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Publisher: Routledge

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Central Asian Survey

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccas20>

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Published online: 13 Sep 2007.

To cite this article: Alexandre Bennigsen (1987): Marxism or Pan-Islamism: Russian Bolsheviks and Tatar national communists at the beginning of the civil war, July 1918, Central Asian Survey, 6:2, 55-66

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02634938708400584>

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Marxism or Pan-Islamism: Russian Bolsheviks and Tatar National Communists at the Beginning of the Civil War, July 1918

ALEXANDRE BENNIGSEN

By a rare piece of luck¹ we are in possession of a unique document: the first and only issue of the Russian journal *Krasnoe Znamia* ("Red Banner"), published on 22 July 1918. *Krasnoe Znamia* was the Russian version of *Qyzyl Bayraq*, a Tatar weekly published from 15 June 1917 by the Muslim Socialist Committee in Kazan.²

To appreciate why this journal is of great interest, it must be recalled that July 1918 marked what could be called the "high point" of the Muslim National Communist movement, when its leaders, Mulla-Nur Vahitov³ and Mir Said Sultan-Galiev,⁴ took advantage of the Bolshevik's difficulties⁵ and succeeded in snatching a number of important concessions from them, thus giving the Muslim revolutionary movement real autonomy.

The starting point for this process of gaining such autonomy lies in the period of the provisional government, with the foundation of the Muslim Socialist Committee by Mulla-Nur Vahitov in Kazan in April 1917. The committee rapidly became the focus of activity for all Tatar radicals. On 19 January 1918, a decree of the Sovnarkom created the "Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs for Inner Russia and Siberia" ("Tsentral'nyi Kommissariat po Musul'manskim delam Vnutrennei Rossii i Sibiri", otherwise known as "Muskom") attached to the "People's Commissariat for Nationalities" (Narkomnats). Mulla-Nur Vahitov was chairman of the commissariat, and had two deputies, Galimjan Ibragimov⁶ and Sherif Manatov⁷. Under Vahitov's energetic leadership, this institution became a surrogate for a Muslim government in European Russia. On 22 February 1918, the Kazan branch of the Central Muskom was created, under the chairmanship of Sultan-Galiev.

In March 1918, Vahitov and Sultan-Galiev, the two leaders of the

Muslim communists, convened a conference in Moscow of the Muslim Workers of Russia,⁸ which with great enthusiasm created on 21 March a "Muslim Socialist-Communist Party of Russia". This party had a Central Committee that was independent in practice from the Russian Communist Party.

A few days later, on 23 March 1918, the Narkomnats overcame the strong opposition of local Bolshevik organisations in eastern Russia and published a decree on the creation of the Soviet Socialist Tatar-Bashkir Republic. The form of this new Muslim state had been elaborated personally by Vahitov and Sultan-Galiev, on the basis of the theoretical pre-revolutionary "Volga-Ural" (*Idel-Ural*) state. The new State's territory covered the immense lands of the Middle Volga and southern Urals, including the *gubernias* of Ufa, the Bashkir part of Orenburg, Kazan (excluding the Chuvash and Marii regions), and the Muslim areas of the *gubernias* of Perm, Viatka, Simbirsk and Samara. Its future population was estimated to be between five and six million.

These activities added up to a great victory for the Tatar leaders, but it was still not sufficient to guarantee the political autonomy of their movement. Mulla-Nur Vahitov pushed his advantage even further. On 2 May 1918, he obtained a decree from the Narkomnats entrusting the organisation of a Muslim Red Army to the Central Muslim Commissariat.

Finally, the first Conference of Muslim Communists was held on 17–23 June in Kazan. The conference decided to replace the former Muslim Socialist-Communist Party with a "Russian Muslim Communist (Bolshevik) Party", which had its own Central Committee elected by its members and not appointed by the Moscow Bolsheviks.

