SOVIET POWER IN THE EAST

Theses moved by Bela Kun and adopted by the Baku Congress of Eastern Peoples, September 6, 1920

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1. The revolution of the Eastern peoples against foreign and domestic oppression, against foreign imperialists and local exploiters, places on the order of the day the question of state order in all the Eastern countries. The European bourgeoisie by all kind of machinafrom the non-propertied and small-propertied proletarian tions has managed to conceal for a long time and semi-proletarian elements the nature of state power as a weapon of oppression. However, contrariwise the extortionist nature of this power is entirely obvious in the states of the East.

The life and all the products of labor of the poor, who are completely deprived of all rights in the state are objects of purchase and sale in the hands of various Sultans, Shahs, Emirs, tribal chiefs, and their wealthy and bureaucratic cliques. This situation has prepared the ground for the imperialist exploiters, who in the colonial countries and in countries which have sunk to the semi-colonial status have always concluded their deals with the aid of the rulers of the state, the high ranking military, and the government officials, at the expense of the poor.

- 2. As in the Western states, the wealthy exploiting strata of the population in the Near Eastern countries have endeavored to lend to their power the appearance of a people's power. The parliamentarization of Turkey and Persia, the transformation into democratic republics of Georgia under the leadership of the Mensheviks, of Armenia under the leadership of the Dashnaks, and of Azerbaijan under the leadership of the Musavatists were carried out under the slogan of freedom and equality. All these policies, however, have not been adequate to create a mere semblance of a people's government. The unprecedented poverty of the popular masses remains, side by side with the prosperity of the agents of the foreign imperialists; the fact that land remains in the hands of its former owners, the preservation of the old system of taxation to the immeasurable detriment of the toilers, and the tolerant attitude toward usury and even its support by the government authorities at the expense of the poor - all this has demonstrated the falsity of the slogans of equality, of the Turkish, Persian, and Azerbaijanian national-democratic parties as well as of the parties of the Mensheviks and the Dashnaks, who act under the cover of socialist slogans.
- 3. The revolution of the toiling masses of the East will not cease even after the removal of the power of foreign imperialists. It will not cease under the regime which under the false slogan of people's power, under the cloak of the slogan of equality, endeavors to preserve the power of the Sultans, Shahs, Emirs, Pashas, and Beks; Endeavors

to maintain the oppression of the toilers, the inequality between the propertied and the non-propertied, the oppressors and the oppressed, the tax payers and those who live on these taxes. The revolution will not cease at the property line of landlord's fields, which have been declared sacred. Like the Russian peasantry, the Eastern peasantry will unfold its revolution to the scope of a gigantic agrarian peasant revolution, which will result in the transfer of the land into the hands of the toilers and the abolition of every exploitation. Like the Russian peasantry, which has carried out the agrarian revolution with the support of the industrial workers under the guidance of the Communist Barty, and which after rallying into Soviets is now defending the land and power seized from the landlords and the exploiters, so the oppressed peasantry of the East in its revolutionary struggle is counting also on the support of the revolutionary workers of the West, on the support of the Communist International and of the existing Soviet states and the Soviet states which will be established in the future.

4. Soviet power and Soviet organization are weapons of power and forms of organization not only for the industrial proletariat; they are also the only suitable system by which the toiling masses, who, after excluding from power the privileged and hence hostile elements (landlords, speculators, the high ranking government officials, and the military) can arrange their destiny by themselves. Only Soviet power will give power exclusively to the toiling poor. The unification of Soviets and their federation is the only method by which a peaceful collaboration of the toilers of different nationalities — who heretofore have been cutting each others throats in the East — can be

brought about and which they will be enabled through joint efforts to abolish the power of foreign and native oppressors and to resist the attempts of these oppressors to regain their former position.

