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Signatories end with Marchlewski
The rest of the names is omitted.

According to this version appeal is dated
in Moscow ~~July~~ June 29, 1920.

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TO THE ENSLAVED POPULAR MASSES OF PERSIA, ARMENIA, AND TURKEY

✓ Appeal issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International announcing the calling of the First Congress of Eastern Peoples in Baku ✓

✓ Pravda, No. 144, July 3, 1920, p. 1

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is convening August 15, 1920, a Congress of workers and peasants of Persia, Armenia, and Turkey in Baku.

What is the Communist International? It is an organization of the revolutionary toiling masses of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, England, and America, who, aroused by the thunder of World War and incited by hunger have revolted so as not to work for the rich but for themselves and so as not to lift their rifles against their suffering and destitute brothers but to use their rifles for their own protection from the beast of prey. These toiling masses understand that their own strength depends on unity and organization; that therein lies their only guarantee of victory. Last year they created an organization which they required - the Third International. In spite of all persecution by capitalist governments, this International, during the one and a half years of its existence has become the soul of all the revolutionary workers and peasants the world over who long to achieve liberation.

Why then is the Communist International now calling a Congress of Persian, Armenian, and Turkish workers and peasants? What does it offer them and what does it want of them? The workers and peasants of Europe

and America who are struggling against capital turn towards you because you also are suffering from the yoke of world capitalism and you also are compelled to battle against the universal marauders; because your alliance with the workers and peasants of Europe and America will hasten the downfall of world capitalism and will assure the liberation of workers and peasants all over the world.

Peasants and workers of Persia! The Tehran Kadjar Government and its servants - the provincial Khans - have robbed and exploited you for centuries. The lackeys of the Tehran Government have appropriated land for themselves. They do with it as they please. They impose taxes and levies on you solely on the basis of their own judgment and having sucked the country dry and brought it to the brink of poverty and destitution they sold Persia last year to British capitalists for two million pounds sterling in order that the British should organize an army in Persia which would oppress you even more than you had been oppressed in the past and would pump taxes and levies out of you for the benefit of the Khans and the Tehran Government. They sold the rich South-Persian oil wells to Britain thereby promoting the looting of your country.

Peasants of Mesopotamia! The Britishers have proclaimed the independence of your country; but 80,000 British soldiers are still on your soil; they rob and kill you; they rape your wives.

Peasants of Anatolia! The British, Italian, and French Governments have kept Constantinople under gun fire; they turned the Sultan

into a captive; forced him to agree to the division of purely Turkish territories and to the transfer of Turkish finances into the hands of foreign financiers in order to enable them to rob more freely the Turkish people, already impoverished by six years of war. They occupied the Hercules coal mines and your sea ports; they dispatched their troops to your country; they trample down your fields, dictate their own laws which are foreign to the peaceful Turkish peasant; they wish to turn you into pack animals upon which they can throw any load. Some of your beks and effendis have sold you out to foreign capitalists; others call upon you to fight foreign invasion, without however letting you seize power in your own hands, without however letting you make use of the land and the fields which were donated by the Sultan to various parasites, land which you might have planted for your own benefit. And to-morrow, when the foreign capitalists agree with your oppressors with respect to milder peace terms, your present leaders will take advantage of this fact in order to lay new chains upon you, as has been done by landlords and former government officials in regions which are firmly occupied by foreign troops.

Peasants and workers of Armenia! For many years you have been the victims of foreign capitalists, who talked at great length about the massacre of Armenians by the Kurds, who called upon you to fight against the Sultan, and who extracted from your struggle against the Sultan new benefits for themselves. During the war they promised you not only independence, but also induced your teachers, clergy, and

merchants to demand for themselves the land which belonged to the Turkish peasants in order to perpetuate the struggle between the Turkish and Armenian peoples, a struggle from which they continue to reap benefits. So long as these squabbles among you continue, the foreign capitalists, by scaring Turkey with the menace of an Armenian uprising and Armenia with pogroms ^{led} by the Kurds, will benefit thereby.

