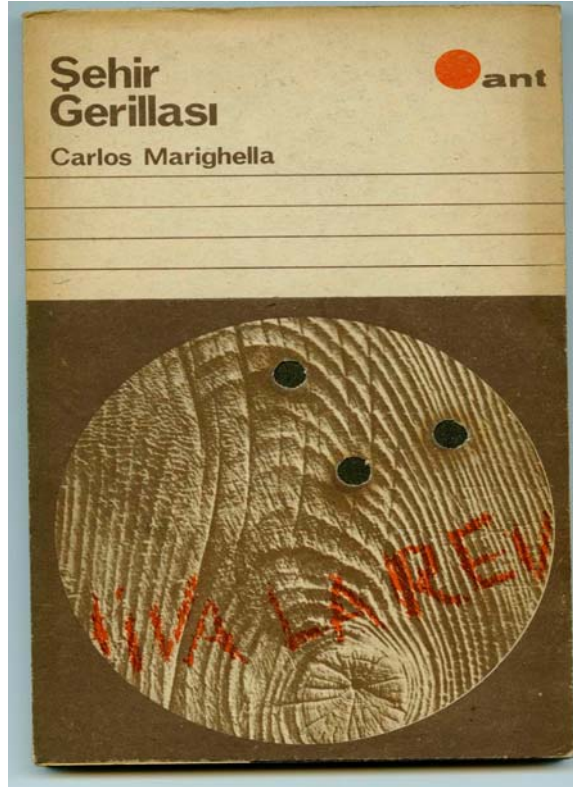
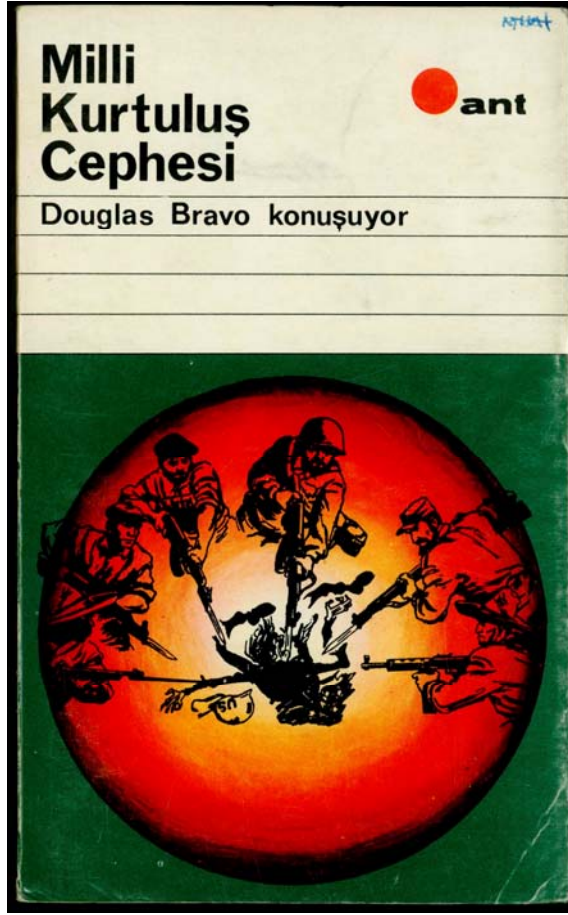
saint - simon
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XIII. leo
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orange
cole
shaw
webb
pease
bernstein
kautsky

j.s.schapiro

çağdaş düşüncede toplumsal tepki

mehmedcan köksal - mehmet harmancı

KÖPRÜ
YAYINLARI



Jean - Paul Sartre ve Marxisme

Ne Sartre'in kendi kişiliği ne de temsil ettiği edebî ve felsefî akım bizim memleketimiz için yabancı sayılamaz. Varoluşçuluk (Existentialisme) bir felsefe ekolü olarak üniversitelerimizde henüz girmemiş olmakla beraber, üniversiteler dışında yıllardan beri yapılagelmekte olan yayımlarla memleketimizde tanındı. Bu yayımlar sistemsiz ve gelişigüzel olsa bile, varoluşçuluğun gözüyle varoluşçuluk hakkında aşağı yukarı bir fikir verecek niteliktedir.

Ancak, varoluşçuluğun diğer felsefe akımları, bu arada marxisme ve genel olarak bilim karşısında ne ifade ettiğini, felsefe tarihindeki yerini ve gerçek değerini bize açıklayacak eserlerin memleketimizde yayınlanmasına çeşitli sebeplerle imkân olmadı.

