



Reflection of the Events in Turkey in the Ukrainian Newspaper  
"Bilshovyk" (1919–1924)

Türkiye'deki Olayların Ukrayna Gazetesi "Bilşovık"e Yansıması (1919 – 1924)

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### Abstract

The events at the beginning of the XX century were both dramatic and significant for many countries. At the end of the first two decades of the last century, they had new opportunities for development. However, there was a struggle ahead to build independent states. A strong leader, such as Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Turkey, became one of the clear prerequisites for the possible victory in the political and military struggle. After November 1917 the world got to know about a new state that proclaimed the socialist system – Soviet Russia. In 1919 Soviet power was also established on the greater territory of Ukraine. Turkey was still fighting for its own future. But even then, Turkey laid the foundations for future friendly contacts and peaceful interstate relations with neighbours, because the country needed their help and support. The Moscow peace treaties (with Russia in March, 1921) and Angora (with Ukraine in January, 1922) were evidence of this trend. The daily newspaper "Bilshovyk", the official publication of the Bolshevik Party, was published in Kyiv in the Ukrainian language since April 1919. It was not only a daily source of news, but also an instrument of propaganda, as it was a tool to bring certain ideologies, used by the leaders of the country. It covered the events of international politics and foreign news, according to the sympathy and commitment of the Soviet country. Information about the life in Turkey was presented under various headings. The greatest attention was paid to the information about the national revolutionary movement in the Ottoman Empire, which was led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The 1919 materials of newspaper reflected the belief that Turkey was moving towards building socialism (the struggle of the proletariat against world imperialism), and very soon the Soviet regime would win there. However, over time, such unequivocal statements became less vocal. In the 1920 publications, information was provided in great detail about new achievements in the struggle of the Turkish people and their leader. It was noticeable that the official opinion of the Soviet leadership supported the "ignition of the revolutionary movement" and was entirely on the side of the Turkish people. Such kind of information is published under the heading "World Revolution". The most important events in Turkey were covered under such rubrics, as "The Greek-Turkish War" or "The Failure of the Greek Adventure", as well as "Middle East Affairs", "The Struggle for Constantinople and the Straits", "Lausanne Conference", and published mostly on the front pages. In general, the materials presented in the newspaper, reflected the reality in the neighboring country fairly objectively (with some exceptions), acquainting readers in Ukraine with it. This printed source has preserved for us the chronology of events. However, some peculiarities of the materials should be considered. Publications bear the imprint of a peculiar vision of certain events what reflected in their content. The study of such materials helps us not only to monitor the sequence of certain events on a daily basis, but also critically analyze and compare facts in publications, official documents and

reality, as well as to analyze the events from the point of view of the past and the present.

**Keywords:** Mustafa Kemal Pasha, National Struggle, Uprising, Newspaper «Bilshovyk», Turkish Republic, Ukraine, Soviet Russia