Krasnoe Znamia appeared less than a month after this last victory of the Tatar communists. The reason for its publication was set out candidly and sincerely in an editorial on page 2 of the journal, entitled "Kazan — 5 July — Our Path (*Nash put'*)", and signed by the curious and revealing pseudonym "Tamerlane". This probably was either Vahitov himself or one of his closest companions, perhaps even Sultan-Galiev:

Because the Russian Bolshevik press pays little or no attention to the inner life of the Tatar proletariat, or when it does, it presents it completely wrongly . . . we have decided to publish an organ in Russian which will defend the interests of Muslim workers . . . against the journal *Znamia Revoliutsii*, which is throwing mud (*griaz'*) in our faces, slanders us, and engages in unjustified provocations

Krasnoe Znamia provides unique insight into the strained relations between the local Russian Bolsheviks and the Tatar communist leaders during the early months of the Civil War. The picture it paints is

in striking contrast to the optimistic but very inexact image of "Leninist friendship" which we find in Soviet historiography on the Revolution and Civil War. It shows without doubt that in July 1918, at a significant moment of the Civil War, when the unexpected offensive of the Czech legionnaires was threatening to overcome all eastern Russia, Tatar revolutionaries who had rallied to the side of the Bolsheviks were more preoccupied with resisting the "imperialism" of their Russian comrades than in fighting the counterrevolution.

It also shows that in July 1918 the Tatar communist leaders had no illusions left as to the "colonialist" attitude of the Russian communists. By this time the political aims and expectations of the Muslim and Russian revolutionaries already diverged completely. The Muslims wanted to liberate the oppressed world of Islam from European (and this implied from Russian) imperialism, while the Russians were preoccupied exclusively with the social aspect of the proletarian Revolution, and since the Muslims had no proletariat, they were to be excluded from the benefits of the Revolution.

Krasnoe Znamia shows that the majority of Tatar radicals had an identical attitude toward the essential problems of the moment, in particular toward the two basic issues on which they disagreed strongly with the Russians: the creation of a great Muslim state in eastern Russia, the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Socialist Republic, and the reorientation of the revolutionary energies unleashed by October toward the Islamic Orient instead of Central Europe. The principal leader of Tatar communism, Mulla-Nur Vahitov, depicted in Soviet historiography as a perfect Bolshevik, a dedicated "Leninist internationalist" and an adversary of the "traitor" Sultan-Galiev, appears in the pages of *Krasnoe Znamia* as a nationalist and pan-Islamist even more outspoken than his comrade Sultan-Galiev.

Krasnoe Znamia consisted of only four pages, but it contains a wealth of material which makes it one of the richest and most valuable documents on the early stage of the Civil War in the Middle Volga area.

The first page opens with an "Appeal to All Working Muslims" (*trudovye musul'mane*). This appeal has a strong pan-Islamic flavour:

In the faraway East, in India, Iran, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Khiva, Bukhara, Arabia and in the African colonies of the 'civilized' Europeans, English, French and Italian, in Egypt, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, hundreds of millions of working Muslims are suffering under the yoke of bloody European imperialism. Hurry to help them . . . raise the red banner of the universal uprising . . .

This appeal is followed by two other appeals, the first to all working Muslims, signed by V. Ulianov (Lenin), president of the Sovnarkom, L. Trotskii, president of the Narkomvoen, Mulla-Nur Vahitov, pres-

ident of the Central Muslim Commissariat and Fr. Razin (Aziz), deputy chairman of the Narkomnats. The wording of the appeal is strongly nationalistic. The “working Muslims” (not Tatars or Bashkirs) are invited to rally to the ranks of the “Muslim Socialist Army” (not simply the units of the Red Army) to save not the proletarian revolution, but the Tatar–Bashkir Soviet Republic, “newly-born in suffering”, whose territory counterrevolutionary bands, “the Russian black-hundreds helped by the Czechs, have penetrated . . .”

The second appeal is by the Kazan Committee or the Muslim Communist Party, dated 19 June 1918, “to the workers and Red Army fighters”, inviting them to beware of “the provocateurs and agents paid by the counterrevolutionaries, the bourgeois and the Czechs.”

On page 2, the editorial signed by “Tamerlane” begins by stressing the necessity of a Russian language edition specially dedicated to the life of the Muslim proletariat, because “this life is either ignored or completely distorted in the Russian Bolshevik press.” As an example, the author points out the fact that the Russian (Bolshevik) press never mentioned various important Muslim meetings held in Kazan.

For this reason, the leaders of the Muslim Socialist-Communist Party have decided to publish an organ in Russian, in order to defend the interests of Muslim workers . . . and to fight for the creation of a Tatar-Bashkir republic.