İşte, ROGER GARAUDY'nin bu eseri genel olarak varoluşçuluğu ele almamakla beraber, Sartre son kitabı dolayısıyla yapılmış geniş bir eleştirme olması bakımından bize marxisme karşısında varoluşçuluğun durumunu gösterecek bir özellik taşıyor.

Eserin bu bakımdan fikir hayatımıza bir yenilik getireceğinden umutluyuz.

SOSYAL YAYINLAR
Cağaloğlu, Servili Mecidi Sk.
Kurt İshân No. 107 - İSTANBUL
P.K. 718 — İSTANBUL

Kapak Baskısı BOZAK Matbaası

FIATI 3 LIRA

SOSYALİZM NEDİR?

Tanınmış İngiliz iktisatçısı John Strachey'nin yazdığı bu kitap sosyalizm hakkında özlü ve faydalı bilgiler vermektedir.

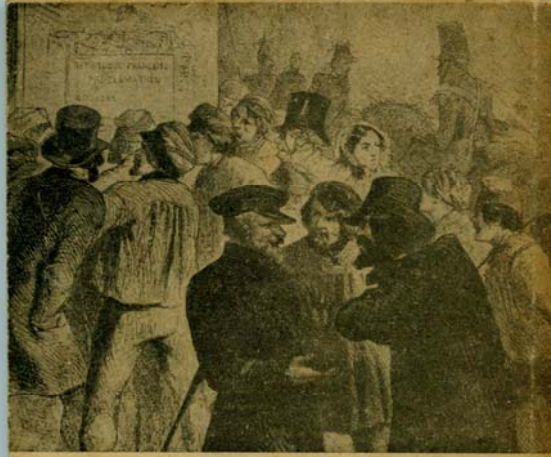
«Plânlı ekonomi», «sosyalizm» gibi meselelerin aydınlarımız arasında sınırlı bir şekilde de olsa artık münakaşa edilebildiği, halkın da dikkatini yavaş yavaş çekmeğe başladığı şu sıralarda kitabın çevresini yayınlamayı faydalı bulduk.

Sosyalizm hakkında dilimizde yayınlanmış başka eserlere göre gerek ifade ve üslup, gerekse meselelerin ele alınış bakımından büyük bir sadelik taşıyan bu eserin, sosyalizm konusundaki bilgilerimizi karışıklık ve bulanıklıktan biraz olsun kurtaracağını umuyoruz.

SOSYAL YAYINLAR — Cağaloğlu Yenihan
Kat : 4. - No. 37 — İSTANBUL

KAPAK KOMPOZİSYONU SAİD MADEN
KAPAK BASKISI BOZAK MATBAASI

FIATI 2.00 KURUŞ



Darbeden sonra, Bonaparte'in duvar bildirileri

İZLEM YAYINLARI
TOPLUM SORUNLARI DİZİSİ

Asıl adı, "Louis Bonaparte'nin 18 Brüm'er'i" olan bu önemli kitapta, Karl Marx, Fransa cumhurbaşkanı seçildikten sonra kurnazca düzenlediği bir darbeyle Cumhuriyet'i yıkıp faşist bir diktatörlük kuran III. Napoléon'u (Louis Bonaparte) ve o zamanın toplumsal yapısını anlatmaktadır. O günlerin Fransa'sında boy gösteren güçlerin yüzlerindeki perdelerin kaldırılması, günümüz dünyasına da ışık tutmaktadır.

500 Kr₺

İZLEM YAYINLARI-İZLEM YAYINLARI-İZLEM YAYINLARI-İZLEM YAYINLARI

Ünlü Fransız düşünürü J. P. Sartre, bu kitapta Şiar Yalçın'ın temiz Türkçe-
siyle çevirisi yayımlanan konuşmasında,
başlıca Fransız Komünist Partisi'nin tutu-
munu eleştiriyor. Bilindiği gibi, Satre ko-
münist değildir, Marksist de değildir. Söy-
ledikleri, zaten, gelişmiş kapitalist ülke-
lerle ilintili. Az gelişmiş ülkelerin okurla-
ları, Sartre'm düşüncelerini, tabii, bun-
ları gözönünde tutarak değerlendirecek-
lerdir.

3 Lira

MARKSİST FELSEFE NEDİR?

