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**The emergence / development of social and working  
class movement in the city of Thessaloniki  
(working associations and labor unions)\***

*“...We, the workers of Turkey, have to conceive that our main principle for our improvement, must be, to follow the steps of our European fellow workers. We ought to try for the establishment and support of our working associations, labour unions and politic societies. Let’s support our labour unions, let’s be members of the Workers’ Socialist Union of Salonika. Let us all register...”*

Abraham Benaroyia, “Politic and economic struggle”, *Worker’s Newspaper* No 1, Salonika 15.8.1909.

Basic effect of the city high social mobility, was the diffusion of the new European ideas, mainly among the members of the city intelligentsia. Scientism, Darwinism, and positivism, will be the main axes of interest for the Salonicans of the late 19th century. A great part of the national communities’ intellectuals, were being occupied with the new European concepts about nationalism. They were studying about their national origins in order to form arguments, usable into the formation of the national conscience of their homogens<sup>1</sup>. In addition, during the same

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1. There were four nationalistic trends, evident among the city communities: a) maintenance of the Ottoman domination in the Balkans and ensuring of the territorial integrity of the Balkan provinces by the Ottoman Turks, b) autonomy for the city of Salonika by the Ottoman Jews, c) Unification of the city with the rest Hellenic territories by the Ottoman Greeks and Hellenes and d) the formation of the “Great Bulgaria” by a part of the Ottoman Slavic and Bulgarian population of the city.

period, city inter-communal strife was rising. Little before, some literary circles of the city on their seeking for new ideas, will have the first contact with the Russian “populist” literature of L. Tolstoy and F. Dostoyevsky.

Until the early second half of the 19th century (60s-70s), no contact of the middle and upper city strata was obvious with European socialist theories. During the late years of the 80s’ and especially during the last decade of the century, various kinds of clubs<sup>2</sup>, societies and “*cemiyet*”s, mushroomed all over the city. In the beginning, most of them had “nationalistic”, sectional or comradely character. They were formatted from outstanding communal members or intellectuals, either for the upper or the lower community’s strata. Most of them (except the professional associations), had no founding members that were coming from the lower or the working strata. It is generally believed, in my bibliography, that the working strata of the city, at that period had no class conscience. On the other hand, we may observe that the function of all those clubs, societies and “*cemiyet*”s was shaping rather the national conscience of the middle and lower-working strata. The next step, was the influence by the European humanistic groups and freemasons, especially obvious in the Jewish and later in the Turkish intellectual circles<sup>3</sup>.

As we will see in the following, we may support the opinion, that, those clubs, societies and “*cemiyet*”s (from which, later the first labor organizations will be formed), were the precursors of the class-working social establishments, and through such social groupings, the lower and the working strata of the city, will become participants of the socialist and Marxist ideas in the early 20th century.

From the second half of the 19th century, working associations

2. There were famous bourgeois clubs in the city. All of them had a multi-nature character, like masonic, politic, social, etc. Most known were the cosmopolitan “*Club de Salonique*”, “*Nouveau Club*” and the exclusively Jewish “*Club de l’Alliance*”. Their various activities (cultural, philanthropic, educational, etc.) are also interesting, e.g., “*Nouveau Club*” was issuing a newspaper, called *La Nation*.

3. Later, in 1905 the influence of the humanistic ideas, gained ground among the city *Doenmeh* population, through the masonic lodges “*Labor et lux*” (labor and light) and “*Macedonia risorta*” (Revolutionary Macedonia), that were directly connected with the “*Grand Orient*” (Great Orient) of France. K. Μοσχώφ, *Thessaloniki 1700-1912. The city of retailing* (in Greek), 1974, p. 162. This was rather the channel to Salonika of the humanistic socialism, that was based on the ideas of the French socialist J. Jaures.

started to be formatted. Most of them were called “brotherhoods” and in the beginning, their functional pattern was based onto the guilds’ collective solidarity, with rather post-feudal characteristics. The association of bakers, was established in 1869, grocers’ association in 1876, hotel-restaurant employees’ association in 1900, shoe-makers and sew-workers’ associations in 1904, shop-assistants’ union in 1905 and the unions’ association in 1909. The lower middle-class prejudices of their members, led to competitive relationships and continual clashes, due to the national antagonism and antithesis.

In the new century, before the formation of any socialist organization in Salonika, socialistic circles that had already been formed in other big cities of the Empire, will attempt to support the trends that had emerged in the city for the formation of a socialistic group. Main carrier of the radical ideas will be again the Jewish element, by one or the other way.

Two different social group, were working that period for this purpose: a) local elements, that they were composing the circle of Joseph Nahama and were connected with various French masonic lodges b) newcomers (from which few were Jews), old cadres or members of the Rumanian and Bulgarian social democracy, some of them leaned towards the “wides” Bulgarian social democrats, with populist ideas, and some of them anarchists. They were either teachers or skilled workers. One of them was Abraham Benaroyia<sup>4</sup>.

4. Abraham Benaroyia, was born in the coastal town of Danube Loud. He grew up at Vidin. His father was a small retailer in a Jewish neighborhood. After his graduation of the high school, he became a teacher of the Bulgarian language in the school of the Jewish community of Φιλιππούπολις (Plovdiv). There, probably in 1907 came in contact with the Bulgarian social democratic movement, and became a member of Nikolai Harlakov’s liberal socialists (a fraction of the “narrows” socialist group: *vide sequens*). During his stay in that group, he was participating in the publication of a pamphlet titled “The Jewish question and social democracy” in 1908, while he was also participating in the publication of the newspaper *Evreitski Rabotnik* (Jew worker), that was being printed in Sofia. He left his law studies, and in 1908 started to work as a typographer. He also worked for two years as tobacco worker. After the Young Turks’ revolution he came to Salonika. His first politic steps in the city, were with a group of Bulgarian socialists. Little later he started to consort with some other Jews (Samuel Saadi —tobacco worker—, Albert Dassa —shop assistant—, Abraham Hasson —sew worker—), and the circle of Joseph Nahama, that was influenced by the ideas of the French humanistic socialism of J. Jaures. The result of these consortations, was the establishment of the first worker’s club [(*Club Ouvrier*) in September 1908]. Emblem of the club,

In August of 1908, the city working proletariat consisted of 10,000 industrial workers, other 10,000 permanent or seasonal tobacco workers, 3,000 to 5,000 port workers and some thousand landless tillers from the environs<sup>5</sup>.