## Öz

XX yüzyılın başlarında dünyada yaşanan olaylar birçok ülkelerde dramatik, aynı zamanda önemli hâle gelmiştir. Geçen yüzyılın ilk yirmi yılının sonunda yeni kalkınma fırsatları ortaya çıktı. Ama ileride bağımsız devletler kurmak uğruna bir mücadele vardı. Ve Türkiye de Mustafa Kemal Paşa gibi güçlü bir lider, siyasi ve askeri mücadelede zafer için açık kriterlerden biri hâline geldi. Kasım 1917'den sonra dünyada, sosyalist sistemi ilan eden yeni bir devlet – Sovyet Rusya meydana geldi. 1919'da Ukrayna'nın büyük topraklarında da Sovyet hükümeti kuruldu. Ancak Türkiye hâlâ geleceği için mücadele ediyordu. Buna rağmen o zaman bile, Türkiye gelecekteki dostça temasların ve komşularla barışçıl devletlerarası ilişkilerin temelini attı, çünkü ülkenin onların yardım ve desteğine ihtiyacı vardı. Moskova (1921'de Rusya ile) ve Ankara (1922'de Ukrayna ile) barış antlaşmaları bunun kanıtıydı. Nisan 1919'dan beri Kiev'de Ukraynaca yayınlanan günlük “Bilşovyk” gazetesi, Ukrayna Komünist Partisi (Bolşevikler) Merkez Komitesi'nin yayınıydı. Dolayısıyla bu gazete sadece günlük haber kaynağı olmakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda devlet propagandasına da hizmet ediyor, ülke liderlerinden belli ideolojilerin aktarılmasında bir nevi sözcülük yapıyordu. Ve buna göre, Sovyet ülkesinin sempatisine ve bağlılığına dayanarak uluslararası politikadaki olayları ve genel olarak dış haberleri aktarıyordu. Türkiye'de yaşamla ilgili bilgiler farklı başlıklar altında sunulmaktaydı. Osmanlı Devleti'nde Mustafa Kemal Paşa liderliğindeki Milli Mücadele Hareketi hakkındaki bilgilere büyük önem verilmekteydi. 1919 yılı gazetede yayınlanan haberler, Türkiye'nin sosyalizmi (proletaryanın dünya emperyalizmine karşı mücadelesi) inşa etmeye yönelik inancını ve çok geçmeden Sovyet rejiminin burada da zafer kazanacağı düşüncesini yansıtıyordu. Ancak, zamanla, bu kesin ifadeler azaldı. 1920 yayınlarında Türk halkının ve onun liderinin mücadelesindeki yeni başarılar hakkında çok ayrıntılı bilgi verilmekteydi. Sovyet liderliğinin resmi görüşünün “devrimci hareketin ateşlenmesini” desteklediği ve tamamen Türk halkının yanında olduğu dikkat çekiyor. Böyle bir yönde haber de “Dünya Devrimi” başlığı altında yer almıştır. Özellikle Türkiye'deki akut olaylara “Yunan-Türk Savaşı” veya “Yunan Avantürasının Başarısızlığı” veya “Ortadoğu İşleri”, “Konstantinopolis ve Boğazlar için Mücadele”, “Lozan Konferansı” başlığı altında ayrıca bölümler ayrılmıştır. Ve bunlar ağırlıklı olarak yayının ön sayfalarında yer aldı. Genel olarak, gazetede sunulan materyal, komşu ülkedeki gerçeği



oldukça nesnel (bazı istisnalar dışında) bir şekilde yansıtarak Ukrayna okuyucularına sunulmuştur. Bu basılı kaynak bizim için olayların kronolojisini ve gerçeklerini korumuştur. Ancak bu tür malzemelerin bazı özelliklerinin dikkate alınması gerekir. Yayınlar, içeriklerine de yansıyan belirli olaylara ilişkin benzersiz bir vizyonun izlerini taşır. Böylece, bu tür materyallerin incelenmesi yalnızca belirli olayların gidişatını günden güne izlememize yardımcı olmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda eleştirel analiz yoluyla yayınlardaki, resmi belgelerdeki ve hakiki gerçekleri karşılaştırmamıza, olup bitenleri geçmiş ve bugün açısından analiz etmeye de olanak tanır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mustafa Kemal Paşa, Milli Mücadele, Ayaklanma, Gazete «Bilşovik», Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Ukrayna, Sovyet Rusya

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The events of the first decades of the XX century marked the beginning of a new era for many countries. Dozens of countries and thousands of people were involved in World War I. The events of foreign policy became yet another test for countries in which intrastate changes had already begun. However, the governments were not ready to solve those long-overdue issues. Even though real achievements and victories of some countries had changed and transformed the world, not every country got a worthy reward – an independent state.

After November 1917 the world got to know about the new state on the political map of the world, which proclaimed the socialist system – Soviet Russia. Despite the rejection of the past, connected with its predecessor, the Russian Empire, the Bolshevik country actively began to expand its sphere of influence and ideology, promoting the Soviet system in every possible way. In 1919 Soviet power was established on the greater territory of Ukraine. The Bolsheviks' army didn't manage to do that at once, but soon the newly independent Ukraine also became Soviet and socialist under the military pressure of the Bolsheviks. At that time Turkey was still fighting for its future. The aspirations of the new Turkey had external and internal

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<sup>1</sup> The article is based on the materials of the report «Reflection of the Turkish Events of 1919–1924 in the Ukrainian Newspaper "Bilshovyk"» / «1919–1924 Ukrayna Gazetesi "Bilşovik" de Türkiye'deki Olayların Yansıması» delivered at the International Scientific Symposium «The Centenary of the Inauguration of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey: International Symposium on Democracy in Turkey from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey» (Edirne, 12-13 Mart 2020) / Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin Açılışının 100. Yılı: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Demokrasi Uluslararası Sempozyumu.

adversaries. But even then, Turkey laid the foundations for future friendly contacts and peaceful interstate relations with neighbors, as it needed their help and support.