Then follows a direct attack against the leading figure of the Bolshevik organisation in Kazan, Karl Grassis:⁹

Our former comrade, Karl Grassis, is explaining to the Russian workers and peasants in *Znamia Revoliutsii*¹⁰ that our intention to create the Tatar–Bashkir republic is unhealthy . . . his attacks against us are slanders . . . he must be blinded by his fanaticism. He lies and falsifies facts. His attempts to frighten [the Russians] through nationalism, pan-Islamism or any other ‘ism’ [on the part of the Muslims] may be explained only by his ignorance. . . .

“Tamerlane” concludes: “we will fight the dictatorship of local maniacs without pity”, clearly meaning the local Bolsheviks.

Also on page 2 is the text of a talk given by Mulla-Nur Vahitov, Chairman of the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs at the Constituent Congress of the Soviets of the Tatar–Bashkir Republic. This contains another attack on Karl Grassis and the Russian Bolsheviks in general, whom he calls “pathological criminals” (“types from the Lambrozo collection”) and whose “hesitancy and cowardice” he compares to the “revolutionary enthusiasm, efficiency and loyalty of the Muslim proletariat.” “Only primitive (*lubochnye*) socialists are unable to grasp the historical meaning of the Tatar–Bashkir republic.” Vahitov concludes with a pan-Islamic appeal:

Don’t forget that in far away India, in Egypt, on the banks of the Nile, and in the depths of Asia, millions of our Muslim brothers are suffering under the

yoke of the European bourgeoisie. Our noble hearts are burning with the desire to liberate them.

Pages 2 and 3 contain a major article signed with the pseudonym "Sukhoi" ("Dry"), entitled "Muslim Socialists During the Counter-revolutionary Plot". This is a nationalistic and anti-Russian piece describing a little-known and totally forgotten incident. In June 1918, when the Czechs had routed the Red Army and were approaching Kazan, some Red units of the Kazan garrison tried unsuccessfully to seize power. The attempt was defeated thanks to the intervention of Muslim units controlled by the Muslim Socialist Committee who remained loyal to the Soviets. These were the 1st Kazan Socialist Muslim Regiment and the Tatar-Bashkir Battalion sent from Moscow by the Central Muslim Voenkollegiia (whose chairman was Sultan-Galiev).

The article explains that:

in spite of the brutal hostility of the Russian Bolsheviks in the Kazan Soviet, in spite of the slanders of its press organ, *Znamia Revoliutsii*, against Muslim socialists, especially against its leaders Mulla-Nur Vahitov and Mir-Said Sultan-Galiev, Muslim socialists decided to defend the power of the Soviets. . . but we must make [the leaders of the Soviet] understand that they must treat us as loyal friends and not as simple mute appendages [*besslovesnyi pridatok*] of Russian socialist parties.

The article ends with the text of a resolution passed at the joint meeting of the Kazan Socialist Muslim Committee, the Agitation Section of the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs and the Regimental Committee of the 1st Muslim Socialist Regiment. Having noted the disorders in the (Russian) Sailors' Battalion and the panic in the 2nd Regiment (also Russian) which disbanded, the resolution proclaims the necessity for Muslim units to remain completely independent:

Taking into account the disorders of the Kazan Garrison Committee, we refuse to entrust the existence of our Muslim Regiment to any incompetent and unreliable organisation and we proclaim that the Regiment Committee will assume full and exclusive responsibility for our Regiment.

On page 3 the journal published two orders (*prikazy*) of the Central Muslim Military Collegium of the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs signed by its chairman, Mulla-Nur Vahitov. Both concern the creation of a Muslim Red Army, one of the main points of the program of the Muslim National Communists. The first order dealt with the formation of the 1st Infantry Tatar-Bashkir Battalion. The commander of the battalion was Aleksandrovich (a Lithuanian Tatar), and the commissar, Minhaj Konov.¹¹ The second order, addressed to all Muslim Commissariats, was an invitation to form Muslim military units.

The information on pages 3 and 4 is of a more political character. They contain a long unsigned article, "V mire musul'manskogo proletariata" ("In the World of the Muslim Proletariat"), with three subsections. The first subsection dealt with the meeting of the Scientific Collegium for Education on 2 July 1918 in Kazan. This institution was formed at the 3rd Congress of Muslim Teachers in cooperation with the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs. We know that Sultan-Galiev took a personal interest in this organisation. Many people who participated in this meeting were to play a leading role in the cultural life of Soviet Muslims, and some were the future leaders of Muslim National Communism. These included Kh. Muhitdinov,¹² A. Mustafin, Kh. Badigov, G. Sharaf,¹³ Emine Muhitdinova,¹⁴ G. Kh. Mamina, M. N. Vahitov, Galimjan Ibragimov, Mir-Said Sultan-Galiev, Ishak Kazakov,¹⁵ and Sh. Ahmadiev.