The most considerable movement took place in the port workers and industrial workers population. From them, most radical were the tobacco workers. An important role played in the beginning, also, some of the ward coffee shops of the city, that became centers of propaganda and politic activity<sup>6</sup>.

The founding members of Workers' club (*Club Ouvrier*) were trying to detach the leading members of the professional associations from the influence of the various "national" clubs, committees, etc., like the Jewish "Friends Club" or the Hellenic "Πολιτικός Σύνδεσμος" (Politic league)<sup>7</sup>. On this attempt, the club demonstrated a vivid action: lectures, discussions, conferences and presentations about socialistic matters, about the international proletarian organization etc. Gradually, the club's members were growing in numbers. The executive committee of the club (*Moses Modiano, Samuel Saadi Halevi, David Hawell, Isaak Lewis*), decided to change the club into a politic organization. The new name of the organization became "*Associasion Obradera de Salonika*" (Workers' Association of Salonika = W.A.S.). Until the April of 1909 (almost six months after its establishment), the club had some hundred

became the depiction of a workers' hand that was holding a hammer. After the Balkan wars, Abraham Benaroyia continued his work and was one of the founding members of the Socialist Working Party of Hellas (Σ.Ε.Κ.Ε.) in 1918. Little before the II world war, withdrew from the active politic life, and was working for the Jewish community of the city. During the period of the German occupation in Hellas, he was imprisoned in a concentration camp but survived. After the war, he refused to settle in the newly emerged Jewish state. Finally, in 1953 he left to Tel Aviv, where he settled in the town Holon near by the city.

5. Vide G. Haupt's, "Introduction to Federation's history", in A. Benaroyia's book *First career of the Hellenic proletariat* (in Greek), Athens 1975, p. 20.

6. *Cafe Vardar, Cafe del Amanesser, Malik Bey's, Parthenon* etc. Vide A. Benaroyia, "El empessijo del Movimiento Socialista", in *Zikhron Saloniki* (The start of the socialistic movement), p. 311, Tel Aviv, 1972.

7. "Friends' Club" was another bourgeois club of the city, that was established by Jews from the upper stratum, like lawyers, advocates, tradesmen and generally, no workers. It had under its patronage most of the Jewish professional associations. It was of nationalistic/Zionist trends. "Πολιτικός σύνδεσμος" (Politic league), was the Greek/Hellenic club of the bourgeois stratum, with the same nationalistic trends. Similar to it, was the "Bulgarian center" of the city Bulgarian upper stratum.

members<sup>8</sup>.

The other point that W.A.S. was giving its fighting for, was the formation of labor unions and mutual aid funds, with clear class/labour characteristics. Until that time (from the beginning of the new century), the working population of the city (especially the Ottomans, Greek Ottomans and the Bulgarians), were organized into "national" labour associations (that had emerged during the first years of the century), according to the above mentioned description, as a result of the inter-communal strife. Thus, e.g., there were different Ottoman, Jewish, Ottoman Greek, and Bulgarian shoe-makers' unions. Their mutual aid funds, primitive, almost non existing, were covering/helping only illness cases or were lending money at a high interest. In some cases, head of those funds, were known city capitalists!. Moreover, there was no collaboration among them<sup>9</sup>. After an open clash with W.A.S., many of them closed, while some other addressed to it, for help on organization matters. Few, remained attached to the various "national" organizations.

The formation of labour unions and mutual aid funds was also favored during the period of the military coup's preparation, by the Young Turks: "...nationalistic propaganda lost ground quickly among all working populations, but Ottoman Greeks. Working organizations emerged and developed quickly. Their number is increasing. ...The fact, that in that movement the workers of the public services, with great eagerness wanted to form labour unions is interesting. In the city of Salonika, this happened with the custom workers, the Post office workers, the telegraph workers etc..."<sup>10</sup>.

After the successful military coup (21/23.7.1908) of the young

8. Κ. Μοσχάφ, *Ibidem*, p. 173.

9. Till that time, there were only two well organized and multi-national working unions, with strong mutual aid funds: that of the railroad workers and that of "Regie" tobacco workers. Both, had even European workers in their bosoms, but according to the opinion of P. Dumont, "Sources inédites pour l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier et des courants socialistes dans l'Empire Ottoman au debut du XXème siècle", *Balkan Studies* 1978, No 3, pp. 16-34, they had no direct connections with any socialist organization.

10. Α. Λιάκος, "Workers' Socialist Federation of Salonika and the Socialist Youth. Their articles" (in Greek), 1985. 7/1909-7/1910 Annual report of Workers' Socialistic Federation of Salonika, submitted to the International Socialist Office, on the eve of the 8th congress in Copenhagen, part C, "Syndicalist movement", p. 79.

Turks<sup>11</sup>, from August to October, a wave of strikes swiped successively the big cities. In Salonika, the strike took almost general character (started on 19.8.1908): the tobacco workers and the ice-making workers in the beginning, and then port workers, railroad and tram workers, gas lighting and electricity workers, shop assistants and some other working branches were in strike.

It was this strikes, that initiated the efforts of the new government, to put down the working movement, by issuing a decree that prohibited the right of strike, and later by attempting to put under governmental control the labour unions<sup>12</sup>.

The first well organized, great working class rally, was the celebration for the first of May in 1909 (first celebration in the whole Empire). It was prepared by W.A.S., soon after the victory over Sultan Hamid's ineffectual counter-coup (13/24.4.1909). Few Ottoman and Bulgarian socialists<sup>13</sup> and many Jews, marched through the city streets demonstrating and holding big red banners. After this happening, one by one, almost all the associations and the mutual aid funds started to be influenced or to be under the direct control of W.A.S. The government

11. Socialist International, on the 11th of October 1908, decreed the resolution of *De Bouker*, that welcomed Sultan Abdulhamid's dethronement. International socialist press also, welcomed his dethronement and supported Young Turks victory with enthusiastic coverage articles. The opinion that was dominating in the European socialist circles was, that after Hamid's dethronement, the Young Turks's could have given a solution to the nationalistic problems of the Ottoman Empire, and as a progress factor, could have contributed to the formation of a great socialist party among the Ottoman populations. Cordial supporter of this conception was the famous Balkan socialist *Kristian Rakovski*.