“We will let historians study the description of all the exciting details of these battles in Anatolia. Each phase of them was a glorious event in itself, but in general they represent a heroic epic, a matter of pride for our country, for our future generations”<sup>2</sup>. This statement-appeal of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, expressed at the opening of the Mejlis (the Grand National Assembly) of the second convocation on August 13, 1923, did not lose its relevance even a century later. The interest of historians in those exciting events of the past has not died out in our time. Ukrainian scholars, like their colleagues in many countries around the world, continue to research these events. Today, the numerous works by Professor Igor Chernikov, devoted to the study of relations between Turkey and Ukraine<sup>3</sup> in the Soviet period, are widely known. It is also necessary to mention the researchers of Turkish-Ukrainian relations of 1917-1922 (Volodymyr Sergiychuk and Bogdan Sergiychuk, Irina Matyash, Oleh Kupchyk)<sup>4</sup>.

The subject of our research is a printed periodical “Bilshovyk”, a source of official information, published in Ukraine exactly during Turkey’s struggle for an independent republic. The materials of this newspaper have not been studied previously in the context of the proposed topic.

Daily newspapers have always been an important source of information. First of all, they fulfill the role of an chronograph of the era, as well as the fixator of successive events and realities. They are also a special source of information, that has some shortcomings due to the subjectivity of the authors and the requirements of the time and the political system. Therefore, a thorough, detailed study and analysis of the facts and information field of this period is to be conducted by the researchers.

The publisher of the daily newspaper “Bilshovyk”, which was published in Ukrainian in Kyiv from April 1919 (1919-1925, with some interruptions), was the

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<sup>2</sup> Кемаль Ататюрк, *Избранные речи и выступления*, ред. и вступ. ст. проф. А.Ф.Миллера. Перевод с тур. (Москва: Изд-во “Прогресс”, 1966), 312.

<sup>3</sup> І.Ф. Черніков, *Радянсько-турецькі відносини у 1923–1935 роках*, (Київ: Вид-во АН УРСР, 1962), 136; І.Ф. Черников, *В интересах мира и добрососедства*, (Київ: “Наукова думка”, 1977), 200.

<sup>4</sup> Богдан Сергійчук, Володимир Сергійчук, *На межі двох світів. Українсько-турецькі взаємовідносини в середині XVI – на початку XXI ст.*, (Київ, 2012), 320; Ірина Матяш, *Українська консульська служба 1917 – 1923 рр. як державний інститут: становлення, функціонування, персоналії*, (Київ, 2016), 482; Олег Купчик, “Встановлення дипломатичних відносин між УРСР і Турецькою Республікою (1920–1922)”, *Вісник Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Історія*. № 91-93 (Київ, 2007), 104-106.



Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine. Therefore, the newspaper was not only a source of daily news, also served to agitate and convey a certain ideology of the country's leaders. In Soviet times, the newspaper was kept in the library, in a special closed fund with limited access.

At different times, "Bilshovyk" was positioned as a workers' and peasants' newspaper (1919), a peasants' newspaper (1921), and again a workers' and peasants' newspaper (1922). From time to time, there were difficulties with the newspaper's circulation. There were different reasons for this at different stages. When, for example, the Bolsheviks lost power in Kyiv in 1919, this led to a long interruption in the publication. There was also the problem of poorly maintained editions, as printing was often done on very poor-quality paper. At the same time, for objective reasons, such as the lack of paper in the required quantity, the frequency of issue was reduced or almost stopped altogether (it was especially noticeable in 1919, 1920, and 1922). Sometimes the publication was printed on sheets with a smaller format or the number of pages was significantly reduced and print runs declined. It suggests that the Soviet country itself was going through hard times. However, it continued to work persistently and at all costs on its external image, demonstrating its wealth and superiority by providing assistance and gaining trust.