The scientific collegium had a very ambitious program. It was intended to become the central Muslim scientific and cultural institution of Russia, controlled only by Muslims, without the supervision of the central Russian organisations. Its tasks were defined as follows: (1) to set down the theoretical basis of the national (Muslim) system of education for all the Muslim peoples of Russia; (2) to be supported by the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs (not by any Soviet institution, such as the Narkompros); (3) to be completely autonomous in all scientific matters; (4) to be responsible for implementing the decisions of the collegium; and (5) to invite experts and organise conferences and congresses.

Among the most urgent tasks of the collegium, the article lists especially the foundation of a Muslim Fundamental Library, the publication of school textbooks, the drawing up of programmes for Muslim schools and above all the transformation of the collegium itself into a Muslim Academy of Sciences.

The second subsection of the article contains an account of a special session organised by the Muslim Socialist Committee on 1 July 1918, attended by representatives of all Muslim revolutionary organisations in Kazan and delegates from the central (all-Russian) Muslim organisations. This session discussed the future development of the Tatar-Bashkir republic. According to the account, during the debates only two "unitarians" (*unitaristy*) did not support the idea of an autonomous Muslim republic, but even they declared that they "will never actively oppose its foundation". This shows that in July 1918, there was unanimity among Muslim communists, a common Muslim front opposed to the centralising strategy of the Russian Bolsheviks. "In order to popularise the idea of our republic among Russian proletarians, and because of the hostility of a number of Russian Soviet leaders," it was decided to create a special commission of five mem-

bers: M. S. Sultan-Galiev, chairman; Sh. Ahmadiev, S. Ahtamov, G. Kasimov, and the sailor Ziganshin.

The third subsection of the article contains a short account of the All-Russian Congress of Muslim Communists called by the Central Committee of the Muslim Socialist Committee and held in Kazan on 10 July 1918. Because of the Civil War, only 25–30 delegates came to Kazan instead of the 150–200 expected. They represented Muslim communist groups in Moscow, Petrograd, Arkhangel'sk, Perm', Samara, Simbirsk and Saratov. The congress was chaired by the Turkish socialist Mustafa Subhi,¹⁶ who travelled from Moscow.

On page 4 of the journal we find a long account signed by Kan-Temir (probably a pseudonym) of a meeting of Muslim workers and Red Army men which was held on 27 June 1918, Yunosov Square, Kazan. This meeting was chaired by G. Kasimov, member of the Section for Agitation of the Commissariat for Muslim Affairs of the Kazan *gubernia*. Several speeches by the following are analysed: Ishak Rahmatullin, a Bashkir Bolshevik, member of the Kazan Muslim Socialist Committee, representing the local Cheka; I. Galiev, an unknown Tatar communist; Sahibgiray Said-Galiev¹⁷; the historian Galimjan Ibragimov, who expressed his hope in the victory of the Revolution; and Sultan-Galiev and Vahitov, the leading figures of the Muslim communist movement. Sultan-Galiev's and Vahitov's speeches are strikingly pan-Islamic in tone. Sultan-Galiev appealed to the "proletarian masses of the Muslim East, the principal victims of European imperialism" to support the Bolshevik Revolution. Vahitov explained the differences between the bourgeois proposal of the Idel-Ural state and the socialist proposal for the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Socialist Republic. "The latter," said Vahitov, "will be the revolutionary torch for hundreds of millions [*sic*] of Muslim proletarians crushed under the yoke of the European imperialists."

The final article on page 4 is signed by Sultan-Galiev, entitled "Russkaia revoliutsiia i Vostok" ("The Russian Revolution and the East"), and was an interview with Mustafa Subhi. The dialogue between the two communist leaders is focused on the problem of the extension of the October Revolution to the Islamic East, especially to Turkey.