12. Anti-strike decree of 8.10.1908, and the anti-associating decrees of 9.8.1908 and 16.8.1909. According to K. Μοσχώφ's opinion, behind the curtain, the instigator of such laws, was the German diplomacy and its iron ambassador in Istanbul, Baron von Biberstein, that was devoted to Pan-Germanism. Vide idem supra p. 174. According to information given by Stefan Velikov, during the last days of August, in the city, they were 120 striking workers of "Olimbos" brewery, 1,500 railroad workers of the line Salonika - Dedeagac (Αλεξανδροούπολις), 1,000 bread-making workers, 500 soap-making workers, from Allatini's clay-works factory 2,000 workers, 800 longshormen and 95 armoures and foremen. Vide relativum, Mete Tuncay, "Türkiye'de sol akımlar" (left currents in Turkey), p. 32, ftm. 1, *Bilgi yayınevi*, Istanbul, May 1978 (3rd edition).

13. Some of them, were ex volunteers of Mahmud Sevket Paşa's "Operation or Salvation Army" (*Hareket ordusu*) that marched against the mutineers of Hamid, in Istanbul. One of them, was A. Benaroyia himself. Vide, «A note on the Socialist Federation of Salonika», in *Jewish Social Studies* No 1, pp. 69-72, Israel, 1949, et A. Benaroyia, *Hopes and Mistakes*, (in Greek), 1989, p. 14.

in front of the new situation and the workers resistance, promised to put down the right of strike only for the workers of the public utility services and the civil servants. W.A.S. now changed its name to “Socialist Workers’ Association of Salonika” = S.W.A.S.

Meanwhile, the 1st anniversary of the military coup was approaching. The Young Turks’ city committee, was preparing for the festive celebration. Against the order of the committee, S.W.A.S. decided to celebrate the anniversary separate. Thus, started to communicate with the central committees of the unions and the funds (*Regie’s* workers, railroad workers, Jews tobacco workers, Bulgarian and Jewish typographers and the Ottoman-Greek bread-making workers came up to the invitation promptly).

A leaflet in four languages (Ladino, Ottoman, Hellenic and Bulgarian) printed in three thousand copies, was issued among the thousands of the participants (according to K. Μοσχῶφ, more than 6,000) during the celebration day. It was a socialist declaration, a “manifesto”, that was calling all the workers of the city. Jews, Ottomans, Helenes, Bulgars and Europeans, to band together, for a common purpose: the formation of socialist sections among their working population, from which later a big Socialist organization could be formed.

In the same day (23.7.1909), as it was also written in the leaflet, S.W.A.S. was self-declared by its central committee, as the “...Jewish section, of the under establishment Socialist Federation of the city...”. The next day, some unions and funds will be unified, and along with S.W.A.S., they will format the “*Federasion Sosialista Obradera de Salonika*”<sup>14</sup> (Workers’ Socialist Federation of Salonika = W.S.F.S.). The Bulgarian socialist groups of Angel Tomof and Basil Glavinof<sup>15</sup>, attached

14. In Ladino dialect. Its founding members, believed that the Federation will be the precursor or it will contribute to the formation of a big united Pan-Ottoman socialist party, that could contain into its bosoms all socialist groups of the various nations of the Empire, from all the working branches and intellectuals.

15. B. Glavinof (1869-1929) was a carpenter. From 1880 he was working for the socialist movement in Russia, while he was studying. He was a founding member/leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party (it was established at Tyrnovo in April 1891). In 1895, he formed a social democratic group that consisted of Slavs, directly connected with the Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party (B.S.D.P.). After the split of the party (1903), followed the “narrow” policy. After his arrival in the city, the differentiations and fractional trends that existed in the Bulgarian socialist party were carried with him to Salonika. After some

also to Federation. At the head of the new organization, posted some elected socialist intellectuals, from which one was Alberto Arditti (A. Benaroyia was also)<sup>16</sup>.

Along with Federation, a new Bulgarian socialist group emerged in the city, consisting by local typographers' and others, that came from Sofia to work in newspapers' printing houses and other relative works (probably the printing of Harlakov's magazine *Nacialo*, or Glavinof's newspaper *Edinstvo*). It is really difficult to find out from the used bibliography, if that group was formed or accepted those Bulgars (A. Glavinof's group), that in November 1909, splintered off from Federation (it was the group of *B. Glavinof*)<sup>17</sup>.

Founding convention of Federation, took place in August. Neither the Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Center = B.S.D.C., not the Armenian social democratic party Hentsakian Goushaktsoutioun, did participate in the convention (despite the fact that both were supporters of the idea about the formation of a Pan-Ottoman Socialist party)<sup>18</sup>.

years of cautious attitude towards A. Benaroyia, finally Glavinof displayed great hostility against him. Except from some other ideologic differences (orthodox socialism, the way of Federation's organization, and according to my opinion, his lust for power), he never forgave his participation into *Mahmud Sevket Paşa's* army.

16. A. Arditti (1891-1942), was one of the founding members of the various, city socialist groups, and founding member of Federation. He was occupied with educational-propaganda affairs of Federation. Became chief-editor of the newspaper *Solidaridad Obradera*, and soon after the city recapture by the Hellenes, director of the newspaper *Avanti*. He took place in the founding congress of Σ.Ε.Κ.Ε. (the first Hellenic Communist Party), but was later expelled from the K.K.E. (the later Hellenic Communist Party), along with A. Benaroyia. During the early period of the city German occupation (IInd world war), he was arrested by the Nazi. He disappeared in a concentration camp in Germany.

17. The excuse for their secession was "...the anti-working and opportunistic policy of the Jewish part of the central committee, which, in collaboration with few Bulgarian career socialists definitely lead the organization to bourgeoisie...". Besides, Glavinof accused directly some leading members of Federation, for treacherous collaboration with Young Turks' intelligentsia (really, there was collaboration before the military coup/revolution and after that, for a small period. Moreover, among some of the Young Turks' personalities and some Jews and Ottoman-Greeks, there was personal friendship from the "underground" period) A. Benaroyia vide idem supra pp. 26-29.

18. From relative documents, Κ. Μοσχάφ, indirectly supports the opinion, that both parties were opposed to the formation of another party, because their main impression was, that only through them the formation of a big Pan-Ottoman Socialist Party was possible. The Armenian Socialist Party, wrote to I.S.O. "...thus, the formation of an Ottoman section of Socialist International is mistimed, particularly when there are no Muslim participation in it...



In the autumn of the same year, in Spain, the conviction and execution of the Anarchosocialist Ferrer took place. Federation, along with the big masonic lodges of the city, organized a big demonstration in White Tower's square, to support Ferrer's case and to protest against the Spanish government. The participants, were holding red and black banners (the colors of Anarchosyndicalists), and after the speeches that were delivered in the square, the demonstration continued to the Spanish consulate of the city<sup>19</sup>. When the library and the socialist bookshop of Federation were established (after 1910), both named after his name *honoris causa*.

