

Communist International, Congress (2nd : 1920)
11

**The Communist International
in Lenin's Time**

WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

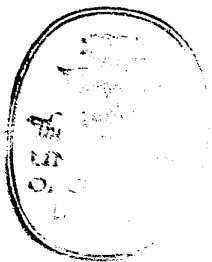
**PROCEEDINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF
THE SECOND CONGRESS, 1920**

V O L U M E O N E

Edited by John Riddell

P A T H F I N D E R

New York London Montreal Sydney



ms

Hx11

15

0651

1990

7.1

Copyright © 1991 by Pathfinder Press
All rights reserved

VOLUME 1: ISBN 0-937091-08-1 paper; ISBN 0-937091-09-X cloth
TWO-VOLUME SET: ISBN 0-937091-06-5 paper; ISBN 0-937091-07-3 cloth
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 91-66263
Manufactured in the United States of America

First edition, 1991

Cover and book design by Toni Gorton
Cover photo: Delegates leave opening session of Second Congress,
Petrograd, July 19, 1920. (Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale
Geschiedenis)

Pathfinder

410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, U.S.A.

Pathfinder distributors around the world:

Australia (and Asia and the Pacific):

Pathfinder, 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney, N.S.W. 2010

Britain (and Europe, Africa, and the Middle East):

Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL

Canada:

Pathfinder, 6566, boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, H2S 3C6

Iceland:

Pathfinder, Klapparstíg 26, 2d floor, 121 Reykjavík

New Zealand:

Pathfinder, 157a Symonds Street, Auckland

Sweden:

Pathfinder, Vikingagatan 10, S-113 42, Stockholm

United States (and Caribbean and Latin America):

Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

xii Maps

1 Introduction

The journey to Moscow, 5; World revolutionary upsurge continues, 16; The international revolutionary movement, 29; The main congress debates, 42; On this edition of the congress proceedings, 56; Preface to the 1921 editions, 61

63 Acknowledgments

65 Prologue: "The Second Congress of the Communist International" by V.I. Lenin

68 Call for the Second World Congress

72 Report of the Executive Committee

Proceedings

97 SESSION 1. The world political situation and the basic tasks of the Communist International (July 19)

Kalinin, 97; Zinoviev, 98; Bukharin, 105; Kalinin, 106; Zinoviev, 107; Report by Lenin, 107; Rosmer, 126; Serrati, 127; Steinhardt, 130; Marchlewski, 133; Levi, 134

141 SESSION 2. Role and structure of the Communist Party, part 1 (July 23)

Serrati, 141; Reed, 142; Serrati, 142; Report by Zinoviev, 143; Ramsay, 156; McLaine, 156; Pestaña, 158; Tanner, 159; Rákosi, 161; Wijnkoop, 163; Levi, 164; Serrati, 167; Lenin, 168; Trotsky, 171; Souchy, 175; Ramsay, 177

179 SESSION 3. Role and structure of the Communist Party, part 2 (July 24)

Serrati, 179; Reed, 182; Summary by Zinoviev, 182; Zinoviev, 190; Theses on the role and structure of the Communist Party, 190; Shatskin, 201; Wijnkoop, 202; Radek, 203; Van Leuven,

commissions will work here—two in the main hall and two others in the adjoining rooms.

Then on Monday [July 26] the remaining three commissions will meet: the organizational commission at eleven o'clock; the Agrarian Commission at eleven o'clock; the commission that will take up the main tasks of the congress at one o'clock. If the commissions do not finish tomorrow, they will work on Monday as well. Then the plenary session will be held on Monday evening at eight o'clock, at which time we hope that at least one or two commissions will have completed their work.

Serrati: This session of the congress is adjourned.

Session 4, July 26, 1920

National and colonial questions

(PART 1)

Zinoviev: I declare the congress in session. I would like to ask all delegations to please hand in as soon as possible the written reports on the situation in your parties. So far we have received only three reports, and we urge you to deliver the material to us within the next two or three days.

Several commissions have been at work since the last plenary session, but they have not finished yet. The Commission on the National and Colonial Questions has made the most progress in its work and is able to report. We propose to the congress that the national and colonial questions be discussed today. Are there any objections? Apparently not. The discussion is therefore open. Comrade Lenin has the floor as reporter.

REPORT ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

Lenin: Comrades, I shall confine myself to a brief introduction, after which Comrade Maring [Henk Sneevliet], who was secretary of our commission, will give you a detailed account of the changes we have made in the theses. He will be followed by Comrade Roy, who has formulated the supplementary theses. Our commission has unanimously adopted both the initial theses, as amended, and the supplementary theses. We have thus reached complete unanimity on all major issues. I shall now make a few brief remarks.

First, what is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasize this distinction. In this age of imperialism, it is particularly important for the proletariat and the Communist International to establish the concrete economic facts and to proceed from concrete realities, not from abstract postulates, in all colonial and national problems.

The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces. The vast majority of the world's population, over a billion, perhaps even 1.25 billion people, or, if we take the total population of the world as 1.75 billion, about 70 percent of the world's population, belongs to the oppressed nations, which are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or are semi-colonies as, for example, Persia, Turkey, and China, or else, conquered by some big imperialist power, have become greatly dependent on that power by virtue of peace treaties. This idea of a division, of dividing the nations into oppressor and oppressed, runs through the theses, not only the first theses published earlier over my signature but also those submitted by Comrade Roy. The latter were framed chiefly from the standpoint of the situation in India and other big Asian countries oppressed by Britain. Herein lies their great importance to us.

The second basic idea in our theses is that in the present world situation following the imperialist war reciprocal relations between peoples, as well as the world political system as a whole, are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the soviet movement and the soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. Only by beginning from this standpoint can the Communist parties in civilized and backward countries alike pose and solve political problems correctly.

Third, I should like especially to emphasize the question of the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. This is a question that has given rise to certain differences. We have discussed whether it would be right or wrong, in principle and in theory, to state that the Communist International and the Communist parties must support the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. As a result of our discussion, we have arrived at the unanimous decision to speak of the national-revolutionary movement rather than of the "bourgeois-democratic" movement. It is beyond doubt that any national movement can only be a bourgeois-democratic move-

ment, since the overwhelming mass of the population in the backward countries consists of peasants, who represent bourgeois-capitalist relationships. It would be utopian to believe that proletarian parties in these backward countries, if indeed they can emerge in them, can pursue communist tactics and a communist policy without establishing definite relations with the peasant movement and without giving it effective support.

However, the objection has been raised that if we speak of the bourgeois-democratic movement we shall be obliterating all distinctions between the reformist and the revolutionary movements. Yet that distinction has been very clearly revealed of late in the backward and colonial countries, since the imperialist bourgeoisie is doing everything in its power to implant a reformist movement among the oppressed nations too. There has been a certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often—perhaps even in most cases—the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is, joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes. This was irrefutably proven in the commission, and we decided that the only correct attitude was to take this distinction into account and, in nearly all cases, substitute the term *national-revolutionary* for the term *bourgeois-democratic*.