This article is certainly the most important document of the entire journal. It shows that as early as July 1918, Sultan-Galiev was concerned with the problem of the orientation of the world revolution, and with the absolute primacy of the Third World, bold and heretical ideas which he would develop later in his famous article, "Social Revolution and the East",¹⁸ which was instrumental in causing his conflict with Stalin. "The Russian Revolution and the East" also shows that the Turkish communist leader, Mustafa Subhi, presented by pre-

sent-day Soviet historiography as a straightforward Bolshevik and Leninist, was in reality much closer to the revolutionary pan-Islamism of the Tatar national communists than to the "internationalism" of his Russian comrades. Sultan-Galiev quotes Mustafa Subhi:

One of the most urgent tasks of the world revolution is to bring revolution to Turkey and to other Islamic countries of the East. If the proletariat of the Muslim countries is not rapidly persuaded to support socialism, it will be used by the imperialists against us. . . Even if capitalism is defeated in Europe, it would take refuge in the Muslim countries and attack us from there.

CONCLUSION

Krasnoe Znamia reveals the political sophistication and unity of purpose of the early Tatar communists in 1918. They were radical Muslim nationalists who had joined the Russian Communist Party not because they were dedicated Marxists, but because they believed that Bolshevism was a lesser evil than the ideology of the counter-revolutionary Whites. But clearly, they did not have the slightest illusion as to the possibility of long-lasting cooperation with the new masters of Russia. They knew that a conflict was looming in the not too distant future, and they were frantically preparing themselves for the inevitable showdown. Rightly or wrongly, they believed that the foundation of a great Muslim state in the Middle Volga-Urals, the Tatar-Bashkir republic, would be the best protection against Russian imperialism. In their view, the common bond amongst them and peoples of the Orient they sought to free was Islam. *Krasnoe Znamia* is clear on this point: the basis of their movement and aspirations was pan-Islamism.

A few days after the publication of *Krasnoe Znamia*, Czech legionnaires stormed Kazan. Mulla-Nur Vahitov was taken prisoner and executed (19 August). Sultan-Galiev in Moscow, during the battle of Kazan, was the only remaining leader of the Muslim National Communist movement and now faced the opposition of all the Bolsheviks (not only Stalin).

As soon as the tide of victory ran in favour of the Red Army in the autumn of 1918, the Soviet leaders felt bolder *vis-à-vis* their Muslim allies and changed their attitude dramatically. All Muslim military units were placed under the general command of the Red Army. The plan for the great Tatar-Bashkir state, the cornerstone of the Muslim national programme, was abandoned. Instead, two small republics were set up; the Bashkir republic, created on 23 March 1919, and the Tatar republic on 27 May 1920. In November 1918 at the First Con-

gress of Muslim Communists held in Moscow, Stalin obliged the independent Russian Muslim Communist Party (Bolshevik) to merge itself into the Russian Communist Party. Finally, the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs, which had played the role of a surrogate Muslim government in 1918, disappeared and was replaced by a more modest institution, the Tatar-Bashkir Commissariat, and had very little authority.

Krasnoe Znamia is the only authentic document available in which Muslim communist leaders express their attitude toward the revolution and the early stage of the Civil War openly and freely. It shows that the conflict between Sultan-Galiev and Stalin, which would break out five years later and would be followed by the physical extermination of the entire pre-revolutionary Muslim intelligentsia, was due not to simple personal rivalry, but had deep historical roots. The Muslims believed that the October Revolution would be the starting point of their national liberation. For the Russian Bolsheviks, it was a new and more effective opportunity to impose their rule over the former subjects of the tsar.

NOTES

1. Thanks to our friend Mahmud Tahir of Ankara who discovered this document.
2. *Qyzyl Bayraq* was a violently pro-revolutionary organ, but not really Marxist. On its pages, elements of Marxism-Leninism blended without much difficulty with pan-Islamic and even religious motives. Its chief editor was Mulla-Nur Vahitov, and on its editorial board were almost all the leading figures of the future Tatar communist movement: Mir Said Sultan-Galiev, Ibrahim Kuli, Emine Muhitdinova, Sahibgiray Said-Galiev, Ishak Rahmatullin, Burhan Mansurov and Hasiyet Gaynullin. No copies of the *Qyzyl Bayraq* exist in the West and this important periodical is not available for research in the USSR. It is known only through quotations by Tatar historians, especially in the collection *Tatariia v bor'be za pobedu proletarskoi revoliutsii, fevral'-oktiabr' 1917* ("Tatars in the Struggle for the Victory of the Proletarian Revolution, February-October 1917"), (Kazan, 1957), which gives an analysis of several editorials and important articles in the newspaper.
3. Mulla-Nur Vahitov (1885-1918), was a Tatar born in the village of Kungur, "gubernia" of Ufa, to a family of wealthy merchants; he studied in the Kazan Russian gymnasium and in 1910 entered the Polytechnical Institute of St. Petersburg, where he joined a Marxist circle and was expelled the same year for "revolutionary activity". In 1911, he was admitted to the economic section of the St. Petersburg Psycho-Neurological Institute and was almost immediately thrown out for the same reason; he then worked as an engineer at the Kazan Department of Highways until February 1917. In March 1917, he founded with Mir-Said Sultan-Galiev the Muslim Socialist Committee of Kazan. In October 1917, he fought on the side of the Bolsheviks and in December 1917 joined the RCP(b). In January 1918, he was invited by Stalin to be the chairman of the Central Muslim Commissariat for Muslim Affairs and of the Muslim Military Collegium of the Narkomnats. By July 1918, he was the leading figure of the Muslim communist movement. In August, he took the command of the Tatar-Bashkir