Finally, International Socialist Office (= I.S.O.) on the 7th of November 1909, recognized Federation as "Salonika's section of a future Pan-Ottoman Socialist Democratic Party. Federation appointed Saul Naum, permanent inhabitant of Paris, at 11 *Rue de la Grande Chaumiere VI*, as its permanent and legal representative.

The lack of relative literature on socialist matters in the city and the need for an instructive-propaganda organ, for the multi-ethnic labour population, drove to the decision for the establishment of a newspaper. For this purpose, a big festival was organized by Federation in *Beşçinar* garden. The proceeds of that festival, were 100 gold Ottoman Liras. With that money, the issue of the first "Worker's Newspaper", in four languages, was accomplished (in Ladino —*Jornal de Lavorador*—, in Ottoman —*Amele gazetesi*—, in Hellenic —*Εφημερίς του Εργάτου*— and in Bulgarian —*Rabotnicheski Vesnik*—), which later became bilingual (Ladino and Bulgarian). At the head of Ladino edition were A. Bena-

*besides, socialist movement in this important center (Salonika), is a creation of our Slavs comrades...*" K. Μοσχάφ, refers to "Archives Huysmans, Turquie Salonique" letter of the November 1st 1909.

19. Francisko Ferrer y Guardia (1859-1909). He was born in the environs of Barcelona. He came from a wealthy agrarian family. After an unsuccessful revolt in 1886, he self-exiled to Paris, until 1901. He was against the terrorist actions of the anarchists, and his main interest, was the educational reform, for the benefit of the international proletariat community. After the revolt of Barcelona, the "Tragic week" (9.1909), he was convicted to death, and was executed on the 13th of October 1909. In front of the firing-squad he shouted: "*Aim well my friends, for you are not responsible. I am innocent. Long live the anti-autocratic school!*". In the demonstration of Salonika, Albert Dassa spoke instead of A. Benaroyia, after his clash with the central committee, because of his dissent for the participation of the masons. That event, was also one of the reasons, that drove later the Bulgarian group of B. Glavinof to splinter off Federation.

royia and David Menasse, of Ottoman edition was Rasim Hikmet, while for the Bulgarian one, it was Angel Tomof. Contributor was David Recanatti<sup>20</sup>. The issue stopped in April 1910, due to financial shortage.

In autumn 1909, Federation's positions stiffened towards functional, ideologic and organization matters. Ideology became more Marxist, while the religion-humanistic influences abolished. The attempt to touch orthodox Marxism, in the bosoms of the organization, is obvious. Middle stratum's outlook or moderate cadres were passed over, by those who were coming from the strike-demonstration causes of 1908-1909. Such ideologic tides cadres, also clashed with older members for the collaboration of Federation with other non-socialist city organizations. Typical example was that of the leading member Abraham Hasson, that resigned temporarily from Federation because of its collaboration with the city masons<sup>21</sup>. That open clash between "orthodoxes" and moderates, convulsed Federation and drove nearly to its dissolution. Finally the "orthodoxes" overcame but also the connections of Federation with the masons continued!

In the early 1910, also Young Turks' attitude towards working establishments and socialist organizations changed dramatically. Railroad workers' strikes that took place in Salonika and Skopje, drove the committee to get tough with the workers<sup>22</sup>. The old labour legislation was strengthened by additional provisions. Politic activity was permitted only in organizations, licensed by a special court. Federation answered with a general invitation for demonstration. The authorities, under the strain of Federation railroad workers' union and some other city

20. The 100 Ottoman Liras were spent mainly, in translation expenses. Until the complete money consumption, four issues printed quadrilingual, and other five bilingual, vide idem D. Sismanof, "Türkiye'de işçi ve sosyalist hareketi" (Working and Socialist movement in Turkey), p. 24 "Narodna prosveta" State Editions, Sofia 1965.

21. Abraham Hasson was a tailor from Strumnitse. Before his accession to Federation, he was member of the "narrowes" in the Bulgarian Socialist Party (= B.S.P.).

22. In the middle of the year 1910, organized into syndicates and non-organized workers of the city, were striking: Tobacco workers' syndicate, "Regie" tobacco workers' syndicate, textile workers' syndicate, porters' syndicate, longshoremen' syndicate, and the employees - workers' syndicate of the railroad Salonika - Monastery (*Manastir*). Carpenters, jute textile workers, waiters, shoe-makers, tailors, cigarette paper factory workers, and the city employees and workers of the Anatolian railway. Vide idem supra, Mete Tuncay, p. 35, ftn. 13.

labour unions, consent to the event, and settled on the place, that the demonstration would take place. The other day, in the square opposite the customs building, the demonstration had great success. The cavalry and army that had surrounded the square, in front of such a numerous crowd, occupying even the neighboring streets, obliged to fall back, towards the second premeditated position. On a big balcony in the opposite of the custom building and in front of the square, all kind of banners and flags were raised by the participants: Red socialist, Ottoman with the crescent, Hellenic with the cross, Bulgarian, unions' emblems, etc. From the same balcony many speeches were delivered by different speakers: an Armenian Journalist from Istanbul, an Ottoman-Turk teacher, a Serb railroad worker, an Ottoman-Greek and a Hellene worker, A. Tomof and A. Benaroyia. After that, and contrary to what the authorities had consent, a parade was organized. The workers after classifying accordingly their labour unions and nationality, started to march through quay avenue and *Vardar Kapısı / Kelemeriye caddesi* (today's Εγνατία avenue) to Federation's office, holding the flags and the banners<sup>23</sup>.

Around that period, a small Muslims' socialist association, along with some Ottoman-Greeks and some Slavs socialists under Dimitar Vlahov attached to Federation<sup>24</sup>.

Federation's representative in Paris Naum Saul, undertook an effort to iron out the dispute between Federation and the authorities, through the European masonic and Young Turks' circles<sup>25</sup>. In the city, the

23. According to the memories of A. Benaroyia, *op.cit.*, pp. 54, 55.

24. Dimitar Vlahov was a chemistry professor, and leader of the Bulgarian National Federal - Democratic Party = N.F.D.P. (that was the left wing of Revolutionary "Macedonian sic." Organization of the Interior = I.M.R.O.). He was elected member of the Parliament from European Turkey after the elections of 1908, from the bosoms of N.F.D.P., but soon after, while clashing with conservative-nationalistic elements of the party (with Yan Sadanski and Todor Panitsa mainly), was characterized as socialist and left it. He became leader of the Bulgarian Working - Social Democratic Party. He was collaborated with the socialist Armenian and Ottoman-Greek deputies of Istanbul, and finally went over to Federation. Thus, he became the first socialist deputy, representing in the Ottoman Parliament, the city of Salonika.