The significance of this change is that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. If these conditions do not exist, the Communists in these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to which the heroes of the Second International also belong. Reformist parties already exist in the colonial countries, and in some cases their spokesmen call themselves Social Democrats and Socialists. The distinction I have referred to has been made in all the theses with the result, I think, that our view is now formulated much more precisely.

Next, I would like to make a remark on the subject of peasants' soviets. The Russian Communists' practical activities in the former tsarist colonies, in such backward countries as

Turkestan, and so forth, have confronted us with the question of how to apply communist tactics and policy in precapitalist conditions. The preponderance of precapitalist relationships is still the main determining feature in these countries, so that there can be no question of a purely proletarian movement in them. There is practically no industrial proletariat in these countries. Nevertheless, we have assumed, we must assume, the role of leader even there. Experience has shown us that tremendous difficulties have to be surmounted in these countries. However, the practical results of our work have also shown that despite these difficulties we are in a position to inspire in the masses an urge for independent political thinking and independent political action, even where a proletariat is practically nonexistent.

This work has been more difficult for us than it will be for comrades in the western European countries, because in Russia the proletariat is engrossed in the work of state administration. It will readily be understood that peasants living in conditions of semifeudal dependence can easily assimilate and put into effect the idea of soviet organization. It is also clear that the oppressed masses, those who are exploited not only by merchant capital but also by the feudalists and by a state based on feudalism, can apply this weapon, this type of organization, in their conditions too. The idea of soviet organization is a simple one and is applicable not only to proletarian but also to peasant feudal and semifeudal relations.

Our experience in this respect is not as yet very considerable. However, the debate in the commission, in which several representatives from colonial countries participated, demonstrated convincingly that the Communist International's theses should point out that peasants' soviets, soviets of the exploited, are a weapon that can be employed not only in capitalist countries but also in countries with precapitalist relations, and that it is the absolute duty of Communist parties and of elements prepared to form Communist parties everywhere to conduct propaganda in favor of peasants' soviets or of working people's soviets. This includes backward and colonial countries. Wherever conditions permit, they should at once make attempts to set up soviets of working people.

This opens up a very interesting and very important field for our practical work. So far our joint experience in this respect

has not been extensive, but more and more data will gradually accumulate. It is unquestionable that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should give help to the working masses of the backward countries and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage of development when the victorious proletariat of the soviet republics extends a helping hand to these masses and is in a position to give them support.

There was quite a lively debate on this question in the commission, not only in connection with the theses over my signature, but still more in connection with Comrade Roy's theses, which he will defend here. Certain amendments to his theses were unanimously adopted.

The question was posed as follows: Are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance toward progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal, in that event it will be a mistake to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. We should create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries and at once launch propaganda for the organization of peasants' soviets and strive to adapt them to the precapitalist conditions. In addition, the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that the backward countries, aided by the proletariat of the advanced countries, can go over to the soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage.

The necessary means for this cannot be indicated in advance. These will be prompted by practical experience. It has, however, been definitely established that the idea of soviets is understood by the mass of the working people in even the most remote nations, that the soviets should be adapted to the conditions of a precapitalist social system, and that the Communist parties should immediately begin work in this direction in all parts of the world.

I would also like to emphasize the importance of revolutionary work by the Communist parties not only in their own but also in the colonial countries, and particularly among the troops employed by the exploiting nations to keep the colonial peoples in subjection.

Comrade Quelch of the British Socialist Party spoke of this in our commission.¹ He said that the rank-and-file British worker would consider it treasonable to help the enslaved nations in their uprisings against British rule. True, the jingoist and chauvinist-minded labor aristocrats of Britain and America present a very great danger to socialism and are a bulwark of the Second International. Here we are confronted with the greatest treachery on the part of leaders and workers belonging to this bourgeois International. The colonial question was discussed in the Second International as well. The Basel Manifesto is quite clear on this point, too.² The parties of the Second International pledged themselves to revolutionary action, but they show no sign of genuine revolutionary work or of assistance to the exploited and dependent nations in their revolts against the oppressor nations. This, I think, applies also to most of the parties that have withdrawn from the Second International and wish to join the Third International. We must proclaim this publicly for all to hear, and it is irrefutable. We shall see if any attempt is made to deny it.

All these considerations have formed the basis of our resolutions, which undoubtedly are too lengthy but will nevertheless, I am sure, prove of use and will promote the development and organization of genuine revolutionary work in connection with the national and the colonial questions. And that is our principal task.

Zinoviev: The commission secretary, Comrade Maring, has the floor.

REPORT BY MARING ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

Maring [Communist Association in the Indies]: Comrades, I will report on the work of the Commission on the National and

Colonial Questions. The commission examined Comrade Lenin's theses as well as Comrade Roy's supplemental theses. The following changes and additions were made to Comrade Lenin's theses:

At the end of thesis 1, instead of "destruction," read "abolition of classes."

Thesis 3, first sentence, reads, "The imperialist war of 1914 revealed with particular clarity to all nations and oppressed classes around the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois-democratic rhetoric. The war showed in life that the Treaty of Versailles of the celebrated 'Western democracies' is an even more brutal and foul act of violence against weak nations than was the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of the German Junkers and the kaiser." This sentence was changed as follows: (*reads*)³

Thesis 4, German edition, page 52, line 3 from the bottom, should read, "and toiling masses of all nations and countries."

In thesis 5, page 52, line 16, "rallies round itself" should be struck and replaced with "and should rally the oppressed peoples around itself." In the same thesis, line 20, "that their only salvation lies with the revolutionary proletariat and the victory of soviet power."

In thesis 6, line 10 from the top, instead of "the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement," read "the revolutionary liberation movement." In line 11 of this thesis the words "workers and peasants" should be struck.

In thesis 8, line 5 from the top, instead of "without basis" read "based on."

Thesis 9, lines 7 to 11, should read, "to which the bourgeois democrats, including those that call themselves 'socialist,' confine themselves."

Thesis 10, line 2, add the word "merely" to read "merely in word."

Line 13, after the word "prejudices" add parenthetically "which are expressed . . . in all possible forms, such as racism, national chauvinism, and anti-Semitism."

Thesis 11, paragraph 1, should read, "All Communist parties must," and so on.

Paragraph 2 should read: "The struggle necessarily must be waged against the reactionary and medieval influence of the clergy, the Christian missions, and similar elements."

Paragraph 3 should read: "It is necessary to struggle against the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian movements and similar currents."

In paragraph 4, after the words "to give," add "organizing the peasants and all exploited into soviets where feasible."

In paragraph 5, on lines 2, 6, and 17, the words "bourgeois-democratic" should be changed to "revolutionary."

Paragraph 6, line 5, should read, "the imperialist powers with the help of the privileged classes."

In thesis 12, strike the sentence beginning with "On the other hand" through "appear."

Comrade Roy's theses were thoroughly examined by the commission, which adopted the text that Comrade Roy will communicate to the congress. I think that it is possible to introduce all these changes into the theses right away.