- battalion fighting against the Czechs. Taken prisoner during the fight for Kazan, he was executed on 19 August 1918.
4. Mir-Said Sultan-Galiev (1880–1939?), was a Tatar and the leader of the Muslim National Communist movement. He studied in the Russian-Tatar teachers' school in Kazan. A radical nationalist in his early life, he became one of the leading members of the Muslim Socialist Committee of Kazan in March 1917. Member of the RCP(b) since November 1917, member of the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs, chairman of the Muslim Military Collegium, member of the Small Collegium of the Narkomats, chief editor of *Zhizn' Natsional' nostei* ("Life of the Nationalities"), the official organ of the Narkomnats, and member of the Central Executive Committee of the Tatar republic. Sultan-Galiev was until 1923 the highest ranking Muslim in the hierarchy of the Communist Party. Arrested in May 1923 and excluded from the Party for "nationalist deviation"; liberated soon after; arrested for the second time in 1928, condemned to ten years of hard labour in the Solovki camp where we must assume he died.
 5. In February 1918, Russian and Armenian units of the Tashkent Soviet had sacked and plundered the city of Kokand, seat of the short-lived autonomous government of Turkestan. Several thousand Muslims were killed during the sack of the city. In March of the same year, the units of the Tashkent Soviet launched an offensive against Bukhara, but were severely beaten back. The Basmachi uprising was the answer of the Turkestan Muslims to the brutal colonialist policy of the Tashkent Soviet. In the Crimea, the first Soviet regime was destroyed in April 1918 by units of the German army. In the Caucasus, the Bolshevik-dominated Baku Commune was overturned in July 1918, and finally in August 1918 the Czech legions rebelled and seized all the cities situated on the Trans-Siberian railway. It was the signal which marked the beginning of the Civil War in eastern Russia. The Bolsheviks desperately needed Muslim support and were ready to grant many concessions.
 6. Galimjan Ibragimov (1887–1938), was a Tatar novelist, historian and political leader, the son of a *mullah*, and one of the most interesting figures of left wing jadidism. One of the leaders of the "Islah" movement in 1905–1908, he joined the left wing of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party. In 1918, Stalin invited him to chair the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs (with M. N. Vahitov and Sh. Manatov), he was a member of the RCP(b) from 1918. Between 1920 and 1928, he was chairman of the Academic Center of the Narkompros of the Tatar republic. Ibragimov opposed the russification of the Tatar language and defended the Arabic script. Arrested for "nationalism" in 1937, he died in prison in January 1938. He was rehabilitated after 1954.
 7. Sherif Manatov was a Bashkir, the son of a *mullah*, and studied at the Polytechnical Institute of St. Petersburg and in Istanbul. In early 1917, Manatov was a right wing nationalist, but later in the year he went over to the side of the Bolsheviks. Stalin rewarded him in January 1918 with one of the vice-chairmanships of the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs. In 1919, Manatov was sent to Ankara and tried, unsuccessfully, to help found the Turkish Communist Party. His fate after 1920 is unknown.
 8. See the description of the conference in M. K. Muhariamov, *Oktiabr' i Natsional'nyi Vopros v Tatarii (Oktiabr' 1917–Iul' 1918)* ("October and the National Question in Tataria, October 1917–July 1918") (Kazan, 1958), pp. 187–195.
 9. Karl Grassis, chairman of the Kazan Soviet and a leading member of the Kazan organization of the RCP(b), was an "internationalist" and very hostile to any concession to the national demands of the Tatar comrades. Grassis explained his