25. According to K. Μοσχάφ, for that purpose, members from the French lodge "Grant Orient" and the Ottoman "Osmanlı" (Ahmet Riza was a high ranked member), after the request of the I.S.O. to the French socialist masons, get in touch with each other. During the whole year, I.S.O. was trying to convince Federation to accept that masonic mediation

atmosphere was still tense. It was that time, that the trial of the Jewish tobacco workers' union took place. The authorities, by making use of the law for the associations, characterized the activity of that union illegal. The executive committee was arrested, its documents, the archive and its funds were confiscated and its offices closed. The detainees were bailed out. The trial took place in the city court of the first instance, and hold out to the end of the day. Thanks to Federation's concern, counsels for the defense of the accused syndicalists, came from Istanbul. Finally, the court returned a "not guilty" verdict at night. Workers "victory" was celebrated all night long at Federation's office.

Local elections took place in March. Federation activated with a campaign against the electoral system, that was barring workers and jobless from voting. Election result was not pleasant for the Unionists<sup>26</sup>. All elected representatives, were members of the opposite party. Federation could influence only one of them (Isaac Florendin).

In the same year, Socialistic Youth of Salonika (= S.Y.S.) was established. Founding members were Haim Hawell, Abraham Lewis, Mois Matia, Nisim Ererra, Rofel Hasson, Joseph Hazan, David Recanatti, Abraham Zakai and Pepo Mois. Purpose of the organization was, the education and diffusion of the socialist ideas, and the promotion of syndicalism among the new workers and apprentices. It was intended for youngsters 15 to 24 years of age. From its year of establishment, S.Y.S. developed rapidly, from 45 members in the beginning, until the end of

and was refusing a campaign towards Young Turks, that would motivate European public opinion against them, and was trying to solve the problems quietly. Naum Saul from Paris, was sympathetic towards that view and the French socialist press support the same opinion also. Compromising attempts continued all along 1910, and until May Day of 1911. *Op.cit.*, pp. 191-193 and in p. 252, the ftns. 39-45, letters from "*Archives Huysmans, Turquie, Salonique*".

26. The Young Turks. They also called Unionists because of the name of their political party, which was "Union and Progress society" (İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti). About the law and the protest, vide idem supra A. Λιάκος, p. 82 and his reference in the ftn. 2 to "*Bulletin Periodique*" 1st year (1910), No 1, p. 177. About the elected representatives, three of them were Jews (Asael, Isaac Florendin and Eli Benvilio), four were Doenmehs (*Ahmedrakim efendi, Naktir Abravanel efendi, Osman Said efendi and Keberoğlu Abdulrahman efendi*), two were Ottomans (*Tevik bey and Rasim efendi*) and four were Ottoman-Greeks (Μέλφορ, Δάκης, Τουρπάλης and Κωστάκης). The names are given by K. Μοσκόφ, *op.cit.*, p. 253, ftn. 48.

the year had 250<sup>27</sup>. Members were either students or workers and shop-assistants. It consisted from three nucleus; one in the city center, the other in the western city part at *Kelemer* (Καλαμαριά) district and the third in the city of Kavala. In the same year, it was recognized as a member of the International Socialistic Youth (= I.S.Y.).

The reconciliatory attempt of I.S.O., became obvious in the celebration for the 1st of May. No triumphant festivities alike the previous years took place that year. I.S.O. sent to the city Christian Gheorghevitch Rakovski<sup>28</sup>, to carry its messages and to support Federation. In the open public lecture, that was organized by Federation, after some others had spoken, Rakovski delivered a speech about Socialism, Internationalism and the need for socialist consultation in the Balkans, for the formation of a Pan-Balkan Socialist Confederation. Federations' May day issue —was printed bilingual (French-Ladino) with red ink—, that was calling upon the workers for a general strike, had a minimum effect among the workers: the strike was neither general nor noticeable. Besides, Bulgarian Socialist Center (= B.S.C.), in spite of its silent presence at the lecture, celebrated the day alone with its members, in its office's.

In August of the same year, the congress of Copenhagen took place. During its sessions, a new thesis into the socialist conceptions emerged: Imperialism as a factor of the social-class conflict. At the end of the sessions, the participants denounced the colonialist policy of the great

27. Information and numbers are taken from A. Λιάκος, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-48.

28. Dr. Christian Gheorghevitch Rakovski (1873-1941). He was born in Kotel of Bulgaria, and studied medicine in Paris. He became member of Russian Social Democracy very young. He was the organizer of the Romanian Social Democratic Center (later, party = R.S.D.C.). After the revolution of October 1917, was elected member of the Bolsheviks' central committee. He became prime minister of Ukraine for the years 1919-1923. He was representing the U.S.S.R. in the Geneva congress, and was also its diplomatic *attaché* in London and Paris (1923-1927). In 1928, because he was member of the "left opposition", he was expelled from the party, and was banished for years. Later in 1938, he was accused as Trotskyist and was convicted to hard labor. He died in a Stalinist concentration camp, somewhere in Northeastern U.S.S.R. Probably, he was one of the most significant men of the Balkans' socialist history, because he played a leading role in the idea for a Balkan Confederation, and was exclusively occupied with the Balkans as an assigned task by I.S.O. His speech "La classe ouvriere et la Confederation Balkanique" (The working class and the Balkan Confederation), that was delivered for the 1st of May 1910 in the city, was printed by Federation in 1912.

powers as the cause of conflict and unrest among the national communities of the Ottoman Empire.

In early November, A. Benaroyia was arrested in Gevgeli, as instigator of the local tobacco workers strike. After his arrest, the authorities forbade any protest activity against that act. Little later, the office of Federation was also closed. After long investigation, no aggravating data or circumstances resulted for both, so, A. Benaroyia was set free, and the office of Federation opened again.