M.N. Roy [Mexican Communist Party]: Comrades, as a representative of British India I have submitted supplementary theses to the congress and the commission that must be read out since they were not printed. I will now read these supplementary theses, which are as follows:

SUPPLEMENTARY THESES

ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS⁴

1. One of the most important questions before the Second Congress of the Third International is to determine more precisely the Communist International's relationship to the revolutionary movements of politically oppressed countries dominated by capitalistic imperialism, for instance, China and India. The history of the world revolution has come to a point where a proper understanding of this relationship is indispensable. The great European war and its results have shown clearly that the masses of non-European subjugated countries are inseparably connected with the proletarian movement in Europe as a result of the centralization of world capitalism (for instance, the sending of colonial troops and huge armies of workers to the battlefronts during the war, and so on).

2. One of the main sources from which European capitalism draws its strength is to be found in the colonial possessions and dependencies.⁵ Without control of the extensive markets and the vast fields for exploitation in the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe cannot maintain their existence even for a short time. England, the stronghold of imperialism, has been suffering from overproduction for more than a century. Except for the extensive colonial possessions acquired for the sale of her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalist structure of England would have been crushed under its own weight long ago. By enslaving the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and Africa, English imperialism has succeeded so far in keeping the British proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie.

3. Superprofits gained in the colonies are the mainstay of modern capitalism, and so long as it is not deprived of this source of superprofits the European working class will not find it easy to overthrow the capitalist order. Thanks to the possibility of extensive and intensive exploitation of human labor and natural resources in the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe are trying, not without success, to recover from their present bankruptcy. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism is in a position to make concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home. While European imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat by bringing into competition the production of the lower-paid workers in subject countries, it will not hesitate to sacrifice even the entire surplus value in the home country, so long as it preserves its huge superprofits in the colonies.

4. The breakup of the colonial empire, together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system in Europe. Consequently, the Communist International must widen its sphere of activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the politically and economically subjugated countries. These two forces must be coordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be assured.

5. The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the entire world for the overthrow of the

capitalist order and the establishment of communism. The Third International is a fighting body that must assume the task of uniting the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world.

Dominated as it was by a group of politicians, permeated with bourgeois culture, the Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them, the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of coordinating the revolutionary movements in Europe with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movements in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

6. Foreign imperialism, imposed on the Eastern peoples, prevented them from developing socially and economically side by side with their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialist policy of preventing industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class, in the strict sense of the word, could not come into existence there until recently. The indigenous craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialist countries; consequently a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce cereals, fodder, and raw materials for export abroad. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land in the hands of the big landowners, financial capitalists, and the state, thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt latent in every subject people found its expression only through the small, educated middle class.

Foreign domination obstructs the free development of social forces; its overthrow is therefore the first step toward a revolution in the colonies. Thus to help to overthrow foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie but to open the way to the liberation of the smothered proletariat there.

7. There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements that grow further apart from each other every day. One is the bourgeois-democratic nationalist movement, with a program of political independence under the bour-

geois order, and the other is the mass action of the ignorant and poor peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation. The former endeavors to control the latter and often succeeds to a certain extent. But the Communist International and its affiliated parties must struggle against this and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies. For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, the first step toward revolution in the colonies, the cooperation of the bourgeois-nationalist revolutionary elements is useful.⁶

But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist parties⁷ that will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and the establishment of soviet republics. Thus the masses of the backward countries may reach communism not through capitalist development but led by the class-conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

8. The real strength of the liberation movements in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois-democratic nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized revolutionary parties that strive to be in close connection with the working masses. The Communist International should establish relations with the revolutionary movement in the colonies through these parties or groups, because they are the vanguard of the working class in their respective countries. They are not very large today, but they reflect the aspirations of the masses, and the latter will follow them to the revolution. The Communist parties of each imperialist country must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies, and through them give moral and material support to the revolutionary movements as a whole.

9. The revolution in the colonies will not be a communist revolution in its first stages. But if the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard from the outset, the revolutionary masses will not be led astray but will go forward through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience. Indeed, in many of the oriental countries it would be extremely erroneous to try to solve the agrarian problem according to pure communist principles. In its first stages, the revolution in the colonies must be carried out with a program that will include many petty-bourgeois reform clauses, such as division of land, and so on. But this in no way implies that the leadership of

the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda for the soviet idea and organize peasants' and workers' soviets as soon as possible. These soviets will work in cooperation with soviet republics established in the advanced capitalist countries for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order throughout the world.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

Roy: I have accepted certain of the alterations that the commission has made in my theses.

I draw the special attention of the congress to these most important questions. I am most pleased to have the opportunity to take part for the first time in a serious discussion of the colonial question at the congress of the revolutionary proletariat. Until the present time the European parties did not pay sufficient attention to this question. They were too busy with their own affairs and ignored the colonial questions, although these questions are now of great importance for the international movement.

England is at the present moment the most powerful imperialist state, the chief reason being its vast colonial possessions. It has acquired great importance, power, and a firm social position. All this should be looked upon as the result of its colonial possessions. And although the same cannot be said of Germany, since this country is now deprived of its colonies, the question of colonies is nevertheless of significance not only for England. It is necessary that the German comrades devote their attention to this question, for it has acquired international significance.

The economic interrelation between Europe and the colonies is at the present time the foundation of the entire system of capitalism. Surplus value, which was in the past produced in England, is at the present time partly produced in the colonies. Furthermore, surplus products that are manufactured in England itself are exported to the colonies. In this way, England has organized her production in such a manner that it can

produce only a three-month supply of food annually.

England has at all times exploited its workers in the most brutal manner. The same system of expropriation, impoverishment, and oppression of human personality in the laborer is applied by that country to all subjected nationalities. British India alone possesses a population of not less than 315 million. In addition to British India, England also exploits several million colored people in the colonies.

Since the Communist International has decided to take up this question, the next step is to find the best way of furthering the development of the colonial movement. Until lately there were in the colonies only bourgeois-national revolutionary movements, whose only aim has been to replace the foreign exploiters in order to be able to do the exploiting themselves. If we do not look at the matter in too doctrinaire a way, if we take a closer look at it here at the congress, we will correctly assess the great importance that the nationalist-revolutionary movement in the East Indian nations has for the Communist International.

Great changes took place in India during the war and immediately thereafter. While English capitalism formerly had always hindered the development of Indian industry, of late it has changed that policy. The growth of industry in British India has gone on at such a pace as can hardly be imagined here in Europe. During recent times the industrial proletariat of British India has increased by 150 percent, and the capital employed in British Indian industry has risen 2,000 percent. That gives an idea of the rapid development of the capitalist system in British India. The same also applies to Egypt, the Dutch [East] Indies, and China.

At the same time, a new movement among the exploited masses has started in India, which has spread rapidly and found expression in a gigantic strike movement.⁸ This mass movement is not controlled by the revolutionary nationalists but is developing independently, in spite of the fact that the nationalists are endeavoring to make use of it for their own purposes. This movement of the masses has a revolutionary character. Although it cannot be said that the workers and peasants constituting it are class conscious, the movement is nevertheless revolutionary. This is evident by its daily activity. This stage of the

revolutionary movement of the masses opens a new field of activity for the Communist International, and it is only a question of finding the proper methods for gathering the fruits of that activity.