- ideas in a pamphlet, *K natsional'nomu voprosu* ("Concerning the National Question"), Kazan, 1918, and in several articles, in particular, "K Tataro-Bashkirskomu Voprosu" ("Concerning the Tatar-Bashkir Question), *Zhizn' Natsional'nistei*, No. 5 (61), (8 February 1920).
10. The official organ of the Kazan organization of the RCP(b). Its chief editor was Karl Grassis.
 11. Minhaj Konov was a Tatar, one of the leading figures of the Central Muslim Military Collegium, and one of the four deputies of the Central Bureau of the Communist Organisation of the Peoples of the East, whose chairman was Stalin. The three other deputies were Bunyat-Zade Dulat Aliev, Yarullin and M. S. Sultan-Galiev (vice-chairman). Konov was a dedicated nationalist. In an article in *Qyzyl Armiya*, he went as far as pretending that the October Revolution had not improved the situation of the Tatars (on this subject see Sultan-Galiev, "Tatarskaia Avtonomnaia Respublika", *Zhizn' Natsional'nosteï*, No. 1, 1923, p. 32).
 12. Khairullah Muhitdinov was one of the first members of the Muslim Socialist Committee of Kazan, a colleague of Vahitov and Sultan-Galiev.
 13. Galimjan Sharaf, Tatar historian, was one of the leaders of the "Islah" movement in 1905–1908; in 1917 he was a student at the Historical Faculty of the University of Kazan; he was a delegate at the Muslim National Assembly (*Millet Mejlisi*), and author of the project of the "Idel-Ural State". Nationalist and pan-Turk, G. Sharaf refused to emigrate and continued to play an active role in the cultural life of the Tatar republic. In 1926, at the Turkological Congress in Baku, Sharaf, together with Galimjan Ibragimov, tried in vain to preserve the Arabic alphabet for all Muslim languages of the Soviet Union. He disappeared after 1932, probably purged.
 14. Emine Muhitdinova, daughter of a *mullah*, was one of the first Tatar women Bolsheviks, member of the RCP(b) since 1918, one of the editors of *Qyzyl Bayraq* in Kazan, deputy-chairman of the Muslim Socialist Committee of Kazan, and secretary of the Kazan *gorkom*. An internationalist, Muhitdinova sided with the Russian Bolsheviks against her own compatriots. After 1923, she became an outspoken adversary of Sultan-Galiev.
 15. Ishak Kazakov, Tatar, teacher, joined the RCP(b) in the summer of 1917; he became a member of the Muslim Socialist Committee of Kazan in February 1917, and national communist after 1920. One of Sultan-Galiev's closest colleagues, he disappeared after 1928, probably purged.
 16. Mustafa Subhi (1883–1921), Turkish socialist, graduated from the Law Faculty, University of Istanbul and the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris. After 1908, he was a journalist and professor at the Pedagogical Institute in Istanbul. He became a member in 1910 of the *Osmanly Sosiyalist Firkasi*. Arrested for revolutionary activity; he escaped to Russia in 1914, where he was interned during the war. He was a member of the RCP(b) from 1917. In July 1918, he organised the first communist group of Turkish prisoners of war. In 1918–1920, he was a member of the Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs; delegate to the First Congress of the Komintern; and organiser of the Turkish CP in Baku in September 1920. On 28 January 1921, Subhi and the entire Central Committee of the Turkish CP were sent home to Turkey; on their arrival in Trabizon they were killed by the local police. The Soviet government did not protest.
 17. Sahibgiray Said-Galiev (1884–1939) was a Tatar and officer in the Tsarist army. He joined the RCP(b) in March 1917; in February 1918, he became commissar for nationalities of the Kazan Soviet; in 1920, chairman of the Tatar Revkom; and in September 1920, president of the Sovnarkom of the Tatar republic. Sul-

tan-Galiev belonged to the left, internationalist and pro-Russian wing of the Tatar communist movement. He was, however, arrested in 1938 and executed in 1938 as a "nationalist".

18. M. S. Sultan-Galiev, "Sotsial'naia Revoliutsiia i Vostok", *Zhizn Natsional'nosti*, No. 38 (46), (5 October 1919), No. 39 (47), (12 October 1919), No. 42 (50), (2 November 1919). The last article never appeared; it was probably censored by Stalin himself.