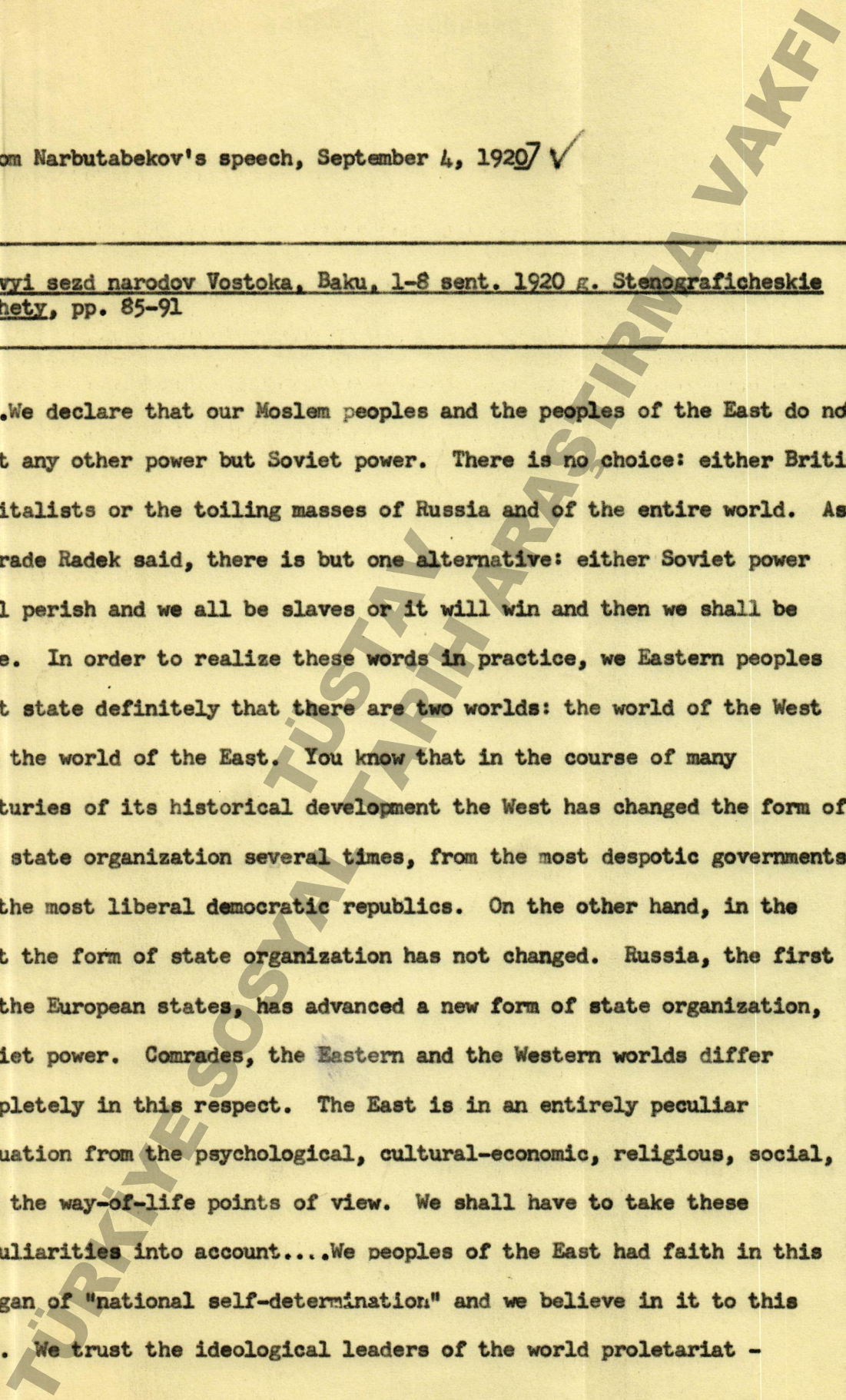


[From Narbutabekov's speech, September 4, 1920] ✓

Pervyi sezd narodov Vostoka, Baku, 1-8 sent. 1920 g. Stenograficheskie otchety, pp. 85-91

...We declare that our Moslem peoples and the peoples of the East do not want any other power but Soviet power. There is no choice: either British capitalists or the toiling masses of Russia and of the entire world. As Comrade Radek said, there is but one alternative: either Soviet power will perish and we all be slaves or it will win and then we shall be free. In order to realize these words in practice, we Eastern peoples must state definitely that there are two worlds: the world of the West and the world of the East. You know that in the course of many centuries of its historical development the West has changed the form of its state organization several times, from the most despotic governments to the most liberal democratic republics. On the other hand, in the East the form of state organization has not changed. Russia, the first of the European states, has advanced a new form of state organization, Soviet power. Comrades, the Eastern and the Western worlds differ completely in this respect. The East is in an entirely peculiar situation from the psychological, cultural-economic, religious, social, and the way-of-life points of view. We shall have to take these peculiarities into account....We peoples of the East had faith in this slogan of "national self-determination" and we believe in it to this day. We trust the ideological leaders of the world proletariat -



Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and others, but at the same time we must state at the Congress what we want. The voice of the toiling Moslems and of the Eastern peoples must be heard....We demand that the principles of freedom, equality, and brotherhood be carried out in practice, and not merely on paper. I am convinced that if this were the case no Moslem would dare to lift his hand against Soviet power.... It is imperative that we declare that no other power with the exception of Soviet power is adequate in the East for the salvation of the toiling masses of Eastern nationalities from the hands of capitalists. It is generally known that the East is entirely different; that it has different interests than the West. Hence, a straightforward introduction of Communism there will be resisted. Therefore if it is our desire that the four-hundred-million-large Moslem world should embrace Soviet power, a special measuring rod is required in the East. <sup>The</sup> Non-party comrades declare that the varied interests and peculiarities in the Caucasus and in Turkestan, as well as in all the former outskirts of the Russian state, must be resolutely protected, and it is the duty of this Congress to stress them and to tell our authorities: comrades, the Moslems will not back away from Soviet power on condition that the peculiarities of the Eastern peoples are acknowledged and the measures adopted by Soviet power in that respect are realized not only on paper but in practice as well. (Applause)....

We Turkestanians are saying that we have never seen Comrade Zinoviev, nor Comrade Radek. Not once have we seen the rest of the leaders of the revolution. They should come and see for themselves what

is happening there [in Turkestan] what is actually being perpetrated there by the local authorities, whose policy is such that it repells the toiling masses from Soviet power....

The famous disruption of the July 21 strike has proved that the West-European proletariat under the political conditions which it endures at present, cannot step forward. Therefore, without losing any time the East should be organized properly in conformity with its religious and its way-of-life socio-economic conditions. Soviet power has no other choice (Applause).

We Turkestanians say that since the November revolution the Turkestan toiling masses have joined Soviet power on equal terms with the Russian comrades. By shedding our blood on the Turkestan fronts against the foes of Soviet power we have linked our lives closely with the lives of the toiling masses of all Russia, and those accusations of chauvinist tendencies which are made with regard to the Turkestan leaders must be repudiated, for the toiling element by shedding its blood has proved that the reverse is true.

For three years the toiling people of Turkestan won high honors in battle. But what is required to this end? Very little: merely careful attention with respect to the life of the Eastern peoples and the carrying out of the principles which the delegates submit. There is no counter-revolution of any kind in this matter. Moreover there is no chauvinism, for we representatives of our toiling people are suppressing our narrow nationalist tendencies ourselves; for we the first revolutionaries of Turkestan do not fear any Ulema<sup>s</sup>, any Black Hundred Mullah. We were the first to lift our banner against them

(applause), and this banner we shall not lower to the end. We shall either win or perish. Let me say, comrades, that our Turkestan masses are compelled to fight on two fronts: on one hand against the Black Mullahs in our own midst and on the other hand against the narrow nationalist schemes of local Europeans. Neither Comrades Zinoviev nor Lenin nor Trotsky know the true situation in Turkestan. They do not know what has happened in Turkestan in the past three years. Let us speak frankly, depict the true state of affairs in Turkestan, and then the eyes of our leaders will be opened. They will come to Turkestan themselves and remedy the state of affairs which exists there.

I am challenging all the Turkestan comrades, both non-party and party members.

In order that the Turkestan affair may not repeat itself in other parts of the Moslem world, I caution our authorities that we know all the shortcomings of the policy which has been pursued for the past three years. And we say: "Remove your counter-revolutionaries, remove your alien element which sows national antagonism. Remove your colonizers, who are now working under the cloak of Communism!" (Stormy applause, shouts "Bravo")....

We are not afraid of open counter-revolutionaries, for we met them on the battle fronts. But comrades there are individuals among you who, under the disguise of Communism, deprecate Soviet power as such, spoil the entire Soviet policy in the East. And we must fearlessly declare: "Down with these provocateurs, demagogues, who deface the basic idea of Soviet power!" (Stormy applause, shouts "Down!")

[He recalls the November 1917 appeal of the Soviet Government to the Moslems all over the world, which he regards as the best statement of Soviet policy in the East.]

Can we repudiate Soviet power after hearing these words? But comrades have come to us en route [from Turkestan to Baku] and told us that our religious beliefs are being trampled down; that we are being prevented from practicing our prayers, from burying our own dead according to our own customs and religion. What is this? Nothing else but the dissemination of counter-revolution among the toiling masses.

Perhaps these very things also occur in other localities. But I declare on behalf of non-party delegates and the Communists might possibly join me - that from this famous Congress of to-day our Soviet power shall pursue a definite policy with respect to the East. Then the Eastern peoples will join Soviet power not merely on paper but with arms in hand, and no power on earth will be able to resist the onslaught of the many-million-large masses of the Eastern nationalities together with the proletariat and the peasantry of Russia....