Naturally, a revolution started by the masses will not, in the first stage, be a communist revolution, for revolutionary nationalism will play a part. But at any rate this revolutionary nationalism is going to lead to the downfall of European imperialism, which would be of enormous significance for the European proletariat.

I conclude my speech with an urgent appeal to the delegates of the congress in no wise to reject the support that colonial peoples are now offering the revolutionary proletariat. And I hope the congress will take my point of view very seriously. I hope my theses will prompt the comrades to weigh their views against mine, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by this debate to bring greater clarity to the Communists of Europe and America. (*Applause*)

DISCUSSION

Reed: There are ten million Negroes in America, concentrated mostly in the southern states. In recent years, however, many thousands have gone North. The Negroes in the North are in industry, while in the South the majority are agricultural workers or small tenant farmers. The condition of the Negroes, especially in the southern states, is terrible. They are barred from all political rights. The Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives Negroes full citizenship. Most southern states, however, disenfranchise the Negroes. In other states where Negroes have the legal right to vote, they are killed if they dare to exercise it.

Negroes cannot ride the same railroad cars with whites, enter the same hotels and restaurants, or live in the same parts of town. There are separate and inferior schools for Negroes and separate churches. This segregation of Negroes is called the Jim Crow system, and the ministers of southern churches preach a Jim Crow heaven. In industry, Negroes are unskilled workers.

Until recently, they were excluded from most unions of the American Federation of Labor. The IWW, of course, organized Negroes; the old Socialist Party, however, made no serious effort to do so. In some states Negroes were not admitted into the party at all; in others they were segregated into separate branches, and in the southern states generally the party's constitutions forbade the use of party funds for propaganda among Negroes.

In the South generally, the Negro has no rights under the law and does not enjoy its protection. Negroes can be killed by white men with impunity. One frightful institution of southern white men is the lynching of Negroes. This is mob murder, which commonly takes the form of drenching the Negro with oil, hanging him from a telegraph pole, and setting him on fire. The whole town—men, women, and children—comes out to see the show and carry home as souvenirs pieces of the clothing and flesh of the Negro, who has been tortured to death.

I have too short a time to give the historical background of the Negro question in the United States. Descendants of a slave population, the Negroes were emancipated while still politically and economically undeveloped—merely as a military measure during the Civil War. They were later given full political rights in order to provoke a vicious class war in the South that would prevent the development of southern capitalism until the northern capitalists had seized all the country's resources.⁹

Until recently, the Negroes showed no aggressive consciousness of race. The first awakening of the Negroes came after the Spanish-American War, in which the Black regiments fought with extreme bravery, returning home with a sense of equality with white soldiers. Until that time, the only movement among Negroes had been a sort of semiphilanthropic educational movement headed by Booker T. Washington and supported by the white capitalists. This movement established schools to train Negroes to be good servants in industry. Their spiritual fare consisted of the good advice to reconcile themselves with their lot as an oppressed people.

Following the Spanish war, an aggressive reform movement arose among the Negroes demanding social and political equality with whites. With the outbreak of the European war, half a million Negroes were drafted into the American army and

shipped to France where they were quartered with French troops. There they suddenly found themselves being treated as equals—socially and in every other way. The American General Headquarters appealed to the French high command to exclude Negroes from all places frequented by whites and to treat them as inferiors.

After the war the Negroes, many of whom had been decorated for gallantry by the French and Belgian governments,¹⁰ returned to their southern hometowns where they were lynched because they dared to wear their uniforms and medals on the streets.

At the same time, a powerful movement was taking place among the Negroes who had remained behind. Thousands of them went North into the war industries, where they came into contact with the mainstream of the labor movement. The high wages paid lagged behind the immensely high prices of the necessities of life. In addition, the Negroes were quicker to rebel against the exhaustion and frightful overwork than the white workers, who had been used to this terrible exploitation for many years.

The Negroes went on strike with the white workers, swiftly joining forces with the industrial proletariat. They proved extremely receptive to revolutionary propaganda. At that time, a magazine called the *Messenger* was launched, edited by a young Negro Socialist named Randolph. It combined socialist propaganda with appeals to Negroes' race consciousness and called for the organizing of self-defense against the brutal attacks by whites. This magazine, however, urged the closest possible union with white workers, even though the latter sometimes took part in the pogroms against Negroes. It stressed that it was the capitalists who in their own interests fomented animosity between the white and Black races.

The return of the army from the front abruptly threw four million white workers onto the job market. Unemployment followed immediately. The impatience of the demobilized soldiers became so ominous that the employers, hoping to channel the discontent in a different direction, were forced to tell the soldiers that their places had been taken by Negroes, thus inciting white workers to massacre Negroes.

The first of these outbreaks happened in the national capital,

Washington, where petty government officeholders came back from the war to find their places taken by Negroes. Most of these officeholders were southerners anyway. They organized nighttime attacks on the Negro part of town in order to terrorize the Negroes into giving up their jobs. Much to everyone's astonishment, the Negroes poured into the streets fully armed, and a battle raged in which the Negroes fought so well that three whites were killed for every Negro. Several months later, in Chicago, another revolt erupted that lasted several days and resulted in many casualties on both sides. Still later there was a massacre in Omaha. In all of these fights, Negroes showed for the first time in history that they were armed, well organized, and absolutely unafraid of the whites.¹¹ The effect of the Negro resistance was, first, belated government intervention and, second, the opening of the American Federation of Labor unions to Negro workers.¹²

Among the Negroes themselves, a great race consciousness arose. Today there is a layer of Negroes that advocates armed insurrection against whites. Returned Negro war veterans have formed self-defense associations everywhere to combat whites who support lynch justice.

But while Communists should energetically support the Negro defense movement, they should discourage all ideas of a separate, armed insurrection by Negroes. Many people think that a Negro uprising would be the signal for the general revolution in America. We know that without the cooperation of the white proletariat it would be the signal for the counterrevolution. The *Messenger* is rapidly increasing its circulation, with its tone of outright defiance, and now more than 150,000 copies are distributed each month. At the same time, socialist ideas have taken root and are spreading rapidly among the Negroes employed in industry.

If we consider Negroes an enslaved and oppressed people, we confront two problems: on the one hand, that of a strong racial and social movement; on the other, that of a powerful proletarian labor movement that is rapidly gaining class consciousness. Negroes have no demands for national independence. All movements among the Negroes aiming for separate national existence fail, as did the Back to Africa movement of a few years ago.¹³ They consider themselves first of all Americans at home

in the United States. That makes it very much simpler for Communists.

For American Communists the only correct policy toward the Negroes should be to see them primarily as workers. Despite the Negroes' backwardness, the tasks posed for agricultural workers and tenant farmers in the South are the same as those we must solve with respect to the white agricultural proletariat. Communist propaganda work can be carried on among Negroes working in industry in the North. In both sections of the country every effort must be made to organize Negroes into common labor unions with the whites. That is the best and fastest way to break down race prejudice and foster class solidarity.