Although the realities of the time inevitably led to a possible bias and distortion in the presentation of the material, nevertheless, the content of the published documents remained unchanged. The events themselves, recorded on long yellowed sheets, remain unique in the way they describe reality. It is important to note that the vocabulary and style of the quoted printed source are slightly archaic. Also, the original text contains errors and typos in the spelling of some, mainly foreign, toponyms and anthroponyms.

### **The main part**

It should be noted that on the first page of its first issue of April 10, 1919, the newspaper "Bilshovyk" informed its readers that "a revolution broke out in Constantinople. The Dardanelles are closed"<sup>5</sup>.

The information about life in Turkey was presented under various headings. Some of the materials reflected the political situation in the international stage, the attitude of world powers towards Turkey after its defeat in World War I, as well as the aspirations of the state and its people in this situation. More than once the reader

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<sup>5</sup> *Більшовик*, "Револуційний рух росте! В Костянтинополі революція." (11 квітня 1919, № 1), 1.

was informed about the situation and the fate that could await Turkey: "Constantinople and the straits will be made available international use and they will be under the joint control of England and France. The capital of the Turkish government is moved to Asia Minor. Sultan will be recognized as the religious head of Turkey, and Constantinople in this regard remains the capital of Islam"<sup>6</sup>.

The materials of the publications of the first years reflected a sincere conviction of the government of Soviet Russia that Turkey was moving towards building socialism (the struggle of the proletariat against world imperialism) and that the Soviet regime would soon triumph there as well. For example, in the article "Turkey – Soviet Republic", the author after reflecting on Turkey ("Indeed, the first information we have received already says that many vilayets (provinces) in Asia Minor have declared themselves Soviet"), Constantinople ("We know that Constantinople is the most cultural and largest industrial center of all of Turkey..."), imperialism and revolution ("Now this strait must and will become Soviet, and the proletariat will become the master of Europe") concludes: "The revolution in Turkey – is the best evidence that the socialist revolution has assumed the character of a world revolution"<sup>7</sup>. However, in the course of time, such unambiguous statements diminished, but did not cease. From time to time, publications returned to this thesis. Obviously, the Russian government supported the hope or dream that the Turkish Communist Party would continue the "right" cause. It was Russia, that somewhat later, provided help and support, and also demanded freedom for imprisoned supporters of the communist movement in Turkey. For example, on August 11, 1920 the newspaper wrote the following: "... a central committee of the communist party was founded in Constantinople, which has branches in most cities of Anatolia. At the meeting of deputies of all revolutionary currents, a resolution, was passed calling for the struggle for Soviet power"<sup>8</sup>. At the very beginning of 1921, the article "The Soviet way in Turkey" reported: "The head of the Turkish government, Kemal, announced that he recognized of the foundations of the Soviet system and the expropriation of private property, from both Christians and Muslims"<sup>9</sup>. It also stated that "out of 314 deputies, 160 are Bolsheviks in the Turkish Constituent Assembly.

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<sup>6</sup> Більшовик, "Доля Турції" (12 лютого 1920, № 33 (160)), 2.

<sup>7</sup> Більшовик, "Турція – Радянська Республіка" (17 квітня 1919, № 7), 2.

<sup>8</sup> Більшовик, "Утворення комуністичної партії в Турції" (11 серпня 1920, № 141 (268)), 1.

<sup>9</sup> Більшовик, "Радянський лад у Туреччині" (1 січня 1921, № 257 (384)), 3.



The press paid particular attention to events in Turkey since 1920, when the people of Turkey and their leader were looking for ways to build a new life. Small notes about the uprising and actions of Kemal Pasha appeared with increasing frequency. It is noticeable that the official line of the Soviet leadership supported the "ignition of the revolutionary movement" and was fully on the side of the Turkish people. The eloquent headlines and the content of publications (for example, "Turkey wins", "The struggle for the independence of Turkey") testify to this. Such information was published under the heading "World Revolution". Then the news about the revolutionary movement in Turkey was moved to new sections – "Under the Heel of Capital", "Abroad". From the end of 1920, more notes were dedicated to the friendship between the Soviet republics and Turkey, trade, and friendly visits.