Marksizm her 'felsefe'ye son mu verdi? Eğer bir felsefeyi içeriyorsa, bu felsefenin nazari ve pratik anlamı nedir? Marksist filozoflarla marksist olmayan filozoflar arasında verimli bir karşılıklı konuşma hangi şartlarda gerçekleştirilebilir? Karşılıklı konuşma, günümüzde fikir savaşının bütün anlamını yitirmesi mi demektir? Ya da bu savaşın bir görünüşü müdür?

Fransa'da ve dünyada bugün marksist düşüncenin geleceği nedir? Bu kitap, halen yaşayan Fransa'nın ünlü eylemci marksistlerinden Waldeck Rochet'in, birkaç yıl önce Parti Siyasi Bürosunda yaptığı konuşmanın tam metnidir. Marksizmi böylesine özlü anlatan bu kitabı, ülkemizde tartışılmaya başlanan bilimsel sosyalizmi anlamada yararlı olacağı umuduyla sunuyoruz.

TOPLUM YAYINLARI : 27

4 lira



Dünyanın sayılı marksist iktisatçılarından Ernest Mandel'in Marksist Ekonomi El-Kitabı adlı eserinin yine ANT tarafından yayınlanmış olan ve üretim, mübadele, artık-değer, para, kredi, tarım, kapitalizmin gelişmesi ve çelişkileri konularını içeren birinci cildi büyük ilgi görmüş ve marksist ekonomi konusunda başlıca kaynaklardan biri haline gelmiştir. Mandel, eserinin bu ikinci cildinde ise milli gelir, periyodik buhranlar, tekelci kapital, emperyalizm, sovyet ekonomisi, geçiş devresi ekonomisi, sosyalist ekonomi, ekonomi politişin doğuşu, gelişmesi ve ortadan kalkması konularını incelemektedir. İkinci cildi en büyük özelliği, çağımızda emperyalizmin durumunu belgesel şekilde inceleyen Mandel'in, burjuva iktisatçılarınin savlarını karşı konulmaz biçimde çürütmesi ve Sovyet ekonomisi üzerine de marksist açıdan eleştiriler getirmesi, geçiş aşamasında ve sosyalist aşamada ekonomik kuruluşun yöntemlerine ışık tutmasıdır. Marksist Ekonomi El-Kitabı'nın iki cildi, bir bütün halinde, bütün dünyada olduğu gibi, Türkiye'de de devrimcilerin mutlaka okumaları gereken temel eserlerinden biri olacaktır.

20 lira

DEVİRİM STRATEJİSİ ismi altında sunduğumuz bu kitap 1920 yılında Avrupadaki, özellikle İngiltere ve Almanyadaki, her türlü parlamenter ve sendikal uygulamalara karşı olan aşırı sol'u doğru yola getirmek amacıyla kaleme alınmıştır. Lenin bu kitabında devrimci eylemin yeni romantiklerine «Marksist diyalektik» ya da «Uygulanmış diyalektik» dersleri verir. Proleter devrimciliğe arız olan göşizm ve bunalımlarına bu Lenin'ci gerçekçilik, büyük bir uyardır. 1920 lerde, bu küçük kitabın elyazmasında şu ibare bulunmaktaydı: «MARKSİST TAKTİK ve STRATEJİ ÜZERİNE HALKÇI BİR SOHBET DENEMESİ.» 1920 lerden bu yana çeşitli dillere, çeşitli adlarla aktarılan bu kitap, proleter devrimciliğin ve de Marksist Literatür'ün en ünlü klâsiklerinden biridir.

GÜN YAYINLARI: P.K. 1119 - İSTANBUL, Fıatı 7,5 Lira

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«Sosyalizme Giriş», Fransız Silâhsızlanma Komisyonu Temsilcisi ve eski Bakan Jules Moch'un «Socialisme Vivant» adlı eserinden faydalanılarak hazırlanmıştır. Ünlü sosyalist Jules Moch, bu eserinde, sosyalizmin temel konularını, genç bir aydına hitaben yazılmış mektuplar şeklinde ele alıp açıklamaktadır. Moch, yaptığı açıklamaları temellendirirken, Fransa'dan ve öteki batı ülkelerinden örnekler getirmiş ve istatistiklerden faydalanmıştır. Eserin Türk okuru tarafından daha açık ve somut bir biçimde anlaşılmasını sağlamak için yurdumuzla ilgili bilgi ve rakamları, yeri geldikçe yaptığımız siyah harfli eklemelerle belirtmeyi faydalı bulduk.

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