But the Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement for social and political equality, which is spreading quickly among the Negro masses today as race consciousness grows rapidly. Communists must use this movement to point out the futility of bourgeois equality and the necessity of social revolution—not only to free all workers from servitude but also as the only means of freeing the Negroes as an enslaved people.

*Louis Fraina [Communist Party of America].*¹⁴ The previous speaker referred to Negroes as an oppressed people in the United States. But there are two other oppressed peoples of a different sort: foreign workers and those living in the colonies.

The terrible suppression of strikes and the revolutionary movement in general is by no means a consequence of the war. It is rather an intensified political expression of the earlier treatment of unorganized, unskilled workers. Strikes by these workers are brutally suppressed. Why? Because these workers—who make up approximately 60 percent of the industrial proletariat—are for the most part foreigners, and in fact they are in the same situation as the colonial peoples. After the Civil War (1861-65), capitalism developed very rapidly. The West, which had been undeveloped until then, was opened by the building of transcontinental railroads. The investment capital for this development came from the eastern states and Europe. But the immigrants were the human raw material that was “developed” by imperialist force and violence in exactly the same way that it “developed” the peoples of the backward colonial countries.

The concentration of industry and monopolization, all the typical preconditions for internal imperialism, grew to maturity

before the United States could unleash its external imperialism.

The horrors visited upon the colonial peoples were no different from those endured by immigrant workers in the United States. For example, when the coal miners in Ludlow went on strike in 1912, soldiers were used to drive them from their homes and force them to live in tents. One day, while the men were a few miles away fighting the mine guards, a contingent of soldiers surrounded the tents and set them on fire, and hundreds of women and children perished in the flames.¹⁵

Under these conditions, the class struggle in the United States often turns into a racial struggle. And just as an uprising of Negro workers would spark not a proletarian revolution but a bourgeois counterrevolution, so too this could be the case with an uprising of immigrant workers. The great task is to unite these movements among Americans into one revolutionary movement.

All of Latin America must be regarded as a colony of the United States, not just its colonies in the strict sense such as the Philippines, and so on. The United States completely controls Central America with its army of occupation.¹⁶ But it also controls Mexico and South America, where this is expressed in two ways. It does this, first, by economic and financial penetration, which has increased since the German enterprises in those countries were expropriated. Second, it applies the Monroe Doctrine, which originally protected America from the monarchical system but has become a tool for the consolidation of U.S. imperialism and of its supremacy in Latin America.¹⁷ A year before the war, President Wilson construed the Monroe Doctrine as giving the American government the power to prevent the British capitalists from acquiring new sources of petroleum in Mexico.¹⁸ In other words, Latin America is the colonial base of U.S. imperialism. While the economic situation of every other country in the rest of the world continues to deteriorate, U.S. imperialism is growing stronger by throwing itself into the exploitation and development of Latin America. It is absolutely necessary to fight this imperialism by launching revolutionary movements in Latin America, just as it is necessary to act against British imperialism by starting revolutionary movements in its colonies.

Until now the movement in the United States has paid no

attention to the Latin American movement. As a result, the latter derives its ideology from Spain instead of from the United States. The Latin American movement must rid itself of this backwardness, just as it must free itself of its syndicalist prejudices. The American Federation of Labor and the reactionary Socialist Party are trying to create Pan-American organizations, but not in order to pursue revolutionary ends.

The Communist movement in the United States in particular and the Communist International in general must become actively involved in the movement in Latin America. The movement in the United States and in Latin America must be seen as one movement. Our strategy and tactics must proceed from the perspective that the American revolution encompasses America as a whole. The destruction of U.S. imperialism—the realization of which by itself would ensure the world revolution—is the fundamental task of the Communist International. This in turn can be accomplished only by means of a gigantic revolutionary movement encompassing America as a whole, in which every national entity subordinates itself to the common problem of making the American revolution.

Radek: At congresses of the Second International, frequent protests were raised against the ravages of the imperialist governments in the colonial lands. Even now the colonial question is discussed in detail at the conferences of the Second International, and we see Huysmans, Henderson, and associates handing out independence right and left, even to peoples that do not demand it at all.¹⁹

If it were only a matter of trumpeting protests to the world against imperialist policies and “recognizing” the independence of colonial peoples, then our task would be very simple. But when it comes to the practical struggle in the colonial countries, we are breaking entirely new ground. The important thing is not merely to outline the fundamentals of communist policy, not to suck it out of our thumbs, but to develop it by studying the concrete colonial relationships. The point is to proceed to real, practical support for the struggle in the colonies.

Comrade Lenin quoted Comrade Quelch, who declared in the colonial commission that if an uprising should break out in India, the jingoist press would succeed in influencing a large section of the British workers to permit themselves to be used in suppress-

ing the uprising. If Quelch only wants to point out that a strong imperialist current exists among British workers, that is a question of fact. But if this observation were to lead to our British comrades remaining passive during a colonial uprising, telling themselves that because of this mood they can do nothing more than adopt protest resolutions, then we would have to say that the Communist International has yet to teach its members the ABCs of communist politics. If the British workers, instead of confronting the bourgeois prejudices, support or passively tolerate British imperialism, then they are working for the suppression of every revolutionary movement in Britain itself.

It is impossible for the British proletariat to free itself from the yoke imposed on it by capitalism unless it steps into the breach for the revolutionary colonial movement. When the time comes that the British workers rise up against their own capitalist class, they will confront a situation in which Britain can cover at best 30 percent of its foodstuffs out of its own production. They will confront the situation of American capital trying to blockade proletarian Britain. For even if the American capitalists' ships are not able to cut off the delivery of food to proletarian Europe in the long run—because the Americans must sell—it is very possible that British capital will be able for a year or two to buy up the American grain to prevent it from reaching Britain. In this situation the fate of the British revolution will in large part depend on whether the peasants and workers of Ireland, India, Egypt, and so forth will see the British workers as their defenders, or whether they will have grown accustomed to seeing the British working class as the accomplice of British imperialism.

The [1920] Labour [Party] congress in Scarborough adopted an important resolution calling for independence for India and Egypt. Not a single Communist stood up to tell the congress that the MacDonalds support the British bourgeoisie by deceiving the British workers with such talk of the independence of India, Ireland, and Egypt. It is sheer hypocrisy, a fraud, when the same people who, on the occasion of the Amritsar massacre, could not bring themselves to characterize General Dyer in Parliament as a common murderer, pose as the defenders of colonial independence.²⁰ We greatly regret that our comrades in the Labour Party have not torn the mask from the face of these

frauds. The International will judge the British comrades not by the articles they write in the *Call* or in the *Workers' Dreadnought*. It will judge them by the number of comrades thrown into prison for agitating in the colonial countries.

