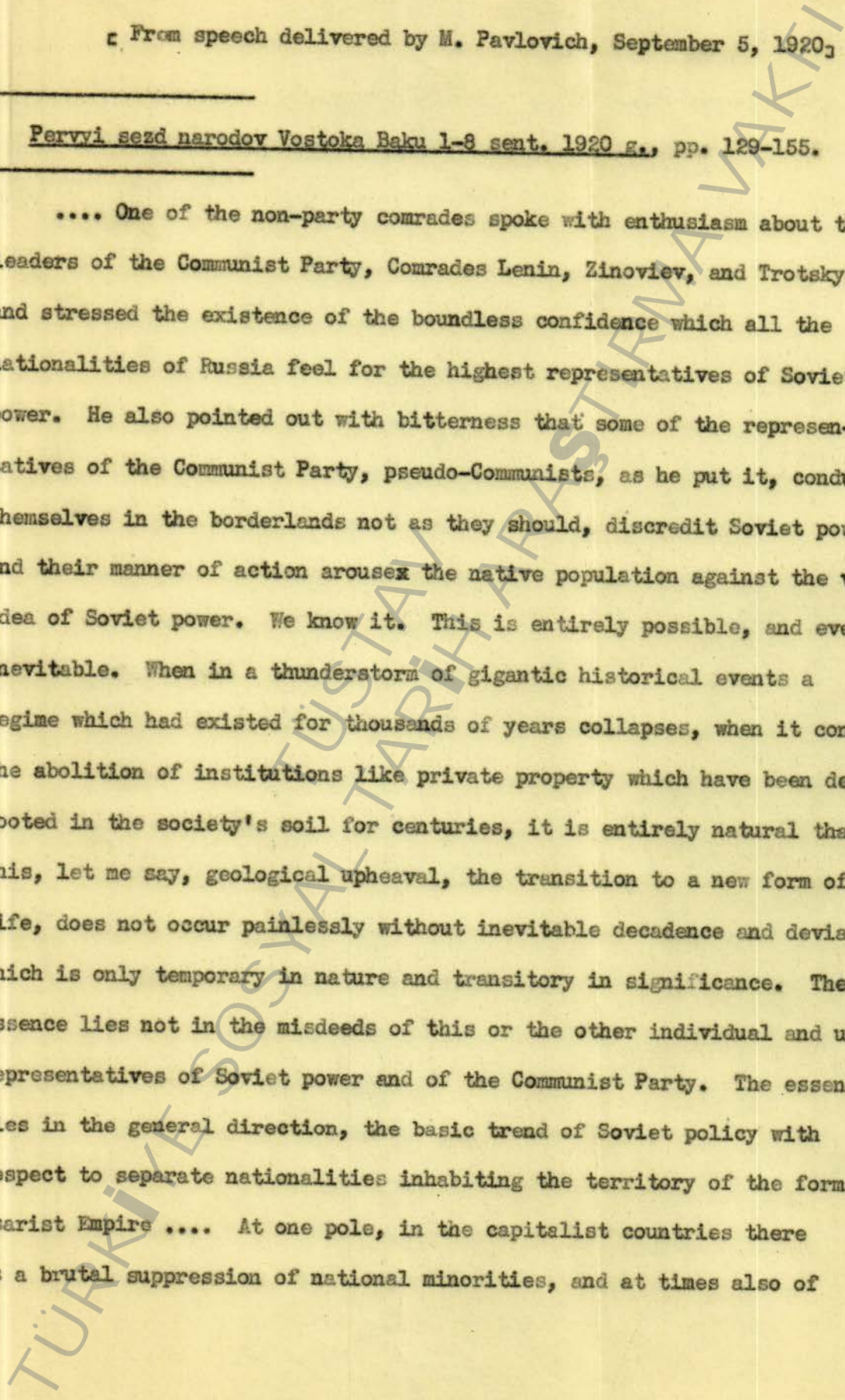


From speech delivered by M. Pavlovich, September 5, 1920,

Pervvi sezd narodov Vostoka Baku 1-8 sent. 1920 g., pp. 129-155.