There is also an inexplicable publication referring to the Reuters News Agency in the issue of February 13, 1920 that Mustafa Kemal, the national hero of Anatolia, was killed by the British: "In Anatolia, the national hero Mustafa-Kemal commanded the uprisings, whom the English criminals killed treacherously. The murder of the rebel guide provoked indignation among the people and gave rise to several bloody clashes, after which the British evacuated Damascus"<sup>10</sup>. The appearance of this small article on the front page of the newspaper stands in sharp contrast to other (previous and subsequent) news about Mustafa Kemal Pasha. And whether such information was published elsewhere in other newspapers is unknown. In subsequent issues, this publication was left without any retraction or comment. The newspaper continued to print current news about his struggle and activities. For example, the following mention of the military Turkish leader was published in a newspaper in mid-March: "According to reports from Constantinople, the Turkish army, under the command of Pasha Mustafa Kemal, began an offensive and won the victory over the English near Zaydzhun"<sup>11</sup>.

It should be noted that the first publications of 1919 reflected the events, that took place in the country and among the neighbors, more objectively, especially concerned with the struggle for a new state system. After all, the disintegrated Russian Empire after the revolutionary coup of 1917, ended up in international isolation and was looking for associates, supporters, and allies.

First of all, it should be considered how the image of Turkey was formed. Publications in a newspaper reflected the interaction between countries. The gradual

<sup>10</sup> Більшовик, "Вбивство Мустафи-Кемаль" (13 лютого 1920, № 34 (161)), 1.

<sup>11</sup> Більшовик, "Турецькі повстанці б'ють англійців" (17 березня 1920. № 62 (189)), 2.



formation of the image of Mustafa Kemal Pasha is clearly visible. After all, by 1919 he had already become the established leader of the Turkish people, who could lead them into the future. In addition, the great sympathy towards him on the part of the Soviet leaders is also clearly visible.

Therefore, news and articles about Turkey dated 1919 are entirely devoted to the coverage of the scale of the “rebel movement” in Turkey. At the end of April, the newspaper stated: “Information is confirmed that the revolution in Asia Minor is spreading. <...> The comrades who arrived from Odesa said that the Turkish consul in Odesa knew about the events brewing in Turkey a few days before the event, and confirmed that the revolution broke out in Turkey no later than a week later”<sup>12</sup>. Attention should be paid to the sources of the received and transmitted information. The reports and information were borrowed from the foreign press and telegraph agencies, primarily English and French. Less frequently used were Greek and Persian sources of information. Later, newspaper news was received, and edited by the ROSTA (Russian Telegraph Agency). In the summer of 1919, “with the aim to unite and severely monitor all information material”, which came to the editorial office of Ukrainian newspapers from abroad, a special agency, “Inagen”, was created by the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In addition, the Radiotelegraph Agency of Ukraine (RATAU) began its work.

The notes from 1920 were also full of a chronology of events in Turkey. Every victory of the Turkish troops was highlighted and commented upon. Telegrams to the head of the Turkish Council of Commissioners and their responses had been reported. They were mainly dedicated to the exchange of congratulations on the achievements of the Kemal’s Army. The publication stated that Mustafa Kemal Pasha also sent telegrams, for example: “Kemal sent to Comrade Chicherin, the People’s Commissar of the Soviet Federation, a telegram, in which he congratulated the Soviet Republics on their victories over imperialism. Thus, relations with anti-imperialist Turkey were established”<sup>13</sup>.

The newspaper also mentioned the fate of the former compatriots who did not accept the revolution and Soviet power, left Russia after 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power, and found a new shelter in Turkey. The internal life of Turkey was regularly covered: “The Turkish cabinet changes almost every week. All the efforts of

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<sup>12</sup> Більшовик, “Револуція в Турції шириться” (24 квітня 1919, № 11), 1.

<sup>13</sup> Більшовик, “Туреччина і Радянська Федерація” (7 грудня 1920, № 236 (363)), 1.



the Turkish leadership cannot get the country out of a difficult situation"<sup>14</sup>. It became increasingly apparent that subsequent events were developing rapidly and had already passed their "point of no return". At the end of April 1920, publications continued to inform the readers, that "the Turkish government failed to renew its authority in Andrianopol and Anatolia... Apparently, the power in Anatolia is in the hands of Mustafa Kemal, although bloody clashes erupt between nationalists and supporters of the Sultan in the region Brusel'<sup>15</sup>"<sup>16</sup>. Sometimes the report was limited to several lines, but still gave information about the course of events: "Turkish revolutionary troops took possession of Kars"<sup>17</sup>.