We point out to the British comrades that it is their duty to support the Irish movement with all their resources, to agitate among the British troops, to thwart the policy that the British transport and railroad workers are now following of allowing troop transports to embark for Ireland. It is very easy now to speak in Britain against intervention in Russia since even the bourgeois left is against it. It is harder for the British comrades to stand up for Irish independence and for antimilitarist activity. But we have a right to demand this difficult work of the British comrades.

We will have more to say on this question and on that of parliamentarism, but it is important right now to show the British comrades from the Shop Stewards who want to support the Communist movement how childish they are behaving, what an opportunity for struggle they are letting slip, by not participating in the struggle in Parliament. The peasants of India cannot know that our Shop Stewards are struggling against their oppression. But if one of them were to call things by their right name in Parliament, even without making long speeches, he would certainly be thrown out by the Speaker of the House, and Reuters would not fail to report to the whole world that a traitor had been found in the British Parliament who called a murderer a murderer.

British capital, based on a strong bourgeoisie, cannot be overthrown in London, Sheffield, Manchester, and Glasgow alone. It must be defeated in the colonies. That is its Achilles' heel, and it is the British communists' duty to go to the colonies and to fight there in the front ranks of the rising masses of people and to support them.

In the old International, we know of hardly a single case in which a Social Democratic party became a champion of the liberation of the colonial peoples. When the unfortunate Hereros were driven into the desert by the thousands, the German Socialists abstained on the vote, declaring that, not knowing the reasons for the uprising, they had no opinion on the matter.²¹

It is the Communist International's duty to create an atmosphere in which it will be impossible to participate here at the congress without being able to prove practical assistance to the colonial uprising. This is one of the most important life-and-death questions for the Communist International. So just as we must try in every land to win to our struggle even the petty-bourgeois elements who are being driven toward the proletariat, so too the Communist International must be a star that guides the way for the insurgent peoples of Asia and Africa.

The Communist International must beat world capitalism with the aid not just of the European masses, but also of those of the colonies. Capitalism will base itself upon the colonial peoples not only economically, but even militarily. The social revolution in Europe will still have to deal with Black troops.²² The duty of the Communist International is to move into action.

The Russian Soviet Republic has taken this course. If people in Britain interpret our painstaking work in the East, our conscious agitation to build soviet organizations in Turkestan and in the Caucasus, and our sending out the first feelers toward Persia and Turkey as things the Soviet republic does to make problems for the British, they misunderstand the Soviet government's foreign policy. This is part of the program of the Communist International, it is Soviet Russia fulfilling its duty as part of the Communist International. We see the agitation in the East not as auxiliary assistance in the struggle against European capitalism. We consider it to be the fulfillment of a duty laid upon us by the permanent interests of the European proletariat.

Our assistance cannot consist of artificially building Communist parties where the foundations for communism are not present. It can take the form only of direct assistance to the liberation struggles of these peoples.

Comrade Lenin has pointed out that there is no theoretical necessity for all peoples to go through the phase of capitalism. Not all peoples who are today capitalist got to capitalism through the stage of handicraft production. Japan passed from feudal conditions to the phase of imperialist civilization. When the proletarian masses in Germany, France, and Britain succeed in winning socialism, we will then go to the colonial peoples not only with all modern means that were left to us by capitalism,

but with production methods that socialism will create. We will help them find the direct path from feudal barbarism to a production in which they can use modern technology without having to go through the phase of handicrafts and handicraft production.

We stand at the beginning of a new epoch. European capitalists fear the awakening of the Eastern peoples. They jabber about the "Yellow Peril," and we can say that as long as capitalism continues to exist, there is a Yellow Peril. The proletarianized peasant in China or Turkey who is being swindled will have to emigrate in search of work. In self-defense he will participate in great migrations of peoples. But communism need fear no Yellow Peril; we can extend our hand to all oppressed peoples because we bring not exploitation, but fraternal assistance.

Serrati: I propose that the speakers' list be closed. There are still twelve to go.

Rosmer: A motion has been made to close the speakers' list.

Wijnkoop: I think that we cannot close the list yet. This is an important matter, at least for the future. The debate has not even begun. Perhaps there will be no debate.

Serrati: I pointed out that we still have another twelve speakers. Perhaps Comrade Wijnkoop is right in saying that the real discussion has not yet begun. But I see that the debates are taking a course that they should not. Here we have talked about the Blacks, Korea, the Åland [Ahvenanmaa] Islands,²³ and so forth, and we have discussed a whole series of specific national questions, when we ought to be dealing with these questions in general terms. I think that we should adjourn the debates until tomorrow and close the speakers' list, asking the comrades not to speak on specific questions, but to take up only general questions.

Guilbeaux: I propose that we end this session now, but not close the speakers' list. The discussion has not yet begun. We would be stifling a very important question if we closed the list now, and it is absolutely necessary that all representatives of the colonial peoples give reports to the congress. We could reduce each speaker's time, but I do not think that we should prevent anyone from speaking.

Maring: I want to urge that Comrade Serrati's motion not be adopted. It would not be good if we failed to give the represen-

tatives of the colonies the opportunity to say a brief word about the movement. Comrade Serrati himself knows that none of the Italians were represented in the colonial commission today, so it is surprising that he could make such a motion.

Radek: I speak against the Presiding Committee's motion. I understand that those present here are familiar with the question. But our debates cannot start from the consideration that one or another individual is acquainted with the matter. Rather, the political significance of the colonial question must be considered. We have a political interest in the workers reading the record of the proceedings and seeing that the representatives of the oppressed peoples spoke here and participated in our deliberations. We cannot establish general rules of communist tactics for everyone, but even a rank-and-file worker can contribute a great deal to depicting the conditions in his country. Everyone should say what he knows, and the more concretely he speaks the better. I see that the representatives from Ireland want to speak. It is extremely important that British imperialism see that there are forces there that are allied with us and want to fight with us.

Serrati: I would not want anyone to think that I proposed that there be no discussion. First of all, I want to explain that my proposal was made in the name of neither the Bureau nor the Italian delegation. We just spent ten minutes talking about the question of Blacks in Chicago. We cannot dissect the questions into their smallest components. They must be summarized in very clear and very concrete speeches. Let no one believe that I do not want the comrades from the backward countries, as they are called in Comrade Lenin's theses, to speak. When I proposed that the speakers' list be closed, it is because representatives from the backward countries—China, Persia, Korea, Japan, Turkey—are already on the list. If additional comrades from backward countries ask to speak, we will end up hearing the history of the various peoples of the world. Therefore, I move that we end the session, and in the next one we will see if we should close the list or must extend it.

Wijnkoop: I move that we vote on Serrati's motion. We can decide what to do in the next session.

Serrati: Because the opposition is so strong, I withdraw my motion.

Rosmer: Discussion will continue the day after tomorrow at 10:00 a.m.

(The session ends at 2:30 a.m.)

Session 5, July 28, 1920

National and colonial questions

(PART 2)

(The session begins at 11:00 a.m. with Comrade Zinoviev chairing. The debate on the national and colonial questions is continued.)