.... One of the non-party comrades spoke with enthusiasm about the leaders of the Communist Party, Comrades Lenin, Zinoviev, and Trotsky, and stressed the existence of the boundless confidence which all the nationalities of Russia feel for the highest representatives of Soviet power. He also pointed out with bitterness that some of the representatives of the Communist Party, pseudo-Communists, as he put it, conduct themselves in the borderlands not as they should, discredit Soviet power, and their manner of action arouse the native population against the very idea of Soviet power. We know it. This is entirely possible, and even inevitable. When in a thunderstorm of gigantic historical events a regime which had existed for thousands of years collapses, when it concerns the abolition of institutions like private property which have been deeply rooted in the society's soil for centuries, it is entirely natural that this, let me say, geological upheaval, the transition to a new form of life, does not occur painlessly without inevitable decadence and deviation, which is only temporary in nature and transitory in significance. The essence lies not in the misdeeds of this or the other individual and unworthy representatives of Soviet power and of the Communist Party. The essence lies in the general direction, the basic trend of Soviet policy with respect to separate nationalities inhabiting the territory of the former Tsarist Empire At one pole, in the capitalist countries there is a brutal suppression of national minorities, and at times also of



national majorities, whenever a national minority is at the helm. And at the other pole, in the Soviet Republic, there is the most cautious, most brotherly sentiment and attitude not only toward the more or less large national unit, but even toward the numerically smallest national unit

Scores and hundreds of honest Ukrainians, who sincerely long for the national and cultural renaissance of the Ukraine, in the same way as the two giants of Ukrainian national public opinion, Grushevsky and Vynnychenko, have become convinced that only Soviet power can at present fulfill completely the role of liberator of the Ukraine from all types of oppression.

On May 27 the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee approved the law promulgating the autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic with its center in the city of Kazan. ✓ This news reverberated

loudly in the many-million-large Moslem world -- in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, India -- and is in the eyes of our Moslem brothers, workers and peasants of the East, a new illustration of those great principles which form the basis of the nationality policy of the Russian Federative Republic. But this does not suit the capitalist governments.

In two or three decades we shall see how with the spreading of people's education in the Soviet Republic, with the opening of thousands of schools, evening courses, academies, etc., with the complete abolition of illiteracy in Russia and the Ukraine, along with the amazing old milestones of Russian and Ukrainian literature, with the works of

Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, Gogol, Shevchenko, new great works of gifted new poets, novelists, etc., will appear - artists who will have come from the worker and peasant milieu

Yes, all this will take place! But much blood will be shed before we achieve this desired future; this, alas, is inevitable; and it is not our fault, for it will happen in accordance with the criminal wishes of the capitalists, who do not want to give up their profits. In the meantime, all fighters for a better future will have to suffer, and not only representatives of small nations, not only the inhabitants of the borderlands. Go and see what is happening in Petrograd, Moscow, Tula, and in a number of our towns, where, because of the criminal blockade and the bloody war which was thrust upon us, hundreds of thousands of workers are virtually exhausted by hunger and cold, but have not lost their courage and are marching by the thousand to the front to die for Soviet power (Applause)....

War against Soviet Russia is war against the East

Why are Britain and France so interested in supporting Wrangel?

Because so long as the Crimea is in Wrangel's hands, and the rear of revolutionary Turkey is cut off, Soviet Russia cannot come to the aid of the Turkish revolutionaries. On the other hand, so long as Asia Minor is in the hands of the Allies, of their expeditionary troops, our rear is threatened Everywhere imperialism is erecting these artificial barriers against us; but all these barriers will break down under the blows of the popular masses in the Crimea, Georgia, Armenia, Thrace, and Greece And now, we have read in the Greek newspapers which were received today, that an attempt was made on Venizelos, and that he was wounded by seven bullets. Who tried to assassinate him? Was it the

Turks, Bulgarians, or Russians? No, two Greeks! (applause)

In their communique to the Soviet Government, the Turkish comrades pronounced themselves in favor of having the question of the Dardanelles settled by the states bordering the Black Sea without the participation of Wrangel and the Entente. We warmly welcome this idea, which, if realized, will be the first and decisive step toward the federation of all peoples and countries whose territories are adjacent to the Black Sea. (Applause)

The Russian Communists are proud of all these attacks upon them. One of the basic distinctions of the Third International lies in that not only in words, but in practice, it is in solidarity with the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples and makes it the duty of the Communist Parties of all countries, and especially of the oppressor countries, to give the most active aid to the national-revolutionary movement in states and nations which are more backward than they are. (Applause).