After the 1st conference of the Balkan Social Democratic parties and organizations, that took place in Belgrade from 7.1.1910 to 9.1.1910, on the 1st of January 1911, the first conference of Social Democratic parties and organizations in the Ottoman Empire was held in Salonika, and was organized on initiative of the Social Democratic Center of Istanbul. Main topic was the attempt for unification of the Socialist organizations and parties that were acting in European Turkey. Twenty nine representatives from all *Rumeli* provinces gathered in the city. Federation had five among them, the Ottoman-Greek Στ. Παπαδόπουλος was representing Istanbul Social Democratic Center (= I.S.D.C.), four were from B.S.C., five came from the Social Democratic Center of Skopje (= S.D.C.S.), one was from the city of Tetovo, one was from Gevgeli, one from Golusevo, one from Mitrovitse (Metrovice) and the last from Monastery (Manastir). Serbs, participated with Atsa Pavlovits, attending the conference. The meetings started at the office of the B.S.C., and continued at the office of Federation, for three days. During the meetings, the case of the “federal” character of Federation was debated, but after the motions of the representatives<sup>29</sup>, Salonicans’ opinion was carried unaninously. Besides, the conference regarded B.S.C., for its efforts to retain the orthodox meaning of Socialism. According to

29. Due to the fact, that the working population of the city was multiethnic, Federation’s representatives supported the opinion that, only a federal character organization, could work in the city and in the Balkans generally. Opposite to that motion, were the Bulgarian “narrows” representatives that were defending the idea of an autonomous socialistic organization of every national community —without collaboration with any other non-socialist formation (e.g., masons)—, based on the principle of legitimacy of any kind of struggle for national independence. According to them, the last, was necessary for the formation of the class conscience and the full development of the class struggle (obviously influenced by the theory of Carl Kautsky). This controversy must have been carried into the conference, and this two motions, must have tensed the atmosphere among the participants.

A. Benaroyia, Στ. Παπαδόπουλος and Atsa Pavlovits, fall in with the views of Federation, and thanks to their participation and behavior, the dissolve of the conference was finally avoided<sup>30</sup>. All Social Democratic Centers, denounced European absolutism and the imperialistic role of the great powers. Although Federation denounced the colonialist-imperialistic policy of Russia and Austria in the Balkans, denied to denounce British and French colonialists' penetration attempt.

In the same year, a new newspaper started to be printed. Its title was "*Solidaridad Obradera*" (Workers' Solidarity). Weekly in the beginning, continued to be printed twice and later three times weekly. Finally, it reached three thousand issues for every printing day. Editor was Federation's secretary general A. Benaroyia, while D. Vlahov was assistant editor. As main publication material, extracts from "The Capital" and the "Communist Manifesto" were being used. Some of the issues, were being printed in Ladino some other Ladino and Bulgarian and few times some articles were being printed in French. The newspaper was closed by the authorities in October 1912, during the period of the 1st Balkan War, when it published the proclamation of the Ottoman and Balkan Socialist Parties, against it.

Again, the open controversy between the working unions and the Young Turks, started in the city. Now, by the authorities' side will be the nationalistic and Zionist city circles, as well as the members of the masonic lodge "*Adim*" (Step). The financial situation, that was good enough one and a half year ago, became hard, especially for the non-wealthy strata.

The celebration of the 1st of May 1911, demonstrated the general discontent among the lower/working city population. In some of the city industrial branches, the strike had taken general character<sup>31</sup>. Early in the morning, workers started to gather in the squares, and were classified

30. A. Benaroyia, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

31. According to the memories of A. Benaroyia, 12,000 workers (almost more than 1/3 of the city permanent workers) were in strike, while according to K. Μοσχώφ, during the morning rally, gathered more than 5,000 people, and during the afternoon parade marched apxly. 7,000. The given numbers for those participating in the parades, are the same in both writers, and for them K. Μοσχώφ refers to the newspaper "*Solidaridad Obradera*" of 3.5.1911, K. Μοσχώφ, *op.cit.*, p. 194 and ftn. 46 and A. Benaroyia, *op.cit.*, p. 62. For the celebration vide idem supra D. Sismanof, pp. 24, 25 and M. Tuncay, p. 52.

according to their profession. Meeting point was Liberty square. There, four bands were playing various marches, while hundreds of various banners and flags were decorating the whole place: unions', associations', parties', national etc. The workers were coming and were classifying themselves, according to their profession or nationality in rows. When the square covered enough with people, the bands started to play the anthem of the International, while the workers started to sing to it in their own languages simultaneously. Many speakers delivered speeches about socialist topics and ideas: A. Arditti, Παπαθωμάς, D. Vlahov, A. Benaroyia, and the secretary of the Ottoman-Turks tobacco workers Iḥsan. In the afternoon, at the end of the speeches, from the same place a huge parade/demonstration started, that went through almost all the city. In the evening a second rally was organized at Liberty square, with centre-speaker the member of the parliament D. Vlahov, who was listened by aprxly. 20,000 people (according to K. Μοσχώφ, even by the Ottoman-Turks nationalist longshoremen of the notorious Kerim Ağa).

Under the pretext of a possible attempt, against the life of the Sultan who was coming to the city (Wednesday 7th of 1911), by the socialists, the authorities decided to clear up the city from head socialists. Thus in June, "preventively" arrested Samuel Yiona (secretary of the Jewish tobacco workers union), Sebatai Lewis, Iḥsan (secretary of the Ottoman-Turks tobacco workers), and A. Benaroyia, who was deported to Serbia. The city working classes reacted vigorously. Thanks to Saul Naum from Paris, the European socialist press was mobilized. I.S.D.C. and the socialist newspapers of Istanbul were also mobilized to support the case of the persecuted socialists. A great demonstration/protest was organized in the city of Salonika. Speeches from the participants, members of the parliament Papazian and Vlahov were delivered, as well as from the Armenian journalist Sakarian and A. Arditti. After the Sultan's departure from the city, the arrested socialists were set free, but the penalty of A. Benaroyia was not revoked. The general outcry from the internal and external socialist circles, and other reasons connected with the overall situation of the period (cabinet crisis, financial crisis, the Ottoman-Italian War etc.), forced the Young Turks to revoke Benaroyia's penalty. Thus, he was brought to trial in Istanbul (where he had entered before, unlawfully) found not guilty and got again permanent



residences's permission. After eight months of absence, he came again in the city of Salonika in March 1912<sup>32</sup>.