Ahmed Sultanzadeh [Communist Party of Iran]: The Second International studied the colonial question at most of its congresses. It drew up elegant resolutions, which, however, were never put into effect. Often these questions were debated and positions adopted without the participation of representatives of the backward countries. What is more, when the Russian and British hangmen suppressed the first Persian revolution and the Persian Social Democrats turned for help to the European proletariat, then represented by the Second International, they were not even granted the right to put a resolution on this matter to a vote.¹

The Second Congress of the Communist International today marks the first time that this question is being dealt with thoroughly, with the participation of representatives of almost all the colonized or semicolonized countries of the Orient and America. The resolution adopted by our commission completely satisfies the hopes and expectations of the toiling masses of the oppressed peoples and serves as a stimulus to advance the soviet movement in these countries.

At first glance it may seem odd to speak of a soviet movement in feudal or semifeudal countries. Nevertheless, if we pay close attention to the social conditions in these countries, our doubts must disappear. Comrade Lenin has already spoken of the experiences of the Communist Party of Russia in Turkestan, Bashkiria, and Kirghizia. Given the good results produced by the soviet system in these countries, the soviet movement in Persia and India—countries where class differentiation is proceeding with giant strides—must spread powerfully.

In 1870 all these countries were dominated by merchant capital. The situation has changed little. The colonial policies of the

17. The draft theses on the revolutionary youth movement are found in appendix 7.

18. In the July 21 Executive Committee meeting, Van Leuven read out to the USPD delegates the five conditions for admission to the Comintern included by Lenin in his initial draft of the "Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Communist International." See Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, p. 198. The final version of these theses, found in session 16, includes these conditions along with two others in point 15. See pp. 759-60.

The text of the Executive Committee's questions to the USPD delegates can be found in *Protokoll der Reichskonferenz*, pp. 7-10.

19. Three telegrams from Frossard and Cachin were published by the French Socialist Party during their stay in Russia. The first, sent in the first week of July, asked for authorization to represent their party at the Second Congress. A telegram on July 13 reported on their favorable impressions of what they had seen. Just before the congress opened, after much hesitation, they reported that the Comintern Executive Committee had acquainted them with the conditions for admission, and concluded, "Personally, we think that affiliation is necessary." *L'Humanité*, July 21, 1920.

20. During the Kapp putsch in March 1920, the USPD central leadership took no stand for or against arming the workers. Armed workers' contingents quickly formed across the country, however, and drove the army out of the coal- and steel-producing Ruhr basin and some other areas. In April the army, under orders of the restored SPD-led government, attacked workers' detachments in the Ruhr. The German Communist Party called for renewal of the general strike and an educational campaign for arming the workers. Addressing the Berlin workers' councils on April 8, Däumig opposed these measures as unlikely to win mass support.

21. The Dutch Communists had developed a close working relationship with the Bond van Christen-Socialisten (Christian Socialist League). Wijnkoop, a deputy, worked in a common parliamentary fraction with Reverend J.W. Kruijdt, head of the league. Wijnkoop attempted to have Kruijdt admitted to the Comintern congress as a delegate from the Netherlands. The proposal was rejected.

22. In Homer's *Iliad*, the Trojan prince, Hector, was slain and his corpse desecrated. Apollo testified before Zeus of Hector's qualities, moving Zeus to have the body returned to the Trojans.

23. Dutch CP leaders Wijnkoop and Van Ravesteyn won parliamentary seats in September 1918. During the election campaign, they came under attack by Herman Gorter and other Dutch revolutionaries for favoring Entente imperialism against that of Germany. According to Gorter, Wijnkoop indicated support for a deal aimed at easing the

grave food shortage in the Netherlands through grain shipments from the United States. As part of the deal, Dutch ships were to be used to aid the U.S. war effort. See Gorter, "Der Opportunismus," pp. 276-77.

Session 4: National and colonial questions, part 1

1. Quelch's remarks are summarized in appendix 2d.

2. The Second International condemned colonialism at its 1907 Stuttgart congress, as well as at earlier gatherings. See Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 7-9. The manifesto of the International's 1912 Basel congress, however, did not take up the colonial question. See *Kongress-Protokolle*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 23-27.

3. See the final version of the theses in session 5, p. 284.

4. The text given here is based on that found in the 1921 English-language edition of the proceedings. It has been edited after comparison with a typescript obtained courtesy of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and with a version printed in Adhikari, *Documents of the CPI*, vol. 1, pp. 173-88, which reflects the editing done at the congress. The text has also been checked against the German and the 1921 and 1934 Russian editions of the congress proceedings. Significant differences between these versions are noted below. Roy's original draft of the theses, which is also found in Adhikari, appears in appendix 2a.

5. In the German and Russian editions of 1921 this sentence reads, "Capitalism draws its chief strength less from the industrial countries of Europe than from its colonial possessions and dependencies." Similar wording is also found in Roy's original draft.

6. In the Institute of Marxism-Leninism typescript this sentence reads, "The first step toward revolution in the colonies must be the overthrow of foreign capitalism." The wording in the German and 1921 Russian editions is similar. The entire sentence is missing in the French edition. Other versions correspond to the text given here.

7. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism typescript and the 1921 Russian edition refer here to formation not of Communist parties but of "a nonparty organization." The 1921 English, German, and French editions and the version in Adhikari correspond to the text given here.

8. More than two hundred strikes swept across the Indian subcontinent in the first half of 1920, including walkouts by 200,000 Bombay cotton workers in January, 40,000 Jamshedpur steelworkers in February, more than 30,000 railroad workers, and 50,000 Ahmadabad cotton spinners in May.

9. Following the abolition of slavery and the collapse of the Confederacy, large landowners in the South secured adoption of Black Codes

that impressed the ex-slaves into contract-labor gangs on the plantations. Blacks, a growing part of the Union army during the closing years of the Civil War, organized to resist these moves. They received support from sections of the northern capitalists, who sought to prevent the defeated slave owners from restoring their power, as well as from opponents of slavery among the northern toilers.

In 1867 Radical Reconstruction regimes were established throughout the South, authorized by federal legislation and backed up by the Union army. These regimes repealed the Black Codes, established universal male suffrage, and carried out other reforms. Congress refused, however, to institute a thoroughgoing land reform. This allowed the exploiting classes in the South to rebuild their power and launch a campaign of legal and extralegal terror against Blacks and other working people.

By 1877 northern capitalists sought to block the growing alliance of Black and white farmers and workers in the South. The U.S. Congress withdrew Union soldiers and gave free reign to armed reaction there. The three remaining Radical Reconstruction state governments fell. Jim Crow, the system of legal segregation, was imposed to divide working people along skin-color lines. Racism and anti-working-class reaction were given a powerful boost throughout the United States. The Black population was transformed into an oppressed nationality.

The defeat of Radical Reconstruction marked the most serious setback to the U.S. working class in its history.

10. The German edition of the proceedings erroneously refers here to the "French and British governments"; all other editions read "French and Belgian."

11. On July 21, 1919, the worst day of the race riot in Washington, D.C., 15 people were killed or seriously wounded, 10 of them whites. Later that same month, in the Chicago riot, 38 were killed, including 15 whites. In all, there were some twenty-five race riots in the United States that summer and seventy-eight recorded lynchings of Blacks.