The head of the Georgian Mensheviks, Zhordania, counterpoises the Bolshevik Asiatic policy to the so-called European policy of the Mensheviks; the Mensheviks, he alleges, are European socialists; we — Zhordania speaks about himself — are the standard bearers of culture and civilization, whereas the Muscovia with her stagnant fanaticism is Asia.

We can answer Zhordania that now the entire Third International has adopted the Bolshevik point of view; that now all Communists — Russian, French, British, Italian and others have become Asiatics and have

decided to render all possible assistance to all revolutionary movements in the East and in Africa and there is hope that the day is not far off when all the international proletariat will fight energetically against the strangulation of the East in the same way that it is now struggling against the strangulation and the blockade of Soviet Russia (Applause)

Of course, verbally the leaders of the Second International did condemn the colonial policy of their governments But by not translating their books and pamphlets into native languages and by writing on colonial problems only for the purpose of drawing attention to themselves only in the metropolises, in the parliamentary circles in general, or the socialist party in particular - all these Messrs. in practice supported the colonial policy of their governments

Moreover, there have been socialists like Lagrozier, party members, delegates to all kinds of national and international socialist congresses, who openly defended the colonial policy and who justified it on the ground that the natives had to be given the benefits of civilization and progress.

The Second International did not want to know the East; it was not interested in the fate of the peoples of the black and yellow continents. It is true that whenever news was received about Armenian massacres in Turkey, the entire press of the Second International printed indignant articles favoring the Armenians, and impressive demonstrations were organized. But all this served to benefit the capitalist governments,

which were given an additional reason to interfere in Turkish affairs. The socialists displayed one kind of attitude toward the Armenian pogroms, and a different one toward pogroms, massacres, extermination of the native population in Morocco, Algiers, India, etc The fact that at the Congress of the Second International in Geneva not one word was said about the East serves best to illustrate the policy on the colonial question [He gives examples to illustrate the economic crisis brought on by World War I.]

From both the economical and spiritual standpoint the East is no longer what it used to be Along with the development of industry in India and in certain parts of China we see all over the East an extreme accentuation of poverty, of class antagonisms. In India, China, Persia, Bokhara, etc., the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer

Many have asserted that the Eastern peoples must pass through the stage of capitalism before passing on to Communism. The Third International, as a result of debates at the Second Congress, has come to the conclusion that with the aid of the advanced proletarian countries the backward peoples can make the transition to Soviet order and through a definite higher stage to Communism, thus by-passing the capitalist stage of development (Applause)

The entire East is permeated with revolutionary bacteria If into this solution we introduce a crystal in the form of peasant councils, councils of toilers, the corresponding process of crystallisation will proceed at a rapid pace; we shall considerably advance the cause of revolutionary education and revolutionary organization

of the popular masses of the East in struggle against the world of marauders, in struggle for a new social order. (Applause)

As Comrade Lenin has stated correctly, the idea of Soviet organization can be applied not only to proletarian relationships but also to feudal and semi-feudal relationships. Peasant Councils, councils of toilers, are an adequate means not only for capitalist countries but also for countries with pre-capitalistic relationships.

The establishment of these Councils will facilitate the struggle of the toiling masses against their own exploiters - the landlords, capitalists, speculators, as well as against world imperialism, whose agents and helpers are all the molkadars, zemindars, khans, beks, pashas, etc. (Applause)

✓

Comrades, we must not forget the simple truth that the Eastern peoples will not achieve their freedom without union with the proletariat of all countries. Britain, this mighty military and economic organism, against which, with combined efforts, we are initiating a decisive struggle, can be defeated only with the collaboration of the British proletariat.