Soviet Russia did not diminish its role in the revolutionary events in Turkey and the East as a whole and informed its readers about it: "At a conference convened by the revolutionary committee for the liberation of Turkey, a resolution was adopted on the support by all means of the Soviet Muscovite, which alone can save the peoples of the East"<sup>18</sup>.

The congress of the revolutionary peoples of the East in Baku was also a help in the matter of "exporting the revolution". Initially, it was expected that up to 4000 delegates from Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan and others would arrive there<sup>19</sup>. The congress began its work on September 2, 1920, and 1800 delegates arrived there, not only from the East, but also representatives of the western section of the Third Communist International were there<sup>20</sup>.

Publications about the events in Turkey during 1921 were mainly concentrated under the rubric "Under the Heel of Capital". Separate extensive articles were also dedicated to Turkey, as it was the year of the conclusion of a peace treaty between Russia and Turkey (by the representatives of the Turkish Grand National Assembly).

<sup>14</sup> *Більшовик*, "В Турції втікачам живеться погано" (17 квітня 1920, № 85 (212)), 2.

<sup>15</sup> In the original: "... в районі Брусель." / "...v rayoni Brusel'.". Obviously, this refers to the Turkish city of Bursa.

<sup>16</sup> *Більшовик*, "Повстанський рух в Турції" (24 квітня 1920, № 91 (218)), 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Більшовик*, "Революція в Туреччині" (№ 217 (344), 13 листопада 1920, № 217 (344)), 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Більшовик*, "Одна радянська Московщина може врятувати народи сходу" (28 квітня 1920, № 94 (221)), 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Більшовик*, "Зїзд революційних народів Сходу" (31 серпня 1920, № 156 (283)), 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Більшовик*, "Зїзд народів сходу розпочався" (9 вересня 1920, № 164 (291)), 2.

In May 1921, the newspaper reported on the war between Turkey and France. It stated that "Turkey is with us against the Entente"<sup>21</sup>. Further information on the course of armed clashes was consistent with this trend.

On February 16, 1921 the Ambassador of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, former commander of the Western Front, Ali Fuad Pasha, arrived in Moscow, together with the members of the embassy – Secretary Afez Bay, financial adviser Takin Bay, military agent Sakoret Bay and military agent Sefir Bay. A delegation also arrived with them to negotiate with the Soviet leadership, headed by Yusuf Kemal Bey and members of the national assembly<sup>22</sup>. So, the last stage of work began to prepare for the signing of the Russian-Turkish treaty, the provisions of which were developed a year before and required its execution. At a joint meeting, three working commissions were elected: political, legal and editorial<sup>23</sup>. In early March 1921, a meeting of representatives of the Russian government and the Turkish Grand National Assembly government began in Moscow. Both sides expected the signing of an agreement between the countries. The findings of this report, as in similar previous ones, stated: "The Turkish workers realized that friendship and union with Soviet Russia was a means of will and independence of any oppressed nation"<sup>24</sup>. In Turkey itself, as the news column notified, the changes were already in full swing: "Kemal Pasha put the capital, Angora, in order in a European manner. The workers are led by a Hungarian engineer. A theater, university, and a public library have been built"<sup>25</sup>. That is, Mustafa Kemal Pasha after a series of military trials, having given his country peace, undertook its peaceful reconstruction. The work of the conference in Moscow, as expected, ended with the signing of an agreement between Russia and Turkey ("revolutionary Turkey, which is headed by the national assembly in Angora"<sup>26</sup>). March 16, 1921, was the most important date in the interstate relations of the two states. Several newspaper publications on this subject noted that the two countries have reliably closed their rear from external and internal enemies. An important point recorded by this agreement was not only a statement of friendship

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<sup>21</sup> *Більшовик*, "Війна Туреччини й Франції" (24 травня 1921, № 366 (406)), 2; *Більшовик*, "Турція з нами проти Антанги" (24 травня 1921, № 366 (406)), 2.