12. When the American Federation of Labor (AFL) met in convention in June 1920, eleven of its affiliates maintained explicit membership bars against Blacks, and others excluded Blacks in practice. After heated debate, the convention recommended in two specific cases that affiliates remove these racial bars. Further progress was made through the struggle that forged the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s and through the fight against racism during World War II. But it was not until 1963 when, as a product of the mass civil rights movement, the last of the all-white AFL unions, the locomotive firemen, removed its bar against Black members.

13. Reed is referring here to the Universal Negro Improvement

Association, an international movement for Black solidarity and liberation led by Marcus Garvey. In the early 1920s Garvey's movement claimed millions of supporters in the United States and the Caribbean. Garvey projected that many U.S. Blacks would go to Africa to help liberate it from white rule and develop the continent.

14. Fraina's speech has been translated from the German edition of the congress proceedings and edited after comparison with the English edition.

15. About thirty people were killed at Ludlow, Colorado, by the National Guard; among them were two women and eleven children who perished in the fire.

16. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the U.S. government intervened militarily in Latin America more than twenty-five times. In 1920 U.S. troops were occupying Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba. In addition, the United States had taken possession of Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone.

17. The Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed by U.S. Pres. James Monroe in 1823, provided that the newly independent states of the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." Subsequently, it was invoked to justify the expansion of U.S. power in Latin America. This was made explicit in 1904 by Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, who claimed that the doctrine justified U.S. intervention in countries whose supposed misconduct invited European involvement.

18. In April 1914, as Mexico's revolutionary armies marched against dictator Victoriano Huerta, a German ship tried to land arms for Huerta at the Gulf of Mexico port of Vera Cruz. U.S. forces intervened, attacked the city, and occupied it for seven months. The action reaffirmed U.S. military primacy along Mexico's oil-rich gulf coast. Mexican oil fields, then the world's second most productive, were dominated by U.S. capitalists; British interests were their main rival.

19. Radek is evidently referring here to criticisms of the Soviet republic for its supposed violations of the right of national self-determination that had been voiced by leaders of the Bern International. Ten days after Radek spoke, these forces, meeting in Geneva, adopted a resolution protesting the establishment of soviet power in Azerbaijan and Lithuania which, they said, was a violation of self-determination. In reality, the Russian Soviet Republic had granted independence even in cases, such as Finland or the Baltic republics, where this led to the establishment of bourgeois regimes.

20. On April 13, 1919, British troops commanded by Gen. R.E.H. Dyer fired on a protest meeting in Amritsar, India, killing about four hundred unarmed civilians.

21. In 1904 the Herero and Khoi Khoi tribes rebelled against the cruelty of the German colonial administration in Southwest Africa (now Namibia). The German troops sent to quell the uprising indiscriminately massacred the tribal peoples, and an estimated sixty thousand Hereros were killed out of a total population of eighty thousand.

German Social Democrats denounced these atrocities and, in December 1906, voted in the Reichstag against further appropriations for the war in Southwest Africa. An election campaign ensued, in which the government conducted a chauvinist campaign in support of its colonial policy, dealing the Social Democrats a sharp electoral setback. A debate followed within the party on its colonial and military policy. See Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 4-15 and 54-63.

22. See note 24 to session 1, p. 497.

23. The Åland Islands, until 1917 a Russian possession, were held by Finland, but the majority Swedish-speaking population claimed the right to self-determination. In October 1919 the Soviet government protested the imperialist powers' intent to exclude it from diplomatic efforts to decide the islands' status.

Session 5: National and colonial questions, part 2

1. Although several congresses of the Second International condemned colonialism, they paid scant attention to emerging liberation struggles in Asia and the rest of the colonial world. The 1910 congress in Copenhagen, however, did pass a resolution condemning Russian intervention in Iran (Persia). See *Kongress-Protokolle*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 20.

2. The error referred to by Sultanzadeh was an overcorrection by revolutionaries in Turkestan of a hostile policy toward the predominantly Muslim Turkic majority there that was pursued by local Soviet authorities until the fall of 1919. The new policy, based on forging an alliance with the Muslim toilers, greatly encouraged the national democratic revolutionary movement among these peoples.

In the months that followed this turn, Communist organizations among the Muslim peoples gained strength and pressed for increased national autonomy. An autonomous soviet republic was constituted in Turkestan in April 1921. Other positions of these groups, however, were rejected by the Communist Party of Russia, such as their demand that the Turkestan Communist groups separate from the party and that the Red Army be withdrawn from the region. See Lenin, *CW*, vol. 30, p. 138; Georgy Safarov, "Die koloniale Revolution: die Erfahrung Turkestans," *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 14 [1921], pp. 92-101.

3. The Constitutional Revolution in Iran, which began in 1905, was crushed by the shah's Cossack Brigade (a mercenary force supplied by

tsarist Russia) and by a tsarist army that marched on revolutionary Tabriz in 1911. The revolutionary struggle revived in 1917 and a soviet republic was formed in Gilan, in northern Persia, just prior to the second Comintern congress.

After the outbreak of revolution in China in 1911, major imperialist powers used their military bases, privileged "spheres of influence" within the country, and economic muscle to buttress reactionary forces opposed to the bourgeois-nationalist movement led by Sun Yat-sen.

In 1919 a nationalist resistance movement developed in Turkey against imperialist moves to dismember the country. Led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), this movement gained strength in Asia Minor (Anatolia) and in April 1920 established a national government in Ankara.

4. In March 1918 a military agreement was concluded between Japan and the Beijing regime in China, by which Japanese troops were to be stationed along the Siberian border in Manchuria and Mongolia. Far eastern Siberia was occupied at that time by a Japanese interventionist force that reached seventy-two thousand men.

5. Although Japan's establishment of a protectorate over Korea in 1905 met fierce and prolonged Korean opposition, in 1910 the remaining Korean resistance forces were driven into Manchuria, and Japan annexed the country outright. The Korean struggle revived in 1919. On March 1 of that year, two million Koreans took part in a day of demonstrations, which were brutally suppressed.

6. The German edition of Connolly's speech reads at this point: "Recognizing this, we insist that the Communist International assist these national-revolutionary movements. The only way that would lead to the result indicated is active assistance to the national movements by whatever Communist groups exist in these countries, however feeble." The text in the 1921 Russian edition is similar to the German version.

7. Connolly's written report on Ireland is found in appendix 2g.

8. The Young Turks were a bourgeois-nationalist movement based on the younger generation in the officer caste. They aimed to modernize Turkish society and secure an independent Turkish national state by replacing the sultan's despotism with a constitutional monarchy. Following the 1908 Young Turk revolt and a subsequent army uprising in 1909, a parliamentary regime was established in which the Young Turks held sway.

9. The island of Java was the main population center of the Dutch East Indies, today Indonesia.

10. Here and on three other occasions in this session, the proceedings record delegates as referring to a session held the previous day. In fact the preceding congress session took place on July 26, two days previously. The intervening day saw the massive Moscow demonstra-