Wherein lies the strength of Soviet Russia in her struggle against the capitalist powers? How can we explain the fact that this country, fettered by hunger and cold and blockaded on all sides, has withstood for three years a war with the strongest states in the world? This can be explained by the fact that the best segment of the British, Spanish,

French, and Italian proletariat, whose representatives you see right here, is with us; that this segment refuses to help the capitalist governments to strangle Soviet Russia.

The source of the might of Soviet Russia lies in the sympathy which it enjoys among the international proletariat. ^{we} How can explain this sympathy? By the fact that Soviet Russia is a country of the proletariat, the country of Soviet power. The European governments are no longer able to send to Russia their own troops; instead they buy mercenaries - Polish landlords, Czechoslovaks, and others.

If the Eastern peoples wish to enjoy the sympathy of the international proletariat they must also fight for Soviet power, for the principles proclaimed by Soviet Russia

Should the struggle in Persia, India, and Turkey result only in that their native capitalists and landlords, with their national parliaments and senates, take over the reigns of government, the popular masses would win nothing for themselves He illustrates his contention by the examples of Turkey, Georgia, Armenia;

The popular masses must rise against their own and the foreign oppressors. Should the national revolutionary movement lead only to the formation of new powerful Eastern states, in which the native bourgeoisie, the Indian, Persian, and other parliaments would rule, then with the elapse of one decade another horrible world war is likely to break out before which all the horrors of the 1914-1918 war will pale

The revolutionary national movement will then only improve the status of the popular masses if it is a definite transitional stage toward a profound and widespread socialist movement.... The transitional form

toward complete unification of the toiling masses of different nationalities is a federation of Soviet states of the East for struggle against both the aggressive schemes of the imperialist powers and the plots of the internal foes.

Hence in order to put an end to the fratricidal war between the Georgian, Armenian, and Turkish workers and peasants it is imperative first and foremost, that Soviet power should ^{be} set up in all these countries, and thereupon a federation of the peoples which inhabit them

After their liberation from foreign oppression and the total overthrow of capital in the backward countries the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the toiling masses in general alone can serve as a guarantee that these countries, will not become tools of new wars, of looting and of outrage like Poland, White Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Georgia, Armenia - countries which were set up out of fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Tsarist Russia - or like Venizelos' Greece, etc.

Only the total triumph of labor over defeated capital will guarantee peace between the toilers of all countries.

Peoples of the East, arise! ... Comrades delegates, develop the class consciousness of the popular masses; organize them around peasant councils and the councils of toilers; call upon all the toilers to unite with Soviet Russia; propagate the idea of a federation of oppressed nationalities; and, finally, create a union of proletarians and peasants of all countries, religions, and tongues Make haste, for it is impossible to postpone a revolution. Delay is like death! (Applause)....

The gravely wounded beast must not be allowed to recover. The

toiling masses of the East must rise as one man, and in a union with the proletariat of Russia and the revolutionary elements of all Europe and America attack the imperialist beast of prey, the evil vampire, who has kept in slavery hundreds and hundreds of millions on the white, yellow, and black continents.

After the executioner, we revolutionaries know of no one who is more contemptible than the executioner's victim who gives himself up to torture and suffering in complete resignation and without a fight.

This last duel upon which we are about to enter will demand from us bloody sacrifice and utmost strength. But we shall win. We shall go forward without looking back

[The speaker tells the audience an old legend about a hero who climbed to the top of a magic mountain after a treasure. He persevered in his undertaking, for he was not swayed by fear, and he did not look back, for otherwise he would have turned into a stone figure.]

And now comrades, you are beginning to ascend the mountain in order to gain possession of all the world's treasures. And you will hear the voices of your beloved ones, who will beg of you not to risk your lives; you will hear threatening calls from all kind of Moslem hypocrites, Pan-Turkist fanatics, Pan-Islamists, Georgian and Armenian Mensheviks, and Dashnaks who will attempt to scare you with a variety of bugaboos; but you will proceed forward without paying attention to these calls, will ascend the mountain with arms in hand, without looking back, for otherwise you might turn into stone figures. (Applause) .

You will reach the mountain top, you will gain possession of the miracles of the world; you will see the kingdom of brotherhood, freedom, real national equality, and the kingdom of labor. (Applause)