Peasants of Syria and Arabia! The British and the French have promised you independence; and now their troops have occupied your country. They dictate their own laws to you, and you, after achieving freedom from the Turkish Sultan and his government, have now become slaves of the Paris and London governments, which differ from the government of the Sultan only in one respect - they hold you more firmly in their grip and rob you more efficiently.

You yourselves are well aware of all this. The Persian peasants and workers have revolted against the treacherous Tehæran Government. The peasants of Mesopotamia are rising in mutiny against the British occupation troops; and the British press reports losses suffered by the British army in battle against insurgents near Bagdad.

Peasants of Anatolia! You are called upon persistently to rally under the banners of Kemal-pasha for struggle against foreign invasion. Yet we know that you are at the same time trying to set up your own people's party, your own peasant party, capable of continuing the struggle in case the Pashas conclude peace with the Entente beasts of prey.

Attempts to restore order in Syria have failed, and you Armenian peasants, who in spite of the Entente's promises are being left by the Entente to die from hunger so as to keep you firmer in its grip, you are becoming ever more aware of the fact that it is senseless to expect salvation from the Entente capitalists. Even your bourgeois government of the Dashnaksian party, this lackey of the Entente, is compelled to turn to the worker-peasant government of Russia for aid and for peace.

We see now that you begin to understand your own needs. Therefore, as representatives of the European proletariat, and by making use of the enormous experience obtained in our struggle, we approach you with a view to aiding you in your cause of liberation. We tell you: The time has passed when the European-American capitalists could crush you by force of arms, and it will never return. All over Europe, all over America, workers are revolting. They rise with arms in hand against the capitalists and wage a bloody battle with them.

Although the world proletariat has not yet won, the capitalists nonetheless are no longer able to make use of the people's blood at will. For two and a half years the Russian revolution has battled against the whole world. The French, British, American capitalists tried every means - force of arms and starvation - to defeat the Russian worker and peasant, to pull the noose around their necks, and to turn them into their own slaves. They did not succeed in doing it. The Russian workers and peasants have steadfastly defended their own power, have formed an army of their own, which has crushed into dust

the reactionary troops maintained by the Entente capitalists.

Workers and peasants of the Near East! If you do organize yourselves and set up your own worker-peasant government; if you arm yourselves and unite with the Russian worker-peasant army then you will subdue the British, French, and American capitalists, will get rid of the oppressors, gain freedom, be able to establish a free world republic of toilers, and utilize the wealth of your native land in your own interests and the interests of the rest of toiling mankind, who will be glad to exchange your wealth for products which you need and will gladly come to your aid. All this we want to talk over at the Congress.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the representatives of the British, French, American, German, and Italian workers will go to Baku in order to discuss with you the problem of uniting the efforts of the European proletariat with your struggle against the common foe.

Spare no effort in order to go to Baku in as great numbers as possible by September 1st. You have traversed deserts en route to the sacred shrines. Well then, now cross mountains, rivers, forests, and deserts for the purpose of meeting with the others and agreeing on how the chains of slavery can best be shed; in order that we all may unite in a fraternal alliance and begin our brotherly life of equality and freedom.

We address ourselves first of all to the workers and peasants of the Near East. But we shall be glad to see among the delegates also representatives of the oppressed popular masses who live father away -

for instance, representatives of India, as well as representatives of the Moslem peoples who develop freely in a union with Soviet Russia.

Thousands of Turkish, Armenian, and Persian workers will gather peacefully in Baku on September 1 for the purpose of liberating the Near East.

Let the Congress tell your enemies in Europe, America, and in your own country that the time of slavery for you has passed; that you are rising, and that you shall win.

Let this Congress tell the workers of the whole world that you are defending your own rights; that you are joining the mighty revolutionary army which is now fighting against every injustice and all looting.

Let your Congress offer strength and faith to millions and millions of enslaved peoples the world over; let it fill them with confidence in their own strength; let it hasten the day of the final triumph and liberation.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TÜSTAN TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VEKFI

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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- For the Factory-Shop Committees of Britain: Jack Tanner,
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For the Communist Labor Party of America: A. Bilan
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- For the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party:
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- For the Communist Party of Poland: J. Marchlewski (Karski)
- For the Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Balkan Communist
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- For the Communist Party of Austria: Reisler
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- For the Communist Party of Holland: D. J. Wijnkoop