- 5. By transferring the administration exclusively into the hands of the privileged strata (Khans, Beks, etc.) so-called democratic self-government excludes the toiling masses from the administration of their own affairs. It deprives them of the opportunity to learn how to rule, deprives them of the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which is necessary to that end. In contrast the experience of the peasantry of Soviet Russia, of Siberia, of the Bashkir-Kirghiz Republic, and of Turkestan has proved that the peasants of the Eastern countries know how to administer their own affairs.
- 6. The victory of the Communist Party in the West will put an end to exploitation of the Eastern peoples. But the victory of the Communist revolution in the West will not mean that the East and the West can get along without a mutual economic tie. On the contrary, the victory of the revolution in the East and the West will mean that instead of exploitation in the relationships between the different countries there will be mutual support and aid. After the victory of the Communist revolution in the West economic relations will be conducted between the states, and hence the economic relations of the Eastern states, if they did not have a Soviet system would merely serve the interests of a numerically small capitalist group, which after collecting grain and raw material would trade with the Western Soviet states in exactly the same manner that it is trading at present with the imperialist states i.e. by exploiting for that purpose the toilers of the East.

In the interests of complete liberation from imperialist exploitation, also and in order to achieve the transfer of land to the toilers and liberation from the power of speculators-exploiters it is necessary to remove from power the non-toiling element, all the foreign colonization element (generals, government officials, etc.), all the privileged people; it is also necessary that the power of the poor should be organized on Soviet principles. All the other interests of the toiling people also point to the necessity for the East of establishing Soviet power.

DOBU'DA SOVYET ERKI

Bela Kun tarafından överrlen ve 6 Eylül 1920'de Baku Doğu Halkları Kurultayınca kabul edilen Tezler,

1. Dogo halklasının yabancı ve yesli baskıya,
yabancı emperyalıstlere ve yesel sünürüsülere
kerzi griztigi devim, bitindigi ülkelerinde
devlet dözeni sarunun göndeme getirnırztir. Avrupa borjuvazısı sezitli attan
ayunlarla mülkinz yı da küşük mülkiyet
salırbi proleter ve yen- proleter ö'gelerden
devlet eskuru bir baskı silahı alına
ni teliğini vzun bir türe gizlemeyi selernırztır. Doğu devletlerindeyse, tam tersine,
bi erkin gaddar doğası apaşık artadadır.

Derlet rende bû ti'n haklardan ti'nwiyle yoksun elan fakrlerin yaşamları ve emeklernum her tüşli "rönleri, seşitli Sultanların,
Sahların, Einis lerin, kabile baş kan larının,
zenem ve bürokratik azlıkların elinde
alımp satılan seylerdir. Bir durum, sörmirgelerde ve yan-sonnirge dir haline diğiniş
ö'lkelerde emperyalist sömürici'lere zenin

horrslennis, boular yapmak istedsteleri isteri her zaman yoksuların kesesinden, devlet ta yanetreslerinin, yiksek rötbeli askerlerin ve hikimet menurlarının yardımıyla gerşeklestirmişlerdir.

2. Bate der letterinde aldiger etti, Yakın Doğu ö'lkelerinde de nöfusun Zengin Eunöröw tabakaları erklerine En halk eski görðni nuð kazandirmaga Galismuslardir. Turkinge ve Træn'in parlamentololasterilman, Göreistanin Mensevik , Ermenistanin Dagnakan, Azer bay can un Missavats la Suderliei altenda demokratik comherryettere de"nostirilmesi, hep øzgirlik ve esikte Sloganlarnyla yapılmıştı. Ne var ki, Sitün bu politikalar str halk hükûmetine yakından Vzaktan benzegen bir dözen garafmaya yetmennistro. Halk kittelernun eskrden est got ilments yoksullage, yakana emperyalrytternu ajanlarının zengenligiyle yanyana sorop grtmekter ; tografin eski saligderhun Cloude kalmasi, einekgiler ignu san derece

zararlı olan eski verçi düzeninin korunması, te fe ci ligan hos görülmesi, hatta
yaksullar aleyli'ne hiki met yetki lilerince
destek lennesi algusu — sütün bunlar,
Türk, İran ve Azeri uhsal-demokratik
partilerinin eşitlik sloganları gibi,
Sosyalist sloganların giyeti altında
hareket eden Mensevik ve Daşnak
partilerinin de yalancılığı artaya kaymaktadır.