<sup>22</sup> *Більшовик*, "Приїзд посольства од турецького національного зібрання" (25 лютого 1921, № 296), 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Більшовик*, "Договір з Туреччиною" (2 березня 1921, № 300 (336)), 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Більшовик*, "Радянські Республіки і Туреччина" (5 березня 1921, № 303 (339)), 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Більшовик*, "В революційній Туреччині" (9 березня 1921, № 306 (343)), 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Більшовик*, "Договір з Туреччиною підписано" (22 березня 1921, № 315 (351)), 1.



in relations, but also recognition of state borders by the two parties. This document, signed in Moscow, was later called the Moscow Agreement.

We support the statement by Igor Chernikov, a history professor, that "Soviet-Turkish friendship, which arose not as an accidental diplomatic combination, but as a vital necessity of both countries..."<sup>27</sup>. Indeed, the time for a complete victory of the aspirations of the Turkish people, did not come. The situation required effective military strategies, urgent political decisions and popular support, as well as fortitude and courage.

In early 1921 the plenipotentiary representative of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Ali Fuad had a meeting with the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR, during which the Turkish side suggested to sign an international agreement between two countries. Preparations for signing the document were underway for almost 9 months. The Treaty "On Friendship and Brotherhood" between Turkey and Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was signed on January 2, 1922. Unfortunately, there are no issues of the "Bilshovyk" newspaper of that period. However, it is clear that thanks to previous publications, the Ukrainian reader already knew in some detail about life and events in and around Turkey. Our people remember the cherished words of Mustafa Kemal Pasha about this event: "The friendship between the Ukrainian and Turkish peoples, now supported by the Ukrainian-Turkish treaty, is constant"<sup>28</sup>.

On July 6, 1922, the publication "The Greeks Go to Constantinople"<sup>29</sup> appeared. Subsequent issues were full of headlines "Greeks and Constantinople", "Greeks depart"<sup>30</sup>. In early September, reports stated: "The Turkish offensive in Anatolia is developing along the entire front. A very fast attack is on the left wing, to capture the railway from Paderi to Smyrna"<sup>31</sup>. In subsequent issues (from September 7 and later), these events were highlighted on the first page under the heading "Greek-Turkish War", which housed a chronicle (about 10 notes) of current events in the region – on offensives, tactics, breakthroughs, victories. On September 12 the heading changed its name to "The End of the Greek Adventure", where the main place was given to

<sup>27</sup> І.Ф. Черніков, *Дружня підтримка і співробітництво: Українська РСР у відносинах Радянського союзу з країнами Близького і Середнього Сходу (1922–1939)*, (Київ: Наукова думка, 1973), 4.

<sup>28</sup> Кемаль Ататюрк, *Избранные речи и выступления*, ред. и вступ. ст. проф. А.Ф.Миллера. Перевод с турецкого. (Москва: Изд-во "Прогресс", 1966), 209.

<sup>29</sup> *Більшовик*, "Греки ідуть на Царьгород" (6 серпня 1922, № 3), 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Більшовик*, "Греки і Царьгород" (8 серпня 1922, № 4), 2; *Більшовик*, "Греки відходять" (8 серпня 1922, № 4), 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Більшовик*, "Війна Револьюційної Туреччини з Грецією" (3 вересня 1922, № 14), 1.

the arrival of Mustafa Pasha in Smyrna. The exchange of telegrams with the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR Lev Karakhan was also mentioned. Comrade Karakhan congratulated Kemal Pasha on his victories. In his return message, Kemal Pasha assured that "after the victorious peace, the sympathy and brotherhood that united Angora with Soviet Russia during the struggle will be even closer"<sup>32</sup>.

In the same issue of the newspaper, there was also a greeting that was sent by radio to Angora for the head of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from the Ukrainian Soviet Government with the wishes that "in the near future, the victories of the Turkish army would result in recognition of Turkey's rights and a long peace...". And "Soviet Ukraine will be happy to help develop friendly Turkey..."<sup>33</sup>.

Subsequently, the news from the opposite side of the Black Sea was placed under the heading "Middle Eastern Affairs". The first report tells us about the political situation around Constantinople and the Straits. There was also the statement of Kemal Pasha that if "the allies do not give Constantinople peace, then the Turks will fight for it"<sup>34</sup>. At the same time, the events in Turkey were also covered under the rubric "Abroad". The appeal of Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the Turkish people was printed there. It stated that "... the consequences of the struggle, which has been going on for more than three years, become obvious. Any activity that relies on the will of the people leads to happiness. The future of our nation ... the victory of our army is guaranteed"<sup>35</sup>.