On the 29th of September, the Ottoman-Italian war broke out (29.9.1911 - Ouchy agreement 15.10.1912). In the beginning, Federation demonstrated an rather embarrassing than moderate attitude. Besides, I.S.O. did not express a clear view for the incident. It pressed socialistic parties of Europe and the Balkans to handle the masses from anti-Italian activities, in an attempt not to escalate the crisis (into the European territories of both countries), and urged them to push their governments to initiate/participate in any kind of conciliatory/pacifying effort. But the nationalistic spirit that unconsciously embraced Italian Social Democracy, now had already been transported to the Italian community<sup>33</sup>. Popular/working base of Federation, was irritated enough, because of a) the insidious and imperialistic insult itself, b) the mockery role of the Italian Social Democracy, c) the behavior of a part of the Italian community, and was pushing towards forceful rallies the central committee. On the other hand, Federation's central committee, was afraid that mass meetings/rallies, could not be controlled after a certain moment. The reason was that the Ottoman-Turkish nationalist city groups were already protesting in the streets. The atmosphere was heavy enough and possibly the protesters might have carried the crowds to acts that would have driven to the escalation of the war in the European

32. In the same period that persecutions in Salonika were taking place, common phenomena against Ottoman socialist circles meet also in other cities of the Empire. Regarding Istanbul, a persecution wave was launched all over the city, soon after the events of Salonika. The first socialist newspaper of the city "*Εργάτης*" (Worker) of the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic socialist circle and "*Ιştirak*" (Participation) of the Ottoman-Turk socialist circle, were baned. Some Ottoman-Greek socialists fled to Hellas, and some Hellenes were deported. A number of socialists Turks, Jews and Armenians were arrested.

33. According to the "right wing" of Social Democracy, the colonialist question was just a case of civilization's expansion. The partisans of "Civilized Colonialism", of the revisional ideas of E. Bernstein, and of non-orthodox Jauresist Humanistic Socialism, believed that imperialism was a necessary evil for the expansion of the European spirit, towards the undeveloped territories. During the London congress in 1896, the International accepted that view, but suggested to the social democratic parties to bring pressure to bourgeois strata, to exercise their colonialist methods with humanism. The minority that fought against that view rallied round German and Russian "left" social democracy, R. Luxemburg and V. I. Lenin. The negative effects of imperialism and colonialism cleared out during the Copenhagen congress, but the impact of "Civilized Colonialism" will live in some socialist circles, until the eve of the World War I.

provinces of the Empire, with the excuse of the protection of the Italian communities' population. Besides, the menace of a Bulgarian or a Hellenic armed intervention by the Italian side with the same excuse (the protection of their national populations in the Empire), compelled those that were thinking of the danger, to offer common and equal protection for all national city populations.

In November, I.S.O., changed its attitude towards Italy, and by an issue of proclamation that was addressed to the workers off all the world, was calling for international strikes against the Italian insult, that was also characterized in the proclamation as an "act of robbery"<sup>34</sup>. After this and under the pressure of its base, Federation organized an open rally. The participants were more than 6,000 people from all national communities. Centre-speaker will be again D. Vlahov, that spoke in Turkish, and set out the view of the need for common confrontation of the city/Balkan national populations against the common people's enemy that was imperialistic expansion. After him Στεργίου delivered a speech in Hellenic, Arditti in Ladino, Tomof in Bulgarian and Zauven in French<sup>35</sup>. Against a possible armed intervention of Bulgaria by the Italian side, soon later Federation proposed a double rally—one in Salonika and the other in Sofia—, with an exchange of speakers, that would speak about international imperialism and the obligation of the people to be mobilized against the war.

Such proposals for collaboration among Balkan Socialists, and the fact that the events were running day by day, drove Balkan Social Democratic centers to understand that a new Balkan Socialists' conference, was now absolutely necessary. To organize their actions, and to propose methods and solutions, for the new unexpected situation, because until that time they were passive observers of the belligerent parts of the war, but they ought to be active factors of the pacification. The second conference of the Balkan Social Democratic centers was held again in Belgrade, on initiative of the Serbian Social Democratic Center, from the 17th to the 29th of October. In the conference, they were participating with their representatives the Serbs, R.S.D.C., Bosnia and

34. A. Benaroyia, *op.cit.*, p. 31 and ftn. 27 that refers to "Monimento operaio e Socialista" 1967, No 1, pp. 3-22.

35. K. Μοσχώφ, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

Croatia. From the Ottoman Socialist Centers, only Federation sent its representatives. The Bulgarian “narrows” refused to participate, because of Federation’s participation. They were followed by the “wides”, and the Armenian socialists also. C. Rakovski was participating also, with his double attribute, as representative of R.S.D.C. and I.S.O. After the sessions, the conference came to the conclusion that, a) a Pan-Balkan conference was necessary to be organized, with participants all Balkan Socialist Centers and parties (the rest Ottoman), b) in the future the formation of a Pan-Balkan socialist confederation was necessary, c) all Socialist Centers participating in the conference, had to organize local open rallies and demonstrations, in which speakers would set out and explicate to the people, socialists’ views and motions about international imperialism, colonialism and the war. Main interest of the speakers had to be the demonstration of the pacifistic methods and attempts that the international socialist community was trying to realize for the ending of the war.

Federation, on the 4th of November, organized such a rally. Centre-speaker was C. Rakovski that delivered a speech about the obligation for struggle of the proletariat against imperialistic policy of any capitalistic power, against the war, that was an obstacle towards democracy<sup>36</sup>. C. Rakovski gave also some lectures in French and Bulgarian, about socialist theory and ideology, and the dream of a Pan-Balkan confederation.

During February of 1912, A. Benaroyia was arrested for the third time. Soon after his banishment to Istanbul, he was deported to Hellas. After his contacts with the Hellenic socialist circles of Athens, he traveled to France. There he came in contact with J. Jaures, and he discussed with him the problems of the Ottoman Socialist Centers<sup>37</sup>.

In the same period, Alexander Helphand Israel, better known as “Parvus”<sup>38</sup>, from Istanbul, in collaboration with D. Vlahov and Federa-

36. Κ. Μοσχώφ, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

37. Κ. Μοσχώφ, *op.cit.*, p. 202.

38. He was born in the city Beresina of Russia in 1867. After his involvement with the Russian revolutionary movement, he forced to leave Russia for Switzerland. He was elected to the Petersburg Soviet together with L. Trotsky in 1905. The same year, he was banished to Siberia from where he escaped to Germany in 1906. After his presence in Germany for four years, where he was working for socialist journalism, he left for Istanbul in 1910. There he got

tion (A. Benaroyia also), were trying to find a norm, for a common descent to the general election of the Ottoman Socialist formations (parties, centers and groups from the whole Empire), against the Unionists. Due to the negative attitude of the Armenian Socialist Party (Tashnak) and of a part of moderate Federalists that did not want to clash with the Young Turks, the idea finally wrecked<sup>39</sup>. Federation, allied with national communities' opposition representatives in the city (especially the Ottoman-Greeks), supported the opposition party "*Hürriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası*" (Freedom and Association or Accord Party).