3. Doge non emeksi Krtlelersun deursun yabana emperyalestleren eski æstadan Kaldirilinea da Sona ormeje celetto. Yalana Dir halk erki slogan kullanan, estille Sloganinin grysisi altuda Settanlarin, Sahların, Emirleren, Pasaların ve Beylerun eskui si rditmeye calizan, ende Gilleran extimesion, milksysti olanlarla Olmayanlarin, (est Hizlighui) ezenleste ezileulerlu, vergi odegenterle o vergileri gryenleren I deram ettruek stegen bis refine altenda soner ermeyeckts.

Devrum, toprak saliflering tarlalare. um Kutsel Han ediluity Suurlarında durmayacakter. Rus köyli ligi gibi, Dogo køylitleri de deursulersui der grbi der tarunsal køyli deursui halrue getreakler, bunun Jonvanda tograk emekerleren elane gesecele in her torlo somora kaldentacaktes. Komunist Fartishuku kulaurzligu altuda endistri Assilerentu destegiyle farmsal dersuit gersellestoren ve Søryetlerde tæplandiklan soura, som-It de toprate saling lessantes ve somittellerry elluden aldeklar tograge ve erki savvinabla alan Rus köylig ligi geti, Doge men ezetten køyliter de devrimer miladele lerinde Beti'un devrunce Assilersum, Konnturst Enternasyonal'un ve & bigin varolan ve Herrde kurvlacak Sovjet devletters. una destegine govennektedorles.

4. Sovyet erki ve Søvyet &rgøtlenmesi, yalniza proletaryaya özgë erk srlåhlan ve örgötlenne svenulesi

degilder; agnealikh ve dobagisigla disman øge leri (toprak salupleren), vorgnedari, yobsek hoki met memurlarini ve ardu subaylarını) esk basından vzaklastirip kendi geleceklerini kendtlert gizmek stegen emeksi kitheler ign de tek vyen dizen Savyet sistemisch. Aucak Savyet sistemi orki galuz emeksi yak-Sollarm elme vere both Sovyetlerse føderatif br yagt rende stilesmess,
- smudrye degin Dogi 'da Sist borlernus
girtlabelægan- agn agn uluslærin emblesternum Daris Burde Absligs edebilmetermite ve ostak sabalarnya. Jahaner ve yerli Telsenlersen Oskini yekmalerin ve oularen eski durumlaring genirden karrymak som yapacaklan grysmulere karr drenmelernus sapbyastleeck tek youtends.

5. Youetimi yelmzen ayrılalıklı tabakaların (Hanların, Beylerin vb.) tekeline vermekle, Sözümona demokratik kendi kendi kendini yöne-tim, emekçi kitleleri kendi Hlerini yönetme

hakkunden Willton yoksun berakmaktades to. Be dozen, aulara youethuir d'érenne clanage vermemblete, bemn rem gerebli belgy edmuekten alikoymaktades. Oysa, Sovjet Rusya, Sibirya, Baskirt-Kirgiz Comborigett ve Torkistan køyti litgi nou Lenegamberi, Dogo ölkeleri køyli bersung kudi Hleriui nasıl yönetedeklermi pekalà beldigini ortaya koyungtur. 6. Bati'da Konniust Partisiusu safer Kazauması Doğu halklarının setuwidmessue son verecekts. Taket Batick Kominest dersude geferi, Doği He Sati'um karschel brekonomie safalua. Caralarus dans gorige solme leri anlamma gelmegecekts. [Bati'da] Konnunt derrunin zaferruden soura, ekonomité Hiskiles [ynne] devlettes arasında görü tölelek ve dolayisiyla, Doge Sedetleri, eger sir Sovjet sistems Kurmany churland, kisik In tapitalist grubun cikarlarına Sayrea hizmet eckelerir talite ve hammaddeler topla siktan souse Bati dali Sovjet deletterigte, type sands Dogo emekerlerni somo rerek trearet yagaraf

Emperyalist sometiden fam kortikg ve ayun zamanda toprague emeketlere derestimos de vergina-Duvidadera erkinden kurtulmak issu, erkbasindan somme selerini (generalleri, hikimet sørevlilerun vs.), søtien agnealiste kunseler vzaklastermak Jerebelt alderja gebis yeksollarin drøthenmess de gerebras. Einelei halklarm soften Ateki gikarlan de, Doge da Sovjet erki kurulmaseun Zomululuginn førstermekteds.