The next issue of the newspaper regarding the "Evening Standard" provided information about the fears of the British that they would have to leave Constantinople. In connection with this, information was also provided about the possible start of negotiations with Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The fears of the British were based on the assumption that "if Kemal Pasha marches to Constantinople, he will declare a holy war in all Mohammedan countries, and for France and England it makes no sense to spread the conflict so much"<sup>36</sup>.

In the following issue, the column "The struggle for Constantinople and the Straits" was published. It consisted of several notes. Virtually all of them were united

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<sup>32</sup> Більшовик, "Телеграма Кемаль-паші Наркомзаксправові Р.С.Ф.Р.Р." (14 вересня 1922, № 19), 1.

<sup>33</sup> Більшовик, "Привітання Ангори з приводу Турецьких перемог" (14 вересня 1922, № 19), 1.

<sup>34</sup> Більшовик, "Близько-Східні справи" (19 вересня 1922, № 21), 1.

<sup>35</sup> Більшовик, "Відозва Кемал-Паши" (21 вересня 1922, № 22), 2.

<sup>36</sup> Більшовик, "Доведеться залишити Константинопіль" (19 вересня 1922, № 21), 2.



by the name of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, mentioned in the headings: "Kemal requires the participation of Soviet Russia in resolving the case of the Straits", "Requirements of Kemal", "Kemal Pasha about his plans", "Offensive of Kemal on Ismit", etc.<sup>37</sup>.

However, over time, such close attention to the events in Turkey began to decline. Of course, the press did not ignore, for example, such events as the abolition of the caliphate and expulsion of the sultan dynasty from the country ("<...> The chief of police arrived at the palace at night and offered the caliph to leave Turkey immediately on behalf of the government. <...> The Constantinople press notes that the elimination of the caliphate was welcome throughout the country"<sup>38</sup>), the closure of French schools or the ratification of the Lausanne treaty with England<sup>39</sup>. The most important events in the life of a friendly country were always reflected in the press. Therefore, the column "In Turkey" was regularly published. It thoroughly informed the readers about the most significant events in the social and political life of Turkey. Such reports were made about the activities of the Mejlis, its activity aimed at developing the articles of the Turkish constitution: "Turkey will be called a republic; the proposal to add the word "national" was rejected..."<sup>40</sup>. These were fairly standard messages from the ROSTA (Russian Telegraph Agency). However, other publications on domestic life and foreign policy, which were also relevant for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which the country had become by then, became the leading in publications. The key rubrics were "On the eve of the recognition of the USSR by Europe", "Europe and the USSR", "Discussions in the British Parliament", "Class Struggle in Germany", "Immediate Tasks of USSR Foreign and Domestic Politics", etc.

### Conclusions

In general, the material presented in the newspaper fairly objectively reflected the reality in the neighboring country (except for several publications), acquainting readers of Ukraine with it. This was especially necessary in those days with rather a narrow set of other means of communication. The facts were unchanged, but their presentation, and the interpretation were aimed at the Soviet Ukrainian citizens. It can also be noted that the news of international politics can be conditionally divided into two groups: the successes and achievements of friendly countries and gratuitous

<sup>37</sup> Більшовик, "Боротьба за Царгород і протоки" (23 вересня 1922, № 23), 2.

<sup>38</sup> Більшовик, "Вислання султанської династії" (8 березня 1924, № 57 (955)), 2; Більшовик, "Знищення халіфату. Реформи" (6 березня 1924, № 55 (953)), 2.

<sup>39</sup> Більшовик, "В Туреччині" (16 квітня 1924, № 86 (984)), 9.

<sup>40</sup> Більшовик, "Турецька конституція" (21 березня 1924, № 65 (963)), 2.

assistance from the Bolsheviks to those who sympathize with Russia, the failures of the enemy countries and the hard life of the workers in those countries. At the same time, the analysis of publications makes it possible to see how exactly the opposite side saw the processes taking place during the revolutionary struggle for independence in Turkey with benefits and preferences in this situation for itself.

The study of such materials helps us not only to follow the course of certain events from day to day, but also allows us to compare publications, official documents and reality, to analyze what has happened from the point of view of the past and the present.

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