Pre-election period in the whole Macedonia was held under a status of terrorism that was launched by the Young Turks<sup>40</sup>. This election became known in the Ottoman history as "*Büyük sopa intihabı*" (big-stick election). Public gatherings were restricted, the opposition press,

in touch with the Young Turks. Thus, he will be the mediator for the German policy and the Young Turks' cabinet. In 1915 he left again for Germany. He played an important role in arranging with the Germans, the return of V. I. Lenin to Russia through Germany, in the spring of 1917. Later, he was rejected by him, when he showed his interest for the Bolsheviks. Parvus was the first that framed the basic theoretic principles of the "continuous revolution", that were later explained by L. Trotsky. He died in Germany in 1924.

39. Electoral program of the socialist formations that had already allied, consisted of the following points: universal voting right, accounting of the ministers to the parliament, press and syndicates' freedom, abolition of the restriction for the participation of juveniles into syndicates, equality in the eye of the law for both sexes, modernization of the civil code, protection of labor, construction of public works (railroad and tram), abolition of salt and tobacco monopoly, monetary reform/readjustment, establishment of state bank, distribution to the landless tillers of the lands belonging to the Sultan, the state, the *Vakıfs* (religious foundations), abolition of tihte and poll-tax, abolition of the capitulations, six-years compulsory primary education inter-communal freedom, and customs' unification of the Balkan countries, with ulterior purpose, the formation of the Balkan confederation in the future. A. Λιάκος, *op.cit.*, fn. 26, p. 112.

40. A typical example of the period, was what happened in the election precinct of the district (*Kaza*) of *Vodena* (Έδεσσα). The Greek "*İtilafci*" (of the opposition party) nominee Γιώργος Χωνάιος, went by train to the city of Vodena, to deliver a speech about the new party, and to explicate to the people the principles and motions of his party. In the city station, "protesters", armed with agricultural tools, stones, even with pistols, were waiting for his arrival. When the train stopped in the station the "protesters" started to shout against the opposite party, call him names, throw stones to the train windows and to shoot in the air. Despite the fact that Γ. Χωνάιος asked for support and protection from the armed forces of the city, he was obliged to leave it, without even stepping down from the train for a minute. Besides, no one attempted to go to the rally place. In Salonika the opposition party called for an explanation from the authorities, but the whole matter closed without any consequence. Vide newspaper *Μακεδονία* is. 38, 3/1912.

and the offices of the socialist groups in the city, were closed (“*Solidaridad Obradera*” was also closed temporarily). Four of the best Federation’s cadres were banished from the city. A. Benaroyia was sent to Istanbul, Yionas, Lewis and Amon were sent to Xanthi, while some others were sent to Drama. The authorities were looking to arrest the central committee of Federation, as well as the directorate of “*Solidaridad Obradera*”. The second, published a newspaper in Ottoman language, protesting against state terrorism and arbitrary, as well as explicating the electoral program of the socialists. It is written in the memoirs of A. Benaroyia, that, even an armed attack against the office of Federation was planned, but was not realized, because members of it (with some Bulgars), also armed, announced to the authorities, that they would defend the office to the last<sup>41</sup>. Despite the popular support to Federation, all the city seats were lost for Federation and the opposition, thanks to the Jacobin terrorism and electoral rigging of the Unionists.

Beside the fact, that public gatherings were restricted by the authorities, the rally for the celebration of the 1st of May 1912, was successful enough. Almost 1,200 workers gathered in the morning, while apxly 7,000 (among them, was the 60% of the city industrial workers) were on strike. In the afternoon some thousand workers, gathered in the garden of *Beşçinar*<sup>42</sup>.

A. Benaroyia came in July. He found again a rift in Federation. The old discord between the radicals and the reformists, had rekindled. Thanks to his intervention, both sides were conciliated and the dissolve for one more time was avoided.

Federation started to loose the control over the events, that were running day by day. War clouds were near enough. In the beginning, it agreed with the proposal of French Social Democracy for a convocation of International’s conference in 1913. Then it pushed towards all parts for a convocation that would be held in October 1912. Finally, the 1st Balkan War, broke out on the 4th of October of 1912. From the first moment, Federation declared against the war. A significant reaction was the issue of a proclamation, through “*Solidaridad Obradera*”, signed by all Balkan socialist parties, that was criticizing “the Young Turks’ senseless

41. A. Benaroyia, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

42. K. Μοσχάφ, *op.cit.*, p. 198.

policy and the bourgeois extravagances of the Balkan States”<sup>43</sup>. On the other hand, was criticizing European policy and diplomacy for its incompetence to give a pacific solution to the Balkan problem. At the end, was forecasting that the “local” war, would be the introduction to a period of general unrest, revolutionary clashes and wars that could convulse the whole of Europe. The authorities were angered so much with the proclamation, that the definite shut of the newspaper resulted. Federation, after a while, started to print a new newspaper called *Avant*<sup>44</sup>.

After the occupation of the city by the Hellenic Army, nationalistic spirit flared up among the communities, and the margins for an agreement was narrow. Thus, the hope for a socialist federation that would be composed of all city socialist groups and furthermore a Pan-Balkan socialist confederation, snuffed out for the time<sup>45</sup>. Balkan states’ national expectations and European bourgeoisie’s ambition for Balkanization, will drive later to the formation of “national” socialist parties. Federation will close its ranks with Hellenes socialists, in a natural process of being absorbed by a total Hellenic socialist party (that will be Σ.Ε.Κ.Ε.). Many of its members will be top cadres of it. Other city socialist groups, were being reorganized in their national states. The Bulgarian city center, that in its bosoms was containing all kind of Balkanians, dissolved. The Bulgarian nucleus went to Bulgaria, while the other members (Serbs, Romanians, Vlachs), went to their countries, each to organize their “national” socialist parties. The Ottoman socialist nucleus will be dispersed either in Istanbul or in Izmir.

43. A. Benaroyia, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

44. *Op.cit.*, ftn. 16.

45. On the 20th of January 1920, after the end of the Balkan social working / communist parties’ conference Balkan Communist Federation was established.